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THE

NOVEMBER 1951

ISLAMIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY

THE LATE AL-HAJJ KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

WICKING ENGLAND



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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 illustration on our cover depicts the various flags of the principal Muslim countries of the world with the picture of the Ka'ba at Mecca in the right-hand corner.

Starting in the top left-hand corner and looking from left to right, the flags are of the following countries: Kedah, Libya, Morocco, Afghanistan, Kelantan, Syria, the Lebanon, Johore, Perak, Tunisia, Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan, Selangor, Iraq, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Zanzibar-Muscat-Kuwait, Egypt, the Yemen, Trenagganu.

The Arabic writing at the foot of the illustration is the famous verse of the Holy Qur'an (3:102), whose translation reads: "Hold fast to the rope of God and do not disperse".

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1951

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

"There will be no Prophet after me."

-THE HOLY QUR'AN 33:40
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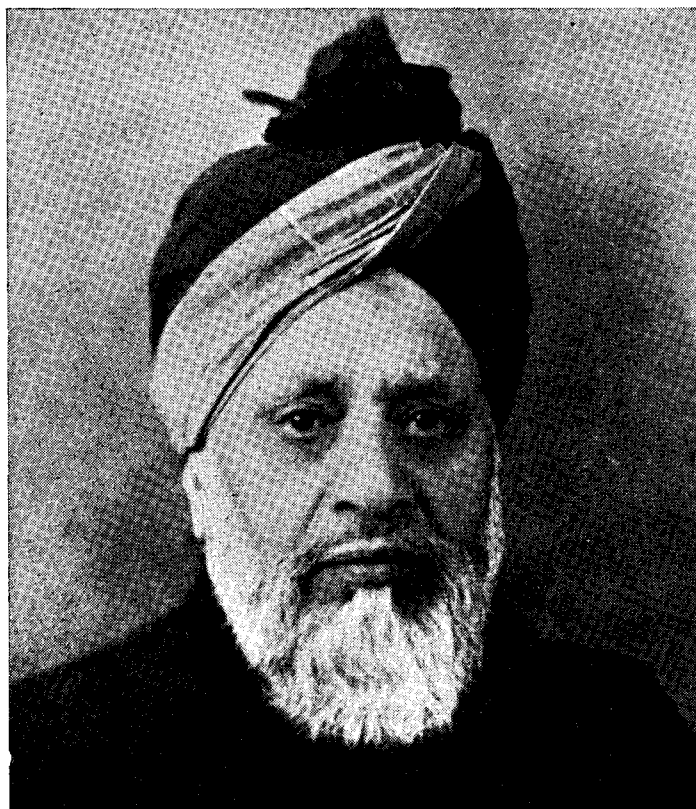
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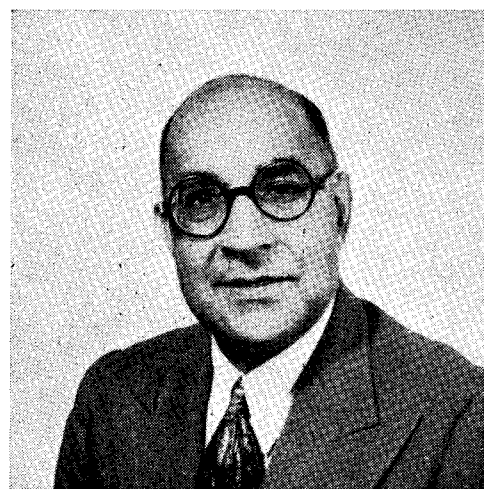
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IN MEMORIAM

The two men who devoted their lives to Islam and its ideals



The late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali died at Karachi, Pakistan, at 11.30 a.m. on Saturday, the 17th of October, 1951, at the age of 76. There is no other Muslim scholar in the present century who has written in English and Urdu in defence of Islam more than he. His writings have saved an untold number of Muslims from mental and spiritual disintegration and added a considerable number of others to the world Brotherhood of Islam



The late Liaquat 'Ali Khan, who met his untimely end on the 16th of October, 1951, at the hands of an insensate assassin at Rawalpindi, Pakistan. The only Muslim statesman who spoke courageously and convincingly in his own country and outside of it, especially the United States of America, that Islam had an efficacious solution to offer for the ills of the world of to-day. His words have infused in the leaders of the Muslim States a fresh sense of self-confidence in their own mission and destiny.

Both of them have laid the World of Islam under a heavy debt of gratitude by their services to the cause of Muslims. They will hold them their debtors for many a year to come.

By the Light of the Qur'an and the Hadith

God In Our Work

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

The word Allah, the personal name of God, has never before or since applied to any but the Divine Being.

The religious addresses by Sir Stafford Cripps published in 1949 in the form of the book, *God in our Work*, have inspired me to discuss the subject in the light of the Holy Qur'an and the Hadith, the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. The significance of God's function in our work posits a clear conception of God. It is a mere statement of fact if I say that the Qur'an is the most explicit book on this.

In the first place, the Holy Qur'an taught humanity the proper or personal name of God, Allah, the name of the Eternal Being, the name, which according to Arabic lexicologists, has never before or since applied to any but the Divine Being. The following verses taken at random from the Qur'an will show in what different ways Allah is defined:

"God is the light of the heavens and the earth.

"Do you not see that God is He Whom do glorify all those who are in the heavens and the earth, and the very birds with expanded wings? He knows the prayer of each one and its glorification, and God is Cognizant of what they do" (24:41).

According to the Qur'an belief in God is a source of man's upliftment.

The Qur'an states it again and again that the belief in the unity of God is a source of man's upliftment, making him conscious of the dignity of human nature and inspiring him with the grand ideas of the conquest of nature and equality of man with man. The following verses of the Holy Qur'an make it clear:

"God is He Who made subservient to you the sea that the ships may run therein by His command and that you may seek of His grace, and that you may give thanks. And He has made subservient to you whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth, all from Himself: surely there are signs in this for a people who reflect" (45:12, 13).

"Shall I seek a lord other than God, and He is the Lord of all things" (6:165).

The attributive names of the Divine Being occurring in the Holy Qur'an are meant for the perfection of human character and serve as an ideal to which man must strive to attain.

"And God's are the most excellent names, therefore call on Him thereby and leave alone those who violate the sanctity of His Name" (7:180).

"Receive the baptism of God, and who is better than God in baptizing? and Him do we serve" (2:138).

Among the chief attributive names of the Divine Being taught by the Holy Qur'an, mentioned in the Opening Chapter, are *Rabb*, *Rahman*, *Rahim*, *Malik*.

Why we recite the name of God before setting our hand to any piece of work.

"In the name of God, the (*Rahman*) Beneficent, the (*Rahim*) Merciful" are the words of the opening verse of every chapter of the Holy Qur'an. The Muslims are enjoined to recite them before setting their hand to any piece of work; for man needs beforehand assurance on two points, (a) whether he possesses the requisite material whereon to expend his energies, (b) whether his labour will bear fruit.

How the intelligent recitation of the words "In the name of God, the (*Rahman*) Beneficent, the (*Rahim*) Merciful" furnish the necessary assurance, will be clear in the light of the true significance of the two words, *Rahman* and *Rahim*, the two attributes of God, which cannot be adequately expressed in the English equivalents of "the Beneficent" and "the Merciful".

It may here be noted that *Rahman*, though manifesting an attribute, is like a proper name and applicable only to the Divine Being. The two words *Rahman* and *Rahim* have been explained by the Prophet Muhammad himself. He says

"al-Rahman is the Beneficent God Whose love and mercy are manifested in the creation of this world and al-Rahim is the Merciful God whose love and mercy are manifested in the state that comes after", i.e., in the consequences of the deeds of men. The attribute of mercy in al-Rahman is manifested before man comes into existence in the creation of things that are necessary for his life here without his having deserved them. Al-Rahman is manifested when man has done something to deserve it.

Every act of ours, every moment on our part, requires the pre-existence of certain material beyond our power to create. Every art, every craft, every phase of human activities is dependent upon some material, wood, iron, fire and so on. Are not our own various limbs and joints, our hands and feet, our head and heart, the different manifestations of which are known as various arts, an unearned grace of al-Rahman?

The chapter of the Holy Qur'an entitled al-Rahman (the Beneficent).

All the bounties and blessings as a Divine Grace are enumerated in a chapter of the Holy Qur'an entitled "al-Rahman" to explain "al-Rahman" attribute of God:

"Say: He it is who brought you into being and made for you the ears and the eyes and the hearts: little is it that you give thanks" (67:23).

With a materialist a particular action must result in just the corresponding measure of reward. He cannot understand how action bears tenfold, hundredfold or manifold reward. But according to Islamic classification of the Divine attributes this is nothing but a manifestation of "al-Rahman" attribute of God.

The motive underlying this new Islamic teaching is to rescue man from the slough of despondency for lack of means to get out. Should he care to enter the field of action, want of requisite material may not stand in his way. This is the Gospel of action which proclaims that the Divine Grace can only be turned to account after man has brought his power into play. For instance, even a grain, a necessity of life, stands in need of the co-operation of every atom in the universe and every element of nature for its fructification into manifold provided man has taken the first step to sow it.

The following verses of the Holy Qur'an are the Magna Charta breathing a spirit of self-reliance and independence in the mind of a worker and give impetus to his downcast energies with a sense of confidence in him and the belief in the certainty of results flowing from his efforts.

"Man shall have nothing but whatever he has striven for."

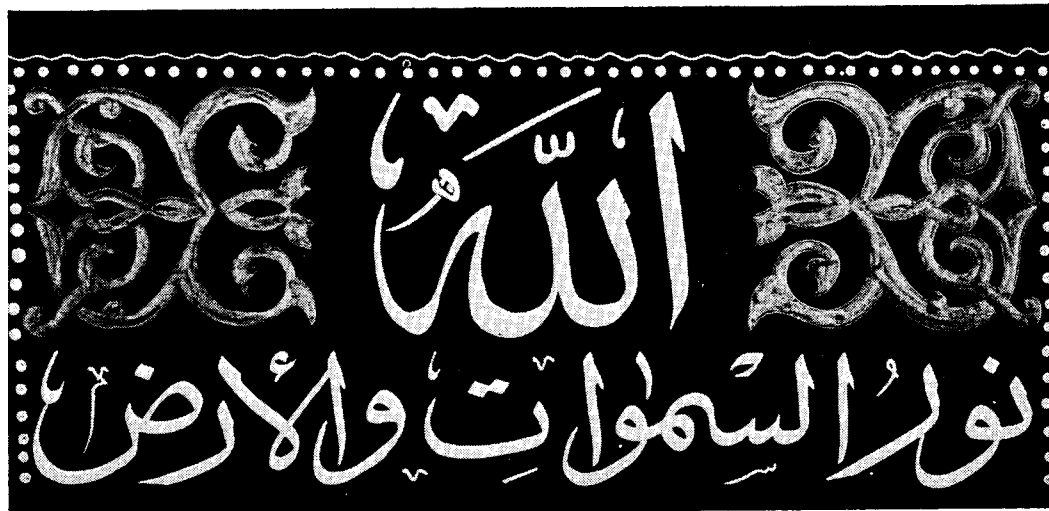
"God does not impose upon any soul a duty but to the extent of its ability; for it is the benefit of what he has earned and upon it the evil of what it has wrought" (2:286).

"Whosoever shall do a particle of good, he shall have the fruit, and whosoever shall do a particle of evil shall have the penalty thereof" (99:7-8).

God-consciousness and God-mindedness the ruling feature of the life of a Muslim.

The religion of Islam is co-extensive and co-expansive with life. In the factory, in the shop, in the street, in the house, is there a sphere where there is not an opportunity for the exercise of religion? Every phase of life is included within the scope of religion. The work-a-day life with its numerous details was made to form the very basis of religion. By imbuing every item of our daily life with a religious tinge, it made sure that no unfair means should be employed in the achievement of our objects. God-consciousness and God-mindedness are the uppermost in all our dealings.

"Say: Surely, my prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my death are all for God, the Lord of the Worlds" (6:163).



One Meaning of Zakat from the Economic Angle

Zakat in Relation to Saving and Spending in Society

By M. RAIHAN SHARIF

"The Qur'an has asked every earner to spend freely from his income in charity which has practically no limit. The idea is very clear from the reported statement of the renowned Caliph 'Ali : 'God has ordained that the rich are to pay out of their wealth to that extent which is sufficient for the needs of the poor ; so that if they do not find food or clothing or they struggle (unsuccessfully for their living), it would be because the rich are not doing their duty, and God will take them to task on the Day of Judgment and will punish them.' This, in fact, means that the objective of Islamic charity is not attained while a single poor soul is left wallowing in poverty (i.e., without the necessities for life)."

When the world, significantly, seems to be at the cross-roads of ideologies, it is a happy turn that much attention has tended to be focused on Islamic principles. Happier still is the modern tendency of inviting the analytical and critical mind more and more to appreciate and evaluate those principles. If Islamic principles, formulated thirteen hundred years before, can stand the fire of scientific analysis, and what is more, offer positive improvement upon modern approaches in ways more than one, it is a pity that the odour of dogmatism as a rancour of religion should be unwittingly associated with them. *Zakat* is one such principle that need not be treated merely as an article of faith, but should be dispassionately examined with particular reference to its social and economic effects. I do not, however, mean that *zakat* has no significant content in terms of spiritualism. That aspect apart (truly an important aspect), the principle may very well be viewed, even by non-Muslims, as one leading to public policies with vital social objectives, and, as such, falling within the purview of social sciences like economics. Here I have endeavoured to deal with only one function of the principle of *zakat* in relation to saving and spending in society.

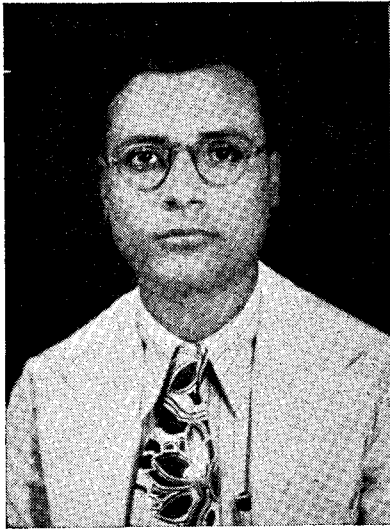
Need of balance between saving and spending.

Without going into economic jargon, one knows from experience and observation that saving and spending form two broad channels for the spontaneous flow of all-round benefit in a country which is not planned on a collectivist footing. But the desirable relation between saving and spending has to be kept with care, either through economic dictatorship or through the provision of key principles that will themselves set in motion healthy and equilibrating forces contributing to the perfect adjustment between the two. Otherwise, loss of harmony in this sphere will gradually spread to all others of the social fabric and the body economic, giving rise to bristling problems of insoluble character.

Incomes are earned by men only to spend ; for, spending is the key to satisfaction of wants. Obviously, indeed, the philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry ; for, tomorrow we die" is likely to die hard. For to the believers in such philosophy, a prejudice against saving is but natural, while an all-out campaign for cent-per-cent spending may be welcome. Some sort of economics may also be invoked in aid of such a stand. Indeed, spending furnishes in a sense, the real fuel and lubricant of the economic wheels. Spending makes up what is called effective demand, representing in its turn the potential markets for goods and services. A stimulus to spending, therefore, implies a stimulus to new employment, new incomes, new products, new services, new industries, new trades and so on. A rosy picture of progress and prosperity, smiles and cheers, hilarity and chivalry, may also be drawn by the dainty brush of easy imagination. But when such believers pause a little to project their vision just a bit ahead towards the horizon, those smiles and cheers are likely to melt away in fear of the approaching ghost of sorrow and sighs. If no care is taken to keep in their existing working condition the host of things like machines and equipment, godowns and warehouses, ports and docks, railways and steamships and so on, the wheels of continuous supply of goods will, one fine morning, stop moving. The flow of production, employment and income, and hence spending power, will lose its way in the desert of obsolescence of capital. In the beginning, crisis will develop on the supply side of consumer goods through difficulties of capital in those industries. In the next stage, spending itself will be affected through reduced incomes out of inhibited productivity. Accumulation of capital is thus indispensable for maintenance of capital goods in good order and for the continuity in supply of goods on which incomes are to be spent. How can that be possible without saving an appreciable slice of current incomes ? Hence in the interest of spending itself, saving is essential. If, again, the flow of goods on which to spend

incomes is desired to be increased, this involves increased saving, though this conflicts with the desire to spend.

In the same way, there cannot be any one-sided philosophy of saving without spending. True, saving, and saving alone, can result in large-scale accumulation of capital and can help a country make big strides on the high roads of development, even to reproduce the miracle of industrial revolution. But it is common sense that the volume of savings in a country is conditioned by the ability of men to save, which itself depends on the average size of income and on what is called the propensity to consume. Maybe, a country is experiencing a rapid rise in the income per head on account of a high degree of technical and scientific progress; and it is just possible that her propensity to consume, in general, diminishes while the propensity to save increases. The tendency may, however, gather momentum; and the community may be facing the crisis of reduced income through reduced spending, increased savings turning into hoards in the absence of outlets for investment. Oversaving is thus another malady as is overspending. Obviously, again, under-saving and underspending will also lead to perplexing stagnation. To maintain the balance between saving and spending is thus the problem and a dire necessity to keep the taps of activity, employment, income and happiness wide open.



The writer of the article,
Professor M. Raihan Sharif

The role of Zakat.

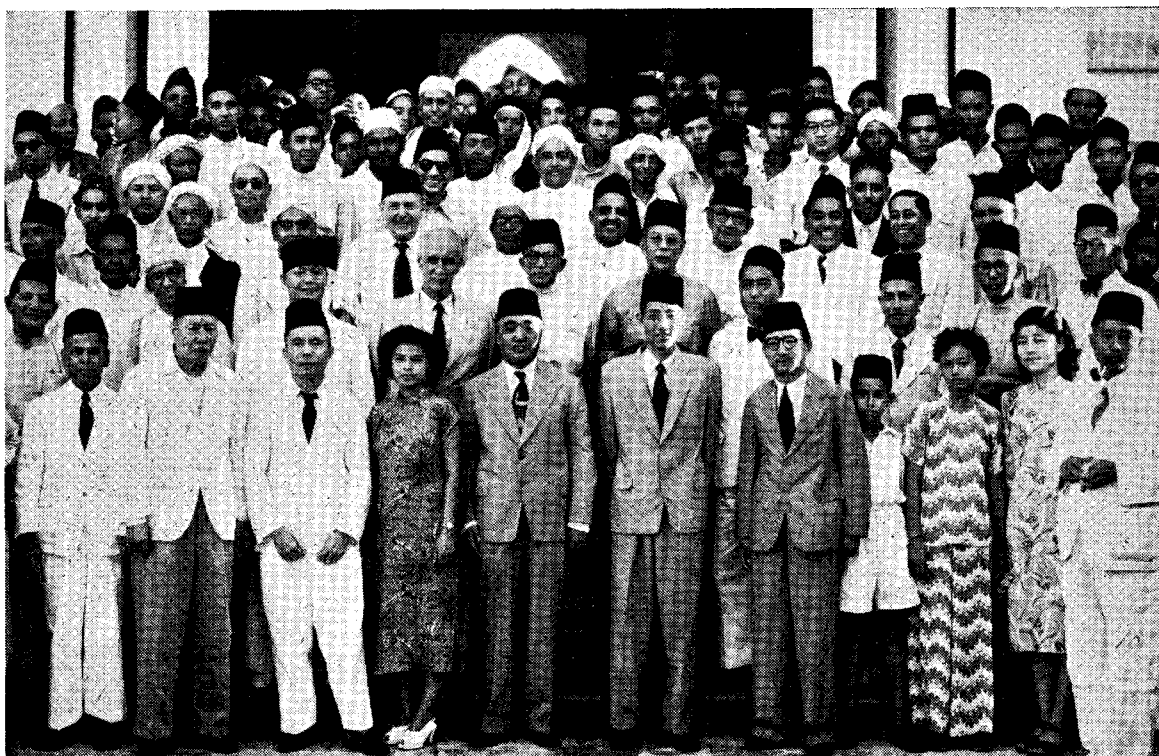
Let us observe the implications of the principle of *zakat* in this context. Roughly speaking, *zakat* implies comprehensive taxation in kind and also in cash, which seizes for the State one-tenth of all agricultural produce, one-fifth of all mineral wealth, and means a steep rate of income-tax or capital-tax under various conditions. But in the sphere of saving and spending, which is our scope of study here, the principle, in the train of its economic effects, serves to act as a double-edged weapon to keep the disturbing forces underlying both saving and spending in healthy check. The immediate effect of *zakat* is, however, to reduce the propensity to consume in some degree, as is common to all forms of taxation. If a disproportionately large slice of this volume of income is saved, it may naturally result in undue hardship and general poverty following from low activity induced by small spending. *Zakat* as a principle in itself carries a check against that. The stage is, however, set for it by the abolition

of all forms of rate of interest in the Islamic economic order. The inducement to save, in so far as it depends on interest as reward for saving, is nil in such an economic order. In this background, the principle of *zakat* will be operating as a real deterrent against idle hoards, by taxing them at 2½ per cent. above a low exemption limit called *nisab*. Investment is thus positively stimulated, while hoarding is positively discouraged.

Controversy is, however, likely to arise about the application of *zakat* to invested capital, the life-line of industrial progress. The opinion of *Ulama* (the Muslim Savants) is divided on this issue. Some are strongly holding the view that the principle should be literally applied to all forms of wealth mentioned by the Prophet without exception. There are others who appreciate the modern forces of economic progress and are in favour of exempting invested capital by the exercise of what is called *ijtihad* (the logical deduction on a legal and theological question by the learned). The latter school also favours the application of *zakat* on industries in the form of income-tax, not capital tax. To me, it appears that more caution in the exercise of *ijtihad* in modern times is desirable, while it is unthinkable nowadays that industrial progress under the Islamic order should be kept at a low ebb by discouraging investment together with hoarding. By freeing investment from taxation and taxing hoards, it might be possible to attain the ideal position of savings being equal to investment with zero hoarding, as dreamt by Lord Keynes. This is of paramount importance for countries conspicuously undeveloped, and also for countries that are far behind the Islamic order. When the structure of society as a whole will have to be refashioned according to Islamic principles, the stage of development required for such success will also have to be consciously built. That is why under conditions of poor development and far below the Islamic order (that has an optimum stage of development for itself), *ijtihad* may be very fruitfully exercised in favour of freeing investment from the conventional method of applying *zakat*. But, for the matter of that, we cannot rule out the application of *zakat* as capital tax when capital accumulation is going too far. After an optimum measure of development, a stage may come in which over-accumulation of capital should also be checked. *Zakat* as a capital tax will then offer the remedy. Thus *ijtihad* in this respect, is a weapon of expediency which has to be used with caution.

The distributive aspect of *zakat* is much more significant. Under the influence of this principle, the spending power of the community as a whole is widely and evenly distributed, eliminating the dreadful tendency of concentrating incomes in few and fewer hands. The State takes away by way of *zakat* a substantial portion of surplus spending power from wherever it exists, and distributes the pooled surplus over the have-nots to increase their spending power. Over and above, the compulsory obligation of each income-earner is highly reinforced by that of private charity. If construed in the spirit of the Qur'anic injunction, that part also becomes something like compulsory. The Qur'an has asked every earner to spend freely from his income in charity which has practically no limit. The idea is very clear from the reported statement of the renowned Caliph 'Ali: "God has ordained that the rich are to pay out of their wealth to that extent which is sufficient for the needs of the poor; so that if they do not find food or clothing or they struggle (unsuccessfully for their living), it would be because the rich are not doing their duty, and God will take them to task on the Day of Judgment and will punish them." This, in fact, means that the objective of Islamic charity is not attained while a single poor soul is left wallowing in poverty (i.e., without the necessities for life). That, among other things, stands for the maintenance of an optimum level of spending power for all.

Six prominent Chinese of Kedah, Malaya, join the World Brotherhood of Islam



A huge crowd consisting of all nationalities, male and female, assembled in and outside of the famous big Mosque of Alor Star to observe the conversion of six prominent Chinese to Islam on 8th April, 1951.

All the high Government officials and prominent persons of the Kedah State were present.

First row (from left to right) — Haji Laidin, the director of Lands, Kedah; Farouk Cheah (a new Muslim brother), who has lived nearly 50 years in Kedah, is the proprietor of the biggest tailoring firm in Kedah; N. M. B. Radwan (a new Muslim brother), goldsmith in Alor State, is a member of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kedah; Miss Minira Choy (a new Muslim sister), is the daughter of a planter at Taiping (Perak); Lukman Yingtok (a new Muslim brother), formerly principal of a big middle school in Johore, is promoter of the formation of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Kedah and proprietor of a big aerated water factory. He saved many lives during the Japanese occupation of Malaya; Adnan Tseng (a new Muslim brother), is a writer and correspondent of Nanyang Siang Poh, the most important Chinese paper in South-East Asia; Raffian Chao (a new Muslim brother), is principal of a middle school in Jitra (Kedah); Miss Hafifa Ho from Hongkong is a niece of Mr. Husain Ho, the manager of Remington Machines at Ipoh (Perak); Miss Minira Ma is a daughter of Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma; Mr. 'Abdullah Liew is a prominent miner of Perak.

Second row (from left to right) — Shaikh Mahmood, who has lived 12 years in Mecca and is Chief Kadi of Kedah officially granted the certificates of conversion; Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma, formerly Consul for China, is devoting himself to the preaching of Islam. He is mostly responsible for this addition to the world brotherhood of Islam; the Honourable Mr. G. V. Day, British Adviser at Kedah, is well known for his friendly attitude towards Muslims; Y. A. M. Tunku Ya'coob, Regent of Kedah, is one of the most popular Rajahs in Kedah; the Honourable Tuan Haji Muhammad Shariff, Mentri Besar (Prime Minister of Kedah) is also responsible for the conversion; the Honourable Tunku Isma'il, State Secretary of Kedah; Tuan Haji Muhammad Zain.

Is full employment under capitalism possible ?

From even a cursory glance over the purposes to which the *zakat* proceeds are to be put, under the regulations of Islam, it will appear that the *zakat* funds involve a bold public works policy of the sort that is adopted by modern capitalistic countries to get rid of depression and unemployment. It is, indeed, like that but with a difference.

Capitalistic economy, as is well known, is inherently characterized by concentration of wealth in few and fewer hands and perpetuating inequality of incomes, which, however, tend to jeopardize economic progress within that framework. That is

because a seed lies buried deep in the system, and a perplexing disease makes its appearance as a matter of course. Among other things, the health of an economic system depends directly upon the continuous investment process. Higher and higher incomes for just a few make the volume of potential savings for them very high. But make the economic stream flow on a high level and to make the system stand on an even keel, the portion of the national income that is saved must be returned to the system back through the door of investment.

Mr. David Lynch, following Professor Hansen of America, writes : " Under our system of capitalistic individualism, with its

mass production, high *per capita* income, unequal distribution and concentrated incomes, we have developed a high savings economy. This has given rise to problems never before encountered and has created an urgent need to find opportunities for continuous capital investment. The failure to accomplish this in the late twenties — in other words unplanned, unwilling and unforeseen hoarding — was the basic cause of the economic collapse." Admittedly thus, capitalism has, more than once, exposed its bankruptcy in achieving the continuous flow of investment on desired lines and in eliminating unhealthy hoarding. As a result, high savings coupled with low investment spelt ruin by creating the vicious circle of lower income, unemployment, poverty and reduced spending power. Social conditions, following from this unenviable state of things are, unfortunately, grim, barring the unseemly contrast of the blessed ring of few high-pressure savers who enjoy a handsome return as interest on idle savings. In such circumstances, the "gadgets" of a State policy of full employment through public borrowing and public investment are invoked to take up the unfulfilled task of private investment. But has such a policy ever proved equal to the task? Even the warmest advocate of the policy, Lord Keynes, could not say, it had. For, the inherent unsettling factors remain. Public borrowing here only means postponement of greater inequality, which will follow through payment of interest and repayment of loans. It implies an unending chase between borrowing and the needs of investment, for which the former can never be adequate.

Zakat and conditions in America.

The richest sector of the globe — the land of the sky-scrapers — is said to have been suffering from the interesting symptoms of such an economic sickness. In the immediate present, the symptoms have, however, been overshadowed and indeed largely offset by the hectic haste of the rearmament drive, changing the tide of economic phenomena not only within herself but widely affecting all others on the earth. But even before World War II, those symptoms appeared at least as unmistakably as could justify the appointment of an expert medical council called "The Temporary National Economic Committee". It is to this Committee that Dr. M. Ezekiel recommended a fivefold programme for achieving the lost balance between saving and spending:

1. Government spending as adequate as to counterbalance the excess savings. Such a public expenditure programme may be launched on the basis of public borrowing, interest-free money or on the basis of taxation.
2. Taxation to reduce the excess savings and increase investment by reducing the willingness to save and increasing the willingness to invest.
3. Measures to increase individual security and reduce the pressure to save, such as, adequate social security against old age, unemployment, dependency and all forms of disability.
4. Modification of distribution of incomes to ensure that profits do not increase disproportionately at the expense of wages in particular.
5. Measures to increase the spending power of low income groups.

