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ing political issues is analytical and informative. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and not those of *The Islamic Review*, or its publishers.

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Between Ourselves

The Cover

The picture on the cover is that of a scene in a Turkish film, "The Conquest of Istanbul," now being shown in Turkey. The film is produced by Atlas Films, Yeshilsam Sokak Perem Apartmanı 34/3, Beyoglu, Istanbul, Turkey. Our picture shows Sultan Muhammad II on his white horse giving the signal for the final attack by the Muslim soldiers amidst *takbirs* and *tablils* on the city walls of the ancient Constantinople. On the banner of Sultan Muhammad the words of the Qur'an *Inna fatabna laka Fathan mubina* (verily, We have given you a manifest victory) are visible.

The scene in the film depicting the charge of Muhammad II on the gap in the city walls on his white horse is so moving that it will fill the heart of any Muslim with gratitude and reverence for the glorious heritage of Muslims.

Constantinople fell on May 22, 1453 C.E.

The Contributors

Hammeed Mumtaz, B.A., is a young Pakistani Muslim.

Muhammad 'Ali, M.A., LL.B., is the translator of the Holy Qur'an into English. The whole of his life has been devoted to the study of the Qur'an.

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Lack of co-operation of our friends in this matter has been a fruitful source of many an avoidable complaint.

Our subscribers who are in the employ of the Government of Pakistan are asked particularly to take notice of this request.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

MAY, 1951

CONTENTS

Nationalization in Muslim Countries	3
By the Light of the Qur'an and the Hadith	4
by Hammeed Mumtaz	
The World's Greatest Spiritual Force	5
by Muhammad 'Ali, M.A., LL.B.	
The International Law in Islam	8
by Dr. M. Hamidullah, Ph.D., D.Litt.	
Three Years of Pakistan	11
A Review of Industrial Progress in Egypt during the last twenty years and its Effect on Labour and Social Conditions	16
by Dr. Hafez 'Afifi Pasha	
'Abd al-Qadir Jilani (died 561 A.H. — 1165 C.E.)	21
by 'Abdul 'Ali	
Twin Blossoms in the Garden of Allah	23
by M. A. A'zam	
The Oil in Iran	24
Development, Dependence and Independence of Iran	26
by Geoffrey Neville Bagot	
Islam in Eastern Europe on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion (1016 — 1223 C.E.)	30
by Arslan Bohdanowicz	
The Tragic Drama of Morocco	33
by Abu Muhammad	
The Istiqlal (Party of Moroccan Independence)	39
by 'Allal al-Fasi	
The Policy of the French Protectorate in Morocco shown in Figures	41
The World Muslim Conference and Morocco	41
Islam in England	42
Book Reviews	43
The Arabs in History, by Bernard Lewis	43
Wells of Power, by Olaf Caroe	44
The Modern Medical View on the Consumption of Alcohol and the Holy Qur'an	45
What Our Readers Say	45
Shahariar Ahmed — England	45
Dr. 'Isa A. Samad — England	45
Muhammad Ansari — England	46
'Arifah Bashir Minto — America	46
Shamsul Haque — England	47

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَسَلَّمَ

"Muhammad is . . . the Apostle of God and the Last of the Prophets . . "

"There will be no Prophet after me."

—THE HOLY QUR'AN 33:40
—THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XXXIX, No. 5

MAY, 1951

SHA'BAN 1370 A.H.

NATIONALIZATION IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

Muslims should not hesitate to run their industries on their own

Nationalization a safeguard against exploitation.

One of the outstanding developments in the 20th century concepts of sociology is the tendency to limit the freedom of gain and profit-making of individuals and commercial bodies which in almost all cases have served private interests and paid no heed to the concern of common good. As time passes, the ascendancy of socialist principles in the modern world is gaining ground and regarded as a definite sign of the general preference of the common welfare. This desire for the fulfilment of the principle of limitation of private interests and private profit-making has also involved the devising of safeguards for lawful profit and ordinary commercial enterprise.

Nationalization consists in the appropriation to the people of large undertakings connected with the public services and life of the community. It aims at preventing big business concerns and private monopolies from abusing their function by exploiting some public need for making money, amassing capital and acquiring an absolute control of the destinies and means of livelihood of a large section of the people. It also lays down the principle that a definite distinction should be made between the rendering of a real service to the public and acts of private exploitation concealed in the guise of such service.

Although the principle of nationalization is accepted as legitimate and valid in the economic world of to-day, its application assumes more complex proportions in the matter of Muslim countries than in the highly developed and industrialized countries of the West. These complexities are the direct result of the long process of subjugation and exploitation of their resources during the 19th century by the European Colonial Powers that had stepped into the shoes of the decaying Muslim Empires. With the rapid growth of political consciousness in these countries, however, such industries as electricity, means of communication, water, etc., which were mainly run by concession companies, were concerned more with profit-making than with the service of the people of the country in which they operated, demands for the acquirement of their control became more and more vociferous. What made matters more grave was the concession companies never kept pace with the growing needs of the awakening of political consciousness of the people. They were more interested in making profits than in the proper execution of the public duties entrusted to them.

This awakening has of late grown so rapidly in the Middle Eastern countries which are very rich in natural resources like oil that all public utility undertakings, one by one, have been taken over by the various Middle East national governments. The last one to acquire control of these by law is the Republic of Syria, which came into existence in 1943. According to this law the buildings, installations, instruments and other effects in the possession of the concession companies enjoying concessions will revert to the authority granting the concessions when such concessions terminate; for what the concession companies possess in regard to such buildings, installations, machines and other effects is a right of user and not of ownership.

The importance of oil and the Muslim Middle East.

During the 19th century the pace of civilization was controlled by such countries as produced coal and iron. This accounted for the

supremacy of England. But during the 20th century the oil-producing countries have replaced their hegemony. That is why America is in the ascendant to-day. The wheels of the 20th century wars and peace move on petrol rather than on coal. Petrol is the deciding factor in our political life of to-day. Both in peace and war it is petrol that governs our daily life. In proportion to the fall in the production of oil in America, which at present is the largest oil-producing country in the world, the importance of the Middle Eastern countries will continue to increase. We know the extent of the deposits of oil in the United States, whereas the fringe of oil reservoirs of the Middle Eastern countries has not been touched as yet. The United States of America is now already an oil-importing country. The Middle Eastern countries — Iran, Sa'udi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait — are becoming every day more and more important in world economy. At present Kuwait has the largest oil-producing well in the world. Sa'udi Arabia has taken the place of Iran and is the third largest oil-producing country in the world after the United States and Venezuela. At the end of 1950 the longest pipe-line was completed, traversing four countries — Sa'udi Arabia, Jordan, the Lebanon and Syria. The immensity of this undertaking can be judged from the fact that it cost \$600,000,000, of which the pipe-line alone cost \$225,000,000.

Muslims can manage their affairs.

The natural wealth of the Middle Eastern countries has created economic and social problems for them. From political insignificance they have jumped to a place of international importance. Sa'udi Arabia, that suffered from droughts and lack of means of communication, has now a sound and solid economy. The foreign powers are anxious to secure their goodwill and friendship. All this has raised social and political problems for them. In some cases it has become impossible for them to maintain their national independence.

Time was when any demand for the nationalization of the big industries controlling and exploiting the natural and national resources of the Middle Eastern countries was made, it was suggested by the foreign powers that they were incapable of running them. But now the tune seems to have changed. For instance, in the case of the Iranian oil-fields, it is being admitted that if they (the Iranians) lost the services of the employees of the Anglo-Iranian Company, they would have no difficulty in recruiting international experts.

Nationalization is not un-Islamic.

Islam envisages a society in which the exploitation of the natural resources created by God is vested in society. The Qur'an has given the name of *Malik al-Mulk* (the Owner of Sovereignty) to God and declared repeatedly that every inch of land belongs to God. It also says: "God's is the kingdom". The Prophet Muhammad says: "All land is God's". That is why the land of the conquered territory in early Islam became the State property under the conception of *Malik al-Mulk*. In Islam all the treasures in the earth are the community's. Man has a right only to that which he earns and creates by his labour. Consequently the "Freehold" concept has no place in the Islamic social system. Coal, iron and all mineral wealth of the country belongs to the people. The State can delegate its powers for their exploitation subject to the condition that the interests of the community are served best.

By the Light of the Qur'an and the Hadith

Islam and Labour¹

By HAMMEED MUMTAZ

"Humanity can free itself from poverty and misery only if the exploitation of man by man is eliminated"

The Qur'an on the value of work.

Quite opposite to hackneyed beliefs in redemption through renunciation, Islam wants man to lead a normal and a natural life. In this normalcy, it takes him through no labyrinth of vicissitudes, nor performs any feats on crests of opposites on an unnatural suppression of his natural endowments, nor against his rational faculties as a distinguished animal — the cream of all creation.

So far as mundane life is concerned, Islam is at one with the most modern and advanced theories of economics, viz., humanity at large can free itself from the thralldom of poverty, misery and the gruesome consequences thereof, only if the exploitation of man by man is eliminated. To this end, the Islamic code of life, the Qur'an and the Traditions, lay much stress on the importance of labour. In the clearest possible language the Qur'an extols the value of work:

"Man shall have nothing but what he strives for; and his striving shall soon be seen and rewarded with the fullest reward" (53:39-41).

Analysing the consequences of work, the Qur'an says:

"Your striving is surely directed to various ends. Then as for him who gives to others and is dutiful, and accepts the best principles; surely We will facilitate for him the easy end. And as for him who withholds from others and considers himself free from need, and rejects the best, We will facilitate for him the difficult end. And his wealth will not avail him when he perishes" (92:4-11).

"And all have degrees according to what they do; and their Lord is not heedless of what they do" (6:133).

The example of the Prophet Muhammad in the matter of the dignity of labour.

The Messenger of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad was perhaps the first and the last of the prophets, the unique genius, to lay emphasis on the fact that basically man was created to strive upon earth. He believed that mankind was one single community of workers, the only path to whose many-sided glory was work and toil. About himself, the Prophet said: "O my people, work according to your ability. I too am working." And this claim was perhaps a foreshadowing of what he actually did. A glance at the annals of the life of the Prophet makes it clear that he was an indefatigable worker. He worked ceaselessly the whole day and prayed at night. Right from his early life, he was never content to sit with all majesty and just scribble a few signatures over some extraordinary war documents or alliances. It was altogether a different thing with him. He used to milk his own goats and pasture them as a shepherd in far-off Arabian oases. He would patch his own clothes, mend his own shoes, dust his house, look after his camel, assist his wife at home, and do petty shopping even for his poor neighbours. As a labourer, he worked in the construction of a mosque and dug with other labourers a ditch around Medina. Work and labour, he stressed, were as honourable as anything. Even as a king, a general and a prophet, he never despised any work, however humble. He thus founded a social order, where a roadside labourer, a hewer of wood, a waterman, a cobbler and a sweeper were as respectable members of the Islamic fraternity as a big merchant or a high dignitary. In his own words:

"If one of you should take his rope and bring a bundle of firewood on his back and then sell it, with which God should save his honour; it is better for him than that he should beg of people" (Bukhari 24:50).

The Traditions are replete with shining examples of the

honour and dignity to which the Prophet raised mankind:

"A butcher or seller of meat, a goldsmith, a blacksmith, a tailor, a weaver or a carpenter, were all equally honourable" (Bukhari 34:21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32).

A servant and his master were placed on the same level to the extent that it was

"Recommended for a master and a servant to dine at the same table" (Bukhari 49:18).

In Islam, one cannot even dream of forced or unpaid labour. A labourer and his employer were considered two contracting parties, and each was bound by the terms of the agreement. The Prophet made it plain:

"God says: There are three persons whose adversary in dispute I shall be on the day of Resurrection: a person who makes a promise in My name and then acts unfaithfully; and a person who sells a free person then devours his price; and last but not least, a person who employs a servant and receives fully the labour due from him, then he does not pay his remuneration" (Bukhari 30:106).

In the days of the Prophet every labourer, including the employees of the State, were all entitled to a remuneration. If the remuneration was left unpaid, its investment in some profitable business was recommended and the labourer was entitled to the profits. Traditions speak of a man delivered from God's affliction for this honest investment. In his own words:

"I employed labourers and I paid them their remuneration with the exception of one man — he left his due and went away. So I invested his remuneration in a profitable business until it became abundant in wealth" (Bukhari 37:12).

Trade and business emphasized by the Prophet Muhammad.

Trade and business were particularly stressed by the Prophet. He said:

"The truthful, honest merchant is with the prophets, the truthful ones and the martyrs" (Tirmidhi 12:4).

But it was not without keeping the business class of society within limits, lest the labour of over-active business men and trademongers should give rise to exploitation. So the Prophet dictated:

"May God have mercy on the man who is generous when he buys and when he sells and when he demands his due" (Bukhari 34:16).

Regarding honest dealing, the Prophet said:

"If they (the concerned parties) both speak the truth and make manifest (the defect, if any, in the transaction) their transaction shall be blessed, but if they conceal (the defect) and tell lies, then the blessings of their transaction shall be obliterated" (Bukhari 34:19).

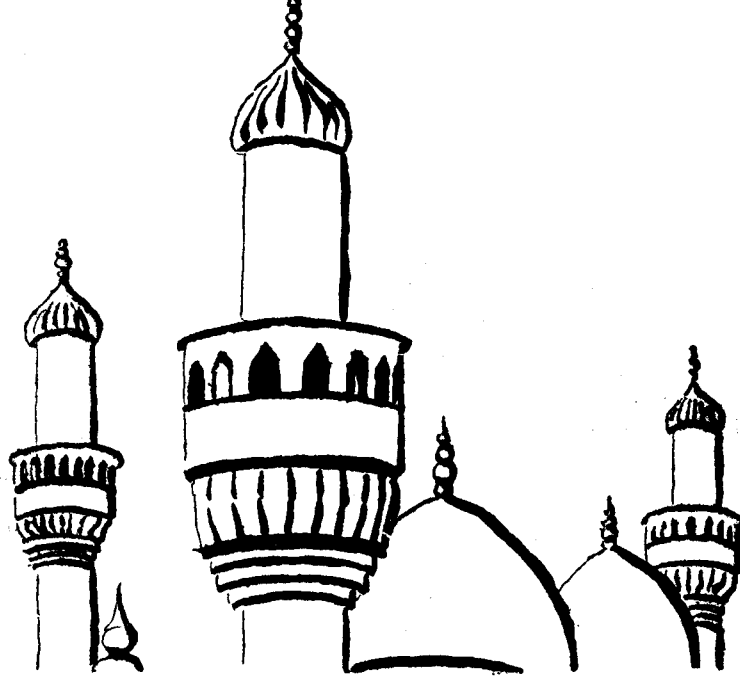
As regards the tillers of the soil, Islam is very generous in encouraging the cultivation of land and the planting of trees:

"There is no Muslim who plants a tree or cultivates land, then there eat of it birds or a man or an animal, but it is a charity for him" (Bukhari 41:1).

"Whoever cultivates land which is not the property of anyone, has a better title to it" (Bukhari 41:15).

Thus the life of the Prophet of Islam, the Traditions and the Qur'an, very long before our time gave voice to the slogans of the "workers of all countries," but only if workers have the eyes to see, to go deep into the fathomless depths of the Code sacrosanct, and look at Islam in the proper perspective, eschewing the tinted glasses of bias against anything that goes under the label of religion. Islam is well enough a banner for the workers, labourers, peasants and toilers of all races, climes and waters. It gives a balance in life, a dynamic equilibrium.

¹ Courtesy, the Editor, *The Light*, Lahore, Pakistan, for March 16, 1950.



THE WORLD'S GREATEST SPIRITUAL FORCE

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

"In fact, the transformation wrought by the Holy Qur'án is unparalleled in the history of the world. No other reformer except Muhammad brought about such an entire change in the lives of a whole nation in his lifetime"

What the Holy Qur'án aims at.

The Holy Qur'án claims to be the greatest spiritual force which is ultimately destined to bring the whole of humanity to perfection. Anyone who would simply cast a glance at its opening and closing verses will not fail to see this. It opens thus :

"Praise be to God, the Nourisher of the worlds to perfection"¹ (1 : 1).

And it ends thus :

"Say, I seek refuge with the Nourisher of mankind to perfection" (114 : 1).

And this is the theme of the Holy Book throughout. It calls itself *as al-Ruh* (45 : 52) or *the spirit which gives life to humanity*, and over and again compares itself to the water which gives life to a dead earth :

"And among His signs is that thou seest the earth still but when We send down on it the water, it stirs and swells. Surely He Who gives life to it is the giver of life to the dead" (41 : 39).

This giving of life to the dead earth is a constant theme of the Qur'án and it is full of repeated assurances that the dead earth will be raised to life spiritual :

"Know that God gives life to the earth after its death. Indeed We have made (Our) messages clear to you that you may understand" (57 : 17).

It calls itself *Shifa'* or *Healing* (10 : 57) to show that it heals all spiritual diseases of humanity. It calls itself *al-Dhikr* or *the source of eminence to mankind* (15 : 19). It calls itself *al-Nur* or *the Light* (7 : 157) which will ultimately dispel all darkness from the surface of the earth. It calls itself *al-Haqq* or *the Truth* (17 : 81) which will ultimately take hold of the minds of men and before which falsehood will vanish. It calls itself *al-Huda* or *the Guidance* (72 : 13) which will make men ultimately attain the goal of life.

A spiritual force which will ultimately overcome all.

It goes further and lays claim to the fact that it is the only spiritual force which will ultimately conquer the whole world

and that the whole of humanity cannot produce a force like it.

"And if there were a Qur'án with which the mountains could be made to pass away, or the earth could be travelled over, or the dead were made to speak — nay the command is entirely God's" (13 : 31).

"Had We sent down this Qur'án on a mountain, thou wouldst certainly have seen it falling down, splitting asunder" (59 : 21).

All opposition to it was to be swept off :

"And bear patiently what they say and avoid them with a becoming avoidance.

"Leave Me and those who reject the Truth, the possessors of ease and plenty and give them a little respite" (73 : 10, 11).

Not the whole world could produce a book like it :

"If men and jinn should combine together to produce the like of the Qur'án, they could not produce the like of it though some of them were the aiders of others" (17 : 88).

"And if you are in doubt as to that which we have revealed to Our servant, produce a chapter like it, and call on your helpers besides God, if you are truthful" (2 : 23).

And it is repeated thrice that the Qur'án was ultimately to prevail over the whole world :

"He it is Who has sent His Messenger with the guidance and the religion of Truth that He may cause it to prevail over all the religions" (61 : 8 ; 48 : 28 ; 9 : 33).

Unparalleled transformation wrought by the Qur'án.

In fact, the transformation wrought by the Holy Qur'án is unparalleled in the history of the world. No other reformer brought about such an entire change in the lives of a whole nation in his lifetime. The Qur'án found the Arabs worshippers of idols, stones, trees, heaps of sand, and yet, within less than a quarter of a century, the worship of the One God ruled the whole country, idolatry being wiped out from one end to the other. It swept away all superstitions and gave in their place the most rational religion that the world could imagine. The Arab who prided himself in ignorance had, as if by a magician's wand, become the lover of knowledge, drinking deep at every fountain of learning to which he could get access. This was the direct

¹ The word in Arabic is *Rabb*, which is generally translated as Lord.

effect of the teachings of the Qur'an, which not only appealed to reason, ever and anon, but declared man's thirst for knowledge to be unsatiable, when it directed the Prophet himself to pray: "O my Lord! Increase me in knowledge" (20: 114). Not only had the Qur'an swept away the deep vices and barefaced immorality of the Arab, it had also inspired him with a burning desire for the best and noblest deeds in the service of humanity. The burying alive of the daughter, the marriage with a step-mother, and the loose sex relations, had given place to equal respect for the offspring, whether male or female, to equal rights of inheritance for father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister, husband and wife, to the chastest relations of sex and to placing the highest value on sexual morality and the chastity of woman. Drunkenness, to which Arabia had been addicted from time immemorial, disappeared so entirely that the very goblets and the vessels which were used for drinking and keeping wine could no more be found and, greatest of all, from an Arabia, the various elements of which were so constantly at war with one another as that the whole country was about to perish, being "on the brink of a pit of fire" (3: 102), as the Qur'an so beautifully and so tersely puts it, from an Arabia full of these jarring and warring elements the Qur'an welded out a nation, a united nation full of life and vigour, before whose onward movement the greatest kingdoms of the world crumpled as if they were but toys before the reality of the new faith. No faith ever imparted such a new life to its votaries on such a wide scale — a life affecting all branches of human activity; a transformation of the individual, of the family, of the society, of the nation, of the country; an awakening material as well as moral, intellectual as well as spiritual. The Qur'an affected a transformation of humanity from the lowest depths of degradation to the highest pinnacle of civilization within an incredibly short time where centuries of reformation work had proved fruitless. To its unparalleled nature, testimony is borne by the non-Muslim, sometimes anti-Muslim, historian. Here are a few instances:

"From time beyond memory, Mecca and the whole peninsula had been steeped in spiritual torpor. The slight and transient influences of Judaism, Christianity, or philosophical inquiry upon the Arab mind had been but as the ruffling here and there of the surface of a quiet lake — all remained still and motionless below. The people were sunk in superstition, cruelty, and vice. . . . Their religion was a gross idolatry; and their faith the dark superstitious dread of unseen things. . . . Thirteen years before the Hejira, Mecca lay lifeless in this debased state. What a change had these thirteen years now produced! . . . Jewish truth had long sounded in the ears of the men of Medina; but it was not until they heard the spirit-stirring strains of the Arabian Prophet that they too awoke from their slumber, and sprang suddenly into a new and earnest life" (William Muir, *Life of Mohamet*, ch. vii).

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

"And yet we may truly say that no history can boast events that strike the imagination in a more lively manner, or can be more surprising in themselves, than those we meet with in the lives of the first Musalmans; whether we consider the Great Chief, or his ministers, the most illustrious of men; or whether we take an account of the manners of the several countries he conquered; or observe the courage, virtue, and sentiments that equally prevailed among his

generals and soldiers" (*The Life of Mohamet*, by the Count of Boulainvilliers (English Translation), p. 5).

"That the best of Arab writers has never succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Quran itself is not surprising" (Palmer's *Introduction to English Translation of the Quran*, p. iv).

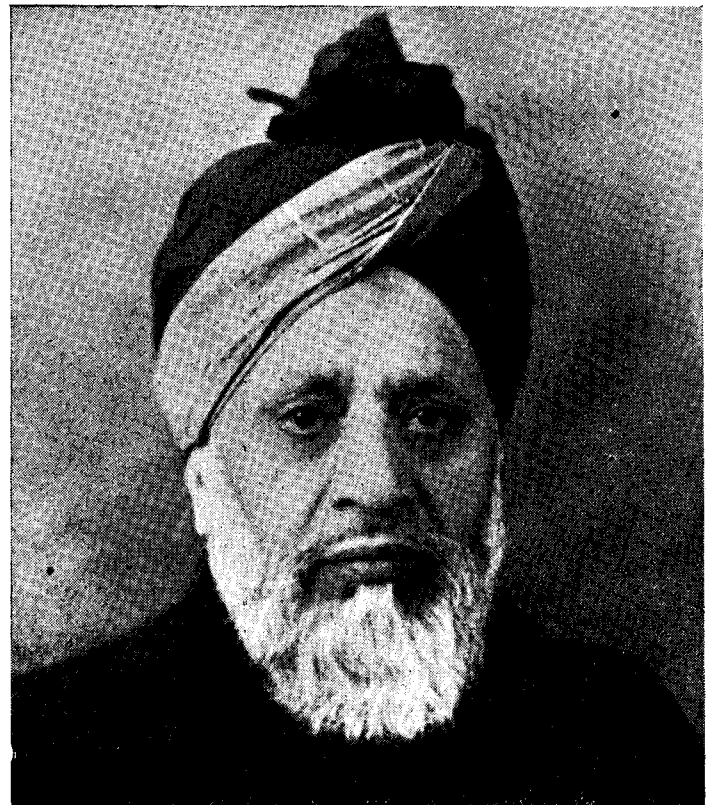
"It is the one miracle claimed by Muhammad — his standing miracle, he called it — and a miracle indeed it is" Bosworth Smith, *Life of Muhammad*).

"Never has a people been led more rapidly to civilization such as it was, than were the Arabs through Islam" (*New Researches*, by H. Hirschfeld, p. 5).

"The Quran is unapproachable as regards convincing power, eloquence, and even composition" (*Ibid*, p. 8).

"And to it was also indirectly due the marvellous development of all branches of science in the Moslem world" (*Ibid*, p. 9).

"Here, therefore, its merit as a literary production should, perhaps, not be measured by some preconceived maxims of subjective and aesthetic taste, but by the effects which it produced in Muhammad's contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. If it spoke so powerfully and convincingly to the hearts of his hearers as to weld hitherto centrifugal and antagonistic elements into one compact and well-organised body, animated by ideas far beyond those which had until now ruled the Arabian mind, then its eloquence was perfect, simply because it created a civilized



Muhammad 'Ali, M.A., LL.B.

To him goes the credit for blazing the trail of translating the Holy Qur'an into European languages, especially English. Some of his writings, which are mainly in English, have been translated into Indonesian, Turkish and Arabic

nation out of savage tribes, and shot a fresh woof into the old warp of history" (Dr. Steingass, in *The Dictionary of Islam*, by Hughes, art., "The Quran").

Two other unique characteristics.

The marvellous effect produced by the Holy Qur'án on the minds of those who first came into contact with it, the unparalleled revolution brought about in the world, the uplift of not one but many nations from the depth of degradation to the height of civilization is, however, not the only characteristic which established its claim to uniqueness. It possesses two other characteristics equally unique — the wealth of ideas and the beauty of style — and these two, combined with the effect it produced, are the three things which raise the Qur'án to an eminence to which no other book has ever aspired and which make an imitation of it impossible. In fact, the effect produced by the Holy Qur'án is not a magical mystery. It was merely the greatness and reasonableness of the ideas clothed in the best of forms that appealed to the heart of man and, taking deep root in it, became the driving power to the great goal of life. A blaze of light was cast on all the great questions which had hitherto puzzled man, and the way was thus cleared for onward march and progress. Hence it is, that one of the names by which the Holy Book speaks of itself is *al-Burhan*, or *the clear arguments*, showing that the argument was the weapon which it used to conquer the heart of man; and, as it appealed to reason and not to sentiment, its conquests were far-reaching and permanent, that it swept away all mysteries and dispelled all darkness. It is also called *al-Bayan*, or *the Explanation*, indicating that it had removed all obscurities in religious problems. It claimed not only to have perfected religion (5:3) and thus to have stated all religious truths needed for the moral and spiritual advancement of man, but also to have dealt with all objections to its truth:

"And they shall not bring to thee any argument but We have brought to thee one with truth and best in explanation" (25:33).

The style, diction and achievement of the Qur'án.

A few more words on the outer garb in which the grand life-giving ideas of the Qur'án are clothed and I shall have done with this subject. The style and diction of the Qur'án have been universally praised. In the introduction to his translation of the Holy Qur'án, George Sale says:

"The Koran is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rare, of other dialects. It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue."

And again:

"The style of the Koran is generally beautiful and fluent . . . and in many places, especially where the majesty and the attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent."

What, however, establishes the Qur'án's claim to uniqueness even in the outward form, apart from its subject and the effect produced, is the permanent hold that it has kept on the Arabic language itself, the fact that it remains for ever the standard by which the beauty of style and diction may be judged in Arabic literature. No other book in the world can be credited with even the achievement of keeping alive a language for thirteen centuries; the Qur'án has done this, attaining to the eminence of being the standard of eloquence for so long, and of retaining

that position while the nation speaking it emerged from oblivion to become the leader of civilization in the world, leaving its home to settle in far distant lands where Arabic became either the spoken language of the masses or at least their literary language. Such is the incredible achievement of the Holy Qur'án. It is true that the Arabs had a literary language before the Qur'án — the language of poetry, which notwithstanding slight dialectic differences, conformed to one standard — but the scope of that poetry was very limited. Their most eloquent themes rarely went beyond the praise of wine or woman and horse or sword. In the condition in which Arabic was before the advent of Islam, it would soon have shared the fate of the sister languages of the Semitic group. It was the Qur'án which made it the language of a civilized world from the Oxus to the Atlantic. Whatever changes spoken Arabic like any other language may have undergone, literary Arabic is to this day the Arabic of the Qur'án, and the Qur'án remains its one masterpiece.



A Polish Muslim, Professor Wiesław Jezierski

Professor Jezierski, who accepted Islam about two years ago, was formerly Cultural Superintendent for the Province of Krakow, Poland. At present he is devoting his time and leisure to the creation of an International Muslim Academy of Sciences and Letters. He has received the support of distinguished scientists and men of letters from all over the world

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ISLAM

By DR. M. HAMIDULLAH, Ph.D., D.Litt.

