LEST WE FORGET

The Kind of State the Quaid-i-‘Azam visualised
Pakistan to be

A land where people of different religions shall enjoy fullest freedom of conscience and live
together in complete harmony as equal citizens of a common State

"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any
other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has
nothing to do with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State... Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time,
Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, be-
cause that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State".

Pakistan must evolve an economic system of its own in the light of Islamic teachings.

"The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity, and to many of
us it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed
to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary
it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half-century. The Western world, in spite of
its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in
history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of
creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way, and present to the
world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of mankind and social justice. We
will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone
can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind".

Democracy is in the blood of Muslims.

"Democracy is in the blood of Mussalmans. I give you an example. Very often when I go to a mosque,
my chauffeur stands side by side with me. Mussalmans believe in fraternity, equality and liberty".

Students must beware of politicians' exploitation.

"My young friends, students who are present here! Let me tell you as one who has always had love and
affection for you, as one who has served you for ten years faithfully and loyally; let me give you this
word of warning. You will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one
political party or the other."
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JANUARY 1959

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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

Picture of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Founder of Pakistan.

★

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Maulana Abdul Haque Vidyarthi is a Pakistani scholar both of Islam and Sanskrit who has translated the Vedas into Urdu.

★

Dr. Guiseppe Tucci is leader of the party of Italian archaeologists just now engaged in excavations in Swat (Pakistan).

★

Edward C. Jandy is a Professor at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, and was a Fulbright lecturer at the University of Karachi (1956-57).

★

Abd-el-Aziz Ben Abdullah is a contemporary historian of Morocco.

★

G. H. Neville Bagot, an Irishman, is a keen student of the politics of the Muslim world. He is a specialist in North African affairs.

The Islamic Review

JANUARY 1959

47th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
PAKISTAN ON THE MARCH AGAIN

After eleven years of wandering in the wilderness, Pakistan, the world’s largest Islamic State, is once more on the march. The ominous clouds of frustration and desperation which had the nation in its grip for long years have suddenly cleared up. A new wave of hope and cheer has swept both wings of the country.

The gallant Armed Forces, which came to the country’s rescue at a juncture when a little more delay might have plunged it in a disarray of unpredictable magnitude, have endeared themselves to the people as patriotic sons of the Fatherland of whom every Pakistani feels proud.

General Muhammad Ayub Khan, whose leadership brought this miracle, has overnight become the people’s hero — even the subject of folk-songs.

The fact that he and his lieutenants saw to it that the revolution they staged should be free from all taint of bloodshed added to the glory of the feat. It has demonstrated to the world that violence is abhorrent to the genius of Islam, which stands for exploring, as far as possible, peaceful solutions to all human problems.

On the international plane, it has not only raised Pakistan’s prestige for constructive statesmanship, but also holds the promise of her proving, in these tense times, a steady force in a most troubled region of the world.

Pakistan was the greatest gift God blessed the Indian Muslims with. But every gift is both an opportunity and a trial. The boon of freedom opened up vast vistas of opportunities for progress and advancement. With the bright torch of the Qur’an in one hand and the glowing light of the Sunnah in the other, the people of Pakistan could have become one of the world’s greatest nations.

Indeed, it was with that objective that they wanted and demanded an independent homeland of their own. They wanted to shape their life in the light and glow of their great Faith and culture, they told the world — a Faith, which, once upon a time, gave humanity a civilization where human equality and social justice reigned supreme.

That was the high aspiration they launched the Pakistan struggle with. They wanted to build a model Welfare State which might show humanity a way out of all-pervading international and inter-sectional mess and chaos. They wanted a corner of God’s earth for their own, where they could experiment with the Islamic values. Pakistan, they proclaimed, was to be a laboratory for experimenting with the moral and social values of Islam.

The world listened to this just demand and under the great leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, it woke up one morning to find a new country added to the world map, with a State and a flag of its own. But subsequently when smaller men stepped into Quaid-i-Azam’s shoes, incapable of the high vision that made the birth of Pakistan possible, the story of Pakistan took a different turn. They monkeyed with an historic opportunity, Pakistan, rather than become the common man’s heaven, floating with milk and honey which it was visualized to be by the Father of the Nation, rather than be an exhibition of the brotherhood, fellow-feeling, and solicitude for the under-dog, which are the basic values of Islam, became a most fertile hunting-ground for self-seekers, political adventurers and narrow-minded racial and religious fanatics, and a hot-bed of intrigues and counter-intrigues. The result was a wholesale mess and chaos, which, if allowed to drift any longer, might well have pushed Pakistan the way of so many other Middle East countries.

The Revolution came as a timely God-send to call a halt to this state of things. And it has been taken as such by the people — as a Providential riddance from a very dark doom that threatened the country. It has been universally hailed as a return to sanity, to the path of constructive genius of Islam from which the nation had strayed so far. It has rehabilitated the nation’s faith in itself, and its destiny. It has shown that the nation’s heart is in the right place, and, if things go wrong, they know how to set them right — and set them right in a dignified manner.

The sense of discipline with which the nation reacted to the dramatic change-over and the universal determination of
the people to make the new era a thorough success, so as to make Pakistan really worthy of the high standards of Islamic social justice, Islamic integrity, and Islamic spirit of selfless service, will undoubtedly go down as the brightest landmark in the history of Pakistan.

The nation is once more on the march. A new spirit is abroad — a spirit to turn a new leaf, to build more truly, more cleanly and more firmly. It is the hope and prayer of every Pakistani that these new architects of Pakistan — General Muhammad Ayub Khan, his Lieutenants of the Armed Forces, his colleagues in the Cabinet, and all his officers and men — may be given the light and strength to build a strong, clean and prosperous Pakistan where hunger, ignorance and disease may be things of the past, and the common man may rise to the fullest stature of human dignity.

THE DIVINE DIVAN

Lord of the Springtime, Lord of ev'ry flower,
Lord of our heart’s-delight, Thou Lord of ev’ry hour.
The Beauty from Thy mighty hand makes this world’s-life a bow’r
Of happiness!

Rejoice, rejoice! (nor think this idle word,
Deeming this mortal life a mockery absurd).
Rejoice with all thine heart,
Beholding the gleaming beauty of the Belovéd’s garment spread.

Over thy Lord’s creation everywhere.
Rejoice, I say, and then prepare thy soul
For greater ecstasies beyond all world’s-delight,
Rememb’ring that thy Lord hath power infinite
And mercy gentler than the dews of even, quite
Beyond thy scope of reckoning or thy thought.

Whilst thou dost live and breath canst thou not feel
The Ocean of His Mercies all around thee, all unsought?
Rejoice! but fail not sometimes in humility to kneel.

Lord of the Belovéd’s is the sunshine of my soul.
The Belovéd is my lifetimes’ glorious goal.
His rays of Mercy blaze
With blessings all around creation’s magic ground.
This is no idle dream nor empty joy, I deem,
For, leaf or blossom, rain or shine,
All things are lit with radiance from His lineaments divine.

By gentleness and mercy and self-sacrifice
Shall man’s best spirit soar above the snow and ice,
Above the ruthless rocks of granite-hearted greed;
Above the hurricanes of hate on worldly pow’r that speed,
Crushing, destroying, devastating, making mercy bleed.
Nay, nay!
Man may
Find for himself two wings of peace
To lift him, still inviolate, with joy that may not cease
To those calm regions blest above the snow and ice
Of man’s misguided hate and man’s misguided vice
By gentleness and mercy and self-sacrifice.

WILLIAM BASHYR PICKARD.

President Ayub on the Significance of Pakistan Revolution

(continued from cover, back page)

Let me announce in unequivocal terms that our ultimate aim is to restore democracy, but of the type that people can understand and work. When the time comes, your opinion will be freely asked. But when that will be, events alone can tell. Meanwhile, we have to put this mess right and put the country on an even keel.

There are certain problems which need immediate solution, yet there are others which are of a long-term nature. We shall do our utmost to solve them and eradicate them. But in all this, I must demand your wholehearted understanding, co-operation and patience. I must also ask you to work hard and put in your best effort. This is the period when our State has to be built and this can only happen if people work, Slogan-mongering can never take the place of hard work. Remember that there are certain things which should be in our power to put right. We shall see that this is done. But there are others, solutions to which are beyond our control. Here all we can promise is our best endeavours, leaving the result to God. So, when judging our performance, do keep these hard realities of life in mind.

Use of civilian agencies

As to the operation of Martial Law, I propose to use the civilian agencies to the maximum. The Armed Forces will be utilized as little as possible. In the main, they will continue to attend to their prime role of external defence. Martial Law regulations will be produced which will tighten up the existing laws on matters like malversation or inefficiency amongst officials, any form of bribery or corruption, hoarding, smuggling or black-marketing, or any other type of anti-social or anti-State activity. Such matters will be dealt with ruthlessly and expeditiously. In other words, the nefarious activities of the bad characters of all description shall be firmly curbed in order that Pakistan is made safe for the law-abiding citizens.

Since Martial Law will, in the main, be operated by the civilian agencies, I must ask them to discharge this onerous and perhaps unpleasant duty honestly, justly and faithfully. Here is an opportunity for you to show your mettle. Go to it and show us what sort of stuff you are made of! Your services have tremendous traditions. Don’t miss this opportunity to revive them and in doing so you can be assured of the Armed Forces’ faithful support. At this crucial juncture it is more than ever necessary for the Armed Forces to be prepared at all times to face external aggression. But they are fully aware that internal stability is absolutely essential if they are to successfully repel aggression from outside.

Some of them may have to be called upon to perform duties in connection with Martial Law. Whatever these duties may be, I expect them to do them loyally, efficiently and unhesitatingly. Their behaviour at all times must be correct, disciplined and impartial. I have every confidence in their ability to face any challenge, however difficult it may be.

A word for the disruptionists, political opportunist, smugglers, black-marketeers and other such social vermins, sharks and leeches. The soldiers and the people are sick of the sight of you. So, it will be good for your health to turn a new leaf and begin to behave, otherwise retribution will be swift and sure. At any rate, they have no cause to feel neglected. We shall be making desperate efforts to catch up with them as soon as possible.

I have spoken to you, my fellow citizens, at some length to put you in the picture and remove doubts and misgivings and to convince you that this extreme step has been taken in your interest and in the interest of the stability of Pakistan. Now let us all bow before Almighty God in all humility to guide us to a better future.

So that we emerge from this hour of trial as a sound, solid and strong nation.

Pakistan Pa'indabad

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
FINIALITY OF PROPHETHOOD IN ISLAM

By M. AHMAD BACHA, B.A.

A few verses of the Qur'an explained which are thought by some people to conflict with the conception of the finality of prophethood

In the end we would draw the attention of our readers to one or two verses of the Qur'an which, apparently, seem to conflict with the idea of finality as already propounded by us. In the following verse the Qur'an says:

"And whoever obeys God and the Messenger, they are with those upon whom God has bestowed favours, from among the (nabîs) prophets and the (siddiqs) truthful and the (shahids) faithful and the (salîhs) righteous, and a goodly company they are!" (4:69).

The verse quoted above has been the basis of some controversy, and it is sometimes argued that the status of a nabi or prophet, of a siddiq or the truthful, of a shahid or the faithful, of a salih or the righteous, is attained by virtue of obedience to God and the Messenger. From this it would appear as though the status of prophethood can even be attained by effort, the effort to conform to God and His Messenger. If Siddiqiyat, Shahidiyyat or Salihiyat can be attained by one's action, why should it not be supposed that likewise nubuwâh can also be attained? It will appear from a perusal of the pages of this essay that this seems to be in conflict with the fact that prophethood being an office is conferred and not realized merely as a result of good conduct. Before we can attempt to reconcile the apparent contradiction, let us assume the position of those who find in this verse the basis indicating the transformation of a follower into a prophet by virtue of his "obedience to God and His Messenger". This brings us face to face with at least two difficulties, the absurdity of which compels us to abandon that interpretation and look to a different one which will be in conformity with facts and the teachings of the Qur'an. According to this position "obedience to God and the Messenger" is the cause which is capable of producing the effect of nabi or prophet. A cause is that which when given necessarily produces a result, and the same cause must always produce the same result. Here the cause assumed is "obedience to God and His Messenger" and wherever this is found the effect must also be found, and wherever the cause is found but without the result or wherever the result is found but without the cause, it must be admitted that "obedience to God and the Messenger" is not the cause or that prophethood is not the result. But as it is, "obedience to God and the Messenger" is an act or a mode of conduct which is incumbent on all human beings, men and women, and as a cause wherever it is found, either amongst men or women, it must be capable of producing the result of prophethood. Under the category of those that must "obey God and the Messenger" are included all the members of humanity irrespective of their belonging to one sex or another. In all the thirteen hundred years after Muhammad or in the years before him, there has not been even a single instance of a woman having claimed or having been proclaimed a prophet of God, though in the Qur'an itself we have mention of revelations having been given to women. Leaving aside the pre-Muhammad period we find during all the thirteen hundred years that there has not been even a single woman having either claimed or having been raised to the status of a prophet. The assumption in that case would be that no woman was capable of "obeying God and His Messenger" or that obedience to God and the Messenger is not the cause, for it did not produce the desired result. It will be apparent at once that the former alternative that no woman was capable of obeying God and the Messenger must be abandoned, for according to the Qur'an God does not impose a duty on any soul beyond its capacity. If it is admitted that God imposed the duty of "obedience to God and the Messenger" on women, He did so because they were capable of such obedience, but if such obedience had not produced the desired result then it must also be admitted that "obedience to God and the Messenger" is not the cause which can produce the same result, i.e., prophethood.

The other difficulty no less absurd appears to me even in the case of the applicability of the principle of obedience to God and to the Messenger. If obedience to God and the
Messenger is capable of producing prophethood, that prophethood must be one without any reservation or qualification. In other words, if obedience to law and the teachings (which is here the significance of “obedience to God and the Messenger”) of a prophet can confer upon the follower the status of a prophet, there is nothing to prevent one becoming as, a prophet, the promulgator of law and the “teacher of a book and authority”. In the verse itself it is nowhere mentioned that he will not be the maker of a law, because according to some friends, nubuwah wa kabirah is capable of being attained by “obedience to God and the Messenger”, and nowhere is it said that it will be nubuwah of this kind or that. Then according to this assumption, it is possible for one to pass on from the follower of law to be the promulgator of law itself. The promulgator of law not only enjoins others to follow the law but himself follows his own law, for no one can conceive of a law without its being intended to be followed by someone as a law, and no one is likely to follow a law unless the promulgator himself follows the law. If one promulgates a law it implies that he intends the law to be followed by others, and if he intends that others should follow the law, it implies that he would himself conform to his own law.

Now, according to all this, it would imply that “obedience to God and the Messenger” is necessary, if at all, for a time until prophethood is attained, and once the status is attained it is no longer necessary to conform to “obedience to God and the Messenger”. In other words, in order to attain to prophethood, “obedience” is necessary, and having attained it, to keep it up or to retain it “revolt” is necessary. By becoming the promulgator of law, he not only dissociates himself from the original set of laws to which he was obedient, but he enjoins others as well to cut themselves away from the law which he himself obeyed, before becoming a prophet — that is, “prophethood” is there but not “obedience”, or effect is there but not the cause. Then it would again mean that “obedience to God and the Messenger” is not the cause and prophethood is not the result.

A saner interpretation

Compelled by these absurdities we look to a saner interpretation of the verse under discussion. In doing so, we would draw the attention of our readers to the word ma‘, which is here translated as with, coming before the words “those on whom God has bestowed favours”, and the words “they are a goodly company”, which govern the significance of the whole verse. What is intended to be pointed out is the broad effect of “obedience to God and the Messenger” irrespective of men or women, or of the many or the chosen few. To all such multitudes of people, men or women, many or a few, some return for obedience is promised in common without distinction, though by individual effort one gets more than another. That which is so promised is “companionship”, and no mention is made of “identity” — i.e., associateship with the prophets, the siddiq, the shahid, and the salih — and it is not said in this verse that one becomess himself the prophet, the siddiq, the shahid or the salih. “Companionship” of the prophets, the siddiq, the shahid and the salih is a common benefit which can be attained by all men or women, small or great, provided only they “obey God and the Messenger”. Obedience here indicated is obedience to the best of one’s ability and as such the Qur’an says the obedient will have their reward — the companionship at least of such noble men as the prophets, the truthful, the faithful and the righteous. It should not, however, be hastily remarked that if obedience does not confer “identity” but only “companionship”, and accordingly if by obedience one attains only “companionship” of a prophet, and not “identity” with him, it must also be admitted that one attains “companionship” and not identity with a siddiq, shahid or salih. In the first instance it must be noted that “companionship” is not in contrast with “identity”; in other words, it is not impossible for one having “companionship” to also have “identity” with another. A group of graduates or musicians not only have between themselves the companionship of each other, but also identity with one another. But what is intended here to be pointed out is that “companionship” is a merit attained not merely by men of the same nature or identity, but is a favour capable of being attained by even those who are not of the same identity or nature. All those who are of the same nature or “identity” have companionship of each other, but it does not follow that companionship is restricted only to those of the same identity or nature — i.e., it does not follow that all those having “companionship” must all be of the same class or identity. In the group of musicians it is not the musicians alone that can enjoy the companionship of each other, but even those that are not musicians can be admitted into the companionship of musicians. If we are to speak of some enjoyment common to the musician and the non-musician, we are to speak of something in which all can share together by virtue of their mere learning to appreciate music or cultivate the taste of music. That common benefit is the enjoyment of music which is attained by “companionship”. What is here spoken of is a general and a very broad enjoyment which even ordinary conformity to God and the Apostle will confer upon all mankind. That benefit which is conferred is “companionship”, which is enjoyable by not merely those of the same “identity” but even by others who are not of the same identity but merely conforming to God and the Messenger.

It is not the purpose of this verse to show what men actually become by obedience to God and the Messenger. This verse merely indicates what humanity enjoys in common on account of “obedience to God and the Messenger” irrespective of their being of the one class or another. But the verses indicating as to what they actually become are different, regarding which it can be said with certainty that there is not even a single verse indicating that by “obedience” one can become a prophet or nabi. On the contrary, however, we have other verses mentioning that by “obedience to God and the Messenger” people do become siddiq, or shahid, or salih.

“And those who believe in God and His messengers, they are the truthful and the faithful ones with their Lord” (The Qur’an, 57:19).

At another place it is mentioned:

“And those who believe and do good We shall certainly make them enter among the righteous” (29:9).

While the word of God should have so profusely reiterated the attainment of all the minor grades of spirituality by those who are obedient, it is inconceivable how the convertibility of one into the greatest of all spirituality, i.e., prophethood, should have been mentioned, if at all, only once, and that not regarding identity but about “companionship”. The fact is that while by “obedience to God and the Messenger” attainment of all the three grades — truthfulness, faithfulness and righteousness — is contemplated, the attainment or convertibility of one by effort into a nabi or prophet is not even dramatic according to the Qur’an.

Another verse that needs a few remarks is the one in chapter Al-‘Araf:
“O children of Adam! if messengers come to you from among you relating to you My messages, then whosoever guards against evil and acts right — they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve” (7: 35).

It is not necessary to dilate upon this verse as the mere indication that rasul, or messengers, will come in the future does not alter the position we have taken above. It will be enough to point out that the use of the term rasul in the Qur’an is more general and much wider than the word nabi. The word rasul etymologically means “the sent one”, and in that sense the word rasul is used in the Qur’an in various circumstances for prophets or nabis, for even the companions of the prophet, the apostles of Jesus, and for angels. The use of this term, therefore, is very wide, and is based merely on its significance of the “sent ones”. As all sent ones cannot be the same, all messengers cannot become prophets or nabis. It will be quite true to say that all nabis are messengers, but it can never be said that all messengers are nabis, in the same manner as it can be said that all kings are men, but it cannot be said that all men are kings. Those who might be indicated, therefore, as capable of coming must be, if at all they do, of a non-nabi or of a non-prophet type.

ARABIC: THE MOTHER OF ALL LANGUAGES
Sanskrit: Its Incognito Offspring

By ABDUL HAQUE VIDYARTHI

“In the history of the human race, the Qur’an is the only book that has proved to be a ‘mercy to all nations’ in all spheres of activity. Every country, nation and religion except Islam claims that its language is the only heavenly language, spoken by God and the angels, and despises other languages by considering them of Satan, Hell or of the untouchables.”

