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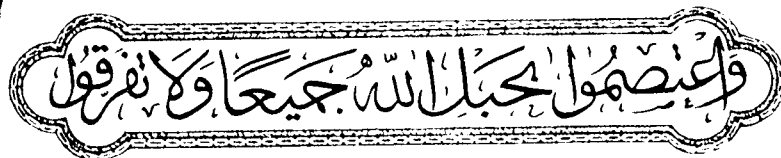
September - October 1965

THE
ISLAMIC REVIEW

WOKING ENGLAND

53rd YEAR OF PUBLICATION

THREE SHILLINGS



"O ye who believe!... and hold fast to the pact of God all together, and split not"
(The Qur'an 3:103)

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THE CONTRIBUTORS

The late al-Hajj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din d. 1931 C.E.), a Pakistani Muslim, is the founder of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Woking, England.

Dr. Muhammad Fadhel Jamali, an Iraqi Muslim, is a Professor in the University of Tunis, Tunisia.

James Dickie, M.A., a Muslim Scotsman, is preparing his thesis on Hispano-Arab poetry for his Ph.D. degree at Cairo University.

Professor A. J. Toynbee is the celebrated author of *A Study of History*, in 10 volumes

Daniel da Cruz is an American expert on the Middle East affairs.

Shakib Khelil, an Algerian Muslim, is a student of Ph.D. in Mineral Economic and Management in the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.

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SEPTEMBER — OCTOBER 1965

53rd YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Editors } **ABDUL MAJID, M.A.**
 } **BASHIR AHMAD MISRI, B.A.**

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

The Islamic Review

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

"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

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ISLAMIC CONFERENCES

Islamic conferences have now become a regular feature of the Muslim world. Till before 1950 there were records of only five international Islamic conferences in modern times. Two were held at Mecca, one at Jerusalem, one at Geneva and the fifth one at Karachi, Pakistan. The first of these conferences was held at Mecca in 1898 and convened by a Syrian scholar, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (d. 1902), on the occasion of the Hajj of that year. The conference, however, was attended by representatives of Arab countries only. The main purpose seems to have been to arouse public opinion against the autocratic Ottoman rule in the Arab lands. It is surmised, with some justification, that this conference was never held. The despotic rule of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abdul Hamid, who could not tolerate freedom of speech and expression within his dominion, made al-Kawakibi realize the danger he was face to face with. Al-Kawakibi left an imaginary record of the doings of this conference. Nevertheless, to al-Kawakibi goes the everlasting credit of having conceived the pregnant idea of a conference which would mobilize the Muslim world against the rising tide of European imperialism which had by then at least politically swallowed up the whole of the Muslim world, and signs were also not wanting to show that it was heading rapidly towards its spiritual liquidation. Such was the political atmosphere of the world when the idea of an Islamic conference was born.

But we hear of no other conference till 1927 when a second conference was convened, once again at Mecca and also on the Hajj occasion. In this international conference Muslim countries took part. This conference was preceded by another minor conference called by the Azhar University authorities in 1927. The Cairene Conference does not seem to have evoked the same response as the one held at Mecca a few months later. A few years later, in 1931, a third international Muslim conference was convoked at Jerusalem by the Grand Mufti of Palestine, al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, in view of the ever-growing menace of Zionism to the entity of Palestine. At this conference all Muslim countries were represented.

The fourth international Muslim conference was called at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1934, by the late Shakib Arslan of Syria, who lived in exile and crusaded vehemently all his life against the French occupation of his country and Western imperialism, which by then had made its sway complete everywhere in the Muslim world. This conference had the distinction of being attended more than any of its predecessors by Muslim representatives from European countries. The fifth international Muslim conference (*al-Mo'tamar al-Islami*) was held at Karachi in February 1949, that is to say, within two years of the establishment of Pakistan. Delegates from 18 Muslim countries took part in its deliberations.

The emergence of Pakistan gave a fillip to the idea of holding frequent international Muslim conferences, which were now being sponsored by governments and private individuals and public bodies. Thus there came into existence the International Islamic Economic Conference sponsored by the Government of Pakistan. It held its first session at Karachi in December 1949 and the second and the last in October 1950 at Teheran, Iran. It is to be regretted that a body interested in economic co-operation amongst the Muslim countries could not fasten its feet.

A little later the three heads of State — Pakistan, Egypt and Su'udi Arabia — organized a joint Muslim conference with its permanent headquarters at Cairo. This conference was devised to hold its annual session at Mecca at the time of the Hajj. But owing to political differences it did not make much headway, and soon after became moribund. The underlying cause of the failure of this conference, the International Economic Conference, like its predecessor, was the fact that although the world of Islam had wrested its political freedom from its foreign masters, it had not yet found its soul.

During 1951 and 1961 further conferences were held in which more and more Muslims from all parts of the Muslim world came to take part. As a rule politics dominated the deliberations of these conferences. During this period yet another conference, also like its namesake of Karachi called

al-Mo'tamar al-Islami, came into being. Its principal aim was the liberation of Pakistan. This conference was organized by the dynamic personality of Dr. Sa'id Ramadhan of the Islamic Centre of Geneva, Switzerland. It held its sessions sometimes in Damascus and sometimes in Jerusalem, the movement of the venue depending upon the political climate of Syria and Jordan. The World Muslim Conference of Karachi, which had been in abeyance for a number of years since 1950, held its third international session in Baghdad in June 1962 under the patronage of the then Prime Minister of Iraq, the late General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim.

