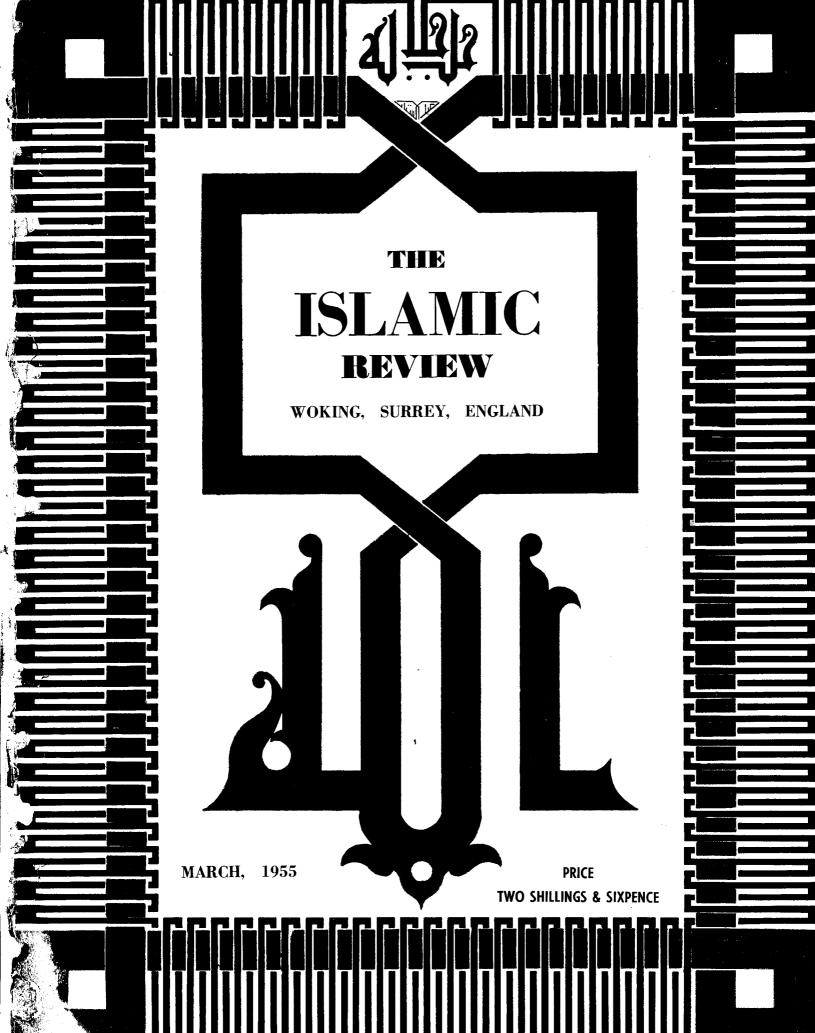
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ESTABLISHED 1949



Authorised Capital Pak Rs. 6,00,00,000

Issued and Subscribed Pak Rs. 6,00,00,000

Paid-up Pak Rs. 1,50,00,000

Reserve Fund (31.12.53) Pak Rs. 37,50,000

Deposits (31.12.53) Pak Rs. 29,27,27,586

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The Islamic Review

March: 1955

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AGENT IN KASHMIR

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free; single copies Rs. 1/11 Abdul 'Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, Roshni, Srinagar, Kashmir.

The Islamic Review

Founded by THELATE AL-HAJJ KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN
The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking,
Telephone: WOKING 679 Surrey, England
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"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . . " — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLIII No. 3

MARCH, 1955

Rajab-Sha'ban, 1374 A.H.

THE ARROGANCE OF FRANCE

Libya under the occupation of three Great Powers

Libya, the youngest of the Arab States, now finds itself occupied militarily by three Great Powers. The United States of America has a treaty with Libya entitling it to station a large number of troops in the country and to use vast strategic areas for military purposes. Britain has similar rights. These two Powers pay for these privileges, although, in our opinion, they do not pay enough.

The third Great Power — France — who is now stationing troops in the Fezzan (Libya's southern province, which has a population of nearly 40,000), pays extremely little for the privilege. France has been stationing a garrison of a few hundred men in the Fezzan since the Allied liberation of the country. When Libya became independent, it acquiesced in a treaty allowing France to continue to station this garrison until the end of 1954, in return for an annual payment by France of about £300,000. The treaty lapsed, the Libyan Government has refused to renew it, and France was asked to get out of the Fezzan. Negotiations followed between the two countries, but so far France has refused to budge.

Why France is not happy at Libya's independence

From the French point of view, the occupation of the Fezzan has many advantages. First, France hopes that by showing herself to be master of this part of Libya she can derogate from the independence and dignity of Libya in the eyes of the people of North Africa, and prevent these people from thinking that they also are entitled to independence. It is well known that France was never happy about Libya being given independence. She has so far persisted in refusing to exchange diplomatic relations with Libya. The sore point with France is that if the colonized people of North Africa think that France admits Libya's right to be independent, they will ask her to acquiesce in the equal right of the Moroccans, the Tunisians and the Algerians to be independent. But try as France did, Libya's independence has not failed to provoke the people of North Africa as a whole to seek liberation for themselves from the French yoke.

France's dignity

Another useful purpose, from the French point of view, served by the continuation of the occupation of the Fezzan, is that France can prevent the flow of help from Libya to Algeria or Tunisia, should the patriots of Libya seek to lend material aid to their struggling brethren. From the Fezzan, France can also have ready access to two of her colonies — French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa.

An equally important reason — again from the French point of view — which has prevented France from withdrawing from the Fezzan seems to be that her politicians do not wish to divest France of any territories she occupies, regardless of whether such occupation be just or unjust. Where nothing is gained by withdrawal, and something, however little, is lost, the French colonialists will not withdrawa. By withdrawal they fear that they may lose face in the eyes of the countries they colonize.

France's stubbornness

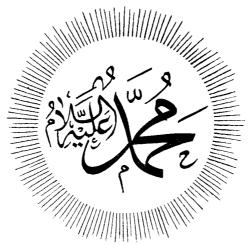
The persistent attitude of France in violating the rights of countries like Libya in order to serve her (France's) own greedy purposes and preserve her pride is a danger to peace. It is an attitude which makes both big and small nations feel that disputes can only be settled by force. The continuance of such unreasonable conduct on the part of France could bring about a third world war.

It is time that France understood that no self-respecting State can allow the presence of fereign occupation troops in its territory against its wish. The whole Arab world, and many of the smaller nations of the world, are solidly behind Libya and against France in this matter. If Libya does not give way, the Arab States will raise the matter at the United Nations. And as the last resort, there will be fighting and bloodshed in the Fezzan, which will cost the French a great deal.

France -- wake up!

The United Nations passed its resolutions on Libya's independence in November 1949. The presence of French troops in the Fezzan, against Libya's declared wish, is qui'e incompatible with this independence. Before that, the United Nations passed its well-known resolution on the withdrawal of foreign troops from countries occupied during the war, and in accordance with this resolution, France herself had to withdraw her troops from Syria and the Lebanon. France must respect the directives of the United Nations in the case of the Fezzan. She must realize, that dependent as she is on international guarantees, she cannot afford to place her own selfish interests before the basic rights of other nations. International opinion today rejects military occupation, and prefers that nations should enjoy sovereignty rather than have their territories become a battlefield. Perhaps Britain's withdrawal from the Suez Canal Zone was a response to this trend.

France cannot put the clock back. Equally, she cannot halt the march towards freedom. She would be well advised, in her own interests, to move with the times.



(Muhammad, the peace of God be upon him!)

THE WORLD BEFORE AND AFTER MUHAMMAD

By 'Abdus Subhan

The Qur'an describes the Mission of the Prophet Muhammad as world-wide

With a view to assessing correctly the contribution of Islam towards the culture and civilization of the world, it is necessary to review the conditions of the world, political, social and religious, that prevailed before and after Muhammad. The world, as then understood, was not comprised of the five continents as it is now. For the continents of America and Australia, of which the former was discovered in 1494 C.E. and the latter much later, were not then known to history. Not only that. Even the whole of the African continent also was not then known to the civilized world. The portion of Africa then known was comprised of all the countries of North Africa on the other side of the desert of Sahara, i.e., Tunisia, Tripolitania, Morocco and Algeria, and of all the coastal countries of East Africa such as Egypt, the Sudan, Somaliland and Abyssinia. The continents we are now concerned with are, therefore, Asia and Europe and a part of Africa only. The review of the conditions of the then known world, political, social and religious, are particularly necessary because, unlike other prophets of old who were in some cases tribal and in others national, the mission of the Prophet of Arabia was worldwide and he was by common consent the first and the last world Prophet. The verses of the Qur'an, namely:

- "And We sent thee not save as a mercy for the peoples" (21:107),
- "Blessed is He Who hath revealed unto His servant the criterion (of right and wrong) that he may be a warner to the peoples" (25:1),
- "And we have not sent thee (O Muhammad!) save as a bringer of good tidings and a warner unto all mankind; but most of mankind know not" (34:28),
- "Say (O Muhammad!): O mankind, lo! I am the messenger of God to you all (the messenger of) Him unto Whom belongeth the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth" (7:158), and

"It is naught but a reminder unto the peoples" (12:104),

to quote only a few instances, fully corroborate the above assertion.

This is not all. Orientalists and historians alike are unanimous on this point that Muhammad was the greatest religious personality the world has ever produced.

Social and religious conditions in Byzantium

As, at the time of the advent of the Prophet of Arabia, the two greatest empires of Asia and Europe then in existence were the Persian and the Byzantine, and as these two were the next-door neighbours of Arabia, the very cradle and birthplace of Islam, these will deserve our attention first. The Byzantine Empire was the most powerful and extensive in dimension, comprising as it did the greater part of Europe, the Near East, the Middle East, and almost the whole of the then-known Africa. In considering the question of the Byzantine Empire we must remember that the thenknown Europe represented the best replica, and we shall first discuss the conditions of Europe, political, social and religious. Like every other place of the then-known world, the monarchal form of government, with all that it stood for, was prevalent in Europe at the time. In the hierarchy of monarchy the system of feudalism obtained everywhere. The result was extortion and more extortion from the masses of the peasantry. The tenantry were so many serfs attached to the soil. Their only business was to toil and labour for their feudal lords. As a result, the fertile lands of the Byzantine Empire were fast being reduced to barren and unproductive tracts. The masses of the population had no voice at all in the governance of their country. Not only on the one hand were the rulers of Europe carrying on unproductive and internecine warfare among themselves, but they were also given to voluptuousness, totally oblivious of the well-being and the comforts of the people in their charge. Even among the members of the royal families perpetual strife for the throne existed. So far about the political condition. Now let us deal with the social condition of the continent. The first

thing that attracts our attention is the institution of slavery. As a matter of fact, it was one of the most widely prevalent social institutions. The morality of the people was very low indeed. Concubinage was considered to be a social institution of the first magnitude and was interwoven in the very texture of society. The position of women was an unbelievable one. They had no liberty of their own in anything whatsoever and were confined to their houses under lock and key, as it were. They had no liberty of divorce from their husbands in cases of their disagreement or otherwise, nor could they inherit the property of their fathers as the law of primogeniture was holding sway. As regards the religious condition of the age, we find that Christianity was the State religion. But with all its teachings of the "brotherhood of man" and the "fatherhood of God", it could not improve the morality of its votaries. A fratricidal war and bitter wrangling were going on round the Christian doctrine of the Trinity - God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost — among the different sections of the Christian people, viz., the Nestorians, the Jacobites, the Monophysites and the Monothelites, as to whether God the Son was co-existent with God the Father and so on and so forth. The result of all this was that the Christians took to Mariolatry and the worship of the relics of the saints and the images of Jesus Christ. This was not all. Monasticism began to flourish and monasteries spread all over Europe. Instead of these monasteries becoming the centres of purity of life and piety, they became veritable hotbeds of corruption and turpitude. The authority of the Church was supreme and unbounded. As a matter of fact, the clergy were the conscience-keepers of the laity as they claimed to be the keepers of the keys of paradise. To maintain the vested interest of sacerdotalism or priestcraft, the door of free enquiry and independent thinking was put under a ban. Greek philosophy, to which the modern world owes so much was at a discount. Nay, it was taboo to study philosophy in Christendom. It is a matter of common knowledge to students of history that the Emperor Justinian (d. 565 C.E.) of Constantinople not only committed all the philosophical literature of the day to flames but also went so far as to deport all the philosophers of his empire to various destinations outside his dominion in 526 C.E., with the result that people soon became steeped in the crassest ignorance and superstition.

Social and religious conditions in Persia

Now regarding Persia, which typified the conditions of Asia as a whole, we find that in the beginning of the seventh century C.E. the scions of the Sassanian dynasty were on the throne of Persia. If they were anything, they were absolute monarchs. Not merely this. They were gods, and masters of the persons and the property of their subjects, who had no right to the soil they were cultivating and were, therefore, virtual serfs. Both the emperors and the aristocrats of the Persian Empire were voluptuous and profligate to the last degree.

Nowhere was the position of women in the then-known world worse than in Persia at this time. They were at the mercy of the caprice of their menfolk and were treated as goods and chattels. Unrestricted polygamy was the order of the day and women could be divorced at the whim and pleasure of their husbands. They were not allowed to move about freely and were confined within the four walls of their houses, sometimes even under lock and key. From the remotest antiquity eunuchs were employed to guard the women and the "harems", and this institution shows that

women were not trusted in those days at all. Concubinage and slavery were recognized social institutions. Incest or marriage with one's blood-relations was freely indulged in.

Concerning the religious condition of Persia we find that at the time when the Prophet Muhammad was making his advent in the world, a dualistic form of religion such as Magianism and Zoroastrianism and Manicheanism was in vogue in Persia. Though the above religions differed in details among themselves, fundamentally they were dualistic. That is to say, they believed in two diametrically opposite principles, Ahura Mazda, the author of good, and Ahriman, the author of evil, the former represented by light, such as the sun and fire, and the latter by darkness. This dualism naturally took away from its votaries the freedom of action so that the followers of this Persian dualism became in their belief and action so many fatalists or believers in predestination. The natural corollary was that the people of Persia at the time were steeped in ignorance and superstition just as the nationals of any other race in the world given to fatalism are likely to be. This was why the vested priestcraft was so much in evidence everywhere in the country. When this was the state of religious affairs in Persia, a Communistic form of religion that came to be known under the title of Mazdakism appeared on the scene. It preached the community of property and womanhood among the people, and this movement contributed not a little towards the break-up of the social fabric of Persia at the time.

It goes without saying that with these prevailing social and religious vices, the moral and material degeneration of the people of Persia had reached such a low state as to call for a deliverer from somewhere on earth.

Social and religious conditions in China

Turning now to China, we find that at the time we are speaking of, the emperors of the T'ang dynasty were ruling over China. As appears from the study of history, the form of government obtaining there at the time was absolute monarchy with a hierarchy of feudal lords. We can, therefore, safely conclude that the condition of the masses was by no means enviable. True it is that the Chinese people were then, as they are now, skilful in many types of cottage industries and handicrafts. All the same, they were not quite as happy as could be expected, for the simple reason that their resources were exploited right and left by their overlords. As for the religious condition of China, we know that Confucianism having died down Buddhism was prevailing there, especially among the officials and the townspeople, but the generality of the population, particularly in the countryside, were worshipping the Manes, or the dead ancestors. Further, the absence of the conception of the one true personal God in the existing religions and the religious cults of the Chinese people left much to be desired in the domain of morality and the higher spiritual cravings. Naturally, prostitution, gambling and slavery were the most glaring of the existing national vices. As the Chinese did not make sufficient headway in education at the time, they were generally given to superstitions of the grossest kind. The pigtail which the Chinese menfolk continued to wear until recently and the dwarfing of the feet which Chinese womenfolk practised down to the early part of the present century are proof of the fact that the Chinese people at the beginning of the seventh century were both backward and superstitious. From all these, our natural conclusion is that the position of the Chinese women as a whole was anything but satisfactory.

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Status of woman in Veadre India

Coming now to India, we find that early in the seventh century C.E. no centralized government existed, though Harsha Bardhan was ruling as an absolute monarch on the throne of Kanauj with great pomp and show. The country was divided into many small principalities, the rulers of whom were constantly carrying on internecine warfare among themselves. As for the religious and social conditions of India, we know that after Asoka (third century C.E.) the sun of Buddhism had permanently set below the horizon of India. The Brahmanical cult became supreme everywhere in India. The rigours of the caste system that divides Hindu society into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiswas and Sudras were very stringent. The very touch of the Sudras was an impurity to the twice-born upper castes. Not merely that. If a Sudra entered the kitchen of a member of one of these upper castes not only did the cooked food become unclean and impure and had therefore to be thrown away, but also all the earthen utensils and crockery had to be discarded. The Sudras were not allowed to sit on the same bench with the people of the three upper castes. If they did so, they were severely punished. If the Sudras overheard a Brahmin recite the Vedas, they were punished by having hot lead poured into their ears. If any of them learned the *Vedas*, they were cut with saws. Milk handled by a Sudra was not accepted for Yajna and oblations to the dead. In times of famine and Yajnas, the people of the three upper castes would carry away all the belongings of the Sudras with impunity. In times of difficulty, the people of the three upper castes could fall back on the avocations of the Sudras, but the latter were not allowed to fall back on those of the former. If any Sudra cohabited with a woman of the three upper castes even with her consent or married her, he was thrown into a burning haystack in the open and was burnt alive. If on the other hand any member of the three upper castes carried on sexual commerce with any Sudra woman, he was let off with a simple fine. Capital punishment for the Brahmins was unknown however serious their crime might have been.

The Hindus at the time had as many as thirty-three crores of deities, among whom featured prominently Krishna and Kali, which latter was also known as Mahakali. They also believed in superstitions of the grossest type. As righteousness according to Hindu religion consisted in the concentration of mind in oneself, gymnosophic ascetic practices merited supreme virtue. To sit in a forest for years with the eyes fixed on one part of the body and the mind on Krishna or to be swung round by means of hooks fixed into the flesh absolved the doers of any sin they might have committed. To expiate a sin or to fulfil a vow, men were employed to measure the distance by their bodies from the houses of the penitents to the temple of their deities. To bathe in the River Ganges or any holy pool was enough to wash away a sin. Religious societies of members of both sexes and many celebate brotherhoods generally congregated in monasteries, temples and mathas, where female lay members were also admitted, so that loose morals were in many cases a foregone conclusion. Over and above this, mendicant "friars" were roaming about the country in search of merit from the doles of people. Their chief recommendation consisted of their matted locks, unkempt beards, ochre-coloured shirts hung over their shoulders, and ash-coloured naked bodies with beggar's gourd and iron staff in their hand. Further, as music and dancing formed an important part of Hindu worship, dancing girls were freely employed in the temples. And these girls were not generally vestal and chaste. Human sacrifices often had been resorted to, particularly when the goddess Kali was worshipped and oblations to her were being offered. Female infanticide, too, was a common feature of the day. It is not known when Sati, or the burning of widows, was introduced into India, but it can be said without any fear of contradiction that it was very much in evidence in India in the seventh century C.E. For a widow to be burnt with her deceased husband was a welcome relief, particularly when she had no children of her own. Not only this. For a chaste woman to die with her husband would mean an additional virtue, nay, she was even canonized as an object of worship among the Hindus.

Women were not allowed to read the *Vedas* or to participate in the oblations to the names or in the performance of sacrifices to the deities. To serve her husband was the greatest virtue for her. As Hindu marriages are sacrosanct and not contractual, the institution of divorce was unknown, and widow remarriage was taboo. On the other hand, the institution of polygamy was in vogue everywhere in the country. Even polyandry was not rare among the Hindus. The marriage of Drupadi with the five Pandava brothers can be cited as an instance in point. According to Hindu laws of inheritance — both Dayabhag and Mitakhkhshara — Hindu women were deprived of any kind of heritage from their parents. They were not even allowed to inherit the property of their husbands.

According to the authority of Manu, the lawgiver of the Hindus, women possess impure appetites, flexible tendencies and bad character, and hence they are always to be guarded and kept in confinement. It is from this that we have the Sanskrit saying "Asuryampaswa" (inaccessible to the sun) applied particulary to women of high and noble birth. There was another very queer practice amongst the Hindus of the time: when their women proved barren of any issue by their husbands, they were allowed to have recourse to the institution called under the Hindu law "Niyoga", according to which such women were allowed to carry on sexual intercourse with appointed persons other than their husbands until they had as many as five offspring. From all this, it appears that in the seventh century C.E. the condition of Hindu society in general and Hindu women in particular was very deplorable indeed and called for revolutionary changes.

Social and religious conditions in Byzantium

If the conditions, political, social and religious, of all the other parts of the world were bad, those of Arabia were the worst, as will be shown below. Unlike all the other countries of the world, where some sort of centralized government existed, Arabia had no such institution. The tribe was the political unit, so that all over Arabia the tribal system of government obtained at the time. Members of each and every tribe owed their allegiance to their respective leaders, who were generally known as Shaikhs. To defend the honour of the tribe its members would go to any length; they would even sacrifice their lives for it. It was this idea of tribal loyalty which made its individual constituents so warlike and revengeful. In the absence of any centralized government these tribes were always in conflict with each other even at the slightest pretext, and the war between conflicting tribes would sometimes last for years. The war of the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyan owing to the dispute as to whose horse was the winner of a race lasted for over four decades. Thus the Arabs were always busy in civil strife and internecine warfare. This was why they could never become a

world power like the Persians and the Romans. As for the religious condition of Arabia at the time, we find that although there were Christian and Jewish colonies in the Yemen, Khaibar, Najran and Yathrib (Medina), they could not in any way contribute to the material and spiritual wellbeing of the Arabs as a whole. The Christians, who were principally divided into two sections — the Nestorians and Jacobites — were fighting among themselves over the person of Jesus Christ, as to whether he was man or God and how those two conflicting ideas could be reconciled. And as for the Jews, though they were getting quite a number of proselytes, they could not improve the moral standard of their fellow-beings as they were the most intriguing citizens and were given over to the business of money-making to such an extent that the greed for money passed into a proverb. With the exception of the Jews and Christians, the Arabs were polytheist. Over and above their worshipping the sun, the moon and the stars, and other natural objects, they were worshipping fetishes and idols, every tribe having its own idol to worship. The house of the Ka'ba, which was rebuilt by the Prophet Abraham for worshipping the one true God, now had as many as 360 idols to worship, each for a day of the year. Besides this, they had a few more goddesses, among whom figured prominently al-Lat, al-Manat, al-'Uzza, al-Hubal, and so on. It is true that in the midst of all these heterogeneous deities, the idea of one supreme reality was asserting itself, so that barring the Jews and the Christians some such people as "hanifs' (devotees) were visible — people who were given to philosophical scepticism as to whether there could or could not be one true God. Now coming down to the consideration of the social conditions of Arabia, we find that there were two sets of people — the Bedouin and the dwellers in the cities. Whatever their difference in their day-to-day life, the fact remains that they were both the inhabitants of the desert and were, as such, freedom-loving people, brooking no interference in their free living from any outside agency. This love of freedom and independence kept them free throughout the ages.