It is stated in the Qur’an1 that God created man and gave him the power of speech. The power of speech includes all the various forms in which one expresses oneself, viz., speaking, writing, gestures and the like. God has declared this to be the greatest gift He has bestowed on mankind.2 Man could not name anything without first discovering some general quality that seemed at the time the most characteristic of the object to be named. Without speech there could be no reason and without reason there could be no speech. So first God created man or a being endowed with conception and the ability to reason. Man was favoured with wonderful vocal organs which form an extraordinary instrument on which words and thoughts are played. Man is made to think. The first manifestation of thought is speech. As man is the best of God’s creation, in the same way the power of speech is the highest faculty bestowed on man by God which distinguishes him from the rest of the creation. It was the ability to speak that gave man a preference over the angels and he was given the title of God’s vicegerent on earth.3 Among the Hindus, Christians, Egyptians and Greeks the power of expression is believed to be the source of wisdom and strength. In ancient civilizations it was also believed to be the cause of all the creations on this earth. Tehuti or Thoth, the well-known deity of Egypt, was the medium through whom the will of God was revealed. Clement of Alexandria enumerates forty-two “Books of Thoth”, of which the first ten are those of the prophet, dealt with the law and of gods. The following ten contain regulations regarding sacrifices and feasts (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, Vol. 2, p. 793). Thoth or Tehuti means inventor of speech or hieroglyphics or letters . . . and the God of Wisdom (New Century Cyclopaedia of Names). No animate or inanimate object came into existence until its name was uttered. God called out the names of all things, and as their names were called they came into existence. God is the author of words and scriptures. Whatever came out of God’s mouth became the words “Indeed God was word and word was God”.4

The Brahmins and the Greeks were against the development of the language. The Greeks considered speech to be the gift of the Holy Ghost (Logos). The word logos itself is derived from the Arabic word lugahah and the English word language is derived from the same root. The Greeks divided mankind into two groups, viz., those who had been blessed by the Holy Ghost with the ability to speak; the Greeks were the only people who came in this group; and they termed the rest of mankind Aglössoi, meaning those who were deprived of the power of speech. In the same way the Germans called the rest of mankind as veela or valla, that is to say, unclean. They considered it derogatory to follow other people in speech, dress or manners. The Poles believed their neighbours to be naeemi, i.e., dumb. The Turks, Russians, Slovaks, Bulgarians — nearly all nations considered themselves to be dumb. In the Middle Ages it was a prevailing opinion that Hebrew was the primitive speech of mankind (Jewish Encyclopaedia, Hastings, p. 307). St. Jerome in one of his epistles to Damascius writes: “The whole of antiquity affirms that Hebrew, in which the Old Testament is written, was the beginning of all human speech” (The Science of Language by Max Muller, p. 145). Origen in his eleventh homily on the Book of Numbers, expresses his belief that the Hebrew language, originally given through Adam, remained in that part of the world which was the chosen portion of God (Ibid., p. 146).

No ancient Greek ever thought of learning a foreign language. Why should he? He divided the whole world into Greeks and Barbarians, and he would have felt himself degraded by adopting either the dress or the manners or the language of his Barbarian neighbours. Greeks called the Barbarians Aglössoi, or speechless (The Science of Language by Max Muller, 1891).

A Dutch author tried to prove that the language in heaven would be Dutch (Hermetica Joannae Goropii Becani, Antwerpiae, 1580). And there is a saying amongst the Swedish: “God spoke to Adam in Swedish, answered in Danish and the serpent spoke to Eve in French” (Andre Kemp in his work on The Language of Paradise).

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A saying in Persian states that only three languages are known in Heaven: the serpent spoke in Arabic, Adam and Eve spoke in Persian, and Gabriel conversed in Turkish. Chardin relates that the Persians believe three languages have been spoken in Paradise, Arabic by the Serpent, etc. (Ibid., p. 149). The equivalent of speech in Hindi is Vak, and Hindus believe it to be a deity. They further believe that Sanskrit is a language of God and except for the Brahmans no one should converse in it. So the language of their sacred writings is by many people taken either for the most ancient language or for the natural language of mankind. Buddhists claim Magadhi is the mother of all languages (Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. 4, p. 23). According to Jewish doctrines the inhabitants of Heaven only spoke one language. The Babylonians' thought of trying to reach Heaven by climbing through the skies, and so they started building a tower! It is recorded:

"And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and lime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language, and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. Therefore the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth." (Genesis X1: 1-9.)

Thus for this very reason, whether rightly or wrongly, according to the Bible, God Almighty disliked the unity of the human race and He descended from Heaven and created differences in the languages of the people. However, it is evident from this that at some time the whole human race lived at one place, and spoke one language. It is reported that God lived with Enoch in the sixth generation of Adam for three hundred years and taught him this language. (Genesis V: 23, 24.)

The Opinions of Orientalists about Speech

Professor F. Max Müller and most of the Orientalists who have done considerable research on languages and have written considerable volumes on the subject are of opinion that languages of the world can be divided into three groups, viz., the languages of the Aryan race, of the Semitic race and thirdly the Teutonic or Mongolian race. They have not given much importance to the last group of languages and have given considerable attention to the languages of the Aryan and Semitic race. They are of opinion that Sanskrit is the source of the languages of the Aryan race, such as English and other European languages and also of Latin, the ancient languages of Greece and Persia. They hold that the true source or mother of all these languages somehow became extinct and Sanskrit is the deceased daughter of this deceased mother, because the roots of Sanskrit, Greek, German, Latin and Scandinavian languages are the same. In English and German dictionaries the derivations of these words have been traced in Sanskrit, but scientific terms have been borrowed from Latin. But, in no part of the world has it been the practice, nor will it ever be, to use derivations in speech. Whenever man invented a speech or God taught him a speech, the first words that were constructed or used were nouns. Even today, wherever a child is born in any part of the world, the first thing he learns is names. Linguists claim that language was created to unite mankind. Some think that man first invented gestures, because names could be conveyed by signs even. For instance when people saw a wolf, they only pointed towards it and said that it was coming. Contrary to this, some are of the view that names are the foremost part of speech, therefore people must have spoken "wolf, wolf" first and made a sign of its coming. So far as the view of Islam is concerned, God Himself gave man the power of speech and the first thing He taught man was names. God Almighty taught the names of man or He gave them the power to invent names (The Qur'ân, 2: 30). A child also makes its first attempt to speak with the words "mummy" and "daddy", which are nouns.

Sanskrit is not the mother of all languages

Professor Max Müller in his wonderful book, The Science of Language, 1891, Vol. 1, p. 234, states: "The religion of the Veda is not the source of all other religions of the Aryan world. Nor is Sanskrit the mother of all the Aryan languages. Sanskrit as compared with Greek and Latin is an elder sister, not a parent."

On page 77 of the same book he states: "Hindustani is not the daughter of Sanskrit, as we find it in the Veda or in the later literature of the Brahmanas; it is a branch of the living speech of India . . . springing from the same stem from which Sanskrit sprang."

And what applies to those Aryan speakers applies with even greater force to the Arabic speakers, because the earliest monuments of Semitic speech, differentiated as Babylonian, Phoenician, Hebrew and Arabic, go back, we are told, far beyond the earliest documents of Sanskrit or Greek. Arabic is more primitive than Hebrew (Ibid., p. 49).

However, it is an admitted fact that at some time there was only one language in this earthly heaven and all the people spoke only one language, and that language was the mother of all languages, and from that origin sprang the daughters—Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, etc. Hebrew is not the primitive language. Hebrew is the usual name of the language spoken by the Israelites up to a few centuries before the birth of Jesus. The term Hebrew is not in the Old Testament. In later times the Jews called it Hebrew, "the holy language." The term "Hebrew language," therefore does not go back to the Old Testament. The Hebrew word "Ibrî" (Genesis 10: 11) comprises of a number of Arabic and Aramaic stocks (The New Schaff Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge, under the caption Hebrew Language).

The Bible relates that difference in language started from Babylon (Genesis 11: 1-9), and it was the difference in language that created enmity and dissension in the human race or that quarrels and disputes among people started a
difference of languages. At first the Aryans and Persians were brothers. Then they fell out: the Aryans called God by the name Dev (God), and the Persians, therefore, called Satan by that name.

**Enmity between different communities causes changes in the meanings of words**

The word “Hindu” was used for a gentleman in India, but in Persia this word was used for a thief or a slave. This is nothing surprising. Hundreds of instances like that can be given, which are a proof of long-hidden enmity between the two nations. The same thing is happening with Urdu in India. If the Muslims in the Punjab use the word matlab (purpose) in their everyday speech, the Sikhs and Hindus distort the word and say matbal. They also distort chaqoo (knife) and say kachoo; and call degcha (cooking utensil) as dechka. There are numerous instances where Hindus and Sikhs have changed the shape of a word just because the Muslims use it in their speech. A Hindu can pronounce the English letter F very well, but when he comes across the Urdu alphabet fe, which is the equivalent of F in English, he somehow feels unable to say F or Fe and makes it Phe. The Hindu Pandits have spoilt the pronunciation of the word lafz and say laphaj instead. In the Madras province (India) there is division between Ayar and Nayars, that is to say Brahmins and non-Brahmins. An Ayar not only considers a Nayar to be an untouchable, but he also considers it uncivil to speak the language of a Nayar. An Ayar never utters a word of a Nayar’s language and does not give the Nayar a right to speak his language. Difference in language does not give rise to different words only, but it also strains harmonious relations. People who have lived together for generations become each other’s enemies.

**Human dignity in Islam**

The word dignity of a human being is untraceable in the Vedas. In the Old Testament, in the Gospels and other scriptures there are castes, tribes, colours chosen by God Himself. The idea of mankind, of the brotherhood of man, as found in the Qur’án, would never have sprung into life without Islam. Arya Duyand Sarasvati, founder of Arya Samaj, says that outside the Aryavarata all are mulekkhas.6 The Savas, Nayannadas, the founder of the Arya Samaj, on the authority of Rigveda, writes: “Excluding Aryavarata all the countries of the world are Asur and mulekkha countries”. In the north of Arva desha (Arva country) is the Himalaya, in the south Vindhiachal, and on the east and west is the ocean (Satyarthprakash Smullan 8, 1887). To the Greeks all their neighbours are Barbarians. Jews say only the Israelites are the chosen people of God. Aryas declare Aryanaprayanitii Ayra (God is the son of God). It is in Dharma Shastra: “Let him (Brahma) not learn a language spoken by Barbarians”. To Jesus Christ the non-Israelite humble woman was equal to a dog: Christians believe that God never spoke in any language save Hebrew. The Jews, Hindus, Persians, Greeks, etc. considered the study of languages other than their own equivalent to forsaking the path of their religion.

In the history of the human race, the Qur’án is the only book that has proved to be a “mercy to all the nations” in all spheres of activity. Every country, nation and religion except Islam claims that its language is the only heavenly language, spoken by God and the angels, and despises other languages by considering them of Satan, Hell or of the untouchables. Contrary to this the Qur’án claims:

[“And among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the diversity of your tongues and colours. In that surely are signs for those who possess knowledge” (30: 21).]

In this verse the fact is explained that the diversity in languages that is found in the vast sections of humanity is caused by the diversity that is found in the structure of the earth, the weather, and this whole universe. It has also been recommended by the Qur’án that scholars should study the different languages, as there are verses of God in different languages and in all colours of nations.

The great characteristic of Islam is that it requires its followers to believe that all the great religions of the world that prevailed before it were revealed by God. It thus lays down the basis of peace among the religions of the world.

More than this, it emphasizes that God spoke to prophets in their respective languages: “We have not sent any messenger but in the language of his nation” (The Qur’án, 14: 4). Hence according to the Holy Qur’án, God spoke in different languages of the world. Accordingly Muslims translated Greek philosophy, Sanskrit and Persian books into Arabic and wrote in Sanskrit language books on astronomy, and never said that that language was of the untouchables. The Prophet Muhammad has done a great service to humanity by encouraging the study of all languages. God sent this “mercy to all nations” to gather together the whole human family, which is badly split up. Consequently, the Prophet Muhammad ended the barriers between different languages by saying that different names for a thing do not change the reality and properties of that thing. A rose may be called by any name — it will continue to give its sweet fragrance. Although there is a vast difference in the make-up of the things in this universe, still there are uniform laws governing them. In the same way, although there are thousands of languages, still there is a universal thread in them all.

**Attempts are being made to prove unity amongst various groups of languages**

Numerous attempts have been made to prove the unity in the Aryan languages. In a like manner, there is considerable literature showing the similarity of Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldean and Aramaic languages. But very little effort has been made to prove the affinity between Aryan and Semitic languages. An effort in this direction will be a great blessing, for it will prove the unity of the human race and unify the scattered and divided sections of humanity.

**Arabic has an extensive vocabulary. No language can compare with it in the wealth of its words**

In the huge mass of languages, Arabic is the most extensive. The Darat al-Ma‘arif of Hyderabad, Deccan, India, has re-printed an old lexicon of Arabic named Jumhurah al-Lughah, which consists of three comprehensive volumes. The introduction has been written by a German scholar, in which he states that Arabic is the most extensive language in the world. It is beyond human power to comprehend its vastness. A book has been published in Egypt called al-Mukhassas which consists of sixteen volumes. There is a detailed discussion in this book on the “Philosophy of the Arabic Words”. There are different names for the various characteristics of the horse, camel, sword, honey, human age and of the numerous animals. Arabic is capable of supplying names for all these things to all the languages of the world. Arabic has a different name for every stage of human emotions, e.g., love and passion, jealousy and enmity, distress and pain. The age,

footnote:

6a Mulekkha means impure.
colour, height, beauty and ugliness, cultivated or wild growth, all find different names in Arabic. There is a different name in Arabic for all varieties of things like the date, grapes, cow, ox, etc. Farrar writes in his *Origin of Language*, p. 85: “In Arabic a work is mentioned on the 500 names of the lion, another on the 200 names of the serpent.” An Eastern author has written a whole book on the words used for honey. He counted 500 without exhausting the subject. The same author maintains that in Arabic there are at least 1,000 words for sord. Others maintain that there are 400 to signify misfortune. Van Hammer counts 5,744 words all relating to the camel (The *Science of Language* by F. Max Müller, Vol. 1, p. 526, published in 1891). This point is further explained by the following example. To cut is an infinitive. The Arabic word for this verb is *Qar*’. A list of all those words follows which describes all the various ways in which this action takes place. This illustrates the fact that Arabic is extensively rich in vocabulary.

- Qatta he cut it out or shaped it any manner.
- Qadda cut cloth in lengthwise.
- Qata cut cloth in breadth.
- Jadda cut into pieces.
- Jatha cut at the roots.
- Jadhdha cut swiftly.
- Jazza cut in pieces.
- Adhdha cut to cause pain.
- Hadhdha cut quickly.
- Qadhda cut out sides.
- Qusa cut a knot of a stick.
- Jizzatun cut it in a good manner.
- Jassa cut with his mouth.
- Jabba cut off penis or testicles.
- Daqqa cut finely that a thing became small in size or diameter as compared with length.
- Dakka cut and smoothen.
- Bakka cut off head.
- Pakka to separate by cutting, deducting, cutting to make a gap.
- Shaqqa to divide in half by cutting.
- Hadda get cut by fall.
- Fast severity of claim.
- Qadda to be executed.
- Batta to cut limb or hair.
- Qataba to collect after cutting.
- Shatt to cut off from cutting.
- Dharib to cut into bits.
- Qardh cut — scissor the tool to cut.
- Tarin cut fruit off tree. Cut off the wool of the sheep.
- Harada cut crops.
- Sarm to interrupt or cut a speech. Cut through.
- Sarim determination to cut.
- Ajram cut for evil purpose.
- Taqriz cut for noble purpose.
- Sharr to open after cutting. Cutting a piece of flesh.
- Abza cut pieces.
- Sabat cut a work.
- Bata cut limb or hair.
- Abair cut off completely in any place.
- Atbar tail cut off entirely. Cut off progeny.
- Batal cut off severely. Cut off from everything for the sake of God or worship.
- 'Azuda cut or lop trees.
- 'Adhda cut or bite hand in wrath. Cut by teeth.

**Fadhda** cut property amongst a people. Cut out a useful thing.

**Bassa** cut into enormous pieces. Cut off. Cut to pieces.

**Shakka** cutting in or making hole in it.

In the same way, to cut slowly, to cut swiftly, to cut in front, to cut from behind, to cut in length, in breadth, etc. — all these modes of action have a word to describe every condition and situation in the process of cutting. There are numerous words for this single action of cutting. Arabic with its vast vocabulary must have given words to other languages. There are thousands of words in Arabic where a change in the short-vowel gives a different meaning to the word. For example:

- Ghamara — abundant water.
- Ghimra — concealed enmity.
- Ghamra — ignorant.
- Sallaam — greetings.
- Silaam — stone.
- Sulaam — bone.
- Kalaam — speech.
- Kilaam — wound.
- Kulaam — hardness of the earth.
- Harra — black-stoney.
- Hirra — acute thirst.
- Harra — chaste woman.
- Halam — to colour the hide.
- Hilm — kindness.
- Hulm — sexual excitement.
- Sibt — Saturday.
- Sibt — imprint of horse-shoe.
- Sibt — sleeping or relaxing.

There are some words which contain two opposite meanings. There is a genuine reason for such words to carry such meanings. For example:

**Sareem**. It is used both for day and night. The reason is that its real meaning is to cut. It is used in this sense because the day cuts the night and the night cuts the day.

**Al-Saarih**. Means both plaintiff and defendants. The real meaning is to complain. This word is used as both complain against each other.

**Riiaa**. Is used for both hope and fear. Because in certain cases both are intermixed.

**Zamm**. Is used for both doubt and belief. Because in doubtful matters both factors are present.

There is a whole book in Arabic on this subject. The aforementioned examples have been cited that these aspects of the language might not be ignored.

Many years ago Mr. Karamat Husain, a Judge of the Allahabad High Court, India, at the request of the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (founder of the Woking Muslim Mission), made a research and on the basis of this claimed that 15,000 words in English have been borrowed from Arabic. Most of these words are used in English in their original form. Thousands of years ago, the inhabitants of India spoke and understood Arabic. Arabic was disfigured into various forms and gave rise to the hundreds of languages we now find in India. The founder of the Arya Samaj movement, Swami Dayanand, has stated in his book, *Satyarth Parkash*, that the Kurus and Pandvas discussed confidential matters in Arabic. The words for mountains, rivers, towns, heaven, earth, names of relations, names of posts, exclama- tions of happiness, bedding and coverings, house, etc., are all in Arabic. The only difference in most cases is that if the words are read from right to left they sound Arabic, and if they are read from left to right they sound Sanskrit. There
is no doubt that old lexicons of Sanskrit which are known by the name of Nirukti do give an explanation of Sanskrit words. But the scholars of Sanskrit strongly differ about the explanations given in these lexicons. They give strong and contradictory explanations for most of the words. In Arabic every word has a definite philosophy and a chain of words related to it. Before a list of such words is given, I will give an example to show the relation between Arabic and the rest of the languages of the world. The words for mother and father are common to all languages and they are pronounced in more or less the same way. Let us make a study of the words used for mother in different languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Lethonian</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Danish</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Welsh</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Icelandic</th>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Zend</th>
<th>Anglo-Saxon</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Slavonic</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Umm</td>
<td>Mader</td>
<td>Mata or Matr.</td>
<td>Matter</td>
<td>Mat.</td>
<td>Mate</td>
<td>Mater</td>
<td>Mutter</td>
<td>Mote</td>
<td>Madre</td>
<td>Madre</td>
<td>Madre</td>
<td>Mere</td>
<td>Moder</td>
<td>Moder</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>Mathir</td>
<td>Modhir</td>
<td>Mathair</td>
<td>Matar</td>
<td>Moder</td>
<td>Mater</td>
<td>Muotar</td>
<td>Mate</td>
<td>Moeder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only this example proves that it is worth while considering that in all the above-mentioned words only “M” is common. A study of languages reveals that the root of all these words is Ma and the same is the root of Mātr in Sanskrit. About the words Mātār (Mother) and Pata (Father) (see Otto Bohling and Rudolph Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch, St. Petersburg, 1865-1868. Bohling and Roth state: “Pa and Ma were probably the much older original onomatopoeic names (the formation of words by imitation of sounds or expressing by sound the thing signified) and mother, which in a later reflection age influence the formation of Pītrī and Mātrī (which themselves go back to the Indo-European period).”

In Sanskrit mother is called Mātrī. Orientalists think that its root is Ma, which is the root for the same word in all Indo-European languages. Contrary to this, my opinion is that no language is based upon roots.

The real words of a language are its nouns, and by changes in the nouns a language is formed.

To search out roots is the work of scholars, and it is evident that there is a difference of opinion amongst the scholars of all languages regarding the roots or derivations for any noun. Every commentator has his own views. The old lexicons of Sanskrit are known as Nighantu, and the commentators on these are called Nirukti Acharya. Mostly they disagree in the explanation or root of a word.