THE LAWS OF WAR AND PEACE IN ISLAM

International Law as an independent science was first introduced into the world by Muslims

Laws of war are an index to the degree of culture of a people.

The laws of war and peace, more commonly known as Public International Law, are as important for a statesman to know as they are for soldiers. As everybody acts on the laws of logic in his daily life, some consciously and some unconsciously, so, honourable soldiers, all of them implement international law in their professional life even without knowing it. Not only the commanders and officers but even privates have as much responsibility to behave in accordance with the rules of international law, as it is binding on all. In fact, the more civilized a community is, the greater is the regard its soldiers pay to the observance of these rules in their conduct *vis-à-vis* their enemies. It is an old saying that if you want to judge the degree of a people's culture, see how they actually behave in their wars.

For Muslims it is a thing of pride, that international law as an independent science was first introduced into the world by Muslims themselves at the time of the Umayyad Caliphate. Formerly, international law formed part of other subjects like politics, statecraft and the like as a mere chapter, be it in Greece or Rome, India or China. As for modern Europe, there was no international law there before 1860 C.E. What passed there before as such was a law between Christian nations only; non-Christians had no right to be treated according to the obligations of that European international law. European laws of war and peace began first in 1860 to be truly internationalized. First Turkey was admitted to the comity of nations under an express treaty, Japan and others followed slowly later on. Even to-day, Western international law is not fully international, for it is confined to civilized nations only. The so-called uncivilized, or weak nations, could be treated at mere discretion, without any obligation on the part of the civilized nation to behave according to its boasted civilization. According to the Islamic notion of justice, no discrimination can be made between one foreigner and another, between one who observes his duties and between the one who does not. This may seem strange, but it is so. And it is so not only in theory but in practice. Take, for instance, the case of killing hostages, which so often happened in the early days of Islam. The Byzantine Empire used to exchange hostages with the Muslim Empire, as a pledge of good faith for the execution of the treaty concluded. It was expressly provided in the treaty that if the Byzantines murdered Muslim hostages, Muslims would also be entitled to behead the Byzantine hostages in retaliation. I recollect a case of this kind in the time of the Caliph Mu'awiyah and another in the time of Caliph Mansur. On both these occasions, the counsel of Muslim jurisconsults was that the crime was that of the Byzantine Emperor, not that of the hostages in the Muslim capital; and according to the Qur'an, vicarious punishment was not allowed. Or take another case. According to Muslim law, women, children and other non-combatants cannot be killed in war. If the enemy kills our women and children, we cannot retaliate on the women and children of the enemy.

In brief, Muslims were the first, and so far also the only, people who profess a truly universal international law.

International law means the rules of conduct of State with State in times of both war and peace. Without going into the obtruse details of what is law and what is the real nature of international law, suffice it to mention that it is divided broadly into three parts: laws of peace, laws of neutrality, and laws of

war. A few preliminaries, however, may be of interest here.

Sources of International Law in Islam.

According to Muslim jurists, there are two main sources of international law: provisions of our internal legislation with regard to foreign relations, and agreements with foreigners in connection with mutual relations.

In internal legislation, the Qur'an and the Hadith stand first in order; commands of the sovereign authority based on, or in consonance with, the Qur'an and the Hadith come later. As in many other branches of Muslim learning, the life of the Prophet Muhammad has unique importance. Here theory and practice, precept and precedent, blend together. The Prophet Muhammad not only gave us our dogmas and our religion, that is relations of man with his Creator, God, but also he founded a State, commanded armies and administered international law. If the Prophet did a thing in his foreign relations, in time of war or peace, it is a law of Islam; if he forbade a thing, it is alike an injunction on Muslims what not to do. The Prophet founded a State from almost nothing. When he migrated to Medina, there was then no Government, but only warring tribes of various denominations, Jews, Christians, idolaters, animists, and Muslims. In a few weeks there emerged a City State for the valley of Medina with a federated type of Government, with the Prophet Muhammad as its supreme head. When he died ten years later, his State, which originally consisted of the single city of Medina, had already embraced the whole of Arabia, and parts of southern Palestine and southern Iraq. What is noteworthy, in the conquest of these million square miles or more, is that the loss inflicted on the enemy was of one man per month; the loss of Muslim soldiers was even less. Not even five hundred people were killed in the fields of battle for the conquest of a country as vast as Pakistan and India put together. The conquest of 1,000,000 square miles in ten years means the conquest at an average of 273 square miles per day. This is one aspect. This respect for human blood was reflected in the fact that the conquered people did not feel that they were enslaved but rather freed and elevated, so there were no conspiracies to overthrow the new yoke and no defections.

Object of International Law.

The ultimate aim and object of international law is to eliminate national prejudices, and to remind men that they are sons of the same Adam and Eve, members of the same family. Formerly even religions were national. To be a Hindu, one had to be born of Hindu parents; all aliens were unfit to embrace the Hindu religion. The same held good of other great religions, calling men towards God. Islam was the first to have a universal call, without difference of colour and country and language. Every accidental superiority by birth was rejected; recognition was given only to the deliberate superiority of one's own conduct and piety. Equality of men and priority of the pious is the rule laid down by Islam in every sphere of human life. In order further to foster the notion that all men are equal, and bondmen of the Same God, prayers and *hajj* (pilgrimage) were instituted with a common centre, the common Kaba for all the inhabitants of the globe. The Islamic Caliphate was another factor to internationalize human society. In fact, Muslims have not in the least to feel shy in the domain of their contribution to international law and internationalization of human society.

Now I come to international law proper. As already said it consists mainly of three topics, laws of peace, laws of neutrality and laws of war.

Laws of Peace.

A few words on the laws of peace. Here we deal with rules regarding sovereignty of States, their court jurisdictions, the equality of their status in mutual dealings, their proprietary rights on territory and other movable and immovable goods, and lastly, their peaceful foreign relations called diplomacy. Diplomacy is very old in human society. From time immemorial one comes across envoys and ambassadors. It will be interesting to note that, in olden times, envoys were sent for temporary purposes, and as soon as their mission ended, successfully or otherwise, they returned home, whereas in modern times ambassadors permanently reside in foreign countries, and even if persons change, the institution is as permanent as the life of an independent State.

The contribution of Muslims in this respect is not negligible. The earliest permanent trade or diplomatic missions came into existence in Italy three to four hundred years ago. Many centuries earlier, the Muslims had evolved and developed these institutions. In fact, intrepid traders have been used to go to, and stay in, a foreign country for longer periods than now. The local chiefs either recognized, or they themselves made, appointments of what are known as foreign *Shahbandars*, *Malik al-Tujjar*, or *Hunarmans*, in order to regulate the affairs and disputes of the traders of their country in the country of their domicile. These *Hunarmans* or *Malik al-Tujjar* for Muslims were found in China, in Malabar, in Turkestan and in many other parts of the ancient world. These developed later into European consuls during the Crusades. And thus permanent commercial agents came into existence long before permanent political agents and envoys.

As for political agents or diplomatic envoys, I quote Ameer 'Ali from his *A Short History of Saracens*, London, 1950. He says:

"When the provincial governors became the feudatories of the (Abbasid) empire, and the sovereignty of the Caliph dwindled into more or less effective suzerainty, the confidential messengers were turned into legates of the Pontiffs, and acted as his resident agents in the countries of Nishapur, Merv, Mosul, Damascus, etc. Like the Papal legates in the later mediaeval times in Europe, they accompanied the sovereigns to whom they were accredited in their military marches. We find them not only in the camps of Alp Arslan and Malik Shah, but also in those of Nuruddin Mahmud and Saladin, ever active and sometimes meddling; occasionally, as under the later Ayubids, reconciling contending princes, and settling fratricidal strifes. . . . Each sovereign on his side maintained a commissary called *Shihnah* at the Pontifical Court (at Baghdad), charged with the duty of keenly watching the moves of the game on the part of his rivals, for the struggle for predominating influence over the source of all legitimate authority was as great at Baghdad as in Papal Rome. . . . The Abbasid sovereigns frequently employed a special envoy to transact confidential business with neighbouring potentates. The office was called the *Nizamul-Hadratain*."

After about two hundred years, the city States of Italy began to have recourse to similarly permanent agents, and it took another couple of centuries for France and others to develop this kind of diplomatic relations. In the meanwhile, the Tartars had sacked Baghdad and destroyed the Abbasid empire, and Muslims lost their predominance in world affairs both intellectually and physically. Yet their part in first thinking of the need of permanent envoys cannot be denied.

Laws of Neutrality.

The word neutrality is of modern coinage. Classical languages like Greek, Latin, Sanskrit do not possess a term to signify what neutrality in international affairs means. Arabic is the only exception. When two States fight, and a third keeps aloof, it has many rights and obligations to fulfil with regard to the belligerents.

Strict neutrality is known to the Qur'an, which lays down that if a foreign State, friendly to you, has a war, you must not side with either of them. The Qur'an lays so much emphasis on the given word, that it says you must honour your word even if the victims of the foreign State, your friend, are Muslims. The Qur'an (and consequently Muslim jurists) makes a distinction between belligerents friendly to the neutral Muslim State, and those with whom there is no pact of friendship with the Muslim State. Strict neutrality is necessary in the case of those with whom the Muslims have pacts and they have not violated the pacts. In such a case the Muslims have scrupulously to abide by their word. However, a sort of benevolent neutrality is permissible in cases where the aggressor of the contending parties has had no treaty relations with the Muslims. In such a case, the Muslims are in duty bound to help the oppressed as much as possible, morally and materially, for the cause of justice, even without actually entering into the conflagration. I do not want to enter into present-day power politics. In contrast with the Qur'anic injunctions of neutrality just referred to, I recall an incident of past history. Two of the Popes of Rome had formally issued bulls to the effect that violation of a treaty was a sin, yet the honouring of a treaty with infidels, that is, the Muslims, was a greater sin!

Laws of War. Reprisal in the form of vicarious punishment is unknown to Islam.

Of hostile relations, retaliation may perhaps be considered as the most justifiable. The primitive sense of retaliation was so exaggerated in the ancient world that, for instance, under the Hammurabi Code, if a man killed somebody's daughter, the daughter of the culprit, and not the culprit himself, received the capital punishment. Even towards the end of the last century, Englishmen punished trees and ships, if a man had perished in collision with them. Reprisal in the form of vicarious punishment is unknown to Islam. Even hostages held expressly against the possibility of perfidy did not suffer if their Government violated the pledge, as we have mentioned before.

Islam means and stands for man's submission to the will of God. Hence Islam is perpetually at peace with those who surrender to the will of God, to the practice of good; and Islam is perpetually at war with evil, with rebellion against God, our Creator. Islam differentiates between the dogmatic part of the religion and between the rest of social life. Islam boldly declared, in the words of the Qur'an, that there is no compulsion in religion. Anybody may believe in any religion he likes. One will be held responsible to one's God Almighty in the next world for one's belief; in this present world there is no compulsion to embrace a religion. The liberty ends here. Belief and disbelief cannot be equal. It is the natural duty of the believer to devote his life so that the word of God alone prevails. The preaching of Islam is the duty of every Muslim. The practice of the Prophet Muhammad and the Orthodox Caliphs was that they demanded of foreign rulers a peaceful spread of Islam, on the acceptance of which they were left on their thrones unmolested. They expressly demanded of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius that if he himself did not embrace Islam, he should at least not hinder his people from embracing Islam. If that was denied, then force was used for freedom of propagation. Even then the weak enemy was not deposed outright; he was given the choice to pay the *Jizyah* tribute, come under the political influence of the Islamic Government, and in this way preserve his rule. Even

if that was rejected, then the use of force was allowed by the Prophet, not forcibly to convert people to Islam but to bring their country under the Islamic rule where perfect religious freedom is guaranteed to every non-Muslim.

Apart from this idealistic war, to which the Muslims are sometimes forced, there are three other kinds of war known to Islam: defensive war, punitive or retaliatory war, and sympathetic war. I do not want to enter into details of these various kinds here.

Unlike the Western International Law, Islam does not believe in various kinds of enemy.

War, as war, when once begun for whatever cause, gives many rights to the belligerents against each other, and also it imposes many obligations in their mutual conduct. In ancient times there was great discrimination. Among the Hindus, Greeks, Jews, Romans and others there were rules of conduct in time of war, yet they were reserved for enemies of their own race and religion; an alien enemy was entitled to nothing except at the discretion of the individual commander, changing according to his whims and fancies. Even modern Western international law is avowedly confined to operate between civilized nations, whatever that term may mean. As Islam does not believe in the differences of race, colour, religion or language, there is no such discrimination regarding various kinds of enemy. The conduct of Muslim commanders and soldiers is regulated in time of war by rules laid down by Islam. These rules are as inviolable as any other rule of Muslim law in peace time.

Let us begin with the immediate effects of the declaration of war. When a war breaks out, there are in every belligerent country often citizens of the enemy country, coming in peace time with *bona fide* permission for peaceful vocations. Muslim jurists are emphatic that mere declaration of war with their country does not deprive them of their normal rights. The duration of their *séjour* is not forcibly curtailed, much less are they interned or otherwise maltreated. Their right to sue in a Muslim court, for civil as well as criminal process, remains intact. When they want to return, they are allowed peaceful return, and full protection is given to their person as well as their property. There is normal contraband of trade, even in peace time, but no special contraband of war. Trade and commercial relations with the enemy country may stop, yet the resident alien may take back with him all his lawful property and lawfully acquired wealth. Among the contraband of normal trade, Muslim jurists mention weapons and slaves of Muslim religion, particularly Muslim slave-girls. Weapons brought by the alien from outside Islamic territory are freely allowed to be exported, yet Muslim slaves, particularly slave-girls, even when imported from outside, are detained in the Islamic territory. The owner is compensated by the Muslim State, and the slave set free. Debts due to the enemy are neither repudiated nor frozen in times of war. When the Prophet was forced to migrate to Medina after a devilish plot against his life, which was in fact a declaration of war on the part of his enemies, the Prophet is known to have arranged the return of all the monies entrusted to, or deposited with, him for safe custody. Again, when the Jews of Medina of the tribe of the Banu Nadir capitulated after a war, and were, at the award of an arbitrator, expelled from Medina, these Jews were allowed to collect all their debts; nothing their due was denied them. In the battle of Khaibar, a slave shepherd came to the Muslim camp and embraced Islam, and said he belonged to a Jew of Khaibar. The Prophet said to him: "Return the sheep and goats to their Jewish master first, and then return to us."

A very curious incident is recorded in regard to the expulsion of the Jews of the Banu Nadir. There was an age-old custom in pre-Islamic Medina by which the idolatrous Arabs took vows that if they begot a son and he survived, they would baptise him

as a Jew. When the Prophet came to Medina, there were several such Jewish boys, whose parents had embraced Islam. The Banu Nadir wanted to take these Judaized boys with them, but their parents would not let them do that. When the matter was referred to the Prophet, he said the given word must be honoured, and since the boys have embraced Judaism, they could not be forced to embrace Islam and retained in Medina.

Acts Permitted.

War is always a life and death struggle. It is not desirable, yet so long as it is unavoidable, rights of belligerency will include killing, wounding, pursuing and making captive of the enemy combatants. Non-combatants might be killed only in self-defence, not otherwise. Women, children, old men, hermits and the like are recognized as non-combatant among the enemy. Killing enemy persons is only permissible, with the provision that as little blood should be shed as possible to subdue the enemy. Extermination of the enemy is never desired, but only his submission to the will of God. In order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, ruses, propaganda and other methods of weakening the enemy might be permissible on the basis of the practice of the time of the Prophet. Assassination of individual enemy leaders, with the object of sparing greater carnage among the enemy, is also an allowed practice.

The enemy may be attacked with any kind of weapon, yet unnecessary torture is to be avoided. For instance, poisonous arrows, whose wounds do not heal, are expressly forbidden. The Caliph Mu'awiyah I, of the Umayyad dynasty, used incendiary material and flame-throwers in his naval warfare. During the Crusades, the Muslims used a kind of marine mine. Ibn Firnas was the first to build and fly in an aeroplane in Spain, as it is recorded in Maqqari's *Nafh al-Tib*. In the 7th century of the Hijrah, the Muslims of Spain used cannon. An author of the same century mentions attacks with smoke. There are many old Arabic manuscripts which give formulae for the preparation of poison gases.

Enemy property may be captured and destroyed with impunity. Yet destruction for the sake of destruction is strictly forbidden, be it trees, or animals, or otherwise.

Acts Forbidden.

A list of the more important acts forbidden to Muslim soldiers is given here. This will show that impracticable idealism is avoided, and an average civilized enemy can conform without prejudicing his war aims.

- (1) Unnecessarily cruel and torturous way of killing and wounding;
- (2) Killing non-combatants, such as women, minors, servants and slaves who accompany their masters yet do not take part in the actual fighting, the blind, the monks and hermits, the very old, the insane or delirious, etc.;
- (3) Prisoners of war are not to be decapitated;
- (4) Mutilation of men as well as animals;
- (5) Treachery and perfidy;
- (6) Slaughtering animals more than is necessary for food;
- (7) Devastation, destruction of agriculture, cutting down trees unnecessarily;
- (8) Every kind of excess and wickedness;
- (9) Adultery, even with captive women. If she is a free enemy woman, the punishment for rape will be inflicted on him;
- (10) Inflicting vicarious punishment;
- (11) Severing the head of a fallen enemy as a trophy;
- (12) Massacre;
- (13) Killing one's parents, if they happen to be in the enemy ranks, as far as this is practicable in combats;
- (14) Killing peasants who do not fight and who are indifferent as to the result of the war;

- (15) Traders, merchants, contractors and the like, who do not take part in the actual fighting. Doctors will pre-eminently come in this category ;
- (16) Burning a man or animal alive ; and,
- (17) Any and every act forbidden under treaties.

Booty and Prisoners of War.

According to the Qur'an, a fifth of the whole booty will go to the central exchequer, the rest to be divided among the captors of each battle. Those who actually fought and those who waited in reserve or did other duties all share alike. A commander and a private receive an equal share. A horseman, however, gets double the share of a foot-soldier.

As for the prisoner of war, he is either liberated gratuitously, or on ransom, or in exchange of Muslim prisoners in the hands of the enemy, at the discretion of the commander. To enslave him is also permitted, though it is not obligatory. Grown-up enemy soldiers are rarely enslaved. Minors and women are enslaved in their own interest. As orphans and widows, they

obtain in Muslim owners a guardian and a means of subsistence. As Islam is an ideological society, the Qur'an imposes the duty on Muslims, that, if their prisoners of war embrace Islam and demand their liberation on payment of their value, this cannot be denied. Even the Government must aid in ransoming them to set them free, says the Qur'an. If the owner does not agree to liberate his slave gratuitously, he is nevertheless forced by the State to free his slave from the obligation of service and to allow him to earn money by any trade he likes and thus pay off his value to his master. Enslaving is not obligatory, yet at times it is found necessary in the interests of humanity. There are people who for various social and environmental reasons are incapable of understanding things properly and acting reasonably, such as those prejudiced against coloured people, or prejudiced against the so-called untouchables and the like. People dogmatically believing in such malpractices ought to be enslaved and kept in healthy supervision so that they may rise to higher standards of civilization and humanity.

THREE YEARS OF PAKISTAN

Foreign Affairs.

The essence of Pakistan's foreign policy is to "do all that lies in its power to bring about better understanding between nations and make the utmost contribution of which it is capable towards securing and maintaining lasting peace". It seeks to apply to international affairs those moral standards and codes of behaviour which in all civilized societies obtain as between one individual and another and between individuals on the one hand and society on the other. It believes that United Nations, in the true spirit of the Atlantic Charter, can be the only instrument of achieving this ideal.

During the first three years of its existence, Pakistan has covered a wide range in the exchange of diplomatic missions, which is an important step towards the establishment and promotion of international goodwill and understanding. She has already 28 missions in 20 countries, while at least five more are on the anvil. Thirty-one countries have so far opened 38 diplomatic missions in Pakistan.

The keynote of Pakistan's work in the General Assembly of the United Nations has been the implementation of its fundamental principle of international understanding and peace. The stand taken by Pakistan in disputes concerning Palestine, Italian Colonies and Kashmir was based purely on principles of right and justice. Her association with the Advisory Council for Libya, the Enquiry Commission for Eritrea, and the United Nations' Sub-Committee on the Balkans and the Far-Eastern Commission is indeed a recognition of the wholesome outlook which Pakistan has brought to bear on international affairs.

In the Far East, formal diplomatic relations have been established between Pakistan and Indonesia, and the enthusiasm with which President Sukarno and Madame Sukarno were received by the citizens of Karachi during their visit to the Federal Capital manifested the growing bond of cordiality between the two countries. A Goodwill Mission from Pakistan also participated in the Indonesian Independence Celebrations in December, 1949. Pakistan has extended *de jure* recognition to the Central Peoples' Republic of China and has withdrawn recognition from the Kuomintang Government. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Central Peoples' Republic of China is also under active consideration. Pakistan participated in the Conference of South and South-East Asian countries convened by the President of the Philippines in May, 1950, at Baguio. When North Korea invaded the territory of South Korea on the 25th of June, 1950, Pakistan, along with the United

Nations, treated it as an act of aggression and immediately supported the Resolutions of the Security Council for restoring peace in that area.

In the Middle East, Pakistan's relations with other Muslim countries have been governed by a deeper emotional and spiritual fraternity than mere diplomatic consideration. Exchange of students and the grant of scholarships to students of Muslim countries on a reciprocal basis have been arranged. Apart from newspaper editors and other intelligentsia from the various Muslim countries, a large delegation of Turkish students and professors as well as Turkish athletes paid a heartening visit to Pakistan. In the social and political spheres, the visit of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran to Pakistan in March, 1950, was an event of unparalleled magnificence and public enthusiasm. In the economic sphere, the International Islamic Economic Conference held in Karachi in November, 1949, in which 21 Muslim countries participated, was an important landmark. These social, political and economic links have been strengthened by the inauguration of cultural activities through well-planned organizations. The Pakistan-Turkish Cultural Association, established in 1948, aims at opening an institute for Turkish studies. The Pakistan-Arab Cultural Association has already established an Arabic College in Karachi, while the Pakistan-Iran Cultural Association is also bringing the two countries together in more than one sphere of life.

Pakistan's attitude towards Afghanistan.

It is singularly unfortunate that Pakistan's relations with India and Afghanistan should be the sole exception to this uniform record of international goodwill and understanding. On her part, Pakistan has no dispute with Afghanistan with which she has strong historical and cultural ties and to which she is anxious to extend such assistance as may be possible to develop the tribal areas on the Afghan side of the border and to keep peace in that potentially turbulent area. After her first anti-Pakistan act to oppose Pakistan's admission to the United Nations, the Afghan Government engaged itself in propagating extremely confused demands for the establishment of what is termed Pashtoonistan. In spite of requests from the Government of Pakistan, the Afghan Government have not indicated in writing the precise nature of this demand, which ranges according to the whim of the moment, from renaming of the North West Frontier Province to the setting up of an independent State of Pashtoonistan after incorporating the tribal belt on this

side of the Durand Line, which is an internationally recognized boundary line. This attitude of the Afghan Government is legally and morally most indefensible, and amounts to unwarranted interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. In spite of Afghanistan's intensified efforts through radio, press, and other means to propagate the Pashtoonistan stunt, it has received very meagre support in Afghanistan itself and even less in the tribal areas. The tribesmen on this side of the Durand Line have voluntarily elected to link their destinies with Pakistan, where they are equal and free partners in the resources of the country and are enjoying greater facilities for their cultural, educational and economic development than ever before.

Pakistan and India.

With India, Pakistan's relations continue to be poisoned by the outstanding disputes over Kashmir, canal water and evacuee

property. The Minority question also assumed menacing proportions when a war hysteria was launched by the extremist elements in India, who have not yet mentally reconciled themselves to the existence and stability of Pakistan. A great calamity was averted by the statesmanship of the Prime Ministers of the two countries, which resulted in the Minorities Pact of the 8th April, 1950. That, consistent with her independence and honour, Pakistan harbours no special ill will against her neighbour, was amply demonstrated by the rousing reception given to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru when he visited Karachi on the 26th April, 1950. In the atmosphere created by the Minorities Agreement, a short-term agreement on trade as well as agreements on Inter-Dominion Rail Traffic and Movable Property were made possible. Several non-official Goodwill Missions of journalists and public men have also visited either country. Valuable though these contributions are, the out-



His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, laid the foundation-stone of the Pakistan Institute of Cotton Research and Technology at Karachi, on January 26, 1951

The main functions of the Institute will be: (a) to arrive at a correct judgment of the fibre properties and spinning value of new varieties of cotton produced by the Agricultural Departments of Pakistan; (b) to undertake research relating to cotton, fibre, yarn and cloth; and, (c) to provide Test House facilities for cotton, yarn and cloth.

Cotton is one of Pakistan's most important cash crops.

The building of the Institute, when completed, will have three wings. The wing for housing the spinning machinery will be 217 feet long and 25 feet wide. In addition to the machines to be installed, space will be left for additional machinery which may be installed subsequently. This wing will be air-conditioned in such a way that it will be feasible to control and regulate temperature and humidity in its different sections. In this way it will be possible not only to make tests under controlled atmospheric weather conditions, but also to vary these conditions to study their effects

The Institute will not only help in evolving new types of cotton which will give higher yield and better monetary return to the grower, but also serve as a nucleus for research into manufacturing processes and thereby render invaluable service to the cotton textile industry of Pakistan

standing disputes over Kashmir, evacuee property and canal water are still unsolved, and continue to constitute a dangerously explosive situation for the mutual relationship of the two countries.

On its establishment, Pakistan had contributed the economic sanctions against South Africa imposed by the undivided Government of India as a retaliatory measure against the Union Government's discriminatory policy towards persons of Indian and Pakistani origin. To create a favourable atmosphere for the preliminary talks which were held with South Africa in February, 1950, Pakistan decided to lift the ban on trade with that country. The attitude of the Union Government towards the racial issue is still far from satisfactory, and Pakistan is doing its best to avoid the final breakdown of negotiations between South Africa, India and herself.

Armed Forces.

Pakistan's armed forces are a pride of the nation and the progress made by them during the first three years of the country's existence is almost phenomenal. The Navy has made important new acquisitions under its expansion scheme, and a number of training establishments, including Recruiting Organizations, Gunnery and Radar Schools, Mechanical Training Centres, etc., have been set up. Thus, the Navy, which had started with more ratings than officers on the eve of Partition, is now a powerful organization manned by fully-trained and experienced officers.

The Army, too, which had started under severe difficulties after the Partition, has also built itself up into one of the finest striking forces in the world. Training centres for all technical and non-technical branches of the Army have been established, and considerable success has been achieved in the procurement of goods from outside sources essential for the needs of a modern Army and creation of conditions when dependence on such sources can be reduced to the minimum.

The Royal Pakistan Air Force had almost started from scratch. To-day it possesses a large bulk of its own training institutions run on modern scientific lines. Besides the establishment of an Apprentices' and Trade Conversion School, the Wire-

less Observers' Wing, Multi-Engine Conversion School, the R.P.A.F. College, the Technical Training School, the School of Administration and the Recruits' Training School, arrangements have also been made to send officers to foreign countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States of America, for higher instruction. On the equipment side, too, the R.P.A.F. is being steadily fitted with the most up-to-date aircraft like the jet-propelled "Fury", etc. One of the Furies, in its delivery flight, established London-Rome and London-Karachi records, breaking the existing record for the latter by 3 hours 56 minutes. To stimulate interest in flying, and so as to make the younger generation fully air-minded, Air Scout Clubs have been set up in six important towns of East and West Pakistan, a Central Gliding School has been formed at Drigh Road, and University Air Squadrons have been established in Dacca, Lahore, Peshawar and Karachi. Plans for forming Auxiliary Squadrons to serve as a deterrent to aggression in an emergency are also in hand.

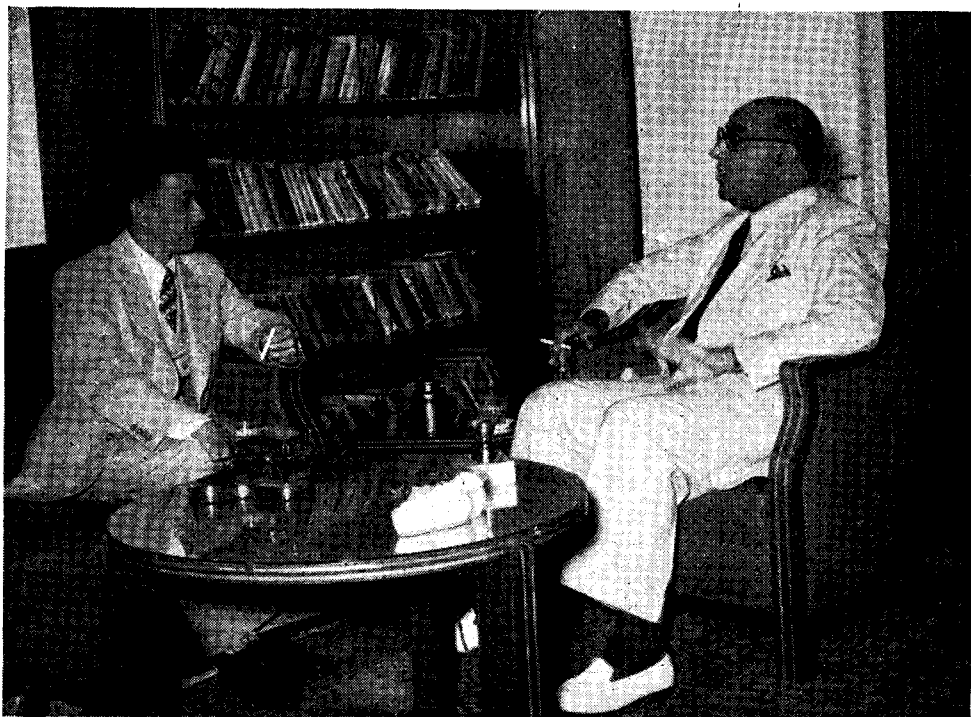
Mineral Wealth.