As Mecca, the cradle and birthplace of Islam, was situated on the highways of world traffic, the people of Arabia were from time immemorial the most distinguished traders among all the Eastern nations. As a matter of fact, the Arabs were the carriers of the merchandise of the thenknown world. They were carrying the goods and mechandise of India and China to the Roman Empire and also to Persia, and were in turn carrying the goods of Syria and Persia to India and the Far-Eastern countries. But in the wake of this traffic they were carrying also into their own country all the luxuries and vices that were ruining the two empires of Rome and Persia, e.g., singing-girls and dancing-women were brought in and were openly and publicly popularized and encouraged throughout Arabia. As a result a class of women, generally known as Qiyan (songstresses) came into existence. They were seducing and demoralizing Arab youth beyond all hope of correction and reclamation. The Arab poets who wielded so much power and prestige with the people publicly eulogized them. As a matter of fact, the Arabs knew nothing but their association with wine, war and women — a state of things which could not but demoralize even the best of people. Not only this, they were also given to gambling and grossest superstitions of all kinds. In certain tribes, when a man died a camel was sacrificed on his tomb, or allowed to die there of starvation, with the belief that the camel would serve as his mount in his future life. It was further believed that if a man died a violent

death, his spirit would assume the form of a bird called "Hama" or "Sada" and would go on crying out "Isquni," "Isquni" (Give me a drink; give me a drink!) until his death was avenged and retaliation taken. The people in general were so much given to superstition that they would not undertake any work whatsoever before they consulted their idols through the help of oracles constituted by arrows. Human sacrifices at the altar of the temples were not infrequent. The position of women in general was very bad indeed. Polygamy was unrestricted, and the women had not the power of divorce. Widows of deceased husbands, excepting mothers, formed the integral part of the patrimony of sons. So degraded was the condition of women at the time that the parents, with a view to saving themselves from shame and ignominy arising from their daughters, had recourse to female infanticide, to which a reference has been made in the Qurán: "And when the girl-child that was buried alive is asked for what sin she was slain? "(81:8-9). In a way, the women were treated worse than goods and chattels. Their position was worse than that of the women of any other country of contemporary history. Further, the institution of slavery was in full swing in Arabia as it was in every other country in the world at the time.

The changes the teaching of the Qur'an brought about

Thus the moral and material condition of Arabia in particular and that of the rest of the world in general was so deplorable that it could not but call for divine intervention. The conditions which operated before the birth of Jesus Christ nearly seven centuries before now operated with greater force and vehemence. Hence arose the advent of Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him!) in Arabia, because of all the countries of the world her condition, political, social and religious, was the worst. We need not discuss here the events connected with Muhammad's birth, boyhood, youthful days and maturity. Suffice it to say that he was commissioned with the duties and responsibilities of an apostle at the mature age of forty. He received divine revelations for a period extending over twenty-three years, of which thirteen years were passed at Mecca and the rest at Medina. The divine revelations so received were codified and embodied in the book called the Qur'an — the last and final promulgation of the Divine Dispensation — the acme of the evolutionary process of His revelation which embodies all the essentials of the previous Scriptures — which remains and shall remain for all time to come the rules for the guidance of humanity at large — rules which when faithfully and sincerely adhered to and followed are calculated to bring about the all-round advancement of the people not only in this world but also in the world hereafter. We can do no better than give here the salient teachings of the Qur'an, which are as follows:

- (1) Al-Taharah purity both of body and mind. This is achieved through the Islamic injunction of compulsory education, the Islamic institution of compulsory prayer to God and what is ancillary to it.
- (2) Al-'Adalah justice. This is secured through the Qur'anic teachings of toleration, the universal brotherhood of man, the common parentage of mankind, belief in all the prophets of the world that had been sent from time to time to this earth from on High, the laws of marriage and divorce, the abolition of usury and drinking and gambling, the manumission of slaves, the pilgrimage to the Ka'bah, com-

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pulsory alms-giving, compulsory prayer to God, the discarding of all superstitious ideas, the belief in the life after death and the Judgment Day, etc.

- (3) Al-Samahah generosity. This is obtained through our kind and humane treatment of our enemies, of our dependants, of the lower animals, etc.
- (4) Al-Ikhbat recognition of the one supreme personal God Who is all-Powerful, Omnipresent and Omniscient. This we can have through our realization and understanding, among other things, of the significance of the divine attributes as adumbrated in the Qur'an and of the Kalimah al-Shahadah (I witness that there is no God but God and that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger) — a Kalimah that gives us the leadership of the world and the mastery over the forces of nature. Thus through the teachings of the Qur'an and also by his personal example, the Prophet united the once warring tribes of Arabia into a homogeneous and united nation imbued with the common ideals of justice, toleration, leadership, universal brotherhood, respect for womanhood and so on — ideals that made the Muslims unconquerable as long as they remained faithful and true to them. Before the Prophet's death, which took place at Medina in 632 C.E., he found himself the master of the whole of Arabia. In fact, he became a threefold founder — founder of a nation, founder of a religion, and, lastly, founder of an empire — a parallel not to be met with in the history of the world. His followers within the course of a century after his death became the masters of an empire much greater than that of Alexander the Great, nay, than the Roman Empire at its zenith. As a matter of fact, the Roman Empire of Augustus was the result of great and glorious wars won over a period of 700 years, but it did not reach the greatness which the followers of Muhammad attained in the course of only one hundred years. The Persian Empire, which resisted the

arms of the Romans for about a thousand years, fell an easy victim to the victorious army of Islam in the course of a decade only — a lightning speed of conquest and expansion again rare in the annals of history. The Arabs were not only the leading nation in the domain of physical conquest but also they were the champions in the field of intellectual achievement. They were not only the custodians of science, art and literature, but they remained also the teachers of the modern world. For during the Middle Ages the universities of Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova and Granada, which the Muslims founded, were the only universities then extant throughout the world, and to these centres flocked students from all parts of the world, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, to drink deep at the fountain of knowledge offered by those universities. It is an undeniable historical fact that the teachings imparted by the above universities, particularly by those of Cordova and Granada, were directly responsible for the birth of the European Renaissance - precursor of modern Europe and all that it stands for.

The influence of Islam is directly traceable in what we see every day in the trends of our present-day world. The Unity of God is going to be firmly established over these parts of the world where in the days of yore polytheism, the dogma of the Trinity and atheism were the order of the day.

Islamic democracy and the Islamic laws of inheritance, marriage, divorce, polygamy, abolition of usury, gambling, drinking and untouchability, and the Islamic institution of compulsory education and other things are going to be accepted, if they have not already been accepted, throughout the length and breadth of this vast world. In short, the civilized world is drifting more and more towards Islamic ideals, ushering in that millennium to which we have all so eagerly been looking forward.

AGRARIAN REFORM IN PAKISTAN

The Province of Sind abolishes Jagirdari form of landlordism

The Government of the Sind Province of Pakistan abolished *Jagirdari*¹ in the Province, without compensation, with effect from 8th February 1955. It directed the Revenue Commissioner to issue formal notice to all *Jagirdars*² cancelling *Sanads* (certificates of grant) granted by the British.

A statement made by the Sind Government said that after studying the legal position, they found that Jagirs (estates) could be abolished without compensation, and without any fresh legislation, and that Jagirdari was inconsistent with the directive principles of Pakistan's State policy and contrary to the ideas of the modern age.

The Sind Cabinet's decision was explained by the Revenue Minister, who said that more than 1,100,000 acres of land were under *Jagirdari*, which accounted for one-tenth

of the total land under *Jagirdars*, some with holdings of more than 200,000 acres. The Minister expressed the hope that, with the consolidation of West Pakistan into one unit, it would be possible to introduce even bigger agrarian reforms.

Aid to tenants in the Punjab

Poor tenants in the Punjab Province will now be able to buy land, from their landlords, with the help of Government loans. The Government will spend about £1,000,000 on the scheme.

¹ An Urdu word meaning holdings which are not subject to usual land.

² An Urdu word meaning the holder of an estate.

SPAIN AND THE ARABS

"M.E.M."

A Moroccan Muslim is appointed Minister of Social Affairs in the Spanish zone of Morocco

Spain has been taking active steps to dissociate herself from the benighted policy of violent repression practised by France against the Arabs of North Africa in general, and the people of Morocco in particular. She has been showing marked tolerance to the Arab inhabitants of the zone of Morocco which she administers, and recently she has appointed a Moroccan, 'Abd al-Khaleq Torres, the leader of the Moroccan National Reform Party, as Minister of Social Affairs, a post which will make him responsible in some measure for helping to lift the standard of living of the people of this part of Morocco.

The appointment of a Moroccan Muslim to this ministerial post has displeased France in no small degree. It has widened the rift between her and Spain. Disagreement between the two countries about colonial policy started in August 1953, when France deposed the Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf. The French action evoked widespread resentment in Spanish diplomatic circles, in view of the fact that the Spanish Government, which administers another part of the country, was not consulted in the matter. (The part of Morocco which Spain administers has an area of 18,454 square miles and a population of a little over 1,000,000, while the part which France administers has an area of 153,870 square miles and a population of nearly 9,000,000. The Sultan, whose official residence is in the French zone, is regarded in theory as the reigning sovereign in the whole of Morocco, and he has a representative, a Khalifa, in the Spanish zone.) And since the deposition of Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf and his replacement by Mawlay Ibn 'Arafa, the Spanish authorities have been encouraging the inhabitants of the Spanish zone to continue to recognize the deposed Sultan as their rightful sovereign, and not to invoke the blessings of God after Friday prayers on the French-appointed Sultan.

What the inhabitants of the Spanish zone of Morocco say

The rift between Spain and France over Morocco continued to widen until it culminated in January last year with the presentation by over 400 leaders of all walks of life in the Spanish zone of a petition to the Spanish High Commissioner in which they repudiated the authority of the new Sultan and reaffirmed their allegiance to the deposed Sultan. The document was presented in Tetuan at a mass meeting of over 30.000 people. The signatories were said to be representatives of "governing and judicial authorities, members of the most widespread religious brotherhoods, the teaching profession, the most notable families of the zone, business men, etc. . . . " who expressed their sense of revulsion at the strong repressive measures put into operation by the French authorities in Morocco. They repudiated the policy which led to the dethronement of the legitimate Sultan.

About Spain, the petition had this to say to the Spanish High Commissioner:

We energetically repudiate, without reserve of any kind, the policy followed in the French protectorate zone of Morocco and the procedure which led to the dethronement of the legitimate Sultan, Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf, as a result of the machinations of the French Residency in combination with the autochthonous elements in sympathy with it and behind the backs of the whole Moroccan people of this zone. showing a complete disregard for their opinion and their sentiments, and violating the agreements which established the Protectorate.

We express our unconditional adhesion to and our gratitude and that of the whole of the Moroccan people for the policies followed in the Spanish Protectorate zone by your Excellency and your high dignity of High Commissioner. Consequent on this adhesion, we declare to you that we do not recognize the authority of Mawlay 'Arafa, because of his having been imposed arbitrarily by France, contrary to and without regard for the sentiments of the Moroccan people.

"We recognize only our beloved Prince Mawlay Hasan, the Mahdi Ibn Isma'cel, reaffirming ourselves in the fundamental idea, always upheld by Spain, of the unity of the Moroccan empire. We demand the circumstantial separation of the Spanish zone so long as the political conditions which at present obtain in the French zone do not change, and that the Caliph of our zone should have full sovereignty in it without any

dependence on Mawlay 'Arafa.

"We recognize fully, nobly and loyally Spain's sacrifices and watchfulness in her zone and we render homage and adhesion to Spain and to her Caudillo, the glorious and invincible Franco. With all faith in Spain's affection towards Morocco, demonstrated once again now on the occasion of the affront suffered by the Moroccans, we place all our hope and all our spirit in the work of Spain, with which we associate ourselves in the effort to secure together the unity, the liberty, and

the grandeur of Morocco which we all desire."

In his reply, the Spanish High Commissioner referred to "the chain of unpardonable errors weaved by strong French

hands" in Morocco. He added:

"There are two dangers in the world — Communism and colonialism. France has acted against her obligations and our advice, and has ignored our point of view. The French have said that our attitude was dictated by the desire for material and territorial advantages in Morocco. This is not true. We are not acting as an interested party, unless the desire to see the Moroccan people prosper can be called that. There are 430 signatories at the bottom of our petition; if we had wanted it, there would have been 430,000, all the signatures of the inhabitants of the zone."

Can this be true?

The wording of this petition, and the speech by the Spanish High Commissioner, showed clearly that France was not at all popular in the Spanish zone of Morocco. But it should be noted that both the petition and the speech which accompanied it presented a somewhat "re-touched" picture of the position of Spain in this zone of Morocco, and of the real feelings of the Arab inhabitants. It is inconceivable that these people find Spanish rule and the presence of Spanish masters in their country as glorious and happy as the petition describes. It is true that by comparison they are at present much better off under Spanish rule than are their brethren under French rule. The Spaniards may have learnt to be better masters than the French. But the Moroccan people do not want to have masters for ever. They want to be their own masters, and they would like to say a final goodbye to the Spaniards, however good they may be.

The Spanish High Commissioner was pulling the wool over our eyes when he categorically denied that the Spanish were "interested parties" in Morocco. If they are not interested parties, what are they? Are they in Morocco simply to play the role of a charitable godfather to the Moroccan peoples? Certainly not; they are there to get what they can out of Morocco. They may wish the Moroccan people to prosper, but only as long as such prosperity will not hinder the flow of greater prosperity from that country to Spanish pockets.

The Spanish and the French are tarred with the same brush as far as Morocco is concerned — they are exploiting colonizers. Colonialism is intrinsically immoral, though there are varying shades of it. The only form of colonialism that can have any claim to respectability is that which aims at preparing colonized people for eventual self-government and independence, and which proceeds to realize this target speedily and conscientiously. And Spain has at no time declared plainly and unequivocally that her policy was eventually to set the people of Morocco free.

Spain is wooing the Arab countries

Why has Spain engineered this rift between her and France, and what does Spain hope to get out of it? There is no doubt that the main object of the Spanish Government at the present moment is to strengthen her friendly relations with the Arab countries. This has been General Franco's policy for some time now. The first serious step in this direction was taken when a treaty of friendship was signed in Amman between Jordan and Spain. The late King 'Abdullah of Jordan was known to favour closer relations between Spain and the Arab world, and he did a great deal during the latter part of his life to realize this ideal. Nothing significant, however, materialized in this direction until General Franco began an intensive drive to associate Spain with Arab nationalist causes. The then Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League, Dr. Ahmad al-Shuqairi, was invited to visit the Spanish zone of Morocco. He made an extensive tour of the country and heard many speeches from Spanish officials and Moroccan leaders about the justice of Arab nationalist causes. It was said that he did not find many skeletons in the cupboard of Spain in the zone she administered, and that he was impressed with the support which Spain seemed ready to give to Arab claims against the West. So impressed was he with this expression of friendship on the part of the Spanish Government that on his return he advocated to the members of the Arab League a policy of greater co-operation with Spain. And the Political Committee of the Arab League ended its twentieth session in Cairo in January 1954 by inviting General Franco to visit the Arab capitals. It also expressed its support to Spain's claim for the return of Gibraltar (which has recently become a sore point with Spanish nationalists and which caused many enthusiastic demonstrations against Britain). Later, the Spanish Foreign Minister paid a visit to most of the Arab countries and exchanged views with Arab leaders on common problems.

What have the Arabs to gain from supporting Spain?

It is quite clear that Spain is happy to have Arab support for her claim to Gibraltar. The Arabs have given this support not so much because they believe that the Spanish claim was justified or was conducive to world peace, but because they disliked British imperialism and because they did not hesitate to drive a nail into the coffin of British imperialism.

Have the Arabs played their cards well with Spain in striking this bargain? The fate of Gibraltar is not, strictly speaking, their concern. Whether Gibraltar is controlled by Britain or by Spain should make little difference to the Arabs. And Spain's vague support to Arab nationalist causes would

make little practical difference to the outcome of the Arab encounter with the West. Spain is far too weak to give the Arabs effective support. She is tied to the West, and particularly to the United States of America, by strong military and economic ties. And she is unlikely to sacrifice all the benefits which she now receives from the West for the sake of pleasing the Arabs. This should be quite clear to the Arab statesmen.

Spain can help the Arabs by setting free the inhabitants of the Spanish zone of Morocco

There is, however, one way in which Spain can give effective support to Arab nationalist causes, and thereby deserve the wholehearted support of the Arabs and the Muslims. Spain should liberate the inhabitants of her zone of Morocco and give them complete independence soon. Although the Spanish zone of Morocco is a comparatively small part of the whole of Morocco, yet the setting up of an independent and free Arab State there would help in no small measure in accelerating the liberation of the whole of Morocco. It would give a tremendous impetus to the nationalist drive and confront France with a problem which she will find very difficult, if not impossible, to solve. The establishment of a free and independent State of the Spanish zone of Morocco cannot be prevented by France except by active aggression. And France cannot tread the path of aggression on such an occasion without incurring the severe wrath of world opinion. The setting up of this free and independent State would invigorate the Arab national liberation movement in the French zone of Morocco in the same way as the setting up of a free and independent State in Libya is known to have done to the cause of Arab nationalism in the whole of North Africa in recent years.

The duty of the Arab League vis-à-vis Spain

So, if Spain is "not acting as an interested party" in the Spanish protectorate — as her High Commissioner there said — and if she is "only interested in seeing the Moroccan people prosper", then the Arab League should have the courage and forthrightness to advise General Franco in plain words as to how he could achieve this noble aim and put his words into effect. If, as the Spanish Government has persistently claimed, the Arab inhabitants of her zone have under "benevolent Spanish rule" made great strides in all fields of progress, then there should be no logical reason why they could not now be left to rule themselves, and why Spain should not get out. After all, the Arabs are the indigenous inhabitants of the country, and they were robbed by Spain by the sword of their natural right to rule themselves. Their claim to independence is on this score alone completely unassailable. If Spain retorts that the people of the Spanish Protectorate are not quite ready for selfgovernment, there would be no reason why they could not be trained to exercise this right before very long. The Arab League will no doubt be prepared to advise upon and supervise a programme leading to the eventual self-government of the Spanish zone. Finally, should Spain object that by severing the Spanish zone from the French zone the conception of the unity of the whole of Morocco would be destroyed, then Spain should be told that such an objection is at best a purely technical one. It is a theoretical conception which should not be allowed to defeat the real justice of a people's claim to rule their destiny. The Arab inhabitants of the Spanish zone, and the Arab world as a whole, will not grumble at the formal severance of the Spanish and French

zones when they find that the alternative will be real independence to the inhabitants of the Spanish zone.

Neither Spain nor France have any rightful claim to be in North Africa

The Arab world should not be content with such overtures of theoretical friendship on the part of Spain. They must be frank with the Spanish Government and ask for

friendly actions, not merely friendly words. And the Arab League, which has never acquiesced in the claim of the French and Spanish to the occupation of any part of Arab North Africa, must do nothing which will be tantamount to recognizing the validity of these claims. The Arab League may not find this very easy to achieve. But let it at least be a long-term policy for the realization of which it would

THE TRUTH ABOUT "ENOSIS" OR THE UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE

By an affirmative vote of 49 to 0, with 11 abstentions, the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations resolved on 15th December 1954 that, because it did not appear appropriate for the time being to adopt a resolution on the question of Cyprus, the General Assembly should be recommended to decide not to consider further the demand made by Greece with respect to the future status of the island of Cyprus.

The Permanent Turkish Delegate to the United Nations,

Ambassador Selim Sarper, voted for this resolution which vindicated the Turkish viewpoint, but stated that he was doing so in the interests of amicable settlement, and on the strict understanding that the move was not to be construed as recognition by Turkey of the competence of the United Nations to deal with this matter.

The Turkish view, he said, was based, among other points, on the amply-documented contention that the Greek demand had nothing to do with the application of the principle of self-determination, that it was merely a demand for the annexation of Cyprus to Greece by way of transferring sovereignty from the United Kingdom, and that the United Nations was not competent to intervene in such matters because of para. 7 of Art. 2 of its Charter, which specifically stated that "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters

which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State . . . "
Mr. Sarper's statement to the United Nations' key Political
Committee had made it clear that the artificially-contrived "Cyprus
Question" should not have been brought up before the United Nations, and that it was "especially unfortunate at the present time when the friendship and alliance that exists among them has begun to take firm root in the minds and spirit" of the peoples of Turkey, the United Kingdom and Greece, the three countries principally concerned with, and sensitive to, this matter.

'The self-determination of nations is valid and respected in my country too," said Mr. Sarper, but pointed out that the Greek aim of "Enosis" with respect to Cyprus was closer in translation to the German word "Anschluss" than it was to "Unity".

Reminding the United Nations that Cyprus is geographically a part of Turkish territory, situated about 40 miles from the Turkish coast (as against approximately 600 miles from that of Greece), the Turkish chief delegate touched also on climatic, geological, botanical and zoological resemblances between Cyprus and the southern regions of Anatolia, of which it constitutes a continuation.

He pointed out that (1) historically, from 1571 until 1878, Cyprus was a Turkish island for over 300 years before it passed in trust to British rule, which development was later incorporated into the international Treaty of Lausanne, but the island had never been under Greek rule: (2) population-wise, it had 100,000 inhabitants of purely Turkish race and origin, whereas the present majority of non-Turks were not of Greek descent, and even spoke Greek in a dialect that was peculiar to the island; and (3) economically, Greece was in no position to extend aid to Cyprus, which was not economically selfsufficient and still had to rely on British resources, just as she had to rely on economic co-operation with its Turkish hinterland in the past.