After 1961 the idea of holding international Muslim conferences seems to have gained momentum. By then there were in existence five international Muslim conferences under different names — one at Karachi, the second at Jerusalem and Geneva, the third at Mecca, the fourth at Cairo and the fifth at Djakarta. With the exception of the International Conference of Jerusalem and Geneva all held their sessions in 1964 and 1965. The one based on Mecca known as *al-Rabitah al-Islamiyyah* (the Muslim World League), and the World Muslim Conference (*al-Mo'tamar al-Islami*) held their sessions in 1962 within a fortnight of each other! The result was that delegates and sponsors overlapped and much common ground was covered twice over.

While all the other conferences are politically dominated and concentrate their time and energies on hardy political issues and grievances, the *Rabitah al-Islamiyyah* of Mecca distinguishes itself in being religiously orientated with the express aim of preaching the mission of Islam and explaining its principles. Its governing body consists of twenty-one divines drawn from many Muslim countries. It has published, besides many other books, a magnificent English translation of the Holy Qur'an from the pen of the well-known European Muslim scholar Muhammad Asad, under the title of *The Message of the Quran* (Mecca, 1965). This translation will go a long way towards removing many of the cobwebs that the Muslims have created for themselves in their brains. We hope to revert to this distinctive aspect of Mr. Asad's translation in our next issue.

So far so good. For these conferences augur for a promising future for the world of Islam. But it is time that it is not forgotten that it would be a great mistake to seek solace and pride in their increasing number. It cannot escape the notice even of a casual observer of the proceedings and deliberations of these conferences over the last quarter of a century that their resolutions seem to concur only in one thing — in fighting anti-imperialism. But as to the internal problems such as the future of the *Shari'ah* law and the relation between the State and Islam, they are either pushed aside owing to more pressing political issues and grievances, or if at all discussed, resolutions in regard to them are couched in too general terms. We know, for instance, that the *Shari'ah* law is kept by some Muslim countries while others have dropped it partially or altogether. In neither of these fields the various conferences seem to have expressed any guidance which will have any impact on Muslim thought and behaviour. As to some social problems like birth control, polygamy, divorce, insurance, interest, etc., resolutions which are passed contradict more often than not the views of other sister conferences and laws of some Muslim countries.

Here we instance some resolutions and recommendations of the Second Congress of the Academy of Islamic Research held at Cairo on 13 May to 26 May 1965, at which thirty-five Muslim countries were represented. It will be noticed that in the matter of personal status the views of the Cairene Academy are in open contradiction to the Family Laws of Pakistan of 1958 and its views on birth control.

Polygamy

"The Conference decided that polygamy is admissible according to the unequivocal Quranic texts and subject to the conditions stipulated therein. The exercise of this right is left to the discretion of the husband and does not depend on the permission of the Qadi.

Divorce

"The Conference decided that divorce is subject to the limitations of the Islamic law, divorce is permissible and the divorce is effective without the permission of the Qadi.

Birth Control

"The Conference decided as follows :

"1. Islam is desirous of increasing the offspring for it strengthens the Islamic nation socially, economically, militarily, and strengthens its dignity and defence.

"2. Birth control is to be resorted to only in cases of absolute necessity and this is a matter that is left to the parties concerned to decide upon such a necessity. As regards to what constitutes necessity, this is a matter which rests purely with the conscience and religious feeling of the individual.

"3. From the religious viewpoint it is not permissible to frame laws enabling individuals to practice birth control in any manner.

"4. Abortion of a child in the womb with a view to controlling birth or adopting means which lead to barrenness or sterilization are practices contrary to Islamic law and nor is it permissible to the spouses or any other bodies.

"The Conference recommends the enlightening of the citizens and assisting them in regard to this subject. . . .

Upbringing of Youth

"First : Islamic view as regards individual and collective slavery.

"Islam promulgated the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, honouring mankind irrespective of colour or race. The institution of slavery was widely prevalent amongst all nations prior to the advent of Islam, and Islam through various means discouraged and abolished it, and this constituted a part of the teaching of Islam.

"The practice of slave trade that existed during the Middle Ages and what was practised by pirates and kidnappers following the Middle Ages was strictly abhorred by Islam and slave trade was considered a deviation from true religion.

"Hence, the Conference records that Islam recognizes no slavery in any part of the world and in the name of Islam the Conference denounces every attempt of infringement of the natural rights of mankind whether individuals or communities and considers any attempt at slavery as more sinful and criminal than the ancient individual slavery. The Conference exhorts all Muslims to resist any pressure, infringement or aggression upon the rights of individuals or nations and such resistance is considered as a Holy War called by religion and the Islamic Call necessitates it. . . .

"Second : The foundation of Islamic civilization and its effect upon the happiness and prosperity of mankind.

"The Conference records that Islam is a faith, law and civilization. It is a religion of the advancement of civilization and a law for life in all its aspects. . . ."