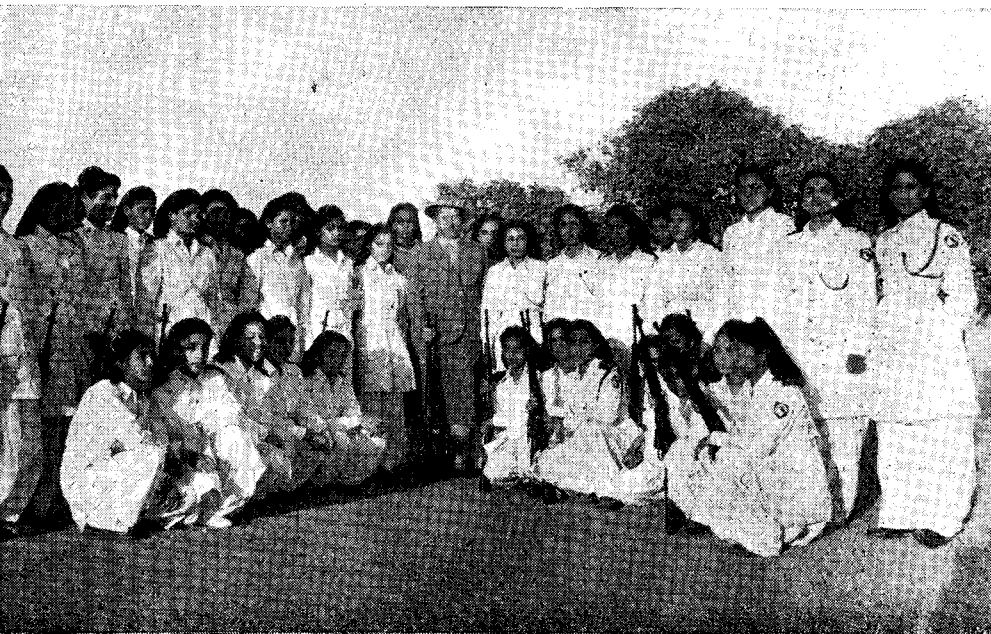
The important minerals at present exploited in Pakistan are oil, chromite, salt and gypsum. Prospecting for oil in new areas in Baluchistan, Punjab and East Pakistan has started on quite an extensive scale. Prospecting for coal throughout the Indus basin is also in view, and though of inferior quality, it can be used for manufacturing briquettes and also quicklime by burning limestone. It is proposed to set up two briquetting plants of 20-25 tons capacity, one in the Punjab and the other in Baluchistan for briquetting slack coal. Besides, it has been decided to group small leases into holdings of economic size, each capable of producing at least 100 to 150 tons of coal per day. A grouping scheme has been implemented in Baluchistan and another is under way in the Punjab.

Pakistan has the second largest high-grade chromite deposits in the world. Apart from the existing deposits along the hills bordering the Zhob Valley and in the Upper Pishin Valley in Baluchistan, chromite has also been discovered recently in the North Waziristan and in Chitral State. Its output has increased to 15,673 tons per year from the average output of nearly

Pakistan has 28 missions in 20 countries. Thirty-one countries have so far opened 38 diplomatic missions in Pakistan

Our picture shows Mr. Liaqat 'Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, in conversation with the late Dr. Raden Shamsuddin, Indonesian Ambassador in Pakistan (left)





The Pakistan Women's National Guard has developed into an important organization which not only trains women in nursing and first aid and air raid precautions work, but also prepares them to meet any serious emergency which may befall their country. The women of Pakistan were the first to respond to the call of duty raised by the emergency under which countless refugees uprooted from their homes and hearths in India and Kashmir started pouring into Pakistan under conditions of unimaginable misery. They cleaned refugee camps, attended to the sick, prepared and distributed food and clothes, held reading, writing and knitting classes and did everything which was possible to bring some relief and comfort to the helpless refugees in crowded camps. Our picture shows the Pakistan Women's National Guard officers and other ranks with a Turkish lady journalist, Madame 'Iffat Halim Oruz (centre, in European clothes) whom they entertained to tea on January 26, 1951

12,000 tons per year during the last decade. Apart from the famous Khewara salt mines, there are large deposits of common salt in the Tharparkar District (Sind) and it is estimated that these deposits alone would be enough to serve the entire population of Pakistan for over 2,000 years!

Apart from the existing widespread deposits of gypsum in Western Pakistan, it has also been discovered in the tribal areas of the North-Western Frontier Province. The installation of a 5,000 ton fertiliser plant in Pakistan is under consideration.

It has been estimated that there are about 3,200,000 tons of silica in Western Pakistan, which with normal exploitation should last for about 20 years. About 200,000 tons of sulphur has also been located in the Frontier Regions, and an Association of Industrialists was formed in 1949 to exploit the sulphur resources of the country. It was also decided, as a first step, to instal a pilot plant to refine sulphur on commercial lines.

The only sources of antimony in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent exist in the Chitral and Kalar States in Pakistan. Deposits to the extent of about 15,000 tons have also been discovered in the Frontier Province.

As in many other spheres of activity, the dearth of technical personnel to exploit the mineral resources of the country also is acute. Apart from sending Pakistanis for training overseas and importing technicians from foreign countries, regular courses in Geology, Mechanical Engineering, Survey, and other specialized subjects are being started in Western Pakistan, and specialists from the United States of America and other countries are being invited for short periods for study of local problems and for training Pakistanis in these subjects.

Industry.

The salient features of the industrial policy of the Government of Pakistan are:

- (a) to invite foreign capital for industrial and economic objectives;
- (b) Nationalisation of industries of public utility; and,
- (c) setting up of machinery for planning and execution of future industries.

Broadly, the aim is to achieve planned economy as distinct from nationalised industries. The Pakistan Council of Industries was constituted in September, 1949, to assist the Government in planning and implementing their industrial policy. The

Government has assumed direct responsibility for the development of 27 major industries like heavy engineering, ship-building, ship repairing, chemical and leather, glass, ceramics, food, etc.

Pakistan holds a virtual monopoly in the production of raw jute of superior quality, the total production being about 7,000,000 bales a year. Three jute mills by private enterprise and five jute mills of 1,000 looms each with Government capital are going to be established in Eastern Pakistan shortly.

Pakistan produces about 12,500,000 bales of cotton (400lb. each) annually, and had only 14 cotton textile mills — nine in Eastern Pakistan and five in Western Pakistan — on the eve of Partition. Permission has been granted for the establishment of new textile mills with a total capacity of 1,000,000 spindles in the first five years and 1,500,000 spindles in the next five years. There are seven textile mills in Pakistan. The Provincial Government of East Bengal has also considered setting up a textile mill of 50,000 spindles.

The annual production of wool in Pakistan is 26,500,000 lb. Beside one worsted mill with 2,000 spindles which already existed in the country, a new woollen mill with 4,000 spindles has recently been started at Karachi. It has been further planned to instal 24,000 woollen and 20,000 worsted spindles in the country during the next five years along with the machinery for raising finishing.

Other industrial objectives include subsidizing the leather goods tanning factories, the establishment of a Bureau of Laboratories to prepare vaccines and sera, the establishment of factories to manufacture ephedrine, hydrochloride, sanothine, etc., the setting up of an up-to-date paper factory with a capacity for producing 100 tons of paper per day at an estimated cost of about 50,000,000 rupees in East Bengal, and the establishment of production centres for fire-bricks, sulphuric acid, soda ash, caustic soda, fertilisers, soap, and plants for hydrogenation of edible oils.

A 50,000 tons modern sugar factory — the biggest in Asia — was installed last year at Mardan in the North-West Frontier, where a distillery for the manufacture of power alcohol is also going to be installed. Another sugar mill with a distillery capacity of 1,100 gallons per day in the North-West Frontier Province and a power alcohol plant for East Bengal have also been permitted.

A scheme has been worked out for the rehabilitation of refugees at an estimated cost of 3,000,000 rupees in the form of outright grants and 1,800,000 rupees as loans and advances in various cottage industries functioning through 24 Industrial Co-operatives, which will absorb about 20,000 families of refugee artisans in as many as 17 different types of cottage industries.

Trade and Commerce.

The most important feature of Pakistan's trade is that she enjoys an overall favourable balance of trade.

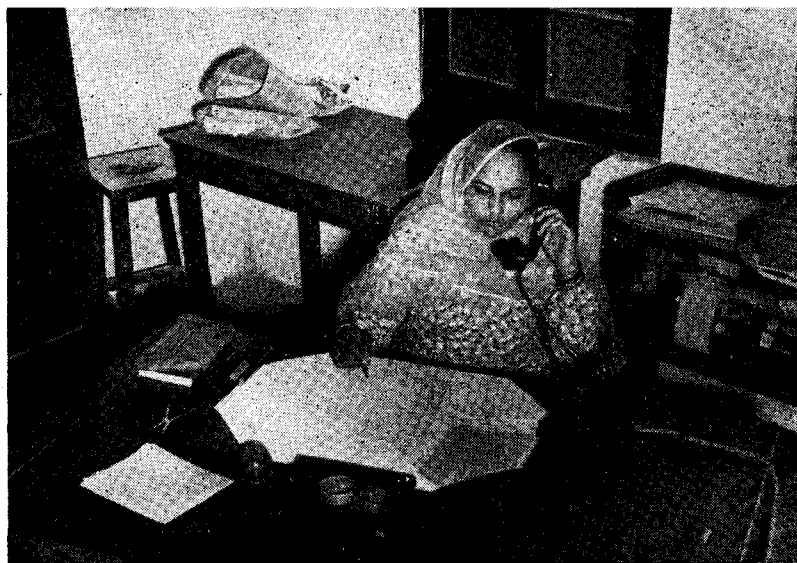
Pakistan's chief exports are jute, cotton, raw wool, tea, hides and skins, and other miscellaneous articles like cotton seeds, manure, essential seeds, fish, in addition to a marketable surplus of wheat. Pakistan has no rival in the export of jute, and she is the fourth largest exporter of cotton in the world, contributing an average of 10 per cent of the cotton entering world trade. Her exports also include a few manufactured articles like sports goods and musical and surgical instruments. On account of the trade deadlock created by India's refusal to accept the rate of exchange for Pakistan currency, new markets for the country's raw materials were explored and found. The absence of India from Pakistan's jute market gave an opportunity to European countries to increase their off-take of Pakistan's jute. For cotton, new buyers like Thailand, Germany, Poland and Italy entered the market besides the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

Pakistan's imports consist mainly of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods like cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn and twist, machinery and mill works, vehicles, minerals, petroleum, hardware, chemicals, drugs and medicines, paper and stationery. About 77 per cent of the total imports of Pakistan consist wholly of manufactured articles. After the trade deadlock with India, Japan is now the second largest exporter of cotton piece-goods to Pakistan next to the United Kingdom. Italy is the largest supplier of twist and yarn to Pakistan.

The most important event affecting Pakistan's trade has been her decision not to devalue the rupee. India's refusal to recognise this decision created a serious commercial deadlock between the two countries, but Pakistan was able to overcome these difficulties by stabilising the prices of jute, etc., by effective controls, and also by finding new markets for her raw goods.

Communications.

Apart from the inadequacy and unsatisfactory condition of rolling stock, machinery, etc., which Pakistan inherited on the eve of Partition, the Pakistan railways were faced with a very serious problem by the shortage of coal resulting from the commercial deadlock with India. This was, however, overcome by speeding up the programme of converting the locomotives to oil-burning engines. Hundreds of locomotives have already been thus converted. While in March, 1948, only 74 passenger trains were running daily in Western Pakistan, the number had risen to 191 per day during the following year. Eight extra trains have also been added on the East Bengal Railway. The number of passenger miles covered by the Pakistan Railways increased from 2,215,502,629 during the period April to October, 1948, to 3,075,252,848 in the corresponding period of 1949. The average number of broad gauge wagons loaded daily increased from 1,565 in 1948-49 to 1,968 in 1949-50. The net ton miles carried also increased from 1,702,003,213 in 1948-49 to 1,767,737,455 in 1949-50. During the year 1949-50 there was no passenger train accident involving loss of life on Pakistan railways, although the number of passengers carried during the year was about 121,000,000. Financially, the Pakistan railways registered a substantial surplus. Plans for the construction of five new railway lines in East Bengal and two in Western Pakistan have also been formulated. In order to develop the transport capacity of the East Bengal Province both by rail and by water, the East Bengal Railway have purchased the nucleus of a river flotilla for the transport of goods between Chittagong Port



Shab Jaban Begum

This Muslim lady, who is a monitor in the Central Telephone Exchange, Karachi, Pakistan, has been awarded the Diploma of the full membership of the Institute of Engineering Technology, London. She is the first Muslim lady in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent to achieve this distinction

and the hinterland. The flotilla, which will eventually have a capacity of 350,000 tons per annum, is already in operation.

As for roads, the Pakistan Road Engineers' Association has been founded to co-ordinate and advise on policy road building and to evolve standards and specifications. A Central Road Fund has also been created by the Central Government out of the proceeds of the extra duty on petrol. The policy of the Government is that road transport should be nationalized by stages and that railways should be invited to invest money in the proposed services. Standardization of road transport is also aimed at. It is expected that under this scheme most of the passenger routes in Western Pakistan would be nationalized within a period of five years. The scheme would not for the present be extended to East Bengal, where road transport does not play as important a part as in Western Pakistan. Nationalization will not also be extended to goods transport for the present. The Government is also assisted by a Central Transport Advisory Council which, *inter alia*, is charged with the task of advising it on policy for the development of co-ordinated transport systems in the country.

As regards the ports, a scheme for the construction of a commercial dry dock at Karachi Port with the object of developing a Merchant Navy and catering for the requirements of merchant ships is already under consideration by the Government and the Karachi Port Trust. The construction of a fishermen's harbour with facilities for refrigeration, canning, etc., is also in view. A substantial development of the Chittagong Port has been completed at a cost of about Rs. 10,658,000, increasing its capacity to about 1,500,000 tons per annum, which is about three times the pre-Partition capacity. Further development of this port, at an estimated cost of about Rs. 14.4 crores, on the most modern lines, is also on the anvil.

To relieve the burden on Chittagong Port and on the East Bengal Railways, surveys of the rivers in East Bengal with a view to establishing an auxiliary port have been made. It is hoped that a new anchorage will be in operation by the end of this year.

In the field of aviation, the Karachi Airport has been fitted with the modern high intensity contact runways lighting system, which is the only one of its kind in the Eastern countries. The special requirements at Karachi Airport for the introduction by B.O.A.C. of the world's first jet air liner, the British De Havilland *Comet*, on its London-Karachi route, have been examined, and the recarpeting of the runway at Karachi to make it suitable for heavy aircraft is already in hand.

A Review of Industrial Progress in Egypt during the last 20 years and its Effect on Labour and Social Conditions

By DR. HAFEZ 'AFIFI PASHA

Industrialization essential for raising the standard of living.

Since ancient times, Egypt has been renowned as an agricultural country. It will remain agricultural as long as the great Nile runs through it with its fresh water and carries in its flow the means of fertility to its good land, and as long as its rising sun gives life and rapid development to all those who cultivate this good land.

Despite the world-wide reputation enjoyed by Egypt in this field, and despite the continuous efforts exerted by the Egyptians in ancient times and which they are still exerting, for the improvement and exploitation of their land, the yields produced by this land at present are insufficient to cope with the needs of the population and inadequate to raise their living standard to the required level. Even if we increase our agricultural production more than we did before, and attain our objective in improving all the fallow or cultivable lands, and ultimately obtain the maximum yield that the land can produce, living conditions in Egypt will still remain below the required standard, because the population of Egypt is increasing in regular succession every year in a proportion which always exceeds the proportion of the increased area of improved land. The population of Egypt has doubled in less than fifty years and numbered more than 19 millions in 1947, and less than 10 millions in 1897, while the increase in the area of cultivated land during this period was not more than 10 per cent.

It is recognized that a country which lives solely on agriculture is a poor country, and its population will have to be contented with a meagre share of food and clothing and of their other vital needs.

It has been proved by approximate statistics that of the inhabitants of Egypt, no less than 4,000,000 subsisted on an income not exceeding one Egyptian pound per month for each person before the Second World War, and 5,000,000 subsisted on an income not exceeding three Egyptian pounds per month for each person.

During that war, this standard was raised threefold in regard to agricultural and industrial labourers. Even with this higher standard, the living standard in relation to the middle and poorer classes is still in dire need of being raised and improved.

Therefore, it became inevitable for Egypt to think seriously of devising a remedy for this state of affairs and contriving ways and means, other than agriculture, to secure for its inhabitants a satisfactory livelihood, as far as possible.

Let us look back to when the First World War broke out in 1914. The Egyptians then felt a great shortage of many of their essential requirements and could not obtain some of them except at exorbitant prices. The country therefore resolved to turn to industry. By the end of that war, minds were prepared for this evolution. Accordingly, the late Tal'at Harb Pasha arose, calling upon the Egyptians to take an interest in industry. His call was successful. He took advantage of this success and presented to his country various industrial schemes which were carefully studied. Together with a select group of prominent Egyptians, he supervised these schemes with energy until the

industries became productive and brought benefit to Egyptians and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries.

Egyptian industry only 20 years old.

The modification of the Egyptian customs policy in 1930 contributed to the success of these industries in such a way as to guarantee a reasonable measure of protection for the developing industries. It is well known that, before this modification took effect, the doors of Egypt were wide open to all imports, to such an extent that no industry could survive.

It may therefore be said that Egyptian industrialization commenced at the end of the First World War, and that the modern Egyptian industrial revival started after the modification of the customs tariff referred to above. Industry is, in fact, less than twenty years old.

It is true that during the past century various industries, such as the sugar industry, and public utility industries such as the electric, gas and water industries, have been set up in Egypt. But these industries could not have survived if they had not enjoyed monopolistic advantages which secured for them protection from competition for a long period. Other industries as well, such as the small handicraft and mechanical industries, have been able to survive *vis-à-vis* those industries. But these industries soon became weak and disappeared on account of political and economic reasons which cannot be detailed here.

All the factors which make for the success of industry in Egypt are present. Capital is abundant. Labour and raw materials are also available and plentiful.

At the outset, industry largely depended on raw materials produced in the country in abundance, of which cotton is the most important. Consequently, the following industries flourished:

Various Spinning and Weaving Industries, such as cotton, silk, linen, wool, flax, upholstering, rice-whitening, cereal-grinding, sugar-making and canned foods;

Chemical Industries, such as extraction of oils, soap, soda and sulphuric acid;

Metallic Industries, such as metal furniture, hygienic materials, taps, lead tubes or pipes, iron locks, nails, lighting materials, and many hospital goods, especially sterilization materials and surgical equipment;

Leather Industries, such as the making of belts, horse-saddles, trunks and shoes; and,

Industries such as pottery, mosaic, ceramics, flagstones or slabs, marble, cement, printing, furniture, naval, river, land and air communications, and many other industries requiring detailed statement.

The success of these industries presages a golden age of abundance and prosperity in Egypt through which the Egyptians may reach the highest degree of perfection, if industrialists continue to apply modern scientific methods to their industries, and to strengthen its structure on a sound economic basis.

Perhaps the most significant factor that has contributed to the success of industry in Egypt, over and above those of abundance of capital and raw materials, is the well-preparedness of the Egyptian labourer and his readiness to understand the

precise details and technique of modern industry in an intelligent, skilful and patient spirit.

Capital invested in industry, value of industrial products and national income accruing therefrom.

To enable us to realize the extent of industrial development in Egypt during the last few years, I will give some statistical data on the extent of the benefit derived by the country from its industrial revival, under the following headings :

- (1) Capital invested in industry, value of industrial products and national income accruing therefrom ;
- (2) Number of institutions and labourers employed therein and their wages ;
- (3) The effect of industry on the commercial balance ; and,
- (4) The amount collected by the State as income derived from industry.

The amount of capital investments in industry in 1945 — including the value of cheques issued and in reserve — was about £200,000,000, being the nominal value.

The value of industrial products was also £200,000,000, and the national income derived therefrom during the same year was £70,000,000, while the value of agricultural products was estimated at £320,000,000 and the amount of the income derived therefrom was £178,000,000.

In 1927, the number of industrial institutions was more than 70,000, employing about 215,000 labourers. In 1937, the number of the institutions was raised to 92,000 and the number of labourers employed by them was increased to 280,000. This increase continued until the number of these institutions became 130,000 in 1944, employing 460,000 persons. The number of employees in industry, including labourers and personnel, is now about 500,000, excluding handicraft labourers, Government labourers and personnel who undertake industrial work ; these number more than 100,000 persons. If we add to them the number of persons whom they support, we find that Egyptian industry has opened the door for work to 2,500,000 persons or more.

The amount of wages and salaries paid to labourers and personnel working in industry amounted in 1945 to about £27,000,000, that is, an average of more than £42 for each labourer ; while the average wages earned by each agricultural labourer during the same year amounted to £19 only, which is less than half the wages earned in industry.

But the wages of labourers in industry increased considerably after this year. In the spinning and weaving industry, for instance, wages were modified at the beginning of 1948 and increased 25 per cent over and above the wages of 1945.

This estimate does not include the services which some of the Egyptian industries offer to their labourers, including health and social services — especially accommodation, food and medical treatment.

In the Misr spinning and weaving company in al-Mahallat al-kubra, the Misr spinning and weaving company in Kafr al-Dawar, and the company of Sabbaghy al-Beida, which is one of the companies in whose supervision I take part, the value of the above services has been estimated at about 20 per cent of the daily wages of all labourers.

The effect of industry on the commercial balance.

As a result of the progress of Egyptian industries, Egypt has dispensed with the import of many industrial products on account of their being manufactured locally.

In relation to the spinning and weaving industry, for instance, the value of the products manufactured reached the



*His Excellency Dr. Hafez 'Afifi Pasha
Dr. Hafez 'Afifi Pasha, one of leading industrialists of Egypt,
is Chairman of the Bank Misr, Cairo*

following figures :

	£
From Cotton Textiles	25,000,000
From Silk Textiles	5,000,000
From Woollen Textiles	3,000,000
From the value of the products of alcoholic beverages, beer, oil cake, sugar, cement and oil extraction ...	50,000,000

These amounts have been economized for the country and included in its national wealth, thus affecting the trade balance in favour of Egypt and becoming one of the most important factors in increasing the purchasing power of the Egyptian people, and consequently in raising their standard of living.

The total amount which the State collected in 1945 from taxes imposed on industry, excluding customs duties, amounted to £20,000,000, while the amount collected by the State during that year from taxes imposed on agricultural holdings was less than £5,000,000.

From what has been stated above, the importance of industry in Egyptian economy has become very clear, and its effects were clearly manifested in the Second World War, during which maritime routes were closed and the inhabitants of each country had to be contented, to a great extent, with their local production. Egyptian industry supplied the needs of the inhabitants of the country, including clothing and many other essential materials, and also supplied the Allied armies during that war with many important materials, to such an extent that



The late Tal'at Harb Pasha, who laid the foundation-stone of the industrialization of Egypt

the Egyptians were able to stand the war years without much difficulty or inconvenience. The Allies also expressed their praise for the valuable assistance given to them by Egyptian industry.

A summary of the laws Egypt enacted to meet the new situation created by industrialization.

Having inaugurated her industry, it was natural for Egypt to face a number of important labour problems which always accompany the industrialization of the whole country. The nature of work in agricultural and handicraft industries greatly differs from that in modern big industries, whether in the collective grouping of labourers, punctual and continuous attendance at work, speed and care in production or employment of women and children, trade risks or dangers, or in the organization of labour bodies and regularizing their relations with employers. Questions arose and their importance increased with the development of industry and its rapid progress.

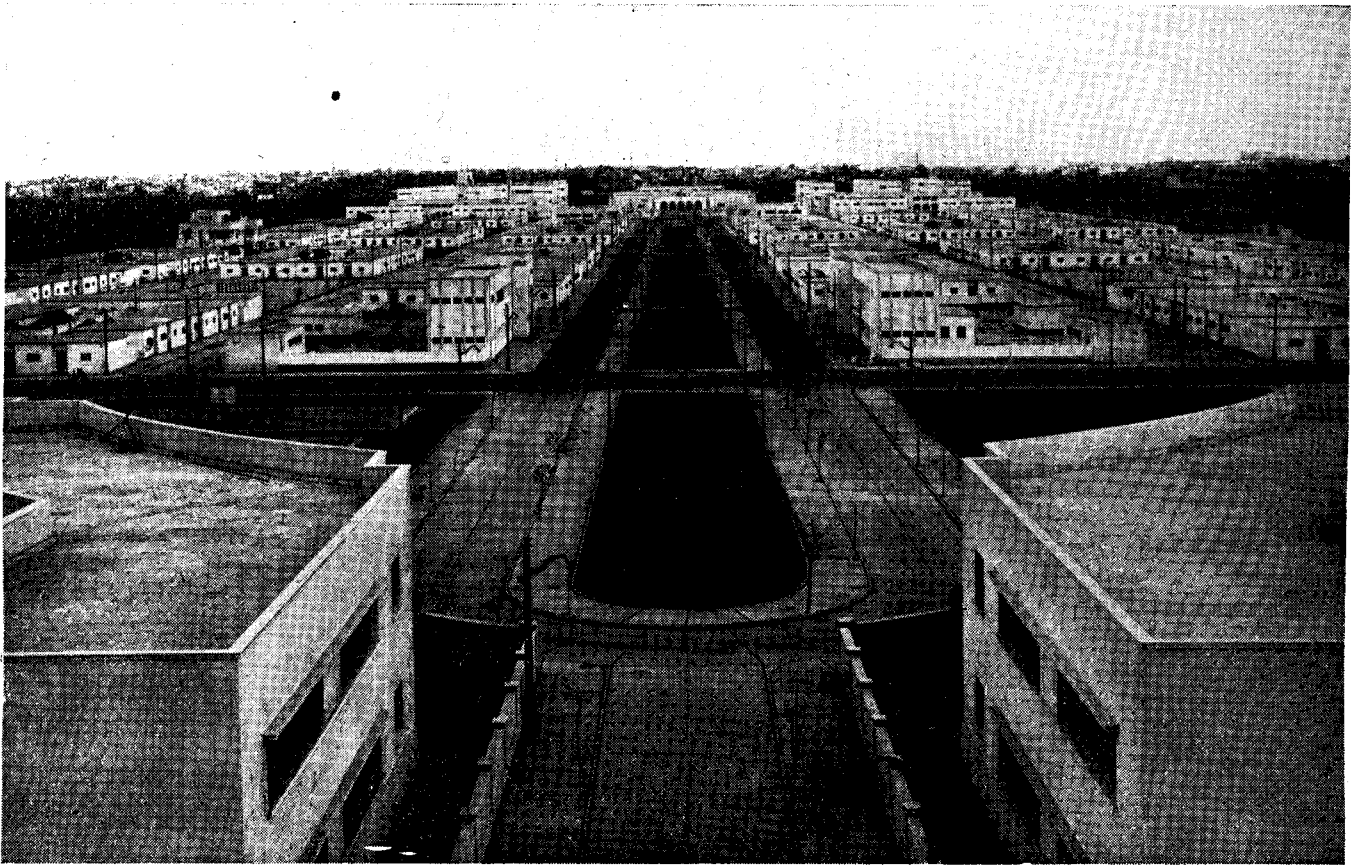
Egypt met these labour problems with a number of legislations, and in so doing, took into consideration the experience gained from some of the countries who have gone a long way ahead of her in modern industrial evolution, and proceeded gradually in the promulgation of laws to protect the labourer, to regularize his relations with employers, and to define the rights and obligations of each of them, and passed the following laws :

- (1) In 1909, the first legislation was enacted to protect children who were working in certain industries. This legislation was amended in 1933 by a new legislation forbidding the employment in industry of children under 12 years of age. They can only be employed in light work consistent with their age and physical capacity, qualifying them to learn a certain trade or profession. The law defined the dangerous industries in which no children can be employed unless they hold

a medical certificate indicating their physical fitness for work in these industries and forbade their employment in certain industries and during the night. The law defined or limited the daily working hours as well as the daily and weekly periods of recreation.

