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“The Islamic Review,” Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore.
Shamim Book Agency, 1, Johnson Road, Dacca (E. Pakistan).
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JULY 1952
BETWEEN OURSELVES

The Cover

In Islam there is no Priesthood

The picture on the cover is that of an 'Id gathering at Djakarta, Indonesia, in which Mr. Muhammad Nasir, leader of the largest Muslim political party of Indonesia, the Masjumi, and a former Prime Minister of Indonesia, is delivering the 'Id sermon after the congregational prayers.

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

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FRANCE, BRITAIN AND THE MUSLIM WORLD

We hear at frequent intervals news of important meetings taking place between Britain and France for the purpose of bringing into line their respective policies in the Muslim-Arab world. Both Britain and France are fully conscious of the fact that events taking place in any one Muslim-Arab country, and particularly in Egypt, have their immediate and far-reaching repercussions in the other parts of the Muslim-Arab world. An example of this was Egypt’s recent struggle to regain her full sovereignty and freedom, which has no doubt had its effect upon the Arabs of North Africa, and particularly in Tunisia and Morocco, who rose to claim their liberty and independence from the French. France held the view that the success of Egypt’s case against Britain will find in no small measure encourage the Muslim Arabs of North Africa to press forward their nationalist claims.

Britain and France, anxious to preserve their respective interests in the Muslim-Arab world, seek to unite and harmonize their policies towards the Arabs, so that nothing that one of them would do would conflict with the actions of the other or would harm or prejudice its interests. This accord between Britain and France is no new thing. As far back as 1904, an agreement was reached between Britain and France to the effect that France would give a free hand to Britain in Egypt in return for Britain giving her a free hand in Morocco; and this agreement was meticulously fulfilled. Again, during World War I, Britain and France secretly agreed to prevent the realization of a united Arab kingdom. This was at a time when Britain professed her friendship for the Arabs in order to secure their active help against the Ottomans, and after she had promised the Sharif Husain of the Hedjaz that she would help to bring about a united Arab kingdom at the end of the war.

Imperialism in the Arab world, whether it be that of Britain or France, is essentially the same in its quality and aims. The Arabs, in their struggle for freedom and independence have more than one imperialist Power to contend with; they are faced with a strong group of cunning and determined imperialist Powers who have united together in their endeavours to crush every serious nationalist move amongst the Arabs. Although there may appear to be some outward differences in the manner in which any one of these Powers pursues this common objective—as, for example, when Britain appears to accord some measure of respect to the national traditions and heritage of the Arabs, while France arrogantly disregards this aspect, and the United States of America, a newcomer in this field, devotes its attention primarily to economic exploitation — yet the real aim and purpose is one and the same. Faced with this unity of purpose amongst their imperialist enemies, the Arabs can hope to be saved only if they can show an equally strong unity amongst themselves and a real determination to thwart the purposes of their common enemy. While the imperialists draw up harmonious plans based on careful deliberations and study in order to achieve their targets, the Arabs appear to counteract by means of haphazard, ill-considered and often conflicting plans. It is because of this that the imperialists have so far achieved success in their schemes, while the Arabs have failed.

The Muslim East has yet not learnt the meaning of unity

The imperialists have always been happy in the realization that the people of the East have not yet learnt the advantages of absolute unity in the ranks of a nation when that nation faces a momentous problem. Unlike the West, national leaders in the East never seem to be able to unite solidly together in time of crisis, nor do they manage to lay aside their personal differences and petty squabbles when they are faced with a common danger, however serious that may be. True such attitude amongst the people of the East has been originally introduced, and later fostered and encouraged, by the imperialists; for the imperialists have for long been wise enough to recognize the fact that the success of their ventures depended very much on the application of the policy of 'divide and rule'. When in the East a patriotic leader rises and seeks to unite the ranks of the nation and lead it to the realization of its national aspiration, he soon finds himself rejected and out of office. Only such leaders as are avowed to serve the interests of the imperialists do, somehow or other, entrench themselves in office.

Is it not high time that the world of Islam, a great part of which has for long been suffering under the imperialist yoke, realized that its salvation from the clutches of imperialism can only be achieved through unity and solidarity? Long and protracted negotiations and elaborate conferences where a lot of flowery speeches are made, will never bring freedom from imperialism. It is high time, too, that the oppressed members of the world of Islam realized that it was one of the cardinal laws of nature that freedom and independence must be earned and forcibly taken from the usurpers; for they are things that the imperialists will never willingly bestow or give away.
Imperialists always find ‘fifth columnists’ in Muslim countries

It is indeed a very sad thing that the imperialists always manage to find amongst the nations they enslave some factions that are willing to act subversively against the interests of their people and to be willing servants of imperialism. These ‘fifth columnists’ are showered with the favours of the imperialists; they are given high office, while loyal nationalists are persecuted.

The evil aims of this imperialist game are only too obvious. It needs no great skill or acumen to detect the plot which the imperialists are weaving against the oppressed people of the East. Yet, although the methods and technique of this imperialist policy have been repeated over and over again, the simple people of the East have continued to be deceived by it. In some cases, the imperialists play this vicious game under a different name, so as to disguise it from the eyes of the people of the East. At times they have called it a ‘mandate’ or a ‘protectorate’, and recently they have found another camouflage—a ‘joint defence pact’. But all these devices are means to the one end, and under their guise they have a single aim—the enslavement of the people who are careless enough to trust in them.

The imperialists have perfected many methods of playing their game. At times they give away something to the people under their rule—but they soon take away with the left hand what they had earlier given with the right. And at other times they relinquish something not of any material benefit to them—and in return they take away something quite material. They never make a single move in this game without very careful elaboration and scrutiny. They have their own experts on colonial problems who study all the diverse aspects of a move before advising upon it. But we in the East rush in everything we do, and that which we do is done chaotically and unwisely.

What happened recently with regard to the Tunisian complaint to the United Nations against France is perhaps typical of this chaotic state of diplomacy which has been responsible for the flourishing growth and strength of imperialism in the Muslim-Arab world. No sooner had the friends of the Arabs, after intensive campaigning, been united in their pressure to secure a hearing by the United Nations of the Tunisian complaint than the Tunisian Government, the party directly concerned in the matter, had suddenly cut the ground from under their feet and for some reason or other asked that the complaint be withdrawn from the international arena.

Over and over again in the history of the struggle of the people of the East against imperialism such unfortunate and catastrophic incidents have occurred. While the imperialists draw up careful plans to meet the attack launched against them, the Eastern nations get into a chaotic muddle with futile conferences and meetings and act in unpredictable ways.

Imperialism in Persia and Egypt

Imperialist policy remains unchanged despite the passage of time. The imperialists are doggedly adhering to the policy initiated by them ever since the earliest days of imperialism and they refuse to march with the times. This, in some way, is equally the case with the oppressed peoples of the world. They have not fully realized the sanctity of their usurped rights, nor have they recognized the dire necessity for unity in their ranks as a means of attaining their national aspirations. And while this unhappy state exists, there will be war after war, and catastrophe after catastrophe in this world.

The imperialists believe that the present international situation is in their favour, and against their opponents. They procrastinate with the nations under their yoke, hoping that they can bring about the fulfillment of their imperialistic schemes by the mere passage of time. But time will not of itself make their position easier; on the contrary it will further complicate matters.

In Persia, imperialist Britain has for long slept soundly over the rights of the Persians and their cry for justice and fair play. Britain wanted the whole cake, and thought she could get it if she waited long enough. But she lost it all; and the oil in Persia has reverted to the Persians, its rightful owners. Britain, nevertheless, still appears to hold fast to her posts and continues to turn a deaf ear to any suggestions of an equitable settlement.

The same is happening in Egypt, although Britain’s approach to the problem is slightly different. Britain, at long last, expressed her willingness to start negotiations with Egypt over the latter’s claims. But before such negotiations could start, Britain insisted that there should be calm in Egypt. Egyptian public opinion, raised to high pitch of fury through provocative actions, later became calm. And with this calm came calm and procrastination in the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations. Britain is simply playing for time. All kinds of frivolous methods continue to be introduced by Britain in order to prolong the negotiations. Britain knows, from past experience, that once the machine has stopped it would be difficult to start it going again.

Britain should, however, realize that there is a limit to the patience of a nation, and that it is not safe to exceed this limit. When its patience is exhausted a nation will become angry, very angry.

AHMAD AMEEN

THE ABOLITION OF HAJJ DUES BY HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF SA’UDI ARABIA

His Majesty King 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman As-Sa’ud by a Royal Rescript of 24 May 1952, abolished the Hajj dues amounting to £20 per person collected from each intending pilgrim to Mecca.

The Royal Rescript also states that the Hajj dues collected so far for the current Hajj season would be refunded and promises that the Mu'allim's (instructor at Hajj ceremonies) fees, transport charges, house rents and other incidental charges will also be revised, although not this year.

On the basis of the last year’s figures, the abolition of the Hajj dues is expected to cost the Sa’udi Arabian Exchequer something like £8,000,000.

This relief in these days of rising cost of living will be gratefully welcomed by the Muslim world and will serve as an incentive to perform the Hajj, which institution, besides being one of the fundamentals of Islam, is one of the most potent means ever devised to eradicate the pernicious tendencies of race and colour prejudice from the Muslim community as a whole.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
The conception of righteousness with the Jews and Christians

'It is not righteousness that you turn your faces to the East and to the West; but righteousness is whosoever believes in God and the Last Day and the Angels and the Holy Scripture and the Prophets, and gives wealth for the love of God to kindred and to orphans and to poor people and to homeless people, and to the beggars, and to emancipate slaves; and who is constant in prayer and pays the poor-rate; and those who keep a treaty when they make one, and who are patient in disaster, tribulation, and adversity. Those are they who are sincere. Those are the God-fearing.' (The Qur'an, 2:177).

The first words of this verse, 'It is not righteousness that you turn your faces towards the East and the West,' are generally taken as referring to the question of the Qiblah, the direction towards which Muslims were to turn their faces when they prayed. At the time when this verse was revealed at Medina, that direction had just been changed. At first the Qiblah had been the Temple at Jerusalem, thenceforth it was to be the Ka'bah at Mecca. The Jews, who had hoped from the first command that the Prophet Muhammad had an inclination towards their faith, and would in time become a Jew, were disappointed and angry at the change. They made much talk about the question, which, as Jews, the strictest of all formalists, they regarded as of very great importance. The Qur'an, on the other hand, declared it to be of small importance as compared with individual good conduct and public faith and endurance in a just cause, virtues for which the Jewish tribes of Medina were so little famous that their name had become a by-word for unjust dealing and bad faith. Yet they considered themselves righteous and God-fearing so long as they turned their faces in prayer towards Jerusalem, and conformed to a host of other traditions, Scriptural or rabbinical. To the congregation which assembled in the little mosque at Medina — the first mosque of Islam — where the Prophet himself used to preach, leaning against the trunk of a palm-tree, where there were fewer formalities than in any other place of worship, the world had known — that must have been the meaning of this verse. It was a lesson for the Jews, much more than for the early Muslims, whose chief characteristics were sincerity, simplicity, and honest conduct. But in the course of years, as Islam spread and developed in the world, its full meaning became apparent to the thoughtful, and to-day it is a lesson for the Muslims rather than for any other community. In proportion as they take it to heart, so shall the Muslim world regain success and superiority.

What the verse means to convey

First, let me call your attention to the peculiar grammatical structure of this verse, so peculiar as to give the reader at first sight the shock he would receive from a mistake in grammar.

'It is not righteousness that you turn your faces to the East and the West; but righteousness is whosoever believes in God and the Last Day,' etc.

We should have expected to read 'but righteousness is that you believe in God and the Last Day.' That is the natural sequence, but it has nothing like the force of meaning of that 'whosoever' in the Qur'an. How often in the history of the world has men been told to do right, and how repeatedly had they accepted the injunction, and neglected to apply it to their actual conduct. Righteousness is no vague counsel of perfection; it cannot be attained by any ritual acts or blind acceptance of a creed or formula. It is the actual doing of right; and you cannot realize righteousness save in the person of the man or woman who does right. All injunctions, exhortations, counsels of perfection are as nothing to the good example of one righteous man. Righteousness — active, practical righteousness as distinct from sentimental dreams of what should be in an amended world — is 'Whosoever believes in God and the Last Day and the Angels and the Holy Scripture and the Prophets, and gives wealth for the love of God to kindred and to orphans and to poor people and to wanderers and to the homeless and to beggars and for the emancipation of slaves, and is constant in prayer,' and does his duty towards the State. And then again there is an odd grammatical change from the singular to the plural: 'And those who keep a treaty when they make one; and the patient in conflict, tribulation and adversity.' Those are they who are sincere. Those are the God-fearing.' That is to say, that righteousness can be realized in the community which does right as well as in the individual who does right. But in order that a community shall do right it must contain many individuals who do right. It was not a large or influential company which gathered in the little courtyard at Medina where the Prophet preached, leaning against the trunk of a palm-tree. Yet the members of that congregation in their lifetime conquered and converted half the world. What was the power which they possessed above all other nations of the world? It was the force of faith and personal righteousness described in this verse, a singleness of purpose such as has never been known in any community before or since, and a self-surrender to the will of God, which is righteousness, a lack of selfish ambitions such as never has been known in a community before or since.

They preserved their simple, honest conduct, their personal righteousness, and wherever they went spread righteousness by their example.

The Jews of Medina thought themselves superior to all mankind because they were Jews. The Christians thought themselves superior to all mankind because they were Christians. The Qur'an teaches something very different. Islam is the true religion which Abraham, Moses, Jesus taught before Muhammad: but righteousness does not consist in being technically a Muslim or a Christian or a Jew; but righteousness consists in doing right with earnest purpose. The history of Islam tells us that when Muslims have been most distinguished for personal righteousness, and for the simple faith and tolerance which always go with it, they have been most successful politically. And when they have regarded themselves as privileged and superior people, sure of God's favour, simply because they recite the formula of faith enunciating the unity of the Godhead and the prophethood of Muhammad, they have failed. They have done precisely what Islam has told them not to do; they have trusted to the formalities of belief, neglecting action and that true belief which always moves to action.

JULY 1952
ISLAM AND PUBLIC FUNDS

By AHMAD MAZHAR AL-AZMAH

"The Prophet Muhammad said: "When a person is employed to do certain work and is paid for that work, then what he takes in addition to it is fraudulent.""

The nature of relationship in Islam between the individual and society

The religion of Islam has regulated the rights, duties and relationship of man with his fellows in society in a very precise and wise manner. The community is made responsible for its members, while the individual is charged with observing the interests of other members and guarding and furthering their rights and welfare. In other words, the individuals are made answerable for the community of which they are members in the same manner as they are answerable for their own personal conduct. There is no doubt that such an arrangement, creating as it does a mutuality of responsibility between the individual and the community of an equal magnitude, is the best way for combating and eradicating social evil and corruption. It is also the foundation on which is built the interest and well-being of the community as a whole, resting as it does on the corresponding consciousness of the individual as well as of the community as a whole.

This is the pattern on which the Muslims in the early days of Islam established their relationship with the society in which they lived. Consequently, these Muslims devoted their undivided attention to the advancement and maintenance of the welfare of their community. They lavished on the society in which they lived all their love and devotion and sacrificed all they could in order to enhance its progress and happiness. The reader of books dealing with the lives of the early Muslim Caliphs and other notable personalities of old could not fail to be impressed with their attitude in recognition of their obligations to the communities in which they lived. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the conduct of these great Muslims is the care which they devoted to the preservation of the public wealth and the public funds of their communities, since such public funds represented the life-line of the community. In this they followed the illustrious example set by the Prophet Muhammad, who taught them the code of honesty in its most perfect manner, and who exhorted them to the fulfilment of their public duties meticulously and faithfully. The Prophet Muhammad's example urged every man to become himself the guardian of his own conscience, and made him do good and refrain from mischief, although no one might be keeping watch on him or sought to detect or control his deeds.

The backslidings of the Muslims of to-day

But the order of things changed at a later era. Cases where individuals asported with public property and embezzled public funds began to show their ugly heads. Wherever it was possible, people began to use various ingenious devices to defraud public authorities, and little attention was then paid to the fact that public funds and property were the foundation upon which the interest and welfare of the whole community rested and through which public institutions and activities like mosques, schools, hospitals, public works and social and charitable organizations could operate to the general good of all the members of the community. Many forgot that public possessions were sacred and that the individual must refrain from abusing, embezzling or wasting them.

It is a very surprising fact indeed that in these days, as in the past ignorant and misguided persons should attempt to throw some shadow of legality or lawfulness on such reprehensible activities. Public funds and property are sometimes described by such persons as 'the product of injustice and oppression on the part of the State', and on this pretext they have come to consider, for example, that they have sufficient reason for refraining from paying the dues and taxes imposed by the State, as well as preserving property owned by the State.

The conduct of early Muslims in the matter of public funds

Islam requires the believer not to acquire or appropriate improperly the property of others, and, equally, not to appropriate or embezzle the property of the public, which is in effect his and others' property. They will have an equal share in what the State owns, and what one does to injure public property will affect the interests of a great number of individuals as well as himself. Man is a social and gregarious being, and civilization necessitates the existence of the conception of public
ownership as well as other public utilities and organizations operated by funds owned by the State and levied by it from its members.

Our early Muslim fathers were so careful and scrupulous in their dealings with funds and other property in the public ownership that they deprived themselves of many comforts and pleasures so as not to injure or affect adversely the funds and property in public ownership. The Caliphs and governors of Muslim provinces were shining examples of this honourable conduct, and one attempts in vain to find in the history of other nations their counterparts in such high roles.

The example of Abu Bakr

When Abu Bakr al-Siddiq became the Caliph of the Muslims he was seen the next morning on his way to the market and carrying on his shoulder pieces of cloth he wanted to sell there. He was met by 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab and Abu 'Ubaidah, who enquired of him, 'Where are you going, O Caliph of the Messenger of God?' 'To the market,' he answered. 'But what will you be doing in the market, now that you have been entrusted with the affairs of the believers?' they asked. 'I shall still have to feed my family and dependants,' he said. They then asked him to accompany them to the meeting place, and made him an allowance of half a sheep a day. Later an extra allowance was made to him after both 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab and 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib discovered that the original allowance could not meet his actual needs. But when the allowance was thus increased the Caliph said to them, 'You are but two of the immigrants,' and I do not know whether the rest of the immigrants would agree with what you have done, or would disapprove of it.' Then the Caliph Abu Bakr ascended the pulpit and gathered the people around him. He addressed them thus: 'Hear me all you people! My income was two hundred and fifty dinars and one sheep from which the inside, the head and the limbs were taken. 'Umar and 'Ali added to my income until it amounted to three hundred dinars and one sheep. Do you agree with what they have done?' The immigrants answered, 'By the name of God, yes, we are satisfied.'

What an excellent example of loyalty to the public treasury this is; and what a wonderful example, too, of the workings of a true democracy that ordains the consultation of the community as a whole and the seeking of its opinion on matters affecting it, however remotely. The Caliph Abu Bakr owned at the time he embraced Islam some forty thousand dirhams which he had saved from the profits of his trade, and he also made vast profits from his trade after he became a Muslim. But when he later emigrated with the Prophet Muhammad he did not have more than five thousand dirhams left. The fortune he had saved had been spent on emancipating and buying the freedom of Muslims who were suffering great hardship and persecution under the rule of non-Muslim monarchs in foreign lands, and he also spent vast amounts on assisting the poor and needy amongst his Muslim brethren.