GOD and HIS ATTRIBUTES

The Opening Chapter of the Holy Qu'ran

The Holy Qu'ran is the first holy book that draws our attention to the principle of Evolution at work

By The late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din

The importance of the Opening Chapter of the Qur'ân

"All praise and thanksgiving is for God — the Creator and Maintainer of the Worlds; the Beneficent (in giving free gifts); the Most Merciful (in giving manifold rewards for every good action). The owner of the time of Requital. Thee do we serve and to Thee do we look for help (as the last resort). Guide us on the right path — the path of those who are blessed: not of those who have invited Thy wrath, and the misled."

What a wonderful piece of literary composition! What a miracle in language! Seven short verses only, but comprehensive enough to include the whole of the Qur'ân and called, for this reason, the Mother of the Book; few words, but each word equivalent to a volume, pregnant with truths to serve as our surest guides on all planes — physical, social, economical, intellectual, moral and spiritual.

At the very outset it speaks of Allah, the name given to God by the Arabs, together with four other attributive names which lead us to a belief in the existence of the Deity, based on intelligence and reason; referring indeed even to quite recent discoveries of science which distinctly tend to promote such belief. These names not only do away with all those attributes of Divinity current in other religions, attributes which are repugnant to reason and intelligence, but make of God our Guide and Model in the pursuits of everyday life. It is clear that if someone is the Author of this beautiful and beneficent universe He is the One Who should be followed by us in every way. In short, the chapter is a summary of the whole Qur'ân. It gives us a code of life, a code wide enough to bring within its purview all that is necessary for human thought and action in the way of advancement. It presents a religious creed to which no one who has studied nature and its phenomenon with care and observation can take exception! To whatever creed or class we may belong, we need a code of life, and such a code, in its most perfect form, will be found in these verses.

The history of progress of mankind begins with the acceptance of the fact that there exist laws ruling everything in nature

Humanity could not make even the semblance of progress while it believed that the universe was a haphazard product, the result of mere chance. Today we realize that the world was designed for our use and benefit, and it is our belief in such a design that urges us to research in its various avenues. But the very idea of design leads us to believe in the existence of a Designer, and next, in the fixed nature of the ways which He has adopted in working out His scheme. This would facilitate our task of research. The Qur'ân has, when it is a case of essential verities, never left us to the mercy of hypothesis or surmises, but gives cogent reasons to establish the validity of each. It comes, therefore, with strong arguments for the existence of the Designer, but shows us also that it is to our own interest to cultivate a belief in the

Deity. The history of progress begins with our acceptance of the fact that there exist laws ruling everything in nature. It is for us to discover these laws and through them achieve wonders in the way of progress. The very idea of law creates belief in the Law-Giver, and so we cannot make any progress unless we believe in the existence of the Supreme Being.

The Qur'anic conception of God makes it impossible for any sceptic to disbelieve in the existence of God

The world has never been free from atheism. It is more the wrong conception of Divine Attributes than the existence of the Lord itself that gives birth to scepticism. We are asked to hold beliefs by some persuasions, the very acceptance of which is an insult to our intelligence, otherwise no one can take exception to the first intelligent cause who decidedly works in the universe all around. Nature exhibits some morals that appear to belong to an Intelligent Being, we must look to the observance of these laws in the Universe, particularly those affecting our creation and sustenance. We would willingly follow them if they constitute a religion just as we follow the will of a person, out of gratitude, if we are under his obligation in some way. The Qur'ân came with this gospel, and it therefore serves as a real consolation to the secular Church.

It, however, may be rightly asked how we can follow in the ways of the Lord when we do not believe in His existence. Though science in its initial stages created an atheistic bent of mind, it has now taken a new turn. It is more an advocate of Divine existence than otherwise. The world has never been free from atheism, and though it had existed from all times, yet no sacred Book, until the coming of Islam, had tried to refute it. The Buddhist literature makes no mention of the Deity. Other books, though devoted to Him, give no reasons to prove His existence. Therefore in these circumstances it was natural that a scientific mind should have sown the seeds of atheism. It came to its full growth in the first half of the last century, but received a severe check when it became known that scientific research had begun to discover certain laws at work in nature. It was also observed that though these were apparently at conflict yet, as often as not, they all served the one end. "Monism" was the name given to the phenomenon of harmony in the working of this heterogeneous mass. Further exploitation revealed in nature intellect, power, rule and design, and ultimately the evolutionary principles at work in the universe. This led men to believe in the existence of One Great Mind working behind the scene Who furthered the great Scheme. Thus the idea of God became established but in a most hazy manner, inasmuch as some were found to contend that these things could just as well be the inherent qualities of matter exhibiting themselves in the course of its development without the agency of any Mind. The Qur'ân, however, dealt with the subject from an angle which made it impossible for any sceptic to disbelieve honestly in the Mind. The Qur'ân did not only lay down logical premises and then

deduce inferences wherewith to preach Divinity, since this method, scholarly and precise as it might be, would not suit every type of intellect ; but it also spoke directly of God and referred to such phenomenon in nature as were too apparent to leave any doubt concerning Him. The Qur'án adopted various ways of achieving this purpose, but I would speak here only of those things out of many, which also comprehended the above-mentioned verities as discovered by science.