Analysing the Greek demands for alleged "self-determination" for Cyprus, Mr. Sarper demonstrated that these were all concentrated around the central theme of "Enosis", which would invalidate international law and mean the unilateral abrogation of valid international treaties in order to take away a piece of territory from the sovereign rule of one State and place it under the sovereignty of another.

"The noble principle which aims at the self-determination of nations has been exploited to serve many divergent purposes," said Mr. Sarper, who went on to mention several instances of past abuse in this field, and greatly regretted that "this attempt by Greece to annexe the island of Cyprus by invoking the principle of self-

determination serves to give us yet another example" of such misuse.

Mr. Sarper further pointed out that the whole artificial "Cyprus Question" was started and kept alive by means of widespread propaganda and provocation directed from Greece itself, backed by a small but militant group on the island whose efforts in this direction were being supported to the hilt by "a certain foreign political party which has designs completely foreign to the problem", and also that certain members of the independent Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus were using the threat of excommunication to exert pressure on the conscience of the deeply-religious Greekspeaking people of the island in a successful effort to influence their political convictions.

"The answer is a categoric no," said the Turkish chief delegate to the United Nations in answering a rhetorical question as to whether the mere factor of a present-day majority in population would constitute sufficient grounds for a change in the status of Cyprus. He cited various instances where other considerations, such as geographic proximity, had been ruled superior to the racial composition of the people resident in disputed areas. He also pointed out that some 300,000 from Cyprus who are now living in other countries would have to be consulted in connection with any change in the status of the island; and enumerated precedents in international jurisprudence which had granted recognition to such a rule.

Mr. Sarper said that "the just and equitable application of the principle of self-determination is essential to the salvation of all those whose hopes and aspirations are genuinely linked to this principle," adding that this did not apply to the present thinlydisguised demand for annexation.

"We must refrain from any move that might disturb the atmosphere of peace and security that is a prerequisite of any and every reform movement," said Mr. Sarper, and went on to explain other dangerous implications of the Greek demand of which the realization required the unilateral abrogation of existing and valid international treaties. "To permit any tendency in this direction," he pointed out, "would be tantamount to ourselves paving the way for the disintegra-tion of the United Nations."

We give below the concluding remarks by Ambassador Selim Sarper in his speech before the United Nations Political and Security Committee on 14th December, of which a short and incomplete summary has been outlined above. He said:
"I trust that the comparatively long explanation and clarifica-

tion contained in my present statement has served to bring out in greater relief what is already known to this honourable assembly with respect to the different aspects and probable implications of the artificially-concocted matter that is under discussion.

"In concluding my statement, I would earnestly like to draw your attention to that fact that both the Press and public opinion in Turkey are following developments in this 'Cyprus Question' with great emotion and sensitivity; and what is more, they are making their concern felt very strongly by way of different associations that have been organized. The restrained attitude adopted by the Turkish Government in face of all such pressures stems from its sincere desire to respect the existing contractual situation and international law, no less than from its loyalty towards its friends, Great Britain

and Greece.

"While we regard the present status of Cyprus as fixed by solemn treaty and contract — to which Greece is equally a signatory — yet, should any party ever raise again, in any form whatever, a so-called 'Question of Cyprus', nothing can be deemed to be based on justice and equity unless the co-operation and consent of Turkey is unequivocally obtained; for, otherwise. Sir, no decision can be

SIR SAYYID AHMAD KHAN'S ROLE IN THE REGENERATION OF THE MUSLIMS OF INDIA

By Burton Benedict, Ph. D.



Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898 C.E.)

"Sir Sayyid's work was that of a moderator, and moderation involves compromise. It is easy to admire a liberator, a Simon Bolivar or a George Washington; admiration for a moderator is more difficult but not less deserved."

The attitude of the British towards the Muslims of India

By the nineteenth century communication between the British and the Muslims of India had reached a low ebb. It was Muslim power which had been displaced by the British, but it had been a slow process which had seen the gradual degeneration of Moghal power and prestige rather than its sudden overthrow. The early activities of the East India Company had been in the south, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, predominantly Hindu areas. When the company required subordinate officials, it was from the Hindu population that they were selected. When such selections as the substitution of English for Persian as the official language (a result of Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835) brought the realization to the Muslims of their true power position, they were already far behind the Hindus in the race for Westernization.

Muslim sentiments were outraged in that many of the instructors of English were Christian missionaries. This led many Muslims to believe that Islam was being attacked through the medium of English. The Muslim reaction was one of withdrawal. This was facilitated in that the centres of Muslim culture in Delhi and Lucknow were removed from the early centres of British interests. But withdrawal was a temporary and unstable solution. The annexation policy of Dalhousie (Governor-General of India 1848-1856), culminating in the assumption of Oudh, brought the Muslims face to face with British power. They steadily gave ground. As Hunter cogently pointed out: "The proportion of the race which a century ago had a monopoly of government has now fallen to less than one twenty-third of the whole administrative body" (Hunter, 1871, p. 167).

It is easy to over-simplify the case, and, indeed, I have done so. The point to be made is the almost total lack of

communication between the British rulers and their Muslim subjects. The Muslims saw their power usurped, their official language displaced, their lands annexed, their culture scorned, and their religion threatened. The British saw the Muslims as a source of constant trouble. The activities of the so-called Indian Wahhabis and the Mutiny of 1857 (now called by the Indians the War of Independence) confirmed them in their belief. The rallying of some of the mutineers around the aged Bahadur Shah II, last of the Moghal emperors, convinced many British that the real danger to British rule came from the Muslims.

The time was ripe for some sort of reconciliation between the British and the Muslims of India. The direction and form which this reconciliation took may, in my opinion, be largely attributed to the personality and activity of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898 C.E.). He was in an excellent position to assess both the Muslim and British cases. His youth, spent in Delhi, must have given him a strong impression of the waning Muslim power. At first, like many of his coreligionists, he looked back to the great days of Muslim power. His Athar al-Sanadid (1847) and A'in-i-Akbari (1856) may be seen in this light. He identified himself strongly with the Muslim community, and felt the mutiny to be a crushing blow:

"At that time I considered it to be impossible that our people would prosper again, and would receive esteem any more; and I could not bear to behold the condition of the people. You may be certain that this affliction made me old and turned my hair grey.... But at that time this thought occurred to me, that it would be very cowardly and unmanly to leave one's country in ruins and enjoy a comfortable life in privacy. No! I ought to participate in that misery, and it was my

national duty to endeavour to relieve the miseries as much as I could. And so I gave up the intention to emigrate and chose to work for my country" (Baljon, 1949, p. 6, from Hali's *Hayat-i-Jawid*).

Of course these sentiments were uttered thirty-two years after the event, but when his work is reviewed *in toto*, they seem an accurate representation of his devotion to his community, if not of his actual intentions at the time.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan sees that the rehabilitation of Indian Muslims lay in co-operation with the British

It is of interest, I think, that he entered British service at the early age of twenty-one against the wishes of his family, for it shows that, at least in personal terms, he felt that advancement lay in co-operation with the British rather than in withdrawal or resistance. The dwindling income from the court posts held by Sir Sayyid's father had decreased even further on the latter's death. This not only provided the economic impetus for the boy to seek employment, but must have convinced him that there was little future at the court of Delhi.

He was liked by his British superiors and his advancement was steadily accelerating after he proved his loyalty to the British in the mutiny. At the time of the mutiny he had already been in British service for nearly twenty years, and it is not unreasonable to assume that he had a pretty good understanding of the British. Sir Robert Hamilton's letter of recommendation written some time prior to 1846 shows the esteem in which the Sayyid was held, even as a minor official (v. Graham, 1885, pp. 7-8). Sir Sayyid's later addresses and replies to various British officials and authors leave little doubt that he knew how to approach them. What he saw and learned must have convinced him that the cause of Muslim advancement in India lay in rapprochement with the British.

Sir Sayyid recognized that the first step in rapprochement was the establishment of communication between the two groups. His Causes of the Indian Revolt (1858) and Loyal Muhammadans of India (1860-61) can be seen as attempts to elicit sympathetic understanding of the rulers for the ruled. Poor communication is put down as a chief cause of the mutiny:

"There is no doubt that the Government were but slightly acquainted with the unhappy state of the people. How could it be otherwise? There was no real communication between the governors and the governed, no living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of the Muhammadans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officers have neved adopted this course, without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained "(from Causes of the Indian Revolt quoted in Graham, 1885, p. 48).

The theme of establishing and strengthening communications can be seen to run through all of Sir Sayyid's work, his advocacy of Indian representation on the legislative council, his educational programme, his theological interpretations. Nearly twenty years after the above quotation, we find Sir Sayyid emphasizing the same theme the evening following the laying of the foundation stone at Aligarh:

"Ever since I first began to think of social questions in British India, it struck me with peculiar force that there was a want of genuine sympathy and community of feeling between the two races whom Providence has placed in such close relation in this country. I often asked myself how it was that a century of English

rule had not brought the natives of this country closer to those in whose hands Providence had placed the guidance of public affairs. For a whole century and more you, gentlemen, have lived in the same country in which we have lived; you have breathed the same air, you have drunk the same water, you have lived upon the same crops as have given nourishment to millions of your Indian fellow-subjects; yet the absence of social intercourse, which is implied by the word friendship, between the British and the natives of this country has been most deplorable. And whenever I have considered the causes to which this unsatisfactory state of things is due, I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of community of feeling between the two races was due to the absence of the community of ideas and the community of interests. And, gentlemen, I felt equally certain that so long as this state of things continued, the Musulmans of India could make no progress under the English rule. It then appeared to me that nothing could remove these obstacles to progress but education: and education, in its fullest sense, has been the object in furthering which I have spent the most earnest moments of my life, and employed the best energies that lay within my humble power" (quoted in Graham, 1885, p. 287).

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan sets himself to give modern education to Indian Muslims

It is significant, I think, that Sayyid Ahmad Khan's primary interests and greatest contributions lay in the field of education. He could hardly have chosen a field in which there was a better chance of promoting the kind of communication which he desired between Briton and Muslim. Other fields of activity, such as political organization and agitation, economic reform, religious revival of the Wahhabi sort, or armed resistance, are specifically rejected by him at one time or another during his life. The last sentence of the above quotation represents his stand. He could see no way for the Muslims of India to progress save through education. It fitted in with his personal interests, would win approval from Victorian scholars and statesmen, and was supported by an honourable Islamic tradition of scholarship and research. In other words education, or rather the belief in the positive value of education, represented a point of contact between the Western and Muslim cultures. This is not to say that the Western and Muslim forms of education did not differ. They differed considerably, but the pursuit itself had high prestige value in both cultures.

When Sir Sayyid founded his scientific society at Aligarh in 1864, he engaged in the kind of activity which the British could heartily approve and which stood a good chance of success among a considerable portion of the Muslim population. Both Muslims and Englishmen attended the first meeting at which Sir Sayyid advocated the translation of a number of English works into Urdu (v. Graham 1885, p. 72ff). The first books he wished translated were historical works, for he wanted his countrymen to understand the rise and fall of nations and to appreciate the goals for which they were striving. He also advocated the translation tion of works on natural philosophy (what today we would call the natural sciences), political science and history, and economics. He desired not only to promote the acquisition of Western techniques, as seems to be the fashion today, but a more rounded appreciation of Western culture in which these techniques developed.

A glimpse of the experiences of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's visit to Aligarh in 1864

If Sir Sayyid believed that education was a panacea in 1864, his experiences in England only served to strengthen that belief and give it form. It is worth examining, in so far as we are able, which elements he chose to admire in England. He was impressed certainly by museums, factories, and the *Great Eastern* steamship, and even by being in the company of lords and dukes (Graham, 1885, p. 183), but the feature which struck him most was the level of education and the interest in it which he perceived all around him. He writes that his landlord, whom he describes as poor:

"... is a constant attendant at night at lectures on chemistry, geology, zoology, etc. These and hundreds of other lectures are got up by the general public — people attending them paying a few pence each nightly. The incomes from this source are so large that all the expenses — including the salaries of the givers of the lectures, rent of houses, etc. — are defrayed from money taken at the doors. The people profit by them more than by the highest philosophy that has ever been taught in Hindustan" (Graham, 1885, p. 186).

A somewhat excessive claim, perhaps, but it shows the force with which the "self-improvement" era struck him. In later years he was proud that the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was a result of "self-help" and not the product of a governmental grant.

In the same letter quoted above he writes of lending a

book to his landlady's sister, who was ill:

"In two days she had read it, and on her getting well she gave me some excellent opinions on it. This gives rise to the reflection how good the education of women slightly below the middle-class must be here. Is it not a matter for astonishment that a woman when ill should read with the object of improving her mind?" (*ibid*, p. 187).

He marvels that his English maidservant

"... in spite of her poverty invariably buys a halfpenny paper called the *Echo* and reads it when at leisure... Cabmen and coachmen keep a paper or a book under their seats, and after finding a job, they take them out and commence reading. Remember that the rank of a cabman corresponds to that of *ekhawallas* of Benares" (*ibid.*, p. 192).

Sir Sayyid concludes his letter with the plea that the whole of English arts and sciences be translated into the venacular.

In view of this letter it is not hard to understand his devotion to the cause of Indian education in general and to the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in particular. Sir Sayyid's visit to Cambridge, to which his son had won a scholarship, supplied him with the form which his educational effort was to take, the establishment of a university modelled along similar lines. He returned to India and set about implementing his ideal.

From Britain he had selected Western liberal arts education to be imparted through the resident university as found at Oxford and Cambridge. His devotion to Urdu switched to a championing of English, though in later life he again returned to his former preference. It now remained for him to ascertain the degree of acceptance which his plan could win from Muslims, and from the Anglo-Indian government.

The prejudice of Indian Muslims against Western education

He began by trying to discover why Muslims were not sending their children to government schools. He formed a "Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of

Learning among the Muhammadans of India", which conducted what today we might call a pilot survey. It offered three prizes for the best essays on the causes preventing the attendance of Muslims at government schools. Thirty-two essays were submitted, and from them an abstract was prepared. Here was the sort of document to impress Briton and Muslim alike, showing the former wherein they failed to allay Muslim fears and the latter the extent of interest current in Muslim education.

The greatest single objection, expressed in many forms, had to do with the Muslim feeling that Islam was being attacked and subverted in British schools. It was this problem to which Sir Sayyid addressed himself, proposing and later instituting a conservative traditional Muslim education for Sunni and Shi'ah alike alongside the Western education to be offered at the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. It was a tricky compromise and won him enemies as well as friends, but there is ample pragmatic prooî that it was effective.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's realism in solving the problems of the Indian Muslims of his day

But Sir Sayyid had to make another kind of compromise, a compromise with the ideal of education for all. He was a realist and recognized that effort must not be dissipated, but directed at producing a few highly educated individuals rather than a mass of semi-literate ones.

"There are people who think that we should educate the people by spreading primary education . . . but I must confess that in my opinion by such aspirations they neglect what should come first, i.e., the spread of the highest education for Muslims, and that their attention is directed to what should come in the second place instead of what should predominate" (quoted in Baljon, 1949, p. 37n).

In the same vein Sir Sayyid opposed the education of Muslim women, declaring that the education of men must have

priority:

"The fact is, that no satisfactory education can be provided for Muhammadan females until a large number of Muhammadan males receive a sound education" (Graham, 1885, p. 324).

Very probably he had in mind Muslim feelings (including his own) about *purdah* and the traditional position of women. For Sir Sayyid was not an anti-traditionalist. His championing of homeopathy (v. Baljon, 1949, p. 32) is a similar instance of his supporting traditional practices disapproved of by the West. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan played the role of moderator between the Muslims of India and the British, and, by abstraction, between Islam and the West.

What audience was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan addressing?

Smith has posited that it was

". . . the incipient Muslim bourgeoisie, created by and developing under the bureaucratic and industrial imperialism of the British" (Smith, 1946, p. 15).

It would be interesting to examine the lists of donors to the college as well as the lists of students in an attempt to determine the socio-economic class from which they came, and to test Smith's hypothesis. Such material, unfortunately, is not available to me, but from Graham's reports of Sir Sayyid's fund-raising activities (p. 334ff), it seems clear that support came from many sections of the community. Sir Sayyid seems to have believed that he was addressing the whole Muslim community, and, at times, all of India in his advocacy of Western education. His message was only effective among those who recognized the need for such

education, but this was not necessarily restricted to those who could afford it. The strongest opposition came from those sections of the population which had the greatest vested interests in the traditional system of instruction. Sir Sayvid was opposed not so much on the grounds of introducing Western education as of subverting Islam (v. Smith, 1946, p. 27).

But Sir Sayyid was also addressing another kind of audience, and this a British one. He needed governmental support without governmental interference. He handled the situation adroitly by blending the notion of his personal loyalty to the government with the idea that he was spokesman for the Muslim population. This impression was greatly enhanced because Sir Sayyid was able to raise the funds for his college, in large measure, from the Muslims themselves. This appealed to the government both financially and ideologically, and won support with a minimum of interference.

Sir Sayyid's work was that of a moderator, and moderation involves compromise. It is easy to admire a liberator, a Simon Bolivar or a George Washington; admiration for a moderator is more difficult but not less deserved.

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PROFESSOR ARNOLD TOYNBEE ON ZIONISM

"... It is perhaps no accident that a nineteenth-century Jewish Zionism and a twentieth-century German Neo-Antisemitism should have arisen successively in the same geographical zone of the Western world, and that this locus should have been the Germanspeaking territories of the Austrian Empire just west of the domains of the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen and the former United Kingdom of Poland-Lithuania. This Austrian zone lay sufficiently far to the west for its Jewish inhabitants to be subject to infection by current Western ideologies — including Nationalism as well as Liberalism — in a Modern Western Liberal Age, and sufficiently far to the east for its Gentile inhabitants to be no less subject to infecto the east for its Gentile inhabitants to be no less subject to injection by pre-Liberal Western ideologies still persisting among the backward Gentile population of the adjoining 'Pale' after the dawn of Liberalism farther west; and the notion that the Western Jews might win for themselves, by adopting Western Nationalism, an asylum which they might prove not to have secured through a conversion to Western Liberalism would naturally present itself to the minds of Austrian Jews whose nineteenth-century status of individual emancipation was threatened by the simultaneous onsets of a Modern Gentile Nationalism from Western Europe and a Medieval Gentile Antisemitism from 'the Pale' . . .

No living homeland

"By the time when Zionism was inaugurated in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, more than seventeen hundred years had passed since the last date at which there had been any territory continuously inhabited by a compact Jewish agricultural population corresponding to the Armenian peasantry in the neighbourhood of Erivan. The Jews had had no living homeland of the kind since A.D. 135, when the last roots of Jewry in Judaea had been pulled out of the soil by the Romans. What practical applications of the Modern Western ideal of Nationalism were open to a people in this historical

"In theory, Jewish nationalists alla Franca had a choice between two alternatives. Their objective of providing Jewry with a country which would be 'as Jewish' as England was 'English' could be attained either by colonizing some no-man's land in the great open spaces,' which had been opened up through Western pioneering enterprise, or alternatively by supplanting the Gentile inhabitants of such parts of Palestine as had been inhabited by Jews before A.D. 135. The second of these two alternative possible programmes was beset with difficulties, moral as well as material. It required the eviction of an existing population which, by the year A.D. 1897, when Theodor Herzl inaugurated the Zionist Movement, must be reckoned to have been at home in Palestine for more than seventeen and a holf constraint since the material desirable constraint. half centuries, since the most recent drastic change in the composi-tion of the population of Palestine had taken place as far back as the morrow of the suppression, in A.D. 135, of the last Jewish insurrec-tion against the Roman Imperial Government, when there had been a systematic colonization of the previously Jewish-inhabited districts of Palestine by Gentile settlers from other parts of the Roman

Empire.
"Even if it were to be assumed — though this assumption would be unwarrantable — that the subsequent population included no elements that had been there before the second century of the Christian Era, this latter-day population's tenancy of its Palestinian

home would still have been longer, by at least a hundred years, than the previous tenancy of the same parts of Palestine by the Children of Israel and Judah - on the assumption that these too had not incorporated any elements from an earlier population - even at the longest reckoning of the interval between the entry of the Israelites in the course of a post-Minoan Volkerwanderung in the days of the New Empire of Egypt and the eviction of the Jews by the Romans in A.D. 70 and A.D. 135. A similar eviction of the population by which Palestine was inhabited at the close of the nineteenth century, and by which it continued to be inhabited down to the year A.D. 1948, could be achieved only by an act of military aggression, at the exist-ing population's expense, such as had been committed by the wild tribesmen of Israel and Judah when they had originally broken into Palestine from the Arabian Desert, and by the Minoan Philistines and Western Christian Crusaders when they had broken in from the Mediterranean seaboard. Such aggression would be militarily and politically difficult to commit so long as Palestine remained within the Ottoman Empire and until Zionism obtained the backing of a preponderant group of Western Powers: and, under all military and political conditions, it would be morally difficult to defend in a world in which the progress of technology was making the scourge of war so prohibitively severe that aggression was coming to be recognized for the crime that it always had been. It would likewise be morally difficult for Zionists to justify in the eyes, not only of the Gentiles, but also of the traditionally orthodox Jews of the quietest school known as Agudath Israel. . . .

The American approach

". The American approach to the Palestinian problem was, on the whole, less Machiavellian than it was quixotic. While the Arab victims of the Palestinian tragedy were invisible to most American eyes, the Jewish victims of the European tragedy were brought alive to Gentile American imaginations by the prominence in the United States of a Jewish diaspora which had no Arab counterpart there; and this vivid realization of the European Jews' sufferings smote Gentile American consciences — mainly, no doubt, because those sufferings had been inflicted by the American Gentiles' German soi-distant fellow Christians, and partly also because the American Gentiles were uneasily aware of a repressed yet unconscionable vein of Antisemitism in their own hearts.

"President Truman's personal susceptibility to this popular American confusion of mind and mixture of motives might go far to explain presidential intervention in the Palestinian imbroglio which would have been utterly expical if they bear atterly expical if

would have been utterly cynical if they had not been partially innocent-minded. The Missourian politician-philanthropist's eagerness to combine expediency with charity by assisting the wronged and suffering Jews would appear to have been untempered by any sensitive awareness that he was thereby abetting the infliction of wrongs and sufferings on the Arabs. . . .