If one pauses for a moment to reflect on the functions of the institution of *zakat*, one can readily say that such an elaborate bundle of measures and policies, as suggested by Dr. Ezekiel, will simply be needless in an Islamic economic order. In it, *zakat* provides the balancing lever to keep the forces of spending and saving in harmony. The absence of the rate of interest together with taxation of hoards, significantly, leaves no room for excess saving, requiring large-scale public spending. The principle of *zakat*, *inter alia*, stands for aversion from excess savings and all kinds of hoards, and as such promotes the inclination to invest, while reducing the inclination to save. Individual security is

also best provided in the scheme of distribution of *zakat* proceeds, so specifically mentioned in the Qur'an and extensively elucidated by the Prophet Muhammad and his Caliphs. The *Zakat* Fund is, so to say, a Social Security Fund to insure against all kinds of accidents and disabilities that generally prompt a man to save or hoard. Moreover, with no idle finance capital, wages, in such an order of things, will naturally assume a pre-eminent place in the scheme of distribution; and since real individual enterprise is the pivot and co-operation the key in the mechanism, labour may well be intimately associated with the productive enterprises and hence their profits. In the same way, no additional measures are called for to increase the spending power of the low income groups in an Islamic society. Through the operation of *zakat*, forces are set in motion to transfer a substantial part of wealth in possession of the high income groups to the low income groups. Over and above, the private counterpart of charity, which is practically as potent as the other, will also feed this vital flow of spending power to the less fortunate. That is to say, all these wonderful effects will tend, in the Islamic order, to flow uninterrupted by the capitalist-brand setbacks of booms and depressions, themselves serving as checks and counterchecks against all deviations from the subtle position of balance between saving and spending.

There are some who seem to be reluctant to think of any limit to investability of new capital and hence to encouragement of saving. One such writer, Henry Hazlitt says: "There will not be a surplus of capital until the most backward country is as well equipped technologically as the most advanced, until the most inefficient factory in America is brought abreast of the factory with the latest and most elaborate equipment, and until the most modern tools of production have reached a point where human ingenuity is at a dead end and can improve them no further. As long as any of these conditions remain unfulfilled, there will be indefinite room for more capital." This sounds like the cry of a money-lender from his house-top that he can justifiably lend while a single poor soul remains to turn to him, assuming thereby that the social responsibility of removing poverty in entirety lies on his shoulders. In that sense, indeed, there cannot be any limit to new capital as there cannot be any to money-lending, which will never work to remove poverty but will rather increase it. True, America could, leaving aside the ghost of a new war, maintain quasi-boom conditions by turning herself into the workshop for backward countries in the spirit of international social service or charity (which is also a side-light of the principle of *zakat*). But will America do it? If that is done, the limit even in the international context, is likely to come soon. If on the other hand, the backward nations are thrown into the nice cobweb of loans with their meshes of voluminous interest payment and repayment of loans, the limit recedes farther and farther. If no demand is created in the backward countries for "the most modern tools" produced by America, a depression is bound to be created by her new capital. Had America been an Islamic country, she could have followed international *zakat* and world federation would not be as remote as it is to-day.

Zakat and ethics of economics.

One merit of the principle of *zakat* is obviously that of avoiding the risks of locking the stable door after the horse has fled. It has not to diagnose the depression after the depression had set in; but depression is spontaneously averted — averted without painful jerks of the capitalist system. Besides, the principle has a spiritual content, which exercises a very salutary influence, particularly in the minds of the would-have-been tax-dodgers. Administration of the many-sided institution is thus rendered delightfully easy, the headache of tax evasion being unknown as an article of faith. *Zakat*, as a social spring of real economic welfare, is thus made an ethical and spiritual objective at the same time.

This brings in the issue of relationship of economics to ethics. We are at one with Mr. David Lynch who says: "In nature, health and beauty are closely related; in architecture, engineering and athletics, symmetry and grace correlate with efficiency. Possibly there is an analogy. Apparently an economic system best adapted to serve the needs of the entire population will function most smoothly. It would appear that, when the economy fails to distribute its benefits widely, we have collapse and depression; when it fails the ethical objective, it fails the economic objective". It is no wonder, therefore, that the principle of *zakat*, being fortified as it is by the anchor of ethical spiritualism, should achieve its economic objective most fully. Cut adrift from that anchor, too, the principle may, in a large measure, bear fruits, as far as is economically feasible. But tinged and finished by faith, the mellow fruits are likely to ripen to the core and the tree is likely to bear in the largest measure.

The largest measure was once the result of application of the principle, and, to use an expression of the late Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, remains "the greatest astonishment of history". It is also a historical truth that very similar principles have been tried,

knowingly or unknowingly, in social organizations unmingled by Islamic faith and a considerable measure of success has been attained. Mr. Pickthall bears testimony to this in inimitable language: "Many writers have tried to explain away the amazing success of Islam by ascribing it to outside causes. But how will they explain the fact that so long as the Muslims implicitly obeyed a particular injunction of the Sacred Law, they succeeded in the sphere of that injunction, and whenever they neglected to obey it, they failed; and how will they explain it that non-Muslims doing what the Muslims are enjoined to do, have always succeeded in that special direction, except by the supposition that the injunctions of the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad are laws for all mankind—natural laws which men transgress at their own peril or rather at the peril of their race". Let sanity seek its shelter before such peril yawns. Full-bodied principles, not one-sided ones, may be applied in the sore world of today with equal fruitfulness, since the chiselling weapon of *ijtihad* is there to meet the exigencies of modern complications. Let the tune sing in every vein:

On truths permanent stands our foundation of security,
This life, not the magic philosophy of Plato. (Iqbal)

THE ARAB RELIGIO-SOCIAL REFORMERS

By DR. 'OMAR A. FARROUKH

Since the bulk of every nation consists of individuals unable to judge and think for themselves, religion acquired a dictatorial nature. This dictatorial nature was meant to impose on us a creed and to preserve that creed, so far as possible in its pristine form; but it gave us rules for our social welfare too. The masses unable to make a distinction between an order and an advice, lost sight of the real aim of religion. Soon the practical social character began to give way before the supernatural interpretation of the problems of life itself.

At such a point, usually, reformers arise to re-establish the purer form of religion and to restore the diverted movement to its proper course. This was also the case in Islam, to a certain extent. Champions of reform were numerous; I shall speak concisely of the following only.

Ibn Sina.

A brief mention ought to be made, in this place, of the Muslim thinkers, Ibn Sina, al-Ghazzali, Ibn Baajja, Ibn Tufail and Ibn Rushd, known in Western works as Avicenna, Algazel, Avempace, Abubacer and Averroes respectively. Flourishing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the East and in Spain, they were great figures in the history of human thought. All of them agreed that the then existing religious life needed reconsideration and reform. Ibn Sina (died 1037 C.E.) was a physician, a physicist and a philosopher. In matters of religion he was fundamentally a free-thinker. Ibn Sina had a double personality, outwardly he was pious in the sense accepted by most common people; the common people usually dictate the religious behaviour in general. Inwardly he had an interpretation of religion which contradicted sometimes his outward behaviour. He believed sincerely, that his interpreted behaviour was more in keeping with his metaphysics based largely on Aristotle.

It seems that Ibn Sina had attempted a reform of society, religiously and socially. But he soon discovered that the actually existing social order could not be reformed; furthermore, it should not be reformed. The different strata of society are all necessary, in fact indispensable, for the welfare of society itself. If all people were kings, or all were rich, he argues, no one would ever render any form of service to another; if all were ignorant or poor they would undoubtedly perish. Therefore, if happiness

is a relative thing, let everybody content himself with a state of happiness of his own imagination. Ibn Sina held this principle true of religious conviction and religious behaviour as well.

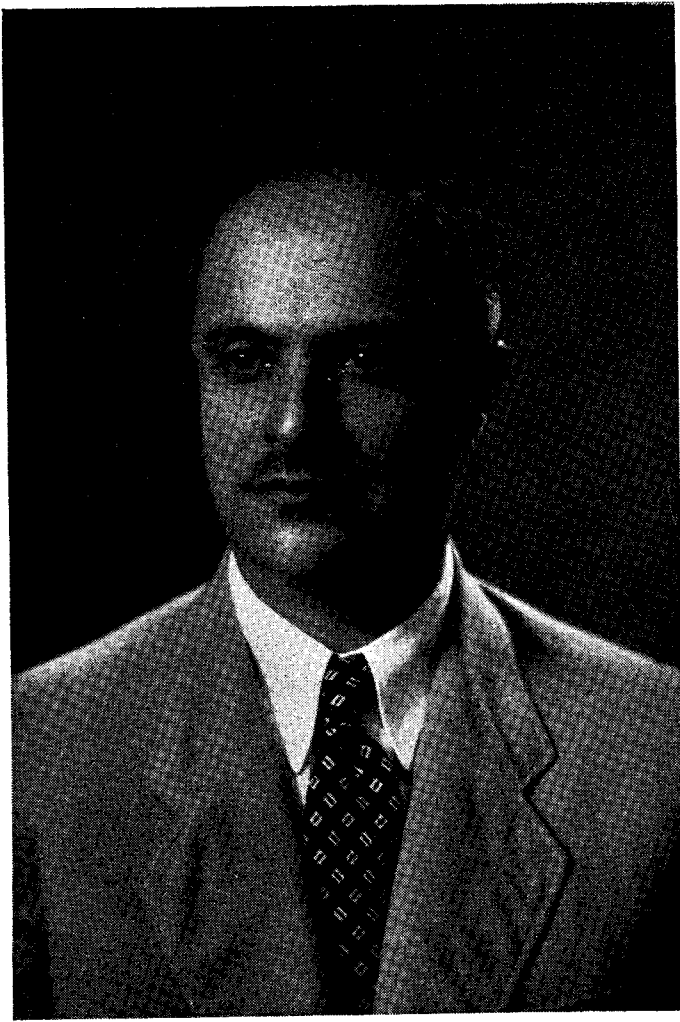
Al-Ghazzali.

Al-Ghazzali (died 1111 C.E.), who had been brought up in his early youth under the influence of a Sufi father, and later under the influence of a Sufi guardian, took a different attitude towards religion from that of Ibn Sina. Al-Ghazzali believed that philosophy helped in estranging the common people from faith and religious practice. Responsible for that deplorable state of affairs were those who thought that they were enlightened, gifted and therefore arrogated to themselves the place of a *primus inter pares*. In his opinion, a real reform could be achieved by him, if he could step between philosophy and the common people. To attain this aim he wrote a whole series of damaging books and epistles on philosophy, such as his famous and important book, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*. Then he wrote a voluminous work in four volumes entitled *The Revival of Religious Sciences*, the name of which is self-explanatory of its nature. In his excellent autobiography, given the title of *The Guardian against Erring*, al-Ghazzali summarized all his views and asserted that only the way of the Sufis (Mystics) would lead to the real knowledge of God, and consequently to the real interpretation of all phenomena. Therefore, philosophy is subservient to theology.

Al-Ghazzali believed that real reform could be achieved only through the kindling of religious enthusiasm in the hearts of the Muslims. Neither politics nor science can help in bringing about an amelioration of the life of mankind on this earth or in the hereafter, which is the real and true life.

Ibn Tumart.

A contemporary and an admirer of al-Ghazzali was Muhammad Ibn Tumart. Born in Morocco about 1080 C.E. he travelled in the East and visited Baghdad but did not meet al-Ghazzali. Ibn Tumart led a puritan movement in North Africa and preached a return to the simple faith of Islam, based on the Qur'an and modelled on the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Unlike al-Ghazzali, he believed firmly in the great



The writer of the article, Dr. 'Omar A. Farroukh

rôle a strong State can play in effecting a religious reform. Before he died in 1130, nineteen years after the death of al-Ghazzali, Ibn Tumart had laid the foundations of the greatest and most powerful State North Africa ever had, that of al-Muwahhidin (the Unitarians) dynasty, known to the Westerners as Almohads or Almohades. This dynasty became the successor of the Almoravid rule in Muslim Spain (1095-1148), which had dispossessed the petty Muslim kingdoms in the preceding century.

Ibn Baajja and Ibn Tufail.

A younger contemporary of Ibn Tumart was Ibn Baajja (ca. 1100-1138 C.E.). A native of Spain and a rational philosopher, Ibn Baajja declared that theology should be treated independently of philosophy, the two being fundamentally different. He asserted, furthermore, that the religious life which the common people lead is wrong but, unfortunately, incorrigible.

A great rational philosopher, like Ibn Baajja, was another native of Spain, Ibn Tufail (died 1185 C.E.). Ibn Tufail is famous for his philosophical romance, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzaan*, in which he puts forth the daring argument, that religion is meant to regulate the social life of the common people; it has no other aim and it cannot serve another end. The common people cannot attain a knowledge of God or of the hereafter. The prophets were absolutely right when they gave only shadows of reality to the masses. The masses, in their turn, comply with the pre-

scriptions of religion only "to save their necks" and assure themselves a measure of material goods. Of reality, doctrine, salvation, they have not the faintest notion.

Ibn Rushd.

The greatest of all Muslim thinkers and one of the greatest thinkers of all time was another native of Spain, Ibn Rushd, known in the West under the corrupted Latin rendering "Averroes" (died 1195 C.E.). He was a direct disciple of Ibn Tufail.

Ibn Rushd preferred a prophet to a philosopher. A philosopher, he says, is one who is interested in discovering the essence of things existing and the immediate causes of all phenomena, physical and metaphysical. A prophet is a man who steps forward to improve, on the basis of his real knowledge of things, the social conditions of his people. A philosopher, living by himself or with his peers, needs only philosophy to regulate his conduct in life. But to live with the common people, even a philosopher is in need of religion, the social sanction of the laity. Revelation, in particular, has two sides: the literal side and the side based on interpretation. The common people should be content with the literal side and should behave only in accordance with the wording of the revelation. The thinker must resort to interpretation for his own behaviour and, indeed, to lessen the apparent or basic contradiction between his rational system and the wording of the revelation. He must also bestow some pieces of interpretation on different individuals among the laity, as he sees fit; then this class of individuals has the right to be instructed in the science of thinking.

Up to that time, Muslim thinkers had only contemplated a religious reform, but none of them dared to accost the multitudes dashing along the way of ignorance and superstitions, with even an advice.

Ibn Taymiyya.

The first reformer to step forward vigorously was Ibn Taymiyya, a theologian who lived in Damascus and died in 1328 C.E. Ibn Taymiyya decided to lead a Puritan movement; he combated the innovations and the cult of saints. Moreover, he tried to reform the State, which was burdened with evils inherited from the Crusading period. He also realized the close relation of the State with any movement of reform. This led Ibn Taymiyya to attack the ruling and administrative classes. Theologians did not escape his biting criticism either. The reform of any religion is, in fact, a reform of its religious men!

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhaab.

The work of Ibn Taymiyya was followed closely by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhaab, who died in 1787, C.E., some five and a half centuries after Ibn Taymiyya. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhaab flourished in Arabia, where he headed a reformation based on the idea of leading the Muslims back to the pure form of Islam. He called his movement *Madhhab al-Tawhid* (school of Unitarianism), but it is known popularly, and especially in the West, as Wahhabism. The gist of Wahhabism is that worship and devotion are due only to God. The mere idea of intercession involves an element of polytheism. Construction of tombs is regarded by the Wahhabis as a sign of reverence for the dead, which is not a monotheistic conception. Therefore, no tombs should be built, and all existing ones should be razed to the ground. So, the Wahhabis actually demolished all such tombs in the zones brought under their influence. Only the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad was reluctantly preserved, and only as an historical monument.

Wahhabism spread from Arabia into Syria as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. It could have had a wider influence all over the Arab world; but as it developed, soon after it had struck roots in Arabia itself, into a political movement,

it aroused the fear of the ruling houses of the East, and was on this account resolutely opposed. Tinted with a strong political colour, Wahhabism added a new school of theology to the already existing ones in Islam.

The last three generations of reformers were represented particularly and principally by three great figures: Jamal al-Din al-Afaghani,¹ al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh and Rasheed Ridaa.

Jamal al-Din al-Afaghani.

Jamal al-Din al-Afaghani, an Afghan by origin, was born in 1838. His aim in life was to prepare for a religious and a political awakening of the Muslim world. Nevertheless, he believed that a religious awakening was impossible so long as the Muslim countries were under European domination or subject to foreign influence. His efforts were directed toward a unification of all Muslim countries under a Caliphate, so that foreign encroachment on the East could be successfully resisted.

Jamal al-Din was a man of letters, a theologian and a political leader; but all his efforts were released solely in the field of political struggle. He wrote inflammatory articles against the European Powers interfering in the affairs of the East. Muslim rulers themselves did not escape his attacks.

Jamal al-Din arrived in Egypt in 1871 to intensify his activities where these activities were needed most. The then weak and despotic Government of Egypt was disturbed by his political efforts among the different classes of the natives and so, perhaps at the instigation of a foreign power, he was banished in 1879. He went to India and chose to settle in Hyderabad-Deccan. But when the revolution broke out in Egypt under the leadership of 'Orabi Pasha, as a result of the increasing interference of European powers in Egyptian affairs, the British Government ordered Jamal al-Din to move from Hyderabad to Calcutta.

After the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 Jamal al-Din was told by the British Government that he could regain his liberty. He accordingly left India for Europe and settled in Paris to issue his bi-monthly review, *al-'Urwat al-wuthqa* (The Strong Bond), with the help of Muhammad 'Abduh. The review continued to appear for eight months of the year 1884; there were eighteen issues in all. But in spite of its short life, the review had a wide circulation and, above all, a permanent result.

In his religious thinking, Jamal al-Din did not make a distinction between the Sunnite and the Shiite schools of theology. Thus he was the best representative of the pan-Islamic movement; his call had resounded in every Muslim land, but the greatest response came from India.

Muhammad 'Abduh.

A disciple of Jamal al-Din al-Afaghani, who exercised a great influence in the way of religious and political reform, was the famous al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh. A native of Egypt, he was born in 1849. Muhammad 'Abduh was more interested in the religious side of reform, although he worked hand in hand with Jamal al-Din in editing the *'Urwat al-wuthqa*, after he had been banished from Egypt on account of their previous common political activities.

Muhammad 'Abduh was a follower of Ibn Taymiyya. Like Ibn Taymiyya, he also waged a war against the antiquated system of theology and against the ignorant doctors of the time. He also repudiated the innovations and held the quarrelling theologians responsible for the disintegration of religious life. His attack on the cult of tombs and saints was quite ruthless. In short, he repeated the call of his predecessors: "Back to the reality of Islam"!

Muhammad 'Abduh published refutations of the polemic writings directed against Islam by missionaries and European politicians, such as the French scholars Hanotaux and Renan, not to mention the host of other missionaries who were putting their literary abilities also at the service of mission work. The battle against Islam in Europe, Africa and Asia was then in full sway on every side.

The summary of Muhammad 'Abduh's religious opinions is contained in his renowned booklet, *Risalat al-Tawhid* (An Epistle on the Doctrine of the Unity of God). Unlike Jamal al-Din, the importance of Muhammad 'Abduh was not a product of his writings, but the result of his imposing and radiating personality. His famous *Epistle* is rather an easy summary of medieval theology; but it is clear, beyond any doubt, that the personal contact of the great man with the Muslim youth had recruited future leaders for the movement, of the calibre of Sa'd Zaghlul, to mention but one of them. Muhammad 'Abduh was the living teacher of his generation.

Rasheed Ridaa.

Among his many followers Rasheed Ridaa became famous. He was born in Tripoli, then a city of Syria, in 1856. Although a direct disciple of Muhammad 'Abduh and one who was in closest contact and intimacy with him he followed more the steps of Jamal al-Din al-Afaghani. Rasheed Ridaa was more interested



Jamal al-Din al-Afaghani (died March 7th, 1897)

¹ Jamal al-Din is known popularly in the Arab world as al-Afaghani, and not as al-Afghani, though the latter is more correct.

in the political side of reform. His interest centred round the revival of the Caliphate; and he had written so much on the subject that he attracted the attention of some Orientalists. The French Orientalist Henri Laoust, of the *Institut Français* at Damascus, translated into French Rasheed Ridaa's book on the Caliphate and gave it the title of *Le califat dans le doctrine de Rasheed Ridaa*. He also wrote to this scholarly translation a brief but judicious preface. As early as 1898, Rasheed Ridaa began to issue a monthly, in the spirit of *al-'Urwa' al-wuthqa* under the title of *al-Manar* (The Lighthouse). This monthly continued to be issued until his death in 1935.

A large and important work by Rasheed Ridaa was a commentary of the Qur'an begun by Muhammad 'Abduh. Versed as he was in theology and jurisprudence, well acquainted with modern social movements and widely read in general scientific literature, Rasheed Ridaa gave his *Commentary* a social and scientific colour. Unfortunately he could not, with his voluminous writings, exercise the deep influence which Muhammad 'Abduh had exercised with his simple talks to the common people and plain discussion in the circle of his students and educated friends and followers.

Shakeeb Arsalaan.

Another well-known figure in the same line of succession was Shakeeb Arsalaan (1869-1946). He was like Rasheed Ridaa a student of Muhammad 'Abduh and a follower in the political steps of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. Shakeeb Arsalaan had chosen his field of action not among the Muslims and the Arabs only, as Rasheed Ridaa had done, but he tried to enlarge the circle of the supporters of the Arab cause in the West. His review, *La Nation Arabe*, edited in French, appeared in 1930 in Geneva (Switzerland) and continued to appear irregularly for several years. This magazine was an organ of great service to the Arabs. Shakeeb Arsalaan exercised a further influence, among the Arabs themselves, through his detailed commentary on *The New World of Islam*, by Lothrop Stoddard, translated into Arabic by 'Ajjaj Nuwaihida and published in Cairo in 1925.

All these and other efforts of Shakeeb Arsalaan were directed explicitly toward a politico-religious awakening of the dismembered Muslim world.



'Abdur-Rahman al-Kawakibi (died 1902 C.E.)

'Abdur-Rahman al-Kawakibi.

A political thinker of great importance was 'Abdur-Rahman al-Kawakibi (1849-1903). A native of Aleppo (Syria), he was born in the same year as Muhammad 'Abduh; but Muhammad 'Abduh outlived him by two years. Al-Kawakibi may be justly compared with Jamal al-Din as a sober thinker but not as an active politician. He had drawn inspiration from Jamal al-Din, but his political ideas were formulated quite independently.

However, al-Kawakibi enjoyed less popularity and had only a limited practical influence on the subsequent awakening of the Muslim world. This is due to the fact that he, introvert as he was, could not but lead a secret movement. Even his two books, which were all that he wrote, appeared under a pseudonym and without dates. He arrived in Egypt in 1316 A.H. (1899 C.E.), perhaps to publish his two books.

The first book by al-Kawakibi was entitled *On the Nature of Despotism*. The author attributed the lamentable situation of the Muslim world to the fact that the Muslims had strayed from the principles of their religion and had forsaken the good example set by their forefathers. He affirmed that the subjugation of the Islamic peoples was possible only because the common people, ignorant and impoverished, were bought off in different ways by the ruling classes, native and foreign. In this book al-Kawakibi enumerates also the means and methods by which people might put up a stiff resistance to the intentions and intrigues of the despotic rulers.

The second book bears the title of *Umm al-Qura* (an Arabic name of Mecca). This book is, in fact, an imaginary collection of fictitious minutes, correspondence and resolutions supposed to have been adopted by an alleged conference of representatives from different Muslim lands, held in Mecca in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'da of the lunar year 1316 (March-April, 1899). The ascribed resolutions are only al-Kawakibi's own suggestions. Some of them are the following:

- (a) That an association should be formed for the purpose of provoking a general Muslim awakening.
- (b) That the chief seat of the said association should be Mecca.
- (c) That a yearly conference should be held in Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage.
- (d) That the motto of the brethren (members of the association) should be: "We worship God only".
- (e) That only the Qur'an and the authentic tradition of the Prophet Muhammad should be authoritative as to the brethren's behaviour and actions; and that the different views, of the various schools of theology should be discarded.
- (f) That a return to the *shura* (Muslim democratic way of Government) should be effected.

Besides Rasheed Ridaa, Shakeeb Arsalaan and al-Kawakibi there were many enthusiasts in the Arab world who wanted to carry out some reform. But there was no one who embarked on a systematized reform policy nor anyone who adopted the realization of a general reform as a life-work. The centre of such a movement had shifted, since the beginning of the present century, to Muslim India to unite itself to an already existing drive toward a broad Islamic policy. But a discussion on the importance of this Muslim policy in India lies outside the scope of the present article. It is sufficient to mention here, however, that the practical attitude of the great reformer and educationalist Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), the founder of the famous Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, as well as the literary efforts of the philosopher poet Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938) and the political struggle of Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) had made of the dear conception of Jamal al-Din and al-Kawakibi a partial reality in Pakistan!

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ARABIC ALPHABET

Arabic Alphabet versus Latin Alphabet

By al-HAJJ DR. 'ABDUL KARIM GERMANUS

The views of Fahmi Pasha who advocates the use of Latin letters for Arabic alphabet.

The Egyptian Academy, which has set itself the task of rejuvenating the Arabic language and making it pliable to modern requirements, some years ago broached the question of the reform of Arabic writing also. Several meetings were held, and committees appointed to study the problem, the results of the oral and written discussions being printed and distributed among members of the Academy. In this connection I take the liberty of making some observations with the hope that it may not offend the sensibility of any of the contributors to the debate, and mainly that it will conduce to the disentanglement of a regretful confusion caused by too rash decisions.

The printed report (*Taysir al-Kitaabat al-'arabiyya; Ma'tamar al-Majama'* 1944, printed in Cairo, 1946) contains two suggestions to facilitate Arabic writing. One by 'Ali al-Jaarim Bey, who invented some extensions to the Arabic letters which are supposed to make vocalization by the usual signs superfluous; the other by 'Abd al-'Aziz Fahmi Pasha, who suggests the substitution of Latin letters for the Arabic alphabet.

'Abd al-'Aziz Fahmi Pasha has made praiseworthy efforts to convince his audience of the feasibility and utility of carrying through such an enormous task. He expiates on the difficulties confronting anybody who wants to learn Arabic proper, and that these difficulties stare in the face of every Egyptian or Syrian whose mother-tongue is Arabic. Any Egyptian father who would use the demonstrative pronoun *haadha* instead of the vulgar *dib* in speaking to his son would expose himself to ridicule, as Egyptian children get acquainted with, and at the same time frightened by, the literacy, or more correctly speaking, grammatical forms of words and phrases, *only* when they enter school. Fahmi Pasha scares — as some learned Arabic lexicographers do — any student who would like to tackle Arabic, with the horrifying intricacy of the Arabic language unparalleled among the vast family of languages. He bitterly laments that the Arabic-speaking people are compelled to learn this terrifying grammatical language at school, which jars at their ears and which they never will be able to learn correctly, and consequently it will remain a strange idiom in which they are afraid to write down their thoughts, in fear of harsh criticism. European peoples — he mentions with envy — have long emancipated themselves from the fetters of petrified languages and created a new literature in their popular idioms: new Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, etc. No Muslim Arabic ruler has ever dared to decree that people should write as they speak and rejuvenate their traditional language, inspiring new vitality into it by adapting it to existing conditions. Grammatical Arabic seems nearly unbearable (so says Fahmi Pasha) and it is to be feared lest some scientific Arabic writers will prefer foreign languages for the publication of their works, in order to avoid being dubbed bunglers in their own mother tongue!

The structure of the Arabic language is not inherently difficult.

I read the Pasha's arguments with great care and found that his assertions were exaggerated. Arabic is no doubt a difficult tongue, but the insurmountable difficulties are not inherent in the structure of the language, but in the style and fashion of some Arabic authors, who still parade ill-digested models of antiquity

and surfeit their phraseology with an insipid show of vain erudition. The greatest masterpiece of Arabic literature, *The Arabian Nights*, has been set in a language which even a European may learn within two years. And so is the language of the Arabic newspapers and that of modern current literature. How can we conform the scathing judgment of Fahmi Pasha about the intractability of Arabic to those numerous Arabic writers who, although of foreign extraction — from Ibn Muqaffa (died 757 C.E.) onwards through a splendid galaxy up to Jamal al-Din al-Afghani — have elevated and polished the Arabic language to the highest perfection?

He argues that Arabic verbs have so many forms interchanging among themselves that it is a torture to learn them. I am at a loss to grasp the meaning of this argument. Latin or ancient Greek has richer forms and every living language has to be studied, its grammatical rules have to be crammed even by those who spoke their vulgar so-called culinary idiom in childhood, and European schools lay great stress on the teaching of grammar, while renowned authors constantly study the intricacies of their mother tongue in order to serve as models to their readers. If linguistic education were neglected and people let loose to talk as they used to in the nursery, no cultural refinement or literature could develop.