The example of 'Umar the Great

The Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab is another notable example. He imposed on himself and his family a life of frugality and self-denial; and although he was the Caliph and head of the Muslims, he lived the life of a poor person. The allowance made to him from the public treasury as a reward for his high office had at one time fallen short of meeting even the bare necessities of life for himself and his family. But he could never bring himself to ask the Muslims to increase that allowance and raise it to a reasonably adequate level. Rather than do that, he used to borrow from the public treasurer, and when the time for repayment arrived and he was unable to repay the loan, he used to ask for a few days' grace until his allowance was due, and then paid back from that allowance what he owed. Some of the Caliph 'Umar's friends noticed that he was suffering as a result of his allowance being so inadequate. A group of them, including 'Uthman, 'Ali, Talha and Zubair, met together and discussed the suggestion that they should approach him and propose that his allowance be increased. 'Uthman suggested they should first make an inquiry by some indirect means about his true position. So they went to the Mother of the Believers, Hafsa Bint 'Umar, and informed her of their intentions, asking her at the same time not to divulge their names to the Caliph 'Umar. When Hafsa later saw the Caliph 'Umar and put the suggestion to him, his immediate reaction was one of anger, and he said, 'Who are these men? I shall punish them.' There is no reason why you should know of that,' said Hafsa. 'You are between me and them,' said the Caliph 'Umar. 'Tell me,' he asked her, 'what were the best clothes that the Messenger of God had ever possessed? 'Two worn out garments which he used to wear when he met delegates and also at assemblies and meetings.' And what was the best food that he ever ate at your house?' he continued. 'Some barley on which we poured the residue of butter from a butter skin that we had, and this made the barley greasy and sweet,' she answered. Again he asked her, 'On what carpet did he sit in your house?' On a piece of cloth which in the summer we folded and in the winter spread half of it on the floor and covered ourselves with the other half,' she replied. The Caliph 'Umar then said, 'O Hafsa! Inform them that the Messenger of God has given due consideration to things and has placed them in their proper order. . . . My two friends and myself are like three men who have travelled on a journey: the first one chose his road, and having taken adequate provisions with him he reached the destination; then the second one followed in his tracks and reached the same destination; then came the third one who, if he followed in their tracks and took with him the same provisions would reach the same destination, but if he followed a path other than theirs would never meet them.'

The attitude of 'Umar the Great towards presents during his tenure of Caliphate

When the Roman king made peace with the Arabs and established contacts with the Caliph 'Umar and there began to be an exchange of correspondence between them, Umm Kulthoum, the daughter of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, sent some scent and other similar articles by mail to the wife of the Roman king. When she received the gift she gathered her entourage around her and said, 'This is a present to me from the wife of the King of the Arabs and the daughter of their Prophet.' She then wrote back to Umm Kulthoum and sent her a present, part of which was a very precious necklace. When the courier brought the present to Umm Kulthoum, 'Umar ordered it to be seized. He called a general meeting for prayer, and when the people gathered he led them in the prayer of two rak'as, and then said, 'There is no good in any decision taken by me on any problem without your consultation. I want you to tell me your opinion with regard to a present made by Umm Kulthoum to the wife of the Roman king, which brought back a present from the wife of the Roman king to Umm Kulthoum.' Some amongst the gathering said, 'What has she given; and the wife of the Roman king is not a slave of the Muslims anxious to earn their favour, nor under your rule so that she might fear you.' That the Caliph 'Umar retorted, 'But the messenger is a messenger to the Muslims and their mail is their mail; and the Muslims regard the necklace of too great a value to be worn by her.' He then ordered the return of the necklace to the public treasury and
recompensed Umm Kulthoum to the extent of the expenses incurred by her.

The example of ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azeez

When ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azeez (717-720 C.E.) became the Caliph of the Muslims he led a life of abstemiousness and rejected all the luxuries that life offered in good foods and other luxuries. His care and consciousness about the public property and possessions of the Muslims was exemplified in the following incident. A boy used to bring him every day a jug of hot water for his ablution. One day he said to the boy, ‘Do you not take this jug to the kitchen of the Muslims and there have the water heated before you bring it to me?’ ‘Yes, may God bless you,’ answered the boy. ‘Then you have spoiled my ablution,’ said ‘Umar. He then ordered that the water in the jug should be boiled in order to ascertain the amount of wood it consumed, and then ordered that a quantity of wood equivalent to that consumed in boiling that jug over the number of days in which that was done in the past should be placed at his expense in the public kitchen.

So universal was the observance of the rules with regard to the protection and safeguard of public property that the valuable crown of the King of Persia was brought to the Caliph ‘Umar without having been guarded on the journey. When the Caliph ‘Umar saw this precious crown before him he said, ‘The people who have brought this here are truly trustworthy.’ Indeed,’ answered ‘Ali, ‘the people saw in you such righteousness and this made them righteous; and if they had seen you neglectful they would have become likewise.’

Similar events in the lives of the Muslims of old have been numerous. Such should be the conduct of the Muslim at all times, for the Prophet Muhammad said, ‘Richness is not in the magnitude of one’s possessions; richness is the richness of the soul.’

The Prophet Muhammad on what an employee should not accept for his services

Muslims in the early days of Islam used in times of public crises like war, or other public distress like general failure of crops or fire, to give to the poor and needy the pick of what they possessed. They also contributed generously to public utilities and charities; and many mosques, educational institutions and gardens were built as a result of such generous contributions. Such voluntary contributions helped in the execution of projects to change the courses of rivers, to dig wells, to equip armies and to provide many social and other undertakings.

Cases where public employees accept favours and bribes in the course of the mere fulfilment of their official duties are, unfortunately, not uncommon. The Prophet Muhammad said, ‘Where a person is employed to do a certain work and is paid for that work, then what he takes in addition to it is fraudulent.’

2 Reported by al-Bukhari and others.

LIGHTS EVERYWHERE

or

HOW A TURK GREETS RAMADHAN

By R. C. Ulunay

‘But... where is the St. Sophia of the Sultan Fatih, seas and continents? In the midst of all the glittering the great Turkish king and sultan who gave us the lights of Istanbul, St. Sophia is in utter darkness!’

Today is Ramadan... To all my believing brothers and sisters may this sacred month be a blessed one!

Ramadan will be the source of spiritual bliss to Muslims who will lift their hands at the Darqah-i-Siyahat (the Divine Threshold of Acceptance) during the thirty days in which the doors of pardon are open and utter the prayer: Yaa Rabbi (O my Lord)! Grant this nation prosperity and happiness... cause this country to be madinur (populated) and to flourish...; grant ajr (reward) and sawab (recompense) to those who serve this beautiful country.

Last night the crescent moon which shone in the dusk, as it does on our flag, united the souls of four hundred and sixty million Muslims in one thought.

The rays of hope overflowing the light of the Ramadhan crescent are welcomed by these millions with enthusiasm. They thank God that they are fortunate to be Muslims.

The dusk falls... the mosques of Istanbul are well prepared to welcome Ramadan by glittering spherical and lineal ornaments. After a little while, through the glittering lights the azan-i-muhammadi (the call to prayers) will be sounded.

The six minarets of the Sultan Ahmad Mosque are lit in splendour, which is the eternal symbol of Turkish artistic eminence.

The Mosque of Bayazid, placed as it is in its magnificent dignity in a large square, with its classical architecture and fine writings of the Shaikh, is aglow with lights on the heights of its minarets. The Sulaimaniyya Mosque, the world-famous masterpiece of Sinan, the architect of Sulaiman the Magnificent, is lit with Ramadhan lights.

Here is the New Mosque (Yeni Jami’), built with the help of the imperial treasury by two dowager queens. And so are the mosques — the Shahzade, the Valide, the Ortakoy, the Kilich Pasha, the Nusretiyya, the Laleli, the Nuru ‘Osmaniyya. All are aglow. And the Topkapi Saray, nearby, buried in green, resembles a silver casket of a history which ruled the three continents at one time.

But... where is the St. Sophia of Sultan Fatih, the great Turkish king and sultan who gave us the seas and continents? In the midst of all the glittering lights of Istanbul, St. Sophia is in utter darkness!

1 Translated by Ali Sait Polatlar from the Turkish daily, Yeni Sabah, Istanbul, for 25 May, 1952.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS
(A PROPHECY AND ITS FULFILMENT)

By M. A. FARUQI, B.Sc.(E.E.)

The sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt and ancient history

Considerable light has been thrown on the history of ancient Egypt, its people and civilization, through the unearthing of many old tombs, temples and monuments in Egypt, and by the deciphering of the hieroglyphics inscribed on the monuments or drawn on the papyri found in these monuments. Although the Prophet Abraham, as mentioned in the Holy Bible (Gen. II), visited Egypt probably in 1900 or 2000 B.C., during the reign of one of the early Hyksos kings, yet it was only when Joseph, after being betrayed by his brothers, was sold into Egypt and after many trials and tribulations finally gained the favour of the king (probably Apepy or Apophis, who was a foreigner of Asiatic extraction), and then sent for his parents and brothers and their families, that the children of Israel came to settle in Egypt. Apart from what is given in the Bible about their sojourn in Egypt, any information that could be gleaned so far from ancient Egyptian monuments and documents has been disappointingly meagre.

The Pharaoh Mer-en-ptah

A stela of magnificent grey granite, over ten feet high and engraved on both sides, was found by Sir Flinders Petrie at Thebes, Egypt. On one side there is a long inscription wherein the Pharaoh Amenophis III recalls all he had done for the temple of Amun. The other side has been utilized by Pharaoh Mer-en-ptah in recording his hymn of victory, dating from the fifth year of his reign, which contains the only mention of the name of Israel yet discovered. When translated, it reads as follows:

'The Kings are overthrown, saying "Salam ",
'No one holds up his head among the nine nations of the bow,
'Wasted is Tehenue,
'The Hittite Land is pacified,
'Plundered is Canaan with every evil,
'Carried off is Askalon,
'Seized upon is Gezer.
'Yenoam is made as a thing not existing,
'Israel is desolated, her seed is not,
'Palestine has become a (defenceless) widow of Egypt.
'All lands are united, they are pacified.
'Everyone that is turbulent is bound by King Merenptah.'

Who is this King Mer-en-ptah? He was the thirteenth son of Pharaoh Rameses II, and ascended the throne when he was about sixty years old. He reigned for eight years from 1220-1212 B.C., while according to other historians he ascended the throne in the year 1234 B.C. and, after reigning for at least ten years, passed away in 1224 B.C. and was buried at Thebes. It was not until 1898-99 that his mummy was discovered by Lovet in a side-chamber of the tomb of Amenhetep II in the valley of Bab al-Muluk. His name was distinctly read on the mummy wrappings, and his body was conveyed to Cairo.

Let us now examine the reference to Israel as given in the stela described above. According to Pinches' translation it should read: 'The Israelites are lost, their seed is not.' However, it seems to bring three facts to light:

1. The Israelites, as a whole people, had definitely left Egypt at that time;
2. Wherever they went, they had no settlements worthy of the name, and were wandering about, as if lost in a wilderness; and,
(3) That the Exodus must have occurred in the reign of a Pharaoh before this Mer-en-pthah, if that Pharaoh and his hosts are taken to have been overthrown, as is the accepted story. Yet strangely enough, it is here that confusion has arisen, for reasons which I will take up further on.

The Pharaoh Rameses II

According to the prophecy (Genesis 15:13), the Israelites dwelt in Egypt 400 years. If, as is supposed, they first came towards the end of the Hyksos period, then the tail end of their sojourn in Egypt falls in the reign of Pharaoh Rameses II of the XIX Dynasty. Now who was this Rameses II? He was the son of King Seti I, and ascended the throne on the death of his father in 1288 B.C., and ruled for sixty-seven years, until 1221 B.C. He led many successful campaigns into Syria, and married a Syrian princess, who adopted the name of ‘Ur-Maat-Nefenu-Ra’. Another of his wives was named ‘Hent-Ma-Ra’, whose statue, along with that of a fine statue of Rameses, was unearthed at Abukir. This Pharaoh was a great builder. He built several statues of himself, some of which were placed in a huge temple carved out of the solid sandstone mountain at Abu Simbel. The store city of Pa-tum, or Pithom, which was excavated in 1883 by M. Neville, proved to have been built by Rameses II, and it was probably this city that the children of Israel were forced to build, and the king’s architect, ‘Amen-en-ani’, is thought to have been the one who treated them so cruelly. The modern name of this place is Tel-El-Maskhuta, ‘The Mound of the Statue.’ There is a letter from a certain Panbessa in the Anastasi Papyrus, No. 3, describing this wonderful city: 1 I proceeded to “Pa-Ramesu Meramen”, I found it flourishing in all good things … the abode of felicity, its meadows are filled with all good things, its pools are filled with fish, its ponds with fowl, its fields are verdant with grass. … Gladness dwells within it, none speaks scorn of it. The virgins of Aa-Nechta are well-apparelled every day; sweet oil is on their heads, with new curls they stand at their doors, their hands adorned with nosegays, the bouquets of Pa-Andhor, garlands of the Lake Pahura, on the day of the arrival of “Ra-User-Ma Setep-en-ra” (Rameses II), the head god of the world. The last words are significant as they show that Rameses II attributed to himself a divine status, to which I will refer later on. The reason why Pharaoh Rameses II persecuted the Israelites was obviously due to the fact that they had prospered and increased so greatly that they were feared by the Pharaoh and his people. (See Exodus 1 to 10). Apparently the previous occupation of Egypt by the Hyksos people from the east was not forgotten.

The Pharaoh further decreed that all the male children born in the Israelite community were to be killed at birth. How the mother of Moses, under Divine instructions, cast the baby adrift in the river, and how it was picked up by the women of the Pharaoh’s household, and brought up with the royal children, is a well-known story.

The Pharaoh of the Exodus and the Bible

Now I take up the reasons which have caused so much confusion in the minds of the Christian historians as to the true identity of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and these are referred to briefly below:

(1) Moses, when 40 years old, slew an Egyptian and to escape punishment fled to Midian (Acts 7:23);

(2) Moses married the priest’s daughter, and lived in obscurity for forty years (Acts 7:29, 30); and,

(3) During this time, the King of Egypt died (Exodus 2:23) and another king ruled in Egypt, but the persecution of the Israelites continued.

These statements, if taken at their face value, would show that Moses was made a prophet when he was 80 years old; and since he was born in the time of Rameses II, who ruled 67 years, hence it must have been some later king who was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. But here the stela of Mer-en-pthah again causes utter consternation, because it definitely states that Israel is lost and her seed is not. Since Mer-en-pthah immediately succeeded Rameses II, the Israelites must have left Egypt before he came to the throne. But then who was the Pharaoh who died during Moses’ exile? Here the Christian historians tried to explain it away by suggesting that Bible history does not actually state that the Pharaoh himself followed the children of Israel farther than the camp at Pa-ha-hiroth (mouth of the canal) (Exodus 14:9). But they overlooked the following verses (Nos. 16, 17 and 18), which ensure that the Pharaoh and his host followed the Israelites into the sea and not one of them escaped. Further, Psalm 136:15 clinches the matter by saying:

But (the Lord) overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, for His mercy endureth for ever. Then again, Exodus 2:23 has caused them to argue that the Pharaoh who persecuted the Israelites, and in whose household Moses was brought up, and the Pharaoh of the Exodus are two different persons. For argument’s sake, let us say that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, but since one King of Egypt is supposed to have died while Moses was in Midian, it must have been Seti I, the father of Rameses II, who persecuted the Israelites, and whose daughter picked up Moses as a baby and brought him up, and in whose reign Moses killed an Egyptian and ran away to Midian. But then Seti I reigned only twenty-seven years from 1316-1289 B.C., and it does not fit in with the statement of the Bible that Moses was 40 years old when he killed the Egyptian. If we go further back we find that Rameses I (father of Seti I) ruled only two years.

The nature of the authenticity of Biblical records

There is another solution to this problem I shall discuss now. True enough, the Torah was revealed to Moses, and some gospels (Ar.: Injil) to Jesus, as all Muslims believe; but are all the contents of the present-day Old and New Testaments inspired and free from tampering of any sort? I am afraid not. Out of 250 Jewish-Christian writings 66 have arbitrarily been declared canonical by Protestants. For 150 years the Christian Bible consisted of the sacred books of the Jews. The New Testament was not formed until the latter half of the second century, when Irenaeus selected twenty books from among forty or more gospels, nearly as many acts of the apostles, a score of revelations, and a hundred epistles. The gospels were unknown to Peter, Paul, and the early Church Fathers. They were fabricated later. The Bible did not assume anything like its present form until the fourth century. Even now the Roman Catholic and Protestant versions of the Bible differ in many respects. The Westminster Assembly in 1647 approved the list of sixty-six books composing the authorized version. Adoption was by majority vote. Similarly, the so-called books of Moses were not written by Moses. They record his death and burial (Deut. 34:5, 6) and refer to persons of a later date (Genesis 36:31-39). Similarly, verses in Genesis 6:4 and 19:31-36; and Samuel II 11:2-4 are something entirely unworthy of a Divinely inspired book. The story of Joshua stopping the sun and the moon (Joshua 10:12-13) seems not only unbelievable but unscientific. It seems not only unbelievable but unscientific. Then again in Chapter 22 of Genesis mention is made of Abraham offering Isaac as a sacrifice to God; but that it was actually his other son, Ishmael, who was concerned in this drama, and not Isaac, is proved by the fact that Ishmael’s descendants (the Arabs) kept a memorial of this sacrifice in the annual pilgrimage to

2 Records of the Past, VI, p. 13, as quoted in A Sketch of Egyptian History, by Lady Amherst of Hackney.
Mecca. The Holy Qur’ān also mentions Ishmael as the son whom Abraham was commanded to sacrifice. From all this digression I want to bring out the argument that all that is written in the Bible is not necessarily authentic, correct or accurate; and if there are good, strong and sensible reasons to doubt the correctness of any part or parts thereof, then we should not hesitate to discard it.

The Holy Qur’ān on the story of Moses and the Pharaoh of the Exodus

Now let us see what the Holy Qur’ān, the last, the final, the best and the most authentic revealed book of God, says about the story of Moses and the Pharaoh of the Exodus:

(1) That the Pharaoh persecuted the Israelites and had their male children killed (2:49);

(2) That Moses’ mother cast him when a baby into the river and he was rescued by Pharaoh’s wife, who looked after his interests (28:7-15). Verse 9 shows that it was probably during the early part of the Pharaoh’s reign and his married life, as the Pharaoh’s wife said: ‘A refreshment of the eye to me and to you: do not slay him; maybe he will be useful to us, or we may take him for a son. . .’ (The Bible mentions the Pharaoh’s daughter as the one who picked up the baby Moses);

(3) That at the time when Moses struck an Egyptian and caused his death, he had attained maturity and become full grown (28:14). Now in warm tropical countries, men attain their maturity earlier, and as Moses was full grown this would indicate that he was probably between 25 and 30 years old;

(4) That, fearing he would be taken to task for the manslaughter of the Egyptian, he escaped to Midian, where he married a priest’s daughter in exchange for serving his father-in-law from eight to ten years (28:27, 28). (Note—Rabbinical accounts also show that Moses lived with the priest Jethro for ten years (see Jewish Encyclopedia);

(5) That after the period of ten years’ service, Moses left with his family, and it was during this journey that Moses was addressed by God by the side of the mountain in Sinai, and the mantle of prophethood was put on his shoulders and he was ordered to go and address Pharaoh. His brother Aaron was to go with him and share his work (28:29-32 and 20:24-36). Moses would have been about 40 years old then, which is traditionally the age when prophethood is usually conferred by God on the chosen ones;

(6) That Moses was afraid to go back to Egypt, because of the manslaughter charge against him (28:35; 26:14), and that the Pharaoh, when addressed by Moses, referred to his childhood and also to his having slain an Egyptian and then fleeing the country (26:18, 19) clearly shows that it was the same Pharaoh all along; and that the Bible’s narrative that the previous king had died is not correct;

(7) That contrary to the Bible’s saying that this Pharaoh did not know Joseph, it is found from Verse 34 of Chapter 40 of the Holy Qur’ān that the Prophet Joseph and his teachings and good works were still not forgotten by these people;

(8) That the Pharaoh (Rameses II) considered himself a
god has already been shown from the quotation from the Anastasi Papyrus No. 3, mentioned previously. The Holy Qur’ān also corroborates it: ‘Then he (Pharaoh) said: I am your Lord, the most high’ (79:24);

(9) The Pharaoh, in spite of seeing many signs from Moses, kept on persecuting the Israelites, till the opportune moment came when God commanded Moses to gather together his people and leave in the night, travelling in the direction of the Red Sea. On learning of this exodus, the Pharaoh with his army gave chase. How Moses led his people through the sea, and how the Pharaoh and his army, following them, were drowned, is well known to all; and,

(10) But it was when the curtain was falling on this grim drama that something occurred which not only establishes the majesty of God, but also the fact that Muhammad was His prophet and that the Holy Qur’ān is the revealed book of God. I refer you to the Holy Qur’ān (10:90-2), which reads as follows:

‘And We made the children of Israel to pass through the sea, then the Pharaoh and his hosts followed them for oppression and tyranny; until, when drowning overtook him, he said: I believe that there is no God but He in whom the children of Israel believe and I am of those who submit.