Language begets language. Changes in a language occur when nations mix with each other or when enmity takes place between two nations; then they adopt words of each other’s language after deforming them in shape or meaning. Some words when adopted cannot be pronounced properly because of climatic conditions. The Japanese cannot pronounce the letter “r” properly and in all places replace it with “l”. For example, they pronounce Europe as Eulpe, France as Flance, and Turkey as Tulkey, etc. The Turks cannot pronounce kh and substitute it by h.

It has already been observed that of all the words used to denote mother, the smallest of them is “Umm.” In fact this letter is “m”, which is difficult to utter and therefore needs a vowel in order to be pronounced. In Arabic every letter has a significance. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ta'tam</th>
<th>Tmall</th>
<th>Tamma</th>
<th>Imam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conjunction of two.</td>
<td>collection of goods.</td>
<td>get together with some one.</td>
<td>one around whom every one collects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only does every word have a special meaning, but the change of vowel signs affects the meaning of the word.

For example:

Himal (with Fathah on h) means a burden which can be carried and which may have to be carried in the womb.

Hīmāl (with Kasrah on h) means a burden which is difficult to carry and which may have to be carried on the back.

Hūmāl (with dhammah on h) means a burden which is very essential to be carried.

It is obvious that it is easy for a child to utter the word Umm, and m which conveys the same sense is easy to utter for a child. A similar word is ma'd, which means water, and which is considerably easier for a child to say than water.

The Sanskrit word mātrī or mātā, which is an altered version of Um and mātrā, which is the same word as pronounced by the Maharashtrian Pandits and which are distorted versions of Umahāt, which is the collective noun of Um.

In Arabic singular Umm is another version of ma. This is not the only word. In Arabic there are hundreds of words that have been absorbed by Sanskrit in an altered form.

It is understandable that it is easier for a child to utter Umm. In fact any word which can be spoken by a slight movement of the lips is easily spoken by a child. Words like father, mother, mata and madar, are words which are comparatively difficult to be spoken.

One of the wonders of the Arabic language is that collective nouns are not formed from singular nouns. Instead, in Arabic singular nouns are derived from collective nouns. Whenever man must have given names to objects, his mind must have conceived collective things and gender. A child as soon as it opens its eyes in this world forms a conception about the world collectively. But slowly and gradually he comes towards the principle of “thinking things in twos”, and after determining the gender for every object he fixes a place for every word. One of the interpretations can be given to this verse of the Holy Qurān, and which fits it very well, that “Adam was taught collective nouns” (2: 31). It means that man has the ability to determine nouns of genders and form and give a name to every object. Man gives names by conceiving an idea about a certain object. No other creature has been gifted with this ability, whether animals or angels.

Why is mother called Umm in Arabic? For this we have to refer to the Arabic lexicons. Any being which nourishes a thing improves it from beginning to end, and is referred to by the word Umm. Those people who have claimed that the root of all the words in different languages
for mother is *ma*, can never prove that the Sanskrit word for mother has the conception or meaning of *ma*.

An Arab calls the mother of an animal in its collective form as *Ummaat*, and the mothers of human beings as *Ummahat*. But this subtle and delicate difference is not observed in Sanskrit. In India a cow is called *Go-mata*, and the country itself is called *Bharat mata*. In their mind the word *mata* has a limited meaning and not the comprehensive meanings contained in the conception of mother.

Like the word for mother, there is another word which is a source of language, and that is father, which is pronounced in more or less the same manner in all languages, i.e., English, German, and various European languages, Sanskrit, Persian, etc., e.g., father, and the root of all these words is *Pa*, and according to the principles of investigation into languages, the roots for all these words should be one. Undoubtedly, there is a root for this word in Sanskrit, i.e., *Pa*. But this root is unable to give the philosophic interpretation of the conception of father. My objection to this root is the same as the one I have for *ma* being the root of *matri*.*

Language is never formed by roots but by nouns. It is the job of scholars who follow to dig out the common factors in the family of words and thus determine the roots. But they can never make a new language from roots.

However, the philosophical explanation of father is as follows: “He who begets a child, one who exercises paternal care over another, a fatherly protector or provider, the nearest male protector”.

The Sanskrit word for “one who provides” is not *Pita* but *Ganitir*. Still, the conception of spiritual nourishment is not contained in the word at all. It is just as if someone has said that father is derived from feeder, meaning one who provides us with bread. But such statements are frivolous. The word *Pa* does not contain the meaning of giving spiritual sustenance nor does it mean “the nearest male ancestor”. The Arabic word for father is *ab*, which is a very short one. In fact it is the smallest word in all the languages of the world to express the idea of father. The root of this word is *b*, and it needs a vowel to precede it so that it becomes easy to speak. In Arabic *ab* is not the root but the noun. The Sanskrit root for father is *Pa*, and this is a distorted form of *ab*, because *p* of Sanskrit changes into *b* when written in Arabic and the Arya people convert *b* into *p*.

The Arabic lexicon explains the word *ab* as one who begets, who is the source of creation, improvement or manifestation. The Prophet Muhammad has been called the father of *Mu'minun* because he is the source of spiritual instruction and development for all the believers.

2 In Sanskrit the root *Pa* means (1) to drink, *patrika*, to measure with a vessel or with *patra*; (2) to watch, keep, preserve, protect, care; (3) *pitri*, to watch, keep, preserve, protect or care.

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A DECADE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN PAKISTAN

By EDWARD C. JANDY

It is now ten years since Partition brought Pakistan into being. This drastic surgery on the sub-continent created a large Muslim State with the fifth largest population in the world. The two divisions (called Wings) of Pakistan, East and West, are separated by 1,100 miles of land and 2,600 miles of water. They are strikingly different in geography, topography, soil and climate.

The West consists of a varied landscape from the desert of the Sind to the snow-clad Himalayas of the North. The Northwest Frontier Province is dry, mild and hilly. The Punjab is mainly plain country through which the famous Indus and four other rivers run. East Pakistan is sub-tropical, part of a plain of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers—mostly flat.

The West has extreme variations in temperature except for the coast. In January and February the temperature may be freezing at night, scarcely rising above 75 degrees during the day. The summers are hot, with temperatures between 90 degrees and 120 degrees with cool nights. East Pakistan for two-thirds of the year (Mid-March to end of October) is sub-tropical with high temperature and humidity. A dry season is followed by heavy rains. Through November to February, coolness sets in, humidity is low and rainfall scant. Rainfall varies in Pakistan from 70 inches in the West to 400 inches in the East.

The 1951 census credits West Pakistan with a population of 33.7 million with a density of 113 and East Pakistan, a much smaller area, with 41.93 million and a density of 773. All these natural differences between the two wings of the country must be borne in mind in any study of Pakistan, for they colour most of the political, social and economic life of the nation.

If a nation, in the first decade of its existence, does little more than demonstrate its viability to the world, to this extent it must be reckoned as a success. Pakistan has done more than this. The purpose of this article is to show some of the socio-economic gains of this decade.

Partition inevitably was accompanied by rude shocks and vicissitudes. Disorganisation, bordering chaos, was widespread as an estimated twelve million people engaged in a vast population shift between Pakistan and India. Some 6,500,000 displaced people entered Pakistan, most of them coming from East Punjab, some 360,000 from the province of Delhi, fewer from Northern India. An estimated 5,500,000 Hindus and Sikhs left for India from West Pakistan. Authorities worked desperately to restore some semblance of sanity, law and order and to alleviate misery and hunger. In the shuffle of population, Pakistan gained 1,000,000 people.

Crucial problems and difficulties confronted the new State. The great stream of refugees had had to be rehabilitated. About 75 per cent. of the total were located in the agricultural areas, most of them in West Pakistan. This presented a less difficult problem than the handling of urban refugees. Finding or allocating areas, and housing accommodations for them has been difficult and costly. In Karachi alone 700,000 (some think one million) lived for years under exceedingly trying circumstances, and as late as this writing, many still live in wholly inadequate quarters, crowded, filthy and poor.

There was a paucity of trained civil servants to carry on governmental services, and an almost complete lack of office space, furniture and equipment. In 1948, Pakistan lost through death the services and sobering influence of its great leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Shortly thereafter, her first Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan, was assassinated. Persistent ten-
sions, anxieties, and potential conflict over Kashmir arose. This situation has necessitated the retaining of a large armed force in the field which became and is still an onerous financial drain on limited resources. Apart from all this, Pakistan was also going through the wringer economically and politically. Further, for a decade now, it has not been easy to maintain the harmony and unity of the two widely separated wings of Pakistan. Already the nation has discovered a disturbing truth—that it will take more than a common Muslim religious heritage to keep the two wings united. It is nonetheless worth recording that within two years of Partition, Pakistan was able to bring about order; get the economy going by restora-

tion and consolidation; begin trade and start plans for further development and growth. The conclusion from all the foregoing is inescapable: Pakistan up to now has proved her viability and her right to a just place in the International Community.

Industry

It is in the industrial sector of her economy that Pakistan’s greatest gains (or progress) have been made. Before Partition, the areas that to-day constitute both wings of Pakistan were virtually excluded from industrialisation by the former British Government of India. The government of Pakistan early decided (1947) that if the country was to achieve a more balanced economy, industrialisation must be undertaken. In the following year a statement of policy was declared regarding new industries: (a) they should earn more foreign exchange than they expended for plant equipment, raw materials and replacement, (b) they should reduce imports and thus conserve foreign exchange.

At Partition, there were no jute mills; to-day there are 13 with 7,500 looms. Then, there were 14 cotton mills with 166,000 spindles and 4,824 looms with a capacity production of 761 million yards, and with handloom production, a capacity of 90,000,000. To-day, the cotton textile industry, with 1,691,876 spindles, and 26,104 looms, can almost meet its own domestic demand. With only two woollen mills to start with, Pakistan now has fifteen, or enough to take care of both its own woollen needs and to export some of its raw wool. The shoe industry, especially, has grown to such size that it not only satisfies the home market, but exports its products. The extension of production of pharmaceuticals has likewise been achieved. The Karnaphuli paper mills in East Pakistan were completed in 1953 with a capacity production of 30,000 tons per year. With three new board and paper mills planned for nearby Nowshera, Pakistan’s present paper and board needs will be met. About one-half of the country’s annual sugar needs of 265,000 tons are now being produced. From seven to twelve crores (one crore equals $10,000,000) of sugar are at present purchased abroad. This is one more drain on Pakistan’s foreign exchange.

In 1955, cement production stood at 700,000 tons. Two new factories already produce an additional 400,000 tons. Domestic requirements at present stand at 1,000,000 tons yearly. Pakistan can now export cement. Cigarette production in 1955 was nearly a half billion cigarettes; a new plant at Jhelum will up this by one half. A completely new sports goods industry thrives at Sialkot. One of the largest natural gas fields in the world was found in Pakistan. Already a 350-mile pipe-line furnishes Karachi industries with gas from

1 As a matter of fact if the two wings are still pulling together despite some misgivings as to their political and economic positions it is due entirely to the binding link of Islam. The differences between the East and the West wings of Pakistan are no more than the domestic differences that one inevitably finds even in a family circle.—Editor, I.R.

Sui. Plans to pipe gas to other industrial areas in the country are well advanced. Enough gas has been discovered to take care of the country’s needs for a century. Thus the saving of foreign exchange on coal imports is obvious.

Iron ore deposits were once regarded as negligible. Today, estimated deposits discovered already stand at 28 million tons with reserves estimated up to 100 million tons. The quality of this ore has been judged as similar to what is currently mined and milled in Germany. Before Partition, there were 25 rolling mills with a capacity of 65,000 tons per annum. At present, there are forty in West Pakistan and one in East Pakistan, with a total output of 150,000 tons. There is talk of putting up a steel billet producing plant at Multan with a capacity of 69,000 tons. A controversy has arisen over the wisdom of such a plan. Proponents favouring it suggest that sooner or later such a plant must be built if Pakistan is to satisfy her need for more steel to manufacture tools, machines, farm implements, and the like. They also argue that opposition to the plant comes only from vested interests, the present operators of extant rolling mills, or blind officials of Government. Opponents of the plan suggest that this only means more government subsidies, and would result in the depletion of the small reserves of foreign exchange, necessitating loans from foreign countries or the World Bank.

Coal production rose to 600,000 tons in the first ten months of 1956, an increase of 100,000 tons over the entire year of 1955. The search for oil continues on a large scale. Six companies are now engaged in oil exploration in both wings of Pakistan. Oil fever and expectations are both high at present. Numerous other operations are afoot to discover other mineral resources of the country. A number of small plants are already producing in the fields of pharmaceuticals, plastic and tanning. Pakistan seeks to develop her shipping industry. Shipyards and dry docks are in process of building at Karachi, and at Khulna and Narayanganj in East Pakistan. Pakistan’s fleet consists mainly of obsolete ships, too old for international operation, and are now totally inadequate for her needs.

In connection with the rapid rise and expansion of industries in Pakistan, it is important to distinguish by the respective roles of government and private enterprise. The policy set forth in 1948 testifies to the fact that government intended to encourage and support private enterprise to invest capital in the building of industries. This it did by enabling legislation, its organisations and through fiscal incentives. Despite this policy, private investors responded slowly and reluctantly in subsequent years, except in such industries as cotton textiles. The government, upon establishing an Industrial Development Corporation which became (1952) the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, or PIDC, for short. It is this body that is primarily responsible, and deserves credit, for Pakistan’s quite impressive industrial development and expansion. By virtue of its greater financial, planning, surveying, and building resources PIDC was able to execute with dispatch any decisions made by it. Twelve different industries were entrusted to it for development; all were industries for which private capital was either not advanced, or contributed to an inadequate degree to do the job, or in some instances, private enterprise lacked the knowledge for proper development.

There are many Pakistanis in and out of government who strongly believe that now is the time to assess the rapid industrialisation since Partition. There is need to discover where industrialisation has led the country up to now, what problems this rapid process has given rise to, and what it portends for the future of the country. The Constitution, just put into effect, places all industries, except for defence and those
owned by either the Government or PIDC under the control of the Provincial Governments. Appropriate legislation exists for the control of all industries for the Centre, but no such legislation is found to guide the Provinces. It is just this fact which poses serious questions and problems for the Provincial Governments. Considerable protest has arisen about the different rates of development in both wings. There is much bitter feeling in East Pakistan over the inequitable aid given the West for development compared to that given to the East ($239 million vs $118 million). As a result, an Economic Council has been set up to equalise this aid more justly. The Provincial Governments (without appropriate legal sanction still) are now confronted with questions and problems such as these: there has been too much concentration by industrialists on the production of consumers’ goods (70 per cent. of the total) and not enough on producers’ goods; too many industries have been built which depend almost wholly on imports for their raw materials such as chemicals, rubber, dye—thus eating up precious foreign exchange. Many industries have been concentrated in areas remote from their raw materials sources to the point where they have become uneconomic (some textile plants with a million spindles are an example). These same plants are also located far from any pools of skilled manpower. Again, how much of this rapid industrialisation has taken place at the expense of, or detriment to, agriculture? Lastly, if the bulk of the economy rests on an agricultural basis, is it not time that agriculture enjoy some of the priority and concern which Government has lavished upon industry? These are cogent queries for which equally cogent answers must be found.

Agriculture

Agriculture occupies the efforts of 85 per cent. of all Pakistanis at getting a living. It represents 60 per cent. of the national income, and earns 89 per cent. of all the country’s foreign exchange. Even if we discount the lack of reliable statistics and the conflicting reports and claims of officialdom, agriculture presents a picture that is both depressing and alarming.

Since Partition, there has been a general increase of about 1.5 million acres in land put under major crop cultivation. Increases are recorded for the years 1948-55 of 5.2 per cent. in the area under such food grains as wheat, barley, maize, etc.; and of 8.3 per cent. in the area under such cash crops as jute, cotton, tobacco, etc. Although the area under cultivation has risen, production has fallen 6 per cent. during this period! What is happening is this: in West Pakistan, except for irrigated areas, 97,000,000 acres suffer varying degrees and kind of erosion and from unsuitable crop rotation. There is a deplorable lack of fertilisers—one pound per acre as against 60 for Japan and 300 pounds for Western Europe—with consequent soil exhaustion. Salination takes 75,000 acres of land out of cultivation each year in the Punjab, where 14.6 million acres are affected. Water-logging in irrigated areas ruins another 10,000 acres each year of once-productive land. The maund yield (approximately 97 pounds) per acre is dropping steadily. Compare its 768 pounds per acre to Egypt’s 1,620 pounds, and the U.K.’s 2,166; the paddy yield is 1,249 pounds per acre versus Japan’s 3,361, and Italy’s 4,552. No one has described the entire scene more tersely and aptly than John O. Bell, the later Director of I.C.A. in Pakistan. In a public address entitled, “American Aid and the Agricultural Crisis in Pakistan” he said, “If this state of affairs is allowed to continue at its present rate, the Valley of the Indus, within less than half a century, will become a desert!”

In view of the crisis in agriculture and the long-standing apathy and policy of inaction behind it, it should occasion no surprise that, as regards food, Pakistan is in a state of chronic crisis. As one Pakistani writer lately expressed it, “If words could grow more food, this country would have established itself since long (ago) as a reputable granary of the world, and what is more, maintained this covetable position without any effort beyond the effort of talking. The sinister combination of decreasing yields from the land, and fast increasing population has brought us face to face with near-famine conditions.” A constant import of grains has become necessary. Even now negotiations are under way for the purchase of 3,000,000 tons of food grains from the United States over the next three years. Thus precious foreign exchange resources are needlessly used up. The proponents of agriculture in Pakistan argue that it is useless to repeat the cliche, “Agriculture is the backbone of the economy.” What agriculture needs is something of the vision, planning, governmental support, and dynamic action that has been lavished upon industry since Partition. Until this is done, Pakistan will continue to confront more productive agricultural nations with an empty bread basket in one hand, and an empty rice bowl in another, looking for a bargain, or a handout.

Distribution of national income among various social classes of Pakistan is extremely unequal

The national income of Pakistan reflects the changes that have been taking place in the economy during the decade from an almost wholly agricultural to a semi-industrial one. It rose steadily from 1949-50 until 1955-56, from Rs. 17,238 million to Rs. 19,857 million. There was a decline in 1955-56 over the previous year of 1.7 per cent., due chiefly to lower crop production. Agriculture, including livestock, fisheries, and forestry, made up 60 per cent. of the national income. Manufacturing provided another important source of income. The large-scale type alone, for example, increased from Rs. 250 million in 1949-50 to Rs. 1,142 million in 1955-56, or 357 per cent. The per capita income rose from Rs. 231 in 1955-56. (It should be noted that all these figures are based on constant prices, an average between those of 1949-50 and 1952-53.) The pronounced decline in 1955-56 reflected the national increase in population. The cost of consumer goods rose generally—soared is a better word—in this same year, due to the revaluation of the rupee and the serious floods in East Pakistan. Soaring prices hit the middle and poor classes mostly; estimates placed the total rise in food costs as being nearly 50 per cent. higher than costs of two years prior. Both inflation and rising costs of living are continuing at this present writing.

As one might naturally suppose, the distribution of the national income among the various social classes of Pakistan is extremely unequal. The large landholders, big merchants, and industrialists are wealthy, even rich. The masses and agricultural villagers are poor. Most of the industrial workers of the country are well off, compared to the villagers. To compare the income of the masses of Pakistan to that of like classes in Western countries would be as odious as it would be unfair. The living standards of the masses is definitely sub-marginal; this despite the fact that agriculture is still basic to the whole economy. Yet neither the income of the masses nor their living standards can be raised appreciably unless agricultural production rises and unless some checks are placed upon the rapid growth in population. Other equally urgent reforms must take place to improve production and the standards of living.

Legislation is needed to prevent further fragmentation in the size of agricultural holdings through a redistribution of
land. The peasants need financial assistance as well as better storage facilities so as to command better market prices for produce. They are too illiterate and fatalistic to be able to evaluate their own lot and to find remedies to improve it. It would, for example, be too much to expect the peasants to cope alone with the vested interests, landlordism, exploiting loan sharks, soil erosion, salination, and waterlogging. They need understanding and help from government and its ministries much more than they have hitherto received to raise their income and living standards.