He is right in pointing out that the Arabic language, as we possess it now, is a growth of all the dialects of Arabia which lexicographers have worked together and classical writers have utilized for fourteen centuries. "Is it not a cruelty," he exclaims, "that Egyptians should be tormented by these antiquated dialects kneaded together into an artificial idiom?" "If teachers cannot show satisfactory results, the fault lies not with the poor teachers but with the language, the words of which have an inscrutable tail and head!" In my opinion only the Arabic form of wonder and astonishment could adequately express the amazement elicited at such a gross injustice to one of the most expressive of languages such as Arabic!

The main cause, he continues, of all these difficulties with which Arabic is burdened is undoubtedly its script, which resembles clothes not fitting the wearer. This script is similar to formulas of incantation full of mystery and witchcraft used by Orientals of yore to stupefy timid vassals. It is true, he adds, that our ancestors have invented signs of vocalization, but these signs proved utterly meaningless and abortive, as they were slovenly set and improperly placed. A script which does not consist of disjointed consonants set in between distinctly fixed, constant vowels renders any language illegible and (here our Pasha pronounces a sacrilegious verdict!) has become the cause of the cultural decay of Oriental peoples!

In his opinion the so-called phonetic writing of the Latin alphabet — as adopted by the Turks — is the only sheet-anchor to rescue the Islamic world from utter cultural and political ruin!

Absolute phonetic value of the Latin script is mere illusion.

May I be permitted to attach a personal recollection to this predetermined sentence. Born in a European environment, instructed in German and Hungarian schools where Latin and Greek played a most important part, having used the Latin alphabet exclusively up to my 18th year of age, when I took up Turkish, I can see the fallacy of this indictment perhaps clearer than my Oriental brethren, who have not learnt Greek or Latin,

but have appropriated the knowledge of European languages without striking at their roots. Taken from my point of view the absolute phonetic value of the Latin script is mere illusion. It distinguishes the vowel much clearer than the consonants but this quality of this script emanates directly from the very nature of the European languages which belong to the Aryan family. Ancient Greek has an abundance of vowels, Latin too, and their daughter idioms have inherited this characteristic. Semitic languages have a structure of their own, not found in other families, namely, the triliterality of roots. Besides they possess only three very distinct vowels: a, i, u. On the other hand, Semitic languages in general (and here we are concerned with Arabic only) display such a rich variety of consonants of which no European language can boast. As to cultural supremacy in connection with the script (as Fahmi Pasha impeaches it with a cause of decay), the ancient Arabs, probably of the tribe of Tayy transmitted the old Semitic script from the Yemenites (*musnad*), while the people of Hira began to practise it and through the Ibaadites it spread also in the Hijaz. These Arabs had a much sharper ear than any of the Greek or Latin scholars, whose transcription of foreign words is often unidentifiable. The Arabs recognized the variety of all the consonants and set a distinct letter for its denotation, while it is a moot point even to-day whether the ancient Romans pronounced the "t" like *t* or *c*, the "c" like *c* or *k*, both sounds being written similarly.

Philology amongst the Arabs of early Islam.

Literacy was rare in the Hijaz, but the Prophet laid great stress upon it and ordered the prisoners taken at Badr to teach Medinese children. The Holy Qur'an was first written without distinction of vowels but Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duwali defined the terminal sounds with signs and later Nasr ibn 'Asim and Khalil ibn Ahmed definitely fixed the pronunciation of the words and this script with its diacritical dots and vowel "shackles" (*ashkhaal*)



Al-Hajj Professor Dr. A. K. Germanus

pressed the revolting uncertainty within reasonable bounds and made correct reading possible.

While Latin philological learning groped in the dark till late in the Middle Ages, 'Isa al-Thaqawi (died 766 C.E.), Abu 'Amr ibn al-A'laa (died 770 C.E.) and Yunus ibn Habib (died 798 C.E.) collected a rich material for philological research and gave rise to Khalil's work, on which Sibawaihi (died 797 C.E.) has based his lexicography, an acknowledged masterpiece of erudition up to now. The scholars of the Kufa-school soon observed the deterioration of the vulgar language and al-Kisaai tried to stem the flood of ignorance.

Philological science with the early Arabs developed much earlier and on a much higher scientific level than with the Latin schools of the late European Middle Ages. These are facts known to all students of Islam, and we need not expiate on them; these philological sciences were all borne by the Arabic script with or without its vocalization! A flat refutation of Fahmi Pasha's bold assertion. The grammatical rules and their application by the script were very soon (in the 8th century C.E.) fixed with such a perfection and ingenious insight into the essential nature of the Arabic language that it baffles all correction or substitution. For fourteen centuries, from the Indus to the shores of the Atlantic, innumerable writers and readers have clung to the literature fastened by these orthographic rules. Of course, they must be learned and observed. But is there any language, the grammatical and orthographic rules of which need no serious study?

Turkish adoption of Latin alphabet and Arabic.

Fahmi Pasha refers to the reform of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and states with satisfaction that the Latin alphabet has facilitated Turkish reading and connives at the loss of that in some respect valuable older Turkish literature, written in Arabic letters, which gradually will become a closed book to the future generation. But there is a cardinal difference between Turkish and Arabic. Turkish is not a Semitic, but an Ural-Altaic tongue, in which no triliterality exists and which possesses eight different vowels. Its grammatical rules and its structure are totally different from Arabic. But still those early Turkish grammarians who, at the hands of Persian masters, adapted the Arabic script to the Turkish language noticed some characteristics of Turkish, for instance, the harmony of vowels, and did their best to find a solution by which Turkish words might be fixed. The Latin alphabet adapted to Turkish had to grapple with a hitherto insurmountable obstacle: the innumerable Arabic words used in Turkish, the logical orthography according to their Turkish pronunciation has not yet been satisfactorily solved. A similar observation holds good as to the Persian and Hindustani language, which (barring the innumerable Arabic words) may be rendered in Latin script.

Fahmi Pasha recognizes the fact, that there are some Arabic sounds for which there are no adequate Latin letters. For these he inserts the original Arabic form somehow inverted, for instance, the jim, ha, kha, saad, dhaad, ta, za, 'ayn, ghayn, the hamza and vowels of 'I'rab. In all forty-two per cent. of the alphabet. What an awkward team! An Arabian horse and a European mule harnessed together. Will this conduce to the facility of learning the intricacy of Arabic grammar, and the certainty of correct reading? I doubt it very much.

Suppose (God forbid!) that Fahmi Pasha's suggestions were carried out in practice, what would happen with the Holy Qur'an and the rest of Arabic literature, the fountain-head of Islamic culture? Will it all be reprinted in the piebald mixture of Fahmi Pasha's Arabo-Latin alphabet or thrown away bag and baggage?

The second suggestion brought before the Academy, namely, that of 'Ali al-Jaarim Bey, may be dismissed without entering deeper into the matter. According to this suggestion the Arabic letters may be retained but they receive augmentations in form, teeth, trunks, tails, caps to such an extent that they are not even recognizable by an Arabic scholar and may prove an outrage to the printer. It is a well meant and laborious experiment, but of no practical value whatever.

Let us therefore cling to that ill-treated grammatical Arabic language, which has given mankind the noblest heavenly inspira-

tion in the Holy Qur'an, based on which a splendid literature has grown through numberless centuries. Let us retain the "shackles" of Khalil, which (I make bold to assert against contradicting views) are sufficient, if rightly applied, to determine the correct pronunciation of Arabic words. And last but not least, let us encourage Egyptian children and grown-up people to study their powerful language assiduously (as every nation does with its own) that it may not deteriorate into a limbo of boorish ignorance!

A Comparison between the New Egyptian Civil Code of 1948 and the English Legal System

By DR. 'ALI SULAIMAN

"The new Egyptian Civil Code has abandoned the subjective theory which is characteristic of the German and Anglo-Saxon systems."

Modern Civil Code of Egypt dates from the abolition of capitulations in 1937.

Egypt has felt since World War I that her Civil Law has become inadequate to meet the demands made upon it and out of pace with the progress of the country. This Civil Code was originally drafted in French in 1883 on the lines of the Civil Code of the Mixed Tribunals drafted by the French lawyer, Monori, in 1875. Both these Codes were in the nature of an abridged adaptation of the old French Civil Code laid down by Napoleon in 1804.

The Egyptians began to realise this defect in their Civil Law and the need for its reform and drastic amendment soon after the Treaty of Montreaux in 1937, which abolished the privileges of foreign subjects resident in Egypt. Upon the conclusion of this Treaty an Order was issued by the Egyptian Cabinet in June, 1938, forming a Committee under the Chairmanship of the great Egyptian jurist, Sanhoury Pasha, and this Committee was charged with the task of drafting a new Civil Code. The drafting of this Code was completed in 1943 and revised again in 1945, and in 1946 the Bill was submitted to the Egyptian Parliament which passed it in June, 1948. This Civil Code came into operation on the 15th October, 1949, immediately upon the final abolishment of the Mixed Tribunals in accordance with the Treaty of Montreaux.

The new Civil Code of Egypt has much in common with all modern legislation of the civilised world made in the latter part of the last century or the early part of this century, and, in particular, it bears great similarity to the German and Anglo-Saxon legal systems. Many assume that this Egyptian Civil Code is at variance with English Law. This, however, is wrong. In many respects, the new Egyptian Civil Code has provisions identical with those of English Law. The new Egyptian Civil Code has abandoned the "subjective" theory, which is characteristic of the German and Anglo-Saxon systems. This adoption of the "objective" theory in the new Egyptian Civil Code has, to a great extent, assimilated the English and the Egyptian laws, as we shall see from a comparison of the provisions of the new Egyptian Civil Code with the provisions of English Law, compiled by the great English jurist Professor Edward Jenks in his book *English Civil Law*. Fourth Edition. Published by Butterworth & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., London, 1947, in two volumes.

Legal liability for wrongful civil acts in the Egyptian Civil Code.

The new Egyptian Civil Code is identical with English Civil Law in its provisions as regards legal liability for wrongful civil

acts and omissions, and the introduction into Egyptian law of the provisions of English Law on this subject ranks as one of the most important changes made by the Egyptian Civil Code.

Paras. 3 and 739-741 of Jenks' *English Civil Law (Supra)* and Art. 164 of the new Egyptian Civil Code deal with the liability of persons under a legal incapacity, minors and lunatics, for their civil acts and defaults (torts). English Law and the new Egyptian Civil Code make the same provisions as regards the attainment of majority and the assumption of legal capacity and full civil responsibility by a minor, and they both fix that age as 21 years (Paras 1 and 2 of Jenks' *English Civil Law (Supra)* and Art. 44 of the Egyptian Civil Code). The English and Egyptian Civil Codes also make the same provisions as regards the liability of a minor who by concealing his true age induces another person to enter into a contract with him while unaware of his minority and of his legal disability. Para. 742 of Jenks' *English Civil Law* provides that the minor in this case is liable in equity to restore, so far as may then be possible, the property which he has obtained by a false representation to his account by means of any other fraud, and Art. 119 of the Egyptian Civil Code similarly provides that the minor is liable to the payment of damages and compensation to the other contracting party if the minor has induced that party by fraud and deceit in concealing his minority and legal disability to part to the minor with any goods, etc.

English Law and the new Egyptian Civil Code also have identical provisions on the subject of the legal responsibility of a master for the acts and default of his servant which the latter commits in the course of his employment and within the scope of such employment, even though the tort in question is in excess of the servant's authority or duty, or is an improper mode of performing an act authorised by the master (Para. 747 of Jenks' *Supra* and Art. 174 of the Egyptian Civil Code). The master is made vicariously liable for all civil acts and omissions committed by his servant in the course of his employment or as a result of it. English Law defines a "master" for the purpose of ascertaining liability in "tort" as the person who reserves the control and direction of the mode in which work is to be done by another (the servant), (Para. 749 of Jenks). Art. 174 (2) of the Egyptian Civil Code also defines the master as that person whose relationship with the servant is that which involves the power to supervise and direct the latter in all that relates to the latter's employment.

Both the English and Egyptian Civil Laws make provisions for absolving from legal liability and responsibility a person who commits any act or omissions in the course of defending his

possession of land or chattels. Para. 888 (iii) of Jenks and Art. 166 of the Egyptian Civil Code are almost identical in this respect.

English Law and the new Egyptian Civil Code make the same provisions regarding the liability of a person for the damage and injury done by the animals or dangerous chattels which he keeps. (Paras. 760-766, 1,300 of Jenks and Arts. 176/177 of the Egyptian Civil Code.) Both laws make similar provisions regarding the measure of damages resulting directly from the breach of a contract. Paras. 252 and 254 of Jenks and Art. 221 of the Egyptian Civil Code provide that only such damages as flow directly from and are the natural consequences of the breach of contract can be recovered by action.

The obligations of the hirer or borrower of a chattel to the owner.

There are also similar provisions in the English and Egyptian Civil Laws regarding the obligations of the hirer or borrower of a chattel to the owner. Paras. 388 and 393 of Jenks provide that in the absence of any agreement to the contrary the duties of the hirer or borrower of a chattel are :—(i) to take reasonable care of the chattel hired or borrowed, and that reasonable care in a hirer or borrower is such care as a prudent man may be expected to take of his own chattels of the same kind ; (ii) to use the chattel hired or borrowed for the purpose and time agreed ; (iii) to restore the chattel at the time fixed for the expiration of the hiring or borrowing ; (iv) to restore the chattel in the condition in which it was received, fair wear and tear excepted, and that this duty does not arise if the chattel has perished, been lost or has deteriorated, without default on the part of the hirer or borrower ; (v) to pay or perform the consideration agreed upon for the hiring. In like manner, Art. 591 (1) of the Egyptian Civil Code provides that it is the duty of the hirer to return the chattel hired or borrowed in the same condition as when it was hired or lent to him, with the exception of fair wear and tear, and that the hirer or borrower is not liable to make good any damage or injury to the chattel due to no fault on the part of the hirer or borrower. Art. 583 of the Egyptian Civil Code also provides that : (1) it is the duty of the hirer or borrower to exercise reasonable care in the use of the chattel hired or borrowed and to take such care in the use and custody of the chattel as a reasonable man may be expected to take of his own chattels of the same kind ; (2) the hirer is responsible for any damage to the chattel caused by any extraordinary use to which he puts such chattel, but the hirer or borrower is not liable if the chattel has perished, been lost, or has deteriorated without default on his part.

The duties and obligations of a depositree.

The provisions of English Law as regards the duties and obligations of a depositree (who is defined as a person in whose custody another person, the depositor, places chattels to be kept by the former for the latter), and the distinction it makes between the respective duties of a depositree who undertakes the deposit gratuitously and the depositree who does so for reward, are also to be found in the new Egyptian Civil Code. Para. 404 of Jenks provides that the general duties of a depositree are that he should "exercise reasonable care and skill in regard to the chattel deposited. What is reasonable care depends upon the circumstances of each case . . ." and makes a distinction between the duties of a depositree for reward and a gratuitous depositree : "A depositree for reward is bound to exercise such care and skill as a prudent man would exercise in the circumstances in respect of his own chattels. This includes the exercise of special skill where special skill is required." The duties of a gratuitous depositree are "to exercise such skill as he has, and such care as a reasonable prudent and careful man would take of his own chattels of the like description." The new Egyptian Civil Code in Art. 720

provides that : (1) if the deposit is gratuitous the depositree must exercise such care in the custody of the chattel deposited as a prudent man would be expected to exercise in dealing with his own chattels, and he is not liable if he acts in a reasonable manner; (2) if the deposit is made for reward the depositree must exercise the care which a reasonably prudent and careful man would be expected to exercise in the case of his own chattels and where special skill is necessary he is expected to exercise it. Para. 406 of Jenks provides that a depositree must "deal with the chattels deposited only in the manner authorized by the depositree"; and the gist of this provision is to be found in Art. 719 of the new Egyptian Civil Code. English Law and the new Egyptian Civil Code have identical provisions with regard to the liability of innkeepers for the safety of the guest's belongings and the safe custody of the articles deposited by the guests. English Law provides that the innkeeper is not liable to make good any loss of or injury to goods or property brought to his inn (with some exceptions) to a greater amount than the sum of £30 (Para. 518 of Jenks) ; and the Egyptian Civil Code limits such liability to £E50 (Art. 727/2). Both the English and the Egyptian Civil Laws make provision for an extension of the liability of the innkeeper beyond this limit, if such goods or property have been stolen, lost, or injured through the wilful act, default, or neglect of the innkeeper or any servant in his employment, or in the cases where such goods have been deposited expressly for safe custody with the innkeeper. English Law and the Egyptian Civil Code also give the innkeeper the right to enforce a preferential lien on the goods and property of a guest for an unpaid debt due to the innkeeper (Para. 521 of Jenks and Art. 1,114 of the Egyptian Civil Code).

Master and servant.

English Law and the Egyptian Civil Code make identical provisions with regard to the relationship of master and servant, and with regard to the respective rights and duties of each party to a contract of service. Para. 429 of Jenks' *English Civil Law* provides that the servant who is wrongfully dismissed may recover as damages compensation for services under the contract rendered and not paid for, and for loss of prospective wages ; and Art. 965 of the Egyptian Civil Code makes similar provision. Para. 420 of Jenks' *English Civil Law* provides that the servant may not, during his service or after its termination, use, to the prejudice of his master, confidential information or materials obtained by him in the course of his service ; and Art. 685 (d) of the Egyptian Civil Code similarly provides that the servant must keep in his confidence any secrets of the work or trade of his master even after he ceases to be in the employment of the master and even after the termination of the contract of service. English Law and the Egyptian Civil Code also make the same provisions as regards agency and the delegation of authority, etc., by power of attorney and, in particular, as to the liability of the agent to his principal and to third parties for the acts and defaults of any person whom he appoints, whether authorized to do so or not, to act for him in the business of the agency ("sub-agent") and that the principal (generally) incurs no liability for the acts and defaults of any person so appointed (Para. 487 of Jenks and Art. 708 of the Egyptian Civil Code). Provision is made in both laws as to the duty of the agent to disclose to his principal all material facts within his knowledge relating to any transaction into which he enters as agent for him (Para. 489 of Jenks and Art. 705 of the Egyptian Civil Code) ; and also as to the right of the agent to reimbursement and indemnity for liabilities in respect of any transactions already properly entered into by the agent under the authority of the principal, if the principal, at a later stage, wrongfully revokes the agent's authority (Para. 513 of Jenks and Art. 715 of the Egyptian Civil Code).

The surety's liability to a creditor.

There are also many points of similarity in the provisions of English Law and the Egyptian Civil Code as regards the extent of the surety's liability to a creditor under a contract of guarantee: "It may be less, but cannot be more than that of the principal debtor". (Para. 634 of Jenks and Art. 780 of the Egyptian Civil Code.) English Law (Para. 640 of Jenks) provides that a surety is entitled to stand in the place of the creditor ("subreption"), and to use all the creditor's remedies, etc.; and the new Egyptian Civil Code makes identical provisions in Art. 799. Para. 641 of Jenks' *English Civil Law* provides that the surety who is sued by the creditor may claim the benefit of any right of set-off which the principal debtor could plead in answer to the creditor's claim in an action by the creditor against the principal debtor, and this finds its counterpart in Art. 782 of the new Egyptian Civil Code. Another point of similarity between the two laws is in Para. 651 of Jenks and Art. 784 of the Egyptian Civil Code, where identical provisions are to be found to the effect that if the creditor surrenders a security, or negligently fails to enforce a security,

or if he allows a security to be imparted or to deteriorate, the surety is discharged *pro tanto*.

Contracts by way of gaming or wagering.

Similar provisions are also to be found in both English Law and the Egyptian Civil Code making null and void all contracts by way of gaming or wagering (Para. 672 of Jenks and Art. 739 of the Egyptian Civil Code).

I have mentioned here only the most important aspects of similarity between the provisions of English Law and the new Egyptian Civil Code. In the preamble of the Bill of this new Egyptian Civil Code it was expressly stated that the provisions of English Law have afforded great assistance and guidance in the drafting of the Code, and that, in particular, the English Bankruptcy Act, 1914, has been adopted to a great extent in the Egyptian Civil Code.

Thus, we see that the legislators and jurists of Egypt have not failed to draw assistance and guidance from English Law and that they have adopted such convenient provisions as English Law has to offer.

IRAQ'S NEW OIL AGREEMENT AND HER PROBLEMS

By G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

The effect of the oil agreement on Iraq's national economy.

If the new oil agreement between the Iraq Government and the oil companies concerned (Iraq Petroleum Co. Ltd., Mosul Petroleum Co. Ltd. and Basra Petroleum Co. Ltd.) is accepted by the Iraq Parliament, there will be a vast improvement in the country's economy.

The revenue per ton will be increased from 18/- (6/- gold, the British equivalent) to 35/6 this year and 39/6 in 1953. These rates will be subject to fluctuations in the production costs and world prices. In 1951 the Iraqis will receive 15,000,000 dinars and the estimated revenues for

1952	...	...	...	23,000,000 dinars
1953	...	...	...	45,000,000 dinars
1954	...	...	...	52,000,000 dinars
1955	...	...	...	59,000,000 dinars

The minimum annual production for I.P.C. and Mosul oil per year from 1954 onwards will be 22,000,000 tons of crude oil and from 1955 onwards the minimum production at Basra will be 8,000,000 tons. The Iraqi Government's guaranteed minimum income for 1953 and 1954 will be 20,000,000 dinars and 25,000,000 dinars from 1955 onwards. Unless prevented by circumstances beyond the companies' control.

Fifty per cent of the restrictive companies' profits will be paid to the Iraq Government in the following ways:

- (1) Twenty-five per cent of the crude oil produced by the Iraq Petroleum Company and Mosul Petroleum Company and 33½ per cent of the Basra Petroleum Company production. The Iraq Government is free to sell 12½ per cent of the total production as she desires, and to sell any surplus through the companies. Any crude oil needed for local consumption will be supplied to the Iraq Government at 5/6 per ton.
- (2) The remainder of the Iraq Government's profits to be taken in the form of a tax on the companies' profits. (In estimating profits international world prices and price fluctuations will be taken into consideration.)

Apart from these clauses there is a section providing for the revising of the agreement in favour of the Iraq Government

should any neighbouring government receive more favourable terms from the companies extracting oil in her respective territories. Should the companies be forced for some exceptional reason to stop oil production the sum of 5,000,000 dinars should be paid to the Iraq Government for the period of two years. On ratification of the treaty the sum of 5,000,000 dinars is to be paid to the Iraq Government.

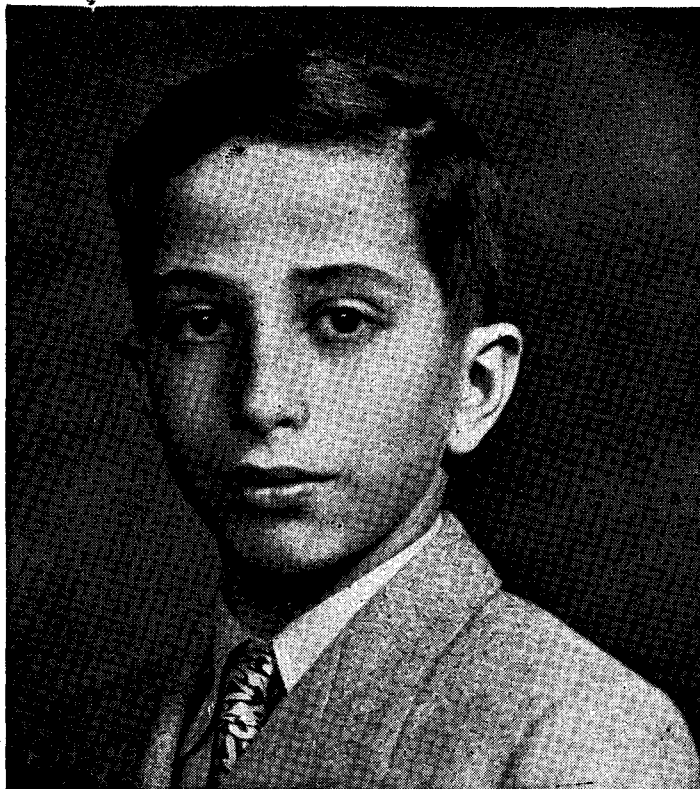
A dispute in the British courts as to the value in present-day currency of the 6/- gold per ton due to the Iraq Government and valued at 18/- by the company and 30/- by the Iraqis, has been suspended.

The Agreement further provides that an unspecified number of Iraqi directors are to be appointed to the board of the oil companies, 50 students are to be sent each year to British institutions to study sciences relating to the oil industry and 240 students are to be trained at the I.P.C. school at Kirkuk, of whom 60 will graduate each year.

No official of the companies is to be appointed from abroad without confirmation from the Ministry of Economics that there is no suitable Iraqi for the post. The agreement is retrospective from 1st January, 1951.

Iraqi views on the Agreement.

Of the 141 deputies in the Iraq Parliament, 32 are at present advocating nationalization of the oil industry following the lead set by the Iranian National Front. This campaign is led by the Independence Party (*Hizb al-Istiqlal*) whose views are expressed in their paper, *Liwa al-Istiqlal*. Its most prominent members are Faik Samarraï and the lawyer, Sadiq Shenshel, who was director of propaganda in Rashid 'Alî's ministry which was forcibly suppressed by the British in 1941, Muhammad Mahdi Kubba who held government office after the collapse of the abortive Portsmouth Treaty in 1948. The National Democratic Party (*Hizb al-watani ad-Dimuqrati*) of Kamil Chadirchi which has Socialist sympathies, is also, I believe, advocating nationalization. Muhammad Hadid, the Vice-President of this party advocates the right of the Iraqis to sell half the total production of crude oil as an immediate alternative to nationalization. The



*His Majesty King Faisal II
King Faisal II succeeded his father in 1939 at the age of four.
After receiving preliminary training in religion and Arabic, he
went to England for modern education at Harrow*

National Democrats are a progressive party which is openly Socialistic but object to the reactionary support given by the British Government to their clique of politicians and wirepullers of the old régime as well as the avowedly Zionist sympathies of the left-wing Socialists in the Western States. It is working with a "Popular Front" of 16 deputies to obtain democratic elections in Iraq, the right for political régime for political prisoners at present denied by the Government, and on the international side, a policy of neutrality and freedom from foreign interference. Its leaders were instrumental in getting a Date Board set up to defend the rights of the date growers and pickers but this has been obstructed in performing its duties. The party aims at breaking the British alleged monopoly in buying the dates, in the setting up of date grower co-operatives and in the re-establishing of a trades union in the oil fields to replace the former union which was suppressed in 1946 after strikes resulting in the loss of six lives. The Democrats are demanding the abolition of the Nugrat Salman internment — they claim as many as 2,000 political prisoners have been detained at a time in the whole of Iraq.

The Istiqlal Party corresponds to the Mossadegh National Front in Iran.

In the Conservative paper, *al-Zaman* in August, 1951, 'Ali Mahmoud Shaikh 'Ali, an ex-Minister and a lawyer, gave his views on the Agreement. He fully agreed that the Agreement was a great improvement on the previous one but subjected it to a close scrutiny. He considered that the Iraq Government statement was cleverly worded and that it gave the public an exaggerated view of the benefits acquired. In his view the tax on the company's profits should be taken in addition to the royalties and not as part of them. He did not like the clause

dealing with emergencies leading to possible stoppage of work, and considered that the sum of 5,000,000 dinars for two years would be inadequate. With regard to the clause dealing with the Agreement being subject to similar or rather better conditions being made with neighbouring companies he thought that this would merely result in negotiations being reopened with the Iraq Petroleum Company which might not react favourably to the Iraq Government. He wanted a clause inserted with regard to the Haifa refinery; Haifa was not suitable to use as a refinery for Iraq oil, as it is in Israeli-occupied territory; oil was a crying need for Israel but even if it became a free port *pace* clever diplomacy in order to cover up this painful reality from the Arab world, Iraq would not be in a position to pump oil there. In the same paper on 17th August, 1917, 'Ali Haidar Suleyman welcomed the Agreement and stressed the fact that the money acquired must be used for the general welfare of the country. Another writer, Muhammad Rizkulla Augustine, was concerned with the percentage of oil to be put at the disposal of the Iraq Government, which would work out in reality at 3 per cent of the total production in the case of the I.P.C. and the Mosul Oil Company and 4 per cent in the case of Basra Oil Company. On 18th August Shaikh Muhammad Ridha al-Shabibi further criticized the Agreement, discussed the question of local refineries and pointed out that the estimated rise in royalties would jump from 15,000,000 to 59,000,000 dinars by 1955, the last year of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty. He was not sure about the soundness of the basis on which these figures were reached. He wanted the price of oil in Russia and her satellite countries to be taken into consideration as well as American and Middle East prices. He was concerned that the Anglo-American companies would extract all the oil in the Middle East in a few years, if it were profitable for them to do so before the Middle Eastern countries had developed their economies sufficiently to use more oil for their own internal use. He thought that the compelling conditions which might result in the stoppage of oil production, could be caused by a surplus of world oil production.