‘And We will this day deliver you with your body that you may be a sign to those after you, and most surely the majority of the people are heedless of Our Communications.’

The silence of the ancient records on the drowned body of the Pharaoh of the Exodus

There was no written record, no verbal tradition from those ancient times, to tell the world that the drowned body of the Pharaoh of the Exodus was recovered, mumified, and buried along with his ancestors in the ‘Valley of the Kings’. The Bible is silent on the point. This is not surprising, as Egyptians would not advertise to the world the humiliating and disastrous end of the Pharaoh who called himself god, at the hands, so to speak, of the Israelites, who were his helpless slaves once. True enough, his son and successor, Mer-en-p’tah, feeling the sting of his father’s disgrace, must have tried to avenge himself on the Israelites, and thinking that they must have gone to Palestine, invaded that country. He seems to have missed them, as the Israelites, owing to the curse put on them, were still wandering in the wilderness somewhere in the Sinai peninsula. The only satisfaction that Mer-en-p’tah could find was that at least Egypt was rid of these alien people who would have proved troublesome at some time or other. Since he could not find them, he took it for granted that they had perished of want and thirst in the wilderness. So he wrote in his hymn of victory, ‘The Israelites are lost, their seed is not. . .’ He incidentally did a service to posterity in fixing the approximate time of the Exodus; and as I have explained, it was Rameses II who was the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

The identity of the mummy of Rameses II

Now the students of the history of ancient Egypt know that one of the most remarkable traits of character among the ancient Egyptians was their great reverence for their dead, and the care they bestowed upon them. Long life was considered a great blessing, and people hoped to live for 110 years, but they never forgot that the end must come to all, and they prepared tombs for themselves and their relations while living. Yet, strangely enough, Rameses II, the great builder otherwise, did not build for himself a tomb, mausoleum and sarcophagus worthy of his rank. Was it because his death came suddenly and unexpectedly, while he hoped to live for many more years to come?

* This good queen later accepted Moses as a prophet of God, and worshipped the one and only God, and expressed her abhorrence of the Pharaoh and his evil deeds (The Holy Qur’ān 66:11).
The mummy of Rameses II was found in a wooden coffin in the form of the god Osiris, the god of the dead; the eyes and features are touched with black. The hands hold the sceptre. On the breast are the cartouches drawn in ink of Ousy, Mat Rc-Stp-Rc Rameses II and three inscriptions, one of which has been sponged out and written over again, but it is still partly legible. It informs us that in the year VI, the high-priest Hrhor restored the mummy of Rameses II. One of the two other inscriptions says that in the year XVII, the seventh of the fourth month of Paruit, the high priest removed the body of Rameses II from the tomb of Seti I, where it had been laid. The third inscription, hurriedly written on the top of the head, tells us that in the year X, the high priest being Panotumu, Rameses II was transferred to the tomb of Amenotehs along with his father Seti I. To ascertain whether the mummy really was that of Rameses II as the inscription on the lid proclaimed it to be, Mr. Maspero detached a part of the wrappings which seemed to be loosely fastened, and found on the breast of the shroud a hieratic inscription, written in ink, which put the matter beyond any doubt, the high priest Panotumu I, declaring that he had restored the funerary apparel of Rameses II in the year XVI. The coffin had been destroyed and replaced. The mummy was unwrapped on 1 June 1886 in the presence of H.H. the Khedive Tewfik.

There may still be others who would keep on arguing that Mer-en-pah or Seti II or Siptah was the real Pharaoh of the Exodus, but it does not make any difference as far as the fulfillment of the Qur'anic prophecy is concerned, as the mummies of all these Pharaohs are lying in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo for all the world to see.

**ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA**

*By SARWAT KHAN*

‘During the next 100 years, West Africa, with its fertile lands and unlimited, but so far unexploited, natural resources, is going to become another United States of America. To secure this land for Islam, it is necessary for progressive Muslim countries like Indonesia, Pakistan and Egypt to send their missions to West Africa in the same way as America, England and France are doing.’

### The land

West Africa is a block of land stretching from the Great Sahara on the north to the Atlantic coast on the south. Its extreme western point is the famous port of Dakar, and its eastern boundary ends at Lake Chad. The region is peopled by black races of whom little is known to the outside world; still less is known about the Muslims of this land and their great services to the cause of Islam. The proximity of the Sahara may create in one's mind the impression that it is a land of sand dunes and waterless deserts. But the fact is quite the reverse. Except the region north of Timbuktu, which is not more than a quarter of the total area, the whole of West Africa consists either of fertile plains or thick forests. The hilly portion of French Guinea and the immediate hinterland of Mount Cameroon (height: 13,000 feet) are considered among the best beauty spots in the African continent. Here one will find green valleys, thundering water-falls and beautiful lakes. The average annual rainfall around Mount Cameroon is 494 inches, one of the highest in the world. The Niger is the largest river in the region. Its length is 3,000 miles, and it is the second great river in Africa after the Nile. Two other great rivers are the Benue in Nigeria and the Senegal in French West Africa. The main agricultural produce of West Africa is wheat, cotton, ground-nuts, timber, rubber, palm, coffee, cocoa and different kinds of fruit, particularly pineapples and bananas. West Africa is also reported to be rich in mineral wealth, but little is worked at present. Gold is mined in Senegal, and there are large deposits of copper, iron, lead, zinc, tin, silver and manganese in French Equatorial Africa.

Politically, except Liberia, the whole region is occupied by the Western powers. The political units into which West Africa is divided are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Area (sq. miles)</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French West Africa</td>
<td>1,814,808</td>
<td>16,535,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Equatorial Africa</td>
<td>916,200</td>
<td>4,350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Oro (Spanish)</td>
<td>105,409</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>246,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Guinea</td>
<td>13,944</td>
<td>351,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>27,925</td>
<td>1,858,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>43,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>91,843</td>
<td>4,095,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>372,674</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Cameroons</td>
<td>162,892</td>
<td>2,606,273</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus in area, West Africa is equal to that of the United States of America, and its population is greater than that of Britain.

### Inhabitants

The region is inhabited mainly by Negro races with a small percentage of Berbers and Arabs. The people of Rio de Oro are all Berbers. They also live on the right bank of the River Senegal. Berbers are divided into many tribes, among whom Tarzars, Braknas, Daush and Tuareg are prominent. They are the original inhabitants of Morocco. They have a long and glorious history. The spread of Islam over the Sahara and coastal region of West Africa is mainly due to these people.

Of the Negro races, Mandingo, Fula and Hausa are numerically the largest. The Mandingos inhabit the basin of the Upper Niger, the Upper Senegal, the western slopes of the mountains of Futu Jallon, and in all the immense tract enclosed in the bend of the River Niger. The Mandingos are divided into
many races and tribes. In the bend of the Niger they are called Wolof or Wangara. The Fulani called them Malinke, and the Hausa name for them is Wangara. They are also known as Bambara or Banbara between the Niger and the Benue rivers. The Jula are also a Mandingo race. Another great Mandingo tribe is called Susu; the Susu forced their way seawards through French Guinea about the beginning of the eighteenth century. From 1235-1680 C.E. the Mandingo formed an empire, but they are no longer even a political unity.

The Hausas and the Fulanis

The Hausas are the other great race of Negroes in West Africa. They inhabit principally North Nigeria. They are cultivators and great traders, whose language, known as Hausa, is spread over the whole of Central Africa. It is spoken as their mother tongue by more than 3,500,000 people. It has obtained the rank of a lingua franca. Hausa is written in Arabic characters. There are at present fourteen Hausa States between the Niger, the Benue and the southern edge of the Sahara.

The Fula or Fulanis inhabit principally the Futa Jallon mountains in French Guinea. They are spread all over the French Sudan. Fula history is the most glorious history of the Negro races. In the eighteenth century they established a great empire from Nigeria to the Cameroons and founded many cities, among which Sokoto is most famous. The Fulanis have made a great contribution towards the spread of Islam among the pagan tribes of West Africa. The famous explorer Mungo Park describes them as being "naturally mild and gentle. They evidently consider all the Negro natives as their inferiors. They are Muslims, and the authority and laws of the Prophet Muhammad are everywhere looked upon as sacred and decisive". The Fula are, in the main, pastoralists. But their natural ability has marked them out as teachers, judges and religious leaders.

The Berbers, Fulas and Hausas are all Muslims. The bulk of the Mandingo tribes are also Muslims. There are a number of other tribes in West Africa. Some of them are Muslim and some pagan. In the southern coastal areas Christians are found in considerable numbers, but paganism prevails.

The principal languages spoken in West Africa are Hausa, Fula, Mandingo, Berber, Yoruba and Arabic. But Hausa has acquired the status of lingua franca. West Africa has many centres of Muslim learning and civilization. Timbuktu was a great seat of learning as early as the thirteenth century and retains that position more or less to this day. It possesses valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably the History of the Sudan, written by Sidi 'Abd al-Rohman in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The mosque of Sidi Yahya and the mosque of Sanckor are the two ancient monuments of this city. Sokoto in Nigeria is as sacred to the West African Muslims as Ajmer to Indian and Pak Pattan to Pakistani Muslims. Kano is the greatest commercial centre of the northern areas. It is famous for weaving and embroidery work and for the manufacture of leather goods, especially morocco. Katsina is a seat of learning in Nigeria.

The spread of Islam began in the eleventh century

The connections between West Africa and Islam are very old. They date back to the eleventh century. The history of the spread of Islam in these regions is very interesting, and it was a great feat of the Muslims to introduce Islam among the savages and cannibals of this land. Islam was first introduced in Senegal towards the end of the eleventh century. The Almoravides (1091-1146 C.E.) of Morocco, the famous Berber tribe who steered the tide of Christianity in Spain, and infused new blood into the veins of the decaying Muslim power in Spain, were foremost in this noble task. Their chief, 'Abdullah Ibn Yasin, established his centre on an island at the mouth of the River Senegal. From this centre he used to send his missionaries into the interior. 'Abdulla Ibn Yasin trained one thousand preachers for this purpose, and these preachers converted most of Senegal and the Sahara to Islam before his death. In the area along Lake Chad, Islam was introduced into Kanem as early as the eleventh century, and gained a firm foothold in the sixteenth century in Bornu and Bagirmi, and in the seventeenth century in Wadai. In the thirteenth century Timbuktu was a centre of Islamic culture. When Ibn Batuta reached Timbuktu he was very much impressed at the Islamic zeal of the Negroes. He writes: 'Unless one went very early to the mosque on Friday, it was impossible to find a place, so crowded was the attendance'. The King of Jenne, a city on the banks of the Upper Niger, embraced Islam in 1200 C.E. It is stated that he turned his palace into a mosque and, at the occasion of a celebration, 4,200 Ulamas (the savants) were assembled at his court. As early as the eleventh century the Princess of Ghana (Futa Jallon), the rulers of Takur, as well as the King of Malli on the Upper Niger, had already embraced Islam.
The Hausas accept Islam through the efforts of ‘Usman Dan Fadio

The spread of Islam among the Hausas of Nigeria was mainly due to the great Fulani reformer, ‘Usman Dan Fadio. ‘Usman had got his education in Mecca and Medina, and after returning home decided to devote his life to the cause of Islam. He was a great preacher and a great reformer. He was also the founder of an empire in Northern Nigeria and the Cameroons. He founded the city of Sokoto in 1802. In the same city he was buried. Because of his shrine, Sokoto is a sacred city to the Muslims to this day. In the nineteenth century two reformers, al-Hajj ‘Umar Tijaniyah and Imam Samad, converted thousands of pagans to Islam. At the death of al-Hajj ‘Umar in 1864 the major portion of the Sudan had recognized Islam as the State religion. Imam Samad (1846-1900 C.E.), also known as Sammory, was responsible for the conversion of large numbers of pagans, in the coastal region between the Upper Niger and the sea.

In the nineteenth century the Senussi movement was a great factor in the spread of Islam in West Africa. The founder of this movement, Muhammad Ibn ‘Ali (1791-1859 C.E.), was born in Algeria. He established his headquarters in the Jaghboob oasis in Libya. This was a puritan movement, the aim of which was to establish Islam in its simplicity, and to preach the religion to the still pagan tribes of the Sahara and southern areas. There were 121 Senussi centres in the Sahara alone. In these centres preachers were trained and new Muslims were given Islamic instruction. These preachers spread Islam in Dahomey (French West Africa), the Gold Coast and Ashanti.

The spread of Islam in West Africa today

Professor Thomas Arnold in his book, The Preaching of Islam, published in 1913, writes: 'There are significant signs that Islam will become the predominant religion in Ashanti (the Gold Coast), as already many of the chiefs have adopted it. In Dahomey and the Gold Coast, Islam is daily making fresh progress. Dahomey and Ashanti are the most important kingdoms and their conversion is said to be a question of a short time only.'

About Southern Nigeria a Christian missionary writes: 'When I came out in 1898 there were few Muslims to be seen below Idah. Now they are everywhere, excepting below Abo, and at the present rate of progress there will scarcely be a heathen village on the river (Niger) banks by 1910.'

The spread of Islam in Africa continues to this day, and the fact is admitted in the recent publications about West Africa. The Annual Report on British Colonies in Africa for the year 1932 admits that in Sierra Leone, 'Mohammedanism is spreading amongst the tribes in the protectorate, many of whom are pagans.' In Whitaker's Almanack, edition 1938, it is stated that the majority in the northern territory of the Gold Coast is pagan, but the Muslim faith is spreading. According to the Statesman's Year Book (edition 1949): 'In Nigeria, as they (pagans) become progressive, they tend to embrace either Christianity or Islam. Although the missionary endeavours of the Muslims are less organized, they are none the less powerful.' In the History of Nigeria, by Sir Alan Burns, it is estimated that in Negro Africa, where Christian and Muslim missionaries are in competition, ten heathens embrace the doctrine of Islam for every one who becomes a Christian. In Lagos there were 20 per cent Muslims at the beginning of the present century; now they form more than half the population.'

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
History

Very little is known about the ancient history of West Africa. But after the introduction of Islam in this region every important event is recorded by Muslim historians and travellers. According to these chronicles, the earliest Muslim kingdoms were founded in Senegal and the Chad region in the eleventh century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we find a number of Muslim principalities in the Sudan and Upper Niger. The Bornuese of the Lake Chad area had formed a vast empire which was at the height of its power in the sixteenth century, embracing the greater part of the Sahara. Muhammad al-Kanemi, who died in 1835, was the last great ruler of Bornu, though by this time the empire of Bornu had greatly shrunk. In 1720 a theocratic state was founded in Futa Jallon and was responsible for the spread of Islam over the surrounding country. The beginning of the nineteenth century marks the advent of the most glorious period of Muslim rule in West Africa, when the great ‘Usman Dan Fodio founded his empire with Sokoto as his capital. Usman was a great reformer, a great preacher, and he had to his credit many books on Islam. In 1817 Usman died, and his gifted son, Sultan Muhammad Bello, succeeded to his throne. He was an enlightened ruler and, like his father, a man of letters. He has written many books on Islam, history and geography. With the death of Sultan Bello in 1837 the golden period of Nigeria came to an end and the great Fula empire was broken into many independent and semi-independent Emirates.

The French destroy the Muslim kingdoms of West Africa

European relations with West Africa date back to the sixteenth century, when the Dutch and Portuguese began to establish their trading centres on the African coast. By the eighteenth century all the coast from Senegal to Lagos was dotted with British and French forts and trading centres. These centres dealt in slaves, gold, ivory and spices. The European powers, after discovering the richness of the land, began their military conquest in the last quarter of the 19th century. West Africa was divided into many principalities. The southern coast, from Sierra Leone to the Gulf of Guinea, was under pagan rulers, and the rest of the coast and the hinterland was occupied by Muslims. The major portion of the Sudan was under al-Hajj ‘Umar Tijaniyyah (1797-1865 C.E.), a great reformer and a native of Senegal. His son Ahmadu was in power when the French armed forces began their advance from their settlement of St. Louis in Senegal in 1880. After several years of fighting, Ahmadu was defeated, and his capital, Segu, was occupied by the French in 1890. The French took Jenne in 1895, and they reached Timbuktu the same year. The Upper Niger basin and the area now known as French Guinea was still independent. A Negro reformer, Samory or Imam Samad, had made himself master of that region by 1880. He resisted French aggression for many years, but he, too, after numerous encounters, was defeated in 1898 at Cavalla, north of Liberia. He was taken prisoner and deported to Gabun in French Equatorial Africa.

After breaking the Muslim kingdoms in the region now known as French West Africa, the French decided to occupy another centre of Muslim power, i.e., the Chad region, in Central Africa. This vast area was for centuries under Muslim rule, the States of Kanem, Bornu, Borou, Wadai and Bagirmi being most important. At the time of the French conquest, a new power had come into existence in the Chad area. An Arab, named Rabih, was in occupation of Bagirmi and Borou, and was extending his rule towards Sokoto, Nigeria. His capital was Dikoa, on the south-west shore of Lake Chad. In order to occupy this region three French armies were sent from Timbuktu, Algeria and the French Congo in 1898. After two years of hard fighting Rabih was killed in the Battle of Kousseri on 22 April 1900. The French commander, General Lamy, was also killed in the battle. Kanem was conquered in 1906, Wadai in 1912, and Borou in 1914, though occasional uprisings took place as late as 1921.

The British subjugate the Muslim Emirates of West Africa

After the decline of the great Fula empire of Sokoto, a number of Muslim Emirates had come into existence in Nigeria and the Cameroons. British forces at the end of the nineteenth century, after subjugating pagan rulers of the south, crossed the Benue and Niger rivers in the Muslim Emirates of the north. In 1901 Yola and in 1903 Kano and Sokoto were occupied. A treaty was signed with the Emirs, the terms of which included the abolition of slave-raiding and the recognition of British suzerainty and an assurance that the Muslim religion and the existing system of law would not be interfered with.

A section of the Muslim Community of Lagos, Nigeria, is listening to the Id al-Fitr sermon
In the congregation can be seen sitting Nigerian Muslim women
Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast also came under British occupation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

**Number of Muslims in West Africa. Official figures defective.**

To ascertain the correct number of Muslims in all regions of West Africa is almost impossible at present. In some of the regions even the general census is not accurate. The system of enumeration through which estimates are made is extremely defective. As to the number of Muslims, one should keep in mind the fact that all the estimates generally found in books are given by the Christian missionaries or by the colonial governments. There is prejudice and indifference on the part of the missionaries as well as the governments. In order to get a fair idea of the Muslim population and to find a basis to scrutinize different estimates, the following table will be useful. The table consists of two estimates; one is the official estimate given in the *Annual Report on British African Colonies for 1932*, and the other is the estimate given by Dr. Zaki ‘Ali in his book, *Islam in the World*, and is claimed to be based on indigenous sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Annual Report</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Zaki ‘Ali %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dakar</td>
<td>47,423</td>
<td>26,600</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Oro</td>
<td>129,000</td>
<td>129,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>129,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>323,498</td>
<td>323,498</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>1,579,176</td>
<td>1,063,542</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Guinea</td>
<td>2,234,692</td>
<td>1,343,170</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>3,562,156</td>
<td>258,053</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>1,820,887</td>
<td>1,640,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>3,015,498</td>
<td>550,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>1,111,034</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>3,876,019</td>
<td>179,550</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Togoland</td>
<td>749,352</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Togoland</td>
<td>293,628</td>
<td>2,261</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>199,294</td>
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<td>300,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portuguese Guinea</td>
<td>351,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1,768,480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>3,165,368</td>
<td>54,776</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>19,924,167</td>
<td>7,709,807</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Cameroons</td>
<td>2,190,400</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>2,010,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ubangi Shari</td>
<td>1,063,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Congo</td>
<td>626,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaboon</td>
<td>421,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The population figures given in the *Annual Report* are according to the census of 1931. Perhaps Dr. Zaki ‘Ali’s estimates are also based on the same, as his book was published in 1938.