The rule of law obtaining in the world

The rule of law obtaining in the world is repeatedly alluded to in the Qur'án, and has been described in the clearest terms as a work of God. " Everything in the heavens and in earth," the Qur'án says, " submits to Him voluntarily and in voluntarily " (3 : 82). No one can fail to observe that things in nature are, as it were, bound to pursue a course prescribed for them by someone Who had been styled Allah in



The late Khwaja Kamal ud-Din (d. 1931 C.E.)

the Qur'án. By way of illustration it refers to the mightiest things and every other luminary moving in the ethereal firmament as being bound with the chains of law (The Qur'án, 36 : 38) as being unable to swerve an inch from the orbit of revolution allotted to them. Though moving very near to each other, they never come in each other's way. This, the Qur'án says, is under the decree of the Lord Who is All-Mighty and All-Knowing (36 : 38). The Qur'án also defines the time when this rule began. No sooner were the things necessary for their further development created, than the law was at once ordained to guide them (The Qur'án, 25 : 1).

The Qur'án is the first book that draws our attention to the principle of evolution at work in the creation of all things

The Holy Qur'án is the first book that draws our attention to the principle of evolution at work in the creation

of all things. There was nothing haphazard about it ; any question of things coming into existence suddenly of their own accord, as it were, hardly arises. There was first a design, then arrangement of original things before their combination ; next, they were put in the course which they had to follow through several stages of development till they reached the final goal. The Qur'án also spoke of the various faculties reposed in the original ingredients, which were disclosed gradually in the course of evolution. It established the working of a ground scheme under the ever vigilant eye of its Maker, through thousands of years in some cases, in order to bring things to their final fruition. The Holy Qur'án ascribed all this to the One Great God (20 : 52 : 80 : 19, 27-32).

Monism

The discovery of Monism had to wait for some fifty years before the idea of God dawned on men of science. It was the discovery of the mind working in nature which, together with belief in Monism, established Monotheism. But the Qur'án spoke, at the same time, of the Great Designer, wherever it referred to monism ; which was declared to be a part of the scheme. The Qur'án, for instance, announces that all that is in the heavens and the earth is subservient to man (45 : 15). From the mightiest sun (14 : 23-33) down to the insignificant atom, everything is created to serve one main object : the service of man. How could this grand purpose be attained if there were more than one hand to work it out? Not even the imagination of all the poets could depict or suggest harmony in the ancient deities. The divinities in Greek or Indian mythology had always some apple of discord to set them by the ears. Again, the Qur'án refers to various other phenomena in nature that work apart from each other in different spheres which nevertheless converge to the same one end — the service of man. In chapter 2, verse 196, it cites the coming of the rain, which helps us in the production of crops, and traces its origin from the very beginning when the heavens and the earth were created. The latter was made to stand on its axis at a certain angle, and this caused the alternation of day and night. From the torrid regions of the earth water evaporated upwards, and when cold winds came to occupy the vacuum thus made, the vapours became condensed into clouds which were spread about by the blowing of the winds. These clouds came in the form of rain to fertilize the earth everywhere. The same blowing of the winds, on the other hand, helped the navigation on the sea, which, too, produced its treasures for our profit. Thus we find several laws working in spheres far distant from each other to achieve these results. The laws often conflict in their functions, but for all that they are tending to the same end. This is the conclusion as stated in the Qur'án 2 : 163 : " Your God is One God — the Beneficent and the Merciful ". Thus monism and oneness of design, which should be spoken of as it were in one breath, establish monotheism in an unassailable manner.

The Qur'án refers to complementary and supplementary relations existing between things in nature, and makes mention of the purposes for which they have been created ; their propriety, fitness and to the perfection of their fashioning. These four features may be possessed by matter, but it cannot display them unless it comes under the operation of the Mind. The Qur'án always speaks of them as instruments to work out some deliberate design. Let me refer to water again in this regard. By means of water our nourishment comes from the heavens, and that nourishment is one of its chief purposes. It travels thousands of miles towards a new sphere of action — the earth which is ready to receive it in the most proper manner for the purpose. How can an inanimate

thing become complementary to another thing from which it is far apart, while that other thing supplements the latter's shortcomings in producing the harvest, unless some mind intends that this should be so. The water comes in a most appropriate form, not in a huge volume, as in the case of floods when it would wash the earth of all seeds and gravel which is so necessary for cultivation, but gently dropping, since moisture is the chief requisite for growth of verdure, and water cannot moisten clay unless it comes in the form of drops which trickle down gently in its recesses, and the earth, on the other hand, cannot retain the moisture if its volume be ponderous.