It is as well to mention these criticisms at the present stage because although they will be considered to be unreasonable by members of extracting countries, they represent a cross-section of typical opinion in the Muslim oil-producing countries. And if in Iraq the supporters of nationalization get the upper hand in the near future, it is far better to consider their case in advance and not as in the case of Iran examine the matter when it already has arrived at the post-mortem stage.

The various companies interested in oil extraction in Iraq.

The Iraq Petroleum Co. Ltd. and the Mosul and Basra Companies are controlled by British, Dutch, French, and American companies and Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian. The Shell group, the Anglo-Iranian, the Cie Française des Petroles, and the American group (half Standard Oil, New Jersey, and half Socony Vacuum) each own 23½ per cent, and the other 5 per cent is in the hands of Mr. Gulbenkian. The Iraq oil reserves are estimated at roughly 6,000,000,000 barrels. The Iraq Petroleum Company's lease has to run until the year 2000, being a 75-year lease. The Mosul Petroleum Company's lease runs until 2007 and that of the Basra Oil Company till 2013.

Production costs are estimated at from 13 to 35 cents per barrel in the Near East as compared with 86 cents in Venezuela, so that the inducement for oil prospecting in the Middle East can be easily understood. The oil concessions in Iraq in 1931 covered an area of 32,000 square miles in the *liwas* (provinces) of Mosul and Baghdad. In 1936 the Mosul Oil Company was formed to operate over a further area of 40,000 square miles west of the Tigris and north of latitude 33°; a further area was taken over as a concession by Basra Petroleum Company in 1938.

Oil reserves and its production in Iraq.

On 15th October, 1927, the finding of oil in considerable quantities at Baba Gurgur near Kirkuk put oil on the map in Iraq. Oil was found at depths of 2,000-3,000 feet in the Kirkuk area which is 60 miles long by 2 miles wide. It has already produced over 60,000,000 tons. This oil is piped to the Mediterranean by two 532-mile pipe-lines to Tripoli, the Lebanon and Syria, with a capacity of 7,800,000 tons. A further 30-inch pipe-line to Baniyas will have a capacity of 13,000,000 tons. The two 620-mile pipe-lines to Haifa (one 12 inches and one 16 inches) have been out of action since the Palestine war with a resulting loss of some 16,000,000 tons of oil production to the company. The loss of the royalties to the Iraqi Exchequer can be well imagined. A 75-mile pipe-line is also being laid from Zubair to Fao in the Persian Gulf. An oil refinery costing over £8,000,000 is to be constructed in Iraq by an American company.

The social services of the oil companies in Iraq.

The Iraq Petroleum Group apart from royalties amounting to £3,122,000 spent over £6,500,000 in Iraq in 1949 in wages, supplies, etc. By 1950 246 houses had been built in a model housing estate for the company's employees in the Kirkuk district. A modern hospital with accommodation of more than 100 beds, has been set up, and in 1949 146,000 patients were treated by the company's medical staff. Already by 1949 1,025 pupils were studying at the company's schools. If the new Agreement is peacefully worked out over the next few years, the accruing technical and social benefits will be very great to Iraq and it is hoped that the incentive given to housing, medicine and education will be developed.

The lessons from Iran's oil dispute.

One thing that definitely has come out of the Iranian crisis is the absolute necessity for maintaining a modern efficient organization for the extraction of oil. The whole Muslim world feels sympathy with Iraqis and Iranians who wish to own all the major industries in their own countries. It is to be hoped that through technical training and the appointment of Iraqi directors this transition may come gradually and painlessly with no wasteful holding up of the oil supply, as the benefit from this revenue is essential to the vast programme of irrigation which may well transform Iraq into one of the richest agricultural countries.

A bird's eye-view of Iraq's economy.

Apart from oil Iraq is dependent on the exports of barley and dates to pay her way. In 1947 of her total exports 49.7 per cent were accounted for by grain, etc., and 34.1 per cent by dates. In 1948 39.5 per cent of Iraq's exports excluding oil went to the Middle East, 18.2 per cent to India and Pakistan, etc., and 16.6 per cent to Great Britain; 43.5 per cent of Iraq's imports came from Britain.

The average income in Iraq was estimated by the United Nations economic experts at 85 dollars in 1949 per year (£30 per year) as compared with \$100 in Egypt, \$140 in the Lebanon, \$45 in Afghanistan, and \$40 in the Yemen. The date pickers yearly income was around £12 per year of which half was paid in kind and only half in actual cash. Although considerable progress has been made in irrigation carried out by British firms three-quarters of the cultivable land is still untouched. A £10,000,000 scheme, the Waadi Tharthar, aims at irrigating 800,000 hectares, and controlling the flood waters of the Tigris which threatens Baghdad. In 1950 a \$12,800,000 loan was allocated to Iraq to stimulate similar schemes of irrigation.

The feudal lands, income tax, etc.

The feudal land tenure is a barrier to progress. The Iraq Government has made several efforts to settle nomads on the land and improve the conditions of the peasants but these have so far been largely thwarted by selfish interests, and the predominant position of the feudal shaikhs prevents the functioning of democracy in the parliamentary elections, with the result that the progressive elements in the towns are prevented in the Iraq Parliament from getting through any effective legislation.

The national income.

In 1950 the budget was 28,000,000 dinars and revenues 27,400,000. Of the budget roughly 22 per cent was allocated to defence, 13 per cent to social services, 9 per cent to public works, 56 per cent was absorbed by the Civil Administration. As regards taxation although there is some talk of increasing income tax it is still directed against the poor. Only 10 per cent comes from income tax and 3 per cent from property tax, while 34 per cent comes from customs and 51 per cent from excise. The cost of living has risen from (reckoning 1938-39 as 100) 100 to 495 (second half of 1950), and wholesale prices from 100 to 488. During the war Iraq obtained a favourable trade balance with Britain of some £70,000,000 which she now wants unfrozen. Loss in oil revenue was compensated partly by Allied military expenditure in Iraq which in 1943 alone amounted to over £30,000,000. As to education, there are 35,000 scholars at school. There is no university in Iraq, but plans for one have been approved by the Iraq Parliament. There are 2,000 students doing university courses of whom 1,018 are law students.

In Iraq there are 1,550 km. of railways, and 6,400 km. of roads, of which 2,400 are asphalted.

King Faisal who reigned from 1921-1933 showed remarkable patience in working out a compromise due to the implementing of the iniquitous Sykes-Picot secret agreement which led to his being brutally ejected from Damascus by the French. Ja'far al-'Askari Pasha, General Yasin al-Hashimi and General Nuri al-Sa'id Pasha, members of his military staff, and 'Abd al-Muhsin Sa'doon all played a useful part in building up an independent Iraq which was admitted to the League of Nations in 1932 while being bound to Great Britain by a treaty due to expire in 1956.

The problems of Iraq.

King Faisal's premature death in 1933 came at the height of the Assyrian crisis which was, in the first place, caused by the Assyrians themselves as they not only worked first with the Russians against the Turks, but later with the British against the Iraqis and then after retiring to Syria, returned to Iraq under arms and provoked a conflict with disastrous results to themselves once local nationalism was aroused. The Arabs and Kurds have, however, got on remarkably well and the Sunni-Shi'a feud which was exploited for centuries by Turkish and Iranian imperialists is being harmoniously settled now that there is no direct foreign intervention.

The young King Ghazi, who was educated in England, was an excellent Arab nationalist. Under his reign General Bekr Sidki, a Kurd, set a dictatorship but this was marred from the outset by the brutal murder of Ja'far Pasha and Bekr Sidki was murdered shortly afterwards. King Ghazi's death in 1939 came prematurely.

The war inevitably brought the question of British bases to the fore. Zionism was the *bête noire* of the Iraqis and in 1938 Naji al-Suwaidi Bey had said at the Bludan Conference, "Zionism is a cancer in the living body of the Arab States. We must cut it out or it will cause the death of that body." The

presence of al-Haji Muhammad Amin Husaini in Baghdad naturally increased the Nationalist feeling, although the Chamberlain British Government White Paper limiting immigration naturally had some effect and Col. Newcombe, one of the earliest supporters of Arab nationalism, started talks with the Iraqis which if they had been continued by the Churchill Government, might have stopped the war between Rashid 'Ali's Government (backed by the "Golden Square" officers) and Britain. Rashid 'Ali was backed by a large section of the townsmen. The high-handed attitude of the British Minister Cornwallis like that of his colleague in Egypt was intensely unpopular as was the resulting military occupation of British troops with the co-operation of the Jordan Arab Legion.

In 1948 Mr. Bevin who was extremely popular in Iraqi and Egyptian circles once more underestimated Iraqi popular opinion in trying to foist the Treaty of Portsmouth on an unwilling people. The Regent reacting to demonstrations which resulted in the loss of 36 lives, ended these abortive negotiations.

For the past two years General Nuri al-Sa'id's Government has put an end to an interminable succession of Cabinets.

Backed with a 12,000 police force, in the recent Hula Marshes dispute he sent military aid with commendable speed to Syria.

The question of developing what the Iraqis call "real independence", the formation of a real democratically elected Parliament and the fair distribution of wealth remains unsolved. While on the international plane, the federation of Iraq and Jordan (the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty is an obstacle to Syrian federation with Iraq) and the Palestine war are far from settled.

The ambitious and able politicians, such as Shenshal of the Istiqlal Party, who recently advocated a Socialist policy as opposed to Bolshevism, M. M. Kubba, Faik Samarrai and Chadirchi have no opportunity of showing their true values.

Real democracy will lead to real friendship with the West. The question of British bases and their possible use in the event of trouble in Iran will be deplored in all the Muslim world.

The Iraq Government has the right to receive all crude oil needed for the national refinery. Recent consumption is 1,000,000 tons a year. The crude oil is to be delivered to Baiji 130 miles from Kirkuk at a nominal due of 5/6 per ton.

THE EGYPTIAN OIL COMPROMISE

Even before the assassination of the late Iranian Prime Minister, General Rasmara, the Egyptian authorities through the Egyptian Company Law of 1947 and the 1948 Mining Law had placed restrictions on the activities of foreign oil companies working in Egypt.

The Mining Law of Egypt ensured that 51 per cent of their shares in new exploitations by companies should be first offered to Egyptians.

Egyptian oil production in 1950 was 16,300,000 barrels of which 7,945,250 barrels came from the oilfields at Ras Gharib exploited by Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields Ltd., a subsidiary of the Shell Oil Company. Local consumption was about 20,000,000 barrels but imports including kerosene were 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 barrels costing about £8,000,000. (Great Britain is repaying Egypt at the rate of £10,000,000 for oil imports.)

At present oil production is in the hands of the above-mentioned Shell subsidiary and the American company, Socony-Vacuum. Of the 8,000 employees of these companies, over 7,000 are Egyptian citizens.

Oil wells are being successfully exploited in the Sinai peninsula at Sudr and Asl but the chances of finding oil are only one in twenty and a great deal of money has been fruitlessly spent by foreign companies — Jersey Standard lost \$12,000,000, while the Anglo-Egyptian lost £800,000 at Newbi and Lagia.

As a result of the combination of circumstances (the Iranian crisis, the campaign for nationalization stimulated by the Egyptian-Arabic daily, *al-Misri*, balanced to a certain extent by the Egyptian Government's desire to stimulate research), the Anglo-Egyptian Company propose to transfer its board to Cairo where its profits will not be subject to British income tax. Four of the ten directors will be Egyptians including a former premier, Sirry Pasha and 'Osman Pasha, a brother of Egypt's Foreign Minister; the senior technical adviser will also be an Egyptian.

In return for these concessions, the Egyptian Government will modify the application of the 1947-48 laws but it is natural that Egyptians are being encouraged to buy Anglo-Egyptian shares.

Socony-Vacuum are at present discussing similar proposals with the Egyptian Government.

FREE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE IN EGYPT

A 15-year plan to provide free hospital treatment for all the inhabitants of the country was approved by the Council of Ministers on 19th August, 1951, and is shortly to be presented to Parliament.

The plan submitted to the Council of Ministers by the Minister of Public Health, provides for a central hospital in every provincial town, as well as larger hospitals in the Governorates and central provincial towns. The scheme allows for three beds per 1,000 inhabitants for general ailments, maternity and surgery cases and one bed per 1,000 inhabitants for pulmonary diseases. Each hospital will have a research laboratory, an out-patient clinic, an X-ray section, a psychiatric ward and an ambulance service. A dentist, an oculist, an endemic diseases specialist and a gynaecologist will be in attendance.

The bigger hospitals in the central provincial towns will be staffed by a larger variety of specialists and will have nursing schools attached to them. The Minister of Health will be entitled to reserve a number of beds in each hospital, not exceeding one-fourth of the total number, for paying patients.

The project also provides for the building of camps to accommodate 15,000 leprosy cases.

The cost of the schemes outlined has been estimated at £60,000,000 to be spent over 15 years at the rate of about £4,000,000 per year.

The Egyptian Cabinet has approved an amendment to Article 1 of the Improvement of Rural Health Law of 1947. The amendment provides for a health unit to be erected in the centre of every group of villages of between 10,000 and 20,000 inhabitants.

SEVENTEENTH OF AUGUST, 1951, IN INDONESIA

The achievements during 1951.

For Indonesia, 1951 could perhaps with justice be termed the Year of Treaties. India, Pakistan, Burma and the Philippines have all signed Treaties of Friendship with Indonesia. These Treaties not only express the determination of the countries to live in amity together, but are a logical continuation of the age-old cultural, trading and religious links between them.

Within Indonesia, in spite of the fact that a positive balance of trade has been established and that exports have reached extremely high levels, there has been a constant struggle against the threat of uncontrolled inflation. In view of this, every possible effort is being made to increase the productivity of labour in the country.

Generally, the year has been one of consolidation, both domestically and internationally. Social, economic and cultural plans have been made, and are now being implemented. They are hampered by world and internal conditions, but although Indonesians are not complacent about the progress made, yet there is still room for solid satisfaction. Basically, the change lies in the fact that the Indonesian Government is now primarily concerned with the welfare of the Indonesian people. Thus those policies, both short and long term, which have this as their object can now be put into operation.

These policies are not all in the field of economics. The campaign against illiteracy, the measures being taken to improve public health, the drive for better housing for the people, the plans for transmigration from comparatively over-crowded Java to the vast empty spaces of the other islands are all directed towards the same end.

In the field of the fight against illiteracy, cumulative results are now becoming apparent. It is estimated, for example, that the percentage of literates in Indonesia has risen from ten in 1942 to twenty. In 1942 there were 24,000 elementary schools, with 2,000,000 pupils and 30,000 teachers; today there are 27,000 elementary schools with 4,000,000 pupils and 80,000 teachers. Over the same period, the number of secondary schools has increased from three hundred and forty-five to four hundred and sixty-five and the number of pupils from 45,000 to 176,000.

Indonesia in the international field.

In the international field, Premier Sukiman, defined his foreign policy in a statement made on 28th May this year, in which he said that the Pantja Sila — Faith in God, Democracy, National Spirit, Social Justice, Humanity — which is the conception of a people who desire world peace, continued to be the basis of foreign policy, and that his Government would preserve friendly relations with any State and nation, on the basis of mutual appreciation and respect. The Indonesian Premier in referring to tension in international politics — that between the Soviet and American *blocs* — pointed out that his Government would not aggravate this tension by participating in the cold war now raging, that it would, on the contrary, exert itself to ease the tension by availing itself of every opportunity which is deemed appropriate to realise peace. He stressed that an independent policy was not a policy based on the neutrality principle.

As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia is determined to make use of the international forum to advocate the ideas of world peace. Generally, the Indonesian Government will actively

strive for the realisation of world peace, on the principle of her independent policy, by adopting the Pantja Sila as her ideological basis and the natural wealth of Indonesia and the needs of the people as her material basis.

The Netherlands-Indonesian Union has been brought into open review during the year, and it is the general consensus of opinion in Indonesia that co-operation between the two countries could best be achieved by basing it on agreements such as are common between two sovereign States. Professor Supomo, who was Chairman of a special Government Committee set up to investigate this matter, went to the Netherlands to discuss the future of the Union and the procedure which could be followed in changing it into a formal international agreement.

Within Indonesia, the year has been marked by a deepening determination that Irian shall also be given the opportunity for exercising the basic rights of self-government. Logically, this right can best be exercised together with and in the framework of the national Government of the rest of Indonesia.

Economic position of Indonesia.

The process of transforming Indonesia's economy into a national economy has been continued in the twelve months since Independence Day, 1950.



Dr. Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia. He is also President of the biggest political organisation, the Majsumi Party

[Foto Kempen]

At the end of the colonial period, Indonesia was left with a very vulnerable economy. The prosperity of the country was entirely dependent on its exports and consequently fluctuated with world prices. Moreover, the export products came from estates and factories almost exclusively owned by foreigners, both Western and Chinese, and trade was also conducted by foreigners. The rôle of the population in the processes of production was confined to rural activities and labour for foreign enterprise.

The new Government from its very start in 1945 grasped that this situation had to be changed if independence was to have real meaning. An economy had to be built up by the people and for the people. The main emphasis of the national economy had to be shifted, and stress laid on organising the economic strength of the small producers. This equally and simultaneously had to apply to the agricultural as well as the industrial field, since the vast majority of the Indonesian population consists of small producers, foodcrop-peasants, growers of rubber, etc., as well as people engaged in small-scale industries.

This enormous task of re-shaping Indonesian economy will take many years, since it must be done without disrupting production and distribution. It can be said, however, that in all Government planning and in the realisation of plans, which are now under way, that the basic idea is that the economic strength of Indonesia and its ability to resist disintegration stands and falls with the plight of the small producers.

The Indonesian Government does not overlook the fact that improvement of transportation and communications, engineering works, specific projects, such as those submitted to the Exim-bank, and modernising the equipment of large industrial units, are all necessary conditions for raising the standard of living of the population, but they regard these as supporting elements to productive activities connected with rural development.

Based on this conception of progress, State facilities are given for village co-operatives as well as co-operatives on a higher level. Credits are actually granted in various areas covering both farmers and industrial co-operatives. Activities in the field of rural industries have been intensified. Industrial centres for finishing processes are established with the Government's help, both technical and financial. Numerous centres in the country have been set up where representatives from various villages get an intensive training in the management of village co-operatives, thus the number of trained men will be gradually increased.

It can be said that at present the Indonesian economy is in a state of transition from old to new; there is a continuous process of destruction and growth.

On the whole the dominant issue in Indonesia is the problem of training and educating the people for the purpose of obtaining the required managerial skill. Training is being given in the fields of administration, commerce, finance, economic field work, engineering, and an almost endless number of other sections.

In the meantime production must go on. The rise in world prices of Indonesia's export products, such as rubber and tin, brought in the past twelve months a considerable improvement in the balance of payments and stimulated the volume of exports. A positive overall trade balance could be achieved.

The reverse of the picture was, however, that essential goods needed for further development of the country were becoming more and more scarce as the armament programmes in many of the supplying countries were proceeding.

Trade between Indonesia and the United Kingdom, although affected by the increasing export limitations of scarce materials, developed satisfactorily. Whereas the initial targets for the 12 months, 1951/1952, were £12 million of goods from Indonesia to the United Kingdom, and £7 million from the United Kingdom to Indonesia, the first half of 1951 showed exports from Indonesia to the United Kingdom at nearly £10 million and imports to Indonesia from the United Kingdom at £6.8 million, thus both considerably exceeded the initial targets.

In its domestic economy and finance, Indonesia is faced by a fierce struggle with budget deficits and inflation dangers caused by the tremendous amount of money in circulation and by skyrocketing prices.

The difficulties Indonesia has to surmount in her progress are manifold and grave. Indonesia is, however, confident that the richness of her soil, her natural resources and above all her industrious and peace loving population, having its basic strength in the rural society, will enable her to make progress whatever the difficulties of the present may be.



Dr. Shamsuddin, Minister of Social Affairs in the Government of the Republic of Indonesia

Dr. Shamsuddin, a Sumatran and by profession a medical doctor, is a member of the Majsumi Party

[Foto Kempen]

Forest Industries in East Pakistan

East Pakistan is rich in forest wealth which is waiting to be tapped and used by experts and technicians. Up on the banks of Karnafuli, the hills and vales are covered with green forests and flower plants. There are also medicinal herbs being used as cure for various ailments by local tribesmen, living in bamboo huts raised in the style of wigwams of North American Indians.

Study of conditions in the forest area reveals that small industries based on raw material obtainable from these forests can be started with a small capital. The tract is very rich in forest products of various kinds and offers a wide scope for small industries which can be developed immediately and which do not need elaborate machinery, high technical skill or foreign raw material to begin with.

Match Industry.

There is for instance, great scope for development of match industry on the basis of raw material obtainable from Chittagong hill tracts and Khulna forests. Some species suitable for match wood found in this area are: *Excaecoria Agallocha*, *Bombax Malabaricum*, *B. Insigne*, *Trewia Nudiflora*, besides several other varieties of woods which an organised research may discover.

Pakistan is a developing State with a widespread building programme. The prices of good timbers like teak, oak, walnut and other varieties have gone up very high and the demand has increased to such an extent that the only way to meet the situation and to overcome the difficulties of transport over long distances is to employ the local variety of available wood as a substitute for imported types of wood.

Plywood.

In East Pakistan, the use of plywood can certainly lessen the demand on other varieties of timbers. Plywood has already come to occupy an important place and Pakistan is importing large quantities of plywood from Scandinavian countries. It is, therefore, all the more important to develop indigenous resources of supply of this wood and to encourage people to start a plywood factory somewhere near Rangamati. All the varieties of available soft woods in the forests of East Pakistan can be utilized for building purposes. Some of the suitable species are: *Bombax Malabaricum*, *Cedrela Tonna*, *Mangifera Sylvatica* and *Storculia uroni*.

These and other varieties of soft wood from the forests can also be utilized profitably for starting rayon industry.

These forests can yield several suitable species for the manufacture of fibre boards which are at present being imported into Pakistan from abroad.

Pencil Industry.

The use of pencil, every kind of pencil — red, blue, lead and in varied colours — has come to occupy an important place in the civilized world. Large consignments of this commercial commodity are flowing annually into Pakistan while the material required for it is not difficult to get. Pakistan does not possess the best timbers such as cedars for the manufacture of pencils, because the best quality of cedar and juniper are not available at present in the forests in East Pakistan but there are several species quite suitable for this purpose. Experiments and trials can certainly help Pakistan towards manufacturing pencils and developing an indigenous industry. Some of the species quite suitable for this purpose and available in East Pakistan are: *Carapa obovata*, *Cedrela toona*, and *Hymenodictyon excelsum*. A small enterprise in the form of a pencil factory can immediately be started on the basis of this raw material available in the Chittagong hills.

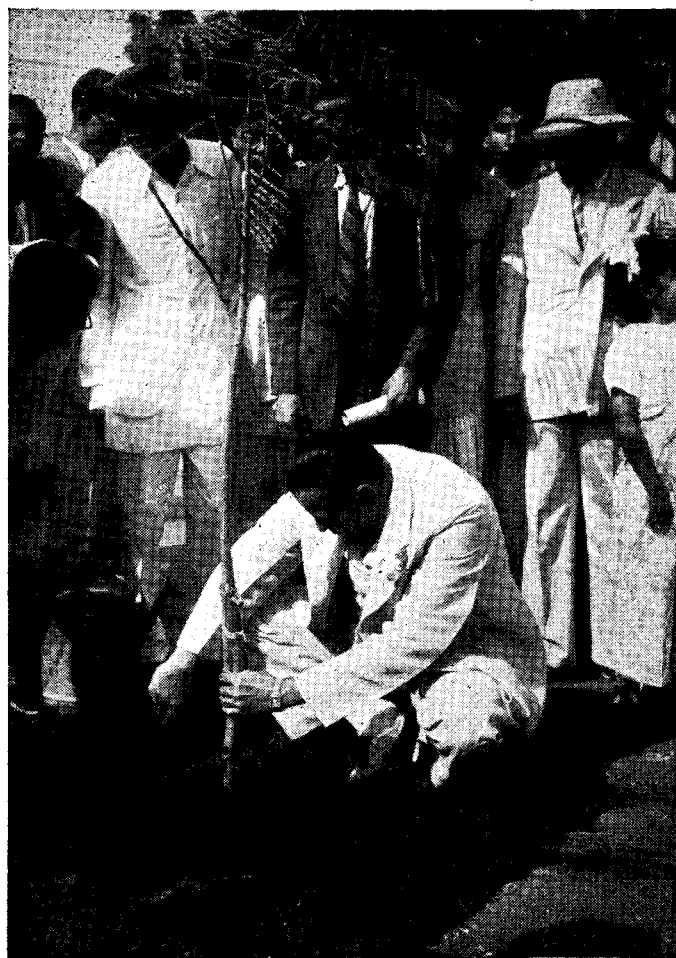
With the development of the handloom industry in Pakistan, the production of shuttles and bobbins at a low price has become

a necessity. There are several species suitable for the manufacture of shuttles and bobbins out of the timbers obtainable from its forests. Thus *Gmel.na arborea* and *Adina Cord.folia* are two species of wood out of which shuttles and bobbins can be prepared.

The soft wood species of Chittagong hill tracts are so abundant that they can meet the entire demand for packing cases in Pakistan.

Pharmaceutical Industry.

The forest products can also be utilized for the development of the pharmaceutical industry. Our scientists who had earlier studied some of the plants and herbs found in this forest area are of the view that decoction prepared out of the leaves of *Vitex peduncularis* can be used as a medicine to cure blackwater fever. Similarly, the oil obtainable from a plant known by the name of *Taraktogeros kurzii* and known as Ghulmarg Oil is locally used for skin diseases. The bark of *Saraca indica*, another plant, is used medicinally to cure certain female disorders.



Tree Planting Day in Karachi, Pakistan

The Honourable Mr. 'Abdus Sattar Pirzada, Minister of Food and Agriculture in the Government of Pakistan, inaugurated the Tree Planting Day in Karachi on August 4th, 1951. Picture shows the Minister, planting a Gul Mohar tree.



Top Left — *An insight into the life of the average Arab refugee in all the refugee camps. This picture was taken at al-Karamah Camp in the Jordan valley. It shows a refugee woman receiving a parcel of clothing from the Welfare Officer of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. The parcel contains underwear, socks, a coat, a jersey, sewing kit, etc. The father of the family does casual work around the camp but has no regular employment. There are five children and a hundred-year-old grandmother to care for*



PALESTINE A

The

Tragedy

PRODUCED BY THE MIGHTY
SMALL WONDER PEA

SOME PICTURES FROM THE 66 CAM
AND WO

Advisory Commission: Beirut, The Lebanon
United Kingdom (Sir Henry Knight), T
Blandford), France (Amba

Director: General H

A staff of 17 different nationalities totalling

International Staff

22 in Jordan; 8 in Gaza; 9 in The Lebanon

Refugees employed by the United Nations

Jordan, 2,229; Gaza, 1,700; The Lebanon

Expenditure — Y

20 million dollars relief:

Total Registered Refugees

Distribution: Jordan, 466,572; Gaza, 1

Occupied Palestine

Not in need

1,700 calories in winter

Living

Gaza, 68 per cent; Jordan, 23 per cent

The U.S.A.: 25,000,000 dollars (minimum)

2,857,000; Egypt: 390,000; Saudi Arabia

The Yemen: Cereals; Indonesia: 30,000

S. Rhodesia: 19,600; Norway

Out of 225,282 children

Weaving (peak): 2,260; Garment-making

Peak total e

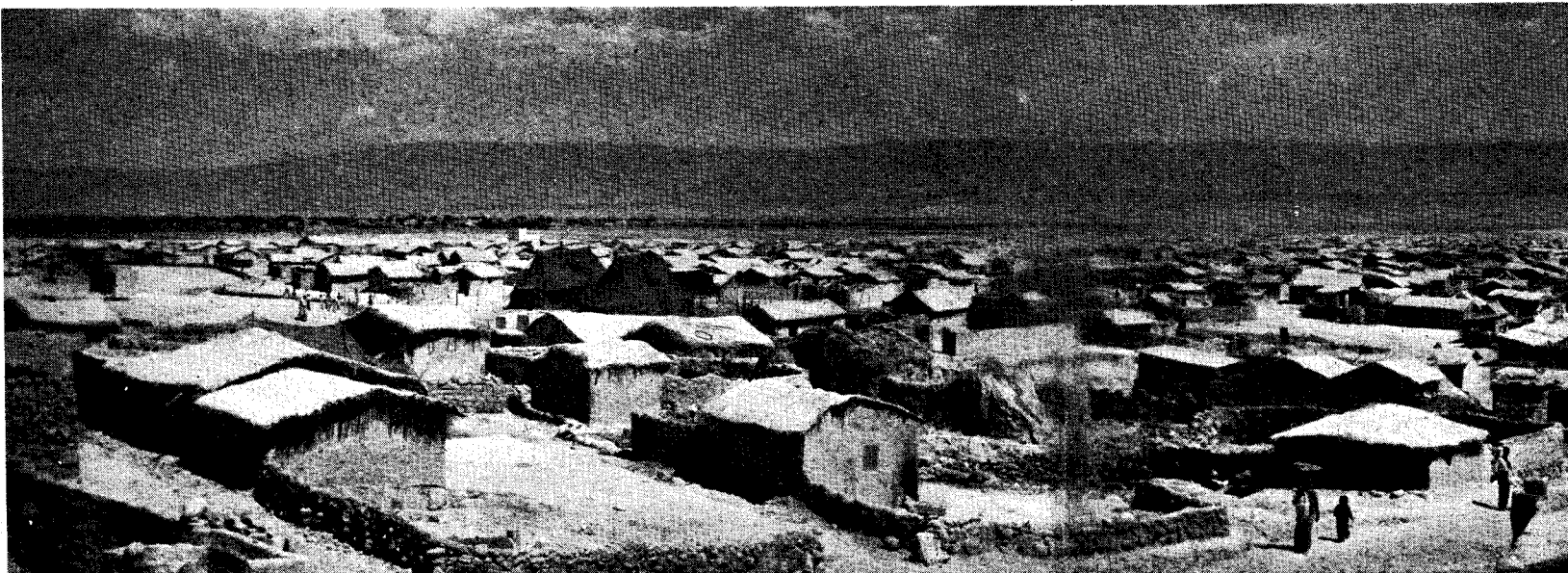
Below — *A view of the 'Akaba Camp near Jerusalem after three years of suffering, succeeded with the help of*

private enterprise

Formerly there were tents in this place; but after

they could no longer be repaired. The majority

cultivate s



AB REFUGEES

limax

the

Palestine

CIVILIZED NATIONS OF TODAY

ELUDES OUR GRASP!