Population

One of the most crucial problems Pakistan faces, in common with India, China and Japan is a rapid growth in population. According to the 1951 census, the rate of increase per annum is 1,095,000 or about 1 per cent.; more badly, this means 125 more mouths to feed every hour. Population theorists and economists have called attention to the fact that many economic schemes intended to raise national and individual income and to improve standards of living are self-defeating unless checks are put on birth rates. That Pakistan's population is rising at a greater rate than her resources, to the point where it already reduces the national and per capita income of 1955-56, is evident. The only pragmatic answer is family planning. This movement is really just beginning to get under way in such cities as Lahore, Karachi, and Dacca where outstanding women leaders and some social workers are sparking it. But unlike in India, the Pakistan movement has not yet received enough government and popular support to give it self-propelling impetus.

A number of difficulties all interrelated should be attacked together: contraceptives cannot be utilised by the masses who most need them unless the high cost is borne by the government or private philanthropy; much popular misunderstanding that family planning only stands for birth control and not the general well-being of the family unit, and that birth control violates moral and religious teachings, must be overcome. All these difficulties will only yield with larger financial support, education, and healthy propaganda by government, philanthropy and adequate leadership from all social classes and women's organisations. While little is said about it in the large cities of West Pakistan, such as Lahore and Karachi, there is a strong feeling among women community leaders that what India has already done to attack its rising population problem, Pakistan can also do.

At Partition, a number of Pakistan's public institutions were lost to India. Among these were medical institutions, including their technical staffs which were non-Muslim. Likewise so lost were all British Medical Services with their senior administrative personnel. Within three years a number of Health Conferences were held. Committees were set up for study and survey of the medical and public health situation with departments and directorates. Responsibilities were allocated for both the Centre and Provinces.

Since Partition, four more medical colleges have been organised in various parts of the country. One of these is intended to train only women doctors. Today there are eight medical schools. A great deficiency of medical teachers, specialists and research workers has necessitated the sending abroad of hundreds of medical people for higher training. The extreme shortage of trained nurses has been partially alleviated by the establishment of three training centres at Dacca, Karachi, and Lahore. Foreign aid grants, both financial and technical advisory, have also been directed toward the improvement of nurse training. The fact that tradition frowns upon young women entering the medical nursing profession has complicated Pakistan's problem. Maternal and child health projects are getting modest attention, again mostly through foreign grants. A midwifery training school with equipment for training midwives and nurses, better supplies, trained personnel, and fellowships for study abroad have all been provided.

The health problem of the country is better known than is the morbidity of the people. Poor standards of nutrition, filth, squalor, widespread lack of sanitation, and hygiene, overcrowding of people, and growing urbanisation all contribute to such a critical situation in health as to make Pakistan's life expectancy (30 years) one of the world's lowest. The major scourges are tuberculosis and malaria. Rough estimates place the death rates from T.B. in the cities at 300 per 1,000. A recent investigation found that 30 per cent. of government workers have T.B. Each year 200,000 or nearly 500 a day die. An almost total lack of facilities and programme for proper treatment and prevention obtains. But modest beginnings have been made: a T.B. Control and Demonstration Centre in Karachi, a model Centre at Dacca, with the help of various foreign medical organisations and local teams. Already by the end of 1955, over 16,4 million people were treated and not quite half as many were vaccinated in both Wings. Plans set a target of 35 million tests to be given as soon as feasible at the rate of 3,000,000 per year.

As regards malaria, 60,000,000 Pakistanis live in endemic areas. Thirty per cent. of the whole population suffers from it each year. Since malaria is easier to deal with than is T.B., great headway and progress have been made through the combined efforts since 1947 of the Malaria Institute and the help of UNICEF and ICA in 1951. A DDT production plant at Nowshera is running on a non-profit-loss basis with government funds.

The extent of venereal disease in Pakistan is unknown. Two Social Hygiene Centres have been established, one at Chittagong, and one in Karachi in 1952. A year later, a Health education Bureau was set up in the capital city to make a start on this gigantic problem of health education. A Heart Clinic, a School Health Service, and a Medical Research Association have also been established at Karachi.

Education

Pakistan inherited with India an educational system dating back a hundred years. It was Western and British, purely literary and intended to generate young bureaucrats for the government civil service. It was not indigenous to the culture of the sub-continent and so hardly met the needs of either the Hindu or Muslim people. The tone of the First Educational Conference in 1947 was set by a message sent to it by the country's great leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He clearly set forth the ideals upon which education should be founded and what its content should be: not purely literary and academic, but practical, technical and scientific as well. For one thing, this meant something of a break with an educational tradition with its British cultural bias which not only Jinnah but most of the other educated people of the sub-continent shared. For another, it meant the development of an educational system which, while it could not completely divorce itself from all its Western bias, would be more peculiarly Pakistani. And this meant, of course, that since the State was Muslim, education would have to be an organic relationship between the secular and the Islamic faith. Moreover, since democratic ideals are implicit in the Islamic ideology, education would not only nurture these, but become the vehicle for their transmission to each generation. A State that sets out to be a modern democracy cannot nurture its citizens in the soil of illiteracy and ignorance. The magnitude of the job placed before the educational and government leadership is apparent when we
are reminded that illiteracy of the Pakistani masses is about 83 per cent. Reconstruction and expansion are the order of the day, even in the face of inadequate resources of money, facilities, and trained personnel. Together then, leaders in education and government (through the Planning Board) have already developed the first Five Year Plan, 1955-60, for education and training with appropriate targets and priorities upon which to concentrate.

Co-operative Societies

The Co-operative Movement appeared on the sub-continent more than a half century ago where it was introduced by the British. It spread rather rapidly at first, but more slowly later. Co-operative societies in India always had to fight against the stranglehold of the local moneylenders who were willing to loan for any purpose beside weddings and feasts so long as the interest charges were high. When Partition came, many of the baniyas fled Pakistan, with the result that the peasants and villagers began to discover the real value of the Co-op Societies. This was notably true of the many refugees who swarmed into such cities as Lahore and Karachi by the tens of thousands. It was the Co-ops that played a considerable role in providing funds for various housing projects. Co-op societies were already numerous and varied in Pakistan before Partition. They functioned primarily as credit societies and in the production, processing and marketing fields. Even so, there were already indications in 1952-53 that many of the Co-ops were liquidating, allowed to die a natural death, or become inactive. At one time, the Agricultural Co-ops numbered 10,000 in the Western Punjab with over 800,000 members; some 1,000 in the North-West Frontier Provinces with 110,000 members; and nearly 30,000 societies in East Bengal. The Pakistan government did much, through loans and financial grants, to support the Co-ops.

It is nonetheless difficult to assess the Co-operative movement as a whole since Partition simply because detailed, objective studies are not available. There are those observers of the movement who believe that one of the main ills from which co-operatives now suffer is that they evolved by superimposition from the top with insufficient natural growth from the bottom. At any rate, an Enquiry Committee recently handed in an extensive report with these basic recommendations: that the movement be redirected; that in order to replace the onerous moneylender, loans be linked with marketing and the supply of consumer goods; that tube wells be sunk. The Committee urges that Co-operatives be of three types: primary, made up of individuals only; secondary, or those operating on a district level in a central capacity, but with representation from the individual members; and lastly, a third type operating on a Provincial level, but with members from the first and second types included as representatives. Unfortunately, this committee made no mention of such crucial related problems as landordism, tenancy and land reform. If these recommendations can be implemented in action, the numerous Co-operatives in the village life can again be made to function. It will be interesting to see in the future the extent to which Co-operatives take on a new lease of life as one of the results of the Village Aid Programme now in effect in Pakistan.

Village Aid

Among the notable items in the whole complex of socio-economic programmes in Pakistan is the Village Industrial Developmental Programme, called Village Aid. Since six out of seven Pakistanis live in villages, it is evident that the Village Aid programme is not only very comprehensive but ambitious. It is intended to be wholly "grass roots" in character; hence, democratic in conception and essentially educative.

The entire V-aid programme has been set up and approved in a five-Year Plan by the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Central Government. There is a frank recognition of the fact that although the villager is the very core of Pakistani life and agricultural production, for centuries he has had as his lot illiteracy, ignorance, disease, and poverty. If the economy of Pakistan is to move forward, more attention will have to be paid to agriculture and the cottage industries. The plan has two general objectives—to stimulate co-operation and self-help of the villagers. It defines the problem of the villagers somewhat as follows:

(a) inefficient agricultural organisation and techniques of production with marketing practices that are unsound, with resulting low consumption of agricultural products.
(b) low level of health and sanitation; high mortality and short life span, with high morbidity.
(c) low quality and quantity of industry products as well as their under-consumption.
(d) high illiteracy and low cultural level.
(e) desultory interest and participation in local self-government and in the solution of community problems through mutual aid.

There had always been some concern shown by Government about the welfare of villagers. For various reasons little success was made:

(a) government units did not co-ordinate their efforts; they lacked not only technical know-how, but any real understanding of the sociology of village life and its problems; villagers were suspicious or unresponsive.
(b) their efforts were both sporadic and unsustained.
(c) programmes were not only superimposed from the top, but unrealistic and inadequate where village needs and attitudes were concerned.
(d) more concern about maintenance of law and order was shown than about the actual welfare of the villages.

The plan of Village Aid encompasses more specific objectives that may be summarised as follows:

(a) to raise the production output and income of the villager through modern techniques of farming, health, sanitation; to utilise cottage industries and Co-operatives.
(b) to increase the community services now available in rural areas such as schools, hospitals, health centres, and dispensaries.
(c) to create and nurture the spirit of self-help, initiative, and leadership of the community.
(d) through recreation and other social facilities, make for a richer village life.
(e) making a genuine Extension Service of various related Government Departments by co-ordinating and concentrating their resources and activities.
(f) to give a welfare bias to the entire administrative structure of government.

Each Wing of Pakistan will be divided into Development Areas consisting normally of some 150 villages. Already some 30 areas have been opened to the programme embracing some 4,000 villages and about 3.5 million villagers.

The key figures in the Village Aid programme are the village workers. There will be some 1,200 of these workers. After satisfying certain requirements, all recruits are given basic training. For this purpose, nine institutes, six in West
Pakistan and three in East Pakistan, have been established. By 1959-60 it is hoped that there will be eleven institutes turning out enough trained workers to carry out the programme. A proposal has been made to establish two academies for each Wing of Pakistan whose purpose would be to train Supervisors and Development Officers. These would direct the efforts of village workers in the field. The academies would also offer short in-service orientation courses for those officials whose government work directly relates to the Aid programme. Sites and locations for the academies are now under government study.

Already some 750 workers are taking their skills and training into the villages, seeking to win over the villagers through practical, pragmatic effort, talking over and attacking village problems. Village Councils have been set up so that local leaders can be used or further developed, and to see to it that what the villagers do not need or are not prepared to contribute to, is kept out. Chand Tara (youth clubs) have been organised (355 for boys and 27 for girls) in some 30 Development Areas. These clubs have adopted the best features of their prototypes, the 4-H Clubs in the rural areas of the United States and elsewhere, where they have served their communities so well.

The entire Aid programme is based on a plan to carry it from 1955-60. Even the casual reader could not fail to be impressed by a number of important points: (a) the sound organisational structure through which it functions; (b) the efficient division of labour of its personnel from top to bottom; (c) the pragmatic and hopeful character of its guiding philosophy; (d) the realistic economics behind it; and (e) the careful estimates of costs of the programme.

It is too early to give any objective appraisal of how well the programme is succeeding as a whole. The cake of custom through which the village workers have to break has a tough crust, baked for centuries in the sun of illiteracy, apathy, and even suspicion. There are fewer tasks more difficult than teaching and guiding people to develop a capacity for self help and fewer tasks still that are more rewarding for all. Observers in villages of the Punjab and in East Pakistan are already convinced that the villagers do respond when they are shown how they can help themselves to better sanitation and hygiene facilities, more healthful water supplies, and more productive ways of working with the soil.

Fortunately, built into the programme is a strong determination that "During the third year of this Plan, the entire V-Aid Programme in each of the Developmental Areas will be critically examined," and evaluated. It would be most fortunate indeed if this entailed doing a thorough research job by competent sociological teams on a scientific basis. Only by such research can the success or failure of the effort be demonstrated. The writer was given to understand that already ICA and the proper ministry of government, have been formulating ways and means of getting this research done. Certainly, the most charitable observer would grant that the magnitude of the job V-Aid is trying to do will explain many of its present shortcomings.

The Role of Women

A great deal has been written about the changing status and role of women in the Middle East during the past thirty years. This role has been changing likewise in the sub-continent. At the birth of Pakistan, Jinnah gave a message to the women of the country, praising them for standing behind their men in the struggle for freedom. "In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty." The women of Pakistan have not yet entered public life in such large numbers as they have in other Muslim states, such as Egypt, Turkey, or Iran, but they are doing so increasingly. Outstanding leadership among them is represented by such notable persons as the Begums Liqat Ali Khan, Nazimuddin, Hamidullah, and Fatimah Jinnah. Everywhere in Pakistan one sees them in the urban centres as symbols of a changing social order.

The contrast between the status of women in the rural villages and the larger urban centres is still great. In the villages, few social services exist such as for infant and child care. Infant mortality and morbidity rates are extremely high. Among women of the middle class purdah (segregation) and the burahah are still symbols of respectability, but both are diminishing. Women in business and the professions are a minority and education has still a male bias. Yet all over the country there is the ferment of change, slow but sure. Pakistani women are taking a dynamic, positive role in the areas of family planning, social work and welfare, education, the professions for females, nursing, infant and child care, and even in journalism and politics. Some of their organisations enjoy power in the community out of all proportion to the fewness of their number—a testimony to their dynamic drive and determination to help get at some of the basic social problems of the country. One of the oldest and most effective of these is APWA (All-Pakistan Women's Association). It is non-political, has no caste, creed or colour overtones and is strongly determined to lead in the struggle against illiteracy, poverty, and disease. This association and others are making a slow but positive impact on the country's general social life.

In these organisations, the observer must look for and sense that new feeling of responsibility and freedom among the women of Pakistan.

Other Factors

There are factors other than socio-economic that are related directly and indirectly to the process of national production. Only a few are selected here for consideration.

1. Administration. The administrative machinery of government has been under special stress and strain due to the fact that more and more state intervention in industry and commerce has been necessary. All too frequently, this machinery was forced to carry loads that it was ill equipped, prepared, or designed to do. For a decade there has been a dearth of able and trained senior officers to man the various ministries. Ministers come and ministers go, but the problems of their respective units remain. Many of these men have lacked administrative capacity and interest in their jobs or special field. Some even lack any conception of public service. This has meant that the few competent and willing officers have had to work hard and long, frequently under conditions both frustrating and exasperating. Already bureaucracy has become an incubus on many governmental units, with all of its unhealthy offsprings: nepotism, paper shuffling with its hideousness, downright blundering, inefficiency and incompetence, also a neurotic concern about status and its prerogatives as well as security for its own sake. And since 1952, at least, corruption in official circles that has now filtered down the line of petty functionaries. Commerce and industry have been forced into the game as the price for getting anything done.

It is a matter of common knowledge that all this has created an atmosphere for foreign investors that is anything but attractive. A White Paper issued by the Pakistan Government admitted most of these charges, and gave more than a
hint of the poor planning in the use of hundreds of millions of dollars of foreign aid, the tying up of gigantic sums in grandiose power projects that will take years to show results, the unequal sharing of this aid between East and West Pakistan so that much feeling between the two wings has developed, and lastly the tragic failure to utilise over 1,500 young men trained abroad in industry and administration by placing them in jobs alien to their training. All this has shaken the confidence of the people in their Government. Add to this the constant postponement of a national election (unlike in India), premature plans at changing the Constitution which has not even had a chance to function, the shallowness and hypocrisy of political parties perpetually in conflict over personalities to the complete neglect of principles and programmes, and you have a situation that does not bode well for the immediate future of Pakistan.

2. Labour and Industrial Relations. About a million workers in industry, mines, transport and the like make up the Pakistan labour force. In the process of rapid industrialisation, the Government of Pakistan has not overlooked the labourer and his rights in a free enterprise economy. Many surveys were made relating to such subjects as the labour problems in industry, social security, the training of labour administrators, the planning and setting up of technical and vocational schools, studies of manpower, and the establishing of new and reorganisation of older employment exchanges. In 1955, the Ministry of Labour announced a New Labour Policy of the Government, the chief aims of which were to help raise living standards of the workers, to prevent exploitation of workers, and to promote their welfare. Government would also encourage healthy trade unionism and collective bargaining. There have been strikes and even violence but these have had no patterned character and are usually against local conditions. In 1954, industrial unrest was at its highest since Partition; it covered 107 work stoppages, nearly 70,000 workers with 283,994 man-days lost. From 1948-49 to 1953-54, trade unions increased from 181 to 382 with some 402,803 members, excluding the Provinces. An ILO expert is now in Pakistan to advise industry and government in matters of apprenticeship training. Admittedly, the labour unions themselves have a long way to go still in developing adequate leadership, a democratic atmosphere, and participation of members as well as helping to train workers for skills industry will need in the future. Already, however, ten technical high schools (seven in West Pakistan and three in East Pakistan) have been established.

3. Scientific and Industrial Research. The Pakistan Government has aptly pointed to the need to encourage scientific and industrial research. It has already made a modest start in meeting the need by setting up regional Councils and laboratories at Peshawar, Lahore, Karachi, and Dacca. One of these has already developed a process to purify coal of sulphur, thus making it commercially useful. Investigations are also now going on into the various indigenous drugs of Pakistan to discover any therapeutic agents in them. But scientific research costs money and requires more and more trained personnel. It will take time to provide a sufficiency of both. —Courtesy, United Asia.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN SWAT

By DR. GIUSEPPE TUCCI

The State of Swat, located in North-Western Pakistan, a little way off the caravan routes of Central Asia—which joined the Roman Empire with far-off China bordering on the West with Afghanistan and on the East with Kashmir—has been, owing to this geographical position, a meeting point between differing civilisations and cultures, which have left in it the visible traces of their passage, now buried in its ruins or barely apparent in the shrubby vegetation.

The first time that the Valley of the Swat makes its appearance in history (the Swat is a tributary of the Indus) together with its bordering regions, it belongs as far as can be seen, to the Archaemenid Empire, which Alexander dreamt of placing in all its extent, under the Greek aegis. Alexander, as we read in classical sources, took by storm two cities in this Valley; after his death the Swat remained for about two centuries under the sway of Hellenistic princes, till their small kingdoms were crushed by the great Indo-Scythian Empire of the Kushans.

Centre of Buddhist Culture

Under the Kushans and their subsequent dynasties, the valley became one of the greatest centres of diffusion of Buddhist culture throughout Asia. It is from this very region, crossed by a ceaseless stream of pilgrims from all countries, that the famous exorcist and thauamaturge Padmasambhava left for Tibet, thus introducing Tibetans to the knowledge of Buddhism. On account of the earnestness of the faith of its inhabitants, the Swat won the respect and the devotion of all Buddhist Asia.

From China and Central Asia, Buddhist pilgrims flocked to this region, eager to hear in the very places where it sprang and whence it spread everywhere, the word of the Buddha—who according to an ancient legend betook himself there by air—called—by a term that evokes the verb uddhi, to fly—Uddiyana. The itineraries that these pilgrims of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries have left us, prove also today their extreme usefulness and accuracy, helping us to find our way in the maze of the one thousand four hundred monasteries that crowded this region.

Gandhara Art

The importance of the Valley of the Swat is not limited to religion alone. The relations between North-Western India and the Hellenistic world are not broken with the crumbling of Alexander’s Empire, and they have not failed to leave lasting traces in the artistic world of these regions. These are, as is well-known, the home of the Indo-Greek art of Gandhara, in which the severity of Hellenistic forms coming in contact with Buddhist spirituality, sheds some of its too exterior pose, in order to merge with that earnestness of feeling, after which the devout and unknown craftsmen of India were striving, sometimes happily attaining it. The West and its art do not die, in fact, in the Swat and the region of the Indus; they merely undergo a transformation.

The selection of the Valley of the Swat as a field of archaeological research is therefore fully justified by the very importance of the place. The sites selected are two at the same time: Udegram, which is as we have seen one of the
most ancient fortresses of the country; Ora, conquered by Alexander the Great and Mingora, the seat of one of the most important Buddhist monasteries of the whole region.

The excavations in this latter site, under the direction of archaeologist Dr. Domenico Faccenna, are of special significance with regard to the history of art, and will no doubt contribute to a deeper knowledge of the chronology and the succession of the styles of Greco-Buddhist art, which still presents us with so many unsolved problems.

Udegram, where Professor Giorgio Gullini of the University of Turin is working at present, is on the other side of special importance on account of the uninterrupted succession of peoples that have inhabited it since pre-historic times. A careful exploration of the widespread territory will not fail to throw light on the political events that have taken place in this region, from the Archaemenid rule till the utter destruction of the fortress of Ora by Mahmud of Ghazni, in the 11th century.