The reader will see a great discrepancy between the above two estimates of Muslim population. Dr. Zaki ‘Ali’s figures are based on local Muslim sources and are more correct than the official estimates. Official figures are liberal in calling the rest of the population pagans. There are great differences in these ‘so-called’ official figures, as will be seen below.

**The Muslim population of Rio de Oro and Mauritania**

As far as Rio de Oro and Mauritania are concerned, all estimates show that these areas are inhabited by Arabs and Berbers who are all Muslims. In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (edition 1913) the number of Muslims in Senegal is given as 719,000, and animists 469,500. Thus Muslims will form 60 per cent of the population. The *Annual Report* in the above table gives the Muslim percentage as 68. Dr. Zaki ‘Ali gives it as 90 per cent. According to a Senegalese Muslim leader, who had come to perform Hajj (the Pilgrimage to Mecca) in 1947 with his other compatriots, the Muslim population in Senegal is more than 80 per cent. Senegal is principally inhabited by Wolofs, Berbers and the Mandingo tribe, all of whom are Muslims. So the estimate given by Dr. Zaki ‘Ali is more correct.

In the territory of the Niger the percentage of Muslim population given by Dr. Zaki ‘Ali is 66, and in the *Annual Report* it is 90. Here Dr. Zaki ‘Ali’s figures are quite wrong. The population of Niger is composed of Hausa, Germa, Fula and Tuareg, all of whom are Muslims. This is a territory converted to Islam eight hundred years ago; animists and pagans are almost extinct here except in the areas bordering on Dahomey. So we can take the figures given in the *Annual Report* as reliable.

**The Muslim population of the Sudan**

Now comes the Sudan. The *Annual Report* shows the number of Muslims as 258,053, or only 7½ per cent of the total. This is a ridiculous figure for an area which has been the centre of Muslim power and civilization since 1200 C.E. All the cities connected with Muslim history such as Timbuktu, Segu, Jenne, and Gao are situated in this area and we know that the inhabitants of these cities are all Muslims. In the *Annual Report* the number of Arabs in the Sudan is also given as 258,053. It shows that only Arabs are specified as Muslims, while the rest of the population is classed as pagan. This practice is common with the Western estimates of Muslim population. Wherever they are unable to get information on the basis of religion the population is conveniently classed as pagans. It has already been mentioned that as early as the thirteenth century, when Ibn Batuta visited Timbuktu, he found the Negroes true believers in Islam. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the population of the Sudan is composed of Arabs, Berbers, Fula and Mandingo, and except some tribes of the Mandingos all these are Muslim. So here, too, we can take the number of Muslims given by Dr. Zaki ‘Ali as correct.

**The Muslim population of French North Guinea**

In French Guinea again there is a great difference between the previous two estimates. The *Annual Report’s* estimate of 60 per cent is not reliable. Futa Jallon, which has been the centre of proselytizing activities for centuries, is in French Guinea. It is the home of the Falas, who spread Islam as far as Nigeria and the Cameroons. In this respect the following sentences of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* would be helpful in ascertaining the percentage of Muslim population in French Guinea: ‘The Bagu tribe occupy the coast land between the Cogon and Rio Pongo or Fatala (adjacent to Portuguese Guinea), and Landuman, the country immediately behind that of Baga. The coast region south of the Nunez and all the interior as far as Futa Jallon is occupied by the Susu. Futa Jallon is peopled principally by Fula, and the other districts by Malinke and other tribes of the Mandingo. The Mandingo, the Fula and the Susu are Muslims, though the Susu retain many of their ancient rites and beliefs.’ It has already been mentioned above that the Malinke are of Mandingo race and Muslim. Thus it is evident that except for a limited coastal portion, all the vast region of French Guinea is peopled by Muslim tribes. The figures given in *Statesman’s Year Book, 1930*, also confirm this estimate. It says that ‘the majority of Africans in French Guinea are Muslims, but fetishism is practised in some parts’. According to it there are 815,000 Fula and 568,000 Malinkes in French Guinea. This means that about 65 per cent of the population is composed of only these two Muslim tribes. No figures are given about the Susu, which is the third great tribe, and settled in French Guinea.
at the beginning of the eighteenth century and drove the pagan tribes of the region into Sierra Leone. Thus the figures given by Dr. Zaki 'Ali seem to be quite correct.

The Muslim population of the Ivory Coast, etc.

It is impossible to give a fair estimate of the Muslim population in the territories of the Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. There have been drastic changes in the boundaries of these territories during the last 20 years. Once the Upper Volta was amalgamated with the territories of the Sudan and the Ivory Coast. But after 1946 the Upper Volta was again constituted by carving out a large portion of the Ivory Coast and a small part of the Sudan. It has already been stated that Muslims form a majority in the Sudan; even in the southern Sudan, a portion of which has been annexed to the Upper Volta, their number is great. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the northern part of the Ivory Coast is inhabited by the Mossy, Mande (Dioula and Senoufo) and Fula, and they formed half the population in 1936, i.e., about 2,000,000 out of 3,850,000. Nothing is known about the Mossy, but the Mande and the Fula are Muslims. All this part has now been merged into the Upper Volta. As the population of the Upper Volta was 3,000,000 in 1949, we can safely say that Muslims cannot be less than 30 per cent of the newly-formed Upper Volta territory. The estimates given in the last table are misleading owing to the changes in the boundary of the Upper Volta.

There is a great difference between the two estimates in the table of Muslim population in the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. As regards the Ivory Coast, the same changes in boundaries are responsible for this discrepancy. The 1,000,000 Muslims in the Ivory Coast as given by Dr. Zaki 'Ali now form part of the Upper Volta. Here the number of Muslims given in the *Annual Report* may be taken as correct. But this is the number out of the total population of 2,065,000 and not out of 3,878,019 as given in the *Annual Report*. Thus Muslims would form 9 per cent of the population of the Ivory Coast.

The Muslim population of Dahomey, Portuguese Guinea and Gambia

It is impossible to give the correct Muslim population of Dahomey. The difference between the estimates in the previous table is very great. In this connection the following points must be borne in mind:

1. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* there are many converts to Islam in the northern districts;
2. There are communities of Fula and Hausa in the north who are all Muslims;
3. Dahomey is adjacent to the western and northern provinces of Nigeria, where Muslims are in the majority or in a strong minority. In the coastal area of Lagos, which is adjacent to the Dahominian coast, Muslims form the majority; and,
4. Professor Thomas Arnold in his book, *The Preaching of Islam*, writes: 'The conversion of Dahomey and Ashanti is said to be a question of a short time only'.

The number of Muslims in Portuguese Guinea is not given in the *Annual Report*. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Muslims form 40 per cent of the population. Dr. Zaki 'Ali gives the number as 3,000,000, or 85 per cent of the total population. As Portuguese Guinea is surrounded by Senegal and French Guinea, where Muslims form about 90 per cent of the total population, it will be appropriate to take the estimate given by Dr. Zaki 'Ali as more correct.

Muslim percentage is as high as 80 per cent in Gambia according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. According to the census of 1944 the number of Muslims in Bathurst, the capital of Gambia, was 15,866 out of 21,152. All the tribes of Gambia are Muslims except the Jola, whose number is 15,764. Even in this tribe, according to the *Annual Report* on Gambia for 1949, the Muhammadan religion is gaining ground amongst them, and as a result they are gradually dropping their primitive customs.

*Some West African Muslims at one of the festivals held at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, in their national colourful attire*
Thus we can say without fear of contradiction that the Muslims form more than 90 per cent of the population of Gambia. There are 5,000 Christians in the territory.

The Muslim population of Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Gold Coast

The Annual Report is silent in respect of the Muslim population of Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Gold Coast. According to Professor Thomas Arnold, 'in Sierra Leone and Liberia there are more Muslims than heathens'. In the report submitted to the United Nations Organization in 1947 on non-self-governing territories, the number of Muslims in Sierra Leone was given as 251,989 out of 1,768,480, i.e., 60 per cent of the total. Dr. Hitti's13 estimate is 20 per cent. Here the estimate of 2,000,000 given by Dr. Zaki 'Ali is far from being correct, as it exceeds even the total population of the territory. The Muslim tribes inhabiting Sierra Leone are the Fula and the Susu. Over 30 per cent of the population of Sierra Leone is of the Mende tribe. The Mende are Muslims in adjacent Liberia, in Guinea, and everywhere in West Africa. What their religion is in Sierra Leone is not known. If they are Muslims, then it can be claimed that the Muslim population is not less than 50 per cent in the territory.

There are no recent figures about the Muslim population of Liberia. In the Encyclopaedia of Islam their number is given as 280,000. These are the figures in the first decade of this century, when the population of Liberia was less than 1,500,000. Thus the Muslims would form 20 per cent of the total. Dr. Zaki 'Ali's estimate of 1,000,000, i.e., a little more than 50 per cent. Now let us see the tribal distribution of Liberia. There are twenty-eight indigenous tribes in the territory. The principal ones are the Vai, Mende, Mandingo, Gora and Kru. The Vai, Mende and Mandingo are Muslims. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica (edition 1911), 'In some of the forest tribes the women still go quite naked, but clothes of a Mohammedan type are fast spreading over the whole country.' In the light of the above information it can be said that the statement of Professor Thomas Arnold is correct about Sierra Leone and Liberia, and Dr. Zaki 'Ali's estimate of the Muslim population of Liberia is more reliable.

In the Gold Coast, according to the latest figures given in Whitaker's Almanack for 1950, the Muslims form 10 per cent of the population. They are mainly concentrated in the northern territory. It was reported that 2,000 Muslims were present when Dr. Kawami Nakrumah addressed a Muslim meeting in Accra, capital of the Gold Coast, after his party's success in the recent elections. Dr. Nakrumah, it was reported, had promised to consider the Muslim demand of making Arabic compulsory in the Government schools. This is a clear proof of Muslim influence in the Gold Coast.

The Muslim population of Nigeria

Now let us deal with Nigeria, where the concentration of Muslim population is the largest in the whole continent of Africa except in Egypt. In the Annual Report of the previous table the Muslim percentage is given as 40, and in Dr. Zaki 'Ali's estimate they form 55 per cent of the population. In the report submitted to the United Nations Organization on non-self-governing territories in 1947, the number of Muslims is given as 9,000,000 out of a total of 21,800,000. This comes to 41 per cent. It is also stated in the report that 'these figures are based on very defective local estimates and there is a constant but varying bias towards under-estimation'. This is more true of the Muslim population, as the majority of the Fulanis are nomads, and their enumeration is more difficult. Dr. Hitti gives the number of Muslims as 10,800,000 out of 20,000,000, i.e., 54 per cent of the total. We can take the figures of Dr. Zaki 'Ali and Dr. Hitti as being more reliable. One fact admitted by all about Nigeria is that the Muslims form an overwhelming majority, not less than two-thirds in the northern province. They are considerable in the western province, perhaps between 20 to 25 per cent. Many chiefs of Yorubaland (western province), who are called Obas, are Muslims. In the eastern province, Muslims are not found in large numbers. In Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, there were 10,000 Muslims at the beginning of the present century. But in 1929 they constituted more than half the population of Lagos. In the French Cameroons, Muslims form 15 per cent and 45 per cent of the population respectively according to the two estimates of the Annual Report and Dr. Zaki 'Ali. Dr. Hitti gives the percentage as 36. Due to the absence of information about the French Cameroons, it is not possible to give a correct opinion in this respect. But as the French Cameroons is adjacent to the all-Muslim Bornu and Chad area, we can take the figures given by Dr. Hitti as more correct.

The Muslim population of French Equatorial Africa

I could not get any useful information about the Muslim population of French Equatorial Africa. Therefore, at present there is no other way than to accept the figure given by Dr. Zaki 'Ali, though there seem to be some mistakes in these figures. For example, the number of Muslims in the Chad area is shown as 55 per cent. These figures are doubtful, as the area was converted to Islam as early as the eleventh century, and the number of pagans is not large there. Likewise, the Muslim percentage in the Ubangi Shari territory, which is adjacent to Chad and the Egyptian Sudan, is shown as only 11, whereas the Muslim percentage in the French Congo and Gaboon, which are adjacent to the mostly-heathen French Congo, is given as high as 64 and 47. But owing to the non-availability of correct figures we have to accept these figures.

An estimate of the present Muslim population in West Africa

After scrutinizing all the available material and figures, the Muslim population of West Africa in different territories on the basis of recent population figures will be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Country</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Census %</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Oro</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>518,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>518,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal and Dakar</td>
<td>1,992,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,792,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Guinea</td>
<td>2,180,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,962,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Sudan</td>
<td>3,177,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,902,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>2,029,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,826,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>1,503,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,503,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>2,065,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>3,009,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>246,000</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>222,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Guinea</td>
<td>351,009</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>297,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1,858,275</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1,930,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>4,095,276</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>409,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Cameroons</td>
<td>266,273</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>2,173,000</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1,187,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ubangi Shari</td>
<td>1,074,300</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1,180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Congo</td>
<td>667,700</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>426,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaboon</td>
<td>414,300</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>194,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Present Conditions

French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa

The whole of West Africa except Liberia is directly ruled by the respective European governments. French West Africa is under a Governor-General with his seat at Dakar. The country is divided into eight territories—Mauritania, Senegal, French Guinea, the Sudan, Niger, the Ivory Coast and Dahomey, each under a Governor. French Equatorial Africa is divided into four territories, i.e., Chad, Ubangi Shari, Middle Congo and Gaboon, each under a Governor, while the whole colony is under a Governor-General with his seat at Brazzaville. The Cameroons is under French mandate.

The British Colonies and the Muslims

In the British Colonies of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, a programme of gradual reforms is being carried out. In Ghana under the new constitutional reform an African is nominated as Vice-President, and the number of official and non-official members in the Legislative Assembly is increased.

In Nigeria a new constitution came into existence in January, 1947, establishing a Legislative Council, which for the first time had a majority of African non-official members, i.e., 28 in a House of 44. Nigeria is divided into the following three regions and a colony:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Area (sq. miles)</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Northern Region</td>
<td>281,705</td>
<td>11,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Western Region</td>
<td>44,147</td>
<td>4,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Eastern Region</td>
<td>43,443</td>
<td>5,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Colony (Lagos)</td>
<td>1,381</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of the above provinces or regions is under a Chief Commissioner. Each province also has its Regional Assembly, and the northern and western provinces also have a House of Representatives.

In Nigeria and the Gold Coast a strong independence movement is in progress. The Gold Coast was granted autonomy early last year. In Nigeria new reforms are in the offing. Under these reforms Nigeria will also get self-government. The Central Legislative Council is to have 45 members out of 113 from the northern region, 55 from each of the eastern and western regions, and 2 from Lagos Colony. The Muslims are against these reforms. They want at least 50 per cent of the seats for the northern region on the ground that the population of that region is greater than the combined population of the remaining regions and colony. They also want central grants to be divided between the regions on the basis of population. The forthcoming Constitution gives considerable power to the regional governments. They will have control over local governments, town planning, education, health, forestry, land, local industries, regional public works, native courts and direct taxation (other than income tax and company tax).

There are many Muslim States in Nigeria; of these, Sokoto (area: 36,000 square miles; pop.: 2,000,000) is the largest. The present Sultan of Sokoto is a direct descendant of Usman Dan Fadjo. He is also the spiritual leader of Muslims throughout the greater part of the Sudan. Other principal Muslim Emirates are Zaria, Katsina and Adamawa. These States are grouped together into respective provinces, and these provinces in turn form northern or western regions.

Muslims are generally backward in all British and French West African colonies

Because of the early occupation, the coastal areas are more developed than the interior, and, as the bulk of the population of the coastal area was pagan, Christianity made headway and got many converts. These Christians, though in the minority everywhere, are virtually in power in every British Colony. Because of this supremacy the southern areas are more developed in education, economics and politics than the northern. Owing to this uneven development of the Colonies there is constant friction, between the north, which is Muslim, and the south, which is pagan and Christian.

Nothing can be said about the present condition of the Muslims in French West and Equatorial Africa, as an iron curtain is drawn across the border. One thing, however, is certain: that the people of the French Colonies are far behind on the road of progress as compared with their comrades in the British Colonies.

Future of Islam in West Africa and the duty of Muslim countries

It is evident that the Muslims will have a dominant place in the future set-up of the region. There are great hindrances and obstacles in their way towards progress, the greatest of these being the activities of Christian missionaries. They are working with great zeal among the pagans of the southern coastal area. With enormous financial resources at their disposal and with the encouragement of Western nations and governments, they have converted up to the present 2,200,000 pagans to Christianity in Nigeria, 500,000 in French Cameroons, 130,000 in the Ivory Coast, and 10,000 in Portuguese Guinea. Christians have considerable influence in Sierra Leone and Liberia. They form 30 per cent of the total population of the Gold Coast, and are actually running the present administration. If this pace is maintained, Christianity will dominate several territories of a land (West Africa) where there is the largest concentration of Muslim population in Africa, and which can easily be turned into a country whose component parts are all Muslims. Muslim missionary efforts are disorganized and limited to certain areas, with the result that in the areas where Muslim preachers are not in the field Christianity is spreading with tremendous speed. During the next 100 years, West Africa, with its fertile lands and unlimited, but so far unexploited, natural resources, is going to become another United States of America. To secure this land for Islam, it is necessary for progressive Muslim countries like Indonesia, Pakistan and Egypt to send their missions to West Africa in the same way as America, England and France are doing.

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13. History of the Arabs, by Professor P. Hitch; see map.

JULY 1952
OIL FIELD DETAILS - MIDDLE EAST
CROSS SECTIONS & WILDCATS DRILLED

NASIRI-SULAIMAN

DAMMAN

BURGUAN

When the Earth (the Land of Arabia) Shall

THE OUTPUT OF OIL OF THE
IS APPROXIMATELY ONE-FIFTH
Some Facts

The principal companies extracting oil in the Middle East are:

These companies own not only many subsidiary companies, but are also controlled by other parent companies—Dutch, American, British and French.

In Indonesia a Dutch concern, N. V. de Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij, operates.

All the companies, with the exception of the Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, in which the Egyptian Government owns 10 per cent of the share capital, are foreign owned.

... and Figures

The capital invested in the oil industry of the Middle East, with the exception of 10-12 million dollars invested by the governments of Egypt, Iran and Turkey, has come from abroad. The gross capital (i.e. the original capital increased by re-investment of earnings) amounts to 1,900 million dollars.

The United States of America owns 42 per cent of the investments (i.e. about 900 million dollars) in the oil industry of the Middle East, and Great Britain 49 per cent, if the assets of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are taken as British owned.

The value of the gross investments made by the Arabian American Oil Company and Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company in connexion with the production of Sa'udi-Arabian oil was nearly 600 million dollars in late 1951.

The construction of the Trans-Arabian pipeline cost about 230 million dollars.

The value of the fixed assets of the Anglo-Iranian Company in Iran is assessed at 840 million dollars.

The present value of investment by oil companies in Iraq is estimated at 320 million dollars.