Some Arabic words used in the Qur'an in connection with its conception of God

Perfection is observable everywhere. Everything in nature is free from defect and flaw ; and contains nothing which is evil. Even man with all his inordinancy was born with a sinless nature. Nevertheless, perfection in things is no mere chance. It is something designed. Had things reached their final stage as a direct growth from their origin, one might perhaps think otherwise, but a most complicated process is to be observed in nature before things attain perfection. No sooner do incipient specks emanate than they come under a long series of collocations specializing new ingredients at each stage of their journey to the goal. Innumerable things are blended together to secure perfection. It has already been shown that ingredients cannot combine with each other unless they come under the control of a mind. The phenomenon presents a very mighty and wise law extending to the limits of the universe, which knows not only the whereabouts of the original ingredients, but also wields power over them to bring them to the required place so that they may mix with other ingredients. They combine in prescribed proportion and follow a given course. If such things may be taken as an index of the mind of their Maker, He must be pure of evil and imperfection, and possess all that is good. Science tells us the same regarding the course which things pursue in order to become perfect. The Holy Qur'an refers to these prominent features in the following verse :

“ Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth declares the *Tasbih* (glorification) of God ; the King, the Pure, the Mighty, the Wise ” (62 : 1).

We also read the same in 59 : 1-24 and 51 : 1. On another occasion the Qur'an says :

“ Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth declares the *Tasbih* (glorification) of God ; to Him belongs the Kingdom and to Him is due all *Hamd* (praise) and He has power over all things ”.

The current translation of *Tasbih* and *Hamd*, “ glorification ” and “ praise ” is not adequate, as the English words do not convey the real significance of the words. *Tasbih* means to declare that God is free from all evil and error, *Hamd* that He possesses all that is good. No one can deny the truth of these verses as science will confirm it word for word. They are sufficient to prove the working of the mind on matter in creating the cosmos. The Qur'an also refers to four other functions of the mind observable in the creation of everything. They are *Takhliq*, *Taswiyah*, *Taqdir* and *Hidayah*, which again cannot adequately be rendered into English. I will, therefore, explain them. *Takhliq* is the infinitive of *Khalq* which generally means creation. But it signifies three other different functions, namely, the shaping, the combining and fixing the proportions into which incipient things have to combine in

order to create new things. In other words, the work of creation synchronizes with these three things, though they, in a way, precede creation. Combination is the first thing in origination, when shape and proportion are designed. It creates something which in its turn combines with other created things. So the process of combination and creation continues until things take their designed shape at their final development on the earth. Combination is the first process in creation, coming, as it does, immediately after emanation. But matter itself cannot combine unless it comes under the operation of some mind. Electricity, for instance, is created when a metal combines with an acid. Both the elements are in our possession, but they themselves cannot mix with each other unless we combine them for the purpose. How can electricity come into existence in the clouds if there is no mind to combine the elements in the upper regions? Similarly, hydrogen and oxygen combined become water. We have got them both here, but they never combine with each other. How wonderful of the Qur'an to refer to the very action of *Khalq*, i.e. the combination, when speaking of the existence of God.

Taswiyah means the reposing of the various faculties in the ingredients of things which disclose them in the various stages of evolution through which they pass before their final development. *Taqdir* is the prescribing of laws which rule creation in the various stages.

Hidayah means guidance to things for observing the proportion in which they have to mix and the way they have to pursue in the evolutionary course from the beginning to the end. These four functions clearly prove the existence of mind. They work in nature. They cannot be the qualities of matter. In short, the said four names act as the best guide in building up life, so that it may excel physically, morally and spiritually.

The singular feature of the connotation of the Arabic word “Allah”

The word “Allah” is very eloquent in the whole religious literature of the world. The word has, from the very beginning, been used by the Arabs as a proper name signifying the Deity. Even in the days of ignorance, when they practised the worst type of polytheism, the Arabs never applied this sacred name to any other object of adoration. They worshipped different gods from time to time, but always reserved the name of Allah for the One, Whom they regarded as a Spirit, presiding, as it were, over the Arab pantheon. In this respect this holy word differs from all like words in any other language that stand for God. They may be used as common names to be applied to God as well as to things, or persons other than God. For instance, *God* in English, *Khudawand* in Persian, *Sahibji* in Panjabi, *Phia* in Burmese, etc., are often used for God, but they also denote various objects of adoration, as well as men of rank and position, but Allah is a species of a proper name. It may be taken as meaningless in itself as some grammarians hold, but like other proper names, it possesses certain attributes. These verses speak of four, but their significance brings within their scope the other ninety-six attributes given in the Qur'an. It should not, however, be forgotten that this sacred list in the Qur'an is in no sense exhaustive. The Lord possesses many qualities that stand far beyond number and imagination. These hundred names are such as can be read in the pages of nature. We can perceive them and, to a certain extent, imitate them. In this sense we have been spoken of as prototypes of God and we have been asked to assume His colours and imbue ourselves with the Divine character, otherwise even the working of these Qur'anic names baffles our ingenuity. Take an instance. *Al-*

The names (attributes) of God as mentioned in the Qur'an are meant for our contemplation with a view to perfecting our behaviour

My surprise knows no bounds when I think of the Divine economy in the selection of these names for our contemplation. Not only do they serve the purpose of theology, but they are comprehensive enough to bring within their scope all that is needed to guide us through all conceivable avenues of human activity, and perfect our civilization. They are our guide in mundane affairs, in ethics, in economics, in morals and in spiritualities.