RUN BY THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF
S AGENCY

TA

onsists of *Turkey* (General Rafet Bele), *The*
United States of America (Ambassador J. B.
r J. Tarbe de St. Hardouin)
d Kennedy, of Canada.

besides 210 refugees, works at Headquarters.

istributed as follows:

in Syria; 3 in Palestine (occupied by Israel).

tations Relief and Works Agency:

1,174; Syria, 690; Palestine (Israel), 27.

ending June, 1952:

million dollars reintegration.

April, 1951: 879,542.

1; The Lebanon, 106,440; Syria, 83,881;

(Israel), 23,958.

relief: 91,500.

ns:

,600 calories in summer.

er Tents:

Lebanon, 19 per cent; Syria, 10 per cent.

ce:

The United Kingdom: 8,000,000; France:

115,000; Pakistan: 90,000; Syria: 60,000;

The Lebanon: 33,000; Mexico: 115,000;

eden, Philippines, Denmark, etc.

ion:

98,861 are in schools.

ment:

20; Road-making: 5,110; Irrigation: 3,240.

ymment: 11,328.

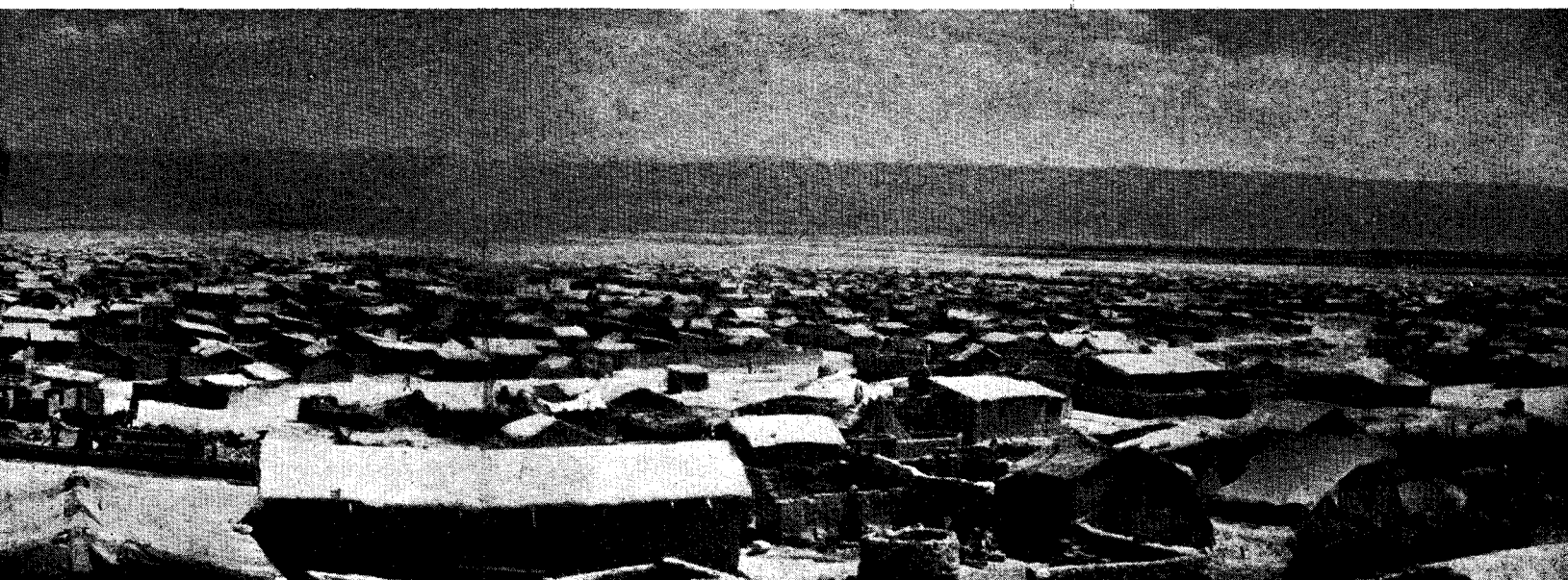
Jordan, with its 22,000 Arab refugees who have, after
the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and
creating a new town.

ee years of hard service they became so worn that
the inhabitants of Akaba now have a home and
plots of land



Top Right — This is the kind of hard life which the average Arab
refugee is leading nowadays. The tent is in shreds. The future is
bleak. There are no prospects of a return home. The feeling of
despair can best be judged by an incident mentioned by Sir Ronald
Storrs in his letter to The Times, London, for August 31, 1951:
"One man had shot his wife and six children and then himself because
they were freezing from want of clothing and bed covering; and there
have been many cases of burns through almost naked children trying
to keep warm over charcoal stoves".

The picture shows one of the huts and one of the tattered tents in the
Zerak Camp in Jordan



PALESTINE CONTINUES TO BLEED

By SHARIF al-MUJAHID

“Thou art granted, O Israel, lands from the Tigris to the borders of the Nile’ are the words written on the façade of the Israeli Parliament House. In fact there can be no greater testimony of Israel’s aggressive designs than this fact”

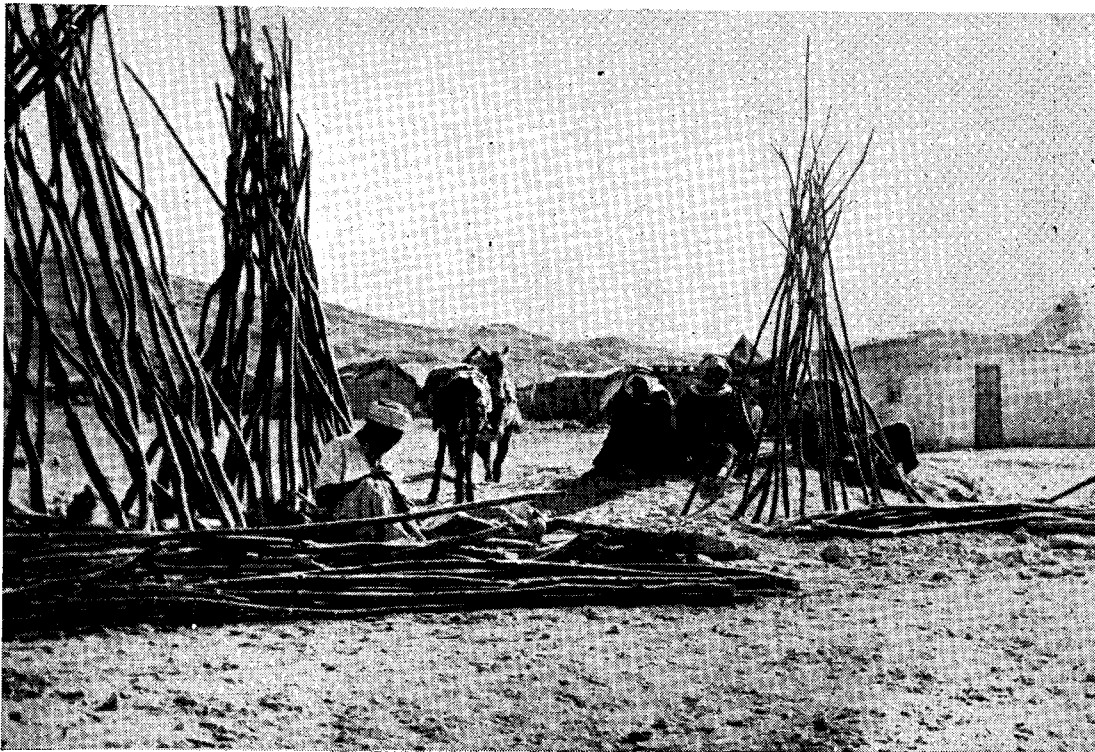
The Arabs in their land are now the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Palestine continues to bleed. Yes, the first Qibla and the third holy city of Islam continues to bleed under the aggressive designs and machinations of the Jewish jingoists. The Palestine Arabs continue to be the most harassed, embarrassed and victimized people on the surface of the earth. The ghosts of “Israeli” aggression and expansionism still stalk and strut about the Holy Land with heavy deathly steps.

The bloody dagger that was plunged into the heart of the Arab world in the shape of “Israeli” Homeland by that iniquitous body of world imperialists that goes under the grandiloquent name of the U.N.O. continues to subject the innocent Arabs to a slow, agonizing death, badly curtailing, curbing and disfiguring their personality and inherent strength. This festering sore, perpetrated under the aegis of the world powers, has not only kept the sons of the land in a state of suspense, tension and mortal fear of being wiped out of existence, but has also reduced them to the despicable status of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

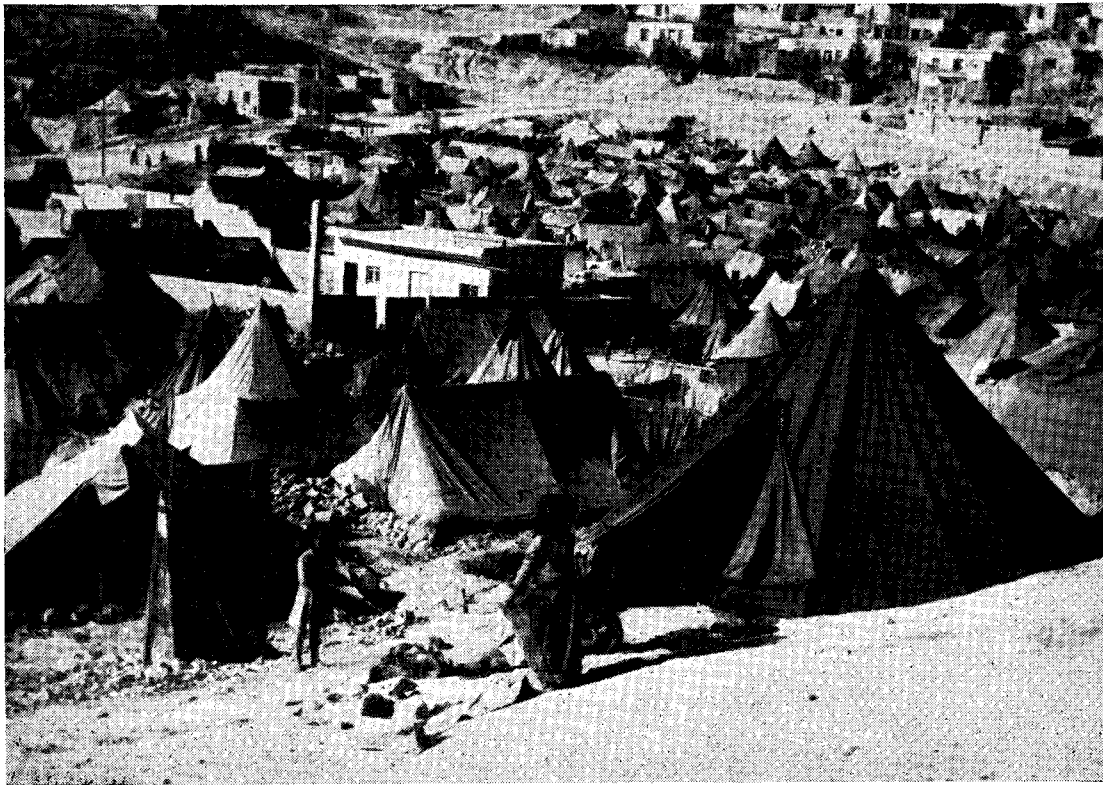
Though three long toilsome years have passed now since the inauspicious birth of “Israel” in the unearthly hours of 14-15 May, 1948, the “Israeli” intruder has not learned to behave. The gratuitous declarations of peace within and without are yet to become a matter of policy with the tin-gods of world Zionism. The “Israelis” have not only consistently, persistently and most

determinedly refused to return to the ways of peace, but continue to flaunt aggression in the face of the Arabs. Intrigues and bloodshed continue to guide the moves and motives of the Tel-Aviv rulers, turning the whole area into a huge powder-magazine, just awaiting the help of a matchstick to turn it into a scene of bloody battle. Victimization, persecution and harassment of the Arab minority in the State are not yet things of the past; the gruesome spectre of Deir Yaasin — that unfortunate Arab village which was completely wiped out of existence through a calculated, cold-blooded massacre of all the civilian population in 1948 — yes, such a gruesome tragedy is haunting many an Arab village and town. In gross violation of all the principles of international behaviour and in open defiance of the Charter of Human Rights and the United Nations’ edict, hundreds of Arabs are daily ejected from their ancestral hearths and homes, driven across the border in a famished and semi-nude state, and are thus given over to the whims and fancies of inclement nature. More, every few days after, an unprovoked, undeclared aggressive war is started, trespassing the bounds of international decency and decorum, violating international boundaries, mowing down civilians engaged in peaceful avocations and shooting guards of the other States on the frontier and occupying their land. Born out of deceit and intrigues this illegitimate child of the U.N. continues to hoist its traditions of aggression, oppression and emasculation on its ill-fated mast-head and to defy all canons of morality and inter-



This is a picture of al-Karamah Camp in the Jordan Valley. The refugees are constructing mud-brick or stone houses to replace their tattered tents. Timber is very difficult to come by in Jordan. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency and private enterprise are helping them in this direction

Our picture shows a merchant whose little shop has given him the capital to construct a solid storehouse, making use of the timber available



This picture was taken at another camp, called Ja'far Camp, 'Amman, Jordan. It will be noted that the tents of the refugees are scattered among the normal dwellings of the town

national behaviour. The cup of Israel iniquity has touched the brim, the Palestine cauldron is once again on the boil and ominous war-clouds are not only looming large, but also deepening over the Middle Eastern horizon. It is time the conscience of humanity sat up and took serious note of this crime against the United Nations Charter, against international morality, nay, against humanity itself, and undid the mischief.

Historical background of the length of the intruder State of Israel.

It is an incontrovertible fact that Palestine belongs to the Arabs, lock, stock and barrel. More, it has been the cradle of Arab culture and civilization from time immemorial. The sons of Israel did come there but for an asylum in the good old days of Moses — in order to escape the wrath of the persecuting Pharaohs of Egypt who were bent upon their extermination. In fact there is no historical evidence now to show that they continued to live there. Even if that is granted, they must have been absorbed by the inhabitants of the place and have so mixed and mingled with the indigenous population that after a few centuries they came to be known as Arabs, and, as such, it was nothing less than absurd to build the theory, as has been done since the twenties, that the immigration of Jews, drawn from diverse nationalities and scores of countries, was just the return of the original inhabitants to their land. In fact the huge influx of Jews is nothing less than an invasion of Palestine by aliens, and exploiters.

Palestine, which elected to come under the shadow and suzerainty of Islam in the early 8th century, has since then continued to fly the Crescent and the Star on its mast-head except for a brief spell in the 11th century when it succumbed to European onslaught. But since its liberation by that doughty champion of Islam, Salahuddin of blessed memory, Palestine once again became the land of peace, security and sanctity until Lawrence of Arabia planned and plotted against it, resulting in

the triumphal entry of that imperialist die-hard, General Allenby, in the year of 1915 — since when the history of Palestine presents a sickening chronicle of broken promises, intrigues, betrayal and persecution of the Arabs.

And how that demand and promise of a National Home in Palestine became one for a National State for the Jews constitutes yet another bloody page in the annals of Palestine history and the darkest chapter in the records of Western diplomacy. For when the now defunct League of Nations handed over Palestine to Britain as a mandatory State, the Jews were but a minority of 75,000. Yet, thanks to the imperialists' conspiracy against the sons of the soil, wholesale Jewish immigration was encouraged to such an extent that in less than three decades they numbered no less than 600,000, imperilling the very safety and security of the Arabs. And having thus created a minority there, the Western imperialists turned round and began demanding a State for them. In fact the very proposal was so iniquitous, unjust and sweeping as to shock the conscience of the world. Where was the logic—in the ringing words of the Sa'udi Arabian Minister to the United Nations, the Emir Faisal — in depriving the Arabs of self-determination for a quarter of a century in order to create artificially a minority there and then turn round and claim for that minority the right of self-determination? To put it mildly, it was historically untenable, morally unjustifiable and legally indefensible! And yet the so-called organization of peace, which goes under the seemingly innocuous nomenclature of the United Nations Organization, sanctioned it—and sanctioned it to the great detriment of the sons of the soil!

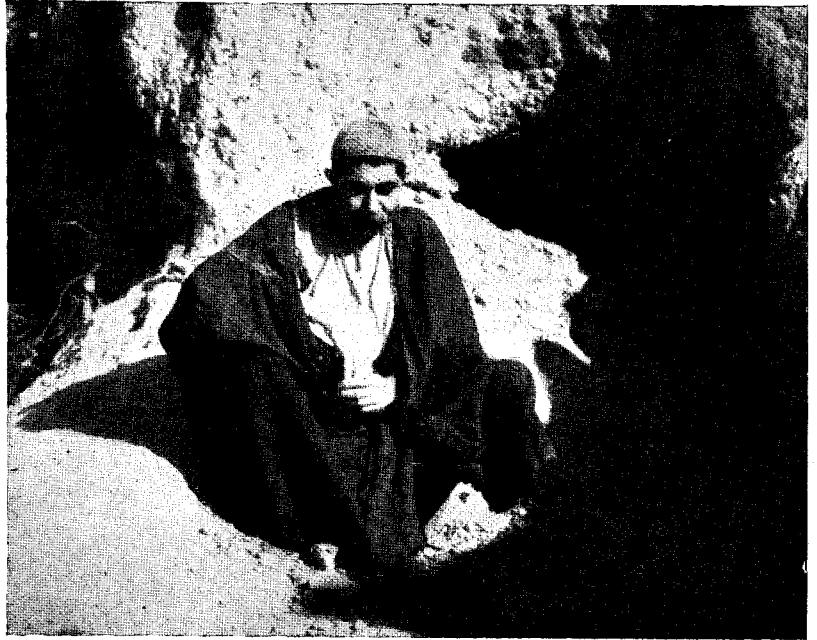
No legal basis.

That there was no legal, much less any moral, basis for this decision, there can be no doubt. In fact it was *ultra vires* and against the very fundamentals on which the United Nations is supposed to stand and to safeguard which it claims to exist.

A cave for a home

An Arab refugee contemplates his future

This photo was taken in Gaza, the Egyptian-occupied territory of Palestine. This man is a former small land-owner in Palestine



The Atlantic Charter, which it pretends to uphold, lays down in clear, categorical and definite terms, that :

"They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" ;
and that,

"They respect the rights of all people to choose the form of Government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them".

This means, that the so-called world organization is guilty

of a most wicked crime against the Arabs which cannot be condoned.

Iniquity galore.

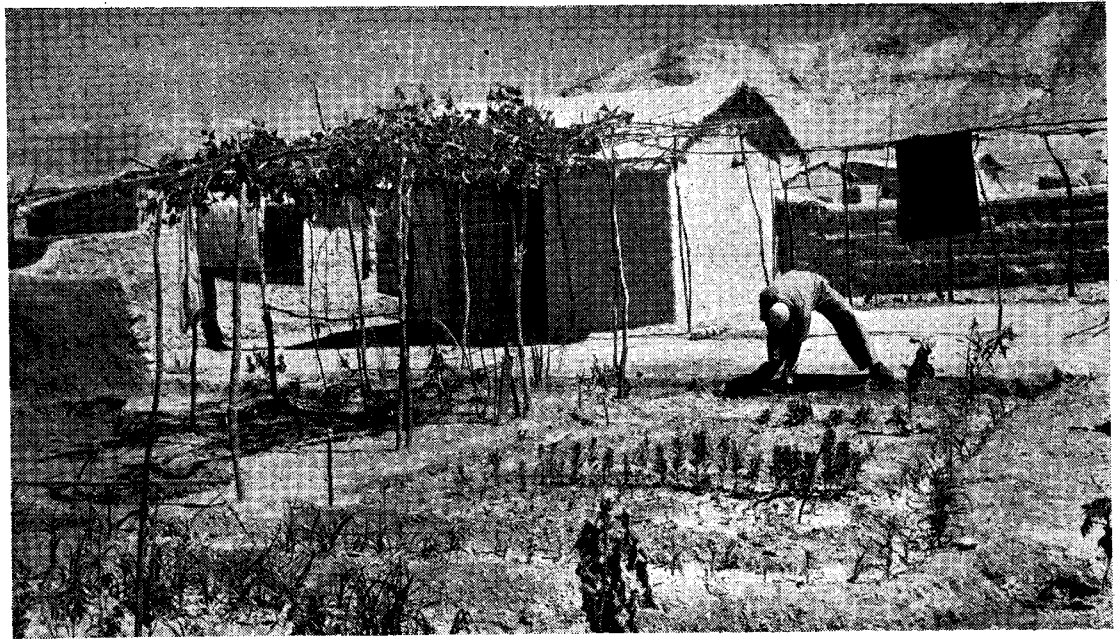
The iniquity of the act becomes all the more condemnable when cognizance is taken of the fact that under the United Nations plan most of the coastal and fertile areas went to the Jews, while the Arabs received only the barren and mountainous areas. And out of a population of 1,200,000 Arabs and 600,000 Jews, the treacherous plan divided them into 700,000 Arabs and 50,000 Jews in the Arab State and 500,000 Arabs and 550,000 Jews in the Jewish State !



One of the 225,282 refugee children

Like thousands of other Arab children, this helpless little thing lost his parents in the Palestine war

A refugee is cultivating his new garden. There is a finished house to be seen in the background



And thus out of treachery and deceit, out of imperialist machinations and manoeuvrings, there came into existence the iniquitous State of "Israel" on 15 May, 1948. For some time the two races were locked in mortal combat, and left to themselves, the Arabs would before long have ejected the intruders, lock, stock and barrel. But again, the big powers intervened. Not only were sanctions in the shape of an embargo on arms' shipment to Arab States applied against the Arab Confederacy, engaged in a life and death struggle with world Zionism, but the "Israelis" were also helped by loans and tons of armaments. A four-week armistice was forced down the unwilling throats of the Arabs to enable the "Israelists" to better and stabilize their military position and occupation, and in the meanwhile dragon's teeth were sown between the Arabs themselves, thus making the task easy for the Jews to grab as much of the Arab land as they could stomach. The tables were now turned against the Arabs, and after prolonged and protracted negotiations, armistice treaties were signed at the expense of much Arab land.

United Nations defied.

When this illegitimate offspring of the perfidious Western imperialists was born, it was sedulously and systematically publicized that it would follow a policy of peace within and peace without, that it would no more flaunt aggression in the face of its neighbours and that it would conform to the edicts of the United Nations and international behaviour. The Western apologists in the Security Council took upon themselves the task of holding out assurances to the Arab kingdoms of "Israeli" *bona fides* in order to allay their fears in regard to her policy of aggression and expansionism. For a time even the greatest pessimist was led to believe that peace would return to the plains of Palestine.

But that was not to be; it was in fact a hope against hope. Very soon the "Israeli" chauvinists belied all expectations and began once again staining their hands with the innocent blood of the Arabs. Yes, how can a State, born out of force and fraud, contain itself within its bounds? No wonder that they even conspired to do away with Count Bernadotte simply because he dared uphold the just cause of the Arab refugees.

In fact long and deliberate had been her defiance of the United Nations. It had been consistently, persistently and determinedly flouting the decisions of the Security Council. It accepted the internationalization of the City of Jerusalem in 1947 only to sabotage it later and incorporate its north-western part into the "Israeli" State, thus extending the days of woe and misery for the city. With a vengeance it had carried on this pernicious policy to expand more and more and annex the neighbours' territories. Last July, the Lebanon protested to the Security Council against an attack by an "Israeli" fighter plane on a Lebanese air-liner in the Lebanese territory. Some time back attacks across the Egyptian and Jordanian borders were reported. And then it was Syria's turn to become a victim of its aggression. Without the least warning, the "Israeli" planes made repeated air attacks on al-Hamaa and other Arab villages. Armed forces invaded the Tel al-Mutilla area and dynamited houses along the border line. Arab property was most ruthlessly destroyed and the civilians evicted. Hardly had the ink on the cease-fire agreement, signed on 6th May, dried, when it went back on its plighted word once again, mounted aggression and subjected the Syrian guards and civilians across the border to heavy artillery and mortar fire. The situation continues to be explosive.

The al-Huleh dispute.

The Syrian "Israeli" dispute assumed dangerous proportions some months back when in flagrant violation of Article 5 Para C of the Armistice Agreement, the tin-gods of Tel-Aviv decided to reclaim the marshes of Galilee. Al-Huleh Lake and its marshes, 12 by 4.5 kilometres, run along the international border-line between Syria and Palestine, constituting a natural barrier, and is a demilitarized zone, as per Annexure I of the Armistice Agreement, which lays down that neither party shall engage in measures aimed at gaining military or strategic advantages. Further, its importance lies in the fact that the present Jewish project will not only remove the natural barrier between the two kingdoms, but will also turn the vast Syrian lands, at present under cultivation of cotton and vegetables, into wastes. So that it is a question of life and death for the small State of Syria, and no wonder that it protested to the Security

Council. Innumerable times the "Israelis" were called upon by both the Syrian and the United Nations' authorities to stop that "project".

And thus while the United Nations sits complacently, ominous war-clouds continue to deepen over the Middle East horizon. Though to-day another cease-fire agreement is on the anvil, there is no hope that "Israel" will ever think of sticking to it. Treacherous by tradition and history, it has flouted its own pledged word time and again, and there is no sufficient cause to warrant the belief that it will not do so once again. Otherwise as the engraving on the face of the "Israeli" Parliament in the face of her neighbours? Surely a peaceful State would not inscribe on her Parliament House such an aggressive inscription as: "Thou are granted, O Israel, lands from the Tigris to the borders of the Nile". In fact, there can be no greater testimony of its aggressive designs than this.

Plight of Arab refugees.