The present value of the investment in the Bahrain Oil Company is in the neighbourhood of 170 million dollars and that of the Kuwait Oil Company 130 million dollars.

*These figures are taken from an article 'Investment in the Petroleum Industry of the Middle East' by Mohammed Yeganeh in the Middle East Journal, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Volume 6 No. 2, 1952.
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CRISIS — 1951 AND ON
By Professor Muhammad Shamsuddin Miah, M.A., LL.B.

'The hostility of 20,000,000 Arabs plus the whole Arab world means a boon to Russia. Neither Turkey nor Israel would be sufficient for Middle Eastern security in the face of a sweeping popular antipathy of the Arab world. Here the prestige of Britain abroad is at its lowest ebb.'

A general survey of the conditions in the Middle East to-day

The whole of the Middle East has turned out to be a very rich reservoir of petroleum. But the political and economic progress of this tract has long been hopelessly slow or even non-existent. Consequently the Middle East has attracted much attention. Earlier, this zone was valued by different world powers as strategic; to-day oil has accentuated the already troubled atmosphere. The boiling cauldron of Middle Eastern oil creates fresh problems from time to time, and who knows whether these bubbles will not burst one day. The thores of Israel still haunt living memory and the wrongs done to a people are not easily forgotten or forgiven. Time gives a respite to none. A rising storm is in the offing. The Iranian's defection towards the Western world is simmering beneath the oil surface. An attempt has been made to right the injustices of 1911 in Libya, but there, too, in place of Italian Fascism lurks the fear of economic tutelage.1 The French Protectorates in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco rest on the surface of an impotent volcano. The 30,000,000 Arabs are tired of France, the land of equality and fraternity. The Eritreans' fate became the plaything of England and the United States and the Ethiopians. Italian Somaliland was not considered ready to attain its independence before ten years. In this atmosphere of land-grabbing and subtle domination, a major crisis in Egypt and connected problems hinged on the Allied Powers' Middle Eastern defence plan and revealed a big crevice wholly dangerous for the democratic world.

The crisis opened with the difference between the contracting Powers of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. 'When British diplomacy, with its native love of compromise, wishes to retain the substance of control while conceding the shadow of independence, it is apt to resort to the method of a treaty. This was the solution adopted not only in Iraq, but also in attempting to settle the Irish question. The difficulty is to find a formula reconciling the requirements of the one party and the national susceptibilities of the other.'

The British occupation of Egypt and after

The 'Arabi movement might have furnished a pretext for British intervention in Egypt to restore peace and order. But this self-imposed mission did not end even after the war of 1914-18. The Egyptians thought some noble gesture from the British Government would be forthcoming as a reward of their total help to Britain in the war and their repudiation of Turkish sovereignty, but instead came the setting up of a Protectorate. The easy-going Egyptians, so long amiable and well meaning, were aroused by the national danger and tried to undo the Protectorate. 'But in 1919 and the succeeding years they had acquired experience which gave them a sternness of purpose, a unity, a concentration and a mercilessness which were not created by Zaghloul or marshalled by his organization but of which he was the mouthpiece and instrument, and, in the face of the enemy, the leader.' This expression of view is equally applicable to-day as it was in 1919.

Lord Lloyd said on the occasion: 'On the one side stood the British control armed with sufficient power and backed by sufficient force to enable it to carry on the government of Egypt should it so decide. On the other side stood the party of Independence which had profited by years of preoccupied inattention . . . .

On the failure of the Milner mission, Britain formally declared the Independence of Egypt with certain qualifications. This failed to meet the acceptance of the Egyptian nationalist politicians. After a period of long drawn-out shopkeeper's haggling, when Italian aggression in Ethiopia created a danger zone, the united voice of the Egyptian politicians was appeased by the treaty of 1936. Britain recognized with much reluctance her own profession about the Independence of Egypt that she made in 1922. The Independence was bound by the four main clauses, such as (1) Britain's right to maintain a garrison of
Nations Charter (1) the total and immediate evacuation of all British troops from Egypt, including the Sudan, and (2) the termination of the present administrative régime in the Sudan.

It stated that British troops were 'maintained in Egyptian territories against the unanimous will of the people' and this act in peace-time constituted 'an offence to its dignity, a hindrance to its normal development as well as the infringement of the fundamental principles of sovereign equality and of the United Nations Charter'. It mentioned the 'unwarranted occupation of Egypt in 1882' by Britain and the 'forcing upon Egypt their partnership in the administration of the Sudan' and the 'instigating and encouraging artificial separatist movement'. On 15 August 1947 the Security Council continued the hearing of the Egyptian case without coming to any decision, and it was postponed for the next month. But it was left in the cold storage of the United Nations archives.

Egypt's reaction to the high-handedness of the Western Powers in the matter of the creation of Israel

The Egyptians were very concerned with the sad fate of the Palestine Arabs. They knew full well the stand taken by the Powers, especially by Britain; but for their active connivance and patronization the birth of Israel would have been a far cry. The pitiable fate of the Arab refugees cut to the quick the feelings of the Egyptians. The Arab world and its inhabitants from the Pasha down to the man in the street could not but resent bitterly the high-handed act of injustice forcibly perpetrated on Arab soil by big policy makers for ulterior motives. That a serious reaction would set in motion a major upheaval is but natural. From the dock worker in the Suez Canal to the high-ranking Government officials and ministers, and even the king himself, Egyptians gradually assumed the grim determination to do or die.

The crisis opened with the painstaking search conducted by Egyptian Customs officials of all ships passing through the Suez Canal to detect contraband bound for Haifa, for the state of emergency did not as yet cease to operate in Egypt. On occasions it proved very vexatious for the ship-owners and ruinous for the economy of Israel, as the pipe-line from Iraq now ceased to operate, and this practically led to a stoppage of work in the Haifa refinery.

Egypt abrogates the 1936 Treaty

When the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute over control of the industry had reached the most critical phase and British military intervention in the Abadan refinery was imminent, the Egyptians placed their two most outstanding disputes for discussion in the Egyptian Parliament. The abrogation of the 1936 treaty, despite loud British protests, was carried through unanimously in the Egyptian Parliament, and immediately received the assent of the Crown. Nahhas Pasha stood as the patriot, as he had done on previous occasions, but never with such complete satisfaction to all sections and parties. The whole country was bickering with hate for the British. The country-wide demonstrations and organized non-co-operation and boycotting of everything British manifested the grim determination of the nation. The London Press described this sudden move by the Egyptian Government as prompted by events in Persia, which contention the Egyptian Minister for the Interior, Siraj al-Din Pasha, in a statement categorically denied. He asserted that the speech made last November by King Farouk from the throne anticipated such a step before anything had started in Persia. So the dynamic process continued till at last British military action in the Suez Canal Zone and particularly in Ismalia forced the Egyptians to...
run riot, and as a result of which the Nahhas Cabinet was forced to resign, to be succeeded in quick succession by two independent ministries. However, calculated threats disrupted the solidarity in the national struggle.

We may quote the views of the thinking Arab world from a statement made by Dr. Charles Malik, the Lebanese Minister in Washington, who in addressing the Syrian and Lebanese clubs at Alabama, said: "Egypt desires that the principle of sovereign equality consecrated in the United Nations Charter be as much applicable to her as to any other nation. This is absolutely just. She wants to play as original, as effective and as independent a role in the defence and development of the Near East as her position and resources entitle her to do."

The rejection by Egypt of the Four-Power invitation to Egypt to join the Middle East Defence Organization

On 13 October 1951 the United States, Britain, France and Turkey invited Egypt to join the Middle East Defence Organization. The proposal stressed the need for protection of the Suez Canal zone and outlined a plan for making this a joint responsibility. Hope was extended of British evacuation of the Canal Zone subject to the decision of the proposed Middle East Command when formed.

In the heat of the discussion that followed in Egyptian political circles, the Four-Power note for the formation of such a Command was rejected by the Nahhas Cabinet.

The crisis ripened when the British Government expressed its determination to go ahead with the security measures in the Canal Zone and also the Sudan by heavy concentration of forces. The unilateral cancellation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 was ignored by the British Government. The Egyptian volunteers were called up for the defence of their fatherland against external threat and for passive resistance against, and non-co-operation with, the British forces of occupation. But intimidations and mob violence succeeded in frightening the ruling authority to take resort to a course of moderation and meaningless negotiations.

One must not have taken this seeming lull as the end of the trouble. Law-abiding as the Egyptians are, they offered opportunities for the solution through peaceful means. But these moves and counter-moves as well indicated a general conflagration in the Middle East. In 1920 Egyptian affairs were the concern of the Egyptians and Britain, but in the fifties they have become matters of world diplomacy.

Egypt and the Sudan

There was no denying the fact that a political vacuum existed in the Middle East, which could be filled up by Russia in no time. To start with, a strong Middle East Command was a necessity, but one without Egypt was a daytime. If Middle Eastern security was the common problem, then Britain should not have persisted in weakening the Egyptian position in the Sudan. The unity of the Nile Valley was decidedly to the advantage of a rising Egypt, to enable her to play an active part in Middle Eastern defence. To deny her right over the Sudan and ask her to save the Middle East was preposterous.

As regards the justifiability of the Egyptian stand over the Sudan, there might have been great prejudice in many minds. Britain apparently used to plead for the self-determination of the Sudanese while it seemed as if Egypt wanted to grab the Sudan and deny her independence. But actually the situation was quite the opposite. Britain was apprehensive of the growing nationalism of Egypt and she was not satisfied with creating a storm in the interest of Israel. She further wanted a weak link at the back of Egypt which might be pulled in any emergency. Britain's fifty years' stand in the Middle East clearly proved her unbecoming design in weakening the rising Arab world by parcelling it into a conglomeration of petty sheikdoms, turning them into a ring of protectorates to remain eternally in a medieval state of backwardness, and making them the Empire's lackey whenever and wherever occasion demanded. An independent Sudan without Egyptian help would have been too weak, while Egypt without

Sad Zaghloul Pasha (d. 23 August 1927) who as the head of a delegation (wali) of the Egyptian people presented the British High Commissioner in Egypt with a demand of complete independence of his country on 13 November 1918.

Sad Zaghloul Pasha (d. 23 August 1927) who as the head of a delegation (wali) of the Egyptian people presented the British High Commissioner in Egypt with a demand of complete independence of his country on 13 November 1918.

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the Sudan was badly truncated. With the nominal Crown of Egypt and the full-fledged co-operation of the Egyptians, the Sudan could shake off her political and economic shackles in no time. King Farouk in a speech from the throne on 14 November 1940 emphasized the fact that Egypt regarded the Sudan as a brother State, and one of Egypt's first aims would be to develop their interests and prepare them for self-government as soon as possible."

The Sudan is a cotton belt, producing long staple cotton. If the Egyptian cotton market was closed to Britain, the Sudan could be expected to supply her needs. In the middle of Africa there runs a Muslim-inhabited zone whose liberation might be taken in hand if the Sudan as a part of the Egyptian Commonwealth touched these regions. The Sudan, with 8,000,000 people
(two-thirds Arab, one-third African, almost all Muslims) offered a future. In 1821 the Funji dynasty fell before Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, the founder of the present dynasty of Egyptian kings, and the whole of Egypt and the Sudan were united under one crown. With the 'Orabi movement in 1882, purely anti-Turkish, and the undesirable and illegal British intervention, Egypt fell under foreign power. The Sudan under the Mahdy accumulated power to resist possible foreign intervention. But General Gordon's failure and consequent loss of life puzzled the British interventionists for some time, till at last Lord Kitchener reoccupied the Sudan with Egyptian help in 1898 and the Anglo-Egyptian condominium was declared in 1899 and later confirmed by the treaty of 1936. As a matter of right the Egyptian sovereign used to appoint the Governor-General of the Sudan on the recommendation of the British Government. The domination of Britain in Sudan affairs was always resented by the Egyptians, and they were pressing for the termination of British interference there. In support of the Egyptian claim these grounds were put forward: (1) historically Egypt and the Sudan formed one entity and not two; (2) geography made these two units not only contiguous but one demographically; religion and culture made the two peoples the same; and (3) the economy of these two units was so much interrelated that severance would only injure both to an irreparable extent. After the abrogation of the said two treaties, legally at least the Sudan went back to Egyptian sovereignty as a matter of inalienable right, as it had been before 1882.

**Great Britain and her position in the Sudan**

As it stood Britain lost her legal right to the Sudan. Britain might have retained occupation by force of arms, but it was out and out a case of aggression on her part. The Security Council failed in the past to give these problems a solution, but these neglects caused an irreparable breach in future for the order and tranquillity of the whole Middle East. It stood as a matter between the Egyptians and the Sudanese, and Britain's role even as a third party ceased with the annulment of the said treaties. If there were any need for an empire, Britain was the last nation preferred. These countries were tired of these self-imposed trustees. They desired immediate evacuation. In the year 1951 the Sudan manifested herself as a developing country. In the north, political agitation continued intensely for Sudanese independence and unity with Egypt with the help of the Arab League. The two main political parties were the Ashiqqa and the Umma, led by Isma'il al-Azhari and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi respectively. The former was a supporter of the unity of the Nile Valley and the latter of self-determination, but both were after independence from British control. That the Sudanese were ripe for independence there was no denying. But whether they liked the Egyptian crown in a commonwealth of the Anglo-Sudanese or to go out of it was to have been decided by the majority wishes of the adults of the Sudan. In this Britain had no say.

**Egypt's stand regarding the Suez Canal is right**

As to the Canal question, Egypt's demand was wholly correct. Article 11 of the 1936 Treaty says: 'In view of the fact that the Suez Canal, while being an integral part of Egypt, is a universal means of communication, as also an essential means of communication between the different parts of the British Empire, His Majesty the King of Egypt until such time as the high contracting parties agree that the Egyptian army is in a position by its own resources to ensure security for the navigation of the canal, authorises His Majesty the King and Emperor to station forces in the Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the canal. . . . The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.'

But after the termination of this treaty, with Egypt's reluctance to be a party to it, Britain's insistence on fulfilling the agreement naturally infringes the sovereign rights of Egypt. Egypt is a sovereign State and the Canal is an integral part of it. So long as Egypt felt the necessity of association with Britain, the stationing of troops might have been justified. But after the abrogation of the said treaty, Britain was left with no locus standi. As, for example, the Straits of the Dardanelles, Marmora and Bosphorus have become part and parcel of Turkey by the Montreux convention of 1936 in spite of their being no less
international. Turkey conducts passage in peace or war under certain restrictions. If a similar obligation was entrusted to Egypt by the United Nations, Britain’s occupation there would become superfluous and prejudicial. Egypt could consider a convention like that of Montreux only after the Canal Zone was completely evacuated. To put pressure on Egypt to join the Middle Eastern Command while the Canal was under foreign occupation was like putting the cart before the horse. According to the pronouncement of the Egyptian Cabinet last October, Egyptian sovereignty was more important to her than the security of the Middle East.

Egypt might not have been fully capable of withstanding British military might, but her people were too conscious to forget the wrongs done to her. A single Egyptian life lost by a British shot was sufficient to undo Clause 8 of the 1936 Treaty: ‘The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.’ Egyptian civilian life was not only at stake, but numbers of Egyptian police and military forces lost their lives at the hands of the occupation forces in an attempt to establish law and order.

The hostility of 20,000,000 Arabs plus the whole Arab world means a boon to Russia. Neither Turkey nor Israel would be sufficient for Middle Eastern security in the face of a sweeping popular antipathy of the Arab world. Here the prestige of Britain abroad stood at its lowest ebb.

REFERENCES
1. Egypt accused Britain of trying to take over Libya financially and politically. Kemal Salim Bey, speaking at the United Nations Organization Libyan Council meeting at Geneva on 12 October 1951, said: ‘Britain’s offer to meet Libyan deficits was dangerous to Libyan independence.’
5. As reported by Reuters, 9 October 1951.
7. As reported by Reuters, 13 October 1951.

Some Resolutions of

The Council Meeting of the World Muslim Conference, Karachi, Pakistan on the Problems of the World of Islam
(14-16 March 1952)

EGYPT

The Council of the World Muslim Conference re-affirms the stand of the Conference that Egypt is perfectly within her sovereign rights to demand complete evacuation of the British troops from the Suez Canal area and the abrogation of the unjust and derogatory 1936 Treaty and the out-moded Condominium of 1898 over the Sudan. The Council asserts that geographically, historically, religiously and culturally Sudan is an integral part of greater Egypt and economically both these parts of the Nile Valley are interdependent. The Conference assures the unstinted support of the entire Muslim World to the people and the Government of Egypt in their just demand. The Council demands that a free and impartial plebiscite should be taken in the Sudan after the withdrawal of British troops from that country.

IRAN

The Council of the Conference offers its felicitations to the Government and people of Iran on their steadfast resolve in nationalizing their biggest industry. The Muslim countries are no longer prepared to play pawns in the hands of the big powers and are determined to end all exploitation, political and economic. The Muslim World is solidly behind Iran in her just and righteous stand. The Council also hopes that the democratic and justice-loving countries of the world will use their influence with the intransigent British in resolving the Iranian knot.

KASHMIR

The Council notes with the deepest disappointment and regret the dilatory tactics employed by the United Nations in the matter of Kashmir. The demand of the Muslim World is simple: it is to hold a fair and impartial plebiscite under international supervision. This was accepted by the United Nations as early as 1948 but due to its weak-kneed policy has not been implemented so far. The implementation of this decision must be expedited in the interest of world peace.

NORTH AFRICAN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

The Council of the Conference condemns the continuous tyranny and ruthless suppression of the popular will in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco by the French.

The Council reiterates the stand of the Conference that France has absolutely no justification for her domination over the North African Muslim countries and as such should withdraw forthwith from these places.

The Council demands of the United Nations, in the name of its own Charter, to bring pressure on France and grant these countries the right to determine their own future. If the forces of liberation are compelled to disturb the peace of this region United Nations’ own connivance at the explosive state of affairs will be responsible for the same.

The Council demands immediate release of the soldiers of freedom now rotting in the prisons of these countries. The Council cannot fail to mention the national stand taken up by the Bey of Tunisia and the Sultan of Morocco supporting the people in their just stand.

PALESTINE

The Palestine issue being an issue of the entire Muslim World by virtue of the fact that innumerable holy places of Islam are in that country, the most prominent among them being the al-Masjid al-aqsa (The Dome of the Rock), the First Qibla of Islam, the place of the Prophet’s journey on the night of Mi‘raj and one of the first three mosques, and Palestine being an integral part of the Islamic World and the meeting point between the Muslim countries of Asia and those of Africa, this Council records its deep-felt anxiety at the Jewish imperialist conspiracy which has rendered millions of Palestine Muslims homeless: their country, their lands, their mosques, everything being forcefully seized. To-day these displaced and uprooted refugees are suffering the worst of miseries. The great imperialist powers joined hands with the Jews in their aggression against Islam, threatening the neighbouring Muslim States, including the holy places in the Hejaz, especially those in and near Medina.

In view of the above the Conference (1) Demands of all the Muslims of the world to urge their governments to support the
case of Palestine and thus to stay the imminent danger threatening the al-Masjid al-aqsa and thus also endeavour to save the holy Muslim lands from the hands of the aggressors; (2) Demands that in accordance with the resolution of the United Nations the refugees of Palestine be sent back to their homes and their lands and properties restored to them and they be provided with the safety ensured by international law; (3) Demands the restoration of several hundred mosques seized by the Jews and likewise the Awdal properties of the Muslims; (4) Demands opposition to any peace agreement or any other settlement with the so-called State of Israel.

This Council calls upon all the Muslim peoples and the Muslim Governments effectively to boycott politically, economically, socially and otherwise all that goes by the name of Israel. This Council further urges upon them to boycott the Jews wherever they be and in whatever walk of life they may be, until their threat to Palestine and the Muslim countries effectively vanishes.

The Council further requests the Executive Committee of the Council to form a special committee for the realization of the above objectives.