Whatever branch of life we may enter upon, we find in these names the surest of guidance. We may entertain any belief or belong to any persuasion we cannot dispense with good character and actions. We must therefore receive from the Muslim formula of faith our inspiration for them. We must keep Allah (God) always before our eyes. We should remember His attributes as given in the Qur'an through our actions. For this reason we find hardly any page in the Qur'an that does not make mention of the Lord.

There is, however, another reason for it. We have been declared in the Qur'an as the viceregents of God on the earth. Nature discloses the best of civilization. If it is the work of God we can as well command the highest progress if we represent Him in a proper manner. But how can we do so unless we appear in His colours? The Qur'an, therefore, declares it to be our religion. This also explains why the Qur'an insists upon our belief in the Oneness of God. We cannot serve two masters nor act as lieutenant of the two rulers. Besides, if the perfection of our character lies in our imitation of God's attributes, how can we afford to be polytheist? We, no doubt, have passed the days of ignorance, when we used to bow down before such effigies as we made with our own hands, but the worst type of polytheism, according to Qur'anic teachings, lies in obeying our low behests. They lead us to do what is contrary to the requirements of these excellent names. How can we win favour with the Lord with such tendencies? If Divine forgiveness depends on our repentance from misdeeds — the fruits of polytheism as explained here — then its follower cannot claim it. The Qur'an asks us to approve our Lord through these names, which means that we cannot obtain any audience with Him if our actions deviate from the requirements of the names. But in doing so, we shall be doing all that is needed to perfect our

progress. What a wonderful arduous task has the Qur'an come to perform! It comes to give us a religion, but it makes our progress to be our religion. It asks us to worship God, but it proposes that we should adore Him by following such of His names as will perfect our civilization. Let the moralists on one side and the people of culture and progress on the other contemplate on these Qur'anic names, and see if they can find a better code of life.

Why the attributes of God are called "excellent names" of God

The Qur'an properly calls these attributes excellent names, thus negating the association of God with any form of evil. It is a blasphemy even to imagine that God is the author of evil. Evil is born when we abuse a thing which is meant for good. Evil is the misapplication of things that are really good. Similarly, every attribute that the Qur'an ascribes to God can create evil if misused. For instance, we read of God as the Possessor of Love. But love has got its wicked side too, if we yield to the dictates of lust. God is Merciful. But mercy becomes murder in the words of Shakespeare when we forgive those who kill others. He is the All-Giver. But His blessings will create laziness and sloth, if they are showered undeservedly, and the same may be said concerning other attributes. It reminds me of Nietzsche's Superman. According to him, he who subjects others to his will and knows how to make others do what he wants is the Superman. The conception is perhaps a beautiful one, but it suggests the idea of arrogance and self-will. A person may have a wrong angle of vision, and so cause immense harm to society. Moreover, the philosopher's definition of "Superman" is not exhaustive. We require other things to perfect our character. We find two names in the Qur'anic list of Divine attributes which satisfy the best aspects of the Superman theory. They are *al-Qahhar* (7 : 39 ; 13 : 16 ; 36 : 85 ; 39 : 4) and *al-Jabbar* (59 : 23). Both the words have the same meanings but with different shades. The attributes signify a person who can bring others to subjection and compel them to do what he wishes. But it *must be for the good of the person so compelled, which idea is wanting in the Superman conception*. But these are only two attributes of the Qur'anic Superman. There are 98 others. Islam has taken another precaution in the use of these names. The prefix *al* is always used before them in Muslim literature. *Al*, of course, is the definite article in Arabic, but in the case of the attributes it suggests that they are to be taken in the best form.

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The Unity of the Muslims in the World¹

By Dr. Muhammad Fadhel Jamali

"Islam did not come for any particular group of men or people. It came for all men everywhere. Its message of unity, brotherhood and peace must reach all mankind. There is no ideology and no faith which is as inclusive and harmonizing and inter-relating of man and nature to the Creator as Islam. The unity amongst men who are subject to one natural and moral law, serving the one great Creator, is the essence of Islam"

Why the issue of the unity of Muslims is more important than ever before

It gives me great pleasure to speak to you today of the unity of the Muslims in the world. It is one of the few topics that is close to my mind and heart today.

To be a Muslim one has to believe in unity, for it is one of the fundamental teachings of Islam.

But the issue of unity has become more vital and significant due to the developments in the modern world — developments brought about by science and inventions which are revolutionizing the whole life of man by means of construction and by techniques of destruction.

The unity of the Muslim world becomes very important as a great factor contributing to world peace and harmony. We are fully aware that the world is dominated by giant powers antagonistic to each other. Any clash between these powers may lead to a world-wide catastrophe and the end of humanity. It is up to the Muslims to unite and show the troubled world a new ideology and a new way of life which leads to international harmony and welfare.

The world today is invaded by materialistic ideologies which deny the spiritual heritage of man and his individual worth. Muslims, if united by the fundamental principles and teachings of Islam, can show the falsehood and defects of these invading ideologies by providing a better way of life, more just, more moral, and much fuller, richer and abundant. The Muslims themselves certainly need to unite in order to survive and in order to promote their own political, economic, moral and spiritual life. Thus the unity of the Muslims becomes vital today, not for the Muslims alone, but for humanity at large.

Let us consider now the meaning and importance of unity in Islam.