Nietzschean revaluation

Nietzschean revaluation
"... The Zionists' audacious aim was to invert, in a new life
of their own making, all the distinctively Jewish characteristics
enshrined in the diaspora's traditional life. They set out defiantly
and enthusiastically to turn themselves into manual labourers instead (cont'd on page 19)

A MUSLIM THINKS ALOUD

on

The Ways of Muslim Preachers

By M. A. A'zam

"If We had caused this Qur'an to descend upon a mountain, thou (O Muhammad!) verily hadst seen it humbled, rent asunder by the fear of God. Such similitudes We coin for mankind that haply they may reflect" (The Qur'an, 59:21).

God caused the Qur'an to descend on the manliest of men — on the most human person who was known in the community as truthful and trustworthy — who was modest in his behaviour, unflinching in his faith, undaunted in his efforts, kind-hearted, tolerant and just in his dealings. Even his worst enemies had nothing but admiration for his noble and human character. "Would you believe, if I say there lies in ambush an army of deadly enemies behind this hill?" Muhammad once asked an assembly of Meccans from the top of Mount Safa. They all replied in chorus, "We would certainly believe you, Muhammad, because you are al-Amin (the trusted one)." Such was the person — an emblem of humanity itself, who was chosen to receive the Qur'an. It is significant that the Book of Truth was revealed through the most truthful person who could stake his all for the cause of truth. This was, in no small measure, responsible for the early success of Islam.

Our preachers should be alive to the need of developing in their listeners the essential human qualities which are also qualities enjoined by Islam and without which a true Islamic life cannot grow and gain in strength, just as a structure cannot stand except on a firm foundation.

The Muslim preachers today

"This (the Qur'an) is the Scripture whereof there is no doubt unto those who ward off (evil)" (2:2).

As the Qur'an could not descend on the rockiest mountain, so cannot Islam grow on ignorance and superstition. Like the Qur'an, Islam needs truthful, honest and human hearts to receive it.

But the Muslims of today have neglected the basic requirements of Islam. The teachings of most of our preachers have often been misleading. Very little effort has been made to awaken the human consciousness amongst the masses and educate them to excel in the fundamental qualities of truth, honesty, kindness and love of fellow beings. *Tabligh*, or the Preaching of Islam, in our day, has been more often than not misdirected, misused or wasted.

Long ago, when I was a schoolboy, and knew very little about *Tabligh*, I had the occasion of witnessing a big debating session in which participated, on one side or the other, almost all the learned *Maulavis* and *Maulanas*¹ (scholars in theology) of our locality. The venue was fixed at our neighbouring village — about half a mile from our house. The subject of the debate, as I remember distinctly, was, "Whether it was proper to accept remuneration in cash or kind when a *Maulavi* or *Maulana* recited the Qur'án, read *Milad*,² or led the funeral prayers on invitation, from his host."

There was a vast gathering of several thousand people, mostly illiterate villagers who had assembled from near and far to hear the momentous decision on an issue which concerned them very closely. I do not remember the arguments put forward by the contending parties — because there were hardly any. Each speaker wanted to impress his point upon the audience by the strength of his vocal chords, the pitch and the volume of his voice. There was no umpire or chairman. The audience was to judge and it gave its verdict with infinite admiration and dearening applause in favour of the party which produced, as evidence, a large number of bound volumes on Figh (jurisprudence) physically carried over to the site on bullock carts. No reference was cited — it was the number of books and their weight that counted! Nobody even cared to see what the books were about. If they looked like books on Figh, and if the heap was high enough, the party that possessed them must needs be in the right. The winning team triumphantly proclaimed their victory.

To me, strangely, it did not matter which side had won, as I did not believe in praying to God by "proxy", and therefore thought the whole fight was fought on an entirely wrong premise, which assumed, contrary to the teachings of the Qur'án, the sanction of priesthood in Islam.

I was pained to see that the custodians of religious knowledge, which seems to have been monopolized by a privileged few, made fools of the credulous audience and deliberately exploited their ignorance. Nothing could be further from the true spirit of Islam! No greater damage could be done to the cause of Islam.

The effect of wrong teaching of the so-called "learned" on the conduct of credulous Muslims and their family life

A few years ago I attended a religious meeting somewhere in East Pakistan arranged by the members of a Tabligh society. There, for a full hour and a half, I listened to the description of heaven, of which the main attraction, according to the learned speaker, was the hur, whose duscious youth, enchanting beauty and exquisite dress knew

1 Two words of Arabic used as honorific titles for religious dignitaries in Islam.

2 An Arabic word meaning birth-time. By transference it has come to mean in India and Pakistan the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, and by abbreviation it means "the odes sung in praise of the Prophet".

3 Hur (mutilated in English into "houri"), an Arabic word, is used in the Qur'án to describe the pleasures of the life in Paradise. The word itself is the common plural form of both the masculine and feminine adjectival nouns ahwar, masculine, hauraa, feminine — meaning beautiful ones or the wide-eyed, large-eyed ones. Thus it is clear that the word Hur does not necessarily mean beautiful women. The common plural form can equally apply to inanimate objects. The word Hur evidently used advisedly in the Qur'án thus excludes all suggestions of sex. Besides, it may be remarked that, in talking of Hur in the Qur'án (52:20), God promises the blessings of the Hur to righteous women as well.

no parallel. "Wait with patience and prayer," the speaker exhorted, "and those lovely maidens will be yours." He then started to elaborate on their delicate physical features, referring from time to time to the design of the gold embroidered fabrics of silk and brocade the heavenly hur will wear to delight the yearning eyes and hearts of the righteous!

If the love of God, the love of the Prophet and the love of our fellow beings do not inspire us to piety and righteousness, to self-improvement and purification, what a poor fraudulent substitute would be the dream-damsels of paradise! Here again, the teachings of the Qur'an have been badly misinterpreted and the spirit of Islam buried deep down under a heap of rubbish! I have personally known some unsophisticated followers of the so-called preachers of Islam living in utter privation only in anticipation of enjoying the sweet companionship of the heavenly virgins. Most of these aspirants appear to have one symptom in common. They neglect and ill-treat their earthly wives, whom they find, in contrast, old, ugly and thoroughly unworthy. Many happy homes have dissolved in the tears of innocent wives whose zealous husbands have chosen the peculiar path of salvation. The helpless wives dare not speak out or raise a voice of protest even silently in their minds lest that should offend God and bring a curse on themselves and the family. Some of our preachers have thus been responsible for leading us further from Islam in thought and in action. Sometimes we are induced to indulge in what is clearly opposed to the principles of Islam. Islam acknowledges, in its high ethical concept, the duty of a husband to his wife. Nothing could be a worse tragedy and travesty of truth than, when in the name of religion, she is reduced to an unwanted and unholy appendix.

An example of mechanicalness that has crept in Muslim orisons

A few months back I was invited to a religious discourse. The pious speaker stressed the need for reciting some du'a4 composed of texts in Arabic, which he explained would bring immeasurable sawab (reward). There are, the speaker said, certain texts which should be chanted when one boarded a form of transport. There are others, he said, which one should repeat when visiting the toilet, while there are special texts for special occasions, e.g., when cholera broke out in the locality or when there was a solar or lunar eclipse. These texts, it was fervently argued, kept out evil and purified the soul, and that they helped to wash away the sins and accumulate reward (sawab) for the followers of Islam. The speaker went on to say that the amount of blessings earned were supposed to be in proportion to the number of times the texts were recited. For instance, when a text was repeated, say, as often as 100,000 times, the reward was naturally more than when it was chanted only 100 or 1,000 times.

The devout listeners of these lessons accepted the formula with all sincerity and in good faith. They spend days and nights counting the rosary beads and vie with one another in raising the frequency of repetitions.

These texts, incidentally, are usually verses of the Qur'án and are meaningful prayers to God on appropriate occasions. But if a prayer is no more than a mere bundle of mysterious words not intelligible to the person himself who repeats them mechanically, it is bound to lose its significance and force of persuasion. I must know what I want

before I can ask for it. Prayer is an intense desire, and it must be communicated with that consciousness of feeling. If my prayer be a meaningless babbling of the lips and does not spring from the depths of my heart, it will obviously fail to elicit any response from God. Through prayer we resolve to be good and to shun the path of evil; we implore the mercy of God to guide us and give us strength to follow the right path. This implies some conscious determination on the part of the supplicant, who should also know about his relation with God revealed through the Qur'án.

Prayer in order to be effective must be understood by the devotee

When a prayer is understood, there may be a spontaneous urge for repetition, but it is always the depth of the feeling rather than the frequency of repetition which counts in the effectiveness of a prayer. The illiterate peasant folk are generally steeped in superstitious ignorance. Most of them chant the text of the Qur'an with mechanical reverence. This has defeated the purpose of the Qur'an, by which God meant to guide humanity, develop the discerning conscience and sharpen its susceptibility for good, truth and justice. I feel strongly that if we could place the Qur'an before the masses properly, the rest would take care of itself. The first step in Tabligh, in my opinion, should be to work for literacy amongst the masses, so that everyone, young and old, male and female, can understand the meaning of the Qur'an through the medium of his own mother tongue. The Qur'án should be taken down from the high shelves to the closet of the warm and understanding hearts. It should be made popular as a practical handbook of reference in our everyday life, not only for salvation in the hereafter but also for making the present life worth living. The Qur'an, in fact, insists on our striving for the beauties of this life and of the hereafter. To narrate a difficult Tradition of the Prophet or trying to develop a perfection of rites and rituals among the illiterate people would be putting the cart before the horse. The practice of chanting different verses of the Qur'an in a blind flare for blessings without realizing their significance would only strengthen the mechanical bias of our already mechanized way of religious life. When a person has read the Qur'an and tried to understand it, he will gradually feel an inner urge to remember and recite appropriate verses on suitable occasions. The well-known Muslim Sufi saint, Rabi'ah Basri (d. 801 C.E.), in her latter days used to talk very little, and even when she did speak, it was only in Our'anic verses. She recited appropriately from the Qur'an even to express herself on worldly matters. In the production of a beautiful specimen of art, the different stages in the process are gradually developed. The same is true, in my humble opinion, and even to a far greater degree, with respect to a true Islamic life. The little toddler must not be confounded with lessons on the tricks of a running race. Its natural faculties must be very carefully developed. Undue and untimely pressure and insistence on the niceties of formal etiquette will not help it grow normally. The same is true in the moulding of a Muslim. As Islam is a code of life a good Muslim is primarily a good human individual. Islam is a natural and rational religion. To try to become a Muslim without being a natural and rational human person will be a contradiction of effort. Again, Islam is, in essence, the dynamic faith of man in God in his mission to develop the human qualities in himself in their highest and noblest

⁴ Literally, a prayer to God.

potentialities. A religion divorced from life and alien to the human traits is the very negation of what Islam stands for.

The way in which rewards (sawabs) are promised by the Muslim preachers to their congregations

I have come across preachers who encourage their listeners to accumulate as much (or as many) sawabs (rewards) as possible by doing this or doing that. "If you put your left foot forward while going for a bath, you accumulate ten sawabs — if at the same time you cover your head with a towel your sawabs are multiplied ten times, that is, you get one hundred sawabs." I have often wondered if a "unit" of sawab (reward) has been fixed or standardized for the benefit of those who seem to think about sawab in commercial terms. Of course, it is generally accepted that a good deed brings sawab (reward), but is not virture its own reward? If I feed the hungry, clothe the needy, nurse the sick, or save the drowning, what reward could be better and more precious than the happiness and satisfaction derived from such acts of piety and kindness? It must be appreciated that God is above all want. Whatever He has asked us to do is not for His benefit but for the good of ourselves. God wants us to live happy and successful lives and He has ordained rules of conduct for the achievement of that objective. When we are happy, God is pleased. But enduring happiness can be earned through a well-meaning life of discipline. Prayers, fasting, kindness and charity — all are meant for our own development, which is the real sawab, Sawab is something to look for from within one's own self rather than from without. If we do not interpret the teachings of the Qur'an in our lives in obedience to God and His messenger, but mutter day and night the sacred verses for sawab only, how can we please God by defeating His purpose and doing harm to ourselves?

The Muslim preachers do not understand economy of words

One cold December night I heard a preacher talk for three hours at a stretch. He was rambling from one point to another, indulging in funny stories which were more amusing than enlightening to the listeners. There were a few other speakers, but they waited in vain for their turn as the first speaker monopolized the audience and would not stop until the session was over (indicated by the distribution of sweets amongst those who attended. The pandemonium created out of the rush for sweets led automatically to the dissolution of the meeting).

True and effective preaching is done with the highest economy of words. It is not the amount of words that will work. In fact, history is replete with examples where real preaching was done with the mouth shut. The Prophet of Islam (peace be on him!) would not indulge in much talk. His life was primarily a life of action, intense and intimate, which brought about the greatest revolution in the life of man the world has ever seen. The first four Caliphs followed similar examples. As, for instance, Abu Bakr's selfless ways of life, 'Umar's democratic practices had carried the message of Islam more penetratingly than a whole avalanche of words. 'Abd al-Qadir Gailani's truthful confession about the cash his mother had sewn in his jacket converted a whole gang of robbers from the error of their ways. I do not, however, deprecate the necessity of words. Of course they are useful. But they should be shot like arrows from the bow of a trained hunter who is sure about his aim and would not miss a target. There are good preachers. They are the true lovers of God and His Prophet. They are the lovers of their fellow

beings. They have truly interpreted in their lives the Qur'ánic verse: "Surely, my prayers, my devotion, my life and my death are for the Lord of the Universe" (6:163). They talk very little to give one the impression they might be dumb. But every word of theirs carries the miracle of life to enliven the deadened soul.

Those who organize preaching societies must awaken themselves to the spirit and significance of Islam, which unlike other religions has shorn itself of all mysteries but reveals, in the light of knowledge and understanding, the most natural and human code of life in its physical, moral and spiritual aspects. The preachers must be living examples of humanity and tower above petty superstitions which are incompatible with the enlightened concept of Islam, But, unfortunately, preaching is also often done in the hope of earning sawab. The immeasurable satisfaction that comes as a result of one's effort to spread knowledge among the ignorant seems to be of little or no account!

It is no small irony that Islam laid the highest emphasis on knowledge and education but Muslims now happen to be steeped in ignorance and illiteracy. Islam strongly urged its followers to observe the rules of hygiene and cleanliness, but Muslims have succumbed to a miserable standard of health and longevity. It is impossible for a true Muslim to remain poor, but poverty is the rule rather than the exception amongst our brothers-in-faith today. Our preachers should pause to think and try to find remedies for the maladies that are rampant in our society. The once torch-bearers of learning are groping in darkness and superstition — the erstwhile rulers of the world have been reduced to "hewers of wood" and "drawers of water". Islam, the religion of man, has degenerated into a dogmatic course of rites and rituals!

During the *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) season of 1954 I met some of our learned '*Ulama*, or theologians, in Mecca and Medina. We had occasion to discuss at length the question of *Tabligh*, or preaching. It was agreed that the general standard of our preachers and their preachings leaves much to be desired. In fact, some of the preachers, because of their faulty approach to the problem, have done more harm than good to the cause of Islam.

Some zealous followers of Islam tend to neglect their official and household duties in preference to some extra prayers and devotion. Here again, the cause of Islam is let down by those who are supposed to advance it. Islam enjoins on us to be dutiful in our respective spheres of life. We must be conscientious about our duties to our parents, consorts, children, neighbours and friends, our community, country, and the Creator. Last but not least is our own self, to which also we must be just and true. The principles and practices of Islam are not opposed to the dutiful devotion to work and responsibilities whether these concern a member of the household or social group, an employee in an office or workshop, a citizen of the State or the nation. The mistaken philosophy of earning sawab at the cost of official duties or workshop consignments has undermined the spirit of Islam which, if properly understood and inculcated, should increase the efficiency of a worker in his particular field of activity. If he is a teacher he will set ideals and examples for his students to emulate. If he is a ruler he will temper justice with mercy. If he is a factory worker he will appreciate the dignity of labour and honestly apply himself to the task entrusted to him. If he is an officer he must give his full measure of assistance in all sincerity and earnestness. Our preachers hardly bear this in mind, so that employees often become prejudiced against an assistant who considers his official duties as secondary and takes time out of office hours to spend in the nearby mosque.

Islam to non-Muslims is only as good as its followers, who unfortunately have mostly failed to inspire them or command their respect. The best preaching would be done by the Muslim communities themselves, not by mere words but by the actual standards of economic, social, moral and intellectual conditions they will achieve. It has been said that Islam at present is only confined to the scriptures and real Muslims lie buried in their graves. Foreign critics are struck with the beauty of Islam, but at the same time they are shocked at the condition of the Muslims.

A very large majority of our credulous folk have been taught to believe that the reward in heaven will be in proportion to the privations and sufferings in this life. They reconcile to their miserable plight and suffer silently in the hope of happier days to follow after death. Our preachers have seldom taken the trouble to make it clear that there is no room in Islam for blind and passive fatalism. Islam does not approve of the renunciation of the world. Nor is there any place in Islam for the Yogic system of lying on a bed of sharp spikes and thereby attain salvation. Islam is a dynamic process for self-improvement. Then again, all sufferings are not alike. Sufferings which result from inactivity or indiscretion cannot obviously be compensated by rewards in heaven. Similarly, it is too much to expect heavenly favour in the event of suffering on account of greed or vile passion. Some sufferings have, of course, their rewards. Our Prophet suffered for the cause of truth. The Imam Hussain (d. 680 C.E.) was a martyr for the cause of justice. The Imam A'zam (d. 717 C.E.) had suffered imprisonment to uphold the cause of Islam. There are many such examples of nobler sufferings and sacrifices, but those sufferings, I believe, were not inspired by any glowing prospect of reward. The sufferers' unflinching faith in God and passionate love for truth and justice, and their genuine spirit of service to humanity, made their sufferings melt before the most overwhelming happiness and satisfaction that was their share. Suffering is not, therefore, an accepted pass to heaven. According to the Qur'an: "Those who are blind in this world will remain blind in the hereafter". If our actions on earth do not give us the taste of heavenly bliss, it may remain unknown to us even after death. The realization of the love of God and nearness to Him is the highest reward a true Muslim aspires after. Rabi'ah Basri used to pray: "O my Lord, if I seek Thy pleasure in expectation of heavenly rewards let them be forbidden to me. And if the dread of the hell fire makes me beseech Thy favours let the same hell be my destination".

The attitude of passive fatalism has been denounced by many Muslim theologians. Iqbal (d. 1938 C.E.) has most significantly said: "Raise yourself to such a height so that God Himself may ask you to indicate your wishes, before He will decide on your fate".

An old illiterate woman living in our close neighbour-hood memorized some questions and their answers in Arabic, without knowing their meaning at all. She heard from a preacher that right after she was buried in the grave angels would ask her these questions, and that if she failed to give correct answers she would be thrown into the hell-fire. She had, therefore, learnt by heart the useful texts and kept herself ready for the quiz. The lady further restricted her daily ration to rice and pulses, because some preacher told her, when she was a little girl, that on the day of Resurrection she would be required to stand on a hot plate and give an account of the various items she had eaten in her lifetime. She was thus prepared with the briefest reply to save her feet from being scorched!

A few of the qualities of preachers of Islam

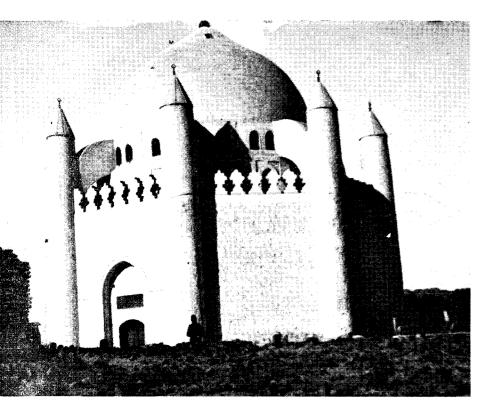
Islam as an historical, human and practical religion offers numerous examples of the right type of preaching. There are preachers who are particularly interested in preaching amongst Muslims, trying to make them better. There are others who want to spread the message of Islam among non-Muslims at home and abroad. Either of these two types of preacher must be good Muslims themselves and equip themselves with the true knowledge of Islam as given in the Qur'an and interpreted in the life of the Prophet. They must inculcate in themselves the real spirit of Islam, which is but another name for an enlightened code of human life. Those who would like to preach in other countries and among non-Muslim communities must also thoroughly study the local conditions, customs, diet, religions and language. Teaching is an art and must be learnt before it can be applied effectively. Of course, there are quacks in all professions, but even a good scholar may not be a good preacher. Such training for missionary work should be imparted under competent guidance and supervision. Tabligh may be likened to the preparation of the soil before any seed is planted. Even the best seed will be wasted if sown at random without preparing the soil. Character is the prerequisite to the absorption of Islam, which again builds the character to a higher perfection. Tabligh should help in this cyclic process of progressive moral and spiritual evolution, which is the goal of Islam.

(Continued from page 15)

of brain workers, country-folk instead of city-dwellers, producers instead of middlemen, agriculturists instead of financiers, warriors instead of shopkeepers. terrorists instead of martyrs, aggressively-spirited Semites instead of peaceably abject non-Aryans; and this Nietzschean revaluation of all traditional Jewish values, for destruction as well as for construction, for evil as well as for good, was directed towards the horizon-filling narrow-hearted aim of making themselves sons of a latter-day Eretz Israel in Palestine that was to be 'as Jewish' as England 'was English,' instead of remaining the step-sons of a New York, London, Manchester and Frankfort that were no more Jewish than Bombay was Parsee or Ispahan Armenian. "Within the thirty years A.D. 1918-48 the Zionist pioneers in Palestine duly achieved this almost incredible tour de force by mint-

"Within the thirty years A.D. 1918-48 the Zionist pioneers in Palestine duly achieved this almost incredible tour de force by minting a fresh type of Jew in whom the child of the diaspora was no longer recognizable. The image and superscrintion on this new human coinage was not Hillel's but Caesar's. The Janus-figure—part American farmer-technician, part Nazi sicarius—was of a

characteristically Western stamp. Yet, while a collective Westernization in a modern Western nationalist mould was the Zionists' triumphantly achieved objective, the lode-stone that had drawn them so forcefully to the Westernizing goal that they had reached through a feat of left-handed self-transfiguration was 'the real presence' of the Holy Land. To judge by the unquestionable potency of the psychological factor in enabling the Zionist pioneers to accomplish what they did accomplish would have been less dynamic, and the entries against its name in the Book of Judgment less deeply scored on both sides of the account if the scene of Zionist exploits had been an East African Arcadia and not a Palestinian Phlegra. Yet this mystical feeling for an historical Eretz Israel, which inspired the Zionist pioneers with the spiritual power to move mountains, was entirely derived from a diasporan orthodox theology that convicted the Zionists of an importunity which verged upon impiety in their attempt to take out of God's hands the fulfilment of God's promise to restore Israel to Palestine on God's own initiative."