In the course of last year, the sixth part has been dug out of the sacred area surrounding the great stupa of Mingora. During these works, sixty-two minor stupas of differing epochs have been revealed, in some of which—well preserved—relics of Buddhist saints have been found. Of special significance with regard to chronology is the finding of a coin of Azes II (first quarter of the first century B.C.) in one of the dug out caskets. All these monuments, as far as can be surmised, were ravaged by a violent flood, about the third century C.E., which brought ruthless destruction to all that had been erected in the foregoing centuries.

The sacred buildings were not, however, deserted, and after this scourge the survivors piously gathered the fragments of the broken images and stelae, which were put to use for setting up new buildings. The presence of more ancient materials, including countless fragments of images, friezes, capitals and such like, in the reconstructed buildings, is—needless to say—extremely useful to the archaeologist; thus, he may sometimes compare in the same piece, first carved on one side and after the calamity put to use and recarved on the other, the difference and evolution of styles, and the various influences they have undergone. Up to date, more than 2,000 pieces of sculptures have been found, some of which are exceptionally preserved. The epochs to which they belong seem to range from the 3rd century B.C. to the 6th or 7th C.E.

The results of the excavations at Udegram have so far been extremely worthy of note, although they are being made especially difficult by buildings and walls of different periods overlapping and crossing each other, in a maze that makes it hard to determine them. Apart from some buildings of various epochs (Archaemenid, Indo-Greek, Kusena, etc), the most important work carried out last year has been the uncovering of the great stone staircase, of Sassanid epoch, which leads to the summit of the fortress, probably the very fortress conquered by Alexander the Great. Its buildings date back to the Kushana period, and will be further explored in the course of this year.

Artistic Importance

This sums up the importance and the aim of these excavations. If the works at Mingora are no doubt of greater importance from a religious and artistic point of view, on the other side we witness in Udegram an extraordinary example of the attachment with which men cling fast to a piece of land, in spite of invasions and natural and political calamities. It may be said that in this place there is hardly a stone that does not tell of struggles, ruins and renewals till the times when, after the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni, nature has claimed her rights, and the turmoil of arms and trades has been for ever silenced.

In Udegram, besides the down-stream bazaar, the excavations will be chiefly directed to throwing light on the castle, where large buildings have already been indentified among which is one of outstanding size.

The rich material collected so far has all been stored in the premises that the Wali of Swat has put at the disposal of the Mission, and represents the central portion of a museum which will perhaps be built in the Swat State. For its wealth of art and its immense interest it would constitute one of the chief attractions of a land already as fascinating as the Swat, of delightful climate and charming and luminous landscapes.

Co-operation

The works are carried on in full co-operation with the Archaeological Department of Pakistan, that has generously put some of its officials at the disposal of the Italian Mission, and thanks to the earnest assistance of the Wali of Swat.

Thus, in the field of science, a close collaboration is established between Italy and Pakistan, whose remote contacts and spiritual ties have been solemnly acknowledged by the Exhibition of Gandhara art. This exhibition has taken place in Rome and Turin, and has afforded the opportunity of exhibiting in Italy, through the generosity and bounty of the Pakistan Government, some of the priceless and finest pieces of the Pakistan Museum.
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THE RESPONSIBILITY
OF THE EUROPEAN CORSAIRS

By ABD EL AZIZ BEN ABDULLAH

Piracy was one of the biggest scourges of the Middle Ages and during a considerable part of modern times. Piracy for lucrative ends attracted at the same time both Muslims and Christians, and in this study we shall attempt to define the responsibility which is incumbent on both parties for in the past the tendency has been to put all the blame at the doors of the African sailors.

The people of the Maghreb have often been represented as being the worst kind of sea rovers. This calumny through its constant repetition by some childish Western historians has assumed the aspect of being fundamentally true. Nonetheless such a statement does not tally with the facts concerning the events which took place before and after the 16th century, a date which in our opinion should be taken as a line of demarcation between the era in which there were assured and pacific relations between Africans and Europeans and the period of Industrial Revolution and the growth of aggressive colonial mercantilism. We shall see this in the history of the evolution of the great Mediterranean pirates which provides many remarkable examples of my contentions. Two writers, equally noted for their scrupulousness and the strength of their documentation, have a long time ago given a clear, precise picture of the chief characteristics which stamped the activities of the Corsairs during the Middle Ages and during a considerable period of modern times. These writers are Sismondi (in his History of the Italian Republics) and Latrie, whose work we shall refer to on several occasions, dealing with the relations between the Christians and the Arabs of Western Africa. Both these writers go out of their way to correct the harm done, sometimes wilfully and sometimes in ignorance, in writing about the Arabs at whose doors were laid all the atrocities committed by the sea pirates.

The relativity of piracy in Maghreb-Christian relations

The fact that Balducì Pegolotti considered the Maghreb the second most important country in the Western countries trade shows the relativity of piracy in Maghreb-Christian relations. The continued regularity of these trade relations would have been impossible without some sort of security. The confidence placed by the Africans in the Christians remained very great, in spite of some of the attacks carried by some of the countries allied to the Maghreb, such as the Genoese who abused the confidence placed in them in order to carry out an audacious attack on Tripoli, a town which had for a long time been under the protection of the Sovereigns of Marrakesh and Fez, Philip Doria, the Genoese admiral, who had been defeated by the forces of the House of Aragon in Sardinia, thought to compensate himself for this failure by attacking this Maghrebian city. According to Mathieu Villani there was no real reason to justify a war breaking out between Tripoli and the Italian Republic of Venice. But Tripoli was “a rich city which could be easily captured”; and these reasons alone were sufficient in the admiral’s estimation to justify his project for its capture. In the midst of the great commercial captivity which animated the port, 7 of Doria’s galleons were able to anchor beside the Muslim ships without attracting the least resistance in 1355. At nightfall, the admiral and his fleet pretended to sail away; in the early hours of the morning they returned into port, climbed the walls of the fortified town and massacred anyone who resisted and soon became complete masters of the town which was completely taken by surprise. Doria informed the Republic about his easily won triumph and proceeded to “pillage the palace, the bazaars and the richest houses”; the value of the booty amounted to 2,000,000 florins and he also kept in custody 7,000 men, women and children. But fear that such an abuse of etiquette would lead to terible acts of reprisal in Muslim countries, caused the authorities of the Republic to punish the Admiral and his men by banishing them, but the Admiral was pardoned after three years and one could see considerable numbers of Tripolitan slaves in the streets of Genoa awaiting the day when they would once be more free (Mathieu). It must however be admitted that this action was not typical of the Genoese. Her overseas compatriots had, no doubt for materialistic reasons, contributed to the defence of the Maghrebian town of Ceuta when it was attacked by pirates in 1234.

Privatereing outlawed by the Christian and Muslim Governments

In spite of these acts of aggression which were often the private assaults of individuals rather than of governments a lofty spirit of conciliation continued to mark the relations between the Christian and Muslim governments which alike forbade their subjects to indulge in acts of piracy and promised to pay an indemnity to the victims (extract from Morocco’s dual treaty with Pisa and Majore). They even went further, sometimes assembling their ships together to take part in joint action against the pirates. In article 19 of the Treaty of Cibo it was stipulated that if the Al-Mohade authorities should be obliged to give chase to a Genoese Corsair then, the Genoese should in their turn send armed vessels to take part in the operation. In order to prevent the Corsairs from reaping the profits of their acts of brigandage, the governments of the powers absolutely prohibited the sale of booty or of captives and promised to permit the immediate resale of the stolen goods and the setting at liberty of the captives without the payment of a ransom. They even went so far as to decree the death penalty and the confiscation of the possessions of Christians and Muslims who took up arms against allied states. “But, in spite of all the precautions taken and the sincere spirit which motivated them,” according to Latrie, whom I am once more quoting, “there were numerous slaves in Europe and still more numerous slaves in Africa dragging their chains, living close to their compatriots who carried on their business in perfect security.” But not all these captives were the victims of the Corsairs; many of them were prisoners of war.

It is necessary to distinguish between acts of war on the high seas and the acts of misprivateering of the real pirates “who attacked without discrimination the merchants of all countries whether they were from their own country or
an allied power or any enemy or unknown power.” Their initial acts “can pass off as being legitimate or inevitable taking into consideration the state of society in former times.” By a treaty of 1323 between the states of Aragon and Tunis, it was recognized that privateering was “a habitual and legitimate method of war amongst Christians and Muslims.” Even today international law has not sufficiently advanced in order to eliminate privateering from modern sea warfare and “unjust and useless acts of barbarity against property” are still carried out. The acts of piracy were considered according to this Christian author as the real acts of brigandage. “But,” he adds, “one must now decide the question as to how far the Christians and how far the Muslims were responsible for this state of affairs, during the period which followed the great invasions of the Saracens, which we may term the period of peace and commerce. In this period, if it is possible to estimate the acts of an illegal nature which took place in the Mediterranean from the 11th to the 16th century that to a very considerable extent they were the acts of Christians and that all the acts of pillage and devastation cannot be laid at the doors of the people of Barbary. If it appears that the Christians suffered more heavily from Muslim piracy, this was because they did far more trade, their coasts were far more difficult to defend and far more is known about their history in general.”

Acts committed by Christian pirates

In another part of his history, Latrie makes it clear that “in their relations with the Maghreb, the amount of cruelty and misdeeds imputed to the Christians was perhaps as great as that of the Arabs.” These quotations are used as evidence to show the part played by the Christians in piracy in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages. In fact, the Mediterranean islands of Sardinia, Sicily, Corsica and the Balearic Isles had barely been reconquered from the Arabs than they “became the refuge of European Corsairs who were as awe-inspiring brigands as the pirates who preyed on the great trading routes.”

The suburbs of Cagliari were “nests of pirates.” In the 12th century Malta was the base of the expedition of a Genoese who was really nothing better than a bandit (according to several Italian authors). At this very same time, Hugues Bava, a Marseilles Corsair, was working in partnership with a Sicilian admiral who had been degraded for preying on the Mediterranean shipping. The treatment of Muslim captives in Western cities varied considerably and it became a more and more ghastly affair. It need only be recalled that “thousands of agriculturists and Arab landed proprietors of all stations of life were carried off into captivity from Gabes in 1284, from Jerbain in 1310 and from Tripoli in 1355” and they were “sold in Europe like wild beasts.”

Examples to illustrate European piracy

When the Al Mohad fleet had achieved mastery in these waters—for it was according to Andre Julien the first fleet of the Mediterranean—the danger from European Corsairs was merely relative. The Sultans of the Al Mohades kept up a special militia for the purpose of suppressing Christian and Muslim privateering. But at a later date, the superiority of Western shipping gave “a certain amount of advantage to the Christian navigators and Corsairs, the activities of the former and the latter were often undistinguishable.” In 1200, two ships from Pisa attacked three Muslim ships off Tunis although the two powers were at peace; taking the crews by surprise, the Italians threw them into the sea or cast them in chains, raped their women folk and plundered their merchandise. At the same period the Genoese pirates devastated the coasts of the Byzantine Empire and its island possessions. The Christian freebooters “most likely attacked in preference the lands and galleys of the Muslims.” But on occasions, they were capable of taking any booty and they spared no nationality and not even the pretext of a crusade could be used to keep them off. Even the Venetians who were considered to be the most “honest European sailors” have not always respected foreign merchants; the Turkish Sultans often complained about the acts of aggression of these people who came to grips with the Greeks. The Scandinavian fleets also often anchored along the Mediterranean coast “with a view to establish trade but more often in order to indulge in piracy or to carry out hostile acts.” In 1153 a Nordic squadron pillaged the towns of Andalusia where they captured a big dromond whose skin they sold at Mahdia or Tripoli, both of which ports were occupied by the Normans. M. P. Riant has given a detailed account of these activities in his book “The Scandinavian Expeditions and Pilgrimages in the Holy Land.” But this did not prevent the Northern navigators, and above all the Swedes, from carrying on direct trade with the African Muslims. Generally speaking European trade with the Maghreb was carried out peacefully. “Until the 15th century,” says Latrie, “Venetian trade (which was the most scrupulous of all) was carried on with the whole coast of Barbary under conditions of regularity and of security.” Most big trading houses had settlements and agents chiefly in Tangiers. In the Treaty of 1323 already mentioned, it is laid down that the misdeeds of Christian and Muslim pirates should never result in sanctions being taken against the regular traders; these traders should enjoy the right to pass from one country to another in absolute security for—as it is wisely put in the treaty—“the merchants are people who live and travel with royal approval and the misdeeds of others should not be used as an excuse to harm them.”

Such is a brief account of the responsibility of the Christians in the history of Mediterranean privateering. We shall not try and trace the evolution of the so-called “Arab” or “Muslim” piracy which developed from purely lucrative pursuits, into becoming a veritable patriotic and consequently political reaction against the Iberian Reconquests and the tortures of the Inquisition perpetrated by Spain on the verge of modern times.

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JANUARY 1959
THE HISTORY OF THE SAHARA AND ITS VARIOUS DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

By G. H. NEVILLE BAGOT

The French imperialists are making an outrageous attempt to "nationalise" the Sahara Desert and, fantastic as this may appear to any student of elementary geography, the French are to be taken seriously as they have for many years administered Algeria as a part of France and they even sent deputies to the Council of Europe who represented Algerian towns such as M. Rabier, the deputy for the Algerian town of Oran; while in the European Cross Country Championship in Glasgow the French team overwhelmed the rest of Europe, thanks to the magnificent running of Mimoun, Driss and its Moroccan Muslim runners, and in an amateur football match Shtouki, another North African Muslim, was the best "French" player in a France-England match.

It may appear absurd to mention these sporting events but they are symbolic of the French integration of North Africa within the framework of the French Union. The great prowess of the Muslim runners, footballers and boxers of North Africa is worth an article on its own but the point I want to stress is that Algerians are being denied their own sovereignty even in sport.

There are four schools of thought which represent the various ideas of the French imperialist:

1. Those who wish to attach the Sahara Desert directly to France.
2. Those who wish to administer the Sahara as a French unified dependency of the French Union or as a colony.
3. Those who wish to attach the Sahara to the three Algerian Provinces of Algeria: the provinces of Algiers, Constantine and Oran. Presumably this would bring the whole Sahara region under the rule of the French Home Office (Ministry of the Interior).
4. Those who believe in the division of the Sahara into existing territories which include the North African countries of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the French administered Sudan, French administered Nigeria, Mauretania, Lake Chad Territory and the Spanish South Moroccan Saharan dependency and the coastal strip of Rio de Oro. The French territories of North Africa come under the Ministry of the Interior (Algeria), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Morocco and Tunisia) and the Minister of Overseas Dependencies. (Also the Governors of A.O.F. and A.E.F. French West and French Equatorial Africa.)

Muslims in North Africa are opposed to the idea that the Sahara should be under French rule

The Muslim nationalists of Algeria are actively combating the activities of the French; their Moroccan and Tunisian brothers were in the past too actively engaged in the immediate fight for independence to bother for the moment about these future projects, but the Maghrebian press recently signed by all the nationalist parties no doubt includes a clause for joint action against the perpetual attachment of the Sahara to the French colonial régime.

The January 19th, 1954, issue of "L’Algerie Libre" contains an article: "Is France going to annex Algeria in the same way as she annexed Corsica and Brittany?" by Tahar El-Mettidji, in which he states that "after Algeria, it is the turn of the Sahara to become an integral part of France." He quotes back up his fears an article from the pen of M. Bernard Simiot which appeared in the review "Hommes et Mondes." M. Simiot expressed the view that "France should annexe the Sahara and convert it into its national territory in the same fashion as it had done in the cases of Corsica and Brittany."

El Mettidji gives political and economic motives for the French interest in the Sahara. He suggests that the existence of deposits of lead and tin are the primary economic motives behind the French "thirst for greater possessions." There are the defences of the presence of gold and uranium and considerable deposits of oil. In the Hoggar in the Western Sahara, there are deposits of tin, tungsten, chrome, platinum and cobalt. In the south of Algeria at a distance of 600 kilometres from the coastal port of Oran, there is the town of Colombe-Béchar which now has a population of 60,000. This town, the starting point of the Trans-Saharan railway, is the key point for French commercial expansion in the Sahara and it is linked with the important Moroccan industrial centre of Oujda as well as with Oran. Near Colombe-Béchar is the coal-mining town of Kenadza which has an annual production of 300,000 tons.

On the political plane, El Mettidji considers that in view of the rise of North African Nationalism, France is seeking to acquire the Sahara territory in order to cut off relations between Libya and the rest of North Africa, to cut off French administered Western and Equatorial Africa from Egypt and the Eastern (Anglo-Egyptian) Sudan and prevent the peoples of Senegal and the Cameroons from establishing contact with their neighbours, for they and the Sudanese under British rule are struggling to rid themselves of European imperialism. French possession of the Sahara would result in the future independent states of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco being forced into line with French policy, for France would hold a gun in their back (literally "a sword in their kidneys").

The Shaambas and Twaregs and other Saharan tribes would according to André Blanchet ("Le Monde") "naturally choose with enthusiasm to become French citizens if the need arose to consult their wishes by a referendum." The Algerian patriot condemns people who thirst for prestige and who are not able to draw lessons from the post-war world which, after the recent upheaval, produces daily evidence that there is no place for nations who oppress other nations.

Seven articles by Georges Le Fevre published in the French right-wing daily "Le Figaro" entitled: "Le Sahara, Eldorado du-terre morte" ("The Sahara, Eldorado or Waste (Dead) Land") give some interesting facts about the Sahara.

Writing in the French language paper of the M.T.L.D. party (of whom the vast majority are now with the F.N.L., the great mass movement of the Algerian workers (fellahs)), "L’Algerie Libre" of March 1st, 1952, carried an article signed by Rashid Fellahi which under the significant title "The Sahara is not for sale," attacks the plans of the French colonialists and points out that the French motives for this action are:

1. (1) The probable mineral wealth of the Sahara.
2. (2) The fears of Anglo-Saxon penetration in this area. The
writers in the French language use the loose terms Anglo-Saxon to cover both British and United States and Canadian subjects.

It is impossible for the French to develop the resources in the Sahara

The writer points out that whereas the economic resources needed for the development are too great and far beyond the capacities of the French, and as there is no question of the colonisation of these territories by the French people or by the Saharan population or the Africans, the French want to nationalise this territory so that they can have an asset to sell the Americans who have the resources to cope with this "colossus". The French object is, according to the writer, to sell or trade this territory to the Americans at the highest price.

The organ of the U.D.M.A. (The Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto) published an article in its French weekly under the heading "Our Sahara shall not be nationalised."

The French pro-Communist paper "Action" published an article by an eminent specialist in African affairs, M. Theodore Monod, in which he condemned the French projects as they would spell death to the nomadic population.

"The quarrel over the Sahara," an article by Andre Blanchet in the French leading daily "Le Monde" of February 24th-25th, 1954, brought the whole matter to life and aroused the suspicions of the Algerian nationalists, while the Russians joined in the controversy and Professor A. Barkov wrote an article in the "New Times" of March 26th, 1956, under the title "The problem of the Sahara: geographical notes," in which he gave details of the projects for economically developing the area.

Egypt is also vitally interested in the question of the Sahara for, a writer points out in "Le Monde Arabe," only 54 million feddans of its territory are irrigated out of a total area of 255 million feddans.

The French idea of "nationalising" the Sahara was formulated by M. Emile Belime, whose Niger project was denounced by Andre Gide, France's greatest writer, in a preface to Pierre Herbart's book "Le Chancier du Niger" written in 1939.

M. Belime, a former civil servant attached to the Public Works department of the Ministry of Colonies, was considered to be a highly qualified engineer on matters relating to irrigation; he had served in the French occupied colonies in India. In 1919 the French cotton manufacturers were considering setting up an irrigation project in the Niger valley to supply them with raw cotton fibre. They aimed at competing with Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In 1921 M. Belime published the result of their investigations. He proposed that two dams should be constructed, one near Bamako to irrigate 750,000 hectares of land of which one third would be devoted to cotton, and another at Sassandra, where there was a canal. The second dam would irrigate 300,000 hectares divided equally, one third rice, one third vegetables and one third for cotton. M. Belime also planned for the irrigation of a further 320,000 hectares, 240,000 on the right side of the Niger at the canal of Djenné and 80,000 hectares at the Casier of Konouakourou.

Work started on this in 1932 when the Office du Niger was formed under the administration of high officials of the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Colonies, Commerce and Agriculture, also the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Havre and officials appointed by the Governor of French West Africa. M. Belime was appointed managing director or director-general at a salary of 321,000 francs per annum, roughly £4,500. The chairman, Senator Jourdain, pointed out that the Sahara was commercially "Impassible" and pleaded for the construction of a Trans-Saharan Railway.