The legislation issued in 1933 prohibited the employment of women by night, save in exceptional circumstances, defined their daily working hours and their daily and weekly recreation periods, and forbade their employment in dangerous industries. This legislation also made provisions for granting leave to women labourers before childbirth and another leave of not less than 15 days after giving birth.

- (2) The Egyptian legislation regulated the working hours for adults, and the law of 1935 was passed forbidding the employment of labourers for more than nine hours per day in dangerous industries defined by law. It also defined the daily recreation periods in such a manner that the labourer does not work more than five consecutive hours.
 - (3) Following the effect of industrial evolution the Egyptian legislator perceived the necessity of adopting the principle of professional dangers arising out of industries and the sole responsibility of employers for these dangers. Accordingly, the law of 1936 was passed providing that every labourer who sustains an injury arising out of and in the course of his employment, has the right to obtain compensation for his injury from his employer in accordance with prescribed rules. This is in addition to the responsibility of the employer for medical treatment, payment of half wages during treatment, and compensation in cases where a partial or total disability is sustained or if the labourer dies on account of the injury.
 - (4) To secure the payment of compensation for injuries sustained by labourers, a law was issued in 1942, making employers liable for the insurance of their labourers against accidents during work.
 - (5) The effect of industrial evolution has also led to the association of labourers and their collective groupings. The State has become liable to recognize their unions. Accordingly, a law was issued in 1942 allowing labourers who work in one profession, industry or trade in similar professions, industries and trades or those of them connected with each other or which take part in one and the same production, to form unions in order to look after their interests, to defend their rights, and to improve their material and social conditions. Egypt therefore recognized labour unions and granted them moral status.
- In addition, the law prohibited labour bodies from participating or working in political or religious affairs, so as to devote themselves to the attainment of the objects for which they had been formed, and also prohibited them from entering into financial or commercial speculations so as to ensure the safety of the funds of the unions.
- (6) As there are many rights and obligations on both the labourers and employers which have not been regulated by the laws indicated, the legislation combined them in another law issued in 1944, that is, in the Individual Labour Contract Law, which holds the employer liable to ensure medical treatment for the labourer in case of sickness, to grant him sick leave up to a maximum of 60 days, and half wages during treatment, in addition to free medicine. The law regulated all matters relating to wages, and fines to be imposed on labourers,



At the Manchester of Egypt

A general view of the Workmen's Village at al-Mahallat al-kubra, which is situated about 50 kilometres from Cairo. The educational, housing and working conditions at al-Mahallat al-kubra are the pride of the new industrialized Egypt. The textile industry at al-Mahallat al-kubra employs about 25,000 workmen.

and the ways by which these collections of fines are to be spent, and leave, in relation to those who undertake ordinary or dangerous work, or work injurious to health. The law also guaranteed to labourers and personnel the right to receive compensation for their services in case of discharge from work, in addition to the necessity of giving them notice a sufficient time before their discharge. The law did not omit the social obligations imposed on employers who employ labourers in places far away from built-up areas, and stressed the necessity of securing wholesome food and suitable accommodation for them. In addition to the above, the law has recognized an important principle granting labourers annual leave for a period ranging between 10 and 15 days according to the degree of risk involved in the profession, with payment of full wages for the duration of this leave.

- (7) After Egypt had gone a long way in the field of industry and social legislation, it became imperative to find quick means to determine and settle disputes arising between employers and labourers. Accordingly, the Conciliation and Arbitration Law was passed in 1948, providing for the determination and settlement of labour disputes by two stages. The first stage is the conciliation stage. If this stage fails, and the parties cannot reach agreement in the dispute arising between them, the subject of the dispute will be referred to an arbitration tribunal which is a quasi-judicial body, which a jury attends. The law regulated the ways and means of having resort to these two bodies or tribunals.

This legislation is considered to be one of the most modern labour legislations.

- (8) As labourers and employers very frequently enter into amicable negotiation to prescribe conditions of work more favourable and generous than those laid down by the laws, the Government of Egypt prepared a draft law relating to contracts of common work and the necessary points to be included in the contract. This legislation is now under consideration by the Egyptian Parliament.

This is a brief summary of the labour legislations issued by the Egyptian Government. Taken as a whole, they aim at the protection of the labourers' rights and regulation of their relations with employers. The Egyptian Government was eminently successful when it conceived the idea of establishing a higher council for labour, to include the delegates of labourers and employers, and also representatives to represent the different interests of the Government, and gave it powers to consider these legislations before approval and promulgation. This council is at present examining a draft law for social insurance against sickness, disability, old age and death. With the promulgation of this law it may rightly be said that labour affairs in Egypt are proceeding side by side with the progress of industry and labour legislation in industrial countries.

Health and social problems of the Egyptian worker the responsibility of the employer.

In addition to settling these important questions, Egypt has also health and social problems of paramount significance, including density of population in towns and industrial areas, in a

manner which it has not experienced before. In the town of al-Mahallat al-kubra, where the Bank of Egypt established its large weaving and spinning factory, which began work in 1930, the population in the town increased suddenly to such an extent that hygienic conditions in the town, including malnutrition, became deplorable on account of the long distance between the factories and the villages from which the labourers came, as the majority of them had their food in places not conforming with hygienic laws, as well as the food itself, which did not contain the necessary elements of nutrition.

In addition to all this, we discovered that the health of the majority of these labourers was in dire need of proper care in view of the widespread local and infectious diseases among them. Moreover, a great number of these labourers are children, and while the law allows the employment of these children, nevertheless, the nature of their age and their being far away from their families has made the necessity for their proper care imperative.

These problems, as is known, are not confined to Egypt only, but are the imperative requisites of industrialization which have been faced by many other industrial countries. I shall now tell you how Egypt dealt with these problems and to what extent Egyptian industry has succeeded in overcoming them.

We have not directed our attention to remedying these problems in the way followed by the majority of factories in other countries, that is, by giving suitable wages to the labourer and leaving him to manage by himself the matter of his needs, including accommodation, nutrition, physical exercise, treatment and education. Our purpose in all this was that the employers themselves should look after the making available to the labourers of the necessary convenient accommodation, healthy nutrition, means for physical exercise and medical treatment through the establishment of hospitals and teaching of the labourers' children by the establishment of schools. Some of the companies in whose management I have the honour to participate have established spacious cities in which healthy houses have been erected for married labourers, the rent of which does not exceed a fixed amount, as well as hygienic restaurants in which meals are served at half-price, completely equipped hospitals for the treatment of labourers free of charge, schools for the education of the labourers' children, and sports clubs to foster and disseminate the spirit of sportsmanship among them and to facilitate means of recreation for them during their free time.

These companies did not confine themselves to the construction of houses for married labourers only, but also constructed special buildings for bachelors and spinsters which have been adequately equipped with all the amenities for rest, health and comfort.

I am also happy to state that other industrial institutions have followed the example and lead of our institutions and have made available to their labourers the various social services required.

I know that many of the buildings erected by industry in Egypt are a pure act of the State and municipal councils, because housing, education and medical treatment in many of the big industrial countries are left to the State and to public bodies. But we, in Egypt, appreciate that the setting up of a powerful industry requires the preparation of a healthy atmosphere for the labourer to enable him to persevere in his work, to be attracted by and settled in industry, and be proud of it. I am pleased to state that this experiment undertaken by the companies in Egypt has produced valuable benefits, because the health of the labourer has been improved, production has increased, and its quality has been improved.

Trade Unions in Egypt running on healthy lines.

There still remains for me to say a word about unions, which subject has occupied international committees during

recent years, particularly the Economic and Social Council, and the International Labour Bureau, and has been given deep study by all those concerned with industry in the world. It was natural therefore, as I have mentioned, that the labourers in Egypt should feel their need to combine. It was also natural for the Government of Egypt to issue a law regulating these unions and recognizing their moral status. I am glad to say that many of the Egyptian labourers have understood the fundamental purpose in the establishment of these unions, that they are industrial and economic societies and not political bodies; and that their leaders and those responsible for them have an obligation towards their colleagues. Many of these unions have rendered public service and set up provident funds and sports clubs. The labour union of the Misr Spinning and Weaving Company of Egypt has constructed in the city of al-Mahalla a fully-equipped building for child welfare which we hope will be an example to be followed by other unions.

I should like to say frankly that we, in Egypt, welcome the formation of unions so long as they proceed in the right direction, and so long as they look after the interests of the labourers without forgetting the interests of the work. We believe that when these unions conduct their business properly and work for the realization of the social purposes for which they have been formed, they will greatly help to foster a healthy spirit among the labourers and employers on the basis of understanding, public benefit and the interest of the industry, which is their own interest.

This is a brief review of the industrial progress in Egypt during the last 20 years, and of the economic results achieved by us. It goes to show some of the labour and social problems which have accompanied this industrial progress and the way in which Egypt has provided remedies for them by way of legislation on the one hand and through social services on the other. This is only the first step, and with God's help, many other steps will follow, as we are still earnestly proceeding along this road in order to make labour available and to raise the standard of living generally. We have before us gigantic industrial schemes which no doubt take first place in the consideration of both the Government of Egypt and the men of industry in it. The Aswan Dam electric scheme, although it has not yet been fully decided upon in some of its specific details, will, we hope, very soon pass the initial stages and be put into effect. The construction of this dam would conserve cheap power and facilitate the establishment of important industries, such as the industry for the extraction of iron from the raw materials found in abundance in the Aswan district and the exploitation of its mineral wealth. That Egypt is rich in these materials has been proved.

I cannot let this occasion pass without saying that our experience in this primary stage has demonstrated the necessity of having skilled artisans who are the backbone of industry, and has also proved the necessity of undertaking the requisite technical study for every scheme until all its prerequisites are completed. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to care in the first place for the training of labourers and their leaders, to enable them to operate instruments and machines and to inculcate in them a spirit of pride in their profession so that they may be able to carry out their mission in the best possible manner, thereby allowing the Egyptian labourer to become equal to his colleagues in the highly industrialized countries. This matter also requires that care should be taken in technical studies and the establishment of institutions for special studies pertaining to industry, so that it may have all the fundamental means and prerequisites which help to consolidate its foundations and enable it to proceed along the lines of the most modern scientific and industrial methods.



The resting-place of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani at Baghdad, Iraq

'ABD AL-QADIR JILANI (died 561 A.H.-1165 C.E.)

The Shaikh and his Personality

By 'ABDUL 'ALI

"Good deeds rendered for some return have no value; every good deed must aim at nearness to God"

The numerous biographies of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani teem with fictions, and one has to glean and sift facts from them before his true personality can be determined. For some he stands out as a founder of a system, a Sufist order, involving rites and practices; for others a worker of miracles, which means the "deification of 'Abd al-Qadir". But to a great majority he appears as a puritan, an orthodox preacher and theologian — "an earnest, sincere and eloquent preacher". In the works of Ibn 'Arabi, he is mentioned as a "just man and a *Qutb*¹ of his time".

But biographies, however objective and detached, are bound to respond to some extent to the emotional side of the author; more so when the author happens to be the disciple himself. We have, therefore, attempted to draw up the personality of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani from his own celebrated *khutbas* (discourses), keeping in view the background of his times and

circumstances; because these two factors must act and react on any great personality that emerges to mould the shape of things.

A review of his Sermons.

The early 6th century of the Islamic era was a period of great moral bankruptcy and political despotism. It was a period when Islamic values and ways of thought stood in great contrast with those set up by its early inspirers. Baghdad under the Abbasides had become a den of vices and heresies and had oppressed men's minds, as it had crippled and subjugated their bodies. It was at this period of history (470-561 A.H. — 1077-1185 C.E.), that Jilani thundered forth his *khutbas* (discourses) from Bab al-Halbah, at first to an audience of a dozen, then to a congregation of 70,000. He never spared the Caliph, the qadi or the officers, and he raised his voice against the malpractices and misrule of those who governed in the name of the Prophet and the Qur'an. His was at first a lonely voice, but in a brief period it gathered such momentum that the ministers came begging for his blessing and advice. For those who look for miracles, this was indeed his greatest miracle.

¹ Literally, the "Pivot of the Universe". In Sufi terminology *Qutb* is he whose attentions and prayers decide the course of events in a particular society of people.

His sermons, according to the best authorities, are some of the "very best in Muslim literature: the spirit which they breathe is one of charity and philanthropy". "I would like to close the gates of hell and open those of paradise to all mankind" was his oft-repeated desire. Call it his "sufism", his doctrine of "love", or name it by any Sufi terminology, it cannot hide the fact that the preacher had breathed deep into the universal spirit.

"Faith consists of both word and deed."

"No word is acceptable without deed and no deed is acceptable if it does not flow from sincerity."

"Good deeds rendered for some return have no value; every good deed must aim at nearness to God."

This was the dominant theme of his sermons. He preached God's authority and sovereignty when the Caliph's was being imposed in a naked and ungodly manner. He constantly reminded his audience:

"You say, there is but one God, but that is proved false because your heart houses a host of gods whom you fear and eulogize — your king, your qadi, your local authorities, etc."

Again and again he said:

"Until you shake off from your mind and heart the fear of the world and its people, your *faith* is incomplete; and until you banish from your heart the *attachment* of worldly power and riches, your *righteousness* is incomplete."

And for the Muslims, who just observed the routine prayers, without imbibing the true spirit of Islam, he addressed himself as follows:

"You offer your prayers out of habit and ask God so many things in return. . . . Paradise is not the home of those who hanker after position. It is a place for traders in good deeds."

He further added:

"Prayers, fasting, *Haj* (pilgrimage) and all your good deeds are a curse for you, if they separate you from God."

For the establishment of an equitable social order, he was very clear and emphatic:

"Alas, you have one square meal a day while your next-door neighbour starves."

"Your faith is incomplete if you cannot choose for others what you desire for yourself."

"Your faith is defective if you have before you more food than what you require for yourself and your family, while a needy one passes by."

To the lethargic and the foolish fatalist he showed a clear path of activism and kinetism and said:

"To put forward fate as an excuse is the argument of the lazy. What have we to do with fate? Our duty is to gird up our loins and incessantly try; the rest is His concern."

He preached and himself practised all that he preached. For nearly forty years he preached in Baghdad, and the echo of his voice reverberated all through the Muslim world. It served as a

guidance and a warning to those in power and a solace to those in distress.

His early asceticism (*mujahada*) was of a very strict and intense quality. For nearly twenty-five years after completing his studies in Baghdad, he wandered alone in the deserts and ruins of Iraq, fasting and praying and meditating, existing for days at a stretch on tree leaves and water. For months he would not see a human being and when, occasionally, he did meet some, his far-off look and meditative moods so bored and disgusted the people that they regarded him as a lunatic. Indeed, he was a lunatic of a high order and remained absorbed in his supreme love. He was fifty-one years old when he returned from his wanderings and settled down to his work in Baghdad, fully conscious of his mission. In the year 521 A.H. (1127 C.E.), on the advice of the Sufi Yusuf al-Hamadani, he began to preach in public, which gradually increased till he became the central figure in Baghdad, indeed in the whole of Asia. At the age of sixty he openly challenged and defied the '*ulemas*' — the learned groups of Baghdad — who traded in their faith."

His early youth.

Remarkable also was the youth of 'Abd al-Qadir, when as a lad of 17 or 18 years, he defied a band of sixty armed robbers at Hamadan, on his first visit to Baghdad. When he first set off from his village, Jilan, with a caravan, to join the Nizamiah School at Baghdad for higher studies in *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *hadith* (traditions) and Commentary of the Qur'an, his mother extracted only one promise from her only son, and that was: "You should never tell a lie under any circumstance". She had carefully sewn forty gold dinars in his garment for his expenses in Baghdad. But when the band of robbers at Hamadan, intercepted the youth and asked him to declare what he possessed, he quietly declared the forty dinars. Nobody took him seriously and the matter was reported to the head of the band, who sent for the lad and questioned him. As he met the same answer, he ordered that the garments be searched. To the surprise of everybody, the forty dinars were found. The chief of the band, wonderstruck, asked the boy to explain his "strange conduct". "I had promised my mother never to tell a lie under any circumstance," was his simple answer. That simple incident changed the faith and transformed the heart of the hardened robbers, and that simple fact of life made the lad the beloved chosen of the High.

So, here emerges the personality of Abd al-Qadir Jilani. Fearless and true to a pledge at eighteen, he faced an unscrupulous and bellicose band; brave and undaunted in support of a cause at fifty-one, he faced a hostile and immoral society. From that day onwards till he breathed his last (he died in the year 561 A.H. at the age of eighty-eight), he upheld and vindicated the true teachings of Islam and bowed to none other than God.

About the year 559 A.H., a few years before his death, he is supposed to have declared during a sermon in Bab al-Halbah: "My foot is on the neck of all *walis* (saints)." Whether he actually uttered those words and meant what they outwardly convey, or the words were attributed to him by his over-enthusiastic followers, it is difficult to say. But his great scholarship, deep piety, righteous life and many-sided personality, certainly placed him on a very high spiritual pedestal.

TWIN BLOSSOMS IN THE GARDEN OF ALLAH¹

By M. A. A'ZAM

The Calcutta Communal Riot of 1946. The fanatical frenzy of men suddenly burst into a blaze of terrible blunders and wrought the most devastating havoc in the history of civilised humanity. Fire and sword collected their ignominious booty in ashes and blood, and perpetuated eternal tears in the eyes of sanity and godliness.

An old bearded Muslim was trapped by a Hindu who developed the peculiar idea of sacrificing him before the goddess Kali. He waited till nightfall so that he might safely lead his precious prey unnoticed by the excited mob and present the human animal in one piece and unscathed for the solemn ceremony of 'sacrifice'.

The bearded *Mullah* was duly delivered to the pious priest of a temple, who with apparent approbation accepted the "offering". "Young man," the priest said, "you are killing two birds with one stone." "But," he continued, "you had better leave him to my custody and go back. After having gone through the preliminary rites, I shall take him to the altar and place him under the sharpened sabre at the right and auspicious hour after midnight". Although the youthful captor of the Muslim was rather curious to witness the complete rituals he was somehow persuaded by the priest to go home lest his folks would become very anxious for him. The priest then showed the *Mullah* a corner and asked him to sit there and remember his Allah.

The throng in the streets gradually dissolved, but a few devotees were still lying or sitting on the steps in front of the temple. In the stillness of the night the priest, for once, peeped out of the door. The myriad stars of the saddened sky with their dim glistening eyes, full of tears, twinkled wearily. The silence deepened. The priest caught hold of the drooping *Mullah* and asked him to get ready. Pointing out to a hole high up in the wall opposite to the main door, he whispered: "Make your escape through it — act now and quickly". The propitious hole — hardly a foot in diameter — was not within easy reach nor was there any ladder at hand. The bewildered *Mullah* could not believe his eyes or his ears — when again he heard the priest say in a soft low voice — "Climb on my shoulders and get through the hole. I have made a rope with a few pieces of cloth to help you scale down the wall outside. It's safe now". The *Mullah* hesitated to trample on the sacred shoulders of a noble Brahmin who, however, begged him to plant his feet firmly on them. While the lean body of the priest trembled under the human load, his soul swelled a thousandfold in strength and stature — but alas, the hole was still further up and after the old man had made a few futile attempts to get at the rescue hole, the priest bade him step on the shoulders of the Mother *Kali*. This would bring the hole much nearer to the struggling old man and within his comfortable reach. "But this would be a sacrilege, O noble Brahmin, how could you tell me to do that? I would rather die than take this course" the old man sobbed out. But the priest would not listen to that. "Didn't your mother ever take you on her lap or on her shoulders when you were a little child? If the goddess *Kali* would not do that she is no Mother! Come on brother, there is no time to lose. Hurry up"! For a moment both the priest and the old man found themselves in each other's embrace. Their eyes were closed and tears tracked their silent path across the sunken cheeks of the

two brothers-in-humanity — children of the same soil and of the same Supreme Father.

A low thud outside the wall indicated a successful landing. The priest opened the door. The cool night breeze brought in a flood of refreshing fragrance. The stars now smiled and the whole firmament was filled with a divine glow. Having closed the door again he turned to the goddess who seemed to have been beckoning him to her side with all the fondness and affection of a mother. In his daze, the flowers on the altar seemed to have been rolled into one forming a most exquisite floral offering for the loving Lord of the universe. Reflected on its petals was the face of the old Muslim brother he had just saved.

* * *

The February disturbance of 1950. The twilight had hardly melted away on a clear cloudless sky when a hugh crowd gathered before the house of a Muslim officer at Barisal — a district town of East Bengal. There was no male member at home, and of female members too, there was only one adult, a frail young lady who was scarcely beyond her teens. The crowd was obviously much excited and demanded immediate surrender of a dozen Hindus who took shelter in that house. The lady would not, however, yield to the threats. Coming out of purdah which she usually observed the lady told the mob in an unfaltering voice. "My friends, I am a Muslim. I have studied my religion based on the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet of the desert." "Islam," she sternly reiterated, "is strongly against such oppression of minorities who, on the contrary, must be protected and treated with all fairness and justice."

Good sense had left the lingering mob. The threats continued but the lady remained unflinching and adamant. Inside the house, some of the Hindu refugees begged her not to court trouble, or risk her life for their sake, because, they argued, her precious life might at least be saved if they were surrendered. The noble daughter of Islam scornfully declined to do so because that would be surrendering her Faith! "A life without Faith is more dead than alive", she retorted.

It was about 10 p.m. now. The lady was finally given an ultimatum that she should make up her mind once for all. By midnight she must either surrender the "infidels" or must be burnt alive in the house with those she sheltered. She was given respite for a couple of hours. The crowd gradually dispersed to assemble again after the "zero" hour.

The lady plunged in a deep thought. She was feeling helpless — her husband being away on an official tour. What could she do? Suddenly she sprang up, took her black *burqah* (the veil) and slipped out quietly through the back door to meet a local officer of Government, with whose help she quickly managed to remove the refugees to a safe resort . . . She came back — although desisted from doing so — to face the angry crowd. She now offered her life in lieu of the dozen Hindus she had just saved from the bloody fury of the turbulent mob, but the vow of vengeance faltered before such a terrible torrent of life and faith.

But the shock proved fatal to her frail constitution. Months later, this noble angel was admitted in a hospital of North Calcutta. She was soon called by heaven where in the garden of Allah her soul now blossoms in eternal glory and splendour.

¹ Based on true incidents.

THE OIL

Population : About 18,000,000

Oil production per annum : 30,000,000 met

The Anglo-Iranian Company has a concess
Sou

The oil-fields of Iran have produced 330,0
Dec

Top left — Oil pipe-lines in Iran. These connect the
 with the oil refinery at Abadan, 14

Bottom left — The Refining Plant and storage tanks
 the background. It requires about

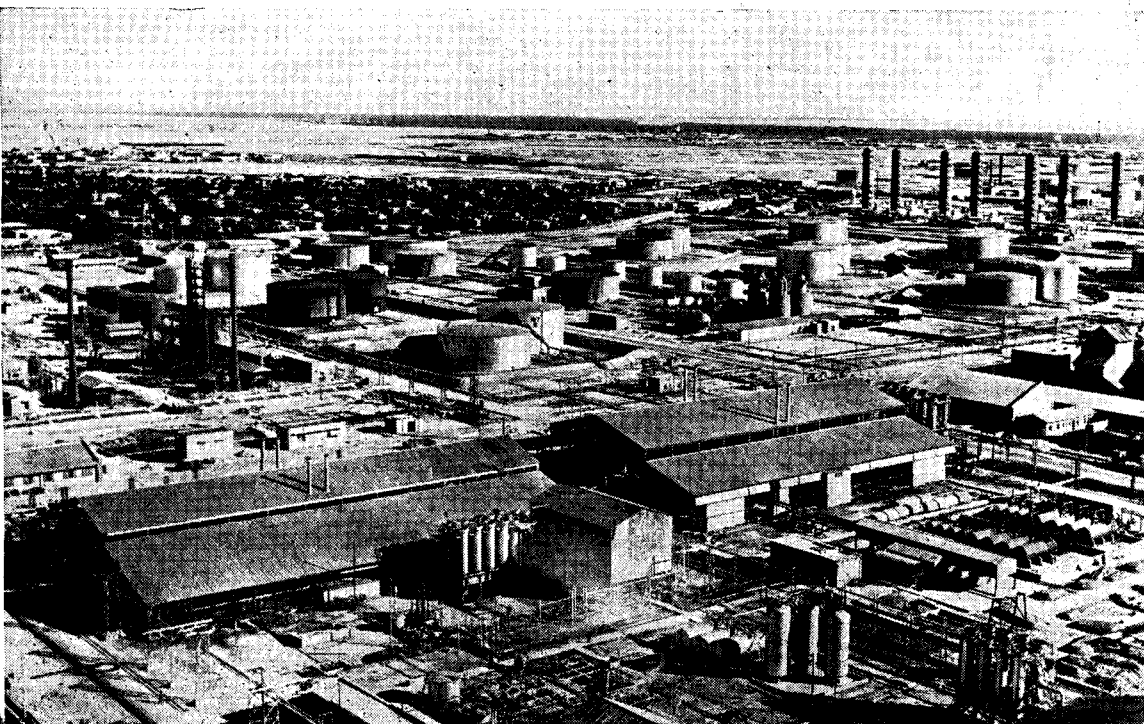
Top right — The Pushta Burj region, situated north
 cession of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. This pic
 surrounding terra

The concession of the Anglo-Iranian Company to s
 for the fi

Bottom right — On Thursday, March 15, 1951, the
 the nationalization of the petroleum industry. On the

The picture shows a view of the demonstration in Te
 in

Centre — His Imperial Majesty Muhammad Riza S
 9, 1950, is reading his speech. Behind him (left)
 General of



IN IRAN

Area : 628,000 square miles

ons, which represents 5% of the world's output
valid over an area of 100,000 square miles in
East Iran

400 metric tons of oil from their first output to
r 31, 1950



ajidi Sulaiman oil-fields (the first to be developed in Iran)
es distant, at the head of the Persian Gulf

Abadan. The Anglo-Iranian Company's housing estate is in
0,000,000 to erect a modern oil refinery

of the Persian Gulf and a productive field within the con-
gives some idea of the problems that are imposed by the
the production of oil

for and exploit oil extends over the whole of Iran except
rthern provinces

Lower House (Majlis) approved a draft which called for
wing day a great meeting was held in front of the Iranian
ament

in front of the Iranian Parliament building, which is seen
ckground

ablavi, who inaugurated the Iranian Parliament on February
his brother, Prince 'Abd al-Riza, who is Administrator-
Seven-Year Plan



DEVELOPMENT DEPENDENCE AND INDEPENDENCE OF IRAN

By GEOFFREY NEVILLE BAGOT

Iran in the B.C. era.

Geographically the connecting link between Iraq and Pakistan, having common frontiers with Turkey in the west, the U.S.S.R. in the north, and Afghanistan in the east, the fate of Iran is of vital interest to the Islamic States as well as to the two great power blocs. The present crisis, which has political and economic roots, gives a classical example of the interplay of great powers in the development of a backward economy.

Iran reached the height of its power more than 2,500 years ago during the reign of Cyrus, who conquered the Elamites, whose capital, Shush (Souza in S.W. Persia), was one of the earliest centres of civilization. The ruins of Persepolis still testify to the magnificent architecture during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius. The Persian Empire reached from Greece to India. In 331 B.C., Alexander of Macedon brought about its fall; but the Parthians from the north partially re-established its glory. In 226 C.E. the Sasanian dynasty was set up. A great period of economic and cultural activity took place. Agriculture was developed, and the worship of Zoroaster was accepted by the State. In this religion, Good was represented by Ahura Mazda, and Evil by Ahriman. Light was associated with Good and the fire temples were established whose ruined remains still are found on the sites of the oil-fields. Another religion was introduced by Mani in the 3rd century C.E. which was a mixture of Christianity and Zoroastrianism. The Sasanian dynasty was in a continuous state of war with the Byzantine and Roman Empires. Drained of its resources it fell an easy prey to the dynamic, expanding Muslim Arab invaders. "It was largely the incorporation of the domains of the Sasanian Empire into the Arab Empire which finally led to the supercession of Damascus, the capital of the Umayyid Empire (661-750 C.E.), by Baghdad, the centre of the Abbasid Empire."¹ The vast majority of the Iranians became converted to Islam.

Iran in modern times.

To-day, out of a population estimated at 18,000,000, there are 120,000 Armenians, 40,000 Jews, and about 10,000 worshippers of Zoroaster. The Iranians are nearly all members of the Shi'a section of Islam. There are one to one and a half million Kurds in the country, many of whom are orthodox Sunnis.