BALKANS

The Council records its anxiety about the condition of the Muslims in the Balkans, especially in Yugoslavia. During the last world war the Serbs, under the command of Michalovitch, killed more than 200,000 Muslims and after the war the Yugoslav Government arrested a large number of 'Ulema (Divines) and other Muslim leaders, hanged some of them and imprisoned the rest, who are still rotting in prison. The Yugoslav Government has also destroyed the huge and magnificent mosque of Zagreb.

The Council of the Conference demands of the Yugoslav Government to improve the treatment of the Muslims and to release the Muslim leaders and 'Ulema.

The Council also demands of the Bulgarian Government to improve their treatment of the Muslims of Bulgaria.

HYDERABAD-DECCAN (India)

This meeting of the Council of the Conference condemns the forcible occupation of Hyderabad by the Indian armies and the reign of terror let loose by them throughout the State. The Council demands of the Security Council to send an impartial commission to investigate the actual conditions prevailing there and to ask the Indian Government to withdraw from the State.

SOUTH AFRICA

That the Conference views with alarm the highhanded policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa in declaring Muslim religious, educational and social (public and private) institutions and mosques unlawful in the Transvaal under the unjust and revolting Groups Areas Act and in forcing these institutions and mosques to be sold, disposed of and forfeited to the State. These acts are direct encroachments upon the established Muslim Faith and in contravention of Islamic laws and of the Charter of the Fundamental Human Rights of the United Nations.

The Muslim World is horrified to learn of such a sacrilegious action on the part of the Union Government. The Conference, representing world Muslim opinion, calls upon the Union Government to desist from any such contemplated action and to restore legal status to these institutions and allow them to continue without any obstruction and impediment whatsoever.

LIBYA

The Council of the Conference extends its greetings to the Government and the people of Libya on their independence.

The Council prays to God Almighty to shower His blessings over the freedom and independence of this country. The Council expects that the politicians and statesmen of Libya will not allow themselves to be entangled with the imperialistic powers by entering into agreements which may be against her interests.

COMMON CITIZENSHIP IN ALL THE MUSLIM COUNTRIES

This Council declares its considered opinion that it is high time now that definite and practical steps be taken by the Muslim peoples and their governments to bring about the consolidation and unity of the Islamic World as a separate entity with its own ideology and mission, particularly in view of the conflicting forces based on contending ideologies and beliefs which have brought devastation on mankind.

As a step towards the achievement of the above objective the Council urges upon all the Muslim States to evolve and enforce laws of common citizenship for the Muslim citizens residing in the various Muslim States; and also to grant citizenship rights to the Muslims of non-Muslim States who desire to settle in a Muslim territory.

Further resolved that with a view to achieving the above objective urgent measures be adopted to revise effectively and amend the passport and visa rules obtaining in Muslim countries.

The Council urges upon the Muslim governments to develop a co-ordinated trade policy with special reference to preferential treatment in matters of Customs duties and other facilities.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MUSLIM COUNTRIES

As it is imperative that the present socio-economic structure of the Muslim World, which does not present a true picture of Islam, be recast in accordance with the requirements of the spirit and letter of the commandments and injunctions of Islam, this Council urges upon the Muslim States to reorganize their economic set-up in such a manner as to ensure to all the inhabitants of Muslim States, irrespective of their religion, race or colour, the provision of basic human necessities — food, clothing, shelter, medical relief and basic education as required by Islam.

COMMUNICATION LINKS OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

The Council urges upon all the Muslim governments of the world to develop closer communication links on the lines of a scheme presented at the last open session of the Conference to join the Muslim countries by land, air and sea.

The Council appreciates the policy of Sa'udi Arabian Government in constructing lines of communications in various parts of the State with a view to facilitating the journey of the pilgrims, and calls her attention and the attention of the other governments concerned to the necessity of the immediate running of the Hejaz Railway line which is expected to be of great usefulness to the Islamic world in addition to the fact that it shall facilitate pilgrimage to a number of Muslim countries.

ISLAMIC SHARI'AT IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

This Council of the Conference urges upon all Muslim governments to take necessary steps to bring their constitution and laws in accordance with the principles of Islamic Shari'at.

BACK TO QUR'AN AND THE PROPHET

This Council believes that the defect of Muslims everywhere is in their going far away from God. It urges upon Muslims to go back to God and mould their character accordingly. They should always take the Prophet as their model.
In Memoriam

The Late A. A. Verstage - A Worthy English Muslim

By Dr. S. A. Khulusi, Ph.D.

It was very easy to meet Mr. Verstage, but it was very difficult not to get fond of him. He was gay, charming and amiable. He was also quite logical, and I think it was this last trait of his that prompted him to embrace Islam. He became a Muslim, as he related to a number of friends in Baghdad, in 1933. 'What made you think of becoming a Muslim?' I asked him once. He said it was like this. 'At first I did not know there were other religions besides Christianity until I joined the London School of Printing. There, in the students' common room, I used to hear arguments about various religions that I had never heard of, which arguments made me read a good deal about religions in search of the right one. I found all religions good in essence, but the one that suited me best, because it was most up-to-date, was Islam. Hence I embraced Islam, and I am determined to disseminate the doctrines of this faith in every part of the world by printing the Qur'an in as many languages as possible.'

He offered me a copy of the latest edition of Muhammad 'Ali's English translation of the Qur'an, the printing of which cost him so much trouble and pain and for which he died a martyr.

Baghdad knew Mr. Verstage, during his very short stay, as a gay man. 'That was the impression he gave all the people he met there. He was particularly impressed by the large black eyes of the Iraqis. 'They are real black eyes,' he kept repeating. 'I have never seen their like before.' 'If you are not careful,' commented Mr. Ralph, a young American archaeologist to whom I introduced him, 'someone will give you a black eye!'

'I do not mind,' he said, 'if they are as black as the Baghdad eyes.' Turning to me, he added, 'I must come again and stay for a longer period. It is one of the nicest cities I have seen. It is so homely and the people are so kind and well-behaved.'

I insisted on his staying for a week at least, but he was very impatient and kept telling me that his wife would be waiting for him at Nice. I did not realize that his doom was urging him all the time to hurry his steps.

I asked him to give a talk in English from the Iraqi Broadcasting House, which he did, but apologized for the shortness and hurried nature of the talk and promised to give a longer and better one next time he visited Baghdad. But alas, that proved a farewell talk, not only to the Iraqis, but to the whole Muslim world. Here is the text of it.

'All Iraqis - Assalamu 'alaikum! Why am I here? Returning from a conference of the Woking Muslim Mission in Lahore. Why? Because I am a Muslim. We must educate the masses and those of our neighbours ready for their great leadership of peace (Islam means peace or surrender and submission to God's will).

You have here the oil of a new modern civilization. It is your civilization. Use your opportunity for peace. The oil will give you the means to supply the needs of your people.

The Islamic Review
Muslim Delegates at the Moscow Economic Conference

Pakistani, Iranian and Indonesian participants played an important part at the Moscow Economic Conference which was held from 3 April to 12 April 1952 and was attended by 471 delegates representing forty-nine nations.

The importance of the conference was twofold. It came at a time when countries which had benefited from the post-war boom were suffering from the present slump; it opened up the hope that through peaceful trade negotiations, the possibility of a third world war might be avoided or at least delayed.

The Muslim countries and the other Asiatic States which are jealously guarding their independent political status and see in the Western defence plans an inevitable curtailment of this, naturally react quickly to any alternative which may give them a breathing space in which to build up their economies and to prepare for the defence of their own territories. They are finding out that the intensive rearmament programmes of the Western countries are preventing the export of machinery to the East and that heavy taxation and unemployment are resulting in a limitation of imports from the Muslim States.

In the same way, British members of Parliament under the leadership of the famous Scottish expert on nutrition, Lord Boyd-Orr, attended the conference, not because they in any way sympathized with Bolshevism but because they welcomed the opportunity of attempting to expand British trade in order to relieve the unemployment which is critical in the British textile industry. They had realized that the Soviet-Chinese bloc with its 800 million population could greatly help to alleviate a Britain faced with a shortage of hard currency, the United States tariff restrictions and excessive imports from Western Europe.

At the conference a Committee for the Promotion of International Trade was set up. Three of its thirty members were Muslims — Hosain Daryush (Iran), an economist and expert in financial administration, Mian Muhammad Ikhtiar-ul-Din (Pakistan) and Suchiar Tedjasukmana (Indonesia), President of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce. India was represented on the Committee by Lachhand Hirachand, a director of an automobile company in Bombay and by D. P. Mukerjee, Professor of Economics at the University of Lucknow.

On 5 April 1952 M. V. Nesterovtsev, President of the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce, delivered an important speech in which he pointed out that industrial output in the Soviet Union in 1951 was twice the 1940 level and that the output of Soviet engineering was 2.8 times the 1940 level. He observed that the Soviet foreign trade organizations could purchase in the countries of South-Eastern Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Australia commodities which they customarily exported and sell the Soviet commodities in which they were interested, in quantities which would raise the Soviet Union’s trade with these countries to 30-40 million roubles within the next few years. This figure, he said, would cover the Americas and Western Europe as well as the non-Soviet East and that Soviet foreign trade could be increased by one-half or even doubled from its present figure of 18,000 million roubles per annum.

He also envisaged that the Soviet would buy raw materials, metals and other commodities including raw materials for the manufacture of consumer goods, principally in South-East Asia and the Near and Middle East for a total amount of 8,000 to 12,000 million roubles (including consumer goods from Western European firms). He mentioned the Soviet need of buying textiles, leather goods, food products and items of general consumption. He went on to say that the Soviet might be able to supply machinery and equipment to the amount of 3,000 million roubles to South-East Asia and to the Near and Middle East and that Soviet trade organizations might increase their sales of grain, timber, pulp and paper, ores, fertilizers, coal, oil products, flax, various types of industrial equipment, agricultural machines, means of transport, as well as products of the light industries to countries in need of these items and that Soviet foreign trade delegations were prepared to establish and to develop commercial relations with business interests in India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Malaya and other South-Eastern countries. He mentioned that these delegations could place orders for jute, rubber, non-ferrous metals, cotton, citrus fruits, shellac, tea, spices, bananas, tobacco and that in return the Soviet could supply industrial goods and equipment, particularly for metallurgical, fuel and chemical industries and also for the food and light industries, thus making it possible for these countries to process their raw materials.

The Soviet delegate stated specially that Soviet industrial organizations could also render technical assistance in the design
and construction of industrial enterprises, power plants, irrigation systems, etc., supply tractors and farming implements and generally help in the agricultural development of the countries concerned and that payment could be arranged through barter agreements, that is to say, receiving payments for goods in local currencies and spending them in the countries concerned.

He concluded with an appeal for international co-operation for the creation of higher living standards and quoted the Soviet leader, J. V. Stalin: 'Those who want peace and seek business relations with us will always have our support.'

Mr. Hosain Daryush (Iran) after pointing out the economic difficulties of Iran, stated: 'All I ask for is the economic co-operation of other countries, on a basis of equality.'

Mr. Hatim 'Aliboy 'Alavi (Pakistan), a member of one of the working groups conferences, noted with satisfaction the readiness of the East European countries to provide his country with agricultural equipment and he asked all the conference members who could similarly help Pakistan to contact his country's delegation.

There were further reports from the committees on social problems and on under-developed countries.

Mr. Haroun (Pakistan), a representative of Haroun & Sons, Mr. K. M. Fareed, President of the Pakistan Council of Economic Research, and Mr. Muhamer Spahić, an Albanian economist, and Mr. Suchjar Tedjauskmana all spoke during the meetings of the Working Committee dealing with world trade.

Mr. Gyan Chand (India), Chairman of the group dealing with underdeveloped countries pointed out in a speech made in the plenary session on 9 April 1952 that most of the natural wealth, industry, banks, foreign trade and shipping concerned with these countries was in the hands of foreigners and this created an 'unfavourable situation'.

Madame Tomikoros, a member of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, said that Japan wanted to trade with her neighbours instead of buying raw materials in distant countries and shipping across the Pacific.

Mr. Mian M. Iftikhar-ud-Din (Pakistan) said: 'Pakistan is interested in trade with such countries as can supply industrial equipment of various kinds, iron, steel, coal and other goods necessary for the development of Pakistan's national industry and for raising the general standard of living of the population. He remarked: 'We believe that restrictions on international trade are not to the advantage of Pakistan.' He stressed the need of economic co-operation in the interests of world peace.

Pakistanis played a considerable part in the proceedings as did the Iranians and the British but the Lebanese representative on his return subjected the whole conference to some devastating criticism and pointed out the absence of Arab delegates and the strength of the Israeli participation.

The Political Scene in the World of Islam

The Muslims in Algeria under French Rule

By Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani

The visit of the French Minister of the Interior to Algeria

Recent months have seen an unusually large number of French Ministers and other leading politicians visiting Algeria. And following their visits, they made many statements and declarations about Algeria which were given wide publicity in the French Press.

There is no doubt that Algeria, with the other parts of North Africa under French rule, has assumed a special significance in recent days in the realm of international politics. The political turmoil in Tunisia, and the explosive situation in Morocco, have drawn the attention of the world to Arab North Africa and to the grievances suffered by its people at the hands of French imperialism. The voices of the free nations of the world which were raised in the United Nations Organization in support of the rightful claims of the people of Tunisia, have perhaps enlivened to some extent the conscience of the world to the pathetic plight of the Arabs of North Africa. In these circumstances, it was a cunning move and somewhat clever on the part of the French imperialists to try and steal a march on the Arabs of North Africa by initiating a determined and vigorous campaign of propaganda designed to show to the world that the situation in North Africa, and particularly in Algeria, is calm, and that the Arabs there are at peace with their French rulers and quite content with the way they are facing under the French régime.

This unusual flood of senior members of the French Government visiting Algeria was, of course, met with special arrangements by the authorities in Algeria. The latter staged a special show for the benefit of these visitors, and were clever enough to ensure that in their visits and tours in the country they saw only what they were intended by the French administration to see, so that when they returned to France to speak about their experiences they would have something favourable to say of the French régime, and would commit as little perjury as possible. And so, naturally enough, these visitors were vociferous, on their return to France, in their assertions that the masses of the Arabs of Algeria were enjoying freedom, prosperity and happiness, and that only a small number of what they call 'agitators' and 'trouble makers' form the discontented section of the population in Algeria.

What the French Minister of the Interior saw in Algeria does not represent the true state of affairs there

Notable amongst these recent visitors to Algeria was the French Minister of the Interior. The Minister, who had gone to Algeria on the invitation, he said, of the President of the Algerian National Assembly, Mr. al-Aziz 'Abd al-Qadir, had a great deal to say on his return to France in eulogizing the French administration in Algeria. He said that he was met during his tour of Algeria with 'spontaneous demonstrations by the people of their loyalty to France', a thing that made him, more than ever, believe that Algeria was never more French in its character than it is to-day'. He also said, in a nation-wide broadcast on the French radio, that 'Algeria to-day lives in peace and prosperity... it is working hard to march along the path of economic and social progress, and is seeking to raise the standard of life of its people through its brotherly co-operation with France, the country with whom she has become allied and united by virtue of the free democratic institutions granted to her by France...'. The Minister also said that he had come to be convinced, as a result of the various speeches and statements made to him by notable Algerian Muslims, that the people of Algeria looked upon France as the 'Protector of Islam', and that their 'love for France has become deep-rooted', because, he said, 'they realized that France has accorded every respect to their religion, customs and traditions...'.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
The French Minister of the Interior, as well as the other distinguished members of the French Government who visited Algeria recently, have bluntly evaded the truth about the pitiful plight of the Arabs of Algeria. The carefully planned programme staged for the benefit of these visitors by the French authorities in Algeria was pre-eminently intended to hide from their eyes the truth about the situation there, and, judging by the opinions which these honourable gentlemen voiced on their return to France, it seems that this vicious plan has succeeded. The Minister of the Interior should have had the common sense to give little weight to flowery speeches of loyalty made to him by some mercenary and hypocritical personalities held out to him by the French authorities as 'representatives' of the Arabs of Algeria. It was these same 'representatives' of the people of Algeria who had earlier been only too lavish in their expressions of loyalty and support to the Vichy Government and later to the Fourth Republic. And, by the nature of things, these Algerian traitors will continue to lavish unlimited praise on whatever French Government happens to be in power, so long as there is any likelihood of their earning favour or benefit by means of such hypocritical attitude.

The misery and plight of the Arabs of Algeria is only too clear for any honest and vigilant investigator to see; and, it is indeed a great mystery that the eyes of the French Minister of the Interior were so minaculously blinded from perceiving this truth.

A few of the disabilities from which the Algerian Muslims suffer under the French régime

Here are some facts about Algeria. These facts have for long been strenuously suppressed by the imperialist French and were ignored by the French Minister of the Interior. I think it right that the free world should now have some knowledge of the following facts and figures about Algeria:

**The Algerian National Assembly**

1. The Algerian National Assembly, which has been referred to by the honourable Minister as 'a free and democratic' institution, is in no sense of the word either free or democratic. It has no right whatsoever to legislate for Algeria, and all that lies within its power is to offer limited suggestions to the French Government on the Algerian budget. As far as legislation for Algeria is concerned, this Assembly is allowed to act solely in an advisory capacity, and its advice is in no way binding on those who make the laws of Algeria. The 9,000,000 Muslim Arab inhabitants of Algeria are represented in this Assembly by sixty delegates; while the 1,000,000 European settlers in Algeria are represented by an equal number of delegates.

2. The Municipal Councils in Algeria are elected on the permanent basis of three-fifths of the seats to represent the Europeans in the country, however small their number may be, and two-fifths only to represent the Muslims, however high their number may be. This gives an idea of what the French mean when they speak of 'the democratic representation of the people' in Algeria.

**Corrupt practices in elections**

Ever since the Constitution in Algeria was enacted in 1947, corrupt practices in elections have been greatly encouraged by the French administration. Forgery and bribery in all elections have become rampant and have always been utilized by the French authorities in order to secure the election of the persons whom they favour. Candidates in all elections are always nominated by the French authorities, and these candidates are always returned to office against the real wishes of the Muslim electorate in the country. The French authorities in Algeria do not shy at resorting to acts of repression and bloodshed in order to bring this about. The electoral system in Algeria is thus a farce and the elections a mockery. The French authorities in Algeria, by resorting to these reprehensible abuses of the electoral laws, install in office only those Algerian persons who are known to be of weak character and ready to sell their loyalty to their people and co-operate with the French in all they seek to do in Algeria. And it was in this way that honest and patriotic Algerian nationalists, who are termed 'undesirables' by the French authorities, have been excluded from office and prevented from making their voices heard in defence of their country and people.

4. Senior posts in the administration in Algeria are reserved solely for the European element in the country. The administration employs very few Algerian Muslims, and these occupy only minor positions.

**Best land in Algeria is owned by the French minority**

5. The 4,000,000 hectares of the best arable land in Algeria are owned by 1,300 European feudal magnates. They also own 500,000 hectares of vineyards, which yield a very high profit. On the other hand, 1,500,000 Algerian Muslims own only 3,000,000 hectares of comparatively arid and waste land.

6. About 800,000 Algerian Muslims are employed as farm labourers by the European landowners, at occasional and irregular intervals. During their employment, these Algerian workers earn an average of 350-400 francs (the equivalent of 7/-) for each working day of much longer hours than those applicable to Europeans. No system of social insurance or unemployment benefit is in operation with regard to these Muslim workers, and the fate and livelihood of their unfortunate families are left to the tender mercies of the European employers. Not less than...
1,000,000 Muslims are to be found unemployed in Algeria at any time, and this figure often rises steeply. Many of these unemployed are forced to resort to street begging and other humiliating practices in order to keep alive.

Bidonvilles
(7) Almost 4,000,000 Algerian Muslims live in small insanitary huts made of straw and mud, and having no windows or sanitation. Large families inhabit these miserable hovels, which contain only the barest necessities of life. Around the big towns in Algeria are to be found huts made of discarded tins and cans. These tin huts, which are known to the French by the name of bidonvilles, are not fit for dogs to live in. Yet Algerian Muslims live in them, for want of anything better.