The fate of the railway which the French wanted to build across the Sahara

Left-wing French politicians and British prisoners and Muslims were forced to work on its construction during the last war by the Vichy Government under appalling conditions which almost rivalled the Japanese slave camps railway project in Siam. It has never got near completion; buses and aeroplanes provide an expensive and a partial substitute.

In the course of his work, M. Belime came up against a progressive French Governor of West Africa, M. de Coppet, who refused to allow him to recruit any more labour in 1938 for whole villages of Africans had fled to their former homes and as early as 1935 there had been a rebel rebellion in the village of Farakan, while according to M. Herbart, villagers from Baninko, Caya Massakoni were all forcibly turned into workers on this project. In 1936 the three new villages of Dembougu, Medina and Dar Salam were peopled with peasants of whom four-fifths were forcibly conscripted in the first named village and the total population in the case of the other two villages. Five new villages were built in 1937, those of Nara, Nema, Bougou, Bamakokouara and Ounnigouya. The plans for settling 200,000 settlers by 1956, and eventually 1 million, went astray and M. Belime welcomed a suggestion made by M. Mercier at a meeting of the Algerian-West Africa committee, that Berber Algerian settlers should be settled in the French administered Sudan. M. Herbart opposed this because he feared the pan-Islamic propaganda of the Algerian marabouts; he also feared that the Algerians would dominate the local population. He feared that only the worst workers would emigrate and also that the climate would be unsuitable. Unfortunately these backward thoughts characterise the ideas of many left-wingers who fear pan-Islam, they represent the radical and socialist free thinkers of France. Nothing came of this idea of an Algerian settlement and the economic gains of the vast investment were, to say the least, modest, the Segou canal project only produced about 3,500 hectares of rice, less that one-twentieth of the proposed area to be exploited.

In February of this year, M. Belime once more hit the headlines when he spoke about the Sahara at a dinner of the "Paris-Lyon society" with the Speaker of the French House of Commons, Edouard Herriot, in the chair.

The Committee of the French Sahara has the backing of M. Reynaud (Premier of France in 1940) and M. Jacques Soustelle (one of the leaders of de Gaulle's party, the R.P.F.).

M. Gustave Mercier, president of the Algerian Historical Society, is a member of this Committee.

On the French side, the opposition to the unification or nationalisation of the Sahara came from the Director of the Institute of Saharan Research at Algiers. He maintained that the unity of the Sahara is purely physical. The specialists dealing with the West and South-West Sahara of the regions of Mauretania and the French Sudan, Theodore Monod and General Boisseloss, are also opposed to M. Belime.

In 1947 when the new statute of Algeria came into force, it was enacted that the 600,000 population of the so-called "Military Territories" in the south of Algeria, would be attached to the existing three provinces. There existed further territories to the south which the French Algerians wish to unite with Algeria.

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At the same time a proposed law which aims at uniting the portions of the Sahara now administered by the Governors of French West and East Africa and turning them into French departments after consultation with the local population and treaty adjustments with Morocco and Tunisia, is at present being canvassed in the lobbies of the French Chamber of Deputies.

The Sahara (Arabic Sahara = wilderness) is a huge expanse of territory covering an area of over 13½ million acres, of which at least half is at present under French administration. In the Ice Age it was apparently comparatively fertile but the drying winds and high temperature which often falls almost to freezing point at night and the inability to keep what little water there is, has so far frustrated human endeavours to cultivate its soil and to colonise its territory. The expense of boring wells has proved prohibitive.

Muslim contact with the Sahara

Muslims came in contact with the Sahara during the Arab conquest of Egypt by the Amir Ibn al-'Aas in 639-42 C.E. The Arabs penetrated as far as Morocco in 682, the population of the Sahara was at that time of mixed Berber-Negroid origin. The Berber Tawarigs south of Morocco (the blue veiled raiders so popular with fiction writers) and Tibbu, who lived south of Libya near the mountains which rise to nearly 9,000 feet.

In the 9th century the Idrisi and later the Aglabite dynasties extended their rule to the Sahara and the Arabs conquered the Northern Sahara half way through the 11th century. The Moroccan Saadi Sharifs captured Timbuctu in Mauretania in 1591 C.E. but Mauretania re-won its independence in 1612 C.E.

French and Italian occupation came over a great period of years culminating with the defeat of the Senussi by the Italians in 1931.

Over 75 million people of whom at least two-thirds are Muslims live in countries connected with the Sahara.

In Egypt an institute known as the Fuad Desert Institute has been opened in 1950 on the edge of the Helopolis Desert. Its function is to organise studies in geology, archaeology, ethnography, cartography and all questions concerning deserts, such as the means to prevent the encroachment of the sand on the arable land.

Ritchie Calder, the Scottish scientist and journalist, publicised the activities of the French and British who were experimenting in irrigation and boring wells and growing plants in the Sahara. His articles in the "News Chronicle" and his book "Men against the Desert" give a very interesting picture of what is happening.

Professor Barkov wrote a comprehensive article on the Sahara which apart from the inevitable Soviet propaganda, gives an excellent picture of the situation in the Sahara a few years ago.

He points out that although plans and estimates to build a railway 3,450 kilometres long from Algeria across the desert to North Africa were approved in 1935, the project is today no nearer completion. It is interesting to note that the estimated expense was 3,000 million francs or about £40 million and the labour force was estimated at 6,000. The trip from the Algerian western port of Oran to the West African town of Segou would take 2½ days; owing to the shortage of water, Diesel engines would be used to drive the trains.

The problem of water supply in the Sahara

The Nile is the only river which flows across the desert, its irrigation is extremely beneficial to Egypt and the Sudan but its waters are not sufficient for the irrigation of the Western Sahara or the Central Sahara. The Nile is 2,000 kilometres long; the Aswan dam has produced an artificial lake with an area of 580 square kilometres, this is only a tiny area in relation to the 34 million square miles of the Sahara.

In Algeria, French engineers have sunk over 1,000 wells and in several places created artificial oases, but Professor Barkov accuses the French of making "big profits with a minimum of investment." He cites as an example the Marseuwellat, the Tolga oasis which he claims was sold to the public at a profit of 44,000 gold francs. (It cost 6,000 gold francs to construct and was sold for 50,000 gold francs.)

The most ambitious scheme was advanced by an engineer, Soergel, who aimed at irrigating 60 million hectares or roughly 15 million acres of the French administered Sahara and Libya. Soergel also aimed at constructing a navigable canal which would stretch for some 4,000 miles or 6,500 kilometres across Central Africa. Also he intended to construct power stations all over this area.

In order to carry out his scheme, it would be necessary to construct a dam 250 metres high, or more than 750 feet, near the Livingstone Falls on the Congo and to create a reservoir of an area of 900,000 square kilometres. This could be easily maintained as the Congo basin has a mean average rainfall of 1,500 mm. This water would be connected with the depression of the Chad Basin by a canal. One million square kilometres would be covered by water and the dried up river beds or wadis dating back to the times when Europe was under ice and the Sahara was comparatively fertile would spread water over the arid desert.

An American engineer called Braman aimed at creating an inland sea via Tunisia covering an area of 55,000 square kilometres.

The objections to this project are that there is no depression in the Sahara big enough to hold this amount of water, and that the basic cause of the dryness of the Sahara region is due to the distribution of the atmospheric pressure and the drying winds and an inland sea would not cure or change these factors.

The Niger scheme already mentioned could eventually irrigate 40 million hectares but although 1,360 million francs were spent on it, little has so far been achieved.

These large irrigation schemes will now be shelved or drastically modified out of all recognition as the emphasis is now on the mineral wealth of the Sahara and the drilling of wells is becoming a major factor, however costly is the re-opening up of the desert to human beings.

An interesting project to flood the Shotts salt marsh depressions in Tunisia and let in the Mediterranean sea in order to enable oil tankers to advance well into Tunisia to take the oil from Hassi Messaoud at a cost of about £120 is now definitely shelved.

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*The Manager, THE ISLAMIC REVIEW, Woking, England*
WHAT EGYPT STANDS FOR

President Nasser on Objectives of Arab Nationalism

“We are determined that our policy be one of neutrality and non-alignment, a policy that works for peace, prevention of war and disarmament for the sake of humanity at large.”

The following is the text of President Gamal Abdel-Nasser’s Speech at the General Co-operatives’ Conference on 27th November 1958

Fellow Countrymen,

I have always made a point of attending the Co-operatives’ Conference on account of the very special significance this conference has. The very name of the conference symbolizes one of the features that will characterize our future society — the democratic, social, co-operative society we are working to achieve. These features — democratic, social, co-operative — are the features that will make up the face of our future society. It may not be our lot or our generation’s privilege to witness this future society, but it has fallen upon us to lay its foundation and put up its pillars.

But it is certain while we work and build, it is certain that if we work and build with increasing patience and perseverance, we shall see the foundations of this society, we shall see the signs of its growing features, and our sons will be able to live for this society while we are still working for it and building its pillars.

Laying the foundations of a new society

Our fathers and forefathers tried in the past to perform the role we are playing today, the role of bringing into existence a society blessed with prosperity and welfare, but they did not find the opportunity to do so, for they were not the masters of the situation. We, however, with the grace of God and by dint of our hard work and strenuous struggle, have been able to find this opportunity. This is why I feel and believe, and every one of us feels and believes in turn, that everyone in this generation accepts with confidence the responsibility and sacrifice laid upon him by history, and I assure you that had our fathers and forefathers been able to find the opportunity to lay down the foundations on which to build the pillars of the society which we are building today, they would have accepted the trust and accepted the sacrifice with all the goodwill in the world, for the simple reason that these sacrifices would bring into existence the society which had been the object of our dreams.

As I have always said before, this generation of ours has a date with fate. I have never said so with the object of arousing enthusiasm or raising morale. I was making a statement of actual facts, for I always felt the responsibilities shouldered by this generation of ours. Indeed, this generation has borne the brunt of the struggle against imperialism and has been able to win the independence of the land. This generation has borne the brunt of the struggle against feudalism and has been able to attain its aim, limiting ownership with the ensuing redistribution of land. This generation has borne the brunt of the struggle against alien domination and exploitative régimes and has been able to restore the reins of government to the sons of the land and put an end once and for all to the authority of the alien exploiters.

Indeed, this generation has also borne the brunt of the struggle against political corruption and is now setting its ideals and principles in the national unity frame. It has also borne the brunt of the struggle for the construction of a strong national army and has been able to attain its aim of building such a powerful national force. This generation has likewise borne the brunt of the struggle for the defence of Arab nationalism and the ideals and principles of Arab nationalism, and has been able to fight the battles of Arab nationalism and go to the support of every nationalist movement in any Arab country, thus making of Arab nationalism a true and accomplished fact.

Last but not least, this generation has borne the brunt of restoring all that the country had lost, its economy that had been usurped by the various monopolies, the Suez Canal which had been dug by its own sons, and can now afford to relax because it has actually realized all its dreams. In short, on the shoulders of this generation fell the responsibility of two revolutions which took place side by side: a political revolution and a social revolution. It is no exaggeration on my part to say that our forefathers fought hard in order that they might bring about this double revolution, this political-social revolution which our generation has achieved. They fought hard, sparing no sacrifices, martyrs or pains, but unfortunately they won no victories.

Their long-standing and incessant struggle had no immediate victory but it paved the way for our present victory. We have learnt from them the need to struggle in order that we might bring about this political-social revolution. Our struggle was built along the same lines as their fruitless struggle, but with the help of God we have succeeded: we have been able to see the indications that herald the dawning of the new society founded on the success of our political and social revolutions.

This, my dear brethren, is a heavy burden, a great responsibility. Our success is the road to the future we desire. We must be the bridge linking the sordid present and the bright future we dream of, a future in which the society we are working for shall be realized: a society where social justice prevails and in which all our political and social aspirations have come true; a society which has shaken off the yoke of political oppression, social injustice and tyranny whether due to internal or external factors.

With God’s assistance, we have triumphed. We also had the opportunity to lay the foundations of this society. When we raised the banner of struggle, we accepted to be the bridge between two worlds, that of feudalism, oppression, exploitation and political corruption on one hand and that of prosperity and a contented society on the other. We accepted to be the generation on which those coming after shall rise in their march towards a better world. We are now fighting to achieve for the coming generations a better world than that in which we were born and in which we suffered.

A quick glance may induce one to think that this generation of ours carries overwhelming responsibilities. However, a less superficial one will show that in reality we are a genera-
tion destined to witness great events. Any epoch-marking generation has to suffer and future generations shall look up with pride on our achievements. I do not say this to arouse your sense of pride but only because I ask for more work, greater determination and will-power from you. Each of you knows that we need all such factors to build up our new social democratic co-operative society and the task is not easy.

Egypt not to imitate any alien social pattern

It is no easy task for we have to design the structure of our new society as we build it. Our circumstances differ from those of other nations and this is why we cannot imitate the pattern of any other society, as each community follows the mode of evolution and the pattern best suited to its circumstances. Our blind imitation of any system would ignore the nature of our society and the different factors influencing it and would thus be incompatible with the needs of this people.

We are required to study the experience of other nations and to benefit by it, but under no circumstances can we copy it. This is why we say that we not only build our society but we also design its pattern as we go. This pattern is modified by the nature and circumstances of our changing social and economic requirements. This is why it is a continuous process. The broad lines of this pattern are socialism, co-operation and democracy, and our task is to adapt these principles to our circumstances and to proceed with the work of building a growing integrated society.

What we mean by socialism is a system with both negative and positive sides. The negative values are applied to the eradication of the sordid past while the positive values shall enable us to proceed with the establishment of the future each of us desires. Socialism includes the abolition of feudalism, monopoly, capitalist domination over the government and the judiciary power, and last but not least, exploitation both foreign and domestic.

In its positive form, socialism includes the establishment of national economy along such lines as will make it develop to meet the requirements of our society. It also includes the establishment of social justice.

From the negative point of view, we achieved a lot. We were able to abolish feudalism. We also did away with monopoly, we uprooted the domination of capital over government and we eliminated exploitation. Positively speaking, however, there is no end to the work that can be done as positive work is a non-stop continuous process which goes on as long as life does, but we have been able, in this short period, to move in our building for the future in giant strides, but I must tell you this, the road before us is almost endless because the needs of our society do not know an end, and when we do achieve success in meeting some of these needs, fresh ones will confront us.

All-round increase in industrial output

In spite of political, social as well as battles of the mind which we had to face in recent years, we were able to achieve a lot in the field of building. By building, I mean the increase in production; we have achieved results that can only be the fruit of a society in which every individual works to the best of his ability, for the results achieved sound almost incredible and they extend to cover all fields; we have had good results in the fields of industrial development, economic development, agriculture; in fact such results have been achieved in all the fields where the needs of our society are most keenly felt.

New industries which were unheard of before 1952 have come into being, such as the rubber tyres industry, the battery industry, the refrigerator industry, the pharmaceutical industry, the glass industry, the canned food industry as well as the production of various kinds of woollen fabrics. Moreover, for the first time in Egypt in thousands of years work has begun for the production of steel from the iron and steel plant.

If we want to know whether we have progressed, remained static or regressed, we have to take into account our output in all the fields of production and the circumstances surrounding every one of these fields. Wherever there is an increase in labour and an increase in effort there inevitably follows an increase in production.

We must also take into account whether this production is consistent with our aims of establishing the kind of society which we have described and which we are striving to bring into being. If this production is compatible with these aims then we should strive to increase such production. All the figures which I have cited belong to the period from 1952 to 1957, that is, before laying the five-year plan for industry and before drawing up the all-inclusive industrialization plan in 1957. This plan, which we began executing in 1958, has resulted in important developments in industrialization.

The first Five-Year Plan

The year 1960 will be a very important landmark in our history, for in this year the industrial output of the five-year plan will begin to give widespread results.

Our first five-year plan began in 1957. We had just emerged from the tripartite aggression and an economic blockade. We had come out of a battle in which all military devices had been used against us only to be faced with a more bitter fight in which all the devious methods of economic and psychological warfare were used by the imperialist powers. But in spite of all these odds, we were able to start implementing our five-year plan in 1957.

There were obstacles before us, big obstacles, but these could not deter us. There was the finance obstacle — if we wanted to industrialize we had to buy the factories abroad with foreign currency. But all the foreign currency we possessed was frozen, £110 million in Britain and $50 million in America.

The reserves we had after the nationalization of the Canal and these measures were about £4 million. With only this sum we had to face our normal requirements of £180 million, as well as £250 million for the expenditures of the five-year plan. Of course, this was not an encouraging picture in the least. All we had in hand were £4 million in foreign currency, while yearly we had to import goods, necessities, raw materials and food supplies; we import £20 million worth of wheat alone every year.

When we faced economic pressure after the failure of the tripartite aggression in which navies and air forces came into play, the imperialistic powers who wished to place us under their domination and influence believed that we would starve. They did not, for a moment, entertain the thought that we would lay out and implement an industrialization and development programme.

Those nations that opposed us believed we could never raise funds to buy wheat and to provide the country with its basic requirements. They knew that we needed £E.20 million worth of wheat and, having frozen our assets, they knew that our reserves in foreign currency did not amount to this sum.

Despite these odds, we were able to overcome every
obstacle. The foreign papers which published in 1956 that Egypt was heading for an economic collapse and that famine was imminent, today write that the United Arab Republic is the only one of the smaller nations of the world — or what they term "backward countries" — which was able to implement its development programme and to solve all its financial problems.

**Progress made despite economic blockade**

In 1956 they were believing that we would die of hunger. We are today at the end of 1958, and are still alive.

In 1956 they thought that by tightening the economic blockade they would cause the people to rise against the government. They thought a revolution would break out and the people would demand to be governed by the British or the Americans or by any other power in order to rid themselves of this government. And here we are in 1958 and no revolution has broken out.

In 1956 they were under the impression that psychological warfare would succeed in strutting the unity of this country, after military warfare had failed to deal the death blow to it. And here we are, thank God, priding ourselves on the unity of this country and that of the sons of this country.

Today we have succeeded in moving forward, even during the war and the aggression, during the economic blockade and the war of nerves, and during the campaigns they launched against us. We stood up to these external attacks, but at the same time we were progressing, building and achieving the aims we had set for ourselves — that is, creating the society we all long for, and of which every one of you dreams. Foremost, we were able to achieve results by depending on ourselves.

I am in a position to say today that we have a surplus in the funds of the five-year plan. This surplus, which is estimated at £E.3.35 million, will be used in the industrialization plans of the Syrian Region.

We shall convert both the Northern and Southern Regions into an industrial country which will not only be self-sufficient but also serve the other friendly Arab countries.

**False propaganda by imperialists to set our Muslim brethren against us**

They (imperialists) argue that the object of Arab nationalism is to wrest the petroleum from Kuwait, Iraq and other oil-producing countries. They think that such a false argument may adversely affect the minds and influence our brethren in Kuwait, Iraq and the other oil-producing countries. Of course, this is sheer nonsense. Neither we nor our brethren will believe such nonsensical talk.

Anyway, although our funds were still being blocked, we managed to realize something. We were able to realize a real national economy and a real national production and to achieve self-dependence and self-sufficiency.

It is a turning point in our history of which every citizen should be proud. For we used to be entirely dependent on agriculture, and we had to import even needles and thread from abroad. Moreover, we had to pay exorbitant customs duty for spare parts for things we assembled here. In other words, were I to import a motor car, I would have to pay a reasonable customs duty. If I were to import such a car and have it assembled here, I would have to pay customs duties so many times heavier. This of course aimed at preventing us from importing cars or other machines to be assembled here. We are only to import the ready-made commodity. We discovered this only one and a half years ago in respect of the railway wagon industry. Anyway, we managed to provide and to produce such products, which proved to be in no way inferior to those of British and U.S. make.

**Industrialization of the Syrian region**

The Syrian region has been able to obtain a loan from the Soviet Union without any strings in order to realize economic development, and an adequate programme has been devised in this connection.

A five-year industrialization plan has also been worked out for the Syrian region. This will cost 560 million liras and will help to increase the national income there by 206 million liras, i.e., by 12 per cent of the present national income.

I would like to point out that the five-year plan is aimed at raising the living standard in both regions. Indeed, we cannot achieve this unless we do more work to increase the national income, particularly in view of the ever-increasing population and in order to establish a sound socialist-democratic-co-operative society.

Our factories should work 24 hours a day, in continuous shifts. We should reclaim all barren land. If the Nile water is not available in certain areas we must dig wells to get water. We should do work everywhere. We must exploit the deserts, search for oil and mineral wealth. Although we did not have modern equipment we managed to find oil and metals.