Above — The simple mausoleum of one of the most prominent companions, an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, 'Abbas, in the graveyard at Medina known as Jannah al Baqi'. The monument does not exist any longer. It was razed to the ground because the ignorant Muslim masses had more or less worshipped it and others in that cemetery.

Below — A view of the outlying parts of Medina known as Thaniyyah al-Wida', where the Medinite friends of the Prophet Muhammad had awaited his arrival. The long and arduous journey from Mecca to Medina had taken about always these.

had taken about eleven days.
Our picture shows a mosque built to mark the particular site.



Glimpses of

Mecca and M

Some historic Monuments as they were in



Above — A general view of Mecca in which is situated Meccan leader who opposed the Prophet Muhammad till the in 624 C.E. However, when the Prophet Muhammad entere Sufyan embraced Islam. The Prophet thereupon announced refuge in the house of Abu Sufyan and the sacred precincts of protection any amnesty.

There is only one conqueror in the entire history of the worl to wreak vengeance from the "war culprits",) regave them of this conqueror is Muhamma

mpses of

and Medina

as they were in 1908 C.E.—1324 A.H.



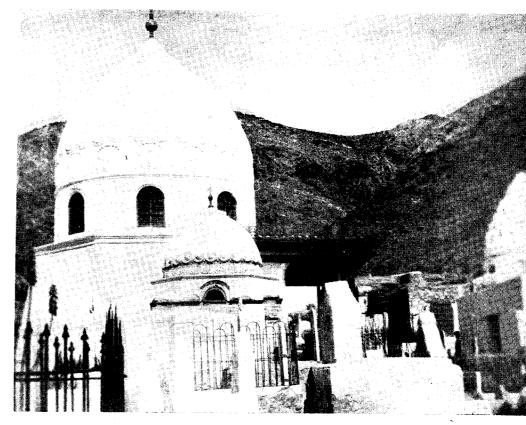
n which is situated the house of the redoubtable Muharmad till the day of the conquest of Mecca et Muhammad entered Mecca as a conqueror, Abuthereupo v announced that all those who would take the sacr of precincts of the Ka'hah would be granted tion and amnesty.

e history of the world who, when he had the power prits", orgave them all unconditionally. The name nguçror is Muhammad



Above — The mausoleum of Sa'id al-Khudri, one of the most prominent companions of the Prophet Muhammad, at Medina. It was at the house of this friend that the Prophet Muhammad stayed when he arrived at Medina after fleeing Mecca on the 20th June 622 C.E. as a result of the persecutions meted out to him by his kinsmen at Mecca.

Below — The dome of the mausoleum of the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, Khadijah, at Mu'allah, Mecca. The dome on the right is that of Aminah, daughter of Wahb, the mother of the Prophet Muhammad.



BY GOD'S

MYSTERIOUS

WAYS

By Major 'Abdullah Battersbey



Major A. Battersbey
"I thank God, al-Hamdu li 'l-Lah, that I am today one source of his consistent faith"

"I thank God, al-Hamdu li'l-Lah, that I am today one of this great Brotherhood of Islam, and when I pray I always offer up a supplication for the soul of the poor boatman, whose personal piety led me to seek for myself the source of his consistent faith."

The piety of a simple boatman's life arouses an interest in Islam

Many years ago, a quarter of a century at least, it was a part of my daily experience to travel along the waterways of Burma by sampan. A sampan is a shapely, almost flatbottomed vessel that floats over the surface of the water like a duck. It is a Chinese craft that has established itself in Burmese waters, as being of greater transport utility than the even more beautiful vessel, the Hlaoungoo of the Burmese, a slender ship, with a highly decorative stern, carved in the manner that only the Burmese can do so well. High aloft in the stern-sheets the steersman sits like a prince on a throne, ruling his inland water mariners. The sampan is a smaller and more practical craft for shallow waters, providing there is sufficient space for manipulation of the oars, from the stern, where the sampan-wallah stands criss-crossing his oars as he sweeps them outwards to urge the vessel along. There was an awning of bamboo mats arched over the wall of the vessel in the manner of a Venetian gondola, to protect the passenger from the weather, be it sunny or wet, and following on a Chinese superstition, two eyes were painted on the bows so that the boat could see and find its way along the tortuous channels.

All this is a preliminary to telling you about my first interest in Islam. My sampan-wallah was a Muslim — Sheikh 'Ali, from Chittagong, a splendid sailor, and keenly observant of the rules of his faith. The consistency with which he maintained the hours of prayer and the obvious sincerity of his pious practice, not only gained my respect but stimulated my interest in a faith that could hold such a man in pious thrall. Around us were Burmese Buddhists, who also exhibited a great piety, and who were, so far as my experience informed

me, probably the most charitable people on earth. But there seemed to be something lacking in their religious practice. I know they attended the pagodas, because I saw the old folks squatted there, uttering the formula of their creed:

Buddha carana gacchami Dhamma carana gacchami Sangha carana gacchami,

thus proclaiming that they accepted the joint guidance of the Buddha, the law, and the order, for the conduct of their spiritual lives. It was too placid, it lacked vigour, and was totally unlike the practice of Sheikh 'Ali, the sampan-wallah. I talked to him as we sailed along the narrow creeks and streams. He was not so good at telling others of the things that inspired him with pious zeal, as he was a splendid example of the inspirational power of Islam.

I bought some books about the history and teachings of Islam. The Qur'an I could not read, except in the rather mediocre translation of Sale, but I learned of the life of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him!) and of his great achievements. I sometimes discussed them with some of my Muslim friends who called themselves Zerbadis. Then the first world war broke out and, like a good many others, I found myself serving with the Indian Army in Mesopotamia. I was away from the Buddhist lands and among the Arabs, the people from whom the Prophet sprung, and in whose language the Holy Qur'an was recorded. The fact that I was among these people encouraged my further interest in understanding Islam. I studied Arabic and made close contact with the people, admiring the consistency of their worship of God, till I found myself also acknowledging that God was,

indeed, a unity; whereas from my childhood I had been reared to accept God was a Trinity. It had now become patent to me that God was not a Trinity but a Unity: La ilaha il 'l-Lah — and I was inclined to declare myself a Muslim, but man is weak, and when such a declaration could have meant a social ostracism, I felt too cowardly to stand out openly and say that I had accepted Islam as the religion that had been prescribed for the sons of men by God Himself. So I practised a little self-deceit, admitting myself, in my heart, to be a believer, but never daring to tell anybody "in authority" about my changed ideas and belief. In fact, although I ceased entirely attending churches, and I also only visited Mosques when it was my official duty as a police officer to do so, it was only when in Palestine between the years 1936 and 1942, that I took courage of conviction and made an official declaration of my change of faith to the Islam that had been my choice for so many years.

My acceptance of Islam in Jerusalem

It was a grand day when, in the Mahkamat al-Shari'ah in the City of Jerusalem, known in the Arab lands by the name of al-Quds, meaning the Sacred, that I publicly announced myself a Muslim. I was at the time a General Staff Officer, and this action of mine brought about some unpleasant reactions, for I found myself subjected to a great deal of social boycott. However, my anchorage was in Islam. I was at peace with my conscience and my soul was at rest, secure in God Almighty's promises for the faithful.

Since that time, I have lived and practised the faith of Islam, in Egypt and more recently in Pakistan. It is note-

worthy that even before I went to Pakistan, I was being influenced by my religious friends in that country, and I was privileged to join them in their missionary efforts to spread the light of the faith to others. Now I am in England, I am reunited with some of those friends and realize how strong are the fraternal bonds that hold all true Muslims in a tender embrace. This is the Spirit of Islam about which we often hear. The Spirit of Islam entails that every Muslim must care for every brother in the faith, as for himself. Islam is the greatest fraternity — some 500,000,000 strong, and to belong to it is to belong to God, and if I have been able, in recent years to give witness for Islam, by my life and writings, surely a credit mark has been inscribed in the register of life, for that simple man whose piety brought me back to God, and to Islam, for we are all born Muslims, and I, in human weakness, had gone astray.

I thank God, al-Hamdu li 'l-Lah, that I am today one of this great brotherhood of Islam, and when I pray, I always offer up a supplication for the soul of the poor boatman, whose personal piety, led me to seek for myself, the source of his consistent faith.

Allah! There is none other God but He,
The Living God, the Self-subsistent One;
Weariness cometh not to Him, nor sleep;
And what so is belongs to Him alone
In heaven and earth —
With Him all things secret are the keys;
None other hath them, but He hath; and sees
Whatever is in land, or air. or water,
Each bloom that blows, each foam-bell on the seas.

PAKISTAN'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS AND POTENTIALITIES

Rich iron ore deposits

The Minister of Commerce in the Government of Pakistan, in speaking of the importance of the iron and steel and heavy engineering industry at the Annual Dinner of the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber at Karachi, said it was generally believed that Pakistan had no iron ore deposits, but a recent survey conducted with the help of foreign experts had, however, revealed that the Attock, Mianwali and Sargodha districts of the Punjab and Chitral State contained rich deposits of iron ore. He said that prospecting work had already commenced at Kalabagh in the Mianwali district and deposits of 20,000,000 tons or iron ore had been discovered with prospects of the discovery of easily as much as 100,000,000 tons. He disclosed that the development of this industry had been entrusted to a Government-sponsored organization, the Pakistan Industrial Develop-ment Corporation, and the first phase of their plan envisaged the setting up of a pilot plant by 1956 with a production capacity of 50,000 tons of iron ingots and two rolling mills, and that under the second phase of the scheme a plant of 300 000 tons of steel ingots and 50,000 tons of pig iron per annum would be installed. The discovery of iron ore deposits, he said, was a most heartening development and, together with the natural subterranean gas resources at Sui, should help in placing the industrial progress of Pakistan on stable foundations.

Speaking on the subject of increased agricultural production, the Minister said that the situation arising from the outbreak of the Korean war highlighted the necessity of advancing the scheduled date of completion of the more important production targets so that the country could attain self-sufficiency in some of its primary requirements as rapidly as possible. This, he said, was done by drawing up a two-year priority plan in 1951, the implementation of which was to take precedence over other schemes included in the Six-Year Plan, in which the improvement of agriculture and the fuller utilization of surface flow and underground water resources figured prominently. "Side by side with the bringing of more cultivable land under the plough, steps had also been taken to improve farming practices and encourage the extensive application of manures."

Jute and cotton

Speaking of jute, the Minister said the target of production for the next season had been fixed at 5,500,000 bales after a careful assessment of likely world demand. He said it should not be difficult to double this figure in a single year, in most years the Government having to put a curb on the cultivators' keenness to grow more jute because experience had shown that even a slight excess in production had an unsettling effect on the market and instead of bringing more foreign exchange to the country and a larger return to the producer, it brought less and less. The Minister opined that regulation of jute production was, therefore, of paramount importance to the country's economy and the welfare of a large section of the people.

As to cotton, the Minister said that in view of the larger intake of cotton by the textile industry, the need for growing more cotton was recognized and plans were under way to step up production. He, however, drew attention to the fact that unless increased production was coupled with vigorous salesmanship, the desired result could not possibly be achieved.

In talking of jute goods, the Minister said that Pakistan has already made its debut in the export market and that before the year was out 12 mills with an aggregate loomage of 6,750 would have been installed, with substantial quantities of jute goods available for export.

Shipbuilding yard

The Minister also talked of the Karachi shipbuilding yard programme, the first phase of which embraced the construction of a commercial dry dock and the provision of facilities for repair work and construction of small vessels up to 2,500 dead weight tons. He said the need for private repair facilities, not only for Pakistan's mercantile fleet, but also for foreign ships visiting Pakistan's waters, was very keenly felt, as even for small repairs they had to send their ships to foreign countries and incurred heavy expenditure of foreign exchange.

WORLD OPINION ON THE STRUGGLE OF MUSLIMS OF NORTH AFRICA AGAINST FRENCH IMPERIALISM

The struggle of the people of North Africa has been the focus of interest in the Arab and Muslim worlds. The following is a selection of views expressed in the Press and on the radio of the Arab world on this subject.

What would George Washington have done?

An article in *al-Gumhuriyyah*, Cairo, the semi-official Egyptian daily, in December 1954 said:

"In a speech on 29th November 1954 Mr. Dulles admitted that the situation in North Africa was 'disturbed'. He did not, however, indicate how he intended to remedy this or remove these dangers to the African continent to which he referred. In North Africa the United States of America has strategic and commercial interests which might be threatened by the disturbed situation resulting from the policy of French imperialism. The United States has military bases in Morocco, and has treaties ensuring the freedom of United States trade in North Africa. It cannot, therefore, stand idly by in the national liberation struggle of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria against the grim forces of French imperialism. Mr. Dulles described this as a disturbed situation. It is not a situation that could have been accepted by George Washington, who led a similar struggle for liberation from imperialist forces, nor by Abraham Lincoln, who led the struggle to end discrimination between the people of one nation. It is this discrimination which the French today are trying to introduce in North Africa between the people of the country and the imperialists, and between those they call 'Arabs' and 'Berbers'.

"There is still hope that Mr. Dulles will take a more firm stand in supporting the national struggle of the people of North Africa, and that the United States of America will place the national interests of the people before strategic, economic and imperialist interests, and will bring pressure to bear on its ally France to put an end to this disturbed situation in North Africa in accordance with the principles of national freedom and international justice."

The help of all the Arabs is needed

On 30th November, Damasous radio broadcast a commentary on French policy in North Africa, from which the following are extracts:

"The French imperialists are anxious about the situation in North Africa. The French Minister of the Interior has gone to Algeria. following the failure of the imperialist forces to suppress the national movement. . . Mendès-France's new policy for North Africa, approved by the French National Assembly last August, has not yet produced a solution to the French Government's difficulties. He has been trying to make the problem of North Africa an international one. While in the United States he asked Dulles for United States support under Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty. French imperialism insis's on treating Algeria as part of France, although the Algerian people have protested by means of strikes and rebellion and a message to the United Nations. . . When we consider these attempts by the French imperialists as well as the resistance of French residents in North Africa — and also of world Zionism — to the Arab independence movements, we realise that the Arab Mughreh needs the help of all Arabs, both in the domestic and international fields."

"Logic and Justice" recommended to the French

An article on the Tunisian situation in al-Hayat, Arabic daily of Beirut, the Lebanon, said:

"There is no one among us who does not desire stability not only in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco but in every corner of the Arab world. The continuation of disorder only serves two things, Communist expansion and Zionist imperialism. We may, therefore, pertinently ask if the French have done anything during the last two years to satisfy the people of North Africa so as to rally them on the side of the free world in face of the menace of world Communism. . . . The bloody events of North Africa during the last few months have proved that imperialism cannot stay there. In order to put an end to the troubles in North Africa the French must adopt a new policy consistent with logic and justice and suitable as a basis for further negotiations between Tunisia and France, which will ultimately lead to Tunisia achieving her legitimate claims to full sovereignty and independence."

France stands by artificial legal considerations

Baghdad radio broadcast a commentary on French policy in North Africa, of which the following are extracts:

"The Arab and Muslim peoples are much concerned at events in North Africa, where the situation is deteriorating rapidly As everyone knows, imperialist France exploited the backwardness of North Africa in order to expand her empire. By displacing the local inhabitants to make room for French immigrants it aimed at eventually getting complete control of the country. The uprising was the only natural outcome, and the Arab people of North Africa will continue their struggle until their aims are achieved.

"Instead of recognizing the Arab character of the Maghreb, France sticks to artificial legal considerations. It accuses this or that country of inciting the Arabs of North Africa to revolt. It threatens Egypt with severance of economic relations if Egypt does not stop its alleged propaganda against France. . . .

"Mendès-France used his visit to the United States of America to get the support of the United States Government and United States weapons to suppress the nationalist movement in North Africa. The French Government is also contacting the Libvan Government in order to obtain military bases in the Fezzan in return for French financial aid. France wants these bases so as to use them against the nationalist movement in North Africa. The French Government is trying to procrastinate in is negotiations with Tunisia. France will seize every opportunity in order to maintain its control over Arab North Africa.

"The United Nations should intervene immediately to protect the Maghrebi people against French oppression. But the United Nations chooses to support the big States, or those it considers big."

The possible effects of the London and Paris agreements on Tunisia and the other parts of North Africa

The following is a summary of a speech made by Dr. Sulaiman Ibn Sulaiman, Chairman of the Tunisian National Committee for the Defence of Peace, at the World Peace Council meeting in Stockholm late in November 1954:

"For three years, the Tunisian people have been struggling against the forces of imperialism and against injustice and war. Since January 1950 the sons of Tunisia have been the victims of the bullets of the imperialists, and campaigns of execution and massacre have become customary in our country....

"Through the conclusion of the London and Paris against the conclusion and the conclusion of the London and Paris against the conclusion and the conclusi

"Through the conclusion of the London and Paris agreements, the imperialists have guaranteed themselves the support of the German and other imperialists in the matter of the exploitation and oppression of the Tunisian people. These

agreements, very like the European Defence Community which was frustrated by the struggle of the peoples and by the world peace movement, endanger the Tunisian people because they shape not only the destiny of Europe but also that of the peoples of North Africa in general, and of the Tunisian people in particular. It is common knowledge that the Paris agreements provide for the establishment of close co-operation between the imperialists in their joint exploitation of the North African peoples. We oppose these agreements because we know that the joint exploitation of our countries by the imperialists will result in increasing injustice and in hindering our people's struggle for national liberation and peace.

Tunisia's struggle for peace

"Implementation of the Paris agreements will confront the Tunisian people not with one but with many enemies, and this will increase the difficulties of their struggle and demand of them further sacrifices. Therefore, our countries follow with great interest the question of the settlement of the security of Europe. The Tunisian people, along with the other peoples of the world, support peace. By their struggle to prevent a new war which threatens humanity with destruction, they are defending their own security and their desire to live in freedom, independence and fraternal collaboration with other peoples. The Tunisian people know from their own experience that their struggle for national independence is closely linked with that of all peoples for the cause of peace. Therefore, they will struggle side by side with other peoples to lessen international tension. In the international atmosphere arising from the Geneva conference, the war in Indo-China was ended, and when the European nations rejected European Defence Community, the Tunisian people saw this as an omen promising fulfilment of their aspirations to freedom and national independence. . . .

"The Tunisian people are struggling for their national independence and are thus contributing their share to the common struggle for peace. By their struggle to liberate their country from the control of the imperialists, they are preventing these imperialists from building strategic bases on Tunisian territory, which the imperialists need for their military adventures. By their struggle against control by the imperialists, they are undermining the camp of the warmongers and discharging their sacred and noble duty in the cause of the defence of peace."

Russia speaks of the "colonial terror"

Even Soviet Russia, for motives of its own, has been showing great interest in the problem of North Africa.

A commentary broadcast by Moscow in English during December 1954 connected the "failure" of France's "mailed-fist" policy in Indo-China with her present conduct of affairs in North Africa. The commentator spoke of persecution, oppression, arrests and gross violations of democratic freedoms in Algeria. He said:

"If we turn to Tunisia we see that the French are no more popular there than in Algeria. In spite of the so-called internal autonomy granted by the French Government in July 1954, unrest is still reported. In Morocco, too, according to the Egyptian paper al-Gumhuriyyah, French troops have killed 1,600 people, wounded 3,431 and thrown 65,000 into prison. These are the victims of only one year of colonial terror — from November 1953, when the Sultan of Morocco was unlawfully deposed, to November 1954.

"And what is the explanation? According to the French Minister for Morocco and Tunisia, the fellaghas have appeared unexpectedly in North Africa. The facts, however, show that French colonialism, with its attendant colonial oppression, is to blame for the recent outbreaks in North Africa. Other causes are the policy of France in defying the local population, and the crushing of democratic freedoms, not to mention the exploitation, poverty and unemployment.

"On 18th November 1954 the French newspaper l'Aurore described Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco as French creations. The paper arbitrarily listed these territories among the 'natural continuations of France', a term of its own coinage. The reason

it gives is that Algeria has been a French colony since 1830, Tunisia since 1881 and Morocco since 1912. The people of these territories show no enthusiasm over being the natural continuation of France. What is more, they demand national independence, and this legitimate claim is backed by public opinion everywhere, including France. The struggle waged by the Algerian people has the support of the French trade union movement, which pointed out in a recent communique that the Algerian problem can be solved only by satisfying the justified demands of the Algerian working people who are fighting for freedom and national independence. Looking back, we see that on 8th November the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Mehta, voiced his party's sympathy for the people of Algeria in their fight for independence. Three days later the Syrian Parliament passed a motion urging the Government to take the necessary measures to help the people in the Arab area of North Africa to achieve freedom and independence.

The lesson of Indo-China must be learnt

"The French colonialists, however, have continued to turn a deaf ear to the just demands of the North Africans and, what is more, they are strongly opposed to any peaceful solution of the North African problem. The French Prime Minister, M. Mendès-France, told the National Assembly on the 12th December that all means would be employed to maintain order. He added that the necessary forces would be dispatched, and even more than the necessary. The French Minister for Home Affairs put it this way: negotiations are possible only in the form of war. The newspaper l'Aurore insists that France should demonstrate its full strength in North Africa. But it should be remembered that oppression and the mailed-fist policy have never been successful. France has accomplished nothing in Indo-China by her positions-of-strength policy. It is evident that this policy will be just as great a failure in North Africa, where the people are energetically demanding national independence."



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Head Office: KARACHI (Pakistan)

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 Rs.
 30,000,000.

 Issued & Subscribed Capital
 Pak
 Rs.
 15,000,000.