The Arabic language had a considerable influence on the Iranian language. But from early in the 9th century the Iranians freed themselves from Arab rule. The national language was recognized and there was a great period of literary activity.

Iran was conquered by the Turks and Mongols. Amongst the conquerors were Ghenghis Khan and Tamerlane. At the beginning of the 16th century, Shah Isma'il revived an Iranian dynasty known as the Safavi. Isfahan was built during the reign of Shah 'Abbas (1587-1629 C.E.), the greatest ruler of medieval Iran. From 1722 to 1730 the country was occupied by the Ghalzai Afghans and Russians. These were expelled by Nadir Shah, who invaded India. The Safavids were expelled by the Aga Muhammad Khan of the Qajar tribe, and the capital was transferred to Teheran. In the early 19th century the Russians wrested Georgia, Armenia, and part of Azarbaijan from Iran. Russian nationals having obtained a privileged position in the country, the British in India began to react to the threat of Russian expansion.

During the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896 C.E.), an attempt was made to modernize the State, but the economy got more and more into the hands of foreign powers. In May, 1901, William Knox d'Arcy obtained an oil concession from the Persian Government which was to play an outstanding part in the economic life of the country. Political agitation was rewarded by the granting of a Constitution in 1906. On August 31, 1907, the arbitrary Anglo-Russian Agreement divided up the country into British, Russian and neutral zones. Public opinion, in so far as it was coherent, violently reacted. The Russians supported 'Ali Shah, who attempted to withdraw the constitutional concessions, backed by his Cossack troops. He was unsuccessful, and was deposed in 1909. But the Russians occupied Tabriz and in 1911 provoked a *coup d'état* resulting in the dismissal of the American financial adviser, Mr. Shuster, and the suppression of the *Majlis* (Iranian Lower House).

After the Great War it was Great Britain's turn to attempt to dominate Iran, and in 1919 a political, military and economic agreement which would have placed Iran largely under British control was thrown out by the *Majlis*. The Russians, at that time under Lenin's influence, had temporarily renounced all imperialistic concessions; and on February 22, 1921, the Soviet-Iranian Treaty was signed, according to which the Soviets relinquished their claim to all debts owed to the Tzarist government. This treaty had a section which provided for Soviet intervention in the case of other Powers invading or interfering with the internal affairs of Iran.

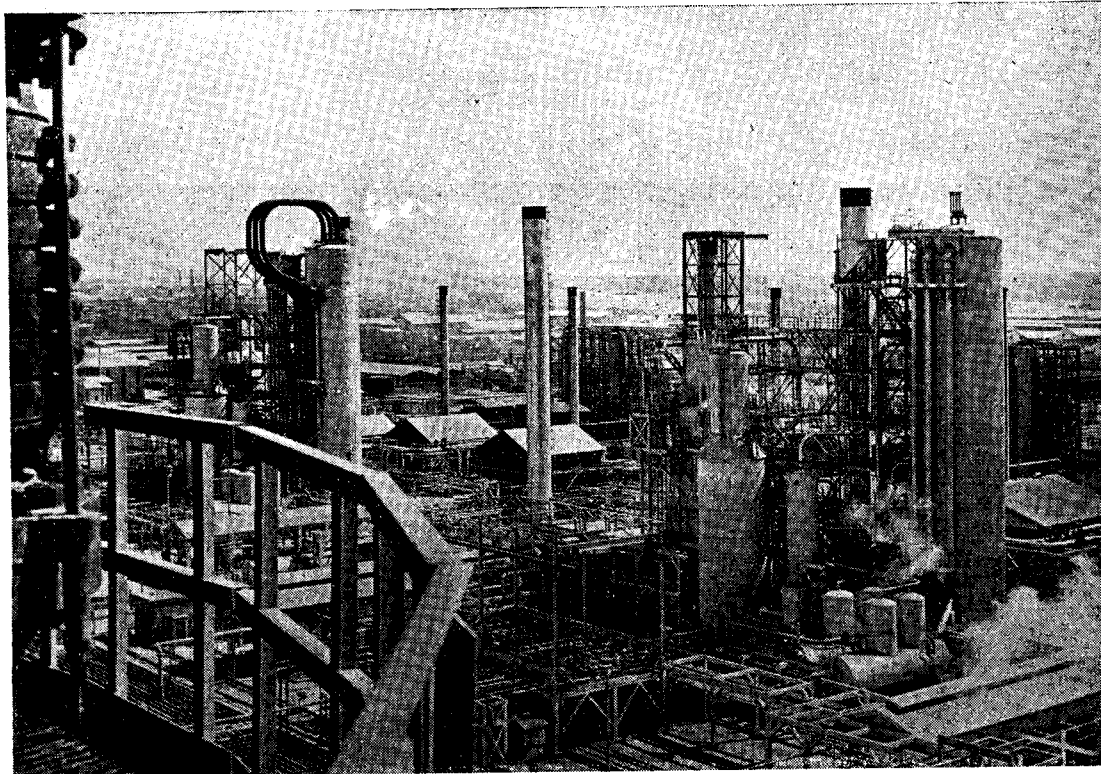
Iran under Reza Shah Pahlavi and after.

In October, 1925, the *Majlis* deposed the last of the Qajar Shahs, Ahmed Shah, and in December appointed Reza Khan Pahlavi Shah of Iran. Reza Khan, an officer of the Cossack Brigade, had been a virtual dictator since 1921. He became the first ruler of the new Pahlavi dynasty and was crowned in the spring of 1926. Reza Shah suppressed the revolting tribesmen, increased the army and police forces, set up State monopolies in trade, spent £30,000,000 on railways, built a large part of the 17,000 miles of roads, abolished the privileges of foreign countries, and ruled as an absolute dictator through the power of police and army. The big landlords' interest, however, remained almost intact.

During the recent war Iran attempted to remain neutral, but after the British suppression of Rashid 'Ali al-Gailani's National Government in Iraq, Britain and Russia intervened in Iran in August, 1941, and on September 16, 1941, the Shah was induced to abdicate and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Riza. Although the occupying powers agreed to vacate Iran within six months after the termination of war with Germany, Iran was to all intents and purposes for the time being a colony divided into Soviet and British zones. Naturally enough, the British were concerned with the oil province of Khuzistan. Azarbaijan came into the Soviet zone, where an autonomous movement was fostered. The Russians demanded oil concessions from the Iranian Government in the north.

¹ *The Middle East*, London, 1950, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. An excellent survey of modern Iran is contributed by Miss A. K. Lambton.

A view of the giant crude oil installation units of the refinery of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Abadan



In 1946 the British and American forces evacuated the country. The Prime Minister, Qavam al-Saltaneh, in an attempt to get the Russians out of the country, agreed to a 25-year Soviet oil concession. The Soviet troops evacuated their zone. In July, 1946, the Tuda party, which is considered to be pro-Communist, staged a strike at Abadan and induced the Prime Minister to give Cabinet posts to three members of the Tuda party. The Tuda party and the Russians accused the British of stirring up a plot against the Government amongst the Bakhtiari tribesmen, who took control of Bushire and demanded the resignation of the Tuda party members. Azarbaijan was reoccupied by the Government forces and the pro-Soviet democratic party leaders fled to Russia. The Majlis rejected the Soviet oil agreement and Qavam al-Saltaneh resigned in December, 1947.

The Tuda party was dissolved in 1949 after an attempt on the Shah's life. The late Prime Minister, General Razmara, attempted to set up a more stable form of Government, but he did not attempt to carry through any very vital reforms in the interests of the peasants. He had apparently been a very efficient leader of the 112,000 American-equipped army, but had not been long enough in power to show whether he had leanings towards dictatorship.

Assassination of General Razmara and Nationalization.

The forty-eight year old General Razmara enjoyed an excellent reputation both as an administrator and as a commander in the field. He was responsible for the liberation of Azarbaijan. He stimulated exports, encouraged trade with the U.S.S.R. as well as with Western Germany. He stopped broadcasts of "The Voice of America" programme, also refusing to allow broadcasts of a similar pro-Russian programme. He, however, firmly demanded the release by the Russians of Iranian frontier guards held in custody by the Russians and the return of Iranian gold held back in Russia after the war. He violently attacked the fifteen Iranian families who he claimed dominated Iranian life and economy. General Razmara, backed by the Shah, was anxious to get

through Parliament the new oil agreement, so as to have money to pay the arrears of civil service salaries, balance the budget and finance the seven-year plan. His most bitter opponents were the Chairman of the Majlis Oil Commission, a leader of the National Front, Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, and Haji 'Abd al-Qasim Kashani, a religious Conservative leader.

The General, who was assassinated by a member of the *Fidayani Islam* (the Sacrifices to Islam) group on March 7, 1951, was succeeded by Husain A'la, a sixty-eight year old barrister and former Ambassador to Britain, who reluctantly accepted the Premiership on the 11th of March, 1951. In England on March 14, 1951, there was a discussion in the House of Lords between Lord Vansittart and Lord Henderson; the latter branded Kashani as an avowed German agent during the war, who had been arrested and expelled from the country for an alleged connection with an attempt on the life of the Shah. On the 15th of March, 1951, the Majlis by a unanimous vote of 106 deputies, nationalized the oil industry amidst wild scenes of enthusiasm. One of the Deputies, Husain Makki, declared: "This is the most glorious day in the constitutional history of our country because the Majlis, supported by the will of the people as a whole, has broken the economic chains in which it has been bound for half a century by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company."

What is at stake.

The British Government, which owns 11,250,000 £1 shares valued at £6 per share before the assassination of the Prime Minister, has informed the Persian Government that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession could not be terminated unilaterally by nationalization and that there is a clause (Article 22 of the Agreement) by which disputes could in the final stage be referred to the permanent Court of Justice at the Hague. During the years 1948-49, the Company's profits were £135,000,000, of which the British and Iranian Governments received £100,000,000 and the stockholders £6,643,374, or 5 per cent. Through the Supplemental Agreement the Company



The Shah of Iran has parcelled out the land left to him by his father around the village of Dawudabad amongst peasants and small farmers. One-fifth of this land has been given free while the remainder is to be paid for over a period of a number of years

The problem of Iran, like that of other Muslim countries, is the land reform. The Shah of Iran has set the example and pace to be followed by all those who can see "the writing on the wall", to use the words of the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Finance Minister of Pakistan, uttered in this connection at the International Islamic Economic Conference held at Teheran last year. The Shah has by this action of his given away about £25,000,000 worth of property

The picture shows an old peasant of Dawudabad receiving the documents from His Imperial Majesty the Shah entitling him to the rights of his new property

offered to pay 6/- per ton instead of 4/-, guaranteeing a revenue to the Iranian Government of £22,000,000 on an output of 25,000,000 tons or more of crude oil per annum. The output of oil has been raised in 1950-51 to nearly 30 million tons. In 1949 the Company paid £12,000,000 in Customs, and claimed that the Iranian Treasury made £6,000,000 profit by selling currency to the Company at an artificially high rate of exchange.

The Russian press has blamed America for the crisis and has mentioned Russia's obligations to defend Iran in the case of an intervention by a third party.

Britain's Oil Kingdom and Iranian Independence.

In 1908, the discovery of large quantities of oil at Masjid-i-Sulaiman assured the success of the British oil ventures, and in 1909 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed; 56 per cent of the shares are in the hands of the British Foreign Office and 22 per cent owned by the Burmah Oil Company. By 1948, 25,000,000 tons of crude oil, roughly 5 per cent of the world's output, were being produced in Iran, and the world's biggest refinery had been set up, refining 24,000,000 tons a year at Abadan, and a city housing about 140,000 people had been built. In 1933 the Shah cancelled the oil concession, which was to terminate in 1993, but the matter was referred to the League of Nations, and a compromise was worked out directly with the Shah, who as a despotic ruler was not subject to popular opinion. General 'Ali Razmara, the late Prime Minister, a former Chief of Staff, whose Government was set up on June 27, 1950, had initialled an agreement, but this was by law subject to ratification by the Majlis, consisting of 136 members. The matter was referred to a committee of the Majlis which was dominated by a small group of National Front deputies, of whom there are only about eight or twelve in the Majlis. On the assassination of the Premier and one of his ministers, the Majlis passed a measure nationalizing the petroleum industry without stating definitely what they meant by this. The British interests

own and control the machinery in the petroleum-producing districts and most of the town and buildings of Abadan. The Majlis Committee, at the time of writing these lines, is still sitting, and the proposals of exactly what they intend to take over in the way of property and what compensation they intend to pay, remain to be seen.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, as it is now known, is the most powerful organization in Iranian economy. It employs about 85,000 people, including contractors' employees who work for the company. Of these, including Pakistanis and Indians, only about 6,000 are foreigners, and a big scheme of education of technicians and skilled artisans is in progress. Over 3,500 are at present receiving various grades of training. Ninety Iranians are being trained in England at the Sunbury Research Station. Over £70,000,000 have been paid in royalties to the Iranian Government, and the British were discussing a fifty-fifty share of profits at the time when the nationalization measure was put through by the Majlis. As a result of the holding up of oil discussions the sum of £40,000,000 offered by the Company to the Iran Government is held back. This has thrown the Iran budget out of gear. Civil servants are claiming arrears of salary. The seven-year development plan is held up through lack of finance.

Conditions in Abadan cause discontent elsewhere as they are so vastly superior to the conditions of the rest of the people. Minimum wages of £3 (280 rials at 89.4 rials to the £) per week are paid to unskilled labourers. Plant attendants receive over 515 rials per week (over £5-5-0); 35 per cent overtime rates are paid. Over 3,000 houses have been built for 16,500 workers and their families. The Company has also built cinemas, schools and hospitals for its employees. In 1945 £1,000,000 was distributed to the workers in free food and clothing. The social welfare staff amounts to 1,400 people.

Apart from its interest in Iran, the Company owns 23 per cent of the shares of the Iraqi Oil Company, 50 per cent of the Kuwait Oil Co., Ltd., has a fleet of 160 tankers, including

Some of the Irani peasants who received the title-deeds of their new property from His Imperial Majesty the Shah are overjoyous and are waving their papers gleefully after the presentation ceremony



those under construction, with a tonnage of over 2,000,000, owns the refineries at Haifa in Palestine, interests in Scotland and Wales and Australia, a research station at Sunbury-on-Thames. It employs in all about 130,000 people.

Apart from this Company, the Iran Civil Service is the biggest employer of labour. There are 16,000 people employed on the railways and 50,000 part-time in the sugar refineries, and 13,000 in textiles ; 25 per cent of the State's income comes from the tobacco industry ; 85 per cent of the people live off the land, which is chiefly in the hands of the big landowners or intermediaries, to whom the peasants pay rent on a crop-sharing basis. The Iranian Trade Union movement was suppressed and re-organized on the grounds that it was pro-Communist. Strikes similar to those in March, 1951, took place in the oil-fields in June, 1946. The official recognized unions are known as the Sazmani Kangarani Iran.

Before the war trade, apart from the oil exports, was largely in the hands of the U.S.S.R. and Germany, both of which countries had barter arrangements with Iran. But since the war Germany has been replaced by the United States of America, the United Kingdom and India. Figures for 1946-47 are :

<i>Imports.</i>	
U.S.S.R.	23.2 per cent
U.S.A.	23.2 "
United Kingdom	17.9 "
India	15.2 "
<i>Exports.</i>	
U.S.S.R.	21.3 "

U.S.A.	18.5 per cent
United Kingdom	12.2 "
India	14.2 "

During the war the cost of living rocketed up from 100 in 1936/37 to 1,200 in 1944. According to official statistics it has now fallen to 773.¹ The present discontent is not caused, as the British Press makes out, by Muslim fanatics or merely by the Tuda party of Communists or fellow travellers, who are backed, no doubt, by a great many sincere people.

The unrest in Persia will not cease with nationalization of oil.

The high cost of living and the failure of the Government to pay salaries and the natural reaction of the land-hungry peasants, who own less than 30 per cent of the land, are the real causes of the trouble. This much is certain that the British will have to make more concessions to the legitimate demands of the Persians. No one can forget that Communism has a certain appeal to the "have-nots", who know they have nothing to lose. As was clearly stated by the Finance Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, in his Presidential address at the International Economic Conference at Teheran last year, that the Islamic States must put their houses in order or perish. He also pointed out that the well-ordered co-operation of the Islamic States must put their houses in order or perish. with the generous backing from the United Nations, could act as an effective barrier to the aggressive totalitarian designs of Imperialism and the economically superior Western colonization.

¹ June-July, 1950. Bank Melli of Iran Bulletin for September, 1950.

ISLAM IN EASTERN EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE MONGOL INVASION (1016—1223 C.E.)¹⁾

By ARSLAN BOHDANOWICZ

"History knows many Buddhist or Christian peoples who adopted Islam; it does not know any Muslim peoples who would convert itself to Buddhism or Christianity" (Professor W. Bartold, of the University of St. Petersburg, Russia)

The students of history of Eastern Europe know:

- (a) that Islam as a religion began to penetrate the Khazar kingdom (i.e., the region between the mouths of the Volga and the Don) from the 8th century, and that at the beginning of the 11th century (in the last stage of its existence) it counted there many followers and had perhaps become, if not politically dominant, at least the religion with the greatest number of adepts; and,
- (b) that in the kingdom of the Volga Bulgars (the Soviet Tartar Republic of to-day) Islam had begun to penetrate from the end of the 9th century, and during the first half of the 10th century it had become firmly established there.

Let us study what the fate of Islam was in these two countries during the two centuries preceding the Mongol invasion, i.e., between 1016 C.E., the date of the final collapse of the Khazar kingdom, and 1223 C.E., the date of the first Mongol invasion.

This question is of very great importance since the territories of these two kingdoms were to become the principal centres of political and religious life of the Golden Horde, i.e., that part of the Mongol Empire which dominated Russia until the end of the 15th century, and in which Islam in a very short time — less than 75 years after its foundation — became the dominant religion.

The fate of Islam in the Bulgarian kingdom on the Volga.

There is no difficulty concerning the fate of the Bulgarian kingdom on the Volga during the period under examination. It is well known that this kingdom survived until the Mongol invasion and that Islam became in it not only the dominant religion among its Turkish ruling element (i.e., among the Bulgars themselves) but also began to spread among the numerous Finnish tribes who constituted the greater part of its population. We do not know exactly the level which Muslim culture reached among the Volgan Bulgars at that time.

It is also well known that owing to the decay of the Kievan State, the north-eastern part of modern Russia, called Suzdaly, adjacent at that time to the Bulgarian kingdom, became from the second half of the 12th century the principal centre of Russian political life; and that on the eve of the Mongol invasion its expansion at the expense of the Bulgarian kingdom had made considerable progress. In any case, in 1221 C.E. the Russians conquered the mouth of the Oka (one of the two principal confluents of the Volga) and in the same year built there the city of Nijni-Novgorod.

Under these circumstances the main point of the problem—the fate of Islam in Eastern Europe on the eve of the Mongol invasion—is to know what happened to Islam in the Khazar kingdom.

The problem of the fate of Islam in the territory of the former Khazar kingdom.

The last mention of the Khazar kingdom dates from 1016 C.E., when the Byzantine forces together with their Russian allies defeated the last Khazar king and took him prisoner. Though (for the reasons mentioned above) nobody denies the importance of the problem of the fate of Islam in the territory of the former Khazar kingdom after its fall, it has, to my knowledge, never been seriously studied up to now.

This can be easily explained by the almost complete lack of sources: not only are the written documents extremely scarce, but even the archaeological data are very few and incomplete. In order to understand this state of affairs we have to remember that the territory of the former Khazar kingdom was the theatre of very frequent and destructive wars, which like hurricanes razed to the ground great and flourishing cities, leaving only the ruins on which very often modern towns were erected.

These ruins form a veritable paradise for the archaeologist, but the excavations, for reasons which it would be too long to detail here, never, at the best, passed beyond the initial stages, and in the majority of cases were not even begun. As an example of this it is sufficient to say that so far the exact site of Itil, the capital of the Khazar kingdom, has not yet been discovered.

As the cities of the Golden Horde, along the Volga, were generally built over the remnants of the Khazar cities, the results achieved by archaeology in this region are generally limited to the excavation of the top stratum representing the material culture of the Golden Horde. In other words the preceding stratum, which could reveal to us the fate of Islam during the epoch which interests us here (1016-1223 C.E.) has not yet been touched upon by excavations.

But this lack of insufficiency of data available for the study of some historical problem does not constitute a sufficient reason for its neglect. On the contrary, this fact should incite our curiosity and stimulate our endeavours to find the truth by the discovery of unknown sources. But it goes without saying that before further research it is necessary first of all to summarize the already known data in order to see what conclusions may be drawn therefrom.

It is with this latter aim in view that these few lines have been written. I cannot pretend to say the last word on the problem, but if I succeed in defining more or less clearly its essential points, I shall consider our task achieved.

Concerning the political fate of the population of the former Khazar kingdom, I follow the theory of the eminent Russian orientalist V. Grigoriev (1816-1881), who believed that it was submerged by the Kipchaks, a nomad people of Turkish

¹ *Vide* also my article "The Origin of Islam in Eastern Europe" in *The Islamic Review* for January, 1950.

origin — called according to European sources *Cumans*, and by Russian sources *Polovtsuis*.² Unfortunately, to my knowledge, Professor Grigoriev never tried to support his views by reference to the sources, so that it is necessary here to give some explanations on this subject.

Concerning the fate of Islam in the former Khazar kingdom, I shall try to show that its submersion by the Kipchaks was followed by the Islamization of their settled elements.

Under these circumstances this article I propose to divide into the two following sections:

- (i) the absorption of the Khazars by the Kipchaks; and,
- (ii) the Islamization of the settled Kipchak elements in the former Khazar kingdom.

I.—Absorption of the Khazars by the Kipchaks.

As the Kipchaks played an extremely important rôle in the history of Eastern Europe and of Western Asia, it is necessary, before dealing with the main subject of this section, to give some explanations of their geo-political importance throughout history.

(a) *The geo-political importance of the Kipchaks in history.*

The last of the nomads to arrive in Europe from Central Asia before the Mongols were the Kipchaks, who were very numerous. To give an idea of their geo-political importance it would be enough to say that their migrations covered an enormous area stretching from the sources of the Irtysh in Siberia in the north through the steppes of Kazakhstan and Southern Russia as far as the mouth of the Danube. Though the Kipchaks were never able to create a unified social organization and lived until the Mongol invasion under a régime of clans, because of their numbers and the vast scale of their migrations, they played a very important rôle in the history of adjacent countries, especially of Khoresm, Georgia, Russia, Hungary and Byzantium. It is also necessary to point out that from the middle of the 13th century until the 15th century it was chiefly among the Kipchaks that the Mamluks in Egypt were recruited: the Italian merchants bought the Kipchak slaves in the ports of the Crimea and sold them afterwards in Alexandria. As is known, one of the greatest Mamluk sultans, Baybars (d. 1277 C.E.), was a Kipchak. Finally it was the Kipchaks who formed the most numerous element of the population of the Golden Horde.

The cultural level of the Kipchaks was not uniform, depending more or less on the proximity of their habitat to the civilized countries. In any case it is certain that among those who lived in the vicinity of Khoresm there were already considerable numbers influenced by Islam. But the question which occupies us here is to know what happened to the Khazars after the fall of their kingdom.

(b) *Absorption of the Khazars by the Kipchaks.*

That the Kipchaks occupied the territory of the former Khazar kingdom can be seen by the fact that the name of the Khazars disappears gradually from the sources as a dominant element in this region, and they are only mentioned as the inhabitants of the cities. Every time we come across data concerning the territory of the former Khazar kingdom we find mention of the Kipchaks or to a lesser extent of the Alains, a people of Iranian origin who formed the most important national minority in the Khazar kingdom, and whose descendants survive to-day in the Northern Caucasus under the name of the Ossetes. Thus, for instance, when the well-known historian of the Mongol Empire, Rashid al-Din, speaks of the first arrival of the Mongols

in Eastern Europe in 1223 C.E., he describes how, coming from Iran through the eastern part of the Caucasus, they were in the north obliged to overthrow the resistance of the Kipchaks and of the Alains. It goes without saying that if the Khazars had continued to play the dominant political rôle in this region, they would not have failed to organize resistance to the Mongols, and Rashid al-Din would have mentioned it. It was the same in the case of the final conquest by the Mongols of the territory of the ancient Khazar kingdom at the beginning of the thirties of the 12th century: it was the Kipchaks who resisted the Mongol hordes; the other peoples of this region are scarcely mentioned and the Khazars are passed over in silence.

On the other hand, the Persian chronicles tell us that on the eve of the Mongol invasion the Kipchaks dominated the peninsula of Kerch, which was before the coming of the Kipchaks under Khazar sway.

Moreover, it goes without saying that a people as numerous and as powerful as the Kipchaks would never have left in its rear a people as warlike as the Khazars without first subjugating them.

Without entering into other details it seems to us certain that the Kipchaks replaced the Khazars in the region to the mouth of the Volga, which was the political centre of the Khazar kingdom, and, gradually absorbing them, adopted Islam, which was flourishing there before their arrival.

We shall now try to show that the absorption of the Khazars by the Kipchaks was followed by the gradual Islamization of the settled elements of these latter.

II.—Islamization of those Kipchak clans who settled in the former Khazar kingdom.

Nobody was better qualified than the eminent Russian orientalist-turcophile, the late V. Bartold (d. 1930 C.E.), to speak upon the fate of Islam in the former Khazar kingdom. As far as I know he never tried to study this question systematically. Moreover, one finds sometimes some contradictory assertions in his works on this subject. But what he said in general concerning the attractive force of Islam as well as the details he gave concerning its propagation among the Turkish peoples, supports rather than contradicts our thesis on the Islamization of those Kipchak clans which absorbed the Khazars. I consider the opinion of Bartold so interesting and important that I am taking the liberty of reproducing here its most important parts *in extenso*.

Bartold begins by pointing out that "the principal advantage of Islam in comparison with other religions consisted in the fact that, in the domain of material and intellectual culture, the Islamic world possessed a marked pre-eminence among the cultivated peoples of that epoch. The nomads always needed the manufactured goods produced by the civilized countries, especially clothes. But the commerce with the nomads was also profitable for the civilized peoples . . . but this commerce was particularly necessary to the nomads who everywhere were the first to approach the adjoining civilized countries, and while they were becoming familiar with the manufactured goods produced by the Muslim countries and the forms of their life in general, they at the same time were influenced by Islam not only in the religious sphere but also in all other aspects of its civilization. But it was only their conversion to Islam which could help them to make their relations with the Muslim world more intimate.

"In the efficacy of its propaganda among the Turks, Islam manifested another quality which it possesses apparently to a greater degree than the other great religions. Though it is numerically less important than Buddhism or Christianity, one

² Borodin's famous opera, *Prince Igor*, concerns the campaign of this prince against the Polovtsuis.

can nevertheless affirm that it is a universal religion in the true sense of the word, meaning by this that it is not limited to peoples of the same race or culture. The successes achieved by other religions were sometimes more important than those of Islam, but they were only short lived. Manicheism was also once a universal religion and possessed adherents in the different countries stretching from the South of France to China : but this did not save it from total eclipse. Buddhism started its universal activity, its world action, by a large propaganda in the West, but now remains solely the dominant religion of the civilised countries of Eastern Asia. Before the expansion of Islam, Christianity also counted some adherents among the Turks, while in Mongolia Islamic propaganda was achieving practically no result, numerous peoples inhabiting eastern, western and southern parts of this country embracing the Christian religion. But these successes were only temporary, and at the present time Christianity appears to be chiefly the religion of the European world ; the Christians who live outside the frontiers of the world of European culture are, numerically and from the point of view of intellectual development, insignificant in comparison with the Christians in Europe. Islam appears to be, through its true essence, the religion of the civilised peoples of Interior Asia, and in Eastern Asia, however, the number of its adherents, especially in India and in the Indonesian archipelago, exceeds those of Western Asia. The Muslims in China form an independent element ; they possess their own religious literature, in their own language, and they do not need any external help, while the attempts made by the Christians to create inside China a national Chinese Church all failed. In Africa, Christianity also has achieved little in comparison with Islam ; among the Abyssinians, the only African people to possess a national Christian Church, Muslim propaganda achieved some successes even as late as the 19th century. In conclusion, history knows many Buddhist or Christian peoples who adopted Islam : it does not know any Muslim people who would convert itself to Buddhism or Christianity."

Bartold praises very highly the rôle played by the mystics of Islam (*sufis*) in the propagation of the Muslim religion among the Turks. He specifies : "The sufis also went to the Turks, in the steppes, to preach Islam, and they always achieved, until a recent date, a more considerable success than the representatives of the orthodox theology". Though the missionaries of other religions — of Buddhism, Manicheism and Christianity — tried before the sufis to propagate them among the Turks, "... the propaganda in favour of Islam was successful especially among those peoples who already knew one or other of these religions."