Islam is the religion of unity. The fundamental principle of Islam is the unity of God. And from the unity of God follows the unity of the laws of the universe which should lead to the unity of man. It is for this reason that faith in One Almighty Creator becomes so significant for all humanity, for it leads, on the one hand, to a comprehension of the organic unity and inter-relation of the creation, which is the basis of modern science, and it should also lead to inter-

national understanding, peace and harmony amongst peoples.

Those who enter the religion of Islam naturally enter a human unity, for the Muslims are instructed by the Qur'an to feel as one organic whole. They should form one organic body, each individual being an organ of that body. If one organ suffers, the whole body suffers, and if one is strengthened, its strength contributes to the strength of the whole.

A few verses of the Qur'an on the unity of Muslims

I need only give you a few examples of the teachings of the Qur'an with regard to the significance of Muslim unity :

"Surely this is your community of faith, it is *one* community, and I am your Lord, therefore worship Me" (21 : 92).

"Surely those who divided their religion into parts and become sects, you have no concern with them ; their affair is only with God, then He will inform them of what they did" (6 : 160).

Islam enjoins us to be united. The Holy Qur'an states :

"And hold fast by the pact of God and be not disunited, and remember the favour of God on you when you were enemies, then he united your hearts so by his favour you became brethren . . ." (3 : 102).

The Qur'an also emphasizes Islamic brotherhood by saying :

"The believers are but brethren, therefore make peace between your brethren and be careful of your duty to God that mercy may be rendered unto you" (49 : 10).

Islam certainly forbids disunity and quarrels among Muslims. The Holy Qur'an says :

"And obey God and his Messenger and do not quarrel, for then you will be weak in heart and your power will depart, and be patient, surely God is with the patient" (8 : 46).

It was by obeying the commands of the Qur'an and by being united by faith that the Muslims achieved their glory and spread the faith from the Atlantic Ocean to the walls of China. There was a time when Muslim unity and brotherhood was a reality. A traveller from Muslim Spain could move through North Africa to Egypt, go to Mecca and Medina for pilgrimage, then go east to Damascus, Baghdad, Iran, Turkestan, Afghanistan and India with no passport and no frontiers to cross. He would feel at home and find free hospitality wherever he went.

¹ Being the text of a lecture delivered at Zurich, Switzerland.

The dawn of a new spirit in the Muslim world

Unfortunately, through quarrels and disunity, the Muslims were divided, and their division made them fall prey to foreign domination. While the West moved in the path of science and freedom, the Muslim peoples fell into slumber and subjugation. But modern science and invention, especially the means of transportation and communication, have awakened the Muslim world again. There is certainly a new spirit evolving in the world of Islam. As a result, most Muslim lands have recently achieved political independence.

In 1955 I attended the Asian African Conference at Bandung. While there I attended the Friday prayers in the great mosque. I felt quite at home with my Muslim brethren of Indonesia in that mosque. Fifty years ago I could not have dreamed of visiting Indonesia. At Bandung I called on the great Indonesian Muslim leader, Muhammad Natsir, at his home. After exchanging views about the present and future



Dr. Muhammad Fadhel Jamali

of Islam I was struck by the identity of our views although I had lived in Baghdad and Muhammad Natsir in Indonesia.

After Bandung I paid a visit to Jogjakarta, the spiritual capital of Indonesia, where I had the privilege of addressing a group of Muslim brethren in that great mosque. I could tell them then, very sincerely and with deep emotion, how I felt on coming from the distant land of Iraq and feeling quite at home with a multitude of brethren whom I had never met before. It was a feeling of oneness, united sympathy and close human relationship. This is the power of faith which annihilates distances and unites the hearts of the faithful.

In the same year I had similar experiences with my Muslim brethren in Johore, Malaya, in the Philippines, in Pakistan, in Iran and in Turkey. Wherever I met Muslims I

immediately felt the affinity and spirit of brotherhood and unity that bound me to them.

This year I was privileged to perform the duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, where about 1,000,000 Muslims from all over the world were taking part. People from Asia, Africa, Europe and America, from over 44 nations, were at Mecca. Pilgrimage itself is a great institution demonstrating Islamic brotherhood and unity and fortifying and promoting the spirit of brotherhood and unity amongst Muslims.

The importance of the World Muslim Conference (al-Rabitah al-Islamiyyah) at Mecca in the context of world affairs of today

After the pilgrimage I attended the World Muslim Conference at Mecca, a Conference which brought together distinguished Muslim leaders from Africa and Asia and from every walk of life. The Conference itself was a great contribution towards co-operation, inter-relation and unification of the Muslim world. It represented all the peoples of the Muslim world and it dealt with the basic problems facing the Muslim world today.