 Paid-up Capital
 Pak
 Rs.
 15,000,000.

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 Pak
 Rs.
 10,000,000.

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 Pak
 Rs.
 431,800,000.

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Correspondents and Agents at all important cities of the World

A picture of the Conference of the Arab leaders in session at Cairo in the first week of February 1955 which was convoked by Egypt consequent upon the Turko-Iraq Pact

In the picture can be seen Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir (fourth, left row) and His Royal Highness Prince Faisal, of Sa'udi Arabia (fourth, right row), and other Arab leaders



THE ARAB LEAGUE

Resolutions

The Arab League Council, in a session which ended on 11th December 1954, passed the following resolutions:

- (1) Nomination of Egypt and the Lebanon for the Executive Council of the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization. (The two countries have already been elected.)
- (2) Participation of the Arab countries in the Jakarta Conference, called by Indonesia.
- (3) Repair of the al-Aqsa Mosque (the Dome of the Rock) in Jerusalem.
- (4) Extension of Arab diplomatic representation abroad.
- (5) Continued interest in the question of the Southern Yemen.
- (6) Appointment of the well-known Egyptian scholar, Dr. Taha Hussein, as Chairman of the Arab League Permanent Cultural Committee.
- (7) Entrusting Syria with the submission of a complaint to the Security Council on behalf of Jordan against Israel's diversion of the waters of the River Jordan.
- (8) Strengthening of the Jordanian Home Guard and referring the question to the Supreme Arab Defence Council for further study.
- (9) Urging the Arab countries to study the possibility of uranium existing in their territories and the prohibition of its use, in case it existed, for aggressive purposes.
- (10) Consideration of the case of Arabs living in Israel reported to be maltreated by the Israeli authorities.

Economic activity

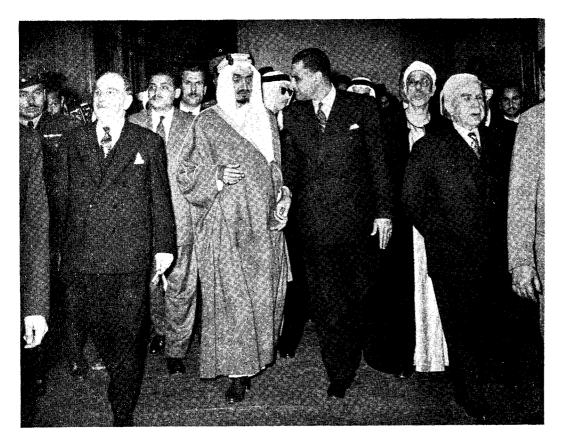
Economic questions figured prominently in the work of the League. The League Economic Council convened on 12th December 1954 and before concluding its meetings on 16th December it had put forward a number of recommendations covering a wide variety of topics of interest to the Arab world. The Commerce and Finance Committee considered the recommendations made by the Arab Financial Experts Committee concerning the amendment of the trade and payment agreements; the establishment of a joint bank for the promotion of Arab economy; and the question of technical aid to the Arab countries.

The establishment of Arab shipping and aviation companies was considered by the Communications Committee. Later, the Economic Council recommended closer cooperation between Arab aviation companies as a preliminary step to the establishment of a union between them. It recommended also that a delegation be sent to Arab countries to collect information regarding the proposed establishment of an Arab shipping company.

Arab economic unity

Other recommendations were the tightening of the blockade of Israel, encouragement by the Arab countries of the establishment of fisheries and exploitation of natural and mineral resources in the Arab countries.

The Arab governments also signed on 16th December 1954 certain amendments to the Arab Trade and Payments Agreements. The amendments, which seek to facilitate trading between the Arab countries, include the addition of new industrial and animal products to the list of goods exempted from customs duties between the Arab States. Arab industrial products, according to other amendments, are to be given priority as regards customs duties on imports. whereas in the matter of export and import permits, the Arab States are to be treated on a most favoured nation basis, and transit trade between the Arab countries party to the agreement is to be permitted to pass freely through their territories. It was also agreed that an economic conference for the Middle and Near East should be held in Beirut in May 1955. Proposals for economic unity between the Arab States were referred to the Technical Committee of the Arab League.



His Royal Highness the Amir Faisal, of Sa'udi Arabia, at a Reception held in his honour at Cairo, in conversation with the President of the Republic of Egypt, Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. To the left of the President of the Egyptian Republic can be seen the Rector of al-Azhar and the former Premier of Syria, Mr. Faris al-Khoury. Our picture was taken during the first week of February 1955, when the heads of the Arab countries came to Cairo to discuss the implications of the Turko-Iraq Pact

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

"Relief" for Palestine Arab refugees

The mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, due to expire in 1955, has been extended by the General Assembly of the United Nations for a period of five years, ending on 30th June 1960. The decision to extend the life of the Agency was made imperative by the failure to find any permanent solution to the problem of the Arab refugees, which dominates the politics of the Middle East.

A resolution to this effect, sponsored by Britain, the United States of America. France and Turkey, was approved by forty votes to none against. There were eight abstentions.

The resolution also provided for a relief budget of \$25,100,000 and a rehabilitation budget of \$36,200,000 for the agency for the current fiscal year, and for the maintenance of the existing \$200,000,000 rehabilitation fund.

It was specified that the relief is to be continued "without prejdice to the rights of the refugees to repatriation", and the resolution also called upon governments in the area involved to continue to co-operate in seeking and carrying out rehabilitation projects capable of supporting substantial numbers of refugees.

Twelve nations were absent when the sixty-member committee voted on the resolution, which was put forward after recommendations made to the committee by Mr. Henry Labouisse, the Director of United Nations Rehabilitation and Works Agency and his advisory committee of representatives of nine nations. The eight nations which abstained from voting were Burma, Belorussia, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Israel, Poland, the Ukraine and the Soviet Union.

How the problem can be solved

The abstention of Iraq, said Dr. Fadel Jamali, the Iraqi delegate, was because the resolution, and in fact the whole

policy towards the refugees, was not basic enough, and avoided the issues. By supporting the resolution his delegation would be supporting discrimination. The refugee problem, he said, must be examined in the light of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights.

Other Arab spokesmen in the debate blamed Israel for the continuing existence of the refugee problem. They maintained that repatriation provided the only real answer and emphasised that the Arab countries could not themselves absorb the refugees — who now number 887,000, one-third of them still living in tents nearly six years after they fled from their homes in the Israeli-Arab campaign and subsequent partition of Palestine.

In his report Mr. Labouisse asked the General Assembly to give a clear statement of the objectives expected of the Agency, to adopt measures to enable long-term budgetary planning to be carried out, to indicate the standards of relief to be made available, to deal with the problem of the "economic" refugees (the inhabitants of border villages who have been separated from their farms) whose livings have been jeopardised by the creation of the State of Israel, and to decide how much, if any, of the rehabilitation funds can be employed on general improvements of indirect benefit to the refugees.

Israel's continued disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations

The debate, from the Arab point of view, begged a good many questions. They believe very strongly that the basis of a solution to the problem of the refugees who are now starting to face another winter must be the implementation by Israel of United Nations resolutions on Palestine. It is the disregard of such resolutions as formed the main obstacle to Arab co-operation on the whole question of establishing a modus vivendi with Israel. Though there have

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been assurances that taking part in rehabilitation schemes will not prejudice the refugees' fundamental rights to repatriation or compensation, they feel, as the Labouisse report states that "the concept of rehabilitation is to deprive them of something".

. Events have made the Arabs suspicious — as they are at present over the recent presentation of the credentials of the British and United States Ambassadors not in Tel-Aviv, the official capital, but in Jerusalem, declared international by a resolution of the United Nations. Bland assurances that this was a mere matter of convenience implying no recognition of the constant Israeli efforts to have Jerusalem accepted as their capital, have not succeeded in allaying Arab misgivings.

Anniversary of the United Nations resolution on Palestine

The Prime Minister of Syria made a speech to a large gathering of students who demonstrated in December last against the anniversary of the United Nations resolution. His speech consisted largely of a review of the United Nations debates on the Palestine issue and the development of the situation in Palestine from the time of the Balfour Declaration to the end of the mandate. He said that the Jews, having won the first round, were preparing for the second one, and that they hoped as a result of it to prepare for Jewish immigration from all over the world by extending their domains until they stretched, as foretold by Moses, from the

Euphrates to the Nile. In this process, he said, they were able to exploit the United Nations softness, and it was, therefore, of no avail to complain or protest; the Arabs must unite and prepare themselves not for aggression, but for self-defence.

Justice only from strength

The Syrian Premier then went on: "It is a mistake to expect justice from the large or small nations which belong to the United Nations. The small nations are bound to the wheels of the great Powers and the great Powers submit themselves to the influence of Zionism. A case in point is before you: the three great Powers — Russia, the United States of America and Britain — have recently sent their ambassadors to present their credentials to the Israeli President in Jerusalem; these three Powers formerly approved the plan of partition, which included a special provision for the internationalization of Jerusalem; now, by their latest action, they imply that they approve of a part of Jerusalem becoming Israel's capital. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the three Western Powers promised in their tripartite declaration of 1950 that they would maintain the political and regional character of this part of the world as they had been without any change whatsoever. . . . Under these circumstances, what can we expect from these great Powers? We must rely only on ourselves. This problem will not be solved at the United Nations, or outside Palestine, but only on the plains of Palestine itself.'

IRAQ'S HEARTENING PROGRESS

Friendship . . . and strength

The following are extracts from the speech from the Throne made by King Faisal II of Iraq on 1st December 1954:

"In its foreign policy our Government is guided by the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Arab League. Our visit to the Lebanon and the hospitality and true Arab brotherly feeling we found there have had a great effect upon us. The visit of Iraqi leaders to various Arab countries has been beneficial in guiding us towards a common policy. The disappearance of the tension between Egypt and Britain has given us pleasure. Our attitude towards Palestine is known and remains unchanged. Our relations with our neighbours are as we wish them to be. Our Government is going ahead with raising the standard of its administrative machinery, and is assisting local authorities with funds, and is advancing loans to municipalities for their development projects. The Government has placed the organization, arming, equipping and training of the armed forces among its most important objectives. It has striven to secure modern arms and has accepted American aid without being bound by any conditions.

Improved education

"The Government is concerned with securing the independence of the judiciary and the improvement of the standards of the judges. The Government is devoting attention to teachers and schools, to universal elementary education, and is fighting illiteracy. It is giving its attention to making secondary education conform with the inclinations of the students and the demands of society, and to the enactment of the Baghdad University Law. It is also devoting attention to strengthening a religious and a patriotic spirit, and is supporting youth and boy scout movements. . . .

Medical education, workers' and farmers' welfare

"The Government is working for the expansion and improvement of medical education, for the provision of mobile hospitals, and for a comprehensive health programme for the next five years. It is concerned with workers' affairs and with raising their social standards, and it is bent upon the extension of agricultural guidance services and the establishment of plant nurseries in all provinces. It is also working for the improvement of livestock and pastures and is continuing the work of strengthening the dykes and the completion of the great Musaiyib project.

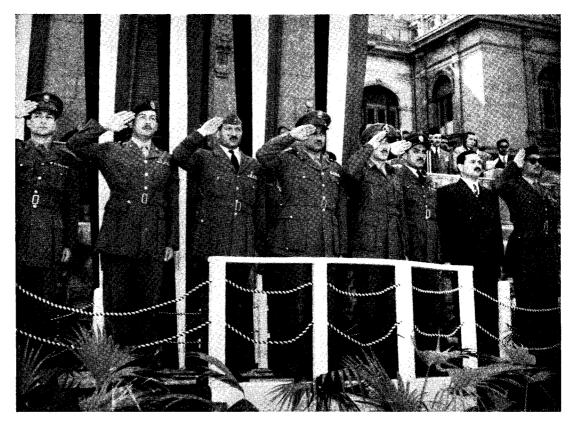
Communications, land reclamation and industrial revival

"The Government has sent missions for training in piloting transport planes and in harbour work. It has contracted for the purchase of four-engined transport planes to expand services to Europe, India and Pakistan. It has also established telegraph services with Pakistan, India and Japan. The Government is working on the reclamation of land, the increase of smallholdings, the establishment of modern villages, the construction of reservoirs and dams, and other projects approved by the Development Board.

"With the aim of achieving an industrial revival the Government is carrying out a mineral survey and an industrial survey. Industrial projects compatible with the country's potentialities will be established. The Government will submit a five-year plan under the Development Law. It is careful to ensure that the oil resources are utilised to the utmost in the development of the country."

The British forces started evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone after having remained in occupation of the Egyptian soil for 72 years. To mark this important event in the history of Egypt, an impressive parade of the Egyptian Armed Forces was held in the first week of February 1955, when the Egyptian forces moved into the areas evacuated by the British forces

Our picture shows the President of the Republic of Egypt, Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir (fourth from left), along with other members of the Revolution Council, taking the salute at a march past



EGYPT ON THE MARCH

Rapid action needed to raise standard of living

Dr. Abd al-Mun'im al-Qaisouni, the Egyptian Minister of Finance and Economy, speaking in December 1954 of his Government's general policy of economic expansion, said:

"Recently published estimates of Egypt's national income show that its global income is about £E850,000,000 a year and its income per head about £E39. A comparison of our per capita income with that of other countries shows that we must take rapid action on a large scale to raise our people's standard of living. The problem becomes more acute and urgent when we consider that our population is increasing at the rate of 400,000 to 500,000 every year. Without a large and varied development programme, our standards of living will definitely tend to fall. These facts were clearly understood by the Revolution Government when it came to power. At that time, how-ever, the Government was faced with a serious payments deficit, the near exhaustion of its foreign reserves, and a large budget deficit. . . . To remedy this. however, was the Government's first aim; and today our budget is balanced and our balance of payment at the end of this year should show a small credit surplus. . . .

The development programme

"After achieving this aim, it was logical for the Government to start on a policy of economic expansion and to put into effect various development projects which it has carefully studied during the past two years. The Council of Production has laid down the basis of a development programme which will take several years to fulfil but which will raise our standard of living to a level comparable with that of more advanced nations. The main items of this programme are the High Aswan Dam project, which will lead to the increase of the cultivable area by 30 per cent and provide sufficient power to run many industries on an economic basis, the fertiliser plant, whose output will reduce fertiliser prices and help to raise agricultural yields, the iron and steel project, a basic necessity for economic development, and railways, roads, irrigation, drainage, electricity,

To implement this programme the Government obviously needs adequate finances. The three possibilities open to us were to increase taxes, to borrow from the Central Bank, or to borrow from the public. The first was unacceptable; the level of taxes is high enough, and any increase might deter private investment and private enterprise. The second was also unacceptable because it was inflationary, and would raise the cost of our development programme. The third course was therefore adopted. It is neither inflationary nor deflationary; it will not increase the burden on taxpayers, and it is expected to further the improvement in economic conditions which has been noticeable in the last few months. . . .

Loans floated
"The Government has therefore decided to float three loans: a short-term loan of £E5,000 000 at 2½ per cent for five years; a medium-term loan of £E10.000,000 at 3 per cent for ten years; and a long-term loan of £E10,000,000 at 3½ per cent for fifteen years. Subscriptions will take place between 15th and 20th December 1954. The bonds may be bought by Egyptians and foreigners alike.

"I would end with a few words on the Government's policy towards private enterprise. It should be obvious that the Government is not aiming at replacing private enterprise; on the contrary, it is trying to build an economic framework which will help private enterprise to develop and flourish. Besides the development programme, the Government is fostering a favourable atmosphere for the encouragement of private enterprise and the expansion of investments, both local and foreign. Tax laws are being revised, exemptions are granted to new industries, procedures are being simplified and the tax laws are being administered expeditiously and in a spirit of justice and equity. Exchange controls have been relaxed to favour new enterprises, profits are freely repatriated, and capital may also be repatriated on agreed annual instalments.

The integrity of the new Egypt
"These are some of the measures which Egypt has taken to restore equilibrium in its economy, and to expand its economic activities in order to raise the standard of living of its people. The trust of the outside world in the seriousness of purpose and integrity of the new Egypt has been freely displayed by the foreign investments which have begun to reach us; the activities of United States oil companies prospecting in the Western Desert for the first time in history: the collaboration of German, French, British and other capital in various fields; the interest of the International Bank in our Aswan Dam project and our fertiliser plant; and the generous aid granted by the United States Government for economic development. We are confidently looking forward, thanks to the work of our people and the collaboration of our friends, to the bright and prosperous future we have long desired.

The King of Libya, Idris I

The King of Libya has decreed that he is not to be styled "His Majesty", the which style, he says, belongs only to God. He is the only Muslim king in the whole wide world of Islam who has reaffirmed the simple and forthright approach of men to their rulers which was characteristic of the Prophet Muhammad and his immediate successors. Once the Prophet Muhammad said to a young boy who had shown tremulousness in addressing the Prophet, "I am the son of a woman who used to eat dried dates (like your mother)"



THE PROGRESS OF LIBYA

The speech from the Throne

The speech from the Libyan Throne, delivered recently by the Prime Minister of Libya, Mr. Mustafa Ibn Haleem, contained interesting information about the brave strides forward the country is making. It also contained good hope for the future for the people of this new and under-developed country, which only a few years ago acquired the status of independent Statehood.

The following few lines contain a summary of the Speech from the Throne.

Education

Much progress has been made in the field of education. More Libyan scholars are being sent to foreign universities and institutions of higher education. The system of elementary and secondary education in the country is also being remodelled on the Egyptian pattern, and Egypt is helping in no small measure in this respect by providing teachers and experts. The teaching of the tenets of Islam is also not being neglected in Libya's schools, and the people in charge of the country's educational system will not forget the importance of inculcating the good doctrines of Islam in the youth.

Communications

The development of communications — roads, telephones, telegraphs and wireless — is also being given great attention in Libya, and there have been many notable achievements in this respect during the past year. Ambitious plans have also been laid for the near future. A telegraphic network linking Libya with the Arab world will be completed within the current year. Attention is also being paid to the development of the two main harbours of Libya — Benghazi and Tripoli. Civil airport runways are also being improved. All these measures, it is hoped, will soon improve the country's economy.

Agriculture

The Libyan Government has also been very active in the sphere of agriculture. Comprehensive plans have been laid for the development of agriculture and for the establishment of an effective irrigation system, as well as for the provision of material help to the Libyan farmers. Permission has also been given to some foreign oil companies to prospect for petroleum oil in the country.

The Libyan Development and Stabilization Agency and international assistance to Libya

Nearly all the activity recently undertaken in Libya for economic and technical development has been carried out under the supervision of the Libyan Development and Stabilization Agency. The Agency was set up on the recommendation of M. Adrian Pelt, the ex-representative of the United Nations in Libya. Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Egypt and Turkey are amongst the contributors to the Agency's budget. Libya's own contribution to this budget was £1,120,000 for the 1954-55 financial year. The whole of the Agency's budget for this year was used to provide relief against the damage and distress caused by the recent drought. Work was found for nearly 12,000 in various development projects run by the Agency.

The various specialized agencies of the United Nations, especially the American Point Four Scheme, are applauded for having played a significant role in the progress of Libya; and the hope is entertained that such aid would continue until Libya could stand on her own feet.

The legal system of Libya will be remodelled and set on a truly Islamic basis. The legislators will draw upon the veritable Shari'ah of Islam and seek to apply the teachings of Islam to the needs of the people of modern Libya. The Government is also planning to start a system of welfare services and medical and unemployment insurance.

International relations

The Libyan Government made efforts to establish close and most friendly relations with Libya's Arab sisters, as well as with other Muslim and non-Muslim countries. In this connection Egypt deserved special thanks for the valuable advice and assistance which it was giving to Libya to help her model her system of government and her social and cultural systems on a truly Islamic fashion. Turkey, too, who

recently sent to Libya arms and ammunition and who helped in the training and strengthening of the Libyan army, was also thanked for her goodwill.

Libya's relations with both Britain and the United States of America were also said to be developing favourably. Britain and the United States' contributions to the Libyan budget are not small, and recently the treaty with the United States was amended in such a way as to "harmonize with the full political sovereignty of Libya".

Britain has leased from Libya a number of important strategic bases and airfields. According to the treaty which she has concluded with Libya, she is allowed to station a large number of troops in the country. For this she pays to Libya an annual rent of £1,000,000, and £2,750,000 towards balancing the Libyan budget. The United States of America, also, has concluded a treaty with Libya by the terms of which it is allowed the use of vast strategic areas in Libya and the right of stationing a large number of troops. For this the United States will pay the sum of \$40,000,000 over sixteen years, beginning with last year.

Libya and France

While Libya's international relations, according to the Speech from the Throne, were in general friendly and happy, its relations with one country, France, were not all that was to be desired. The Libyan Government refused to renew the treaty with France, which allowed the latter the right to maintain a few hundred troops in the Fezzan, Libya's southern province. Thus France was requested to withdraw her troops by the 31st December last, the date on which the treaty expired.

The Government of Libya would continue to make persistent efforts to secure the country's admission to membership of the United Nations.

SYRIA

Syria abolishes visas for Arab citizens

A recent decision by the Government of Syria deserves to be greatly applauded. A Bill making it unnecessary for citizens of any Arab State moving between their own countries and Syria to obtain visas has been approved. The Minister of the Interior said that the passing of this Bill demonstrated once again the fact that the people of Syria regarded themselves as part of the whole Arab nation. This idea, in fact, is expressly stated in the Constitution of Syria. The Syrians, the Minister added, looked forward to the day when there would be only one united Arab State for the whole Arab peoples.

When the Syrian Government approved this measure, it did not make the abolition of the visas dependent upon reciprocal action by the other Arab States. It hoped, however, that the Arab States would follow suit. In February 1955, the Government of Jordan announced that visas would no longer be required of Syrian citizens coming into Jordan.

A step towards Arab unity

The importance of the illustrious example set by Syria cannot be over-emphasized. There has been a lot of talk about Arab unity and about the benefits which the Arab peoples will derive from knitting closer together the bonds of race, religion, culture and national heritage which are common between them. But until Syria's example (with the notable exception of the Lebanon and Bahrain, which have abolished the need for visas for their citizens travelling from one country to the other) no Arab State has thought fit to open its doors wide to the citizens of any of its sister States.

Many European States, with far less in common than the Arab States, abolished years ago the irritating formalities of visas. The nationals of these countries can travel in many parts of Europe without first obtaining visas.