In another part of the same book Bartold adds : "Owing to the superiority at that epoch of the Islamic culture, all its contacts with other cultures could not have any other result than the increase of the zone of expansion of Islam. The Qara-Qitays were very strongly stamped by the Chinese culture, to such an extent that they could not become Muslims ; however, even in the time of their domination, every submission of the Muslims to the unbelievers had for result the extension of the domain of Islam, however to a lesser degree than later, in the Mongol epoch."

Bartold's view on the Islamization of the Kipchaks.

It seems to us that the logical conclusion of all these assertions of Bartold on the attractive force of Islam among the Turks would be as follows : as a considerable proportion of the Khazars professed Islam it would gradually supplant among them all other religions after their submission to the Kipchaks. The conquest of the Khazar kingdom by the Kipchaks and the absorption by them later of the Khazars had for result the isolation of the region of the mouth of the Volga from all other

great religions (Christianity and Judaism) except Islam. Consequently, Islam found itself without competition of other great religions and in the future, during the following two centuries, had to deal with the pagan Kipchaks,⁵ partly Islamized through their previous contact with Khoresm. It goes without saying that the Kipchaks, under such circumstances, had to embrace Islam. History knows many examples of nomad peoples who after subjugating to their power more civilized settled peoples adopted the religion of these latter.

Bartold does not deny that Islam played a very important rôle among the Khazars. He only thinks that it did not become a dominant religion among them.⁶ Concerning the fate of Islam in this kingdom after its collapse, he ignored this question. Concerning the Islamization of the Kipchaks in general, one finds in his book contradictory assertions.

First of all he said that "a part of the Oghuzes (the Turkish people who preceded the Kipchaks in Eastern Europe) who lived on the lower course of the Volga embraced Islam during the 10th century".⁷ Moreover, he specified that the Turks, who at that epoch lived between Khoresm and the Volga, were also already converted to Islam, but that Islamization was still superficial as they kept a great number of their Shamanist customs.⁸ One must point out that there was nothing surprising in the superficial Islamization of these Kipchaks, as it is almost a general rule that the peoples, and especially the nomads, newly converted to a great religion, almost always, at the beginning, keep a great number of their pagan customs. For instance, as is well known, it was the case of certain Russian tribes as late as in the 13th century, and even later. But what is strange is that one finds on the same page of the above-quoted book of Bartold two explicitly contradictory assertions. On the one hand he says : "The immense region occupied by the Kipchaks was at that time outside the Islamic world, and in the Caucasus the Kipchaks took part in the 13th century in the attack directed against the Muslim countries". But some dozen lines below he says : "The Islamic sources tell in a clear manner that the Kipchaks and the Qangluis (another Turkish people, probably the cousins of the Kipchaks), adopted Islam in the 12th century owing to their association with Khoresm".⁹

In a previous part of the same book Bartold tells us : "There still were in the north-west of Asia an important number of the Turkish nomads who at that epoch, though not completely strange to Muslim civilization, were hostile to Islam as a religion. In the 11th century the Kipchaks ... succeeded in increasing considerably the field of their migrations ... touching the frontiers of Islam in the south, and became the neighbours of Khoresm".¹⁰

How could these contradictions be explained ?

It is an extremely unpleasant task to disagree with a scholar of Bartold's calibre, and I do not do so with a light heart. If I am finally taking the liberty of criticizing his views, it is because the assertions of a great scholar, especially if they are not supported by indisputable data (as is the case now), are of the nature to create a vicious circle : it directs others in a wrong direction or makes them neglect the study of little-known questions.

⁵ W. Bartold, *Historie des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Collection *Initiation à l'Islam*, Paris, 1945, pp. 57-59.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 102-103.

⁵ They were probably Shamanists.

⁶ Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁷ Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 56.

⁹ Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, pp. 88189.

In my opinion Bartold's attitude in question should be explained as follows. First of all it should be realized that he was primarily interested in the history of Central Asia, and as soon as he had to deal with a question which concerned the events to the west of the Volga, he was doing so *a contre coeur*, and did not pay all his attention to it. Secondly, concerning especially those of the Kipchak clans who occupied the territory of the ancient Khazar kingdom, it is necessary to distinguish between the settled and nomad elements of its population. Those among the Kipchaks who absorbed the Khazars and adopted the settled way of life gradually adopted Islam. The other Kipchak clans who remained nomad, remained pagans, or, at the best, adopted Islam only superficially.

One of the strongest arguments which is invoked against the eventual Islamization of the Kipchaks in question is the fact that the Russian chronicles do not mention it. In this respect we have to remember that Professor N. Barsov, author of the first-class work on *Historical Geography of Ancient Russia*, pointed out a long time ago that the Russian chronicles disliked utterly to speak about Islam and, very often, confused, in their animosity against the Muslim religion, the Muslims with the pagans.¹¹ On the other hand it is also true that those Kipchaks who were in contact with the Russians sometimes adopted the Orthodox religion. But it concerns the nomad Kipchaks, and to my knowledge the Russians were never in direct contact with the Kipchaks settled on the lower course of the Volga.

Fortunately, besides all this my thesis finds a confirmation in the book on the Golden Horde of another Russian historian, A. Yakubovsky. We reproduce here the following fragments of his book confirming our point of view:

"Their principal mass (i.e., of the Kipchaks) lived *a la nomade*; but the Kipchaks had already partly begun to transform themselves into agriculturists."¹²

"The Kipchaks . . . gathered the vast inheritance left by the preceding period. Along the shores of the Volga were strung the Khazar agglomerations leading a rural existence, and this mode of existence was little by little adopted by the conquerors. . . . But the rural population was gradually losing its language and even its own ethnical type. The Kipchaks who in the region of the lower Volga passed gradually to a settled and agricultural mode of life, imposed their language and their racial features on them."¹³

Furthermore, M. A. Yakubovsky specifies that the arrival of the Kipchaks did not stop at all the international trade between

the region of the lower Volga and the Muslim countries, trade which was flourishing before their arrival. And after this he confirms explicitly my thesis on the Islamization of the Kipchaks:

"At the same time together with the trade, Islam, coming from the East, penetrated little by little into the cities on the Volga.¹⁴ The Islamization of the cities on the Volga, especially of the important centres such as Bulgar and Itil (capital of the former Khazar kingdom), was the result of missionary work performed by the merchants and artisans . . .".¹⁵

Furthermore, the indirect confirmation of the thesis on the Islamization of the Kipchaks of the lower Volga is contained in that part of Bartold's book which deals with the Islamization of the Golden Horde, in which the main part of the population was composed of Kipchaks:

"Owing to the cultural preponderance of the Muslim world at that epoch, Islam was adopted even by the representatives of the peoples whose Christian traditions were more constant and more firmly acquired than those of the Kipchaks. While the Alains (Ossetes of to-day) were described by the authors as Christians, Ibn Batuta (famous Arab traveller) met at Saray (capital of the Golden Horde, which was situated on the lower course of the Volga), Alains who were Muslims".

Further, Bartold describes the adoption of Islam by Berke Khan, brother of Batu Khan (founder of the Golden Horde). Berke reigned from 1254-1266 C.E., and distinguished himself by his devotion to Islam. Bartold specifies:

"Not only the Khan himself, but even his wives and his *entourage*, were Muslims. Each of his wives and each of his Emirs had their own Imam and Muezzin. There were schools where the children were taught the Qur'ân".¹⁶

This result was achieved in 20 years after the conquest by the Mongols of the lower Volga. It could not have occurred if Islam had not flourished there before their arrival.

¹¹ N. Barsov, *Sketches on the Russian Historical Geography*. The geography of the primary (Nestor's) chronicle, 2nd edition, Warsaw, 1835, pp. 6-7.

¹² A. Yakubovsky, *La Horde d'Or*, Paris, 1939, p. 22.

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 24.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 24.

¹⁵ A. Yakubovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁶ V. Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

THE TRAGIC DRAMA OF MOROCCO¹⁾

By ABU MUHAMMAD

The happenings in Morocco do not grieve me.

Of the sad events which ended, theoretically, the Moroccan crisis, I am not overmuch or particularly grieved at the dissolution by the Sultan of Morocco of his Cabinet; for Cabinets may come and go, without thus necessarily affecting in any way the course of events.

Nor am I so grieved at the submission by the Sultan and the members of his Cabinet to the ruthless power, or at their avoidance of evil terror and serious disturbance, by yielding to the issue of decrees and orders which they had previously persisted in opposing and attacking in a manner that has amazed the whole world; for the defeat of right in face of might is a thing known since the beginning of time, and the annals of

history have for long been recording incidents of submission in this manner which were far more honourable and illustrious than the acts of victory recorded at the same time to the victorious and oppressive party.

Nor, at the same time, am I so grieved at the ill fate which the madly tyrannical authority holds in store for the members of the Istiqlal Party and for its faithful leaders and loyal supporters, for that party has been formed for the very purpose of struggling and striving, and has been nursed on self-sacrifice and martyrdom. Its members are men who have known the arduousness of the road and have proceeded on it with the definite knowledge of the trouble that lies ahead. They are men who have realised the hardships of struggle and entered its field unafraid and undaunted; they are also men who have known of the evils of traitors and the tyranny of those in power, and they have seen

¹ Courtesy, the Editor, *al-Basair*, Algiers, for 5th March, 1951.

the swords that were brandished above their heads and the traps that were laid right and left around them. And what has befallen them in the cause of God has never caused their determination to wane, and they remain unweakened and undaunted. God loves the patient, and these men have been marching on and calling : " Say, nothing will befall us except that which God has written for us."

They are truly manly, in the field, in prison, in exile, and in face of death.

The three things that distress me in this tragic drama.

What, however, grieves and distresses me beyond everything else in this violent tragedy — events which have taken place within our hearing and sight, and of which although we have learnt a great deal, we nevertheless remain ignorant of an equally great deal — is, in the main, three things.

It grieves me that the imperialist powers have stooped to this disgraceful depth in using methods for pressure and coercion, in a manner that would be rejected by any enlightened policy and shunned by standards that have any self-respect, as well as avoided by Governments that desire to face the world with a clean hand and an unblemished face.

I am also distressed to see that a certain group of men amongst the people of Morocco, whom we had trusted to be wise and patriotic, should be involved in a mean and villainous enterprise whereby they freely and voluntarily stretched their hand to the stubborn enemy to aid him against their brethren in distress, and whereby they chose, at the momentous hour and at the time of pressing danger and serious despair, to thrust the poisoned dagger in the back of their brethren in God and country and their fellow sufferers at the hands of imperialism, at a moment when their brethren were facing, single-handed, the power of the mighty enemy. The community of race, religion, etc., between these men and their brethren, has not weighed with them !

Thus, in one and the same week, and in one and the same battle, there will be recorded in the annals of history a page of shame and disgrace to one party and one of glory and pride to the other.

Lastly, it grieves me that the conscience of the world remains silent and passive towards this tragedy, and that it sinks into deep slumber whenever imperialism amasses the powers of might and oppression and brandishes the sword of terror and ruthlessness in order to vanquish people who have no weapon save the weapon of justice, and whose only strength is the power of their faith, and in order to subjugate such people to its will and force them to submit to its dictates. Had it not been for the voices that were raised in the East in the circles of the Arab League and in the World Muslim Conference at Karachi, Pakistan, and had it not been for the courageous pens that recorded in the columns of some of the Press of the Western and Eastern world, this cry of justice — an action that raised the torch of human decency higher, and became a credit to journalism, and enhanced the prestige of those honest writers — had it not been for all this, on whatever small a scale it was done, this violent drama would have ended without a single voice being raised about it and without a word being heard. The world must beware of great mischief if it loses its conscience.

The Sultan has emerged a great and dignified man, whereas the Istiqlal has come to be the hope of the Moroccans.

The Sultan of Morocco, despite his surrender to the overpowering ruthlessness of the imperialists and his coerced acceptance of what he had previously rejected, has emerged from this

crisis a truly great and dignified man. In fact, his grandeur and dignity was enhanced further by these events ! It is defending with fortitude the cause of justice, and striving loyally for the nation's rights and the country's future, in a manner that has become known to both enemy and friend and recognized by the higher as well as the lower sections of the community, that are the attributes of true heroism, honour and glory. That right is ultimately forced to submit to might and that fortitude bends after long and severe trials in face of the strong wave of tyranny and ruthlessness, means, strategically, that only one battle has been lost. Battles may be won and lost, without this necessarily affecting the final fate in a major war.

The Istiqlal Party, the combatant and militant party, should draw pride and glory from the fact that it dared to stand face to face against the might of the only imperialist power in the world, who combated it with all her material and moral resources, taking a firmer stand against it than it takes in handling one of its major national problems, and rallying in her favour against it the reactionary elements in the country ; that it brought into play against it the threat of intervention by the forces of the United States of America, who had recently settled in new strategic bases in the country and are therefore anxious to maintain a safer and stronger hold on these bases. This violent storm has passed, but the Istiqlal Party remains upright and alive, unaffected by this blow. It connotes the faith of the people, and that faith never dies. It embodies the hopes and aspirations of the nation, and the hopes and aspirations of the nation, despite its sufferings, are never disappointed.

Why France gets all the support from the United States of America.

The Moroccan crisis is not a sudden one, and is not the product of this day or hour. It is a chronic crisis, the roots of which go back a long way. If we are to assign any specific event as the starting-point of this crisis, then that event would be the meeting that took place in Casablanca between the Sultan of Morocco and Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, the late President of the United States of America, at which the two leaders reviewed the world situation during the war and the state in which the world would be after the victory of the Allied Powers. These deliberations ended, as Elliot Roosevelt, the son of that great President of the United States of America, records in his book *As He Saw It*, London, 1946.

Mr. Elliot Roosevelt states that his father spoke to him about the ideal aim, which was that the new world would be a free and unfettered world, where all the nations and peoples would enjoy freedom and independence, and that there would be no occupation or colonization, no oppression or aggression, and that the strong would not absorb the weak, and the weak would not submit and surrender to the strong. He also said that the merciful United Nations Organization would guard the interests of all, protect all, and stretch its hands to all.

Then when the war ended, the Sultan of Morocco, requesting the fulfilment of the promises, endeavoured to realize the cherished hopes of his people. But world policy had by that time undergone a drastic change, and military and strategic interests demanded that the French colonial régime should stay as a guardian of the North African stronghold, which, by virtue of its geographical position, is very suitable as a mighty centre point for the new crusade which is now ardently making preparations to stand in the face of the wave of Communism. And it was in this way that principles and ideals were sacrificed on the altar of preparation for war, and so it is that French imperialism has come to benefit from the revolt by the world's capitalist powers against the expansion of Communism. France has

become, geographically and strategically, one of the pillars of the Atlantic Pact, and its territory will be the one that can be utilized as a military base from behind the Rhine, and her army is the core of the European Army.

Thus France, despite her archaic ideas, her imperialist system and her decrepit traditions, became the petted darling of the capitalist powers who are standing in the face of Communism. Now what France says goes, and what she asks for is not refused. And when she shows symptoms of madness, she is nevertheless humoured and treated respectfully by all! It is in this way that France has come to possess a *carte blanche* in the countries under her occupation, and begun to exploit every opportunity in order to strengthen her colonial hold on the countries under her occupation. All this at a time when all the world powers have relinquished the last traces of imperialism!

Faced with this strong imperialist trend and with the desire made clear by the imperialist régime that it intends to stay in Morocco, opposition parties began to be formed in the country. Some of these parties were "extremist" — if one may use the term — and others were "moderate"; but all of these parties demanded the independence of the country and the termination of the "Protectorate" régime by France over Morocco. In addition to this, the Sultan took the brave attitude of requesting the revocation of the Treaty which was imposed on Morocco by the French in 1912, and the replacement of this treaty by a treaty of alliance and friendship which would give due regard to the interests of both parties, and would restore to Morocco its independence and international status.

Why the Sultan and the Istiqlal are in the same camp.

The two forces naturally became opposed to each other. Tension between the Sultan of Morocco and his people, and between him and the French authorities, began to assume greater magnitude. The French Resident-General in Morocco, who, according to the usual practice there, submitted decrees and orders for the Royal signature, now had these decrees and orders shelved by the Sultan, who refused to sign them. These, before long, had piled up high, and the patience of the French Resident-General towards this adamant attitude of the Sultan became exhausted. The Sultan had requested that, before anything was done about this state of affairs, some understanding must be reached regarding the replacement of the existing régime by a new contractual relationship; and he asserted that then, and not until then, would the decrees and orders be signed by him (in conformity with the new status).

The cold war continued on both sides, and the French Residency began to make preparations for launching its attack at the appointed hour. It also began organizing an army of supporters and followers from the ranks of the misguided and disgruntled factions in the country. Chief amongst these were the rulers of small communities in the country, who were dreaming of the return of the golden era of feudalism — which is still in existence in Morocco — under the aegis of the French Protectorate and maintained by the protection of the bayonets of occupation authorities. Other supporters of the French came from amongst the Shaikhs of religious rites, whose dark dreams have been banished by the light of the modern renaissance, and who had expected a Sultan to be an upholder of their religious falsehood and deceit and a defender of their idiotic power and detested fraud, but who were disappointed to find him prosecuting a determined campaign against such misguided practices and delusive falsehoods and against those who exploited the crass ignorance and credulity of some people as a means of amassing wealth and gaining fame. These men and their like were not happy to see a Sultan set the good example to his people and

lead his nation on the road to prosperity and transport her from the darkness to the light and to reform. Thus they instinctively rallied to the French authorities to seek their help and support them against the "common enemy" who has cried in their faces:

"Say, the truth has come and the falsehood has vanished; surely falsehood is a vanishing thing."

Some seekers of livelihood are not concerned except at gaining their daily pittance without work, even though their subsistence may be in unlawful profits, and they do not seek in this life except the satisfaction of lower appetites, and "though they may be eating fire in their bellies, and they are entering a fire".

All these elements have gathered together to form a front of support of the colonial authorities. The Istiqlal Party and the



His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco is receiving, at his Palace at Rabat, General Juin, formerly the French Resident-General, who is offering his best wishes to the Sultan on the 18th of November, the which date is the date of his accession to the Throne of Morocco

In the recent political crisis in which the Sultan measured his strength with that of the French Resident-General, the Sultan scored a decisive tactical victory. The whole world is now aware of the inequity of the problem of Muslim North Africa

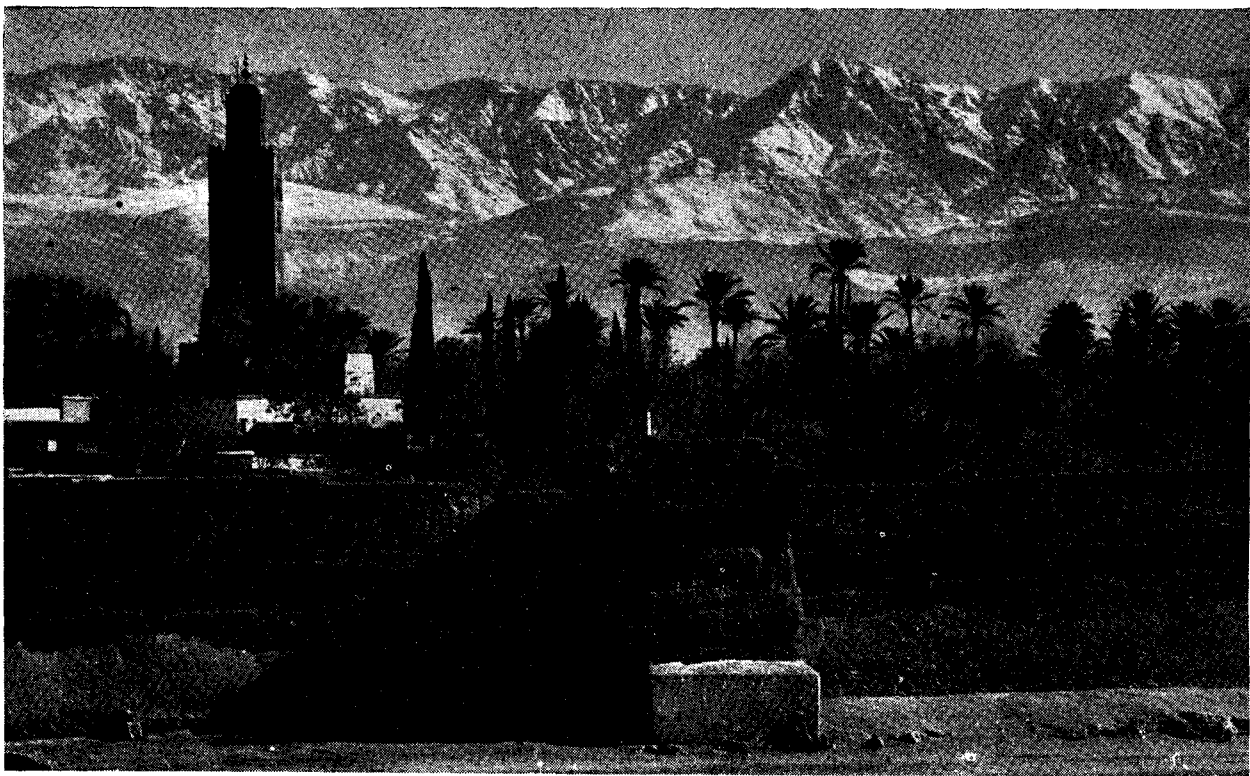
Palace found themselves by necessity in the same camp, that of opposition, resistance and honourable struggle, without the Sultan in any way having an influence over the Istiqlal Party, and without the Istiqlal Party having effect upon the Sultan, for it was simply the resistance front being united between the two great parties who marched side by side in the cause of God, nation and country, taking no heed of the wiles, manoeuvres and rancours of their enemies.

The crisis later developed and assumed serious proportions when the Sultan of Morocco accepted an invitation by the French Government to visit Paris; for there he laid before the French statesmen his only request for the annulment of the Treaty of Protectorate, entered into in 1912, and its substitution by a new treaty. The official reply of the French Government to this request was that this Treaty of Protectorate would remain and could not be changed, and that Morocco could embark on the era of "reforms" within the orbit of the elastic régime of the Protectorate, and that nothing would be achieved there except by the "presence" of the French. This "presence" of the French, which is a figment of the new French imagination, is nothing other than the old familiar French imperialism, without anything at all being changed in its significance or dimensions. The Sultan returned from Paris bringing with him bitter disappointment, and irrevocably determined to resist the struggle until the last. Political life at Rabat, the residence of the Sultan, became, since the day the consultations at Paris ceased, the scene of a continued series of crises, a constant strife, and a provocative strain.

The change of policy by the Dastour of Tunisia is a contributory factor to the Moroccan crisis.

Two political incidents that occurred during this period of crisis had a great influence on the course of events in Morocco and on the climax reached on Sunday, the 25th of February, 1951.

The first incident was the great political change that took place last year in Tunisia. It destroyed one of the greatest pillars of opposition to the French in Arab North Africa. The new Dastour Party of Tunisia, which is the most influential, the largest, the most active and highly organized, and the most widespread in the field of propaganda compared with the other political parties in that country, changed its rôle from that of opposition which demanded complete independence, to one of collaboration with the French régime, in accordance with the Pact of 27th Ramadhan, 1369 A.H. It accepted to participate in the Cabinet and to work within the terms of the Treaty of Protectorate. It became content, in actual practice, with joint sovereignty. It made its main ambition the obtaining of internal autonomy, and even that by degrees. After some farcical consultations, which were indeed nothing more than openly throwing dust in the eyes of the people, the anticipated measures of Tunisian "reform" were proclaimed. These were immediately recognized as nothing more than an ignominious imperialist farce. But, despite the insignificance of the benefits that accrued to the Tunisians from these "reforms" this measure resulted in a practical establishment and fortification of the French régime in Tunisia and represented a major gain for imperialism, and gave



The minaret of the Kutubiyya Mosque at Marrakesh, Morocco, once the capital of the Almohed dynasty, founded by 'Abd al-Mumin (1130-1163 C.E.)

The Kutubiyya Mosque, built by 'Abd al-Mumin, is regarded as one of the most beautiful works of art created by the Muslims of North Africa. The building of the minaret was completed in 1196 C.E.

In the background of the picture are the snow-clad Atlas mountains

deep and strong roots to the French "presence" in the country. The Dastour Party then proceeded to disseminate propaganda in favour of these imaginary reforms, and to acclaim them to the nation in spite of the fact that the Party itself had previously confessed of their insignificance. In defending these alleged reforms, the Dastour Party exhibited as much zeal and enthusiasm as they had previously exhibited in advocating the policy of complete independence. The men of the Dastour have attempted to persuade the nation by devious methods — which, at times, included a resort to slander, assault and violence — that these apparently minor changes constituted the first step towards the ideal of internal self-government, which is being attained stage by stage, with the help of France, through France, and in the "presence" of France.

This far-reaching victory which was achieved by French imperialist policy in Tunisia has caused the French attitude in Morocco to harden and become more determined and stubborn. It has also jeopardised the position of the Sultan of Morocco and his advisers as well as that of the Opposition Party which stood by him. The sad ending which terminated the Tunisian problem has now become a recognized imperialist method. In their imperialist view the plan which has succeeded in Tunisia must also succeed at Rabat, and the Sultan of Morocco must remain content with the imperialist "reforms" within the régime of French Protectorate (in the same way as has been accepted by the Bey of Tunisia) and what is more, these "reforms" to be passed by the Sultan under the responsibility of his Cabinet and in conformity with its directions, or else he would be made by force to take that course or be deposed. Further, the Istiqlal Party must also become a tool in the hands of the Government in the same way as the New Dastour Party in Tunisia, or else force would be employed to quash it and destroy its ranks.

The Tunisian tragedy — history would record this — was one of the greatest factors in the tragedy that befell Morocco; and before God and history, the opponents will meet to render their account.

The attitude of the United States of America is another contributory factor in the Moroccan crisis.

The second event was the military intervention by the United States of America in Morocco, and the reaching of an agreement between the American and French authorities to provide the United States of America with five of the major air bases in Morocco, which the United States of America would finance and build with the help of 20,000 of her soldiers. All this was done without the legitimate Moroccan authorities being invited to take part in this agreement and without their permission being sought at any moment. The French Government claims, and the United States of America agrees with her in this respect in principle and practice, that the Treaty of Protectorate entered into in 1912 has left for the Protecting Power the right to defend the Protected Power, and that she (France) is therefore free to take such measures as seem more appropriate to her in this respect. So you see why Tunisia and Morocco were not made members of the Atlantic Pact. For France, by means of the Treaties of Protectorates, can set in these countries, militarily and otherwise, in the way that a true owner may deal with his absolute property. The result of all this is that although these unfortunate countries will bear the full brunt, yet in no way will they profit from it.

The United States of America, which is primarily concerned with setting up her strategic bases peacefully, realizes that the French military authorities are in full command of the situation in North Africa. The United States of America considers the

national element as of no great significance in the present world situation. Besides, in view of the fact that France is very reassuring that she can mobilize as many of the Arabs of North Africa as she would choose to, without this feeling of nationalism and independence affecting the going of these men into battle when the signal for war is given.

The United States of America has given to the French Government a *carte blanche* as regards North African affairs. It has also given France to understand that it will follow a policy of neutrality in this controversy. We know what "neutrality" in a dispute means when one of the parties is powerful and armed and the other weak and without weapons.

France gathers together all the Moroccan reactionary elements to support her.

The treacherous activities of Galoui lifted the curtain on the last act in this drama, and heralded the decisive battle which was waged by French imperialism under the leadership of General Juin against the Palace and the Istiqlal Party.

A final warning was given to the Sultan; he must disown the Istiqlal Party and banish from his *entourage* and Cabinet all those connected with that Party; he must also sign the decrees of "reform" and other orders making official appointments, which he had been refusing to sign for a long time already; and he must publicly declare that reform was possible under the French régime of Protectorate and within its present orbit.

The threat became stronger, the area of siege was narrowed, but the Sultan stiffened his resistance. The Sultan indignantly refused to disown a group of men whom he regarded as honest, loyal and militant, and amongst the dearest of his subjects, and he also refused to sign the outstanding decrees or approve the official appointments proposed by the French Resident-General. The crisis reached its climax, and the French imperialists — both Government and political parties — demanded in a united voice that the Sultan of Morocco must bow or be removed from his throne. The main condition laid by the French as a prerequisite of a reconciliation was that the Sultan should disclaim the Istiqlal Party and condemn its political methods and systems.

Then terror and violence took over. The circle around the Istiqlal Party and its members and supporters began to narrow. Muhammad al-Hassan al-Wazzani, the leader of the Shura and Istiqlal Party, held a Press Conference at which he attacked the Istiqlal Party, condemned and deplored its activities and methods, and mocked its programme and methods of action, and finally described the Istiqlal Party as a reactionary and despotic party seeking to retard the progress of the nation.