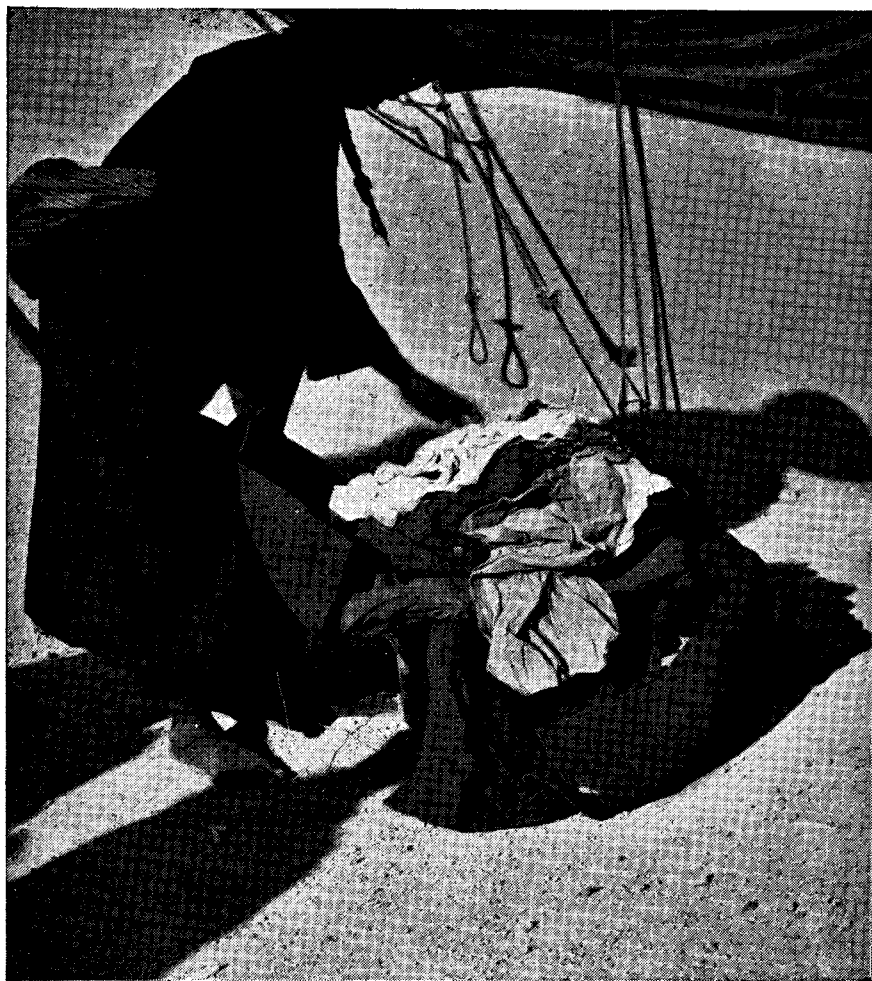
So far the "Israelis" have most determinedly sabotaged the return of peace and civil life to the Middle East. The Arab refugees, in spite of United Nations intervention, have not been permitted to return to their ancestral hearths and homes. The 879,521 refugees continue to live in knee-deep misery, in overcrowded tents, makeshift shelters, footpath hovels and even holes

in the ground. Their condition is too appalling for words. The incidence of tuberculosis and respiratory diseases is high and they continue to live under the most gruelling conditions. And all this because "Israel" would not allow them to dwell in their original homes.

And thus iniquity continues to rule the Middle Eastern scene. Even the edicts of the U.N. run but feebly. And what is worse is that "Israel" even went to the extent of not only refusing to allow the United Nations' observers to inspect the area of battle, but also questioned the authority and integrity of the United Nations Acting Chief of Staff. More, the "Israeli" guards did not even hesitate to fire at the easily distinguishable United Nations white-painted jeeps.

The United Nations and the Western Powers have once again failed the Arabs.

Yet, in spite of all, the United Nations will not move a finger. Nor have the three powers to the Tripartite Declaration taken any serious note of these iniquities and crimes against humanity. They seem to have forgotten their assurance of joint action against the aggressor, in case of aggression from either side. Even the protests of the Arab States against the continuous and increased inflow of arms and dollars into "Israel" have not



At al-Karamah Camp, in the Jordan valley a refugee has received a parcel containing clothing from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. One can imagine what is passing through her mind!

cut any ice, much less touched their conscience. And this connivance on their part has so far done enough harm to the Arabs in that it has emboldened the Tel-Aviv jingoists to pursue their perfidious policy of persecution without let or hindrance.

Both the United Nations and the Western powers have once again failed the Arabs, nay, their own past promises and pledges, with the result that never has their stock fallen so low in this region as it is to-day. In fact, there is ample justification in what they (the Arabs) feel and think. In the words of *al-Misri*, Cairo, they ask in desperation whether aggression has a different definition in the dictionary of the West than in that of the Middle East. "If it has one definition, why then does the United Nations wage war on the Koreans for crossing the 38th Parallel to occupy a part of their country but does not wage war when 'Israelis' occupy a demilitarized area which was in the hands of the Arabs?" Yes, the United Nations cannot afford to follow one principle in the case of one country and another in that of another without undermining its own prestige and policy. Already hostility is mounting up by leaps and bounds against its policy of discrimination and wanton connivance and, if it persists in its present rôle, it is more than probable that the United Nations will ere long cease to exist from the shores of the Atlantic to the confines of the Himalayas.

Time for action.

The United Nations and Western powers may try to sleep over the events in the Middle East, but the Arabs cannot afford to do so. More than anything, the present situation warrants complete unity in their ranks and unanimity in their views. At this critical juncture in the history of Palestine let the Arab kingdoms not forget that it was their disunity and discord that led them to see such a day. And let it also be remembered that "Israeli" aggressive designs do not end with the Lake al-Huleh. They are pledged and determined to make all lands from the Nile to the Tigris safe for the sons of "Israel", and more, may even claim Khaybar, Sa'udi Arabia, and other former Jewish colonies. So that if to-day is Syria's turn, to-morrow may be another's, and the day after to-morrow may be the turn of yet another State. Let this spectre of unending aggression serve the Arab statesmen as a grim warning to close their ranks and decide upon a concerted plan—a plan not only to check and clip the fierce and gory tentacles of this "Israeli" octopus, bent upon reducing them to a life of hewers of wood and drawers of water, but also to pluck out this bloody dagger from the heart of the Arab world and throw it into the blue waters of the Mediterranean. It is time they proved that the descendants of Salahuddin are even to-day capable of this marvellous feat.

The Treaties of Friendship between the Muslim Countries

By 'ALI VASFI ATAHAN

Turco-Pakistan Friendship Treaty

The Muslims of India and Turkey.

On July 26, 1951, a treaty of friendship was signed at Ankara, Turkey, by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor Fuad Köprülü, and the Pakistan Ambassador to Turkey, Mian Bashir Ahmad. This occasion is considered not only a happy event by the Turkish people but also gains in importance because it is the first historical and diplomatic document exchanged between these two Muslim countries. When the news of this important event was broadcast by the Turkish radio signs of great satisfaction were to be seen everywhere on the faces of Turkish men and women.

It may be recalled that the Muslims of India sent to Turkey a field hospital during the Balkan war of 1912-13; that field hospital stood the wounded Turkish soldiers in good stead. Along with the staff of the hospital came some other friends like Mr. Khaliquzzaman and Mr. 'Abd al-Rahman Siddiqi, who, although not doctors, wanted to tend the Turkish wounded with their own hands. This field hospital acquired great fame by its charity and assistance rendered to the wounded soldiers and civilians.

Need one repeat what the late Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, then at the head of the Muslim League, did to relieve the Turks of the burdensome treaty of Sèvres imposed on Turkey by the Allies after the First World War?

Ever since 1922 there kept appearing a number of poems on Turkey from the pen of the late Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the leading philosopher-poet of Pakistan. One cannot in this connection forget also the articles on the same subject by the present Ambassador of Pakistan, Mian Bashir Ahmad who has now signed on behalf of his country the Treaty of Friendship between Turkey and Pakistan.

Iqbal wrote these words long before the Turkish victory: "the sun will rise when thousands of stars have disappeared." In other words, he knew that no victory could be achieved without the death of tens of thousands of Turks. The expression of this idea by Iqbal shows how he and his compatriots, who now form a free and independent nation have always been interested in the Turkish people.

The Muslims of Pakistan and Turkey.

During the Turkish struggle for the maintenance of the existence of their country, the Muslims of India gave them considerable help which consisted of rings, bracelets, ear-rings and necklaces which belonged to their beautiful wives and daughters.

The great Muslim nation of India which had been deprived of its independence by the British in 1857 tried to ease its pains and grief by turning its eyes towards Turkey, enjoying its successes and showing a keen interest in every tiny event in Turkey. It has now succeeded in getting back its independence as a result of the noble blood that coursed in its veins. Here it is worth mentioning that long before the two nations had any ambassadors or representatives in their respective capitals the portrait of the great Turkish soldier, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, with a kalpak on his head and a Turkish girl carrying the red banner of Turkey, could be seen hanging on the interior wall of the entrance of the office of the Prime Minister of Pakistan at Karachi.

I would like to mention that when the Eskişehir catastrophe befell the Turkish people Pakistan sent to Turkey a large quantity of wheat. The Turks cannot forget that the wheat that was given them was sown, harvested and carried to Turkey by

a Pakistani ship came from the Pakistani villagers. When recently in Pakistan I was invited to tea on board the Pakistan destroyer, *Tipu Sultan*, and while my car was running alongside the quay I saw the dockers carrying the bags of wheat when all of a sudden my eyes went wet. I said to myself, "These are the noble people who sent wheat to us. . . ."

By this I do not mean to convey that it makes no difference whether the Treaty of Friendship between the two countries is signed or not. Indeed nobody can deny its importance and necessity. What I want to say is that the new treaty has only

it with their own hands and thoughts and help one another in every way and on every occasion.

A resumé of the treaty.

The object of the treaty is to perpetuate and strengthen the bonds of friendship and brotherhood, and widen the scope of co-operation, existing between Turkey and Pakistan. According to the treaty, the diplomatic and consular representatives of either country in the territory of the other will enjoy, on a reciprocal basis, the most-favoured nation treatment.



His Excellency Mian Bashir Ahmad, Ambassador of Pakistan and His Excellency Fuad Köprülü, Turkish Foreign Minister, signing the Turco-Pakistan Friendship Treaty, at the Foreign Office, Ankara, on the 26th July, 1951. The Treaty was executed in three languages — Urdu, Turkish, and English.

expressed in the official way the value of the strength and priority of the relationship between Pakistan and Turkey throughout the centuries of Turco-Islamic history. It is just like a contract of marriage between two lovers who have been loving each other for a long time.

As a rule, the political treaties are limited to their texts. But in this case the ground of the spiritual connections between the two sister nations is so vast that its roots are in the hearts of every member of the two nations.

This treaty the result of the peaceful and humane ideas and right thoughts of both Mr. Adnan Menderes and the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as well as of Professor Fuad Köprülü reminds us of his ancestors' brilliant days who saved Turkey several times from falling into a precipice and Mian Bashir Ahmad, the Pakistan Ambassador, whose efforts have brought this treaty into existence will be appreciated with admiration by our posterity. This treaty will increase in usefulness with the passage of time and it is the duty of every Turk and Pakistani that they increase

The two Governments will start negotiations, as soon as possible, for the conclusion of agreements, on a reciprocal basis, relating to consular services, trade, customs, cultural relations, communications, civil aviation, extradition of criminals, the residence of their respective citizens, arbitration and all other matters of interest to the two countries. All disputes between the two countries shall be settled peacefully in a spirit of friendship through the usual diplomatic channels, failing which they pledge themselves to adopt any other procedure in accordance with the U.N. Charter.

The treaty was executed in three languages — Urdu, Turkish and English.

Statement of His Excellency Mian Bashir Ahmad, Ambassador of Pakistan, in Turkey.

"To-day is a red-letter day in the history of Turco-Pakistan relations. To-day Pakistan and Turkey have signed a Treaty of Friendship. It is but an outward manifestation of an old and

Western countries used to make yearly visits to the Chinese capital: they came sometimes, in tens, sometimes in hundreds. Among the merchandise brought for sale to the Chinese court were horses, which the Emperor liked most." We can safely assume that among the merchants there were Arabs and that the horses brought over were most likely to be of Arab breed.

Later, trade had grown to such proportions that the Romans found it necessary to send a representative, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (160-181 C.E.), to China in an effort to establish direct commercial relations with China and so displace the Persians. He took the sea route and embarked in 166 C.E. from the Persian Gulf, somewhere near the present Basra. F. Hirth in his *China and Roman Orient* is of the opinion that his voyage was but a renewal of the relations which previously existed between these two great empires. The fact that the political influence of the Roman Orient covered Egypt and Syria while that of the Sasanid Empire extended to the Yemen and present-day Iraq made the Chinese historians overlook Sino-Arabic contacts in these early times. The fact, however, remains that the Chinese and the Arabs had commercial relations long before the advent of Islam.

It would be appropriate to mention here the ancient kingdom of Hirah, which is now a part of Iraq. According to the Arab writer Mas'oudi, Chinese and Indian ships sailed to the mouth of the Euphrates on their way to the kingdom of Hirah. Another Arab writer, known as Ibn 'Abdu Rabbih also mentions the diplomatic contact between China and the Hirah Kingdom. This is what he says: "The King of Hirah has sent a diplomatic mission headed by Akthem Ibn Saifi to Anushirwan's court, and among the foreign missions they met in the court, was also a mission from China." These quotations from Arabic sources serve to prove further the existence of the ancient relations between the Arabs and the Chinese. It is no wonder that the name of China should have been familiar to the Arabs in the early days and later that the Prophet Muhammad should have honoured it in one of his famous sayings, "Seek knowledge, even if it be in China."

The Battle of Talas in 751 C.E. established the influence of Islam in Central Asia.

With the advent of Islam, Sino-Arabic relations entered a new phase. The battle of Nehavend (641 C.E.) decided the destiny of Persia. Yazdegird, the last Sasanid king fled to China and asked for help. When he came back to Merv with some soldiers from the Chinese Frontier Force, he was killed by his own men in a revolt against him. His son, Firouz, took refuge in the Chinese capital Chang-an, and was made a chief of the Chinese Imperial Guards. The Arabs penetrated deep into Central Asia and took the city of Kashgar, advancing as far as Turfan in Chinese Turkistan. The commanding officer, Kutaiabah (715 C.E.), sent a mission to the Chinese court with certain terms, but he had to return content with only a present from the Emperor, since he enjoyed no favour with the new Caliph, Sulaiman. The accounts of such Arab historians, as Tabari (died 922 C.E.) and Ibn Athir (died 1234 C.E.), in this connection, if not very noteworthy, are at least interesting.

This military mission marked the beginning of direct political contact between the Arabs and China and from then on China became the immediate neighbour of the Arabs in later times, both were to fight and to be reconciled to each other as circumstances demanded. China once advanced into Central Asia and actually captured the city of Souyab. "This military advance was made possible" in the words of the Russian Professor Berthold, "by the internal dissension of the Arab rulers, on the one hand, and by the inability of the Turkish chief to reorganize

an independent power on the other. However, this Chinese advance was checked by the battle of 751 at Talas, in which the Chinese army under the command of the famous general Kao Sien-Chih was defeated by the Arab army under Ziyad. This victory of the Arabs decided the future civilization in Central Asia since Islamic influence was henceforth firmly established in this region.

The oldest mosque in China constructed in 726 C.E. at Chang-an, the capital of China in those days.

After this set-back abroad, China soon found herself facing serious internal rebellion led by An Lu-San, who almost overthrew the Tang dynasty. The reconciliation with the Arabs had its beneficent effect. By order of the Caliph al-Mansur (died 775 C.E.), Arabs, Turks and Uighurs responded to the Chinese call for help. They came with a force of 5,000, and were later reinforced by another 4,000 under the command of General Kafur. They helped the Chinese Commander-in-Chief General Kuo Tze-yo to crush the rebels and to restore the throne to the Emperor. They were given the option of either staying or returning. Some of them certainly returned, but most of them settled down in Chang-an, the capital at that time. They were allowed to marry and to adopt Chinese citizenship. A mosque was constructed, the oldest mosque in China, in 726 C.E. The Chinese proved to the world that harmonious military co-operation between two nations could be of natural benefit to both.

Now let us turn to the diplomatic side. For political, religious or commercial reasons many missions were exchanged at different times. It is certain that the exchange of missions began in the time of Othman Ibn 'Affan, the third of the *Rashidin* Caliphs. According to Chinese history an Arab mission arrived in the Chinese capital in 651 C.E. and told the Emperor that their country had a chosen Prophet who had died some time previously but that now it was the Third Caliph who reigned in his place. The object of this mission was, of course, to inform the Emperor of the advent of the Islamic religion. Since then a flow of missions came to China. Many were sent by the Caliphs themselves (either Omayyad or Abbasid), and even more were sent by Governors in Central Asia. According to Chinese history 15 Arab missions had visited the Chinese capital during the Omayyad period and 17 missions during the Abbasid period. Those who came in the Omayyad period were termed in the Chinese history "Missions from the White-Robed Arabs;" and those who came in the Abbasid period were termed "Missions from the Black-Robed Arabs." This reminds us of the fact that the Abbasids at the beginning of their reign had worn black and that their standard was black too.

After 747 C.E. there is no more mention of the "White-Robed Arab" missions. This, together with the fact that the Abbasid dynasty was founded in 750, shows the authenticity of the Chinese records. As no details are available, we are not in a position to ascertain whether those earlier Arab missions were sent from Damascus or from elsewhere. But it is certain that the mission that came to China in 716, was from Damascus. It was sent by the Caliph, Sulaiman, as is clearly indicated in Chinese history. The envoy gave a full description of his country when he was received in audience by the Chinese Emperor, who conferred on him an honourable title, something akin to knighthood.

Some missions must have been sent by Arab chieftains in Central Asia. For example, let us take the case of the two missions of the year 725. The second arrived only two months after the first and the head of both was the same person named Sulaiman. Obviously it was impossible at that time for a mission, however fast it might travel, to cover the distance between

Damascus and China within two months. It must be taken for granted that they came from some city close to the Chinese border. This Sulaiman who headed the two missions can be identified with Sulaiman Ibn Sari, who took part in besieging the city of Khojand in 722 C.E. with forces under the command of Sa'id ibn 'Omar al-Harrashi. It was probably the latter that sent Sulaiman twice to China.

The diplomatic relations between the Abbasids and the Chinese.

In the period of the Abbasids, the diplomatic relations became much closer, the Caliph al-Mansur, the Founder of Baghdad, Harun al-Rashid, al-Mahdi, and Abu 'l-Qasim Muti' Allah, all sent personal envoys to China. Besides, the Abbasid Governors in Central Asia (like Abu Muslim Khorasani and others) as well as Arab merchants, who had great interests in China, also sent special missions to China. Thus in 994, a great Arab merchant, named Ibrahim, went to China. He was a ship's captain nicknamed "Ibrahim the Chinese", because of his long residence in China. Yaqut, the author of *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, has given a full description of this important Arab merchant of the 10th century. In the following year he sent Abu 'Abdullah another captain on his behalf and asked him to take many presents to the Emperor. Chinese history mentions also 17 other missions coming from the Abbasid Arabs in different years, but without giving any detail. There is also evidence to indicate that the Samanid Dynasty in Bukhara had sent several missions to China, one of which was headed by Ibn Mohalhil al-Yanbou'i. During this period, China reciprocated by sending similar missions to the Arab court, the first on record being despatched to the Caliph al-Mansur in this ancient capital city of Baghdad.

The greatest Chinese Muslim sailor, Hajee Jahan.

After the fall of Baghdad in 1258, China herself was under the rule of the Mongols, who in fact ruled almost the whole of Asia, making Europeans dread the Yellow Peril. No diplomatic relations between Arabs and Chinese were possible at this time, but a resumption was made when the Chinese Dynasty Ming was established in 1368. After that date, China exchanged diplomatic missions with the Amir Timur, the Master of Samarkand and later on with Shah Rukh, the Ruler of Herat while she also sent envoys to Arab countries around the Arabian Sea, such as Mecca, Medina, Aden, 'Oman, Ahsa, and Zifar. The head of these diplomatic missions was Hajee Jahan (Chen-Ho, as the Chinese called him), the greatest Chinese Muslim sailor ever produced by China. He might have been of Arab origin. His forefathers were immigrants from Bukhara in Qublai Khan's time, and were close friends of Sayyid Ajjal's (Hang Yang-Wang) family. He was a courtier who enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor and was later chosen as the Chief of Diplomatic Missions to all Muslim States existing then from Java to the coast of the Red Sea. He arrived at Mecca in 1430 and returned in 1436, accompanied by Sayyid 'Ali, the son of the Amir of Mecca and Sayyid Hasan, as envoy to the Chinese Court in return for Hajee Jahan's official visit to Mecca. They brought with them precious things and were warmly received in China. From the above account we have seen that cordial diplomatic intercourse existed in the past between the Arabs and the Chinese to a considerable degree.

Commercial relations.

Another aspect of Sino-Arab relations I would like to present is the commercial. Arab authors from the 9th to the 13th

centuries, such as Sulaiman al-Sirafi, Ibn Faqih, Yaqut Mas'oudi, Idrisi, Ibn Batutah and others, very often mention the sea-route from the Persian Gulf to China. Aden, 'Oman, Hormuz, Siraf, Ablah, Malabar, Ceylon and Java were among the main ports where Arab merchants used to land and to load, unload, or reload their ships for southern Chinese ports, such as "Khanfu" (Kwangfu) "Tzi-tun", and Kinsai. Their merchandise consisted of corals, pearls, sapphires, cornelians, tusks, spices, rose-water, perfumes, *'ambar*, sandal-wood, camphor, frankincense, aloes, myrrh, asafoetida, and other special products of Muslim countries. They took with them from China, gold, silver, porcelain, silk, embroideries, tea, *kimkhab*, iron and rhubarb, liquorice, etc.

It seems that there were Arab ships going to China and Chinese ships visiting the Malabar Coast and Persian Gulf. A Chinese writer, Chau Yu-kua by name, of the 11th century, mentions Sirafi ships arrived at Khanfu and Chuan-Chow. The famous Arab traveller, Ibn Batutah, recorded what he saw of the Chinese ships stationed on the Malabar coast. As a result of Sino-Arab trade, Chinese coins were exchanged in the markets of Siraf in the 9th century. If you look into Sulaiman al-Sirafi's notes, or the works of Mas'oudi's, or Yaqut's *Geographical Dictionary*, or Ibn Batutah's stories of his travels, you will find the names of Arab merchants residing in China, records of their dealings with the Chinese, how freely they could move from place to place and how the Chinese Government protected them. It is related by Sulaiman al-Sirafi that when a Muslim merchant of Khorasan came to China he was ill-treated by the chief of the Imperial Guards. It came to the notice of the Emperor. The officer was not only cashiered but severely punished and sent to be a watchman over the tombs. He was told that, as he failed to understand how to live with his fellow-men alive, he was to keep company only with the dead. In spite of the dangers and difficulties of long-distance transport in those days, Sino-Arab trade flourished owing to the facilities and protection afforded merchants by the authorities.

Early Arab settlements in China.

Now we come to another phase in Sino-Arab relations, which still exists and even surpasses the other factors, namely their religious ties.

Of course, before Islam, China had religious contact with Buddhist India, Zoroastrian Iran, and the Nestorian Roman Empire. As a matter of fact, Buddhism was accepted by the Chinese with great zeal and enthusiasm and regarded as enjoying an equal position with Confucianism and Taoism. Manichaeism, too, was introduced into China but it had very little influence. As I have mentioned before, the first Arab mission sent by the Caliph 'Othman in 651 was the pioneer mission in the propagation of Islam in China and the first Mosque was built in Chang-an, the capital at that time, situated in North-West China. Later on, through the sea-route, Islam was introduced into the southern coastal city of Kwangfu visited by Sulaiman al-Sirafi. This Arab author of the 9th century has given a very good description of religious life there. "The Muslims in this city are numerous," says al-Sirafi. "They have a Qadi, commissioned by the Governor, charged with the Muslim religious affairs. He presides over prayer and delivers to them Friday sermons in the name of their Sovereign." No doubt, the present Canton (known to the Arabs as Khanfu in the 9th century), was a great religious centre for Muslims. There was an Arab colony, mixed in later times with Iranian residents, too. This may be proved by the existing tomb-stones bearing different dates back to the 10th century. Most of these have inscriptions in Arabic and some in Persian. The Canton Mosque was built in the beginning of

the 9th century, and rebuilt by Mahmud, the Muslim Governor of that city in the Mongolian dynasty and he endowed it himself. The Arab envoy 'Abdullah, who came to China in 1469 C.E. returned to Canton after his official visit to the Chinese Court, and devoted his time to teaching in the mosque, subsequently gaining for himself the leadership of the Muslim community.

Off the present Kwangtung Province lies Hainan island. In early times it had Arab settlers too, especially in the place now named Ghaihien. These settlers were descendants of Arab sailors who took refuge there after shipwrecks. Traces may be easily found of their existence and the Temple of the "Foreign Captain" provides existing evidence proving that Arab sailors had visited this island and that some of them had died and were buried thereon. The Arab captain, for whom the natives had built a temple, was believed to be a saint deserving monumental commemoration. The small Muslim community now mixed with Chinese blood, living in some parts of this island with three or four mosques, is a further reminder of the adventurous spirit of the Arabs of those distant days.

The colony of Chuan-Chow.

Following the Southern Chinese coast, the Arabs reached the inner port Chuan-Chow (which has been repeatedly mentioned by medieval Arab writers under the name "Tzi-tun". It was also, besides being a very important commercial port, a religious centre. *The Chuan-Chow Gazette* mentions the existence of Musalmans in this city in the Sung Period (968-1276), the most renowned being an Arab by name, "Abu-Shukin", whose father was among the Cantonese settlers. He emigrated from Canton to Chuan-Chow at the end of the 12th century. He gained a high position and was commissioned by the Government with the task of supervising the sea trade. Chuan-Chow has a very old mosque built in 1131 C.E. by a Sirafi named Mazhar al-Din, who afterwards died and was buried beside the mosque. It was richly endowed with funds by Arab and Iranian merchants and it was here that Ibn Batutah, the traveller, met many learned men including Muslim theologians, such as Tajuddin of Ardabil, Bahauddin of Kazerun, Sharfuddin of Tabriz, and the Shaikh al-Islam 'Abdullah. It is believed that Arab blood can be still traced in some Muslim families there.

I have already mentioned the city of Chang-an, where the oldest Chinese mosque was founded. It is in this mosque that we have found the oldest Chinese Islamic inscription in commemoration of the foundation of this religious institute. There, we also find a very beautiful Arab inscription dated 953 A.H. (1545 C.E.), in commemoration of its Imam's death. From these inscriptions we can understand much of the Muslim religious life in the distant past.

Hang-Chow.

The last city which I have to take into consideration is Hang-Chow (known to the Arabs as "Kinsai"). Beautiful inscriptions, in both the Arabic and Persian languages were discovered recently, when the old city wall was pulled down in order to make space for new avenues and public parks. Some

of them are very old ones dating back to the Mongol Dynasty. There are tomb-stones bearing usually the date of the deceased, his family background, and, sometimes, his biography too. Besides this discovery, which is a silent orator of the past influence of Islam in that city, the traveller Ibn Batutah also speaks eloquently of the religious activity there. He has mentioned the good sons of a certain 'Othman, a very devoted man of Egyptian origin, who built a religious school for Muslim children and endowed it with generous funds. After his death, his sons followed in his footsteps and kept the school going. It appears that both the Arabic and Persian languages had some cultural influence among the population. It is related by Ibn Batutah that he was once invited by the Governor's son to an excursion on the famous Hang-Chow lake. He, with the host, was in one boat, followed by singers and musicians in others. They tuned their instruments and sang to them Arabic and Persian songs so sweetly that Ibn Batutah could not help but raise his own voice in harmony with them.

50,000,000 Muslims in China to-day.

China to-day has fifty million Muslims among her population. They live in different parts of the country, but the majority are in North-Western China. Being Sunnites, they follow the Hanafite school, and their religious life is very much like that of the Muslim countries in the Middle East.

Last, but not least. I wish to point out that Sino-Arab relations in the past have influenced our culture too. Space will not allow me to go into detail. A few remarks in this direction may serve some purpose. It is an established fact that the art of making paper, a Chinese invention adopted by the Arabs first at Samarkand in 150, was subsequently introduced into Baghdad in 794, and from there into Spain and other countries in Europe. In connection with paper the use of paper-money, as Ibn Batutah puts it, was introduced by Mongol sovereigns first in Iran, then in other Muslim countries. Now you have the word "Kaghaz" in your dictionary; it is of Chinese origin and the word "Kamkha", which Arab philologists take as having Persian origin is no other than the Chinese word "Kimkha" (Kimkha, a kind of embroidery, which played a very important rôle in the Sino-Arab trade in the Middle Ages). The word "Abrisam" also is believed to be derived from the Chinese word "Sie". Moreover, the Arabic words, "Darsini", "Wardsin" and "Dibacheh" (originally "Dibai-Chin") and Chinese like "Henna" and "Hullbat" tell the story of give-and-take in the Chinese and Arabs of the past.

On the other hand, China was influenced by Arab astronomy. *Zaaiiche-Hakam* was translated at the time of the Ming dynasty and was often consulted by Chinese astronomers. The Hijrah Calendar, too, was once suggested. In the art of war, gunpowder was a Chinese invention, which the Mongols employed with Muslim gunners from Damascus and Ba'lbek, in besieging the city of Hsiang-Yang. Hence the Chinese have in our dictionary a term "Hui-Hui Bhao", indicating its Muslim origin. As to literature and music, the Chinese cannot fail to find some similarities here and there. We come across records showing the high regard the Arabs and Chinese have had for each other ever since they first had contact.