The abolition of visas between the Arab States will go a long way towards realizing the dream of unity between them. It is one of the easiest and most practical things that can be done by the Arab statesmen to reassure their people that they mean what they have preached for so long.

REMINISCENCES OF THE YEMEN AND SA'UDI ARABIA

King Ibn Sa'ud's interest in the development of his country

Mr. Crane's philanthropic interest in the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia

By Norah G. Twitchell

His Majesty King Sa'ud I with his father, the founder of modern Sa'udi Arabia, His late Majesty King 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sa'ud.

The writer of the article, Mrs. Twitchell, gives an idea of the solicitude of King Ibn Sa'ud to put his country on the map in the early thirties of this century

We leave the Yemen for Sa'udi Arabia

The name of my husband, Karl S. Twitchell, is well known along the Red Sea. He is an engineer, and he was closely associated with Charles R. Crane, that shrewd but selfless benefactor of many countries. It happened that when Mr. Crane mentioned my husband's name to the late King, Ibn Sa'ud, some few years ago, he at once expressed a desire to consult my husband. Suddenly we were whisked away from the Yemen to the north, where we saw the beginnings of what have proved to be developments in the economy of a country of now fabulous resources. Prior to this, arrangements were being made for the completion of a bridge that crossed the Wadi Laa in the Yemen.

What passes for a "liner" in the Red Sea bore us northwards from our many memories, and we arrived in Jedda, off the coast of Sa'udi Arabia. At once we realized that we were entering a more advanced civilization than anything we had left behind. The coral reefs of Jedda harbour interfered with navigation, but these reefs also served as breakwaters. The Governor of Jedda and the Chief of Police threaded their way among them in a motor launch to the liner, boarded it, and extended to us an official welcome.

Our interview with the then Finance Minister of Sa'udi Arabia

The next day the Finance Minister called on us. He was the Shaikh 'Abdullah Sulaiman, and he meant business. What did we consider to be the possibilities of developing



the water supply, he enquired? For the moment no advice could be given. My husband said that he must first see something of the area under consideration. The Shaikh 'Abdullah accompanied us in a car while we looked over wells and other sources of water.

A much larger enterprise then entered the picture. We must strike northwards and make our way to Muwaila, near the Gulf of 'Aqaba and the sea itself. This indeed was quite an expedition, as full of hardship as anything in the Yemen. Only one or two cars had ever made the trip — and no women.

Before we set forth, we had a pleasant surprise. A little ketch, weighing only 10 tons, dropped anchor in Jedda Harbour. William A. Robinson, of Massachusetts, was the owner, and for much of the time the whole crew of this vessel. He was now homeward bound and was completing a three-year trip, or nearly that, around the world. Only occasionally did he have a companion, a second man. He later wrote a fascinating account of his adventures entitled Twenty Thousand Leagues Over the Sea— a title reminiscent, of course, of Jules Verne's Twenty Leagues Under the Sea. He told us about his experiences on the Pacific Ocean, and we told him about the trip to Muwaila that lay ahead of us.

The expedition had been placed by King Ibn Sa'ud under the supervision of a personal representative, whose word was law. The name of His Maiesty's agent was Khalid Bey Gargani, and he hailed from Tripoli. He spoke a little

French and Turkish but no English. We were also provided with an interpreter and secretary, Najib Salha, from the Lebanon. Both of these men were most courteous and tried to do everything for our comfort. Najib was exceedingly kind in helping me enrich my Arabic vocabulary.

There were no roads, only tracks, and we were quite a cavalcade. Several trucks were needed to transport our servants, the soldiers, supplies of food, sacks of flour, rice, packages of dates rolled in matting, tins of gasoline, lubricating oil, grease and so forth. There were two mechanics in charge.

Those mechanics! They were priceless. We had frequent breakdowns. The Fords were ancient with 3½ in. tyres which bogged down over and over again in the sand. The patience and skill of the mechanics were inexhaustible, and they were always so happy about everything — never a grouch or a grumble, and this was so also with the drivers.

Um Lei and al-Wedi

After some three hundred miles of rough and tumble travelling we were rewarded by reaching a tiny village called Um Lej. It is set on the point of a lovely little harbour, and is blessed with fresh water springs. As usual, the higher Government officials regarded us as their guests. We had the best quarters that a stop-over had to offer.

We reached Um Lej dog-tired, and my thoughts at once turned to the chance of a bath. Yes, I learned, there was a bathroom. Usually bathing facilities, when there are any, were confined to dipping water out of an "'Ali Baba", or earthenware jar. But at Um Lej I found that I had only to stand under a home-made shower and I could have the real thing. So I stood, while water was hand-sprayed from above. The operator watching the top of my head from above issued helpful instructions. "Sit, sabon, sabon, katheer-kullo," which being interpreted meant, "Lady, lots and lots of soap all over!" He was determined that I must be rid of travel stains.

The next point of interest was al-Wedj, where the Governor received us cordially. But we had to pitch tents on a plateau. Not much to speak of, perhaps. But that plateau is now an airfield.

It certainly had been rough going. We had to hold on to the top of the Ford with first one hand and then the other and firmly brace our feet to prevent our heads being forced upwards through the covering. Later I was laid up with a touch of dysentery which proved to be obstinate. My husband was thus on his own when he completed the pilgrimage to Nuwaila near the south of the Gulf of 'Aqaba.

It was, I suppose, quite an experience for a white woman to be alone in the back of beyond in Arabia. Always receiving the utmost courtesy and genuine kindness from the Arabs, it never occurred to me to be afraid, and I thought much less of what might happen than many women today in the United States. Sad, but true. Our secretaryinterpreter, Najib Salha, volunteered to stay with me in the camp. The servants and the soldiers also surrounded me with care. I expected my husband to be away for six days, and after five days of recuperation I was beginning to feel human again. Najib was there sharing breakfast, and we chatted of this and that, Najib being full of a dream from which he had just awakened. It was a vivid dream — real as reality itself. "He had seen the globe-trotter Robinson sailing his ketch into the harbour at al-Wedj. He also saw

my husband walking down the beach to welcome him."
"Najib," I said, "that is just a dream — Robbie is probably at Suez by now, and my husband will not be back

here for another day, at least." "But," he answered, "it did not seem like a mere dream."

Late that afternoon my husband calmly walked unexpectedly into camp, unaware of my astonishment. Robinson was with him. How do you explain dreams that come so true? I wondered then and still wonder.

Um Garayat

The next day I accompanied my husband to Um Garayat. The aspect of Um Garayat has been something of a mystery to the Governor of al-Wedj. There were piles of "tailings" and grinding stones, with diggings in the ground which nobody had been able to explain. My husband recalled what is written in the Bible about gold brought by the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (Kings 9, 28; 10, 13). At Um Garayat there was evidence of such mining — not very extensive but still significant, and my husband advised the Governor to search for similar remains in other places. There was no doubt that we had run into a mining area.

Back we trekked to Jedda, and then came several days of hard work. I typed my husband's reports, Najib translated them into Arabic and lost weight in finding equivalents for the technical terms! And the net result? Not very encouraging. My husband could see no immediate possibility of a large development of the water supply. The few sites for storage dams would require careful surveys, and the construction of the dams would take time and money. Altogether it was not a happy report. It was as disappointing to His Majesty as it had been to us.

The Finance Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs then had a conference with my husband. What impressed them was the fact that my husband had been frank and honest about facts — he had not played with the truth, however unpalatable. They asked him if he could advise them in the same way whether anything could be done to increase the prosperity of the country. There was, of course, revenue derived from the annual pilgrimage of Muslims to Mecca, but it was insufficient for the country's needs, and in any event precarious.

"In so great a country," replied my husband, "there may well be mineral and oil deposits of commercial value."

My husband emphasized the importance of searching for ancient mines, all of them workings on the surface, but useful as revealing the presence of mineral resources below ground.

We return to the Yemen to complete the bridge across the Wadi Laa which was a gift of the late Mr. Crane

It was decided that a conference in New York would be advisable, and I took the trip back across the Atlantic with my husband and young son. After several conferences we decided to return to the Yemen, as there had been a hitch in the building of the bridge. It had been left in the capable hands of Mr. H. Ballard, but some of the steel girders that should have reached the bridge-builders had never been transported to the bridge site on the Wadi Laa. The Yemeni had protested that they could never transport such heavy girders. The camels had objected. Never one to abandon one task unfinished in order to take up another, my husband went back to the Yemen and I went with him.

There he achieved the impossible. The camels still

protested loudly, but they showed results. We also found the sickness among the workers had become a problem. One Yemeni had died of malaria. Food was brought in from the countryside, and we added American cereals, dried and canned fruit, fish and meat.

The scene of our final farewell to the Yemen was the formal opening of this bridge across the Wadi Laa. And it was worthy of memory. Here was a valley to which the Yemenis had travelled from far and wide and, in many cases, camped out, watching the spectacle. The foreman of the American bridge company was a genius called Castangay, who excelled himself moving back and forth with sure steps along the spidery girders high above the bed of the river. The thermometer on our tent averaged 118 degrees in the shade, and my husband and Castangay could not touch metal without wearing leather gloves.

The Yemenis had assembled to see a miracle. But the miracle included a clinic. First aid administered by both my husband and myself had been a success. There had been cures and the patients were present to prove it. We were thus regarded as healers, and there were plenty who needed our healing.

The great moment arrived. The Yemenis had assumed that the scaffolding on the bridge held up the structure! They could not believe their eyes when this scaffolding was torn down revealing the true bridge in all its slender beauty. Other bridges in the Hedjaz had been of a single type. Here was the first truss bridge in all Arabia, with a span of 120 ft., capable of carrying a five-ton truck which, loaded, was equivalent to ten tons.

It had only taken nineteen days after our arrival in camp to finish the structure and paint it.

The bridge was Mr. Charles R. Crane's culminating gift to the Yemen. He had done all that he felt able to do to help the people, especially in the development of their agriculture.

We leave the Yemen once again for Sa'udi Arabia

A more personal and intimate farewell to the Yemen moved me deeply. I had developed a respectful but most sisterly affection of the Princess Fatima at Hudaidah—the ideal loveliness secluded strictly in an orthodox "Mohammedan¹ hareem". I had to await her invitation to the palace, and it soon came. We exchanged news for the last time, and she was as interested as ever in the progress of my son. Then came a surprise that drew tears to my eyes.

She produced a silk dress in turquoise blue that was an exact replica of the dress she was wearing. Every stitch on this dress was the work of her own hands — delicate work in elaborate embroidery — and what made the gift magic was the fact that she guessed my size correctly so that the dress fitted me — and still does — like a glove. I still wear this dress on formal occasions, always with a prayer to God that He guard her in His keeping, guard her and her kind, which is the prayer she breathes in her heart for me.

On our arrival at Jedda again to resume operations in Sa'udi Arabia, we were joined by a mining engineer who was to be my husband's assistant in examining a property where the presence of gold was suspected. It was near Ta'if. Mr. Crane's gifts to Sa'udi Arabia that year included two Empire drills, one for testing for gold, the other for trying to drive down to ground water. All this work was in progress.

The late King Ibn Sa'ud asks my husband to report to him on the question of drilling for oil in al-Hasa

To my surprise and dismay my husband, almost immediately on our return to Sa'udi Arabia, received a request from King Ibn Sa'ud, through the Finance Minister, to set forth at once on a long trip northwards across Sa'udi Arabia to al-Hasa and the Persian Gulf. It was not considered advisable for me to go with him as my dysentery bouts had taken their toll of my strength. However, before

he started he laid out plans for locating various holes for testing, and I visited the camp daily to keep track of the work being done and to answer any questions that arose.

The Sa'udi Government was represented on this testing project by a fine young man, 'Ali Mudaris from Medina. We pooled his limited knowledge of English with my limited knowledge of Arabic and between us we managed to keep records of the work and to give first aid when it was needed. I tackled the job with misgivings, but was grateful for it, for my husband was away for a long six weeks. We did find some water in several of the test holes, but it was brackish.

His Majesty desired my husband to proceed as far as Bahrain Island and to report to him on the question of drilling there for oil. He had, in fact, requested that oil geologists be employed at once drilling throughout his kingdom. But my husband persuaded him to take one step at a time. The ensuing year saw the beginning of commercial production of oil in Bahrain. It was the inauguration of the fabulous story of oil in Sa'udi Arabia.

After returning from Bahrain, my husband was summoned at once to see the Finance Minister, who had just come from a trip to the borders of the Nejd. There he had seen great holes in the ground which had first been reported by a Bedouin. The Shaikh 'Abdullah, the Finance Minister, had followed my husband's suggestion and had brought great quantities of rock from the "holes", which, of course, had been ancient mine workings. The specimens showed such heavy mineralization that my husband told the Finance Minister he would be willing to visit this place if facilities were provided. For a few days all was bustle and confusion. Cars and trucks were provided for an expedition into this almost unknown area.

Our party consisted of Najib Salha, the late Ahmad Fakhry, an outstanding man at Jedda whose home had been in the Sudan, where he had acquired an excellent knowledge of English, 'Abdul 'Aziz Jowesir, a fine Arab from the Nejd, and 'Ali Mudaris, my helper in the Empire drill crew. Also there was the chief of the soldiers and his fifteen guards, truck drivers, cooks and servants, a total of about forty people, with two Ford cars and three trucks.

We drove north along the Red Sea. We had to bypass sacred Medina, for we, being non-Muslims, must not so much as see it in the distance. We crossed the famous railway destroyed by T. E. Lawrence. We then turned to the east inland and then south. Here was *Mahd Dhabab*, a Bedouin term meaning "Cradle of Gold". Exciting? Yes, very.

It was a scene of indescribable desolation — not a sign of life, not a bird in the air, not a tree, not a blade of grass, not a drop of water — just grim rocky mountains, ruins of buildings, ancient and silent grinding stones — monuments to the slaves of the ancient times — and a weird deathly stillness. We camped for the night at Badr, some miles from the nearest wells. Next day we moved into the "Cradle of Gold" area, and the trucks brought us our daily supply of water.

While my husband was making his general inspection, I did my own tramping over the area. It made me tired, and, to my great annoyance, I had to return to the tent and rest. Najib was similarly affected. "Mrs. Twitchell," he said, "I am so unhappy here — I cannot stay here." The uncanny stillness and bleakness got on his nerves. We had five days amid this depression, and they were long days.

We have advisedly left the word "Mohammedan" unaltered; for the custom can perhaps be described as "Mohammedan" but not "Muslim" — for the strict seclusion of women of which the author speaks is absolutely foreign to the teachings of the Qur'an (Editor, I.R.).

My husband's surveys were followed by the still more difficult work of taking samples from the ancient faces of rock and preparing to remove them for further examination. About a hundred of these samples were selected before we broke camp. We carried them back to Jedda, a distance of some five hundred miles. Much of the route lay over lava, yet we had no accident — not even a blowout! — so dexterous were our drivers, and God was with us.

Stones had to be removed from dry river beds, and, in one valley, we had to cut our way through tamarisk trees. The soldiers and servants took all in their stride, and although I was the only unveiled woman they had ever seen, I never had the feeling of being "Exhibit A".

We leave for the United States to raise capital for oil prospecting in Sa'udi Arabia

At Jedda we had a farewell feast with the Finance Minister as host. His Majesty sent me a gift of magnificent pearls from the Persian Gulf, and a beautiful peach-coloured satin gown as worn by the ladies of his harem. My husband received a costume only worn in Sa'udi Arabia by the highest nobility. The King intimated to us that his finances

would not permit him to carry out the geological programme for minerals and oil which my husband had submitted to him, but he wanted to know if my husband would act for the King as agent for raising capital in the United States. Greatly surprised, my husband replied that he was an engineer, not a promoter, but he added that he would obtain the approval and consent of Mr. Crane in New York provided the King sent him a letter of authority to act. The King's letter duly arrived in New York, and this was the origin of the great development of oil in Sa'udi Arabia, with the lesser but most important developments of mining.

During the subsequent arrangements the attitude of Mr. Crane was outspoken. He was invited to participate financially in the contemplated operations. "No, indeed," he replied. "I do not desire this. My reward is that the Sa'udi Arabs have accepted you and your valuable advice that the operation of the two companies will be beneficial to them and lead them to a diversity of development and a consequent improvement of their general living conditions."

As the days and months have passed the peoples of these two wonderful kingdoms are gradually and surely "seeing the light" — in other words, gaining the knowledge and intelligently using it for the betterment of their countries.

IN ENGLAND ISLAM

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

Lecture on Drinking

On Saturday 4th December 1954, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, gave a short reading from the Qur'an and the Hadith dealing with two great social evils, drinking and gambling, which are even now prevailing in both Eastern and Western higher circles in more or less the same manner and extent as they were in Arabia at the time of the advent of Islam, 1.400 years ago. He dealt with these two great social evils in some detail, giving facts and figures to show the great harm these evils were doing to the present-day modern society in all its various aspects such as physical, mental, social and economic, resulting in the ruination of homes, families, etc.

Development and achievements of Pakistant

On Saturday 11th December 1954 a meeting was held at 18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, London, S.W.1, at which Major A. A. Khan, Commercial Secretary, High Commission of Pakistan in London, spoke on the "Development and Achievements of Pakistan since Partition". The meeting was opened by a recitation of the Qur'an by Mr. Hazim Satric, and Dr. 'Isa Samad took the chair. The learned speaker explained the difficulties Pakistan had to experience in the beginning and how she overcame them one by one.
"The discovery of natural gas at Sui in Baluchistan is going to help a great deal in the industrialization of Pakistan. It is also going to solve our problem of unemployment and raise the standard of living of our masses," he said. The lecture was followed by the usual discussion in the form of questions and answers. As the Chairman pointed out at the end, the learned speaker had successfully presented to the audience fac's and figures and at the same time had not let the audience get bored.

Lecture on Persian Literary Traditions

On Saturday 15th January 1955 a lecture was delivered by Mr. M. Farzaad of the Iranian Embassy on "The Development of Persian Literary Traditions" at 18 Eccleston Square. London, S.W.1, the London centre of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. Mr. Hazim Satric took the chair and opened the meeting with a recitation from the Qur'an. The learned scholar dealt with the history and development of Persian literature during the past centuries before and after the advent of Islam in Persia. His talk was very scholarly and full of information. Dr. S. M. Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, proposed a vote of thanks to the learned speaker, which was passed with applause by the audience.

Children's Day

On New Year's Day, a new attempt was made to provide Muslim children living in the United Kingdom with occasions on which to learn about Islam. A Children's Day was organized at 18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, S.W.1, when children gave speeches on Islam and a child presided over the meeting, while grown-ups attended as spectators only. It was a new experiment, and contrary to everyone's expectations the meeting turned out to be a great success. Mr. Hazim Satric gave a recitation from the Our'an. Khalid 'Abdullah (aged 15), son of Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, resided over the meeting. After the presidential speech, Tariq Abdullah (aged 7), Hatim Suterwala (aged 13), Faruq Abdullah (aged 10), Sakina Jetha (aged 11) and Zohra Bukharia (aged 16) gave speeches in which incidents were related from the Prophet's life and early Muslim history. The President in his opening speech said that "the purpose of the speakers this afternoon is not to inspire but to seek inspiration . . ." In fact everyone who attended the meeting was inspired to the extent of being convinced that given the proper help and encouragement our children could grow up to be strong stalwarts of Islam. After the speeches, Mrs. Abdullah, wife of the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, very kindly gave away the prizes. Mrs. 'Abdullah, like everyone else, was very much impressed by the occasion. She raised her hands and in a voice full of emotion asked all to join her in a fervent prayer that God blessed the children and made them true servants of Islam.

The Mufti of Cyprus

On his way back to Cyprus, His Eminence Muhammad Dana, the Mufti of Cyprus, who had gone to the United States to present the case of Cyprus at the United Nations, stayed in England for ten days. During his stay he visited the London Prayer House attached to the Shah Jehan Mosque twice. On one occasion he led evening prayers and on the other he gave a short talk on the political and religious situation of Cyprus. He explained how unsound the Greek claim to the annexation of Cyprus was geographically and historically. He stressed the point that if ever the status quo was to be changed, Cyprus should go to Turkey. On this occasion an English lady, Miss Jolley, who has been helped by another English Muslim lady, Miss Salma Hill, in her study of the principles of Islam was initiated into the religion of Islam by the Mufti of Cyprus. The Mufti also visited the Shah Jehan Mosque on Friday 7th January 1955 and joined the Friday congregational prayers, which were conducted by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque.

"ISLAM INVENTED SCIENCE"

by

John W. Campbell, Jnr.

Neither Greece nor Rome started "Modern Science"

Human beings are so highly complex that, to date, no one of them has ever succeeded in figuring out (a) what he is, (b) what he wants, (c) where he's been, or (d) where he's going. Inasmuch as this includes you, me, and the rest of our friends, neighbours, and Wise Men, we need neither laugh nor shake our heads—though the gyrations resulting from the confusion above stated certainly range from the hilarious

to the appalling.

Currently, the Russians are claiming that most of the major inventions of the last couple of centuries were originally made by inhabitants of that area of the world now known as the U.S.S.R. The suggestion that these inventors, who accomplished so much, lived and prospered under a Czarist society would not be welcome, in all probability. The fact that the inventors of the claimed devices generally recognized in the rest of the world — Bell, for example, as inventor of the telephone — lived in the capitalist countries is unacceptable to the Soviets, apparently. The Russian capitalist-era inventors are more acceptable, however, than non-Russian capitalist-era inventors.

This is, perhaps, an original reaction, unique to Russian

Communists?

The history books available in this country's schools have a certain touch of precisely the same mechanism. Invention made by the now-enemy must be denied; invention made by the no-longer dangerous enemy can be accepted

safely

The history books give Greece and Rome credit for starting modern science — which happens to be an extremely serious error. It's serious because it obscures a uniquely important fact: that only two cultures in the recorded history of Man have developed that combination of philosophical analysis and experimental cross-checking known as Modern Science. Greece and Rome are not among those two; neither culture achieved anything that hadn't been achieved elsewhere, and achieved a lot earlier. Oh, certainly there were details that only Rome, or only Greece, achieved; it's also true that only the Greeks invented Greek as a language. The important thing is that other peoples had languages also.