French imperialism began to gather together its forces and to prepare its supporters. Active measures were taken in this respect, and some of the Moroccans — "old warriors" and their like" — were to be seen mounted on their horses and ready to carry out the orders of their commanders. Such forces were camped just outside the walls of the big towns so that they could easily spring upon these towns, in accordance with a pre-conceived plan. Officials in authority roamed the various parts of the country collecting from the ignorant and illiterate — by using their usual methods and devices — signatures to petitions disowning the Istiqlal Party and condemning the policy which is leading the country to ruin. The *Shaikhs* of the Islamic religious rites in the country, with some of the *Pashas* and Governors of the provinces, met and declared their satisfaction with the existing state of affairs and their anger — that is, the anger of their masters — at the policy being followed by the Sultan and the Istiqlal Party. All the people of Morocco realized

by then that the French authorities had completed their preparations for the great day, and that the French authorities had gathered enough strength — in terms of soldiers under arms and the mob — to enable them (the French) to attain their objectives and fulfil their programme.

The resistance by the Sultan to all this continued until the last hour.

How the crisis ended.

During this interval, and before the return from Paris of M. Besson, the accredited French Minister who sought the opinion of the French Government before embarking on the decisive operation—which entailed the provocation of a revolt to be followed by deposing the Sultan—the Sultan saw it fit to do an act which would have the effect of toning down the tension of the crisis and quietening the rage of the French Government. So he issued an order dissolving the Royal Cabinet and appointing its honourable members to high posts in various parts of the country, and ordering them to assume their new active duties within a week from that date.

This did not meet with any reaction in French imperialist circles. The dissolution of the Royal Cabinet and the dispersal of its members, including those who belonged to the Istiqlal Party or sympathised with it, was not, in the opinion of the French, enough; for it had not realized any of their hopes. The crisis continued despite all this, and the number of Berber and other "loyal" (to the French) horsemen began to increase in number around the big towns, and especially around Fez and Rabat, which struck panic and anxiety in the hearts of the inhabitants of those two towns.

M. Besson then returned with a message to the Sultan of Morocco from the President of the French Republic, in which he stated (*vide* Parisian newspaper *La Monde*) that though the French Government sympathised with the Sultan of Morocco and his family, it, nevertheless, considered that there could be no reform or change except under the aegis of the Protectorate and within the Treaty of 1912. The message further stated that the French Government had invested General Juin with complete authority to deal with the situation in Morocco in the manner he deemed fit.

Thus it was perceived by the Sultan and the members of his Government that the situation had deteriorated to its limit, and that the Sultan was faced with two, and only two, alternative choices. He might either choose to take the risk of a convulsion in the country, in which lives might be sacrificed and honour violated, and which might take away the cream of the nation's youth and ultimately result in shaking the foundations of the Throne, the exile of the Sultan, the murder and persecution of the members of the Istiqlal Party (who had already become in the towns and villages the target of every attack and exposed to every harm); or he might choose to submit to this ruthless power and bend politically in the face of this violent storm until it had quietened down, by agreeing to comply with the requests of the French Residency and asking for only minor amendments.

Opinions were agreed on the second course, however, harsh it seemed, for it doubtless was the lesser of the two evils and the lighter of the two catastrophes.

Under threats of terror, violence and coercion, the Sultan signed an agreement with General Juin to the effect that the Sultan would agree to the making of a political proclamation, and would agree to the promulgation of many of the decrees that

he had held up. But the Sultan was adamant in refusing to condemn the Istiqlal Party, or to disown its actions and methods.

This was followed by the Royal Proclamation, which urged the nation to work hard in an atmosphere of peace and understanding. The Proclamation also says that the advancement and progress which the country has undergone were factors which have, in the nature of things, given rise to some crises. The Proclamation goes on to state that France, whose ideals are "Freedom, Equality and Fraternity," will necessarily guide Morocco on the path of liberty and complete independence. A warning was given to the nation by this Proclamation to keep away from the principles of Communism which are contrary to the faith of Islam, and exhorting the people to adhere to the teachings and heritage of Islam and to proceed on its onward march under the banner of Islam and Peace.

The Prime Minister at the same time issued a *communiqué* in which he stated that the Ministers were at no time whatever subjected to political pressure or influenced by the creed of any political party. The Cabinet, he said, wished on this occasion to declare its disapproval of the methods used by a certain political party for the purpose of imposing its will on the people and forcing them to accept its doctrines, as well as its disapproval of such party's actions, which sought to jeopardise the smooth running of organizations that had proved their usefulness.

So at last there came an end to this acute crisis — a theoretical end, however. The French authorities issued their orders to the savage groups that had gathered around the towns, threatening disaster, to return to their mountains and swamps. But those who had been encouraged to nurse hopes of climbing into high positions of authority and power in Morocco through the triumph of imperialism were defeated and disappointed.

Coercion and persecution can never succeed.

We raise in front of the whole world the protest of all the people of Arab North Africa against the barbaric and savage methods employed by the representatives of the Fourth French Republic for the purpose of coercing a Sultan to agree to what is contrary to the dignity of his office, and in forcing him to sign an agreement which he considers to be against the interest of his people and which he regards as a measure that will retard the progress of his people. We declare to the Arab World and to the Islamic World and to all the freedom-loving nations of the world, that the Protocol which the Sultan of Morocco has perforce signed is nothing but null and void, and cannot be acted upon, in just the same way as everything that is signed under threat, coercion, menaces or great pressure.

We also declare here our great sympathy and brotherly solidarity with those gallant and innocent men who have been the victims of imperialist spite and vengeance.

Our wholehearted sympathy goes to men like al-Mahdi bin Baraka, the Secretary of the Committee of the Istiqlal Party, who has been taken into exile to a place in the southern mountains of Morocco, and to 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Jaleel, Muhammad al-Yazeedi, Ahmad Ghaazi, 'Abd al-Kareem bin Halloun, who have all been arrested by the French authorities but whose fate until this moment remains unknown.

The imperialists believe that they have won this battle and thereby achieved far-reaching victories. Imperialism, in fact, has lost, for it will know ere long that the energy and vehemence it sought to apply towards quashing the nationalist cause has, ironically enough, gone towards digging the very grave of imperialism, and towards accelerating its doom.

THE ISTIQLAL (Party of Moroccan Independence)¹⁾

By 'ALLAL al-FASI

What is Istiqlal?

Istiqlal not feudalistic.

You are no doubt aware that the Istiqlal is at present subjected to an exceptionally violent campaign emanating from certain backward circles. These, unfortunately, have at their disposal very powerful means of expression, both in France and in North Africa. Their aim is quite clear: to present the world, and in particular the generous French people, with a picture of our Party as abhorrent as the record of Attila and his hordes of Huns. The most despicable and ruthless repression would then be justified.

We are gagged, driven underground, deprived of all means of expression, condemned to silence, and some even interpret this silence as a disguise. We have asked you to-day in order to address you, because we have no other possibility of expressing ourselves concerning the situation, when the Sword of Damocles is suspended over the Moroccan nation. We fear that the little information one possesses concerning the Istiqlal and which may have seeped through in spite of colossal hostile pressure will be swamped by the enormous amount of calumnies and lies. That is why it is so necessary that I should to-day describe to you the true character of the Istiqlal.

Istiqlal is firstly a political movement, the inevitable outcome of the policy applied in our country. The *de jure* and *de facto* lack of public liberties in Morocco has driven the movement underground, and this is causing it grave prejudice and fostering confusion. The rules and Constitution of the Istiqlal are well known to the Administration and were inspired from the rules and Constitution of existing political organizations in other countries. The totalitarian label which we are sometimes given could therefore equally apply to parties such as the Socialist, Christian Democrat and Labour Parties.

Any healthy system of organization implies some measure of discipline and lack of anarchy — but is that totalitarianism? The function of our party — as of any party — is to educate its members and develop their sense of responsibilities, in other words to train them for public life. In addition, the Istiqlal is proud of having assumed tasks which are not generally undertaken by political parties. The Istiqlal supplies the personnel of the private schools and leads an unrelenting struggle against illiteracy over the whole territory of Morocco. Is our courageous militant comrade Medkouri an S.S.? — he who is the founder and director of several rural schools in the Casablanca district, he who, as you know, was recently condemned to two years' imprisonment and to a fine of 300,000 francs in flagrant violation of the rules of justice. It is quite true that the Istiqlal does grant subsidies — but not to foreign-inspired press organs; no, to needy pupils and students, because the Administration leaves them on the hands of the Istiqlal. Prompted by their Party, the Moroccan workers, who constitute the majority of the Istiqlal, are organizing themselves within the existing trade union centres and training their own representatives, in spite of the lack of trade union rights. Is this organization, whose aim it is to enable the workers to defend themselves against exploitation, a paramilitary organization? We may add — what is common knowledge — that the *elected* leaders of the Chambers of Commerce belong to the Istiqlal Party. We see, therefore, that the middle-class, the workers and the intelligentsia, are fighting side by side

within our Party, and it is no accidental occurrence that Glaoui, the Pasha of Marakesh, and his kind cannot find a place within our ranks. The recent position taken up by our Party proves that we have no links with feudalism, and certainly not with the type of feudalism that mocks the most elementary principles of Islam, which are the fundamental basis of our Party. As for Glaoui, it ill becomes him to pose as an inquisitor, for this is a function unknown to Islam, and should it exist in this democratic and tolerant religion, Glaoui himself would be its first victim.

The alleged collusion with the Communists.

We are also being accused of collusion with the Communists. You know, however, that we have refused the offers of united action which the so-called Moroccan Communist Party has repeatedly made. Indeed, this party has found in us an adversary bent upon annihilating its influence. You will recall that in 1946, the Communist Party, using the facilities available to them (legal existence, newspapers, headquarters, and the useful tool they found in the C.G.T. (the Communist-dominated French Trade Union Centre)), had influenced a good number of the peasants in the region of Tadla. It was thanks to our Tadla branch that this influence was counteracted. The same thing occurred in the Agadir and Midelt districts. We never did have recourse there — as the Administration asserts — to coercive measures, for these good people rallied around us without any disturbance. It would be no exaggeration to state that it is thanks to us and to the Islamic principles which are our guide that Communism has not taken root in Morocco. If, nevertheless, attempts are being made to introduce Communism into Morocco, the Administration is solely responsible.

The influence of the Istiqlal Party.

The above-mentioned facts also enable us to give the lie to those who declare that we have no influence among the peasants; it is precisely this influence which Glaoui was out to fight, when he persecuted the Sektana and Mesfioua tribes. It is moreover characteristic that at present the blows of repression fall more upon the countryside than upon the towns (El Bordj, Beni Mellal, Figuig, Mdakra, Oued Zem, Ksiba, Camp Boulhaut).

To be consistent with its own allegations, the Administration should have spared the countryside and the so-called Berber regions from its repressive measures. In this connection, and in view of the fact that the Administration is now reviving the old Berber *bloc* policy which had been one of the main factors in the development of the National Movement, I will only recall the following fact: on the very morrow of the foundation of the Istiqlal, the youth in the Atlas region openly professed their support for the Istiqlal, in spite of the propaganda they had been fed on in the Azrou College, that stronghold of Berberism. The Administration will be unable to oppose a denial to my assertion that those Istiqlal sections which are giving them most trouble are precisely situated in the Atlas.

The Istiqlal is not Anti-French.

In an interview which he granted the special reporter from the French daily, *Le Parisien Libéré*, General Juin described us as an anti-French Nationalist Party. I protest with all my might against this assertion. Our friends have quite clearly defined the spirit of the Party at the last meeting of the Government Council²⁾ when they dissociated France, "as a country and a people," from any given system of administration. If General Juin really believes, as he said, that these are one and the same

¹⁾ Being the text of an *exposé* at a Press Conference at Tangier, Morocco, on February 23, 1951.

²⁾ Consultative Assembly.



*The leader of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco, Mr. 'Allal al-Fasi
Like so many other Moroccan political leaders, 'Allal al-Fasi
lives in exile in Tangier, Morocco*

thing, he alone assumes responsibility for such a statement. We, on the other hand, do not commit this mistake and we loudly proclaim it. Our Movement, following the example set by our beloved Sovereign, has proved it when France was living through a most difficult period of her history. It really is a scandal that we should be denounced as anti-French by those very persons who betrayed the French people³ and who are to-day exploiting their generosity and leniency and trying to incite them against a friendly people by means of calumnies and lies. In fact, we always have maintained direct contact with the French people, thanks to the existence of an important Moroccan colony in France. To counteract the beneficial influence of our representatives in France who are fostering friendly contacts and understanding, it has been alleged that the Istiqlal is two-faced: human and democratic in France, but monstrous and anti-democratic in Morocco. On behalf of the Istiqlal Party I declare myself entirely in agreement with my friends in France. Moreover, the democratic character of our Party is clearly shown by its structure and programme. All the Party organizations, from the bottom to the top, are democratically constituted. If we are unable at present to convene a real national Congress of our Party, the reason is quite simple: public meetings and even private meetings are strictly forbidden (we need only recall the recent arrest of eight guests in Mazagan).

The Istiqlal Programme.

Let us now consider our programme. The Istiqlal is in favour of the establishment of a political democracy. The Istiqlal advocates a régime of constitutional monarchy with a Government responsible to an elected Parliament. The Istiqlal advocates a social and economic democracy guaranteeing the

liberties and social rights contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. In the economic field, the Istiqlal is in favour of a régime which will ensure the rational utilization of our resources and encourage the necessary private initiative for the development of the country. When the time has come, such a régime would seek inspiration from the nationalizations achieved by the great democratic powers, such as France, Great Britain and the United States.

What then are our present demands? They are summed up in the very name of our Party, *Istiqlal* (Independence), for which we are labelled as extremists and Utopians. I will now attempt to define somewhat more accurately the contents of this word "Independence". From 1934 to 1944, the National Movement confined itself to demanding the application of the Protectorate Treaty. You can see the results for yourselves. On the eve of the 39th anniversary of this Treaty, the Moroccans are still being denied the most elementary rights and liberties. Worse still, His Majesty the Sultan and Mr. Robert Schuman, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, are themselves being subjected to censorship in Morocco. The country is completely lacking in members of the professional classes: 12 medical practitioners, some 20 solicitors and barristers, 120 students. The first 11 elected candidates who began to initiate themselves to public affairs were brutally set aside. General Juin, the representative of France, has recently demanded the abolition of the Sultan's Cabinet, which had only been in existence for a few months. In any case, the Protectorate régime is no more than a juridical fiction. All observers and enquirers, whether French or foreign, have recognized that we are submitted to a system of pure and simple direct administration. I will not here reiterate the evidence of the failure of this régime. The proof has been made many times and been accepted by all well-informed circles. We, therefore, demand the renewal of the contract binding us to France, on new foundations, which would ensure the development of Morocco with the aid of France. This should be sufficient proof of our good faith. Is there any extremism in our desire to reorganize the basis of our collaboration with France? We are reproached for being negative. The truth is that there is a general refusal to undertake anything whatsoever together with us. We do not recoil from any form of alliance: the initiative belongs to France. By the very nature of things, she should make the first step. But instead of trying to understand us, some are having recourse to the vilest manoeuvres and seeking to obtain our condemnation by violent means. Instead of being listened to, we are being met by brutal force. We do not refuse to seek together the forms of a sincere and efficient collaboration. We are being told that our claim of belonging to the Arab community is incompatible with collaboration with France. We do not believe that France is hostile to the Arab peoples. On the contrary, France is proud of being the Muslim and Arab power *per se*, and if Franco-Arab relations are at present somewhat strained, the reason lies precisely in the Moroccan and North African tension. You cannot fail to see the beneficial consequences which would result from a solution of the North African problem. A settlement would completely modify the position in the Mediterranean in favour of France. France would then once again assume the rôle of a great power, strengthened by the union, the alliance and the friendship of the Arab and Muslim peoples.

The Moroccan people, rallied around their beloved Sovereign, are holding out their hands to France. We are convinced that by his wisdom and firmness His Majesty will triumph over all intrigues and provocations. We are convinced that democratic France will no longer tolerate the undermining of the very foundations of Franco-Moroccan friendship.

³ This is a reference to the Frenchmen who collaborated with the Nazis and have come to settle down in Morocco.

THE POLICY OF THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE IN MOROCCO SHOWN IN FIGURES

(French Authorities' Budget for Morocco in 1951)

Population.—The Moroccan population is 8,500,000, of which more than 75% is found in rural areas. The French and European population was 305,000 in 1946 and has been systematically increased to 410,000 in 1950.

I. INCOME

1. *Direct Taxes*: 80,105,000,000 francs = 21.2%.
Principal Tax: Tertib (agricultural tax) 2/5 of direct taxes.
Moroccan Taxpayers: 3,236,685,188 francs: average per 2 acres 419 francs.
European Taxpayers: 372,519,610 francs: average per 2 acres 332 francs.
2. *Indirect Taxes*: 21,970,000,000 francs = 58%.
These are applied especially to imported consumer goods. 99% of agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises belong to foreigners who pay hardly any taxes; this explains the influx of foreign capital in Morocco.
3. *State Produce and Exploitations*: 78,046,000,000 francs = 20.7%

II. EXPENDITURE

- (a) *Ordinary Budget*:
 1. National Debt 3,934,797,000 = 10.4%
 2. Administrative expenses:
 - Personnel and equipment 19,349,860,000 = 51.2%
 - Upkeep 2,399,343,000 = 21.9%
 3. Expenses on new undertakings 3,550,000,000 = 9.4%
- (b) *Public Works Budget*:
 1. Administrative Expenses 1,328,800,000
 2. Economy 18,666,400,000
 3. Social Services 6,176,000,000
 4. Other expenses 29,000,000

(80.2% of the ordinary Budget is spent on the various administrative services.)

Administrative Personnel:

1938: 19,145.

1950: 41,450 (105% more).

Police: Out of the 41,450 public servants, 14,219 are in the police force, representing 14% of the Budget. Another 43.8% of the Budget is spent on security measures and 390,290,000 francs on police cars.

Education: Children attending elementary schools:

Moroccans: 99,707 = 7%.

Europeans: 59,645 = 100%.

Budget allocated to education: 4,719,022,000 francs = 12.6% (6% allocated to Europeans and 6% to Moroccans). Therefore, one European child costs the Budget 32,000 francs, and one Moroccan child costs the Budget 16,000 francs.

Scholarships are allocated as follows:

Europeans: 299

Moroccans: 106

Public Health: 5.9% of the Budget since 1947.

There are 200 doctors (1 per 45,000 inhabitants in the towns; 1 per 120,000 in the rural districts).

Compulsory Labour: For 1949, 1,790,000 days labour were done for every 447,513 Moroccans.

Housing: In 1950, more than half-a-million workers lived in "Shanty-Towns".

Impoverishment of the Fellahs:

Land under cultivation by the Moroccans:

1938: 4,645,000 Ha.

1948: 3,950,000 Ha.

(1 Ha = two acres)

THE WORLD MUSLIM CONFERENCE AND MOROCCO

The Executive Committee of the *Mo'tamar-e-'Alam-e-Islami* (The World Muslim Conference), Karachi, Pakistan, held an emergency meeting on the 8th of March, 1951, under the Presidentship of Professor A. B. A. Haleem, President of the Conference, to consider the Moroccan situation, and came to the following decisions:

- (1) While vehemently condemning the continuous tyranny and ruthless suppression of the popular will in Morocco, the World Muslim Conference sends its greetings and good wishes to the *mujahidin* (fighters) of Morocco and pledges its whole-hearted support in their struggle for emancipation from French domination. The Conference demands of all the Muslim Governments to stand united by Morocco and give the brave Moroccans all possible assistance in their Liberation Movement against French imperialism. It also appeals to all justice-loving nations of the world to use their good offices to assure justice and fair play to these brave fighters for freedom. It further appeals to the United Nations in the name of its own Charter to intervene in the matter without any further delay.

The Conference strongly feels that France has no justification for her domination over Morocco and

should withdraw from there forthwith. The Conference demands that, in case she fails to do so, the Muslim countries should apply economic sanctions against her by refusing to grant the facilities now enjoyed by Air France, other French shipping companies, etc., and stop all trade dealings with her. It further demands of the French Government to lift the ban now imposed on Press representatives in Morocco and to provide necessary facilities to the Conference Observers to visit various places in the country. In this connection the Conference appoints the Shaikh Sa'id Ramadhan' and Mr. Ikramullah (formerly a Minister of the Hyderabad Government) as Observers.

- (2) The Conference appoints a seven-man Committee called the "Mo'tamar's Morocco Committee" for day to day work till the Moroccan issue is settled to the satisfaction of the Muslim World. The Committee shall consist of Professor A. B. A. Haleem (President), H.E. Dr. 'Abdul Wahhab 'Azzam Bey, H.E. 'Umar Baha al-'Amiri, Maulana Syed Suleiman Nadvi, the Honourable Maulavi Tamizuddin Khan, Mr. Ikramullah, and Mr. In'amullah Khan (Secretary).

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

MUSLIM COUNCIL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

In January the Council held its first statutory quarterly meeting for 1951 at Cardiff, in South Wales. Representatives of the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, N.W.8, the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, and the Muslim Society in Great Britain were present as well as representatives of the 3,000 strong Muslim community in Cardiff, who were the hosts.

In accordance with the constitution, the officers were elected for the year, Dr. 'Ali Abdel Kader and Mr. Isma'il de Yorke remaining Chairman and Secretary respectively, while Mr. Tualla Muhammad of Cardiff became the new Treasurer. Among other business discussed was the plan for holding a series of lectures on Islamic subjects during the Festival of Britain.

Anyone who desires to take up any matter of general interest to the Muslim community in the British Isles should write to the Secretary, Muslim Council of the United Kingdom, Regent's Lodge, Park Road, London, N.W.8.

THE MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN

During January and February two important "At Homes" were held under the auspices of the Muslim Society in Great Britain at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

Dr. and Mrs. Shakir Muhamadi "At Home".

At the first function Dr. and Mrs. Shakir Muhamadi were hosts, and the speaker was Mrs. Sarah al-Midfa'i, a young Iraqi lady. The speaker spoke on the subject of "Muslim Women in the Middle East To-day," and outlined their needs and the steps being taken to meet them, particularly with regard to education. Mrs. Muhamadi, who took the Chair, in her closing remarks said that as infants owed their first knowledge to their mothers, it was most important that women should be well educated so that they might impart the right kind of knowledge and thought to the young mind.

Mr. and Mrs. 'Abbas Nadir "At Home".

At the second function the hosts were Mr. and Mrs. 'Abbas Nadir, and the speaker was Commodore H. M. Siddiq Choudry, of the Royal Pakistan Navy. Commodore Choudry's talk was entitled "The Ideology of Islam". The speaker emphasized that it was most essential that Muslims should understand fully what was their ideology. He said that provided an idea or a course of conduct was in accordance with an attribute or attributes of God as revealed in the Qur'an, we could be sure that we were thinking or acting in accordance with Muslim ideology. It was only by understanding and acting upon such an ideology that Muslims could weld their brotherhood into what it should be and thereby regain some of the impetus of the early Muslims.

The President, Mr. Isma'il de Yorke, closed the meeting with an appeal to Muslims everywhere, and particularly in England, to unite in brotherhood for the cause of Islam.

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING

The engagements of the Imam.

If, on the one hand, the Woking Muslim Mission and the Shah Jehan Mosque cater for the moral and spiritual needs of the Muslims, they also, within their limitations, look after the social, educational, cultural and sometimes even commercial requirements of the Muslim world. Many a time people from abroad seek help and guidance in their educational and commercial affairs and ask the Imam for his direction and advice in these matters. Not a week passes when letters referring to such affairs are not received by the Imam. He is very often asked to attend to the welfare, educational progress and other needs of

many a young Muslim residing in the United Kingdom, and even in some cases is asked to act as their guardian.

Fridays and Sundays, in particular, keep the Imam busily engaged with the visits of dozens of people who come to the Mosque for prayers and visits. Very often the Imam entertains them to lunch and afternoon tea. During the period under review the following friends came to visit the world-famous Mosque at Woking:

Major Aftab 'Ali, of the Staff College, Camberley, Surrey, England;

Major A. Latif, of the R.A.S.C. School, Aldershot, England;
Mr. Muhammad Ansari, who is on a visit to England from Karachi, Pakistan;

Mr. Hassan Sedick Chinoy, Hongkong;

Mrs. Gadya Cassim Adam, British Guiana;

Dr. S. R. Hassan, Lahore, Pakistan;

Commodore and Mrs. H. M. Siddiq Choudry, of the Royal Pakistan Navy;

Major Khalaf Janabi and Lieut.-Colonel Ahmed Salih al-'Abdi, of the Iraqi Army, Baghdad, Iraq;

Lieut.-Colonel Wisal Muhammad Khan, of G.H.Q., Rawalpindi, Pakistan;

Mr. 'Abdul Hameed, Principal Designate of Lawrence College, Ghoragali, Pakistan;

Miss Tahira Ellen Post, Amsterdam, Holland;

Mr. 'Irfan Cerrahoglu, Mr. Riza Celesi, and Mr. 'Imadettin Karacal, of Galata, Istanbul, Turkey; and,

Mr. Adamu Gadu, Mr. Saidu Kawu, and Mr. 'Usman 'Isah, from Nigeria, who are at present staying in Leicester, England.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Rabbani Khan.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Rabbani Khan is mainly entrusted with the out-of-doors duties, such as visiting the sick in the hospitals, conducting funeral prayers, delivering lectures, especially to Pakistani Air Force Trainees at Halton and Cranwell R.A.F. Camps, which is a very strenuous task, because it entails a good bit of travelling. During the Easter recess Khan Bahadur Ghulam Rabbani Khan went out to Spain for a short but well-earned rest, which he used in seeing the Moorish remains there.

Mr. 'Abdul Majid, the Editor of *The Islamic Review*, addressed a gathering of young people at Toynbee Hall, London, E.1, on 5th March, 1951. This lecture was in the series on "World Religions". It received many expressions of thanks and appreciation for the valuable contribution it made towards the contemporary world-thought.

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, visited the R.A.F. Camp at Cranwell before the Easter recess and delivered lectures and conducted the Friday prayers. Taking advantage of his visit to the Camp, he also met the British officers of the Camp.

The Caravan Club.

On Easter Monday a party consisting of about thirty, organized by the Caravan Club of Great Britain and Ireland, came to visit the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. The Imam explained to the members of the party the part the Mosque played in the life of Muslims in general. He related the history of the Shah Jehan Mosque and delivered a short lecture on the salient features of Islam, which was followed by questions and answers. The members of the Club were very pleased to have had the opportunity of visiting the Mosque during their Easter Rally in Woking, and thanked the Imam heartily for all his help and trouble.

New members of the Universal Brotherhood of Islam.

The universal brotherhood of Islam gladly welcomes the following new members :

- Mr. Theodore Jacques Barnard Kessler, of Der Haag, Holland ;
Mr. Malvin Sherman-Phelps, of Camden, New Jersey, U.S.A. ;
Mr. John Arnold, of Barton Stacey, England ;
Mrs. Ann Mary Philomena Jones, of Lon-y-Glyder, Bangor, Wales ; and,
Mrs. Zulaikha Matilda Field, of Birmingham 7, England.

Irreverence of European journals to Islam.

The Woking Muslim Mission combats the malicious and injurious propaganda which unfortunately is still going on in Europe against Islam. Recently an article appeared in *Everybody's Weekly*, London, under the heading of "The Donkey Who Believed in Allah", the very title of which is enough to prove its undesirability. The Imam wrote the following letter to the editor of this weekly :

The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking.
27th March, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Your letter dated the 14th of March, 1951, addressed to Mr. Ghulam Dastgir, of Birmingham, being your reply to his letter of the 10th of March, has been brought to my notice.

I also read "The Donkey Who Believed in Allah" in the issue for *Everybody's Weekly* dated the 17th of February, 1951, and, as a matter of fact, thought of writing to you as well. But being informed that Mr. Dastgir had already written you, I did

not want to duplicate the correspondence, and awaited your reaction to his note.

I am now very much surprised to read your reply to his letter, where you take the view that by publishing this story you had not the intention to offend anyone's religious susceptibilities. I am sorry to state that your view is quite incorrect, and does not redress the harm and injury your story caused to the feelings of Muslims all over the world.

You have ridiculed the religion of Islam and its great Prophet Muhammad by publishing this story.

There would have been no objection to the imagination of your writer if he had not brought in the fair name of Islam, God, and the Prophet Muhammad. I also wonder if such a fairy tale, even if it was the fantasy of an unbiased mind, had been published by you referring to the name of the Prophet Jesus or Moses or their religion, and would have passed unnoticed by your Christian or Jewish readers.

If the author of your story wanted to give expression to his fertile imagination, why did he not do so with his own religion or anything else sacred to him? We assure you we personally would not for one moment entertain such an idea. To us all religions are sacred.

Your story has undoubtedly increased the hate and disunity of this already disrupted and torn world, instead — and I think this would have been a worthier object — of attempting to create harmony and goodwill.

Will it be too much if I request you in all fairness to take note of this protest in the next issue of your weekly.

Expecting an early reply,

Yours truly,

S. M. 'ABDULLAH (Imam).

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ARABS IN HISTORY, by Bernard Lewis, Hutchinson's University Library, Hutchinson House, London, 1950. Price 7/6, pp. 178, and 18 pages of chronological table and a bibliography.