“THE ALGERIAN FRONT FOR THE DEFENCE AND RESPECT OF LIBERTY”

“Had there been a Muslim government in Algeria, such discrimination in race and creed as are witnessed today in Algeria would not exist and there would also be no wide gap separating and distinguishing ‘Ahmad’ from ‘Maurice’ or ‘Fatima’ from ‘Marie’.”

By ABU MUHAMMAD

The Unification of the Principal Political Parties of Algeria.

The unification of the forces fighting for the liberation of Algeria and her people has for long been the aim of every Algerian. It was a hope cherished deeply and passionately, and sought by each and every Algerian who had not been lured away by the imperialists and who had not sold his conscience and soul to them or to evil.

And now this dream of unity has come true, thanks be to God. Its realization stands out as an illustrious landmark in the history of Algeria's struggle against imperialism and a great step forward towards the realization of her cherished hopes.

For a long time now, the zealous activities of the Algerian political parties have met with little achievement, due mainly to the lack of complete harmony in their efforts. It has been this lack of unity among the various political parties that has to a great measure permitted the French imperialists to maintain their strong grip on Algeria for so long. Now that this unity and solidarity has been achieved, it is reasonable to expect that there will be far-reaching developments in the Algerian problem in the not very distant future.

The conclusion of a pact by the various nationalist political parties in Algeria creating a united front to work for the

liberation of the country has been brought about by the meritorious efforts of a group of Algerian Muslim 'Ulama (learned men). These 'ulama have performed a task of great magnitude and rendered a great service to the Muslims of Algeria. Algeria is very fortunate indeed in having such a group of wise and patriotic 'ulama. The 'ulama who had hitherto kept away from the field of active politics, had perceived the futility of disjointed and separate action on the part of the Algerian political parties in their struggle for freedom. The 'ulama's untiring and sincere efforts made it possible to bring together these political parties in such a way that no one political party had to sacrifice or abandon any of its main objectives or aims. All the political parties in Algeria professed one aim and objective — the liberation of Algeria — but they sought to achieve that end by different methods. To the 'ulama fell the task of pointing out to these parties the futility of perpetuating the state of affairs whereby each political party pursued its own course which, at times, resulted in friction between the parties and minimized the impact of their efforts on the common enemy, the French. This, coupled with the sincere desire and goodwill on the part of the various political parties as well as the feeling predominating amongst the people of Algeria that the



A view of the mammoth meeting organized under the aegis of the recently organized united front of the various political parties of Algeria, at Algiers on the 19th August, 1951

time was ripe for launching a united campaign against the common enemy, brought about the desired unity.

The text of the Proclamation of the three political parties.

The nationalist parties in Algeria met, and soon perceived the wisdom and desirability of unity. Not long afterwards, the following proclamation was jointly issued on the 25th July, 1951, by the *'ulama*, the Algerian *al-Bayaan* party, the Algerian Communist party and the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties.

"Whereas the Algerian Muslim suffers insult and indignity whenever an Election was held, in particular since 1948 ;

And Whereas the basic liberties have never been given to the Algerian electors of the Second Division ;

And Whereas some of the Algerians are deprived of personal liberty because of their political views ;

And Whereas this state of affairs creates an atmosphere of hate and misunderstanding which just cannot continue ;

Therefore, the organizations and persons whose signatures appear hereunder, after studying the general situation resulting from the so-called Legislative Elections held on the 17th of June, 1951 —

Condemn the methods of coercion and falsification unlawfully exercised by the members of the Administration towards the electors of the Second Division, especially in the election for the Legislative Assembly held on the 17th June, 1951 ; and

Condemn the devices of torture and repression used by the police against Algerian nationalists for the purpose of extracting "confessions" that would subsequently be used to justify the infliction of punishment on these nationalists ; and

Resolve to form a Front for the Defence and Respect of Liberty, which would seek the following objectives :

1. The abolishment of the so-called "elections" for

the Legislative Assembly, which were held on the 17th June, 1951, and which, in effect, were the pretext and cover under which the Administration proceeded to appoint certain persons who have not obtained any mandate from the Algerian people and who have not been authorized to speak for the people of Algeria.

2. The respect and freedom of election in the Second Division.

3. The respect of the basic liberties : the freedom of thought and speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of assembly.

4. The fight against repression in all its forms, so as to free the political detainees and to vitiate the extraordinary measures taken by the Administration against Masali Hadj.

5. The putting of an end to the interference by the Administration in the religious affairs of Muslims.

The undersigned further declare that this Front remain open for the admission of organizations and personalities who may at a later stage wish to join it.

Signed for the *'Ulama* :

The Shaikh Muhammad al-Tabissi ;

The Shaikh Muhammad Khayr al-Deen.

For the Algerian Democratic Union, *al-Bayaan* :

(Dr.) Ahmad Francis Kaddour Sattour.

For the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties :

Ahmad Mizghinna ;

Mustafa Farroukhi.

Ahmad Mazghanah ;

For the Algerian Communist Party :

Ahmad Mahmoudi ;

Paul Capliro.



The Shaikh al-Sayyid al-'Arabi al-Tabissi who represented the Association of the 'Ulama of Algeria is addressing the gathering of the United Algerian Front on the 19th August, 1951

A short description of the general meeting of the 5th August, 1951.

A general meeting was called for the 5th of August, 1951, and the Algerian public was invited to attend in order to discuss the constitution of this Front, and to appoint members to the Executive Committee. The invitation was met with a most enthusiastic response, in a manner that has never before been witnessed in Algeria. Men and women, young and old, and rich and humble flocked to this meeting.

Many speeches were made at this meeting but for shortage of space I will refer to a few only.

The speech of the representative of the Association of Algerian 'Ulama.

The meeting was opened by a speech from the Shaikh al-'Arabi al-Tabissi who spoke on behalf of the Association of Algerian 'Ulama, the organization that has been most instrumental in bringing about the creation of this Front. The Shaikh al-Tabissi said that the Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Liberty made no discrimination whatsoever between Muslims, Christians or Jews. It was open to all Algerians who had a sincere desire to work for freedom and liberty in Algeria. "The goal," he said, "was a free Algeria, where all enjoy the fruit and riches of the land, and where no distinction is made by virtue of race or creed. Had there been a Muslim government in Algeria, such discriminations in race and creed as are witnessed today in Algeria would not exist and there would also be no wide gap separating and distinguishing 'Ahmad' from 'Maurice' or 'Fatima' from 'Marie'."

Explaining the reasons which prompted his Association, as a purely religious body, to enter the political arena in this manner, he said: "If you now perceive the religion of Islam, personified in a few 'ulama, standing in the fore-front of this struggling movement, it is because the religion of Islam has been amongst the first victims of the repression and persecution carried out by the Administration. Islam in this land has suffered injuries at the hands of people who are alien to it and has come under the dictates of people who have openly professed hostility to it." He said that his Association had made many efforts to induce the French Administration in Algeria to abandon its policy of interference in religious affairs, but with no avail. The matter oscillated between Algiers and Paris, with the result that the objectionable policy remained. "Now," the Shaikh al-Tabissi said, "the oppressed in Islam joins forces with others who are being oppressed, and with them forms one united Front to work for freedom against oppression, so that justice may in the end prevail and we may all be permitted to enjoy its fruits." He exhorted all to work zealously and conscientiously for the attainment of the objectives of the Front, and pointed out that this should be done by peaceful means. "This movement is not a movement for violence or force, but rather a movement for peace, a defensive movement that seeks to convince others of the righteousness of its cause by persuasion and proof. We must guard against combating our enemy with the objectionable and evil weapons he uses against us, and falling into the trap which he has laid for us."

The Shaikh al-Tabissi concluded by saying, "The Front professes no enmity towards any particular individual. Amongst its members are men of different colours and creeds, who have joined together to oppose one enemy — tyranny — and to seek one aim — freedom."

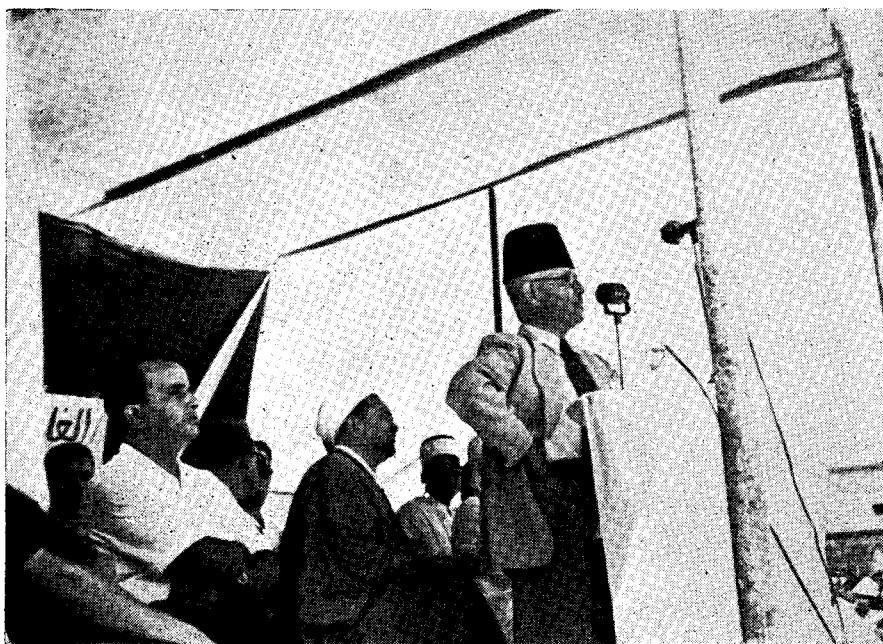
The speech of the representative of the Bayaan Party.

Ahmad bu-Manjal, the Deputy Chairman of al-Bayaan Party then spoke in French. He made particular reference to

the intrigues and deceptions that have been practised by the French Colonial Administration against Algeria and her people. "Chief amongst these," he said, "was the falsification of the recent elections for the Legislative Assembly. It has not been only the 17th June, 1951, elections facade. It is because of these so-called elections that the creation of this Front has been accelerated. The Front is the nation's answer to that disgraceful sham of an election. Out of 170 members to represent the Algerians (60 in the Algerian Assembly, 75 in the General Assemblies and 35 in the various divisions of the French National Assembly) only 15 in all have any true mandate from the people of Algeria. The rest have all come to occupy the position of 'representatives' through devices of falsification which are common knowledge to all and sundry in Algeria. Everyone knows the methods that were used by the Administration to install these people in office." He then spoke of the



Masali Hadj, the leader of the political party, M.T.L.D. (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties — Hizb Intisaar al-Hurriyyaat al-dimokraatiyya). The French authorities have placed restrictions on his movements in Algeria. He is not allowed to attend or address a public meeting in Algiers.



Mr. Ahmad Tawifiq al-Madani who represented the party for the Independence of Algeria, is addressing the meeting on the 19th August, 1951. Behind him can be seen the Shaikh al-'Arabi al-Tabissi, the representative of the Association of the 'Ulama, and Mr. Ahmad Mizghanna, one of the leaders of M.T.L.D. (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties — Hizb Intisaar al-Hurriyyaat al-dimokraatiyya)

various methods adopted by the French Administration in Algeria for the purpose of depriving the country of her wealth and taking away her capital to France. Finally, he welcomed the creation of the Front which, he said, had achieved complete unity amongst the political parties, while permitting them to maintain their individuality.

Al-'Arabi bu-Hali, who represented the Communist Party, also spoke. He replied to comments made against the Front which questioned the participation of the Communist Party in it. He said that mischief makers had attempted to introduce trouble into the ranks of the members of the Front from the early moments when the idea of forming this Front was entertained. "The 'ulama were asked how it was possible for them to enter into partnership with 'heathen Communists', while we were asked how we could safely join the ranks of 'reactionary religious men' . . . All the well-worn methods of our enemies were used in an attempt to thwart this unity, but we have, nevertheless, succeeded in bringing it about." He said that there was a great and powerful common denomination between all the nationalist parties — the love of Algeria, and this was a sound enough basis for their unity and solidarity.

Ahmad Mizghanna, an ex-member of the Legislative Assembly who had distinguished himself by the courageous stands he took in defence of the rights of the people of Algeria against French imperialist policy, followed with a speech on behalf of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties. He read a message from the President of his Party, Masali Hadj, who was away in France and had been refused permission by the French Administration to attend the meeting in Algiers. He then alluded to the grave wounds inflicted on Algeria and her people in the past, which had increased in magnitude and frequency recently. He referred to such acts as the suppression of free speech, the banning and confiscation of newspapers and nationalist literature and the ill-treatment and

persecution to which Algerian nationalists were subjected once they had been condemned to prison on the pretext of "Plotting against the safety of the State"—an offence committed, according to the imperialists, by every sincere nationalist in Algeria.

Finally, Mustafa Farroukhi spoke on behalf of the Front's organising committee, and put the resolutions to the Meeting. All these were approved amid great enthusiasm and wild cheering.

Why the Algerian Front has come into existence.

The Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Freedom, has, in some way, to thank French imperialist policy for its existence. It has been the latter's increased stubbornness and continued disregard of the liberties and human rights of Algerians which has at last demonstrated to the people of Algeria the wisdom and urgency of uniting.

The methods with which the French had hoped to suppress the zeal of the Algerians to press for their freedom, has kindled a new and vigorous fire. The Algerian Front derives its strength from being representative of the whole of the people of Algeria, and it will harass the French in no small measure, and has already caused them great dismay.

It is to be hoped that the move taken by the nationalist parties of Algeria will find favour with nationalist parties in other parts of North Africa. If a union of these parties occurs, the day when Arab North Africa will defeat the imperialist exploiters, will not be very far ahead.

All correspondence in connection with the Front should be addressed to :—

Front Algérien Pour la Defense et le Respect de la Liberté,
1, Impasse Berbrugger, Algiers.

MY JOURNEY TO THE MIDDLE EAST

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

"What I hated most was the fact that the train went in a zig-zag way, crossing the frontier between Turkey and Syria several times : eight times to be exact ! Each time the customs officers would bother you with the same time-worn question : 'Have you anything to declare ?' Once or twice they woke me up from a happy dream at a late hour of the night. For the rest of the night I could not sleep a wink. I asked the *Chef* who was in charge of our compartments, 'Why don't they build a line connecting Turkey directly with Iraq ?' He smiled and said : 'There was such a project before the war, but I think they have given it up now. Remember, sir, this was one country before the First World War. It is not the fault of the train but the fault of politics that divided one country into such a jig-saw puzzle. Maybe when your Islamistan is realized there won't be any need for the train to change its route !'"

My last hours in Istanbul.

In half-an-hour we were once again crossing the Galata bridge. We were in the middle of the bridge when 'Ifet asked : "Did you see Stromboli ?"

"Yes."

"I mean the actual volcano, not the film."

"I have seen both. But the actual volcano is something unforgettable. Our boat went past it at about ten o'clock at night. Some of the ladies were terrified by the sight of it. They thought for a moment that it might suddenly throw some lava on the steamer and burn it. The smoke was coming out of it incessantly in huge clouds. Periodically, these clouds of smoke were lit with red-hot fire spreading practically all over the horizon. The night was dark, so the view was enhanced. The oily-black sea and the pitch-dark sky lent the scene a touch of horror. For the first time in my life I was seeing a live volcano. I loved the scene. It thrilled me. I would have continued to love it, even if it had burnt our boat."

"Amazing !" The couple of thin arching eyebrows of 'Ifet were raised. Her naturally red skin looked rather pale. "You must have an unusual sense of pleasure !"

"Not at all. I am like the moth that loves to burn herself in the fire of the taper she adores."

"You have an answer to everything."

"Naturally, because I only speak out of conviction."

"Do you always ?" Her eyes were now looking fixedly into mine as though to ask me whether I had any strong convictions in her favour . . . waiting to be revealed.

"Except," I said jestingly, "when I am speaking to a woman or about a woman, then I am neither sure of myself nor of what I am saying."

"That's a very bad confession to make before a lady. I hope you are not serious. But look, goodness me ! I am taking you in the wrong direction."

"That's just like you."

"You're becoming testy with me."

"Perhaps."

"We must go back now."

By now we were practically near Machke. We had to take a tram back to Beyazit.

"I do not know where you are taking me," I said with the suspicion of a smile on my face.

The Library of Topkapi Palace.

"To Topkâpu Saray Kutuphanesi !"

"Excellent ! I am looking forward to it."

What a magnificent building is this lovely seraglio. One can have the best view of the city and the Bosphorus from this composite building which comprises a couple of museums and a manuscript reading-room. The building is situated in a locality where museums abound ; for only a short distance away is the

Eski Shark Museisi, the Ancient Eastern Museum and the Ancient Islamic Museum. From there, one can go by a sloping road to a spacious garden where the most striking thing is the statue of a lion preying on a gazelle. The way the lion is holding the neck of the poor gazelle is most expressive.

The minutes slipped into hours as we wandered in the museums and neighbouring gardens. Towards the end of the day we were dead tired and hungry. The sun was going down as we sat munching our dinner lazily in one of the restaurants on the Bosphorus. A stillness fell over the composite city. The colour of the Bosphorus kept changing from blood-red to bright yellow that faded into silver. There was a gentle ripple on the surface. The reflections of the trees were twisting and wriggling. Every now and then you noticed a boat going to or coming from the Black Sea.

I hated this prolonged silence over dinner, although the beautiful scene forced us to be pensive. So I broke it by suggesting to my cute companion a visit to the little islands in the Marmora Sea. She was just raising the fork to her mouth when she stopped to say, "That is a good idea. A better idea still is to go to Yalova."

"But Yalova is a summer resort and we are in mid-winter."

"If it comes to that, they are all summer resorts. We will see the islands just from outside and proceed to Yalova. No, we will see the islands first. If we have any time left then we will go to Yalova."

Once a woman says something it is impossible to change her mind. She will do it her own way whatever the cost may be. I have found this from my own personal experience. And women are everywhere women. They are as much alike as we men are different.

The next day 'Ifet did exactly as she suggested in the first place. We saw the islands just from outside and spent the rest of the day at Yalova ! !

"O you inevitable evil, sister of the devil, why don't you let us land on this lovely island ?" I kept showering her with such words of reproach each time we reached a lovely island with green terraced slopes.

But she met my annoyance with a smile and only said, "It is the privilege of a woman to lead a man and dictate her wishes to him. You poor men ! You think quite mistakenly that you are the master, yet how easily a crafty woman can lead you !"

I admitted my defeat and knew that it was far easier to rule an empire than to lead an unruly woman.

I quote the words of H. V. Morton from his book, *In the Steps of the Master*, to show the perplexities of a Christian mind on the confused identity of Jesus.

On the boat there was a European. 'Ifet whispered to me : "Why don't you start a religious talk with him and show him the beauty of Islam and its splendid aspects in a great Muslim centre

like Constantinople. I think he is a Christian and I would like you to speak to him. I have never heard an argument between a Christian and a Muslim."

"What is the good of that? You mean that I must show him the weak points of his religion? That's quite unnecessary. The Christians themselves are sceptical about their own religion. Have you ever read H. V. Morton's *In the Steps of the Master*?"

"No, I haven't. What does he say?"

"He says: 'The mind, accustomed to the divine Christ of Western Churches, encounters in Jerusalem the memory of Jesus the Man, the Jesus who ate and slept and he came weary, who drove the hucksters from the Temple, who drank the cup of death on Golgotha. At home one always thinks of Jesus in heaven; on the right hand of God the Father, but in Jerusalem one thinks of Him walking the dusty white roads, and one's intelligence is perpetually rejecting or accepting certain places that tradition associates with His manhood. As God, He is everywhere, but in Jerusalem centuries of piety have competed to place His footsteps on this stone and that road. It was almost with a shock that I realized that the *Via Dolorosa* could be a real road with men and women and animals upon it.'

"Do you see how perplexed a Christian mind can be on the confused identity of Jesus, who is once considered as God and then as man?"

At this juncture a fragrant breeze blew moving the dangling branches on the Bosphorus. Just at this moment we arrived at the large island. "Those islands," I remarked to 'Iffet, "remind me of Venice. It seems that each family have their own boat to travel about with and visit their neighbours."

We spent the whole day at Yalova. In the evening we were once again in Istanbul to see a show and to get prepared for my journey to Baghdad!

Never travel with twelve cases to anywhere for you will be in the end paying twice the price of their contents as freight and custom duties; porters will rob you anywhere you land. They look at you gleefully and think: Here is a victim, we must rob him of his last penny. And this is exactly what happened to me. A Jewish-French customs officer kicked up a fuss about my radio while I was still on my way to Paris. Porters and taximen at Marseilles and Constantinople charged me fabulous fares. It is always better to put what you have in one huge wooden box and send it separately by one of the freight companies. I learnt this fact only too late. So I could not put it into practice.

I leave Istanbul.

I crossed the sea to the Asiatic side the next day — early in the morning — for the train (the Orient express), was leaving for Baghdad at 9 a.m.

Just as I sat comfortably in my compartment I was handed a bundle of letters, which had been sent to me through Cook's. 'Iffet, who was looking despondent and heart-broken, smiled bitterly and said:

"Look, your friends follow you everywhere you go."

There were letters from London, Paris and Jordan. "Soon I shall have," I remarked, "letters from Istanbul too."

"Yes, but they won't compare so well with some of the literary letters you receive, because I am a very bad correspondent both for speed and style."

The train cut our last conversation short. The fierce whistle of the train meant that both 'Iffet and Istanbul were soon to become things of the past and that they were to live only in my memory, my letters and short stories.

"Good-bye, dear child of the Bosphorus. You have given me some of the most inspiring moments of my life. I shall not forget you easily!"

I must confess that I could not resist kissing her pale hand. She blushed but she looked grateful.

"I did not know," I said as a farewell joke, "that you had a mole on your hand until I had the great chance of kissing it."

She laughed and laughed, even when the train parted she was still laughing, though her eyes were moist!

Another dear person has gone out of my life . . . maybe temporarily, maybe for ever!

Three days and three nights I spent on the train cutting right across Turkey, Syria and Iraq.

The Turks are the English of the East, just as the Persians are the French and the Arabs the Italians of it. I say the Turks, especially those of Istanbul, are the English of the East because they are so polite and well-mannered. From my intercourse with them I found them well-disposed to the idea of Islamistan, but within limits and restrictions.

To reach Iraq from Turkey one crosses Syria eight times!

Towns and little villages are scattered all along the route. For a time the train runs along the coast-line and provides the passengers with charming maritime views. What I hated most was the fact that the train went in a zig-zag way, crossing the frontier between Turkey and Syria several times: eight times to be exact! Each time the customs officers would bother you with the same time-worn question: "Have you anything to declare?" Once or twice they woke me up from a happy dream at a late hour of the night. For the rest of the night I could not sleep a wink. I asked the *Chef* who was in charge of our compartments, "Why don't they build a line connecting Turkey directly with Iraq?" He smiled and said: "There was such a project before the war, but I think they have given it up now. Remember, sir, this was one country before the First World War. It is not the fault of the train but the fault of politics that divided one country into such a jig-saw puzzle. Maybe when your Islamistan is realized there won't be any need for the train to change its route!"

There was much truth in the *Chef's* statements. I next asked him if he had witnessed any exciting scenes on the train considering that he had spent fifteen years working on it.

He gave me a broader smile this time and said, "If I tell you all the exciting scenes I have seen on this train, you will be able to fill books. I have seen romances, love-scenes, robberies and attempts at murder. Once two sheikhs drew daggers at each other; so we had to stop the train and asked them to get off and settle their quarrel outside."

"What happened then," I asked breathlessly, "did they get down and kill each other?"

"No," said the *Chef* calmly, "they just sheathed their daggers and sat down quietly . . . Suddenly we heard loud joyous sounds that are usually heard only on the arrival of a bride!"

"Here is a scene of romance for you," said the *Chef* triumphantly. "There is apparently a newly-married couple on the train. We went out of the compartment into the corridor. There were confetti only next door to me. So the happy couple are my neighbours. When did they join the train? They must have come at Nusaibin, for my former neighbours were an old couple and their daughter".

Sailing on a brand-new boat that was just making her maiden journey and travelling on a bridal train with a couple on their way to their honeymoon made me (I must say) draw good omens. The couple was charming. They offered us some sweets; but the bride was so much bathed in scents and perfumes that each time she looked out of the window or passed my door, my room was filled with a lovely perfume.

Tunnels, mountains (including mighty Taurus), valleys, deep gorges and ravines were passed. We were at last in the desert. I do not say that Turkey was out of sight completely and that there was no longer Turkish to be heard, but there was more Arabic than Turkish.

We entered the Iraqi frontier at last; people were talking in the Iraqi dialect and speaking of *dinars* and *filis* (Iraqi currency). One of the officers turned out to be an old friend of the family. I was home again! I went down, took a handful of soil, kissed it and pressed it to my forehead then performed hurriedly two *rak'abs* of prayer.

The whole scene was changed. I was enlivened and inspired. After six years I was hearing the lovely accent of my own countrymen. Time was flying quickly now. It was Mosul, the capital of the north. I could not believe it. I went down and saw the station that cost the nation so many thousands of pounds. There was a rest-house on the first floor with spacious offices on the ground floor. Our stay here lasted only forty minutes. Quick was the departure for I wanted to see some friends and relatives. It was eleven o'clock or shortly after that when I went to bed. In the morning I was told that we were already in Balad. We have even passed Samarra, the town of some happy memories of my youth. There were very few miles, only very few miles to Baghdad. I got ready . . . half-an-hour later I saw the dunes and minarets . . . nay! here is my father, uncle, brothers and a huge crowd of friends — all cheering and waving. Press men and photographers were most embarrassing. I had to kiss and embrace them all, most of them I did not know!

I reach Baghdad.

I had to spend a whole month before I could believe that I was back in Baghdad.

The city has changed a little, it is more beautiful now but the people have changed even more: they have become too imaginative and too pessimistic. They want to change the country overnight into a strong European country, which is absurd!

I looked round and muttered to myself: Certainly the country needs a new philosophy and a realistic leader. Neo-Islamic could provide the requisite philosophy, but where is the leader? It is immaterial at this stage whether there is a leader or not; for once the philosophy is spread, the leader is bound to appear. It is the right circumstance that creates the right leader and rarely (if ever), the other way round. I have made it my duty to make a thorough study of modern Iraq for it is typical of the Middle-Eastern and Muslim countries. Practically all its weak points are shared by all Islamic countries.

On the second day of my arrival in Baghdad I asked my friends (just as a stranger arriving in a new town which he had not seen before would ask) whether there were any places of interest to be seen in Baghdad. They said, "Yes, the museums . . . start with the Natural History Museum as it was founded in 1946 during your stay in England".

So I made a point of visiting the museum, which is in an excellent locality in North Baghdad. The specimens and exhibits had been collected by various technical departments and oil companies.

There are three sections: zoological, botanical and geological. The zoological section is concerned with the fauna of the country. There are in this section about 150 species of Iraqi birds including the bulbul (from the nightingale family), which name, I am told is corrupted from Babel (Babylon). If this be true, then its Iraqi origin is proved beyond doubt.

There were several specimens of abnormal animals, which particularly attract the attention of visitors, e.g., a chicken with four legs and a goat with two heads, etc.

The botanical section represents the vegetables and fruits grown in Iraq.

As for the geological section, this represents mostly the geological strata of the oil-fields and the process of extracting and refining oil.

I was pleased to see that the Iraqis were able to make plaster specimens of parts and organs of the human body for medical study. They were identical with the best European specimens.

The representation of the Iraqi fruits was particularly good. The pomegranate was so well done and the seeds were so beautifully shining that for a moment I thought it was real.

I was told by Mr. Bashir Allos, Director of the museum, that the museum is steadily making itself known throughout the world, through its periodical publications. It has been elected member of the Bombay Natural History Society, and the American Association of Museums.¹

A visit to Iraq's Chamber of Deputies.

The following day I went to the Chamber of Deputies (Iraq's House of Commons). On the right were the Government benches with General Nuri Pasha al-Sa'id, the Prime Minister, sitting right at the top. On the left were the Opposition benches with Mr. Muhammad Mahdi Kubba at its head. In the middle is the party of Mr. Salih Jabur.

The debate was about the new Tribal Law. Though fierce were the attacks of Fa'iq al-Samarra'i and Siddiq Shenshel (the Independence Party members), Nuri Pasha was clever in his counter-attacks. The Opposition members were trying to win the votes of the representatives of the tribes, but Nuri Pasha was able to alienate them from the Opposition and to win them to his point of view. He reminded the tribal chiefs that those Opposition speakers were the same men who keep calling them "feudalists!"

It is this same party of Independence which has declared itself a Socialist Party and is demanding the nationalization of oil.

Of late, even the group of Salih Bey Jabur has declared itself Socialist. The third Socialist group, which is not represented in the Parliament because its members resigned *en masse* last summer, is the National Democratic Party headed by Kamil al-Chadirchi. Of all those parties Nuri Pasha's *al-Ittihad al-Dusturi* is the one which is in favour of encouraging the Islamic spirit in the country. The party of Independence is pan-Arabist.