The Chinese and Egyptians achieved high-order engineering several millennia before Rome did. Egypt's earliest engineering works were older, when Julius Caesar built his bridge across the Rhine, than Rome's monuments

are today.

The Greeks did a lot with mathematics and geometry. The Babylonians had done so long before; the Egyptian surveyors of a few millennia before Rome was founded did considerable first-rate maths, too. The Chinese had Pythagoras' Theorem worked out, too.

The Incas, quite independently, achieved a military road system that put Rome's to shame. The Mayas had a calendar far superior to that the Greeks and Romans

developed.

Observation was old. Mathematics was old. It had been done before, and in many, many places, by many, many peoples. Rome's engineering feats weren't unique.

Western culture a highly hybridized product of much intermingling

What we know as Western Culture is a highly hybridized product of much intermingling — and has the consequent hybrid vigour. Now the curious thing about it is that there's a great tendency to resist being hybridized, and consequently a great tendency to deny that hybridization has taken place. The Western Culture is, essentially, a hybrid resultant of Judeo-Christian philosophy, based on the old Semitic fundamentals, plus Greco-Roman admixtures, plus one other highly important admixture. The Greco-Roman-Semitic philosophy hybrid resultant had not done too well by the year 1000 C.E. The Dark Ages were not to be confused with Periclean Athens as an era of intellectual achievement. They say human beings want security; they had achieved it in Europe during that period. It was a magnificently static situation; nobody learned anything new, and nobody got upset by having to face a new idea for several centuries.

"Modern History" usually is measured from the beginning of the active phase of the Renaissance. What

started the Renaissance?

Our unwashed, louse-ridden, feudal, and essentially barbaric ancestors had had their thick heads knocked together vigorously, and been unceremoniously pitched out on their ears by the highly civilized, powerfully progressive Islamic peoples. That happened not once, but four successive times. With the typical barbarian's assurance that they know all there is to know that's important, the Europeans had tried marching into Palestine.

They were trounced with appalling thoroughness and ease. They never established more than a minor beachhead against an empire that stretched from Spain to India. Their nuisance value was minor, and if they could just be induced to behave in a semi-civilized manner, they were welcome to

make any pilgrimages they desired.

During World War II, when the Russians drove through into Germany and the other Western European areas, their troops for the first time came into intimate contact with how the Western peoples live—what the actual Western standard of living is. It certainly isn't perfect, and is a long sight lower than it should be — but it infected the Russian troops with new and, for them, fabulously high ideas of how to live.

"Islam had achieved what no other civilization Man had developed or had been able to: it invented science"

I suspect the same sort of thing happened to the Crusaders from Europe. Islam was civilized; Europe was not. Islam had achieved what no other civilization Man had developed or had been able to: it invented Science.

Rome didn't, and Greece didn't; they had each produced one of the two ingredients — as had many another people before them, and other peoples also produced independently after them. Philosophy is fine — but it won't stand alone. Athens fell flat on its beautifully philosophical face — for lack of an even passable sewage and water system. Rome had magnificent sanitary engineering systems — and fell flat on the problem of philosophy.

Neither people cross-checked philosophy and engineering. The Romans had no respect for the airy-fairy philosophy

¹ Courtesy, the Editor, Astounding Science Fiction, London, for December 1954.

The article appears under the title of "Relatively Absolute".

of the Greeks; the Greeks never respected the harsh, materialistic Romans.

We did not get our legacy of science from Rome or Greece; we got it from Islam, the only people who invented it in all human history!

We should laugh at Russia's curious manoeuvres with inventors? We, who, because Islam was, at the time, the great and dangerous enemy, preferred to attribute their inventions to the long-conquered enemy, Rome and Greece? The early Christians hated Rome with a holy and burning hatred; read the New Testament's all-out villification of Rome! But that battle against Roman culture was long since won; it was safe, in 1400 C.E., to say that Romans and Greeks had been great and wise.

Islam was the enemy! They couldn't be wise or great!

So even a Czarist achievement is better than an American or French achievement in the eyes of the U.S.S.R.

Yes, I think we've played that same old game before. It has a familiar ring, even though the names are different. Some things that happen for the first time — aren't. Propaganda is much older than the word "propaganda". George Orwell's "Ministry of Truth" is much older than "1984".

If we hide the fact that Islam invented science, we will miss the area in which must be the unique force

The business about Islam, moreover, is important to the development of Mankind — because while Rome and Greece did not develop anything basically new, Islam did. And if we hide the fact that Islam, not Rome or Greece, invented science, we will miss the area in which must lie a unique force. Rome and Greece did not have that unique force; as pointed out above, many other peoples developed logic, mathematics and engineering. Studying Rome and Greece for the source-force that generated that unique thing, science, therefore, would lead to frustration. You won't be able to find it, no matter how finely you comb the records; it wasn't there in the first place.

The contribution of Islam has been heavily occluded by propaganda started in the age when the West and Islam were struggling. Actually most of our basic sciences are heavily larded with Arabic terminology. Chemistry has dropped the old Arabic prefix al- from its own name, but it retains it in alcohol — the Muslims invented distillation — and a number of other instances. The alembic is no longer used, but chemists need the Arabic numerals — borrowed from India — and algebra.

One of the major troubles was the chemists didn't borrow enough. Lavoissier is credited with introducing the balance into chemical investigations. But as early as the eighteenth century C.E. the Arab chemist Jabir Abou Mousa Dja'far al-Sofi reported that when metallic lead is heated and calcined in air, the resulting compound is heavier than the original metal. Somebody must have been using the balance a bit before Lavoissier thought of it.

Now at the time of Islam's greatest achievement, their influence extended from Spain to India. They were in contact with Hindu, Chinese and other civilizations. But, curiously, only two cultures in the history of mankind have either invented or accepted science. The highly-civilized Chinese neither invented it, nor accepted it from the Arabs. The Hindus, likewise, failed either to invent or accept it. The Christians didn't invent it — but they did accept it.

In this, I mean by "science" that method of learning that involves the equal interaction and cross-checking of philosophical-theoretical thought, and actual physical-reality experiments, done as a conscious process for the consciously stated purpose of increasing knowledge and understanding—that is, increasing data and relationship-of-data.

Islamic, Christian, Greek, Roman, Hindu, Judaic and Chinese civilizations and science

Why? Why only these two?

Unquestionably, in any system so complex as a human culture, there is more than one factor. But we can find a factor that is present in these two, and missing in the others that achieved greatly — but didn't achieve science.

The scientific cultures have an absolutistic philosophy—and a monotheistic philosophy. Remember that "religion" is, by derivation, the study of "the laws of things"—or "cosmology" in modern linguistic terms.

Both Islam and Christianity stem from the old Jewish philosophy of one God — an Absolute God, whose laws were absolute, and could be appealed only to the One Absolute God.

The Greeks were in a quite different universe. It didn't have any single set of laws or rules; if Zeus made a ruling, one you found irksome, you could try getting Athena or Poseidon or Aphrodite, maybe, to change it. If there was some curious phenomenon observed — observe it and forget it. The whim of a god isn't lasting; some other god will change it. The smart man will study texts on "The Psychology and the Rivalries of the Gods", because that's the only way to get anywhere.

If an ancient Greek observed that it took longer to boil an egg on top of a mountain than it did at sea level — so what? You fool, don't you know Zeus and Poseidon dislike each other? Poseidon rules water; Zeus rules the upper air. What do you think is going to happen to water when you take it up nearer the upper air? Naturally it doesn't work as well.

And if you study Platonic philosophy, and find that it has certain uncomfortably binding restrictions on your actions — why the Sophist school is just as logical. It just appeals to other gods — er, I mean other postulates — but it's just as logical, isn't it? And there's no need to stay with it, if it proves irksome; there are other philosophies, too.

A polytheistic cosology is not going to lead to the development of science. Science is, moreover, going to be a mighty unpopular philosophy in any culture; it has an absolutism about it that says, "It makes no difference who you are, what you are, or what you want. Neither does it matter what your wealth is, or your political power. These are The Laws; obey or suffer."

Why the Arabs invented science and the Jews and Christians did not

It could be considered, even only by a culture that had already accepted the idea of an Absolute Power in the Universe.

The great difficulty with that problem is that, once you've found that Absolutes do exist — you're apt to go sort of absolutistic about it, and say, "These are the Absolute Laws—and these are absolutely all the laws."

The Jewish people invented the monotheistic philosophy that made science possible — but they didn't invent science. They had too much of the absolute, perhaps. The Arabs were relatively absolute — and invented science.

Christians and Jews have done fine with it ever since; until very recently nobody else has been able to!

It rather looks, then, as though Einstein's relativity is an essential part of the philosophy necessary to developing science — but must be recognized as being necessary, but not sufficient. There is reason to believe that both relatives and absolutes are necessary to a developing science — that either, if held to be the Be All and End All of the matter, leads to stagnation and non-achievement.

Now it is interesting that the whole progress of science has centred around that area where there are Absolutes the areas where no man has a right to his own opinion. The progress made in the social sciences, where opinion has been dominant, and everything has been fanatically relative, has been very small indeed. Psychology claims to be a "young science"; we can go into that question some other time, but it's worth pointing out that Aristotle did a fine textbook on psychology, sociology and anthropology some two-thousandodd years ago. The Confessions of St. Augustine has a most thoughtful and intelligent study of guilt feelings. The Aesculapian priests of Greece were using narcosynthesis drug hypnotherapy — some twenty-five hundred years ago. The age of the Hindu Vedda is considerably disputed, but it's not much younger — and has considerable data on clinical psychosomatic medicine using hypnotherapy. There's really been astonishingly little progress in humanic sciences in the last few millennia.

The progress has all been in those areas where dear old Mother Nature took a club to man's thick skull, and said in effect, "This is the unit you'll use — whether you like it or not. Your opinion on the matter is completely unimportant. And yes, Tom, your opinion is just as good as Dick's or Harry's — and all three are no good whatever." Where Nature supplied absolutely non-relative units, like atoms and protons, science got somewhere.

Want to have some fun with the relativity formulas? Try taking some different units, and see what happens to them! The relativity formulas involve a lot of higher power terms — squares, cubes, and higher. If you take your unit of velocity not as centimetres per second, but as c, then all the higher-power terms of c reduce to 1.00, no matter what the power is. Then the v terms all become fractional, and higher powers of fractions are smaller values than the original fraction, whereas higher powers of quantities greater than 1,000 are increased by self-multiplication. By picking the right set of self-consistent units, you can make the most marvellous hash out of the relativity formulas — without altering the formulas an iota!

And if we've got a relativistic universe, with no absolutes in it, then I can play deuces-wild with the units. You start being relativastic, and I'll relativastic you right out of business! I'll make as much of a mess out of your science as the humanic scientists have made out of theirs! All I need is the right to make my choice of units purely a matter of personal preference!



VOCATION DE L'ISLAM, by Malek Bennabi. Editions de Seuil, Paris, 1954.

The author, Mr. Malek Bennabi, is an Algerian Muslim. He was born in Constantine, Algeria, in 1905. He is a regular contributor to the Algerian Muslim moderate Frenchlanguage weekly, la Republique Algeriènne (The Algerian Republic), Algiers. This journal represents the UDMA, or Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto — the Algerian Magna Charta, which was drawn up by the noted Algerian nationalist, Mr. Ferhat 'Abbas, and the Algerian intelligentsia in 1943 for the enlightenment of the Free French, the Americans and the British. Mr. 'Abbas has always acted as a champion of French language and culture as well as of equality for the Algerian Muslims with their French conquerors. Professor Ch. A. Jullien, the great Socialist historian of North Africa, a free thinker, has in a recent book maintained that the UDMA group is essentially a lay organization in spirit. It is interesting to know that Mr. Bennabi dispels this contention of Professor Jullien.

Mr. Bennabi gives an optimistic account of the Muslim renaissance he says is taking place. He attributes it largely to the effect of European colonialism, which acted like "dynamite" on the Muslims and revived them. The Muslims, according to the author, cannot go backwards or remain in the present state of stagnation they are living in; they must go forward. Mr. Bennabi is right when he main

tains that already there does exist a realization amongst the Muslims that they must overcome their difficulties and not try to avoid them or merely to sidetrack them. Mr. Bennabi, like others, notices that the Muslim youth of today is animated by a progressive spirit, but is also conscious of the fact that a materialist revolution or adoption of European modernism on Kemalist lines is bound to fail; for in the Muslim world the view is being expressed that Europe has forsaken morality for technique, and chaos resulted in the economic sphere in about 1930, and that no moral force has appeared to compel an immediate plan of economic redressment.

In talking of colonialism, Mr. Bennabi remarks that it is depriving the Europeans of their civilization by humiliating the colonized or subject peoples, that Europeans are isolating themselves from their own civilization. But on the other hand, he says, the subject peoples, and notably the Muslims, are reviving under the forceful impact of the West, and in such countries as Morocco the Muslims' revival only recently started taking place; for the Moroccans did not learn the lesson of Algeria, which came under French rule as long ago as 1830 (Morocco fell a prey to the French in 1912).

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Arabs in Palestine lay in the deplorable economic conditions prevalent in the Arab countries, and not primarily in the realm of politics or in the sphere of military strategy. Mr. Bennabi, in enlarging on this point, states that in Algeria there is a wide gap between the Muslim physician at the top of the social scale and the beggar at the bottom, and that there are practically no intermediary sections of the community to bridge this gap. He underlines the contentions of the Syrian ex-Premier, Dr. Nadim al-Kudsi, stressing the difference between the Pasha and the plebeian, the intellectual and the illiterate.

Thus, according to Mr. Bennabi, the Muslim renaissance must be the work of the Muslims themselves; in the chaos of today they cannot find salvation from outside. In this connection he talks especially of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, which he thinks was the one Muslim organization which appeared to have the requisite qualities for this work under the leadership of the Shaikh Hasan al-Banna, but in 1954 it showed political tendencies which were quite alien to its original purpose and which the author disapproves of.

This brings the author to the control of religious affairs in his country, Algeria, where the heads of the Muslim religion are appointed not by the Muslims themselves but by the French colonial administration. He institutes a comparison between the British and French methods in this regard.

The various Muslim revivalists and modernists such as Jemal al-Dine al-Afghani, the Shaikh 'Abduh and the late Shaikh 'Abdul Hamid Ibn Badis are favourably commented on. Ibn Badis, who founded the progressive 'Ulema movement in Algeria which destroyed the power of the so-called holy men or Marabouts, is described as an apostle of Arab unity who deplored the shedding of Arab blood during the hostilities between Sa'udi Arabia and the Yemen in 1934.

Mr. Bennabi, whose book was evidently published before the downfall of the Syrian military dictator, Lieut.-Colonel Adib Shishakly in 1954, is impressed by the victory of the Colonel over the "British Intelligence Service" in 1949. (This idea that the British overthrew the previous dictator, Marshal H. Za'im, is prevalent in French circles.)

This interesting and impressive book urges the Muslims to come out of their no-man's land and to remember that in the past the Crusaders borrowed from the Muslims.

THE ONE REMAINS, by Stewart Perowne. Published by Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1954. Price 20/-.

Mr. Stewart Perowne, who has a wide experience of the Near East and a great affection for the Arabs, has written an interesting book about Jerusalem — the city which commands the affection of the followers of three of the world's great religions. A part of the book deals with the history of Jerusalem from classical times, with a survey of its buildings and streets. But the most important part of the book is the one which deals with the problem of the Arab refugees and the attempts which are being made to alleviate the sufferings of these unfortunates.

The author describes in beautiful and vivid narrative his visits to Muslim friends during Ramadhan. "Sheikh Khalil's house was just outside the north-west corner of the Haram. From his door, we stepped down into the little passage that leads to the Gate of the Shepherds, by the former Tower of Antonia. Suddenly, as we rounded the corner, the Haram was before us, vast, peaceful, and bathed in an ice-blue light. Our next call was to be on the mufti, whose diwan was above the western cloister. On the way, we could look our fill upon the dim, shimmering glories of the Haram and the Dome of the Rock. By daylight the Dome is one of the most

beautiful buildings in the world; by moonlight it is so beautiful that it seems not to be of this world at all."

The author's romanticism gives way to some plain and hard words when he begins to discuss the problem of the refugees, a problem that has arisen since the fighting in Palestine nearly seven years ago.

Hundreds of Palestine Arab families were visited by poverty and distress, and they continue to suffer to this day. There are three categories of these sufferers: (1) those who "official refugees", (2) "economic refugees," and (3) the dwellers of the frontier towns. The "official refugees" are the charges of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency; many of them live in camps, some shelter in caves and ruined houses. But wherever they are they are only kept alive by a ration card. The ration card is a fetish, and every suggestion for the refugees' future is related to it. Camps, schools, clinics and hospitals is the outline of the work done by UNRWA. But, as Mr. Perowne says, these bare words give no idea of what their contribution is towards helping the sufferers. He writes with some indignation of the smallness of the supplies which UNRWA can give, and of the fact that the United Nations does not vote more money. The other type of Palestinian Arab refugees are the "economic refugees" — the business and professional classes who have lost everything and received no compensation. Finally, the dwellers in the frontier villages, whose moral depression is increased by the very nearness of their property from which they are excluded.

The book describes the work done by the Red Crescent, the Christian Churches and the voluntary organizations to assist the refugees. One of the most remarkable contributions to the relief of the refugees has come from Musa 'Alami, a man of deep humanity and uncompromising honesty, who disregarded pessimists and acquired 2,000 acres of desert and started to sink wells. The result has been to create a new oasis, and on this Musa 'Alami has built an industrial school — a "Boys' Village"

industrial school — a "Boys' Village".

Some of the most interesting chapters of the book are those in which Mr. Perowne describes the work that the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem is doing to organize the building of new villages by the refugees themselves. What was an experiment by the Bishop has now become a wonderful enterprise — a co-operative experiment with Arabs and Britons, Muslims and Christians, as partners. He analyses the difficulties encountered in this type of relief work and says that some of the refugees are bitterly resentful, refusing schemes for resettlement and insisting on returning to the homes from which the Jews have ousted them. Mr. Perowne speaks of an Arab politician who from a limousine adjured the refugees not to let the Arab cause down by leaving the lice-ridden caves. . . .

The book contains thirty-five excellent photographs.

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THE HEART OF AFRICA, by A. Campbell. Longman's, London, 1954. Price 21/-.

The writer, a Scottish journalist with many years' experience in Africa, has written a violent exposure of racial and colour prejudice. His objectivity is so great and his language so moderate that his exposure of this abomination, which is fortunately for Muslims a Christian prerogative, completely disarms his opponents. It is a fascinating book and although it lacks the intenseness of John Gunther's series, *Inside America*, etc., Mr. Campbell manages to give a great deal of factual information without overloading his readers with statistics.

On the boat out to South Africa he was conditioned to racial segregation when an acquaintance, a graduate from a Scottish university, Mr. Patel, attempted to fraternise with Mr. Campbell and his wife while on board ship. The white settlers from South Africa and Rhodesia soon "put him in his place", and the poor fellow was intimidated into eating his meals alone in a cabin. Needless to say, one of his worst persecutors was a near-white!

The author describes how the Zulus were played up against the Asian Asiatics. A very grim picture is drawn of Dr. Malan and the neo-Nazi-Fascist Boers.

Jomo Kenyatta emerges as a redoubtable figure prior to his arrest and the intensification of the Mau Mau campaign. It is amusing to read the mutual criticisms of the French of the Belgians and vice versa in Equatorial Africa.

This interesting and well-written book is valuable to the expert and to the layman. It is as readable as a good novel.



THE DUTCH SOVEREIGNTY OVER IRIAN Rumahsakit Umum-Ruang 2, Koetaradja,

Atjeh, Sumatra, Indonesia. 31st January 1955.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'alaikum!

I read with interest Mr. Bagot's excellent article on "Indonesia's Rights Over Western Irian", published in *The Islamic Review* for November 1954. The writer says that Mr. R. G. Casey, the Australian Foreign Minister, "is extremely polite in writing about the Indonesians but firm in his rejection of their cause". As a matter of fact, I cannot accept this explaining away about Mr. Casey, so long as he and his Government are still supporting Holland in the dispute over the western half of New Guinea with the Republic of Indonesia.

In my view, this is the only blot in Mr. Bagot's otherwise cogently written article concerning us.

Here I am reminded of an anecdote about a pack of hungry lions who went out in search of prey. The Dutch left their small country wandering to seek profit in the East. Fortunately they scored a great success in getting "a prey" in the form of about 4,000 inhabited islands in the great archipelago which stretches for more than 3,000 miles around the Equator. After oppressing and enjoying of "the prey", which was in reality much larger than their own "cave" in Europe, for a period of about 350 years, "the lions" were forced by circumstances to release a great part of "the prey" (i.e., the present Republic of Indonesia), whereas another part (i.e., the western half of New Guinea which is known by her original name, Irian Barat) still remained in their strong claws. "The lions" endeavoured to spread the lie that their act of maintaining the rest of their former great prey in the East was for no other purpose than that of "development" of the prey itself. That, of course,

is the natural manner of the "lions" as beasts of prey to hide their guilt.

I therefore take the liberty to tell the world, especially my Muslim brothers and sisters and my fellow-Asians, that it is indeed a lie which has been, and is still being propagated by "the lions". What they really mean by "development" of Irian Barat is nothing more than the construction of military barracks and aerodromes for the use of their army and air force. It is true to say that within the last five years there have been erected in Irian Barat more barracks and aerodromes than anything else which could be of use to the natives themselves.

So as to corroborate my views, I would like to quote a few lines from Mr. G. H. Neville-Bagot's article. Mr. Bagot wrote: "In 1953 there were 24,099 children in village schools and 1,655 in continuation schools. The report states that in 1953 there were no autochtons as yet with a secondary or academic education. This is the situation in West Irian after more than 120 years of Dutch rule!"

In conclusion, I am suggesting to my Muslim brothers and sisters and all fellow-Asians from all over the world to protest against this illegal settlement of the Dutch in the western half of New Guinea, because it is not only the quarrel between Holland and Indonesia but also the dispute between Western imperialism and Asiatic independence movements which are now spreading in all oppressed Asiatic countries.

If any readers find my opinions contradicting their own, they are quite welcome to discuss this with me in a friendly manner in both English and Dutch. I shall look forward to receiving such letters with interest.

Yours in Islam,

T. TJOET M. HOESSAIN. (Ex-soldier of the Indonesian National Army).

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