**Drive to bring more land under the plough**

Efforts should continue to be made for the expansion of the cultivated area and for increasing agricultural production. In the last few years the yield of the feddan has increased by 13 per cent.

The vegetable crops are now twice as big as they were in 1952. But we still feel that this is not quite sufficient. This is due to the improvement of nutrition after the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Laws and the industrialization drive which necessitated the employment of a large number of people.

The cotton crop has increased by 4 per cent, wheat by 28 per cent, rice by 69 per cent, sugar-cane by 7 per cent, the cultivated vegetables area by 168,000 feddans, and the fruit cultivated area by 23 per cent.

The agricultural revenue in the Egyptian Region was £E.252 million in 1952; this figure increased to £E.375 million in 1957. Most of the agricultural revenue used to go to a small number of people; but now it is distributed among thousands of families.

Agricultural expansion before 1952 was estimated at 2,000 feddans a year. During the last three years, the agricultural expansion is estimated at 20,000 feddans a year.

In order to build up the society we desire, we should ensure that industrial expansion will be on a par with agricultural development and expansion.

In view of the increasing population, small national income, and in order to raise the standard of living and increase national income, we must exploit every part of our country. There is water in the oases and we must cultivate every part of them. We are also studying a programme for making use of subterranean water in the Western desert.
Agrarian reforms

Agrarian reform in the Egyptian Region covers 565,000 feddans, which have already been distributed. About 250,000 families, or 250,000 individuals, each of whom represents a family, have benefited from this land. In other words, 1,200,000 individuals in the Southern Region have benefited from this reform. This large number of people who were without land and who worked as labourers only for a certain period of the year have now become smallholders.

The same Agrarian Reform Law has been applied in the Syrian Region. It covers an area of about one million hectares from which 250,000 individuals, representing 250,000 families, with a total number of members of about 1,200,000. Again this large number of landless peasants have now become smallholders. Moreover, State land in the Syrian Region will also be distributed.

The same can also be said for education, health and other public services.

After a short time we shall be in a position to say how many schools we shall establish every year, how many more industries shall be introduced, how many more workmen will be employed, how many more feddans will be reclaimed, and how many hospitals will be established.

Need for economizing national wealth

In building factories we must avoid extravagance such as the use of marble and other costly materials, also the purchase of new cars every year.

The average income per capita per annum in our country is £E.30 or £E.35 against about £E.500 in England and £E.750 in the United States. We must avoid extravagance in order to be able to raise the standard of living.

The Government is also extravagant. In 1957, for instance, the Government spent £E.17 million in foreign currencies for officials going abroad. In the same year citizens in the Egyptian Region spent about £E.8 million abroad. This included £E.700,000 spent by pilgrims.

We are encouraging scientific research and the spirit of invention. We shall build an atomic research city in Inshas.

As for foreign experience, we certainly welcome such experience from any developed country. In fact we need foreign experience.

In 1952, following the Revolution, it was stated that measures should be taken to avoid the scope of foreign capital. We had to resist individual selfishness because it was one of our main objectives to set up a socialist, democratic and co-operative society.

Certain projects are being carried out according to provisions made in the State Budget. Savings amount to £E.130 million, of which £E.10 are spent on new buildings and the balance of which £E.10 million are spent on projects in various sectors. More projects will be carried out if the savings rise to, say £E.140 million.

As a matter of fact, every member of the public saving money participates in providing work to his sons through the investment of savings in industry, agriculture or the implementation of the High Dam project.

So, the coming generations will have better chances than those available to us nowadays. We will enable them to find jobs and to have a better standard of living and a community providing for all the things we were striving for.

There is still a very important thing which we must heed when we deal with the set-up and the design of the society. We pointed out that the building of a society is a very difficult problem to tackle. But we cannot build a society nor can we design it without securing necessary safeguards in this connection. For these safeguards we have been through long political battles since 1954 and up to 1957. We have even gone so far as to enter into both military and economic warfare.

Achievements in the political field: Arab Nationalism

Some people were saying that more attention was given to foreign affairs than that given to the internal policy.

In fact the foreign and internal policies are connected with each other. We cannot possibly devote all our attention to building schools, hospitals and to industry and agriculture, and then leave everything to the Jews, as, for instance, happened in Palestine.

It was necessary that we should first build up a new society and make sure that we can defend this society and protect it against any aggressive power.

We have compared industrial and agricultural conditions and co-operatives in 1957 with those in 1952. Let us hold a comparison in political conditions.

In 1952 there were imperialists and foreign occupation, and this region was in the zone of British influence. Our foreign policy was then planned by the British Foreign Office. In other words, we were following their directions, and they were pleased with us.

Now they are displeased with us, and are cursing us day and night. Why? Because there is no room here now for imperialism or foreign occupation. . . . They have both come to an end. There has not been even a British Ambassador here for two years. This region is no longer in the zone of British influence; and we say that this country will never be in any zone of foreign influence. We are not following the directives of others; but we follow our own policy which springs from our own dictates.

Imperialism has not only collapsed here but also everywhere in the zones around us.

Anthony Eden used to make speeches in the House of Commons alleging that they (the British) had a loud voice in the Middle East, which he described as a zone of British influence. Eden used to threaten that a world war would take place if the Russians attempted to get closer to the British zone of influence. He even alleged that the oilfields in the Middle East belonged to them. All these allegations were contained in speeches made in the House of Commons.

We said we would not become spheres of influence to any country. We made it clear that we were an independent country and that we followed a clear-cut policy, namely, that of positive neutrality and non-alignment. This policy has been put to the test and proved a success.

Let us now recall what they maintained in 1952. They said: “Let them set up the Arab League, for this will turn out to be a unity of the Arabs in the service of imperialism.” But this League, which was not in existence before 1952, has proved to be a real source of uneness to the imperialists and has even had its banner raised high.

Arab nationalism has been through battles, but not in the real sense of the word, namely, using battleships, aeroplanes and atom bombs. . . . Nor has it been into these battles as one of the Great Powers, for we are only a humble country.
striving to cut our way through among other nations. But Arab nationalism has been through these battles as a theme, a faith and a creed adopted by every Arab citizen, and has achieved a great victory in Port Said.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal was not just an event for Egypt only, but for every Arab citizen in every Arab nation, as the Arabs came to feel that they could restore what had been usurped from them.

Afro-Asian solidarity — the Bandung Conference

At this stage arose the idea of Afro-Asian solidarity. The Afro-Asian countries met at Bandung, decided on a certain policy and declared principles without the presence of large Powers.

In the past, every conference held in a city other than London, Paris or Washington was considered of no importance.

A conference was held in Bandung and was attended by thirty Afro-Asian countries. It decided a number of principles which the entire world is now trying to advocate and apply.

Today we feel a sense of responsibility. We call and work for peace. A comparison between the years 1952 and 1957 shows that great progress has been accomplished, various industries have been established and large areas of land have been reclaimed.

In the political field cruel battles occurred for the sake of defending our social system. We are all aware of these battles. Meanwhile, great changes have occurred in the area in which we live. These changes will affect world history. Great liberation movements occurred in the Arab world. National revolutions broke out in Iraq, the Lebanon and Algeria. Another national revolution occurred in our sister country, the Sudan, two weeks ago.

These national and liberation revolutions have many meanings and are very significant. When the Iraqi revolution was launched on 14th July 1958, every citizen in the United Arab Republic and every other Arab country felt that it was his own.

We supported the Iraqi Revolution because we considered it as representing our aspirations and sentiments, or, rather, the entire Arab Fatherland. This is why we work hand-in-hand with our sister country, Iraq.

What Arab nationalism connotes

In the early days of the Revolution, in 1953, we declared our opinion on Arab nationalism and Arab unity. We made it clear that Arab unity must be in the service of the Arabs and not in the service of imperialism. We also explained what we meant by Arab nationalism and Arab unity.

What is the Arab unity? The Arab unity represents Arab aspirations and feelings. It implies the security and solidarity of the Arabs, who should feel that they have brothers everywhere in the Arab world.

Had there been Arab unity in 1948, Palestine would not have been lost. Palestine was lost because we were not fighting unitedly. There was no unity connecting us, except our unity in serving the imperialists!

I remember the days of my primary and secondary education when we used to walk in demonstrations in the streets and shout “Long Live Arab Unity”, “Down with Balfour’s Declaration,” “Down with France,” when the French were bombing Damascus and Beirut, and “Down with Britain.”

Arab unity then implies Arab solidarity and security. It means that we must have one unified policy and that we must act collectively against our enemies.

We called for Arab nationalism, and the imperialists began to feel alarmed by Arab nationalism, following the merger of Egypt and Syria, and the proclamation of the United Arab Republic.

Endless imperialist campaigns against Arab nationalism and Arab unity, which is our beloved aspiration, followed. The Yemen then joined the United Arab Republic in a federation. This also represents the Arab unity of which we often dreamt in the past and in which our protection lies.

Arab unity also implies that if I have nine regiments and 300 planes, and someone else has four regiments and 200 planes, and a third has two regiments and 100 planes, we can form a force which would prevent Israel from occupying any Arab country.

This is our conception of Arab unity and Arab nationalism which we call for.

The British press alleged that Abdel Nasser wants to get Iraq to join the United Arab Republic. No one has said that Arab unity and Arab nationalism meant that an Arab country should merge with another Arab country. Nobody said that the United Arab Republic wanted to merge with Iraq or that Iraq wanted to merge with the United Arab Republic.

After the unity of Egypt and Syria, I made a clear statement emphasizing that any merger should not take place unless unanimously demanded by the peoples concerned. I made this condition clear because I did not want to create problems or dissension. Arab unity and Arab nationalism mean solidarity and co-operation, and that the Arabs should act unitedly and collectively and stand as one man against their imperialist and Zionist enemies.

Foreign newspapers have been saying that Abdel Nasser wanted Iraq to merge with the United Arab Republic, and that Abdel Nasser was engineering conspiracies for this purpose. They said that they would use Kassem against Nasser and Nasser against Kassem. In other words they meant to adopt their old mean policy of intrigues and dissension.

They also alleged that the United Arab Republic was advocating Arab nationalism because they wanted Iraqi oil. Obviously they meant dissension.

Have we ever said that we wanted to merge with Iraq? Have we ever demanded unity in its constitutional sense?

We talked about Arab unity and Arab nationalism, which meant that we should act collectively as one man against the imperialists and against our enemies. We also made it a condition that any merger or federation should be used on the unanimous will of the peoples concerned.

It is natural that the imperialists feel alarmed because they feel the end of their influence.

In order to confirm their influence in this part of the world they resorted to endless kinds of intrigues. They alleged that Iraq was working against the United Arab Republic and that the United Arab Republic was working against Iraq. With such intrigues imperialism thought it could cause dissension among the Arabs and regain its lost influence.

I tell them (imperialists) that such intrigues are of no use. I read all their newspapers and hear all that they say. They must rest assured that nobody can cause dissension between the Iraqi Republic and the United Arab Republic. Both republics are against the enemies of the Arabs, Zionism and imperialism. On no account will the United Arab Republic go against the Iraqi Republic. On the contrary, it will support the Iraqi Republic and its people. Despite the intrigues and conspiracies of imperialists, the armed forces
of the Iraqi Republic and the United Arab Republic will work hand in hand against the enemies of the Arabs.

Today I speak openly and frankly. I tell the imperialists that we are fully aware of their intrigues and conspiracies after the First World War, whereby they could fret away the Arab countries. We have studied all these intrigues and conspiracies and history will never repeat itself. We are also aware of the intrigues and conspiracies of imperialists after the Second World War, whereby Palestine was given to the Jews. History will not repeat itself.

Imperialists must get into their heads that their policy of "divide and rule" will be useless against us. We shall continue to be fully united with the Iraqi Republic and work shoulder to shoulder with it.

Regardless of constitutional provisions or agreements the fact remains that there is unity between the United Arab Republic and the Iraqi people and Republic, and between Gamal Abdel Nasser and Abdel Kerim Kassem.

No imperialist power can break up this unity.

These major liberation moves used to respond with the objectives we had at heart.

Following the unity between Egypt and Syria, I left for Damascus, where I paid my first visit to the Syrian people and to the free Lebanese people. Then, the Lebanese people happened to revolt against the foreign influence and the agents of imperialism. They fought and a great many of them were killed for the sake of Arabism and Arab nationalism.

For the first time in February, I was able to fathom the character of the Lebanese people. I told the Lebanese delegations in Damascus that we approved of unity with the Lebanon but on condition that unanimous approval of the people be maintained. I made this very clear.

Then, the secret broadcasts of the imperialists, their agents and their newspapers, who have plotted to turn the Lebanon into a sphere of influence and have smuggled arms to kill the free nationalists in Syria and the Lebanon, would be brazen enough to contend that it was Gamal Abdel Nasser who was behind all that killing and slaughter.

When the imperialists realized that their attempts in the Lebanon, Iraq and Syria were all to no avail, they directed their attention to the Sudan, and, for a reason of their own, they chose the Nile waters. The British press stated frankly that the only road open to them after they had failed in their military, economic and psychological war, and after they had failed to induce the people to rebel or starve them to death, was to pick a fight with us over the Nile waters. This new trend began to appear in their newspapers in 1956, which marked the beginning of our differences with the Sudan. When Abboud stated that the problems between us and the Sudan were unfounded, he was stating a truth. There is an annual waste of 30 milliard cubic metres of Nile water, enough to supply both our needs and those of the Sudan.

The British also demanded a share in the Nile waters because of their control over Uganda. It was through their instigations that the Ethiopian Emperor and Foreign Minister announced that such agreements had not come to their knowledge. We did not answer any of these statements because we meant to strike at the root of all these differences. We knew who was working to sow the seeds of discord between us and our brethren in the Sudan.

I once told a foreign journalist that all these moves were to no avail. The Nile Valley had, since the beginning of time, been occupied by the Sudan in the south, and us in the north. We cannot move out of our native land, for where could we go? Yet there is an element that shall have to move out of here and out of all Africa. It is you, the imperialists, because you have no place amongst us.

We are strongly bound with the Sudan

Despite occasional differences, we have also been and shall always be strongly bound to the Sudan because our interests are common.

These methods having failed, they resorted to commercial pressure by stopping imports from the United Arab Republic. This of course was done for the benefit of the British, as the result was a major shift of the Sudan balance of trade in favor of Britain. Britain imported £8 million worth of cotton and exported £25 million worth of goods to the Sudan. At the time when all Egyptian goods were considered luxury articles and therefore not to be imported, import permits were unconditionally granted to their British counterparts. This is why we had to limit our trade with the Sudan as we could not pay in cash the balance of our imports and exports to the Sudan. This was one of our problems with the Sudan, the other being that of the Nile waters. Of course, these disputes affected the relations between us and the Sudan. This was the artificial discord between our two nations.

In order to restore good relations between us, I took the initiative, and taking the opportunity of the visit paid by a member of the Sudan Sovereignty Council, I offered to send an invitation to the Prime Minister that we might meet and reach a solution to our problems, provided there was goodwill on the Sudanese side. The answer I received was that they were willing to settle the differences as the country had started to suffer from this artificial discord. So an invitation was extended to Abdullah Khalil. This invitation was accepted but the date of his arrival was not fixed. Then, suddenly, the Sudanese army staged a revolution and claimed that they were not afraid of revolution because they had come from the revolution in the Sudan was in favor of the West. I did not believe this news because we knew the Sudan well and we knew its people. We knew that the Sudanese army would never accept to be a tool in the hands of the West. It fought in 1924 for its dignity and ideals; it fought bravely in Sudan. We also know the leader of the Sudan revolution, we know he is a patriot, we know that he undertook this revolution for his country, its interests, the preservation of its independence and freedom, and in order to keep it out of the spheres of influence in which they wished to include it making use of different methods. We also know the other officers, and their patriotism, and know that they effected this revolution to serve their country.

Yet, on the first day, when this news was announced, I felt that the people here were somewhat taken aback; yet I did not entertain the least doubt that the revolution was nationalist. I believe that history moves forward, not backward. This is why we announced our full support to the nationalist revolution of the Sudan and of its leaders and expressed our gratitude for their mentioning that the differences between our two countries were artificial and that they would work in full co-operation and solidarity with the Arab nations and the United Arab Republic.

Again, imperialism resorted to its traditional weapons, but we shall not be prevailed upon. They will not succeed in spreading discord between the people of the United Arab Republic and the Sudan or their governments. Only yesterday, I learned that the Sudan Government has resumed
importation from the Egyptian region. Today we announce the resumption of imports from the Sudan. Thus, as General Abboud said, the artificial discord between us can come to an end with a simple word.

They announced this yesterday without any previous contact with us, and neither had we contacted them for a resumption of their import trade with us, so the initial step of resuming their import trade with us was taken by Khartoum, and thus the artificial situation simply disappeared. We, on our part, to help bring matters between us to normalcy have today decreed the resumption of our import trade with the Sudan.

We must therefore be always on our guard, always wakeful to and conscious of the intrigues of imperialism, which never ceases trying to sow the seeds of discord between the United Arab Republic and all the other Arab States, as well as all the Arab peoples elsewhere. They invariably resort to intrigue. They sense some sort of a disagreement between the United Arab Republic and the Sudan, and they smile broadly, hoping they would eventually be able to exploit it. They tried to create a state of doubt and lack of confidence between the Iraqi Republic and the United Arab Republic, and prior to that, they tried their intrigues in the Northern Region, yet all this was to no avail; it got them absolutely nowhere.

So true to its ancient practice, imperialism will try to spread disension in order that it may dominate this area. They started some time ago by trying their intrigues between the Kingdom of Su'udi Arabia and the United Arab Republic. Matters developed between us, but in spite of the long way they went, good relations were eventually restored, relations of solidarity between the people of the United Arab Republic and their brethren of Su‘udi Arabia, and between the two governments as well for the sake of Arab nationalism and for our greater national interests.

They tried the same technique, but this time between us and Libya, fabricating stories with the same objectives in view, namely, to incriminate us, but it brought them nothing, got them nowhere, for it is imperialism that will build for us? Is it imperialism that really has our interests at heart? All we have to do to answer such questions is to remember Palestine. It is only the first example that we can cite in this connection. We all remember how Britain handed Palestine over to Israel, how they got it equipped to massacre the Arabs and how they treat the Palestine Arabs now. And today the United Nations say that they are studying the refugee problem, and how it is to be solved; and at the very same time Ben Gurion stands up to declare that he wants a million Jews to migrate into Israel, so that its population would be doubled.

The Palestine refugees' problem

The truth is that the refugees' problem doesn't really require any studying. The only solution to the problem of the Palestine Arabs is for them to go back to their homeland. This is the truth of the matter, the truth that we should always propagate and hold on to. Before the United Nations tried to find a solution to the refugee problem, it should try to find a way to implement its resolutions concerning these refugees, the ones it adopted in 1948, and in 1949 when it adopted resolutions stipulating that these refugees were to return to their homeland and a committee that included France, America and Turkey was set up whose task was to recommend ways and means of implementing the said resolutions.

This committee met for the first time in Lausanne in 1949. On the second day of its first session it voted for the admittance of Israel into the United Nations. It did not hold one meeting after that. I will say to those who busy themselves these days with trying to find a solution to the refugee problem that they had better try and implement the refugees' United Nations' resolutions, for, as long as the people of Palestine are deprived of the right to return to their homeland, there won't be any solution to this problem. I just cannot understand how they can think of bringing into Israel a million Jews with lots of food and work where they are, and denounced the original owners of the land and deny them the right of going back to their homes.

What then is the aim of imperialism? This aim is to destroy Arab nationalism, have it broken into little bits, thus allowing for other nationalities to grow between the broken bits. This aim, however, is not new. It dates back to the Crusades in the tenth and eleventh centuries when war was waged against this part of the world under the pretext of religion while the real objective was the destruction of Arab nationalism and the establishment of an imperialistic rule in the area.

When Napoleon came here, entered Egypt, went as far as Akka and beat its Imam, what did he want? The same thing : destruction of Arab nationalism, its subjugation to his rule. When the English came here under Frazier and were beaten at Rashid, this was what they had come for. When they came again in 1907 and were able to win their way through, this was what they wanted : destruction of our nationalism. They managed to do so in a couple of zones here and a third one in Algeria. What is now happening in Algeria? A war of annihilation for the purpose of totally destroying the Arabs there, and consequently their nationalism. Crops are burnt, whole villages torn down, men, women and children massacred so that Frenchmen would live there instead of the Arabs who have been there for thousands of years. What is behind all this? The aim is the annihilation of the Arabs like the Americans annihilated the Red Indians, with the result that there is hardly a Red Indian in America now.