Recently a queer thing has appeared in the sphere of Iraqi politics: the various Opposition parties are grouping together to form what they have called the "popular front" *al-Jabha al-sha'biyyah*, including some former Ministers and Prime Ministers. It is expected, if this materialized, that the party of Independence will join hands with them. How is this popular front going to work? No one knows. Its components are heterogeneous. It is said that each party will have one-third of the general votes. It is not a party in the ordinary sense: only a convenient arrangement to harass the Government. Its members have only one or two principles in common!

Another major issue about which those parties are contending is the "Election Law". The present law follows the two-degrees election system. Some Opposition leaders are demanding a one-degree system like England. This, they contend, will enable the Iraqis to elect more freely. They are also demanding electoral rights for Iraqi women, who they argue, have attained a state of maturity which enables them to demand such a right.

¹ See Iraq's Natural History Museum's Publication, No. 1, General Report (1946-49), Baghdad, 1950.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust

The visit of Northern Nigerian Administrators to the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.

Two groups of Northern Nigerian Administrators who came to visit the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking on the 3rd and 31st August, 1951, were the guests of the Imam and joined him at lunch before the Friday prayers. Before their departure, while thanking the Imam for his kind reception and hospitality, they gave expression to their great joy in having been able to visit the Mosque in England and more especially to their happiness in having met their British Muslim brothers and sisters in Islam and of having had the opportunity of not only dining together but also having prayed together and thereby demonstrating to the world that Islam has obliterated all barriers and distinctions based on caste, colour and race. They said they were particularly happy to have learnt that there were about 2,000 British brought to the fold of Islam through the activities of the Woking Muslim Mission and the Shah Jehan Mosque. They also said that they would always remember this visit to the Mosque and would treasure it as one of the happiest moments of their life.

'Id al-Adha celebrated at the Mosque on the 12th September, 1951.

The morning of Wednesday, the 12th of September, 1951, was dreary and overcast. It rained steadily. Suddenly the clouds dispersed and the sun shone brightly through, as if to accord a hearty welcome to nearly a thousand Muslims representing twenty-five different nations. They came from all walks of life and varying social groups to join in the prayers of 'Id al-Adha at the Shah Jehan Mosque, and the festivities that followed. An imposing marquee had been erected on the spacious lawn of the

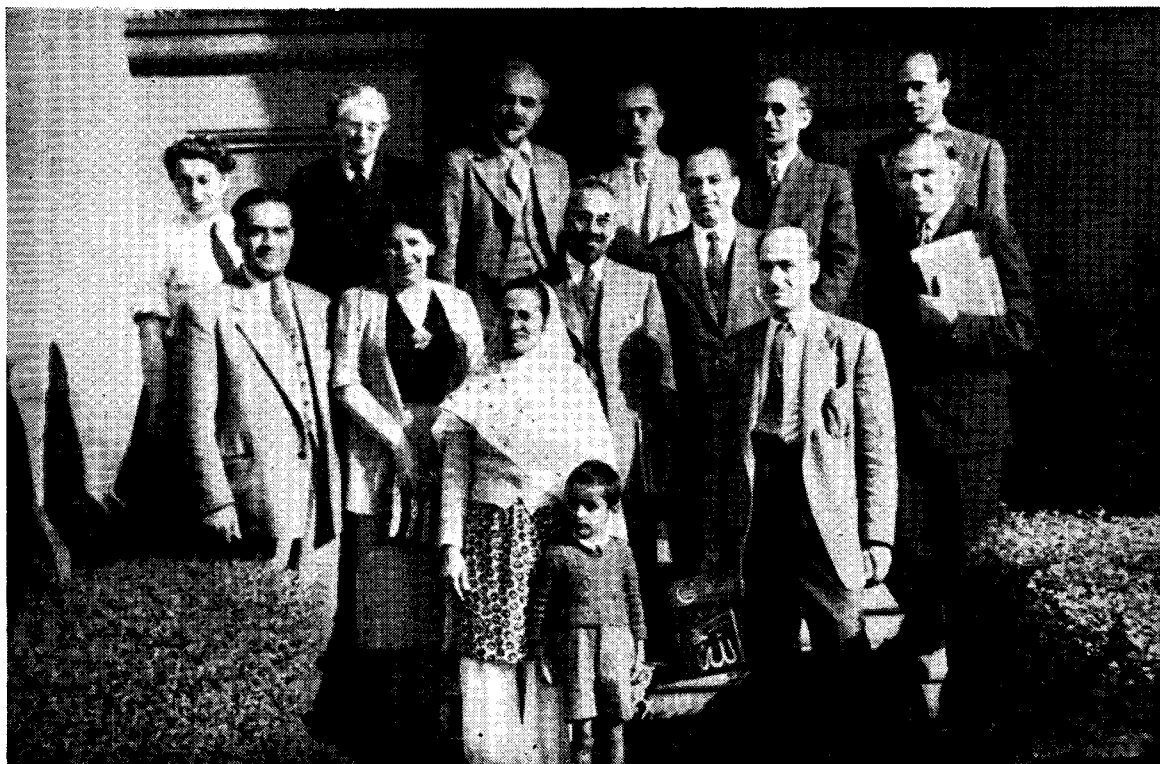
Mosque and was artistically decorated with the flags of all the Muslim States. The mystery which had surrounded the beautifully illuminated Mosque, which had been floodlit in colour at night, and which had so excited the curiosity of local residents, was now revealed.

Opening the proceedings, Mr. Hazim Satric, a Yugoslavian Muslim and a member of the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission, recited a few verses from the Holy Qur'an in very touching and melodious cadences. What an inspiring scene it was when all the Muslims joined in the "Takbirs". In the same way, with the same feeling, they were as one with all their Muslim brothers paying their tribute to their great heritage of sacrifice at that moment in Mecca. The festivities reached their climax in the congregational prayers, led by a very learned British Muslim, al-Hajj Dawud Cowan, M.A., who also delivered the sermon. He surveyed Muslim history very briefly and pointed out the cause of the rise and fall of the Muslim nations during the past fourteen centuries. He furthermore said; "Only Islam can best meet the challenge of the crisis-ridden world of today, torn out by its iniquities and divided into hostile warring camps". He appealed to all the Muslims present to join hands once again to achieve their rightful place in the world and play their destined rôle.

After the "Khutba" all the Muslims from distant lands, dressed in their traditionally beautiful way, gorgeously apparelled, greeted one another. It was indeed a very happy occasion to see them all meeting, greeting and rejoicing together with the informality and sincere fraternal feeling that Muslims all over the world enjoy.

The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah,

The Syrian Press Delegation to the United Kingdom at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking



On Monday, the 13th of August, the members of the Syrian Press Delegation who were on a short visit to Great Britain came to tea with the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. Our picture shows (left to right, front row): Mrs. 'Abdullah, Mr. Subhi Khatib, President of the Syrian Federation of Trade Unions; (left to right, second row): Mr. 'Izzat Husriyi, Proprietor-Editor of al-'Alam, Mrs. Olive Toto, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Mr. Kamal Sherman, Mr. Fletcher of the British Legation at Damascus, Syria; (right to left, back row): Dr. Kamal, Mr. Spiro Eissa, Editor of Alif Baa, Mr. Bashir al-'Awf, Editor of al-Manaar, and Mr. 'Abd al-Majid, Editor, The Islamic Review, Woking

entertained all present to a delicious oriental meal which was relished by everyone. The Pakistani Royal Air Force Trainees from Halton Camp and Naval Trainees organized the serving of the meal, under the able guidance of Sgt. Dilshad R.P.A.F. The following prominent persons were present during the celebrations :

- Mr. and Mrs. Muhammad Fathallah, First Secretary to the Lebanese Legation.
- Mr. David Gammans, Member of the British Parliament.
- Mr. Abdul 'Aziz, Postmaster-General of Cyprus and his family.
- Lt.-Col. A. F. B. Baines-Hewitt, an English Muslim from Devizes, Wiltshire.
- Mr. S. M. Burke, Counsellor at the Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, with his family.

Lectures on Islam.

During the month of September Great Britain witnessed the celebration of a conference called the "Parliamentary Conference on World Government" wherein different countries were represented through 250 parliamentarian as well as non-parliamentarian delegates.

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, was requested to be one of the delegates. Pakistan was represented by Mr. E. Jaffar, Member of the Pakistan Parliament.

The Imam took part in the deliberations of the conference and attended most of the sessions in London and also travelled to Cardiff (in Wales) and addressed the meeting as well. The aim of the conference was to enlist world public opinion in favour of the creation of one world government which should stand for the unity of the human race and be above national, racial or colour prejudices, etc. The Imam gave his fullest support to these ideals, as they concur with the ideology of Islam. The Imam also drew the attention of the audience and of the convenors to the great importance of the moral and spiritual

values of life and exhorted them never to forget or ignore this important factor which should form the basis in deciding all the issues which confront us.

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, addressed a select audience of the members of the Feltham Rotary Club on Tuesday the 25th September, 1951. He spoke on the institution of the Mosque in general and of the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking in particular, and acquainted the members of the club with the fundamentals of Islam.

Social functions and visitors to the Shah Jehan Mosque.

The Imam solemnized the marriages of Mr. Shermuhammad Ansari and Miss Mary McKenzie, and Mr. Asim Lepie and Miss Gertrude Fuchs.

The regular religious lectures were resumed with full vigour after the summer recess. Dr. Ishaq Kamil is looking after the religious and moral side of the Pakistan Air Trainees at Halton and Mr. Hazim Satric has been imparting religious instruction at Cranwell R.A.F. camp in addition to his duties at the Mosque, Woking.

H. E. Sardar Bahadur Khan, Communications Minister of Pakistan, visited the Shah Jehan Mosque and dined with the Imam. He was accompanied by Brigadier S. Ghawas, Senior Military Liaison Officer of the High Commissioner for Pakistan. Among the various other prominent visitors to the Mosque may be mentioned the following :

- H.H. The Sultan of Salangor.
- Dr. Najmudean of Mombasa.
- Mr. Mustapha Farra, Journalist from Syria.
- Mr. Fakhruddin G. Ebrahim from Tanganyika.
- Mr. S. M. Hassan, Chief Engineer P.W.D., Lahore.
- Mr. Muhammad Ladan from Nigeria.
- Mr. A. Shalaby of Egypt.
- Mr. M. O. Meharbaksh of India.
- Dr. 'Abdul 'Aziz of Pakistan.

BOOK REVIEWS

JOURNEY TO PERSIA, by Robert Payne. Heinemann, London, 1951. 15/-.

The author visited Iran in 1949 on a tour sponsored by the Asia Institute of New York, guided by the eminent Chancellor of the Asia Institute, Dr. Upham Pope. The book is a record of his impressions of the people and country of Iran. Mr. Payne conjures up a powerful picture of the past of Iran with graphic power and refreshing vigour of the realistic modern journalist.

The Masjid-i-Shah, Masjid-i-Shaikh Lutfullah and Chehel Sutun memorials of Isfahan's grandeur are subjected to a comprehensive account. Mr. Payne stresses the forgotten past of ancient Rhages, a few miles away from Teheran. The clarity and architectural perfection of Dr. Pope's photographs greatly aid the written script. In fact the reproductions of photographs from Dr. Pope's *Survey of Persian Art* form an impressive part of this book and are a supreme testimony to Iran's former greatness.

When Mr. Payne deals with modern Iranians and the various people he met, he is on firm ground. The story of the Iranian Governor of Khorasan who refused him admission to the sacred shrine of Imam Reza at Mashhad after witnessing the "Technicolor" version of Hollywood's idea of the Middle East in the film entitled *The Thief of Baghdad* confirms this impression.

The publication is impressively produced but with the present crisis, it is a pity that the author did not devote a chapter to the present-day problems and personalities which are now a vital matter in world events. But then the author says he went on a "purely cultural" expedition.

The book gains upon the reader, in particular, a Muslim because of its deep understanding of the culture of the East as exemplified in Iran. For instance, no Muslim could read these words of the author without feeling that in Mr. Payne he has found a kindred soul. "We owe a debt to Persia. We forget the debt we owe her for being the bridge between America and Soviet Asia during the war, but we also forget that our lyric poetry derived from her, by way of the Saracens and Spain and that the small dome-chamber in Isfahan is the ancestor of all the Gothic cathedrals. Our heraldry, our fairy stories even our love for the chase come from Persia; the Elizabethan poets fed on the stories of English travellers to the Persian courts. Even now, when Persia is a half-forgotten frontier State and the only stories out of Teheran refer to border incidents and disputes over oil wells, it might be well if architects and students, all those who are concerned with the decay of our own civilization went there. The springs are there. Not all of them, but enough to make us realize that we owe to Persia as great a debt as we owe to Greece."

In talking of the mosques in Persia he makes the following incisive and interesting observations : "It is then that you realize that these domed chambers have their proper place in men's hearts, and that there are virtues in the Moslem mosques denied to our Christian cathedrals. Here there are no heaven-leaping spires; no aimless attempts to capture and imprison God; no receptacle for the holy flesh; no wounded and agonizing Christ who stares accusingly at the throng of worshippers. Here then is only the perfect simplicity of a blue dome lit by sun-

light falling through the faience, and on the hollow surface of the dome-chamber. God's name is written not in single flowers, but in whole banks of them."

L'EVOLUTION SOCIALE DU MAROC. Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie. Paris. (Year of publication is not mentioned.)

Because of its internal political tension French Morocco has been recently very much in the news and it is natural that monographs on its social evolution should attract our attention.

From the editorial note, preceding the book under review, we learn that the quarterly review, *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, published by the Association of the former pupils of the Centre for High Studies of Muslim Administration (*Association des anciens élèves du Centre des Hautes Etudes de l'Administration Musulmane, Paris*) has decided to print a series of monographs under the general title of *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie*. The book under review is the first of this series and is composed of the three monographs.

The first monograph by Louis Villeme, entitled *L'évolution de la vie citadine au Maroc* deals with the general life of the Muslims of Morocco. According to the author the Muslims in Morocco show a tendency towards the Europeanization in the following respects: in their clothes — except that the men are still keeping the tarboush in order to stress their Moroccan nationality, and the women are still veiled; in the gradual adoption of European furniture and domestic amenities and the increase in the numbers of Moroccans establishing themselves in European quarters of the cities; in the emancipation of the women, which is characterized by the increasing numbers in the girls' schools; in a tendency to take part in politics; and an increasing desire for freedom in the choice of their husbands. The author observes that the tendency towards Europeanization is much stronger in the younger than in the older generations.

Unfortunately all these conclusions are based on the personal observations and impressions of the author. The only figures quoted are those referring to the increase in the number of Muslim families in the European part of Fez from 21 to 39 between 1939 and 1941. We realize that it is probably difficult to obtain figures for many of the above-mentioned aspects of Muslim city life in Morocco, but it should not be impossible to secure certain figures — as, for instance, those dealing with the numbers attending the girls' schools.

The second monograph written by M. Jean d'Etienne, is entitled *Une Famille Marocaine*. This work does not deal in fact with one family, but mainly with the evolution of the families of five children and their issue, all directly descended from a Muslim couple settled in Casablanca in 1922. This kind of work is necessarily based on observation and is technically, in our opinion, above all criticism.

The impression produced by the description of the life of this group of people is on the whole favourable. It shows a type of individual physically sound, usually industrious, honest and loyal to France. Several members of this group joined the forces as volunteers during the last war. Certain members of this group became semi-skilled workmen — as, for instance, the drivers of motor lorries. All this confirms what we have been told about the average Moroccan. It is a striking fact that between 1922 and 1945 none of the members of this group had opportunity to frequent a French school. The progress in adaptation to the European conditions of life is faster among the men than among the women.

Concerning the more intimate relations of the members of this group, the author comes to the conclusion that there exists among them a genuine family spirit which finds its expression in mutual support. He points out that "there is no fundamental

difference between their mentality and that of a similar type of European."

As to their religious feelings, the author observes a considerable diminution of the *marabuting* feelings and that the influence of the brotherhoods is very limited. "The practising of ritual obligations is far from being universal and regular, except for the fasting and sacrifice."

On marriage the author observes that it is only a little more stable than among the Europeans; only monogamy is practised; unilateral repudiation exists, but is used without abuse; all marriages are concluded with the common consent of both parties, and the man is not the absolute master of the destiny of his household; the emancipation of the women is very little advanced, the unveiling, for instance, seems to be a very distant goal.

M. d'Etienne says that the trade union movement is only just beginning among the members of this group.

In talking of national consciousness, the author thinks that such feelings are not yet awakened among the members of this group, though he recognizes that he never raised this question in his talks with them. He is certain, however, that there is no longer any opposition between the Arabs and the Berbers, and that the tribal feelings have completely disappeared, that they only feel they are Muslims and Moroccans. He also thinks that in their attitude towards the French, there is no hatred, but rather trustful sympathy, no feeling of subjection or exploitation.

In conclusion the author advises certain measures: the spread of education among the Moroccans, especially technical apprenticeship; the same pay for the Moroccans as for the Europeans for the same work; a good administration and impartial justice. Might we conclude from this advice that present conditions leave much to be desired?

Concerning political reforms, as, for example, the introduction of a representative régime, the author thinks that it must be preceded by the spread of education and so long as this is not advanced, such a reform is unsuitable.

The general impression of this work is favourable. It shows an author serious and objective, without the special prejudices which so often characterize the attitude of the French towards their Muslim subjects. Nevertheless one cannot but ask oneself, if such an inquiry were made by a Muslim of the same social and cultural standard as the author himself, would the conclusions be the same, especially concerning the attitude of the members of the group in question to the French rule?

The third monograph *Le Prolétariat Marocain de Port-Lyautey* is written by Stéphane Delisle.

This monograph is technically as good as the one by M. d'Etienne, but as it deals with a larger subject, it throws more light on the general situation of the Moroccan population. For this reason we shall analyse it in greater detail.

The name "Port-Lyautey" was conferred in 1932 on the port of Kenitra situated on the River Sebou. Its population increased from 1,100 in 1912 to 63,202 in 1949. The greater part of this population is composed of Moroccan Muslims, approximately 52,000. The majority of these, 75 per cent, live in the so-called *bidonvilles* — the dense agglomerations of small huts, tents and barracks. The name comes from *bidon* — tin of petrol — because sometimes these huts are built from these tins. This 75 per cent live in extremely primitive conditions. The French authorities have tried to improve the situation by building the *cités ouvrières*, i.e., cities for workmen — and apparently in this respect Port-Lyautey is the most advanced in Morocco: 25 per cent of the Moroccan population is already living in these cities. The monograph is illustrated with photos representing the *bidonvilles*.

The majority of the Moroccans in Port-Lyautey is of rural origin — 96.42 per cent.

Profession-wise they are classified as follows :

Dockers and workers without specialization	49.47%
Owners of food shops	9.89%
Pedlars	5.32%
Second-hand clothes dealers	6.02%
	<hr/> 70.70%

The rest is composed of various other professions. From the point of view of qualifications, the first place is occupied by male nurses — 0.03 per cent — and midwives — 0.06 per cent. One per cent is employed in the administration, but most probably as porters.

The author unfortunately does not mention the figure for unemployment. He only says that "more than one family includes one or more completely or partly unemployed", so that very often the women are obliged to work in order to support the family. These number about 800 and are mostly employed as servants or charwomen in the European district of the city.

The following figures give an idea of the incomes :

a married workman in a cigarette

factory	3,350 French francs per week
an engineer in a garage	2,250 French francs per week
a driver of a lorry	2,000 French francs per week
an employee in the town hall	2,000 French francs per week

An unqualified worker works only three days in the week during the winter earning 300-350 francs per day. During the season he earns from 3,000 to 4,000 francs per week.

It is easy to understand from these figures that the life of the common workman (and they are the majority) is not easy and, according to the author, is dominated "by the need to earn his bread from day to day". The result of this state of affairs is that criminality is very high — 1,249 criminal cases in 1948 — as is the degree of prostitution and mendicity. The latter is fought fairly successfully by the authorities.

According to the author the Muslim Moroccans of Port-Lyautey are devoid of "social consciousness"; this is partly due to the fact that before the last war access to the European trade unions was forbidden to them. There was in Port-Lyautey an attempt to revive the traditional corporations but they do not play an important rôle. After the liberation of Morocco in 1943 a rebirth of trade unionist activity took place and about 800 joined the trade unions in which two opposite tendencies — the Communist and the *force ouvrière* — were to be observed.

The Christian trade unions do not enjoy any influence among the Moroccans. At present the trade unionist movement among them is very weak because of their lack of "social consciousness". Sometimes they join the trade unions in order to achieve a practical result (as, for instance, a misunderstanding with an employer or to find the work), but if they do not obtain it, they leave it. With the exception of a small group, the Communist movement does not enjoy any great influence among the Moroccans and is mostly represented by the Union of the Moroccan Women.

Before the last war nationalist feelings were limited to the bourgeois elements but since the end of the war they have begun to penetrate the masses. The author concludes that "because of the absence of trade unions within their understanding . . . the idea of nationalism is progressing in their consciousness".

The author repeats more or less what M. Jean d'Etienne says on the religious life of the Moroccans. "The Moroccan has a deep feeling and pride to be a Muslim", but he does not practise strictly the ritual obligations: he generally fasts, but neglects very often to pray, rarely frequents the Mosque and is very little interested in the "brotherhoods", which count in Port-Lyautey of less than a thousand adherents.

The *masides* on the contrary play a much more important rôle. There are about 30 of them in Port-Lyautey, and one of them has achieved remarkable results. The *masides* teach about 1,200 children and as there is only one Mosque in Port-Lyautey, they also serve as places for prayer; the building of two other Mosques is projected.

Intellectual life is almost non-existent among the Moroccan proletariat in Port-Lyautey; the number of people who can read is extremely limited. There is not even a theatre.

The state of health of the poor Moroccans in Port-Lyautey leaves much to be desired, as one can easily imagine from the unhygienic conditions in which they live. The author enumerated the illnesses from which they suffer but does not give us figures, probably because they do not exist, as there is only one hospital, built in 1944, with 65 beds and only two doctors, but no surgeon at all. This state of affairs requires no comment.

A little better organized is the assistance to the new-born babies and the struggle against mendicity and vagrancy owing to the existence of special institutions. There is an asylum which can lodge 150 persons. It also distributes the food to 170 families.

As to education, in 1944 there were in *Medina* (town) only three French-Moroccan schools with less than 600 pupils, girls and boys. There were in 1949 five schools: two mixed schools, two schools for boys and a professional school for girls, all of them having a total of 2,000 pupils. There are schools in the European part of the town which also take a certain number of Muslim pupils.

The author takes notice of the existence of a progressive Muslim school called *Madrasat al-Taqaddum* (the School of Progress) directed by a nationalist group. It consists of nine primary classes with 340 girls and boys and three classes of infants with 100 pupils. M. Delisle concludes, that in 1949 2,600 or 34.2 per cent Muslim children were being educated in Port-Lyautey, and that "such a percentage which would be small for a progressive country, is rarely reached anywhere else in Morocco". To this figure of 2,600 must be added 1,200 children who are educated in the traditional Qur'anic schools.

In his conclusion the author makes very sane remarks with which everyone would agree. He says: "The future of Morocco depends not only on the social education and economic progress of the *bourgeoisie*, living in the traditional cities, but in the same measure on the masses of humble workers who have recently left their tribes, who have also a right to find a place under the sun. The examples of distress among the new proletariat are abundant in Asia and Africa, showing us the necessity of a resolute effort if we want to avoid that the misery, a bad adviser, would not lead to the disorder by which all society would find itself penetrated."

By showing the true situation of the Moroccan proletariat in Port-Lyautey and appealing for its improvement the author has rendered a great service to the French-Moroccan *rapprochement*. We cannot agree with the remarks of the author about the fate of his own book when he says that he knew only too well that a work of this kind, dealing with rapidly changing social conditions "is necessarily condemned to be soon out of date". For our part we consider that his work must be ranged among the best publications on French Morocco (in any case among those which we have had the opportunity of reading) because in a technically good form it gives the figures on some of the fundamental aspects of the life of the poorest Moroccan population. For this reason as always in the case of good monographs, a lasting success is assured to his work. We wish the author all success in anything further that he may write concerning his great country and Islam — whose destinies are so closely linked.

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.)

POPULATION OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

26 Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W.3.
26th August, 1951.

Dear Sir,

In the current issue of your handsome periodical, *The Islamic Review*, it is stated that the Muslim population of the world numbers 400,000,000 people. I shall be glad if you will favour me with your authority for these figures. My own books of reference inform me that the Islamic nations are estimated to number something over 200,000,000.

I think you will agree that such a discrepancy is important. Thank you so much for any information on the point.

Yours sincerely,
F. VICTOR FISHER, Editor, *Religions*.

MUSLIM POPULATION IN THE WORLD

The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking, Surrey.

Dear Mr. Fisher,

31st August, 1951.

In reply to your kind letter, I give below a rough estimate of the number of Muslims in the world. Some figures have been taken from Whitaker's *Almanack* for 1951:

Russia	28,000,000	Arabia	11,000,000
Malaya	6,326,552	Syria	3,000,000
Pakistan	65,000,000	Turkey	20,000,000
India	40,000,000	Albania	1,000,000
Indonesia	70,000,000	Jugoslavia ...	2,000,000
China	50,000,000	Gold Coast,	
Egypt	20,000,000	Nigeria, etc.	5,000,000
Morocco	10,000,000	Zanzibar, etc.	1,000,000
Libya	1,000,000	The Sudan ...	7,498,000
Iraq	5,500,000	Afghanistan ...	12,000,000
Jordan	1,200,000	Kuwait, etc. ...	1,000,000
Iran	18,000,000	The Yemen ...	3,500,000
Tunisia	3,320,000	Algeria	4,000,000
The Lebanon	700,000	The Philippines	1,000,000
		Total	390,544,552

There are many areas, especially in Africa, whose Muslim population we do not know. Thus the estimate of 400,000,000 is much nearer the exact mark than any other.

Yours sincerely, ABDUL MAJID,
Editor.

MUSLIMS IN BURMA

No. 11, 130th Street,
Rangoon,

Dear Sir,

Assalamo 'Alaikum! Burma.

... I have started a Burmese fortnightly journal, *Myanma Dagon*, which is the voice of Islam in Burma. I would like to request the managements of Islamic publications all over the world to contact me and send complimentary copies so that I may be able to use material from their contents. If desired, I shall send my journal in exchange. Tabligh publications may also be sent to me for free distribution in Burma.

MAUNG KO GAFFARI,
Editor, *Myanma Dagon*.

THE VALUE OF OUR LITERATURE

London, W.14.

12th August, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Some months ago I wrote you asking for information and reading material about Muslim people and their faith. You very kindly sent me certain books and pamphlets which have proved to be of great help. I deliberately refrained from communicating earlier with you as this discovery of Islam and all it stands for has come to mean a great deal to me.

I have read the Qur'an, and above all I have read modern books about Islam and its place in the world and in our hearts. I could never accept orthodox Christianity, and yet I am, and have been for many years, searching for a faith, a faith which is simple and yet so complete that I can accept it without hesitation or doubt.

Something is happening in the East, something so wonderful that I want more than anything else to link my future with it.

Please help me by telling me where I may obtain definite instruction, and where I may meet other Muslims.

I don't expect it to be easy to become a Muslim; I don't pretend to hope that I'll ever be a perfect one; but at least it is better, infinitely better, to strive as one.

I do sincerely look forward to hearing from you soon.

(Miss) THERESE DALY.

* * *

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW AND THE MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Dear Sir,

Madras, India.

Assalamo 'Alaikum! 20th June, 1951.

As a Muslim and social worker, I never miss a journal either in English or Urdu which reflects the spirit and teachings of Islam. . . .

It is a delight to see *The Islamic Review*, its get-up, the arrangement and discussion of various subjects all affecting the millions of Muslims all over the world. In recent issues you printed articles on the nationalization of oil, industrialization of Egypt, progress of Pakistan, etc. But it is a matter of regret that where so much is said about others in your journal nothing is said about Indian Muslims. Their political entity, their social, cultural or religious activities should also have found some place in your esteemed monthly. A question on a like point it seems was raised in a letter by Mr. Shariat Ahmad in your issue for May, 1951.

Your brother-in-faith,

A. BASHA.

* * *

PEN PALS

176, Main Street,

Rakwana, Ceylon.

16th August, 1951.

Dear Sir,

May I through the courtesy of your very valuable journal, express the wish that I desire to have a pen friend (or pen friends) interested in religion, philosophy, psychology, politics — in short, in life — in one's own life and in that of society?

I am 27 years of age, a teacher and keenly interested in life. Due to the socio-economic environment that I now find myself placed in I have to depend on introspection and books in my efforts to understand life. In connection with books, let me say, Sir, your journal has not only given me enough food . . . for thought. . . .

Yours fraternally,

J. A. M. HUSSAIN.

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