The book strikes me as a collection of personal notes on Islamic civilization, Arabic history and literature. Hence the title is somewhat inappropriate; perhaps *Notes on Arabic History and Literature* would have been more suitable. At any rate, the book contains a good deal of original matter which makes it rather interesting. The literary presentation, as may be expected from a linguist historian like Professor Lewis, is good, but he tends to use too many superlatives; see, for example, page 136: "Ibn Khaldun, the greatest historian of the Arabs"¹; and page 137: "...and greatest of all, al-Biruni," etc.

The historical facts presented by the author are on the whole sound, but I beg to differ with him on the following points:

(1) The author says on p. 40: "We shall see that as soon as the Arabs had attained unity through the agency of Muhammad they attacked and eliminated the Jews." I think the author himself agrees with me that the word *eliminated* is too strong here. The Arabs did not eliminate the Jews. They fought against them as soon as the Jews took sides with the Quraish, the then enemies of Islam; otherwise Muhammad treated them quite fairly: he even married one of them. His wife Safiyyah was a Jewess.

(2) Further on the author says (p. 48): "Muhammad had

aroused and redirected the latent forces of an Arab national revival and expansion."

Muhammad never thought in terms of 19th century nationalist and expansionist views. His sole aim was the spread of Islam, not by the sword but by persuasion. Professor Lewis knows quite well that even Umar, the master builder of the Muslim Empire, never thought of expansionism. He forbade the conquest of Persia, and was quite reluctant about the conquest of Egypt. He gave his consent to it half-heartedly.

(3) Professor Lewis makes a mistake when he attributes the distinction of *Arab* (townsfolk), and *Arāb* (Bedouins) to the time of the conquest (p. 13). This distinction is clear in the Qur'an: "*al-Arabu ashaddu Kufran wa Nifaqan*" (The Bedouins are more blasphemous and hypocritical).

(4) There is a certain amount of contradiction in the author's claim that the *Dhimmi*s (or non-Muslim subjects of the Caliph) were second-class citizens, while at the same time he asserts that "they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, normal property rights, and were very frequently employed in the service of the State, often in the highest offices. They were admitted to the craft guilds, in some of which they actually predominated. They were never called upon to suffer martyrdom or exile for their beliefs" (p. 94).

(5) The non-Arabs were admitted into the Muslim community, after embracing the faith, as full citizens. This started from the time of the Prophet and not at a much later period as the author wishes to say when he asserts that "the theoretical superiority of the Arabs was maintained and led to the emergence of the *Shu'ubiyya* movement. . . . From this time onwards the Arabs ceased to be a closed hereditary caste and became a people,

¹ Ibn Khaldun cannot be regarded a greater historian than Ya'qubi, Tabari and Mas'udi. He was more in the line of the philosophy of history than history proper. As a matter of fact his book of history does not live up to the principles mentioned in the *Prolegomena*.

ready to accept, by a sort of naturalisation, any Muslim speaking Arabic as one of themselves" (p. 93). Does Professor Lewis forget people like Salman al-Farisi, who were considered as full members of the Muslim community at the time of the Prophet?

One of the main shortcomings of the book is its utter vagueness at times. Now on page 86, for instance, the author says: "A medieval encyclopaedia divides industry and crafts into two groups..." This is not enough; he should have mentioned the title of the work and the full name of the author. There are many people, I for one, who wish to check this point and do some research on it, but this is not possible without references.

It is a great pity that the present work is completely lacking in footnotes and references. In other words, it is non-academic. Perhaps the author wrote it as a popular work for those who hate any book that is documented. Yet whatever its shortcomings, the book provides interesting and useful reading.

WELLS OF POWER (The Challenge to Islam: A Study in Contrasts), by Olaf Caroe. Macmillan & Co., London, 1951. 231 pp. Price 15/-.

The oil-bearing States of the Middle East, all of which border on the Persian Gulf, are daily growing in importance and wealth, and they are the subject of Sir Olaf Caroe's new book, *Wells of Power*. This work is without doubt a useful addition to the all too few authoritative books on the subject of Middle East oil, and its implications to the Great Powers. A Muslim reader, seeing the sub-title of "The Challenge to Islam," and the author's observations:

"As the pace quickens, the whole region from Pakistan westwards throbs with the pulses of nationalism; and States, some new, some old, all instinct with new life, are striving in divers manners towards self-realization. The old body of Islamic thought and culture is open to two opposed influences, that of Western civilization and that of Communism. Whatever the result, it is certain that some synthesis must be achieved. The great question may be whether, in seeking this adjustment, Islam is a living force strong enough to maintain some essence of its old traditions, or is destined to go down, as temporarily it seems to have gone down along the Islamic periphery of Soviet Russia," might be disappointed to find that a relatively small part of the book is devoted to the impact of oil upon Islam. In fact, the greater part of the book deals with the oil industry's importance in the world of to-day.

The question of the results and importance of oil both to the countries in which it is found and to the Western Powers, the defence of the area and possible developments there, are all discussed in the book, which is divided into four parts, a description of the recent history and politics of the oil-bearing countries, the development of the oil industry and its manifold results, a discussion of the importance and significance to the area of the new States of Pakistan, India and Israel, and a summing up of the strategic importance of the area to the Western Powers and suggestions for its defence.

The book commences with an historical sketch of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, a *résumé* of the political state of affairs in the Gulf, where Britain has up to now played the predominant rôle, through the medium of India. On this subject Sir Olaf's long and important connection with India has left its imprint upon his writing, but while it is apparent that he deeply regrets the passing of British rule in India, he seems to believe in the great part that Pakistan, as a Muslim State, could and should play in the future of the Arab world and as leader of the Muslim States of the Middle East:

"There is yet another grouping, new and rather breathtaking, inspired by Pakistan. Relying on the natural bonds of Islam, Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan, Pakistan's Prime Minister, proclaimed a community of feeling and interest with the

States of the Middle East such as made formal undertakings unnecessary."

Another aspect of the author's feeling about India is demonstrated by his regret about the gap left by the disappearance of the Indian Political Service, which used to represent Britain in the Persian Gulf Shaikhdoms, and he appears doubtful whether a suitable replacement for this Service will be found. While doing justice to Islam, and appreciating its natural democracy and binding force, it could be claimed that the author has over-emphasized the desert aspect of Islam, but this is a religious and not a political subject, with which this book is not really concerned.

The second part is on the subject of oil, its development from the granting of the first oil concession in Persia in 1901 to the activities of various oil companies to-day in Persia, Iraq, Sa'udi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. The usual particulars of concessions, production and royalties are detailed, but not something which it would be interesting to see, the amount of distributed profit made by the various oil companies. This section also includes the results of American past and present interests in the Middle East, not only commercial but also educational and political, and their effects upon local conditions. Sir Olaf Caroe makes an interesting suggestion when he says that the spirit of the Muslim doctrine of *ijma'* (the consensus of opinion) might be transferred to the formation of trade unions among the workers in the oil companies in Arabia:

"Something of this spirit may be transferred to the ranks of organized labour employed in field and refinery."

A special section is devoted to the new States of Pakistan, India and Israel and their strategic and political importance to the Middle East countries; Sir Olaf Caroe considers that the Middle East is naturally one unit with the sub-continent of India, and that although the partition of the sub-continent into Pakistan and India weakened its strength, this could be built up again by co-operation between Pakistan, India and the Middle East States, to form a defensive South-West Asian bloc.

He further develops this theme in the fourth part, which in effect ignores the countries as independent units and considers them in the light of their strategic importance, both by reason of their oil deposits and of their position astride the great East-West air routes, and in this context Sir Olaf makes a striking suggestion when he says:

"It would no doubt be considered how far the oil companies could be expected to contribute a portion of their profits (as distinct from royalties) to be controlled by a Defence Council, on which the companies themselves, as well as the regional and external Governments, would be represented."

The author had classed Turkey as a dictatorship, when, although this may formerly have been true, the recent elections have proved that Turkey is now a true democracy.

The object of the book can, I think, be summed up in the words of the author:

"Yet the old needs stand, a zone to the North-West for defence in depth of the vast populations of Southern Asia against aggression; the safeguarding of the sources of fuel on which these populations equally with the Western world depend; the maintenance of essential links of air transit to the West; peace in an area where there can be natural economic expansion and (even more important) an expansion of idea."

This is a book about controversial subjects, power politics and the necessity of Western interference in the Middle East, and should be read by anyone interested in the Middle Eastern States and their future development as affected by the activities in them of the oil companies and their important position between East and West.

YOUNG PAKISTAN, by Rafiq M. Khan and Herbert S. Stark. Oxford University Press, London, 1951, 237 pages with illustrations and maps. Price 5/- (Rs. 2/8 in Pakistan).

For the first time since its creation, Pakistan is now given a comprehensive book about itself and written mainly for the younger generation to enable them to obtain a full understanding of their great heritage.

Entitled *Young Pakistan*, with a foreword by 'Allama 'Abdulla Yusuf 'Ali, this book is the work of two Honours graduates well qualified for so important an undertaking. Mr. Rafiq M. Khan is an officer of the Information Department of the Pakistan High Commission in London, while Mr. Herbert S. Stark is an experienced teacher and journalist.

The joint authors have obviously kept three important principles in mind. In the first place, they have aimed at inspiring true patriotism in readers, whether young or old. Secondly, they have recognized that the humblest person can serve Pakistan to

his or her full capacity only if equipped with exact knowledge and understanding of the country's resources, problems and ways of living. Thirdly, the writers have avoided cramming the book with dry facts but have preferred to cultivate in their readers the art of thinking and reasoning.

Every aspect of Pakistan's existence has been thus handled — the country's great history and culture, its defence, its rich resources, its agriculture and industrial problems; education, health, sanitation, the public services and the valuable contribution made by women to the national well-being; Pakistan's place in the Commonwealth and in the United Nations Organization. Of greatest value is the lucid explanation they have given about the working of a democracy in Pakistan. No secondary school, no Army class, and no adult institution can claim to be training its peoples to become useful citizens without the help of such a book. We welcome *Young Pakistan* as a work of the highest national value and an inspiration to all Islamic lands.

THE MODERN MEDICAL VIEW ON THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL AND THE HOLY QUR'AN

The following excerpt taken from the leading article, "A Toast to Bacchus," in the *British Medical Journal* for December 23, 1950, page 1428, is of great interest to the students of the Holy Qur'an and the words of the Prophet Muhammad as recorded in his Traditions.

"Alcohol is one of the oldest drugs known to all mankind, and for hundreds of centuries has played a rôle in religious ceremonies and in the art of healing. Modern pharmacology has taught us how much of the teachings of tradition to accept, and what must be discarded. To-day we know that alcohol is no cerebral stimulant, but a general

anaesthetic which lulls criticism and judgment to sleep; that the warmth of whisky in the stomach, the glow which spreads over the body and out along the limbs to frozen toes and fingers, is no new life-saving heat but a wanton spending of the body's own carefully preserved internal store, a rush of warm blood from the depths as the vessels of the skin are forced to open up."

The Qur'an forbids the consumption of alcohol in the words:

"O you who believe! Intoxicants and games of chance . . . are only an uncleanness, the devil's work; shun it that you may be successful" (5:90).

WHAT OUR READERS SAY

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

THE WORLD MUSLIM CONFERENCE

University Settlement,
Nile Street,
Liverpool, 1.
19th February, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Assalamo 'Alaikum!

You are aware that recently in Karachi the World Muslim Conference adopted the Bertha Hertogh case in its resolutions. I do not think it is a wise decision to give place to such a complex juridical question in such an important Conference. The non-Muslim world, as anticipated by me, has been noticed frowning at its objective resolutions through their powerful Press and journals. I do want that such a Conference would devise ways and means constructively and firmly so that millions of Muslims who are still living under perpetual slavery are liberated and get their rightful place in the society of nations. It pained me to note that the Conference had not even mentioned anything about Indian Muslims. The absence of a delegate from India remained conspicuous throughout the session. . . .

Yours sincerely,

SHAHARIAR AHMED.

MUSLIM STUDENTS' FEDERATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

Pakistan Students' Federation of Great Britain,
34, Lowndes Square,
London, S.W.1.

Dear Sir,

Assalamo 'Alaikum!

I see from an item in your March-April, 1951, issue that some Muslim young men in Manchester are awakening to the necessity of having a Muslim Students' Federation in Great Britain. I read the letter written to you by those students and the report of their Convention with great interest. Their efforts and desires are indeed laudable, and if there is anything that I or my Federation can do to help them I would be only too glad to do it. It is a great pity, however, that the organizers did not acquaint themselves with existing Muslim organizations and did not try to contact people who were interested in this project before deciding the time and place of the Convention. In particular I am concerned with the fact that no invitation was extended to the Pakistan Students' Federation of Great Britain, which includes a high percentage of very active Pakistani students and has also associate members from other Muslim countries and

is very much interested in any schemes which seek to forge a closer link between the various Muslim countries.

The past is not, however, irrevocable, so far as this issue is concerned. The Convention at Manchester should be regarded as a preliminary, exploratory one, and a bigger Convention should be held now with the intention of setting up a really representative body.

Yours faithfully,

(Dr.) ISA A. SAMAD
(General Secretary).

* * *

THE SENTIMENTS OF A VERY KIND READER

London, N.7.
6th March, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Assalamo 'Alaikum !

The Islamic Review is a unique publication in its class, and from my humble point of experience it has no parallel in the dissemination of Islamic knowledge and its propagation. Its pages are usually rich in matter and informative about Islam. The contributors are eminent and appear to be masters in the subject they deal with. But unfortunately this publication doesn't appear to enjoy the support it deserves of the modern youth of the Muslim world in general, and Pakistan in particular. It is obviously, I believe, due to lack of, inadequate or insufficient representation, canvassing and publicity in the proper quarters ; otherwise there is no reason why its circulation should not reach. . . .

You will agree with me that the Muslim youth of both India and Pakistan is spending enormously in buying "magazines" devoted to films, and every Muslim home in India and Pakistan prides itself on subscribing to the *Filmindia* of Bombay, which

does more harm to both their moral and spiritual character. Besides, the *Filmindia* earns thousands of rupees from the Muslim pockets. This waste of money could be canalized into a useful purpose by inducing the Muslim youth to switch over and subscribe to *The Islamic Review* by scientific planning and propaganda.

The arrival every month of *The Islamic Review* in their homes will remind every Muslim family that they are really Muslims ; it will remind them of their obligations to God, to humanity and their dear and near ones ; the matter contained in *The Islamic Review* will serve to create in them a hunger for Islamic thought and raise them gradually to a higher plane of Islamic ideals and understanding.

To achieve this object, the present number of subscribers is quite enough to do their bit. By a little sacrifice of money and their spare moments they can do a lot. They can pick any of their friends and subscribe on his behalf the sum of £1 for *The Islamic Review* for one year and in their spare moments conduct a sort of propaganda amongst their circle of friends and acquaintances to increase the sale of *The Islamic Review*. Every copy reaching somebody by way of a donation or gift will in turn work miracles and add a few more subscribers to the list.

The best plan would be to make an appeal in your number for next month on the above subject and keep on repeating it. You will find the results would be encouraging. To subscribe to *The Islamic Review* is not enough. Every subscriber should at the same time realise that he has some duties to perform for Islam. To work for *The Islamic Review* is to ascend the first rung of the ladder of service to Islam, because *The Islamic Review* deserves all the support of the Muslim world for the cause it stands for. This is the only publication which unfolds the panorama of the richness of the Islamic history, art, religion, brotherhood and tolerance. . . .

Yours in Islam,

MUHAMMAD ANSARI.

* * *

ISLAM IN AMERICA

Queen Nazli's Gift to the Muslim Society of the U.S.A.

Muslim Society of the U.S.A., Inc.,
1095, Market Street,
San Francisco,
California, U.S.A.

30th January, 1951.

Dear Brother in Islam,

Assalamu 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

We celebrated the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad on Tuesday, December 19, 1950, when a dinner was arranged. Muhammad and Mustafa Shahrivars, students of the San Francisco State College, prepared Irani delicacies, whereas Fateh Deen, of Kashmir, the proprietor of the Ritch Annex Hotel, gave us some beautiful Pakistani music. Amina, a Muslim American lady, J. M. Akbar, Muhammad Baqir Kamaly and Muhsin Beena decorated the hall.

Although the dinner was to be served at 7 p.m., this was the time to meet old friends and make new acquaintances, and no one seemed to be willing to take his or her seat. At last the excitement subsided and the people attended to their food.

The meeting actually began at about 9.30 p.m. It was attended not only by Muslims of various countries but also by American professors of several institutions and many other distinguished persons of the city. Rehana 'Asif Latif chanted the first section of *al-Muzzammil* in her very melodious voice. She

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Arabic Edition

by A. S. HORNBY

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Book 3: 96 pages.	Blue Cover.	4s. 0d.
Book 4: 84 pages.	Red Cover.	4s. 0d.

Since they were inaugurated, the B.B.C.'s programmes of ENGLISH BY RADIO have become widely known and appreciated. The lessons broadcast in this series for Arabic students of English form the contents of these books and with their aid the student will be able to follow the broadcasts from the printed text. It is suggested that this should be studied in advance.

Orders should be placed with local booksellers.

Booksellers should order from London. Booksellers in Egypt can obtain their supplies from W. H. Smith & Son, Ltd., Cairo, or direct from London.

The B.B.C. is beginning its broadcast lessons going with BOOK FOUR on July 5th, 1951. The broadcasts going with BOOK ONE commence in January, 1952.

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.,
St. Martin's Street, London, W.C.2.

was followed by Imam Minto and Kamaly, who addressed the gathering for 75 minutes, after which the meeting was brought to an end.

On the 11th of January, Imam Minto addressed the Business League of San Francisco in the Marine Building, Sutter Street. The topic was "The Kashmir Problem". The speaker among other things said that although a United Nations Committee, the Security Council representatives of Canada and Australia, and the Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth all had told Mr. Nehru that Kashmir's future should be determined by an election in which the people of the State could freely express their preference between joining India and Pakistan, Mr. Nehru, who accepted that a plebiscite should be held, had persistently refused to withdraw the Indian army from the State.

All praise is due to God, Who has enabled us to purchase for our Mission a beautiful and spacious building. It is located in the centre of the city, and on a hill from where a view can be had of the Bay area. For this our grateful thanks are due to Her Majesty Queen Nazli of Egypt, who was gracious enough to bestow on us a gift of five thousand dollars, and has promised to give more when we begin the building of our Mosque and a library, having all the available books on Islam and Muslims. God bless her for this munificence. I wish God inclined the hearts of some philanthropic Muslims to help us to achieve our object. Is there anyone who desires to win the favour of the Most Gracious by supporting this noble cause?

Mrs. Ramona Florez joined our Islamic brotherhood on the 27th of this month. She is a widow, mother of four children, all married. Her husband was killed during the last World War. She was also taken a prisoner by the Japanese. She is now a nurse at St. Mary's Hospital.

Your Sister in Islam,

'ARIFAH BASHIR MINTO.

* * *

THE MISTAKES OF EUROPEAN WRITERS ON ISLAM

1, Hans Crescent,
London, S.W.1.
December 20, 1950.

Dear Sir,

While in South Africa — it is now about a year ago — that I read an article, "The Second Act of the 20th Century," by Sir Duff Cooper, in the *Tanganyika Standard*, Dar-es-Salam, for January 9 1950. Sir Duff Cooper, in common with so many Westerners, has absurd ideas about Islam. I addressed a letter to him; first, that his misconceptions about Islam should not be allowed to pass unchallenged, secondly, as a true scholar, he should take the trouble of checking up my facts and prune his ideas accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

SHAMSUL HAQUE.

My letter to Sir Duff Cooper reads :

Dar-es-Salam.
11th January, 1950.

Sir,

I congratulate you on your article "The Second Act of the 20th Century," wherein you have dealt exhaustively with the pathology of Conflict and Communism. You must have written the article a long time ago, but I read it only to-day and hence my greetings are as proportionately late as is the Territory far flung and remote from your civilized world.

I greatly value your ideas expressed therein, but everything that you write cannot be accepted as the axiomatic truth. You will allow me to comment on your paragraph concerning Islam, in all manner of frankness, politeness and appreciation, which is the foundation of this letter and urges me to approach you not as a missionary but as the one who would like to give you a bit more reliable information about his own religion, i.e., Islam. I know your article has a store of goodwill and sincerity yet the pointed (I shall not say provocative) criticism of Islam appears to be based more on ignorance and popular apathetic attitude against Islam prevalent among Europeans in general and English Christians in particular rather than on bitterness or hatred. Your paragraph runs as follows :

"From the point of view of the politician every religion should be examined as to its potentiality for war. Buddhism is the most pacifist religion in the world. Mohammedanism the most warlike."

You will not be displeased if I lay emphasis, as is your intention, on the superlative *most*. Buddhism is the pacifist and Mohammedanism the warlike. Well, it is too much if it comes from a man of your wide reading and mature experience, because it is not based on true facts. I hope you have seen some Buddhist priests and monasteries, as I have seen in India at several places. Buddhism is based on self-immolation and self-abnegation. It renounces all the privileges of life in order to get rid of the torturous yet eternal cycle of birth and rebirth to attain to *Nirvana*. I am sure you will not call him a pacifist who is engaged in self-destruction which is slow but sure, who does not take part in life and its struggle but is opposed to the forces which have caused his birth and sustain his life. He is unhappy at being born and therefore enjoins this sacred duty upon himself of waging war against his own "Self".

Asoka, the most humane monarch, who reigned in the 3rd century B.C., made Buddhism the State religion on the one hand, issued orders "forbidding the killing of animals for the royal kitchen", and on the other he was capable of waging the most barbarous and brutal war of his time against Orissa, killing over a million people.

I would suggest, Sir, you imagine for a minute the whole world is turned Buddhist. There will be neither humanity nor its problems. As a religion of significance I love it. It has many fundamental virtues but is unfortunately neither pacifist nor practical for our present-day needs.

It is wrong to call Islam "Mohammedanism". The proper nomenclature is Islam, and its adherents are called Muslims or Mussalmans. Etymologically, Islam means peace, goodwill and security. The religion which is based on peace and toleration cannot be warlike. Let us go back 1,350 years and try to judge without favour or fanaticism. Muhammad, the praised (may peace be upon him !), was born in Mecca and at the age of forty started preaching in 610 C.E. His preaching brought innumerable and inhuman persecution on himself. He did neither avenge the wrong done to him nor even scold his bitterest enemy. His whole life at Mecca is a life of ideal non-violence. The present-day apostle of non-violence — Mahatma Gandhi — gratefully acknowledges the great indebtedness of his philosophy to the Prophet Muhammad. After his flight to Medina, when he, with his 313 followers, first faces his enemies by thousands, he first offers peace terms which are rejected by the arrogant Arab chiefs. This battle of Badr (623 C.E.) was fought near Medina, which proves conclusively that the aggressors were the Meccans, who came to fight him. In all the later wars the same principle was observed that the Muslims were not to attack first. It was not the Prophet who was always keen to fight a Holy War (*Jihad*) but the Meccans, who in their impatience wanted to

"nip the devil in the bud". The memorable injunction from Abu Bakr, the first Caliph of Islam, to the "Army of God" ran :

"Be just, because the unjust do not prosper. Be valiant, die rather than yield. Be merciful, slay neither old men nor women, nor children. Destroy neither fruit-trees, nor grain nor cattle. Keep your word even to your enemy. Molest not those who have retired from the world."

"The irresistible march of the "Army of God" bears testimony that this remarkable injunction was uttered sincerely by the venerable chief and obeyed strictly by the devout followers," says the non-Muslim, Mr. M. N. Roy, leader of the Radical Democratic Party of India.

Here are some quotations from the Holy Qur'an :

"Let there be no compulsion in religion: Truth stands out clear from error..." (2: 256).

"And ye dispute not with the people of the Book unless with means better..." (29: 46).

"And repel evil by that which is better..." (23: 98; 41: 34).

"In almost every case in which the Saracens conquered a Christian nation, history unfortunately reveals that they owed their success chiefly to the favour with which this progress was regarded by the masses of the conquered people. To the disgrace of most Christian Governments it will be found that their administration was more oppressive than that of the Arab conquerors. . . . The inhabitants of Syria welcomed the followers of Mahomet; the Copts of Egypt contributed to place their country under the domination of the Arabs; the Christian Berbers aided the conquest of Africa. All these nations were induced by the hatred for the Government of Constantinople to place themselves under the sway of Mohammedanism. The treachery of the nobles and the indifference of the people made Spain and South France an easy prey to the Saracens." (Finlay: *History of the Byzantine Empire*.)

In Islamic history the Crusades are most outstanding and warlike, but it was always the Christian kings who year after year in a manner more united than ever marched on the Holy Land and came to fight after hearing the distorted and garbled stories of Arab intimidation, tyranny and inhumanity.

"It is altogether a misconception that the Arabian progress was due to the sword alone. The sword may change an acknowledged national creed, but it cannot affect the consciences of men. Profound though its argument is, something far more profound was demanded before Mohammedanism pervading the domestic life of Asia and Africa. . . . The explanation of this political phenomenon is to be found in the social conditions of the conquered countries. The influence of religion in them had long ago ceased; it had become supplanted by theology. . . . How was it possible that unlettered men, who with difficulty can be made to apprehend obvious things, should understand such mysteries? Yet they were taught that on those doctrines the salvation or damnation of the human race depended. They saw that personal virtue or vice was no longer considered; that sin was not measured by evil work, but by degrees of heresy. . . . What an example when bishops are concerned in assassination, poisoning, adultery, blinding, riot, treason, civil war! When Patriarch and Primate were excommunicating and anathematizing one another in their rivalries for earthly powers, bribing eunuchs with gold, and courtesans and royal females with concessions of episcopal love, and influencing the decisions of Councils, asserted to speak with the voice of God, by those bare

intrigues and sharp practices resorted to by demagogues in their packed assemblies! Among legions of monks, who carried terror into the imperial armies and riot into the great cities, arose hideous clamours for theological dogmas, but never a voice for intellectual liberty or the outraged rights of man. In such a state of things, what else could be the result except disgust or indifference?

"When, therefore, in the midst of the wrangling of sects . . . and anarchy of countless disputants, there sounded through the world — the dread cry, 'There is but one God; . . . is it surprising that the hubbub was hushed? Is it surprising that all Asia and Africa fell away?' (J. W. Draper: *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, Vol. I, p. 332.)

Islam has suffered a great loss at the hands of most of the biased European historians and chroniclers who have deliberately and wilfully misquoted, misrepresented and misinterpreted the Message of Peace. Among so many, Maracci and George Sale are two outstanding figures. If your good self is inclined, you can find a number of books written by honest authors, both oriental and occidental, which will give you a clear and candid picture of Islam and its conception of *Jihad* (holy war). Nevertheless, I must write here without any fear of contradiction that killing a non-believer because he is a non-believer is no passport to paradise. Had it been so hundreds of Muslims, especially I myself, would have managed to kill a couple of "Infidels" and would have gone straight to Heaven.

It is a proud fact that during the prime of Islamic power the Musalmans were the most civilized people on earth, but they did not know the ways of wholesale human massacre as are known to the present-day civilized people. Luckily these are all, allow me to say, *unwarlike* Christians. The destruction, ruin and horrors of these two world wars of 1914 and 1939 are beyond all comparison with the so-called warlike Muslim sporadic depredations put together. How contrary it is to the spirit of the Sermon — "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth! . . . Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the Children of God!" Excuse me, Sir, our European leaders, although devout (and they fill the Churches on Sundays with unfailing regularity), are neither peacemakers nor deserve to be called the Children of God!

Please study the message and do not look to the degenerate followers of Islam, like me, to-day. I hold and believe most sincerely that our salvation lies in recognizing human brotherhood as taught by Islam. Our problems to-day are neither political nor economic, but social and spiritual. Live, and let live; every human being is equal and without differences of country, colour and creed. Is it not a beautiful idea? Give it a trial and see the mist of national rivalry and fratricidal acrimony soon melt away under the glorious rising sun of Universal Brotherhood. It is a pity that the religion which for the first time taught this lesson is branded "warlike" and *most* warlike at that.

I hope you will agree with me, if I say so, that the world will be happier, prosperous, and worth living in, if we shake off our prejudices and be knit into one fabric of society which will be primarily human and peaceful (Islamic in outlook) and any other thing last.

Hoping to be excused for this unwarranted encroachment upon your precious time.

I cannot conclude this letter better than with the customary Islamic salutation:

Wassalam (and on you be peace!).

SHAMSUL HAQUE.

BOOKS ON ISLAM TO READ

Books by Muhammad 'Ali

£ s. d.

The Holy Qur'an with Arabic Text and English Translation, and Commentary. Royal 8vo. CXI+1275 pages...	3	0	0
Religion of Islam. Royal 8vo. 784	1	19	3
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