This summarizes our policy concerning the Arab nation. As for the imperialist agents we ask God to guide them along the right path and we ask the Arab people to show them the right way, as was the case with Iraq.

Friendly toward Afro-Asian peoples

With regards to Asia and Africa, this is our policy: In 1956, Ghana won its independence — Nkrumah waged a long struggle and achieved independence for his country. Imperialist papers publish that here is a rival for Abdel Nasser. This is also reiterated by the imperialist statesmen. Yet I do not see the connection between him and I. We are in North-East Africa while he is in Western Africa.

We announced our full support of Africa's independence, saying that we would spare no effort to achieve it.

In September 1958 Guinea refused to unite with France and proclaimed its independence. The first message of congratulations received by Sekou Touré, the new ruler of Guinea, was from me. Last week, the Premiers of Ghana and Guinea met and proclaimed a union between the two countries. We feel that this union is a major step towards the achievement of African independence. This is why it has our full support.

Yet the British and the Americans say that this union is aimed at Abdel Nasser, though there is absolutely no con-
nection between the two. This has become an obsession. Of course their ultimate aim is to prevent any co-operation between us and to spread discord, hatred and suspicion among us. We support the union of Ghana and Guinea, its independence, and pledge to assist it. We hail the struggle of Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, and that of Sekou Touré, the leader of Guinea’s struggle.

Cessation of cold war and independence of small nations in the real sense

As for our international policy, it is one of work for easing tension now that humanity has reached a stage where it has become a necessity to end the cold war and lay the foundation of peace. We support the right to self-determination; we stand by all the nations that are struggling for their independence and work towards ending the power policies pursued by the big powers. We work for the liquidation of the spheres of influence, bearing in mind that the independence gained be real so that the smaller nations would not be toys in the hands of the bigger ones. We are struggling for the prevention of atomic tests, the use of atomic weapons and disarmament so that all efforts be directed towards development projects.

Our world’s population is two billion people; out of these one whole billion is suffering from hunger, can hardly find one decent meal per day and is struggling to have its development projects implemented. Yet in spite of all this, a hundred billion dollars are spent annually on armament.

America alone spends on armament about 44 billion dollars. Russia spends about the same amount. If we add what is spent by other nations on armament, we will have a total of about 100 billion dollars spent on death and destructive weapons. If this sum is divided by 2 billion, which is the number of the world’s population, every individual on the face of this earth will get 50 dollars. In other words, a nation of a million people would get 50 million dollars, another of ten millions would get 500 million dollars, a third of twenty million people would get 1,000 million dollars, which could be used in development and industrialization projects, and consequently save almost half of this world’s population from the pangs of hunger. We aim at disarmament. Our policy calls for the imposition of limitations on armament. This is the path which we pursue. This is why we are determined that our policy be one of neutrality and non-alignment, a policy that works for peace, prevention of war and disarmament for the sake of humanity at large.

May God be the Guide of all our steps.

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"The purpose of this little work is to explain to the student, in as concise a manner as possible, the grammatical structure of the modern Arabic literary language as it is found today in newspapers, magazines, books, radio and public speaking." Having said this Mr. Cowan has advisedly limited his scope and he sticks to what he has said. He is not writing a reference grammar and several times he refers the reader to Wright for further details. The result is highly pleasing and instructive and might well have been given the sub-title, "Arabic without tears." Furthermore being entitled, "An Introduction to Modern Literary Arabic," the vocabulary and sentences are realistic and the truly's, thee's and thou's of Thatcher's grammar find no place in Mr. Cowan's straightforward book. Of course it is impossible to say anything very intellectual when one does not know how to construe a simple verb but his sentences are far removed from "The lame girl is in the yellow room" and "My yearning for thee is more violent than for thy brother!"

The book itself is presented in a very clear, attractive style, calculated to remove some of the apprehensions of the beginner. The printing of both the English and Arabic is of first quality and the general layout is clear. A word now about individual parts of the work. It is divided into 25 chapters and 90 sections, each chapter consisting of from one to five sections, each dealing with different subjects. Internally the sections are divided only into numbered subsections and then only when necessary. Thatcher's grammar was made unnecessarily complicated by a system which led to such things as, Lesson six, section two, sub-section (3), note three (in small type). The lessons are preceded by an introduction on orthography, pronunciation, diacritical marks and kindred topics. After the lessons come two appendices, a useful one on patterns of the Broken Plural, and an unusual, but most valuable one on Phonetic changes in Arabic.

Internally the lessons are split up as follows: (1) explanation of the point under discussion; (2) illustration of the point by short examples with comments; (3) example sentences with translation; (4) a brief and useful supplementary vocabulary; (5) an exercise in Arabic; (6) transilation of the exercise.
Mr. Cowan makes it quite clear from the beginning that abstract plurals are grammatically feminine singular whereas I found no mention of this essential in Thatcher. This early and clear mention does away with what can become a great mystery to the beginner. The chapter on declension is excellent. Mr. Cowan straightforwardly declares, "There are three declensions in Arabic," and then proceeds to acquaint us with them in the same way as a German or Latin grammar sets out its declensions. No mention is made of Arabic grammatical terms, but this may well be so as not to overburden the learner, although any serious student of Arabic will have to know them sooner or later.

I noticed a break with the tradition of writing out verbs by beginning with he, she, you, etc. (i.e., fa'ala, fa'alat, fa'alta, etc.). Instead the European system of self first, you next (i.e., I, you, he, she, etc.) is adopted. I feel that this will lead the student into complications when he consults other grammar books, especially Wright, to whom he is referred. On the whole the treatment of the verbs is excellent, and weak, hollow, hamzated, quadrilateral and all other verbs are fitted very simply into the basic pattern right from the beginning and are not made into a separate and complicated study.

I would like to make a suggestion concerning the layout of lesson XI. Here Mr. Cowan deals with the derivatives of verbs and nouns, but instead of putting the derivatives opposite the words from which they are derived he puts them underneath producing this slightly muddling effect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kharaja</td>
<td>he went out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuruuj</td>
<td>exit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakhalah</td>
<td>he entered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukhul</td>
<td>entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatala</td>
<td>he killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qat</td>
<td>killing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same criticism applies to his treatment of the comparative vowelling of the Imperfect (Mudaar') and the Perfect (Maadii) in chapter XII.

I would have liked to see the extra vocabulary which we are promised in the "subsequent key" included in a two-way vocabulary at the back of the book for the sake of completeness; also I think that a slightly enlarged section on Syntax would be appropriate to cover, especially, the uses of the accusative. Finally I would like to have seen him help us rid the English language of the word Moslem, as opposed to the more accurate Muslim.

However, the result of Mr. Cowan's long experience of Arabic has borne plentiful fruit in this concise, simple yet scholarly work and it is to be hoped that the universities will take it as their standard first-year textbook to ease the burden on their students and to let them feel that Arabic is a living language as capable of talking in modern terms as any other. We hope that this volume may be the first of many in Mr. Cowan's lucid and scholarly style and we live in hopes of some future works on literature, and especially poetry, a subject dear to Mr. Cowan's heart.

J. H.

NEW ARABIC ALPHABET

(A new contribution towards solving the complexities and handicaps for the press presented by the unwieldy size of the Arabic matrix comes to us from the President of the Unified Arabic Alphabet Foundation, 509 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York, U.S.A.)

We reproduce hereunder the text of a letter he sent us in English, followed by an Arabic translation in the proposed alphabet. The "Unified" Arabic alphabet is copyrighted.—Editor.

Dear Sir,

We are happy to announce that, backed by a grant from the Ford Foundation, our organization has opened offices at the above address and is now engaged in a programme of developing and promoting the Unified Arabic alphabet system of type and typewriting.

This system, which is a simplification of the complicated method in use today, does not affect the traditional Arabic handwriting or calligraphy which remain in their present forms. Neither does it bring any change into the grammar, spelling or phonetics of the language. On the contrary, it reproduces the Arabic language more accurately than has ever before been possible because it enables us to print fully vocalized Arabic. At the same time, since the new letters are derived from the old and familiar ones, the new printing is perfectly legible to readers of the Arabic script.

The Unified Arabic alphabet introduces, however, a new printed form of Arabic. Its letters are disconnected rather than run together as they appear in the traditional printing. This greatly reduces the number of printing characters, facilitates the task of teaching beginners and considerably lowers the cost of publishing.

We plan to open offices in the Middle East at a later date. In the meantime, we shall be glad to send you upon request further information about this new system of type and to answer any inquiries from you or learn your views regarding this matter.

Yours sincerely,

NASRl KHATTAR.

JANUARY 1959
The Editor,
THE ISLAMIC REVIEW.

Sir,

I should like to register my appreciation of the splendid photograph you reproduced on the cover of the April 1958 issue of The Islamic Review, and for more reason than mere aesthetic love of beauty in architecture.

As an English Muslim my knowledge of Islamic art as expressed in the mosque structure is limited. I was of the opinion that dome and cylindrical shafted minarets prevailed as dominant features in Islamic art, and were rarely, if ever, varied by the early architects of Islam.

There is so much of religious value expressed in the stones of this magnificent mosque of Zaytunah (or Mosque of the Olive Tree).

Yours fraternally in Islam,

AHMED P. ROBINSON,
Lt.-Com. (E) R.N., Rtd.

* * *

PERSECUTION OF ISLAM

Mawlee Quarter,
Akyab,
Burma.

The Editor,
THE ISLAMIC REVIEW.

Sir,

I feel extremely unhappy to read about various methods used to malign the religion of Islam and persecute Muslim minorities in some countries. Little can be done by such oppressed Muslim minorities except to appeal for redress to their governments, which are not always ready to listen.

Could not something be done by Muslim governments and organizations to afford succour to Muslims who find themselves oppressed, or to vindicate the religion of Islam where it is unjustly treated by its enemies?

Yours sincerely,

MUHAMMAD SHOFIU ARHMAN.

(The Islamic Review welcomes letters from its readers airing specific grievances on this subject, and will do its utmost to bring them to the notice of the appropriate authorities.—Editor.)

* * *

THREE QUESTIONS

S. Brimah,
Bej Rabanus,
Licht Str. 30,
Dusseldorf,
West Germany.

The Editor,
THE ISLAMIC REVIEW.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu ‘Alaikum

Will you please be good enough to enlighten me on the following points:

1. Is it true that the Muslim who breaks his fast in Ramadhan is enjoined to fast sixty days for each day he does not keep the fast?

2. Is the Muslim allowed to eat the flesh of animals or birds killed by strangulation expressly for the purpose of human consumption?

3. Was Jesus born of immaculate conception; and if not, who was his father?

Yours sincerely,

S. BRIMAH.

(1. There is no express provision in the Qur’an on the duties of a Muslim who intentionally breaks the obligatory

* * *
fast in Ramadhan. But, as in many matters affecting the practice of Islam, the Hadith gives guidance. According to the Hadith, as reported in as-Sahih by al-Bukhari (Book XXX, Chapter 30), a Muslim who intentionally breaks the fast in Ramadhan may expiate fast continuously for two months, or feed 60 poor persons.

2. The Qur'án and the Hadith clearly show that Muslims may eat the flesh of animals and birds (except swine) only if they have been slaughtered, i.e., blood has come out of them in the process of killing, and if they are not slaughtered in the name of idols or of any deity other than God.

3. "O mankind, surely We have created you from male and female …" (The Qur'án, 49: 13). This is a clear verdict by the Qur'án on the origin of all human beings; and there is thus no reason to believe that Jesus had no father or was born of immaculate conception. In the New Testament, also, many verses speak of Jesus as the son of Joseph the Carpenter, and make reference to his having had brothers and sisters (St. Mark, 11: 3; and St. Luke, 3: 23).—Editor, I.R.

* * * *

ISLAMIC CENTRE IN WASHINGTON

The Islamic Centre,
2551 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.,
Washington 8, D.C., U.S.A.

The Editor,
THE ISLAMIC REVIEW.

Sir,

Assalamu 'Alaikum.

The Islamic Centre in Washington, D.C., is considered as a true source of Islamic culture, history, philosophy and art. Its main purpose is to introduce Islam to American Muslims and non-Muslims and to bring about a better understanding of the Muslim peoples.

In order to achieve these purposes, we have started a series of lectures in the auditorium of the Centre. These lectures, which are open to both Muslims and non-Muslims, deal with the various aspects of Islam.

Many groups from American churches, universities, clubs and other organizations visit the Islamic Centre for information about Islam and the Muslim people. We usually give these groups short lectures on Islam or the subject in which they are particularly interested, and then answer their questions.

There are two courses given at the Centre. One is a course on the Arabic language for adults, mostly Americans. Tuition is given free of charge. The other is a course on the religion of Islam for Muslim children, given on Sundays.

The Centre receives many invitations from different American organizations or foundations outside Washington to give lectures on Islam. Numerous lectures have been given by the Centre to clubs, universities, churches and high schools.

The Centre does not as yet publish a magazine, but we have printed pamphlets introducing Islam in a brief and simple manner.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. MOHAMED BISAR,
Director.

JANUARY 1959

CALIPH UMAR'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

Abbas Manzil Library,
Bangalore 4, India.

The Editor,
THE ISLAMIC REVIEW.

Sir,

Assalamu 'Alaikum.

Readers of The Islamic Review who are entertained by the series you have published on the Letters of Caliph 'Umar may find still more interesting reading in the Old Testament — the Vision of Zachariah, IX : 9-10. Zachariah flourished in the time of King Darius, and was a contemporary of Ezekiel and Daniel. He depicts the entry into Jerusalem of a conquering hero and king, and says:

"Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy King cometh unto thee: He is just, and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from river even to the ends of the earth."

No king or conquering hero ever entered Jerusalem so triumphantly as to give joy to the Jews since the days of the dispersion. This description could never apply to Jesus, as Matthew thought. Jesus, for one thing, was never a king, nor was he recognized as king in his lifetime, neither in a spiritual nor in a temporal sense.

The description could fit no other than 'Umar, the great Caliph. He was king, and there is no dispute about it. He was just, and that is a well-known fact of history. He was very humble in his demeanour and simple in his dress and manner — in fact he could not be distinguished from his own slave. 'Umar had salvation which he attained by being one of the ten Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, to whom God promised remission of all sins. He entered Jerusalem riding on a horse and accompanied by Patriarch Sophronius, and followed by his servant on an ass. His kingdom extended from sea to sea — from the Arabian Sea to the Mediterranean; from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea; from the Nile and the Euphrates to the end of the then known world. He offered peace (Islam) to the heathens and to the Byzantine Christians, who had reverted to Roman paganism.

It should be mentioned here that when Patriarch Sophronius wanted to surrender Jerusalem he insisted that the Caliph should come personally to receive the keys of the city. While accompanying the Caliph he recited some well-known passages from the Bible — perhaps these verses or the verses in Chapter II of Daniel. It delighted the persecuted Jews immensely when they saw their own kith and kin, a descendant of Abraham, entering Jerusalem, and the first act of the Caliph was to order the removal of rubbish from around the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, on which he laid the foundation of a greater and more glorious Temple, al-Masjid al-Aqsa.

This prophecy is an object lesson and admonition to Jews and Christians. It tells them that the kingdom of God has passed from them to Islam, as foretold by Jesus and Daniel (see Matthew, XXI, 33-45; Daniel, II, 51-45).

Yours truly,

S. M. AHMED.
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JANUARY 1959
WHAT IS ISLAM?

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

ISLAM: THE RELIGION OF PEACE.—The word "Islam" literally means: (1) peace; (2) submission. The word in its religious sense signifies complete submission to the Will of God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHARITY.—All the faculties of man have been given to him as a trust from God for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. It is man's duty to live for others, and his charities must be applied without any distinction of persons. Charity in Islam brings man nearer to God. Charity and the giving of alms have been made obligatory, and every person who possesses property above a certain limit has to pay a tax, levied on the rich for the benefit of the poor.
Wheels Of Progress

Thousands of young men like Mohammad bin Mubarak help turn the wheels of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia. The result is progress.

Mohammad is top man at an Arabian American Oil Company gas oil separator plant. He comes from western Saudi Arabia, a thousand miles away from the Persian Gulf oil-producing area. He's been with Aramco for eight years, moving steadily up the job ladder. Mohammad is typical of many Saudi Arab employees who hold important jobs with Aramco.

ARAMCO - ARABIAN AMERICAN OIL COMPANY
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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAKISTAN REVOLUTION

"Let us all bow before Almighty God in all humility to guide us to a better future, so that we may emerge from this hour of trial as a sound, solid and strong nation"

In a broadcast on 8th October 1958, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Supreme Commander and Chief Martial Law Administrator, and subsequently President of Pakistan, delivered the following message to the Nation.

Fellow Citizens of Pakistan,

Asalaamu 'alaikum.

I am going to address you on matters which are both solemn and serious. It is vital that you should listen to them carefully, understand them correctly so as to be able to act constructively— as, in correct action lies the salvation of us all and our future generations.

You should have heard by now the declaration abrogating the Constitution and imposing Martial Law throughout Pakistan. This is a drastic and extreme step taken with great reluctance, but with the fullest conviction that there was no alternative to it except the disintegration and complete ruination of the country. History would never have forgiven us if the present chaotic conditions were allowed to go on any further.

These chaotic conditions, as you know, have been brought about by self-seekers who in the garb of political leaders have ravaged the country or tried to barter it away for personal gains. Some have done it as a matter of right because they professed to have created Pakistan, and others who were against the very idea of Pakistan openly worked for its dissolution or in any case did all they could to aggravate its problems. Their aim is nothing but self-aggrandizement or thirst for power. Meanwhile, weak and irresolute Governments looked on with mastery inactivity and cowardice and allowed things to drift and deteriorate and discipline to go to pieces.

Ever since the death of the Quaid-i-Azam and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, politicians started a free-for-all type of fighting in which no holds were barred. They waged ceaseless and bitter war against each other, regardless of the ill-effects on the country, just to whet their appetites and satisfy their base motives. There has been no limit to the depth of their baselessness, chicanery, deceit and degradation. Having nothing constructive to offer, they used provincial feelings, sectarian, religious and racial differences to set a Pakistani against a Pakistani. They could see no good in anybody else. In this mad rush for power and acquisition all that mattered was self-interest. The country and people could go to the dogs as far as they were concerned.

Changes in Party affiliations

There were a few honourable exceptions, but their conscience was deadened and they were rendered ineffective by hordes of their supporters in the Assemblies changing party affiliations from day to day.

There are two things a man — a man of any conscience — finds it very difficult to do: change his religion, change party affiliations.

But our so-called representatives in the Assemblies shifted from one party to the other without turning a hair or feeling any pang of conscience. This is the basis on which democracy has been run in Pakistan and in the sacred name of Islam. In the process, all ideals and high sense of values inherent in our religion and culture have been destroyed.

The result is total administrative, economic, political and moral chaos in the country, which cannot be tolerated in these dangerous times. Pakistan certainly cannot afford this luxury. It has far too many internal problems to solve and external dangers to safeguard against — the prerequisite to a solution of which is a secure and stable base within the country.

Our people are by nature patriotic and good people. They are tolerant, patient and can rise to great heights when well led. They are also intelligent and could see all this happening in front of their eyes. But they found themselves helpless as they did not wish to aggravate the problems facing the country or perhaps did not wish to hurt the feelings of the army, which, in the final analysis, is responsible for law and order and which had served them so well with loyalty and devotion. But lately I could see that they were beginning to lose faith even in us for not saving them from tyranny and mental and spiritual torture. I am sure they are sick and tired of the unscrupulous type of politicians who were busy tearing their dear country into pieces. The Army too felt the same and much more but held their patience for the reasons which I will just now explain.

Army’s attitude

This is the occasion on which, I feel, I should take my countrymen and women into confidence as to the Army’s attitude and behaviour. Ever since the inception of Pakistan we in the Armed Forces saw very clearly the internal problems facing the country and the external dangers to which it was exposed. We were also conscious of our limited means. We solemnly decided to build a true National Army free from politics, model of devotion to duty and integrity imbued with the spirit of service to the people and capable of effectively defending the country. Further, I always told my people that our major task is to give cover to the country behind which it could build a sound democratic system and lay the foundation of a stable future. We kept severely aloof from politics.

You may not know but I refused on several occasions the late Mr. Ghulam Mohammad’s offer to take over the country. I did so in the belief that I could serve the cause of Pakistan better from the place where I was, and also had a faint hope that some politicians would rise to the occasion and lead the country to a better future. Events have falsified those hopes and we have come to the present pass. A perfectly sound country has been turned into a laughing stock. This is sad, but the situation has to be faced and remedies found, as God willing they are going to be.

(Continued on page 4)