(8) Infant mortality amongst the Muslims of Algeria is at the rate of 60 per cent.

(9) Tuberculosis and other diseases resulting from malnutrition and unhygienic conditions of life reap a toll of 400,000 Algerian Muslims every year.

Lack of education facilities for Muslim Algerian children
(10) 1,500,000 Muslim children in Algeria find no place in schools every year. They are left to roam the streets and to become a menace to society. The very small number of Muslim children who have the great fortune to find a seat in Government schools receive their education there in the French language, and not in Arabic, their mother-tongue. Apart from being prevented from learning their mother-tongue, these children are not given any instruction on Islam, and the religion of their fathers. The educational programme in Algeria is so ungenerously planned as to strip Muslim youth of its Arab and Islamic character, and so finally rob the whole of Algeria of its national Islamic character and turn it French. The teachers in private Muslim schools are baited and harassed as if they were criminals. Arab schools, which teach Arabic and give instruction to Muslim children on their religion, are being stifled. They are regarded as subversive, and are in constant danger of closure.

No respect for Muslim religious dignitaries. The French manage the Waqf properties
(11) The religion of Islam and the Muslim religious dignitaries are under constant danger from the French administration in Algeria. The mosques and the awqaf (the Muslim charitable trusts) are being managed by the French authorities, having been expropriated from their rightful administrators since the early days of the French occupation of Algeria. Posts in the Muslim religious hierarchy are filled by the nomination of the French authorities. And, of course, the French choose for these religious posts only such persons as are known by them to be willing to serve their interests and to trade in the national rights of the Muslims of Algeria.

The Islamic Shari'a courts in Algeria are treated in a very high-handed and disrespectful manner by the French administration. Their jurisdiction has been very much restricted, and they are now left with only a minor jurisdiction in the personal law of Muslims. The French aim at weakening the prestige of the Shari'a courts, so that they will be ultimately supplanted by the French civil courts, which take no cognizance of the religion of Islam and its teachings.

The perpetual martial law in Southern Algeria
(12) Martial law, with all its harshness and iniquity, is still applicable in the southern part of Algeria and in the western desert of Algeria. The terror and oppression of the military régime in those parts have reached great magnitudes.

(13) The Nationalist Press in Algeria is often banned and suppressed by the French authorities. The owners and editors of these newspapers receive long terms of imprisonment and heavy fines for various minor accusations made against them by the administration.

(14) Personal freedom and liberty, as far as the Muslim inhabitants of Algeria are concerned, are practically non-existent. Algerian nationalists are constantly being arrested by the authorities and put in prisons or detention camps on devious pretexts. Charges preferred by the French authorities against these Algerian nationalists are not usually investigated with any seriousness, and the unfortunate persons who are arrested linger in prisons, 'pending investigation,' for a very much longer period than is allowed by the law of the land. And during these so-called 'investigations' the unfortunate detainees are subjected to severe forms of physical torture and anguish.

Political prisoners in Algeria are said to number about 30,000. It has now become usual for the police authorities in Algeria to invent, at suitable moments, what they call 'plots against the

1 A letter from the Editor of l'Algerie Libre, a Nationalist paper in French, appears in our correspondence page. It describes the persecution to which this journal is being subjected.

The Editor of l'Algerie Libre, Algeria, Mr. Ahmad Mazerna

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safety of the State'. On the 'discovery' of these 'plots', hundreds of the nation's youth and elite are systematically arrested and thrown into prison, there to be subjected to inquisition and torture. When they finally come up for trial, false and fabricated evidence is presented against them and they thus receive heavy sentences.

The Algerian nationalists are thus thrown into prisons and detention camps to serve long sentences for illusory crimes and are treated there in a barbaric manner. They enjoy none of the amenities of political prisoners, and are treated as if they were mean and callous criminals. These prisoners often declare hunger strikes for long periods to protest against this inhuman treatment.

Prisons and detention camps all over Algeria are full of prisoners whose only crime is that they are loyal patriots. They are said to number at least 30,000.

Algerian Muslims are denied the right of assembly

(15) The Algerian Muslims are denied the right of assembly for peaceful purposes. Public meetings organized by them are arbitrarily banned by the French authorities in many parts of Algeria, although these meetings conform to the requirements of the strict letter of the law in force in Algeria. Peaceful demonstrations held by them to express their feelings and urge their nationalist claims are met by the French administration with violence, terror and repression. The police, who suddenly decide to break up a demonstration, usually wound scores of these demonstrators and arrest many, who are ultimately sent to prisons or detention camps.

Furthermore, the Muslim workers in Algeria are not allowed to hold the traditional demonstrations on the first of May each year.

M. Messali Haji, the nationalist leader of the Muslims of Algeria, till recently under house arrest in a deserted part of Algeria, has been removed to France. He is prevented from having any communication with his people or friends.

(17) The French have brought into Algeria strong military reinforcements from France. These troops, who have been specially trained in the art of repression, are allowed great freedom to indulge in acts of terror against the Muslim civilian population of Algeria.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the grievances and complaints of the Muslims of Algeria. Not one of these facts has been taken notice of by the French Minister of the Interior or the other members of the French Government who made a 'tour of inspection' of Algeria recently.

The statements made by these French officials about Algeria were solely intended to mollify public opinion in the free world, which is slowly becoming indignant with French imperialism. Let us hope that this recent flood of French propaganda will deceive no one, and the truth about Algeria will soon become known to the whole world.

The French Government is fully conversant with the truth about Algeria; but nothing will come out of this knowledge to benefit the people of Algeria. Imperialist France will never willingly change her reprehensible attitude towards the rightful nationalist claims of the people of Algeria. The situation there can only be changed through the instrumentality of the Algerian people themselves. They must rally together and close their ranks. It will be by such peaceful endeavours, and through the help and support of the free and democratic nations of the world, that the people of Algeria can, and we hope soon will, become liberated and free.

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A MUSLIM LOOKS AT A MUSLIM

A Turkish Lady's Ten Days in Pakistan

By ESMA NAYMAN

‘Pakistanis say: “Turkey has no time to attend to us, but we love Turkey. Real love does not expect reciprocity.” It appears we have not been able to express our great love for the Pakistanis in a fitting manner’

My first impressions of Pakistan

When you read the subject of the talk which I am to deliver to-day, you may have said to yourselves what could one, who paid a short ten-day visit to a country like Pakistan, have seen and what could she tell. You are probably right. Ten days are really a very short span of time for a world like Pakistan; it is, in fact, quite insufficient for any considerable study of any subject. But, during the short span of ten days I passed in Pakistan, I went through a variety of experiences in quick succession. These swarm back to my mind like a dream. I see many pictures and scenes unfolding themselves like a film before my mind's eye. I would like to share these experiences with you who have kindly come to hear me and I see that you, too, have not been able to resist the desire to hear an account, however sketchy, of my brief sojourn. The reason is this: all of us imagine Pakistan to be a land of mystery at another end of the world, a strange land full of legends, lions, tigers, snakes and beggars. And I cannot think of a person who has not yearned to see India and Pakistan. This yearning is, for all of us, like an unrealizable dream.

We covered in seventeen hours a journey which, in the past, 1 Being the text of a speech delivered on 8 May 1952 at Ankara, Turkey. would perhaps have taken as many days. I think a day will come when, by shortening international distances, the aeroplane will be able to render yeoman service in making one people known and brought closer to others. I believe that cheaper air fares will help the United Nations realize its aim.

When, at the end of a most comfortable flight, our plane was landing at Karachi, I saw a very curious and exciting spectacle and, even at this moment, I can visualize that wave of pretty colours and flowers. In that scorching sun, more than a hundred women, clad in colourful saris and with garlands in their hands, had come to greet us — women of all ages and types, brown, aurubn, white — some of them really beautiful. We alighted from the plane. After introductions, we were led to the waiting-room. There, we were offered iced lemonade and fruit drinks. By the time the customs formalities were over, we had taken some rest and also talked many things over with our newly-met Pakistani sisters.

The welcome extended to us

We were received by Begum Liaquat 'Ali Khan the same evening. A journalist, who approached me in her drawing-room, said to me:

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Sometimes the impossible happens in this world. I saw this to-day and am wonderstruck. Just imagine. After a tiring air journey, you land in a country you had never seen before, and a few minutes later, you are talking many subjects over with Pakistani ladies, at such length and with such gusto, as if you have known them all your life.

Yes, as if I had known them all my life. Quite true. The hearty welcome and the warm affection shown by our Pakistani sisters made me feel immediately at home.

Is it not, in fact, the first condition of welcome to make a guest forget that he is a guest? This charming welcome and cordiality continued throughout our stay. We were overwhelmed with hospitality, courtesy and grace. Every day, we were invited to lunch and dinner attended by hundreds of other guests. As I will explain shortly, these feasts were attended sometimes by women as well as men and sometimes by women alone. Most of these feasts were held in the open air and on lawns in the gardens. In those large green lawns were trees laden with crimson-red flowers. These lawns were covered with a variety of ornamented tents, carpets, sofas, arm-chairs and buffet-tables laid out in a right royal manner. And these were climaxed, at the evening feasts, by ivy creepers and hedges, all ablaze with electric lights of different colours. Then came the music. You would imagine yourself to be in the fairy world of a Thousand and One Nights.

On arrival at these feasts, the guests are received by different hosts in different ways. For instance, at the Governor-General’s residence, by forty or fifty soldiers of his bodyguard — tall, bronze-like stalwarts wearing thick red tunics and short pantaloons, with tiger-skins on their heads and backs, playing on flure-like pipes like the Scotch bagpipers or staging a march past the fountains on the lawns to the accompaniment of music. At other places, a military band plays Western music, or a woman sings Urdu folk-songs with a charming voice.

The dress of Pakistani women

I wish now to say a few words about saris with which all of you are quite familiar. It should not be thought that the sari is just draping the body with the six yards of cloth. In fact, the variety achieved by weavers of the sari is wonderful.

In the first place, saris used in the provinces of Sindh, East Bengal, the Punjab and Baluchistan differ from one another. There are the ornamented saris, saris with woven or printed spray of coloured flowers, saris made of plain cloth like white cotton or georgette with woven or stitched borders in different colours. Separate borders of quite a large variety are available in the market. Again, every woman has her own way of wearing the sari. This depends on the elegance, understanding and up-bringing of the wearer. There are women whose saris appear to have been made by Parisian tailors.

The sari is not the only costume of the Pakistani women. There is the most popular shalwar, which consists of long, baggy trousers. With the shalwar are worn a worked shirt and scarf. This dress suits young girls and old women very well. Then comes the pesbwas, a close-fitting bodice with tight-fitting pyjamas. There is also the gharara, a long costume with a wide skirt, wider below the knees.

Pakistani dishes

The dishes served at the buffets are: several varieties of pulao, roasted chicken, meat-gobbets with red oily sauce (Turkish: kofta tas Kebabi), mutton chops roasted on skewers (Turkish: sirh Kebabi), vegetables boiled in butter, fish, semolina pudding, jellies and pastry and sweet pastes. There are also very fine fruits like banana, mango and papaya. Except for the sweet dishes, all others are strongly spicy — enough to inflame your mouth and nose. Owing to the climate everybody has got used to the spicy food and Englishmen who have lived there long, are fond of spicy dishes and enjoy them with perfect zest.

Coffee is not served after meals. Instead, a kind of leaf called paan (Betel-leaf) is offered. Wrapped in the leaf (like a dolma) are Indian nuts and some aromatic spices. Cardamom and aniseed are also offered with paan. The offer of paan differs with the status of your host. It is usually offered in plates or in silver trays, sometimes, wrapped like a chocolate in a fine silver flake. This leaf, which is wrapped like a dolma2 and is called paan is chewed in the mouth and soon impart a red colour to the lips of men and women. In any case, it is very popular, and, since it also contains lime and tobacco, it leads to a pleasurable habit.

The silver flake, which I have mentioned above, are also used with other sweetmeats. For instance, I, for the first time, saw semolina pudding covered with silver flakes. I took it to be a chocolate paper intended to protect the pudding against dust or insects. But it was edible silver. In fact, it disappeared in the mouth, like air. I was told that the silver flake, like iron and steel, improves the blood and body.

* Purdah* and the Pakistani woman

Some ladies who observe purdah (veil) attended the feasts meant for women only. Purdah means to cover, that is to say, to conceal from the gaze of men. This word is probably another form of our own Turkish word perde. These women and girls cannot be seen by men and, when they walk in the streets, they are wrapped up in a cloth resembling a bed sheet. This cloth, which covers their persons from head to toe, contains only two apertures for the eyes.

This purdah depends on the will of the husband and the father. Imagine a young man who has been educated at Oxford or Harvard and has had an English way of living, returning home and marrying a woman who observes purdah. As I have already said, it depends on the husband and the father. But by the side of women who are in purdah, are many women who are free. They walk about with bare heads, arms and waist. You will find them in elegant saris and dancing with men in dinner jacker, at night in fashionable clubs and you will be wonderstruck at this land of contradictions.

Pakistani women play important roles in many other spheres. Among them are women of high calibre who are members of Parliament, who have often attended Round Table Conferences and who are first-class speakers and writers. There, are women who are chemists, lawyers, doctors and journalists. Young girls work in the post, telegraph and telephone offices. There are the Girl Guides and National Guards. They are given training in first-aid and the use of arms.

Although Pakistani women are free and enjoy political rights, they cannot, for the present, claim legal equality with men. The husbands can easily divorce their wives. Men can, if they like, take four wives at a time. Polygamy is not in evidence in high classes of society, but in the lower classes it is much in vogue. This causes heart-burning to many mothers. Just imagine, they say, a pretty young girl is given in marriage, under God’s commandment, to a man who, after three or four months, takes another wife, and your dear one withnes with silent grief. This grievance was expressed by two elderly women who worked with me on a committee. We do not want men to take more than one wife, they declared with clenched fists. But for the present neither the committee nor the conference possesses the power to remedy this ill.

The present constitution of Pakistan is provisional. A new constitution is being prepared by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This constitution, it is averred, will improve the legal status of women. When we explained the rights enjoyed by

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2 The Turkish word 'dolma' means anything that is filled.
**What the women of Pakistan have achieved**

By their conduct, the women of Pakistan have proved that they are fit for every right. They rushed to the aid of the nine million refugees who poured into Pakistan after the partition. They were eminently successful in distributing food and clothing to the refugees, for whom they also set up industrial homes and health centres. These industrial homes are particularly interesting. At these homes, women develop cottage handicrafts under their own supervision and control. They provide work for destitute women. Various types of handbags, blouses, scarves, small articles made of carved wood, tasteful indigenous ornaments—all these are made in these workshops. And attached to each workshop, is a home for the children of the women workers, who are looked after by a qualified lady teacher. These children have their primary education there.

The articles made at these workshops are sold at an attractive shop in one of the most crowded streets of Karachi, the capital of Pakistan. This sales-house is run by women volunteers. The women of Pakistan have made great headway in every sphere. They have made it a principle of their life to work for the advancement of their country in every possible manner. It is impossible not to admire the achievements, during the last five years, of these Pakistani women who until then were in purdah. This shows, more than anything else, that a new nation has been born in Pakistan—a nation determined to live and go ahead. Their eyes are aglow with this desire and determination.

Just imagine that these women, who lived in seclusion, started their lives by serving the refugees. In those days, Begum Liaqat Ali Khan, wife of the late Prime Minister of Pakistan, made great efforts for the emancipation of women, which led to the establishment of the All-Pakistan Women's Association. To-day she is the chief of this organization and, notwithstanding her great bereavement, has dedicated her life to the service of the womanhood of Pakistan.

This Association has 18,000 members on its roll and it was this Association that invited us to Pakistan.

**All-Pakistan Women's Conference**

Now I pass on to the conference which was the real purpose of our visit. With a view to finding a solution to the problems and sufferings of women in the country, the All-Pakistan Women's Association thought it proper to avail itself of the views of the women of other Muslim countries and invited to its annual meeting representatives of several welfare organizations in these countries. Accordingly, I accepted the invitation as the representative of the Turkish Women's Association, Ankara. I got the impression in Pakistan that the All-Pakistan Women's Association was not against extending the conference to women of all countries but that, as a first experiment, it was content with inviting women of Muslim countries only. This conference was, however, a complete success. Womanhood of the entire country was mobilized. Led by Begum Raina Liaqat Ali Khan, wives of members of all Legislatures as well as members of the Association were assigned separate duties. Some were assigned the duty of preparing the programme of reception, others of making transport arrangements, of receiving foreign delegations as their guests and of organizing sight-seeing trips for certain delegations and explaining to them the background of historical places. These women discharged their respective duties extraordinarily well. The entire plan worked without the slightest hitch. Each one of them worked, without break or respite, for what she treated as a national duty. It may be said that the entire country was up and doing during the five days and five nights of this conference.

The Governor-General, who is the head of the State of Pakistan, held a reception in honour of the delegates and talked with each one of them. He said: 'I am particularly glad to see our Turkish sisters. I thank you for having come all this way. I expect positive results from your participation. The real object of the conference was to bring all women of Pakistan together, to know their problems and to find remedies for them. To this conference came women from the Provinces of Sind, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier, East Pakistan and Baluchistan and they stated their present sufferings and problems. There were more than a thousand women, of every age and class. The internal problems of Pakistan were discussed. Economic development, condition of women, village life, health, education, fine arts—these subjects were referred to four committees. The delegates subjected all these problems to meticulous scrutiny and after five days' labour, submitted thirty resolutions for the approval of the general body.'

Yes, this conference was very well organized and produced such a good impression on every delegate that they thought of converting the future conferences on an international basis, and to my mind, this is certainly a very good idea. In my opinion, nothing would be better for everyone that this conference, which has produced such an excellent impression on us about themselves and their country, should be extended to the rest of the world. Who knows but that women of the entire world may come together and perhaps thus secure world peace.

**A distinguished Pakistani family at home**

I think this talk would be incomplete if I omitted to say a few words about the family of Mian Bashir Ahmad, ex-Ambassador of Pakistan to Turkey, whom we know and love, and with whom we stayed for ten days. Let me tell you that all members of this family are acting as a Turkish Embassy in Pakistan, and propagate incessantly throughout their country the great love they cherish towards Turkey.

Wherever she may be, Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad talks only of Turkey, which she presents as a model of progress. She delivers speeches. Her son, Manzar Bashir, delivers lectures to the accompaniment of pictures which he took in Turkey and displays by means of his projector. He gives radio talks on Turkey, which end with "Uşkudara Giderken" or other Turkish songs. He has a fine voice. I saw his article in a magazine called Ravi. This pen-portrait of Ankara and its Youth Park has been drawn with such love and yearning that the undoubted beauty of Ankara has been invested with a fabulous character.

Although her father has assured her of a comfortable life, Sarwat Bashir has taken to journalism. She goes to work early in the morning; sometimes she does not return for lunch and works till 11:30 p.m. She lectures to her friends on Turkey; she contributes articles on Turkey to magazines. Her father, Mian Bashir Ahmad, has already delivered five important speeches on Turkey. He is a very broad-minded gentleman and an ardent idealist striving unceasingly for the elevation of his nation to the peak of progress and civilization.

**The love Pakistanis have for Turkey**

Do you know what it is in Pakistan which gladdens one's soul and fills one's being with emotion? It is the love for Turkey. Turkey means the only Eastern country which has brought about a revolution of world-wide importance, which, by her Treaty of Lausanne, has put an end to the colonial system and which, as a State, recognizes the right of all nations to live. To the people of Pakistan, Turkey is an ideal, a distant, but luminous sun.

Pakistanis say, 'Turkey has no time to attend to us, but we love Turkey. Real love does not expect reciprocity.' It appears we have not been able to express our great love for the Pakistanis in a fitting manner.

*JULY 1952*

The author is in the East Pakistan Civil Service and as such it is really commendable that in spite of his responsibilities and multifarious duties he has found time and leisure to write on such important and timely problems as battle the minds of many scholars, philosophers and thinkers.

The book, which comprises about 200 pages, deals with a variety of subjects, such as 'Prayer and our actions', 'God's purpose in creating the universe', 'Reason and faith', 'Man and his problems and their solution', 'Death and immortality of the soul', etc. The author has dealt with these most intricate and vexed problems at some length and has in many cases succeeded in giving a satisfactory answer and convincing solution. For instance, dealing with the question of 'Sin, pain and suffering', he says: 'Sin is the evil that man brings upon himself by his own actions; and pain is the evil that befalls him without his knowing the cause thereof' (p. 49). Again, discussing the question of sufferings of prophets, innocent children and dumb animals, he says: 'In the case of prophets, pain has the purpose of developing their fortitude and power of endurance, in order that ordinary men may take a lesson from them. But where is the justification for the suffering of the ordinary innocent individual from his point of view? Justification can be found for this, if we have realized that our earthly life is an infinitesimally small part of the eternal life lying ahead of us, that pain is an inevitable corollary to peace, that the individual human being is only one of the race for which Allah has a whole plan and that one individual is to fit into that plan... As regards animals, the position is not quite the same. There is no provision for suffering and one to character by them; but they too have a role to play in the plan and they are doing it. Justice will be dispensed to them also on the Day of Judgment. Their suffering from pain is also intended for man to heed to. Though they have been created for man's use, it has been enjoined upon to treat them with consideration' (pp. 52-53).

The author has given a very valuable contribution to the problem of pre-destination and fatalism, to which he has devoted one full chapter. Whether the author has succeeded in giving a convincing and adequate answer to all such problems is for the individual reader to judge.

We think the author is wrong to use certain original Arabic and Persian words, such as 'nimaz, roza, ebada', etc., as these only create confusion in the minds and thoughts of the readers who are not acquainted with these words at all. He says that he uses these words as their English equivalents do not convey the full sense, but the use of the original word make the matter still worse. We may, however, state that these remarks are not intended to minimize the importance and value of the book, which indeed is a valuable contribution to Islamic literature.

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MOROCCAN JOURNEY, by Rom Landau. Published by Robert Hale Ltd., London 1952. Price 18/-.

This is the author's fourth book on Morocco and in it he mixes up politics with descriptive matter and personal impressions.

Mr. Landau is as ever very keen to let his readers know that he is on speaking terms with the Sultan of Morocco and with the Sultan's eldest son. In spite of his support of Moroccan Nationalism, he accepted a great deal of French official hospitality and for a time at least he got the best out of two worlds. His genuine admiration for Haj Ahmed Belafadji, the witty intellectual Secretary of the Istigilal Party, is one of the most pleasing features of this book but his description of a visit to another nationalist leader who appears to be the equally brilliant businessman nationalist, Muhammad Lghazzouli, is condescending in the extreme. Lghazzouli, a self-made man, is one of the few Moroccans with real business ability who have to foot the bill and he is a thorough realist. When Mr. Landau talks about the Sultan his attitude is somewhat fawning.

In his bibliography he dismisses Nina Epton's Journey under the Crescent Moon as a journalist's account of a tour. . . . The somewhat distorting anti-French attitude of the author colours even her non-political views, and deprives her entertainingly written account of some of its value. But Miss Epton's book is in no way anti-French; it is pro-Muslim. Mr. Landau does not mention B. Meakin's great books on Morocco nor even Admiral Osborne's history of the French Conquest.

Mr. Landau is at his best when he is describing his experiences in a hamam or when he is being driven through the mountainous territory or being entertained gratis by the French authorities in the countryside. He gives many examples of French mistrust of the Moroccans and shows how the Berbers are being isolated from the Arabs and educated in schools where there is no prayer room. Yet the young students expressed to Mr. Landau their profound belief in Islam and their wish to have full facilities for prayer. Students who spoke to the author were subject to police interrogation. The general attitude of the French colonials was that there would be anarchy if Morocco became independent, yet after 40 years the administrators were French. A high tribute is paid to the French District Commissioners, who take an active lead in the development of the territories they administer.

The word 'native' crops up repeatedly. This word had an offensive significance and even French colonials are dropping it. In Algeria its use is equivalent to an insult and it is a great pity that Mr. Landau did not free himself from his European background and substitute a less humiliating term.

There is a chapter on Anglo-Moorish relations in which the reader is reminded that Tangiers was once a British possession but Charles II who received it as part of his wife's dowry, was glad finally to restore it to the Sultan. Had the Moors accepted British proposals for a veiled protectorate in 1890, Morocco would almost certainly have become an independent State instead of a French protectorate faced with the future alternative of becoming an American military advance point (according to the French there are already 20,000 Americans settled in Morocco). Mr. Landau does not mention the former British settlement at Cape Juby in southern Morocco, nor does he appear to have read E. D. Morel's outspoken attack on Franco-British negotiations which led to bartering away of Moorish independence and the setting up of the French and Spanish protectorates.

This book is well illustrated and the Sultan and his eldest son, Prince Moulay Hasan, emerge from it as sincere patriots trying to rid themselves and their country of oppressive French rule and Mr. Landau shows them as progressive rulers. He also makes it very clear that the Istigilal leaders represent the finest and most modern elements amongst the Muslim population.

A photograph of the Sultan and his sons entertaining General Juin and high-ranking French officials, is of great interest.
It gives an excellent idea of the contrast between the rival statesmen of France and Morocco. The other photographs and the general presentation of the book from the publishers' point of view, the bold large type, etc., are excellent.

Mr. Landau's speculation as to whether the famous Sultan Moulay Isma'il inherited his excessive cruelty or his charm from his mother who was alleged to have been Irish, will not be well received in the Commonwealth or in the United States. It is an unmerited insult to a people who, like the Moroccans whom Mr. Landau so much admires, have been one of the greatest victims of imperialism against which they have courageously fought.

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.)

MUSLIM POPULATION OF THE WORLD

La Lorong Kelompang,
Alor Star,
Kedah, Malaya.
6 February 1952.

Dear Sir,

It would be interesting to publish statistics of Muslims in different countries. Of the countries where Muslims are found I know there are 500 Chinese Muslims in Lhasa, Tibet, 500 in Outer Mongolia, 48,000,000 in China, 2,000 in Formosa, and 170,000 in Peking, China.

Yours sincerely,

T. Y. IBRAHIM.

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A EUROPEAN CONVERT TO ISLAM TALKS TO BORN MUSLIMS

Die Moschee,
Briennerstrasse 7/8,
Berlin-Wilmersdorf.
29 March 1952.

Assalamu 'alaikum

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

In a recent article of the Paris Arabic weekly al-'Arab, Mr. Muhammad Asad, formerly Leopold Weiss, the secretary of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, has been denounced because he was a Jew before his acceptance of Islam and that because of this he should not enjoy the confidence of Arab diplomats and statesmen.

I do not know Mr. Muhammad Asad personally and it is not for his sake alone that I write this letter. I do so because the article in question touches a problem which is of the greatest importance to us, who are converts to Islam, and who rightly feel hurt and insulted by such statements as are published in the article referred to.

The question is: What is the position of a convert to Islam in the eyes of the Muslim public?

Theoretically there should be no doubt about the answer to this question. The teachings of Islam as laid down in the Holy Qur'an and by the practice of the Prophet Muhammad explicitly say that he who declares his faith by reciting the Muslim creed and who performs the prayer, pays the poll-rate and believes in God and the Hereafter is a Muslim and is to be treated as such, no matter what he may have been before.

As is the case with many other things in the Muslim world of to-day, in this case too, it must be said with regret, practice is quite different from theory as shown by this case in point. Mr. Muhammad Asad embraced Islam nearly 25 years ago. His works, which he has written in the meantime, and of which Islam at the Crossroads may be mentioned here, bear witness to his profound knowledge of Islam and, what is more, of Islam being very dear to him. In any case they do remove even the shadow of a doubt as regards his being a Muslim. He is a Muslim and to call him otherwise is to distort plain facts. If, however, even a Muslim editor like Mr. Yunus Bahri simply disregards the acceptance of Islam of a convert and still calls him what he used to be before, all those who are converts — and I hope many born Muslims too — should strongly protest against such a behaviour which is absolutely opposed to the clear injunctions given by the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad.

Islam is a world religion. According to our belief it is the world religion. In any case it is not the property of the Arabs or any other nation alone. Nationalism, which in the past has ruined so many countries, which has sown the seed of hatred, enmity and greed in the hearts of those who have made it their god, has no place in Islam. One should think that the Arabs, in whose language all the holy books of Islam are written, should know it. Apparently they do not.

We convert feel very sorry for all this. Most of us embraced Islam because of its principles of unity, democracy and equality, because of truths as, for instance, contained in a verse, 'Verily the most honoured with God is the one who is most careful of his duties' (Izna akramakum ina 'Labi aqakum) (49 : 15) and because of the absolute non-existence of national, racial, and social discriminations in Islam. Often enough through very hard experience only did we realize that all these principles were the only solution to the problems which humanity is facing. Our acceptance of Islam is the proof that we wholeheartedly subscribe to these ideals. We want to see them being practised and our subscribing to them means to us to strive for these ideals and to further them, not, however, to sit idle or even to neglect them. In most of us converts there is the ardent desire to work for the cause of Islam. It pains us to see our brothers being exploited and in distress. Their well-being has become dearer to us than the well-being of our own non-Muslim relatives. But what is the reaction to these feelings of solidarity and sympathy? We are mistrusted and sometimes not even recognized as Muslims by Muslims. Really, we feel sorry — not for us but for the Muslim world as such which in the practice is so much opposed to the ideal. Let me tell you, my Muslim brothers who had the good fortune of being born and bred in Islam, not your narrow nationalism but only your practising of Islamic ideals will make you independent, great and prosperous. By splitting up unity among the Muslims of the world and by repelling those, to whom your cause has become their cause, you render a bad service not only to yourselves, but also — and this is far more serious — to our beloved religion to which all our efforts and endeavours should be devoted.

Yours sincerely,

MUHAMMAD AMAN HOBOHM,
Imam.
THE COVER PICTURE OF *THE ISLAMIC REVIEW*  
FOR JANUARY 1952

London.  
20 May 1952.

Dear Sir,

As an English Muslim woman reader of your journal I fail to see what moral effect the formation of the Muslim Women’s National Guard can have on Muslim society. If the writer, Mr. M. I. Kamill’s objection was directed to the introduction of mixed dancing and bathing, it would be quite a different story, but to infer that Muslim women would be prone to moral danger if they have a Corps of their own will serve to prove nothing but his lack of confidence in the moral stamina of his own men and women when put to the test of influences which involve the emancipation of women. Turkish women have shown that they are amenable to Western influences without exposing themselves to the risks which Mr. Kamill so much fears, and speaking as an Englishwoman, it is a poor appreciation of Islam to think aloud as Mr. Kamill has done that all movements of feminine freedom are attributable to the West alone.

Mr. Kamill contradicts himself when he proclaims ‘These observations of mine do not mean that the women in the East should not have their rightful place in public life’, and proceeds to say ‘Rather should they be trained to lead their lives as loyal wives and loving mothers, for which God has created them’. Is he sure that that alone is the function for which God has created them? This kind of reasoning gives non-Muslims who read the interpretation of Islam the idea that Islam is a man’s religion. Woe betide any religion in which the men reserve themselves the exclusive right of interpretation of what is good and what is bad for women. Mr. Kamill is obviously an Indian or Pakistani Muslim and he should have refreshed his memory by referring to the opinion of the late Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall on the condition of women in his own country: ‘The status to which the great majority of Muslim women in India are reduced to-day is a libel on Islam, a crime for which the Muslim community as a whole will have to suffer in increasing social degradation, in weak and sickly offspring, in increasing child mortality, so long as that crime is perpetuated.”

It is a symptom of bad taste to obtrude statistics which a democratic country is not afraid to reveal to point out a moral, when publication of such matter is not countenanced in the writer’s own country.

Yours, etc.

OLIVE TOTO.

* * * *

THE FRENCH WEEKLY, FREE ALGERIA

*L’Algerie Libre*,  
(Journal Hebdomadaire),  
15 Rue Marenco,  
Algeria.  
13 May 1952.

Dear Sir,

You are no doubt aware that our journal, *L’Algerie Libre* (Free Algeria) has always been the target of efforts to stifle it, which constitute one of the aspects of the repression that continues to be exercised by French colonialism against the people of Algeria.

In fact, ever since the appearance of our journal in August 1949 the French administration has been in a state of alert. After the administration had instructed the police to remove the public notices advertising the appearance of our journal, it ordered the seizure of our first issue while it was still under press; this was done by a band of policemen who raided our printing works. We were then constrained to print our journal in Paris, and this we did until September 1950. For a year since that date, in the course of which twenty-eight issues of our journal appeared, we had to wage a constant defensive struggle against the French colonial administration and its diverse instruments of oppression. Over the whole of Algeria the persecution of our journal — the printing and distribution of which we were forced to surround by numerous precautions akin to those usually taken in the case of clandestine publications — was carried on relentlessly by the French administration. The French P.T.T. (posts, telegraphs and telephones), which co-operated with the police authorities, often confiscated the parcels containing our journal and sent them back. In those cases when it allowed them to reach their destination, it did so only after they had been inspected by the P.R.T. (French Intelligence Service) — a thing that meant a delay of several weeks. The distributors of our journal were baited, beaten up and brought up before judicial tribunals not only in Algeria but in France, and particularly in Paris — the 'City of Liberty' — as well. On 15 September 1950 the French Government brought pressure to bear upon the National Society of the Press to refuse the printing of our journal. And so, for almost a year we had to cease publication.

Finally in August 1951 we restarted publication in Algiers. But the French colonial administration, unmindful of the evolution that had taken place in the minds of the people of Algeria, and without paying any heed to the discontent which its methods had aroused even in those circles which had till then been indifferent, renewed its violent campaign against us. It seized the thirteenth issue of our journal while it was still under press, and it did this without having obtained any proper judicial authority. Once again, the wave of underhanded oppression began to be pursued by the administration against us. Our distributors were arrested and copies in their possession were confiscated, our readers were openly intimidated, etc., etc. For some time, however, the administration avoided any spectacular confiscation of our journal, afraid, no doubt of provoking an embarrassing situation at a time when the United Nations General Assembly was in session in Paris. But in February 1952 our issue, No. 42, was confiscated while under press; and since then the administration has missed no opportunity to strike us. Our distributors and myself as Editor and former Directeur for Algiers, were prosecuted before the courts. The administration has now started another method. Before an issue of our journal is due to appear, the police surrounds our printing press and exercises a close day and night watch over it. Any person leaving our premises with a packet is immediately arrested by the police and carefully searched for copies of *L’Algerie Libre*.

It was under such circumstances that issue No. 47 of our journal was confiscated on 26 April 1952. The moment that the first printed copies of our journal appeared and were loaded on delivery vans, the police sprang up and surrounded the vans. But this time it endeavoured in vain to prevent their departure. Then the police broke into the printing works and confiscated what was there — some 8,000 copies. They also smashed the type forms. At the time of writing this letter, strong bands of police are closely watching our printing works and waiting to confiscate the coming issue. It is for this reason that issue No. 48 has not yet come out.

We have endeavoured to give you in this letter an outline of the facts of our case, not only to acquaint you with the methods by which our French rulers seek to respect the Charter of Human Rights, of which France is a signatory, and which provides for the freedom of expression, but also to give you the reason why some issues of our journal have not been sent to you — we refer to issues Nos. 30, 42, 47 and 48. If other numbers have not reached you, it is probably because the French postal
authorities have detained them, for, as we have mentioned above, the postal authorities are willing instruments in the French repressive machine. We on our part have always dispatched to you all the numbers that have not been confiscated outright.

Yours, etc.

A. MEZERNA, Editor.

* * *

‘THE ‘ULAMA AND THE YOUTH OF ISLAM’
37 Rue de Chartres,
Algiers,
Algeria.
14 March 1952.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu ‘Alaikum

I have read with considerable interest your excellent editorial, ‘The ‘Ulama and the Youth of Islam’, in The Islamic Review for January 1952.

You have shown very forcibly how the future of the world of Islam depends to a very large extent on the relations existing between its ‘ulamas and its youth; and how the ‘ulamas, besides their teachings on purely dogmatic matters, should devote their attention to the problems of the younger generation and enlighten and guide them on their rights and duties, and so present Islam in its true light as capable of solving such problems as confront the world to-day.

In short, the ‘ulamas must act as the link between the world of yesterday and that of to-day. In this way, the youth will become proud of their ancestors, and will at the same time proceed to build a better future for their country.

The purpose of this letter is to acquaint my Muslim brethren in the other parts of the world that we in Algeria realized this fact as far back as 1931, in which year was set up the Algerian Association of ‘Ulamas.

For twenty-one years now, this Association has consistently strived to show the people of Algeria the way of salvation by the light of the true teachings of Islam. It endeavoured to revive and restore the Arab heritage and culture by establishing schools, and has also sought to unite together for this purpose the diverse political tendencies in the nation and the various economic forces.

This endeavour on the part of the ‘ulamas would have yielded a greater measure of benefit to the people of Algeria, had not the whole effort been fettered by the French colonial administration in the country. The latter has always been bitterly opposed to the Association of ‘Ulama; it has shut schools opened by the Association, and exiled or put behind bars its members and supporters. In addition, the French administration has blatantly ignored repeated representations and protests made by the Association regarding the religious and cultural freedom of the Muslims of Algeria from control and interference by the French administration.

In Algeria both the Imams and Mujtahids are appointed and paid by the French administration. The Association of ‘Ulama has also endeavoured to induce the administration to make Arabic an official language of the country, but Arabic continues to remain taboo and to be regarded as a ‘foreign’ language.

I venture to hope that our Muslim brethren abroad would deem this Association worthy not only of their attention and approbation but also of their active support.

Yours sincerely,

‘OMAR HAKIMI.

A KIND FRIEND SPEAKS FOR US

S.W. Sanatorium,
Talgarth Bricon,
Wales.
13 May 1952.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu ‘Alaikum

I need not relate here the tremendous work which is being done by The Islamic Review for Islam. The Islamic Review is no doubt the only organ in the world which is read all the Muslim world over, and preaches the teachings of Islam. We the Muslims also owe a responsibility towards Islam and it is our duty to show the light of Islam to the darkened world.

‘Id al-Fitr is very near, and the best present of ‘Id al-Fitr will be one year’s subscription to The Islamic Review for friends or relatives.

We should all make it a point to find at least one subscriber to The Islamic Review, and thus do some service to Islam.

Yours faithfully,

M. BADRUL HODA.

* * *

A BIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE MR. LIAQAT ‘ALI KHAN
Qaid-i-Millat House,
Karachi (Pakistan).
7 April 1952.

Dear Sir,

As perhaps you already know, I have decided to attempt writing a biography of my husband, the Qaid-i-Millat Liaqat ‘Ali Khan, myself, and it is in this connection that I would be most grateful for your help in the collection of authentic material, stories, personal reminiscences, photographs, speeches and any other pertinent data, which you may personally know of, or put me in touch with.

I humbly realize that I have taken on a very ambitious project, especially as I have never been even a dilettante, much less a professional writer, so that what I write may not be a literary masterpiece. That I leave to others better qualified than I am.

To me Liaqat’s greatness was not only, or even pre-eminently, in his wise and honest statesmanship, but in the breadth and depth and wisdom of his humanity, which was the very bedrock upon which his politics were built. This will require sympathetic understanding and handling, and this I feel I can give it, as perhaps no one else can, for it was my privilege to share his life in a complete and close communion for over twenty years.

May I count on your help? I shall need it, and I shall be most grateful for it.

Yours sincerely,

RA’NA LIAQAT ‘ALI KHAN.

* * *

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* The operational figures are from the 1951 Annual Report of Operations to the Saudi Arab Government.

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