Among the problems which were tackled was the question of the right of the Muslims to freedom and self-determination everywhere. There are millions of Muslims under Communist domination. What used to be a great cultural centre of Islam in Turkestan is today under Communist rule. The Turkestan Muslims were in Mecca seeking the help of their brethren to be liberated from Communist China and Soviet Russian domination. There were Muslims from Eritrea and Somaliland seeking the right of the Muslims there to self-determination. There were Turkish brethren from Cyprus seeking help to be saved from extermination. There was the "Lion of Kashmir", Sheikh 'Abdullah, who pleaded the right of the Kashmiris to freedom and self-determination. There were some brethren from the Yemen who pleaded for an end to the bloodshed of Muslim brethren in that corner of Arabia and to let the people of the Yemen determine their own destiny according to the principle of self-determination. We pray to God that the question of the Yemen may be finally and peacefully solved. Above all there were our Palestinian brethren led by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husaini, who exhorted the whole Muslim world to awake to the great danger befalling Islam in one of its holiest sanctuaries where nearly 1,000,000 Muslims have been made homeless. These legitimate complaints cannot be dealt with except by a united Muslim front, appealing to the conscience of mankind through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Conference also dealt with the cultural and educational problems of the Muslim world. There is no doubt that the Muslim world, consisting mostly of under-developed countries, badly needs Islamic education. Besides, the Muslim world today is in a great danger from foreign cultural and ideological invasions. The Muslims should come to understand and appreciate the great social, economic, moral and spiritual values that exist in Islam. If that is achieved, there is no fear from any invading ideology. But, if there is a cultural vacuum in the Muslim hearts and minds, the danger is sure to increase. The Conference decided that united action on the part of the Muslims was needed in the field of education.

The Conference also dealt with the economic spirit of Islam which is based on social justice and humanity, and which avoids the evils of materialistic Communism and

egoistic capitalism. The Conference dealt also with the question of the propagation of Islam and emphasized the need of religious freedom and the rights of the Muslims to practise and preach their religion everywhere. The Conference also studied inter-Muslim co-operation in the various fields of life, a co-operation which should emanate from, and strengthen, the spirit of Islamic brotherhood and unity.

I have dwelt at some length on the World Muslim Conference because, to me, it represents a positive step needed in the path of unity among the Muslims today. It is the first Conference of its kind which I have attended. One of its chief merits was the bringing together of Muslims of various shades of opinion from all parts of the world. There have been other Muslim Conferences held in other places in the last few years, but, as far as I know, this has been the most comprehensive and most representative. But such Conferences act only to plough the earth and sow the seeds of Islamic unity. In order to grow, Islamic unity needs consistent zeal and endeavour on the part of Muslims.

What Muslims must do

Islam did not come for any particular group of men or people. It came for all men everywhere. Its message of unity, brotherhood and peace must reach all mankind. There is no ideology and no faith which is as inclusive and harmonizing and inter-relating of man and nature to the Creator as Islam. The unity amongst men who are subject to one natural and moral law, serving the one great Creator, is the essence of Islam.

To achieve this unity and make it a universal message for all humanity the Muslims must learn to conquer themselves and to fight all narrow hatreds and prejudices which separate them from each other and the rest of mankind. All those who profess : *Ashhadu alla ilaha illa Allah, wa ashhadu anna Muhammadan Rasul Allah* " (I bear witness that God is but One and Muhammad is the Messenger of God), and accept the Qur'an as the guiding book, are brethren.

Historical animosities amongst Muslims should be forgotten. Differences of points of view and interpretations should be tolerated if we want to achieve unity. We all know that the weakness of the Muslim world began by bloodshed and warfare in the name of factions and sections. This sad history must come to an end, and brotherhood and tolerance amongst the various sections must prevail. Fortunately efforts in this direction are not lacking. Over ten years ago I used to receive the publication of the Society for *Rapprochement* Between Muslims, which was established in Cairo. Books calling for *rapprochement* and unity among Muslims are circulating widely. Such titles as *Islam Without Sects* and *Neither Sunni nor Shi'ah* are well known. People like Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, the Shaykhs Muhammad al-Khalisi, al-Qummi and Mahmood Shaltout have done a good deal to bridge the chasms between the sections and to move towards Islamic unity. We sincerely hope that the spirit and teaching of these men will prevail.

Muslim peoples should have rulers who have faith and who promote the cause of Islam amongst their peoples and in dealing with other Muslim States. These States must learn to appreciate and help solve inter-Muslim problems and Muslims must learn to work together in the international field. It is a sad fact that we do find some strained relations amongst some Muslim States. The relations between Malaysia and Indonesia are a sad example.

Unfortunately, some Muslim rulers, due to arrogance and ignorance of the basic tenets and virtues of Islam, practise dictatorship and promote anti-Muslim practices and ideologies amongst their own people. The truth is that the Muslims today suffer mainly from reactionary, old-fashioned leadership or from revolutionary, destructive leadership. Both types of rulers undoubtedly act as obstacles in the path of Islamic unity, and they weaken their own people as well. The Muslim world, in order to unite, needs enlightened level-headed rulers who feel responsible to public opinion in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

The approach of Muslims to non-Muslims

The approach of the Muslims to non-Muslims should be one of sympathy and human brotherhood, desiring to win the hearts and minds of non-Muslims to the path of God. In other words, the Muslims must learn to be positive and tolerant, attracting and not repelling.

This should be especially true of the relations of the with the Christian world. The Qur'an enjoins the Muslims to call the "People of the Book" to a common front, and to debate with them in the best manner.

"Say : O followers of the Book ; come to an equitable proposition between us and you that we shall not serve any but God and (that) we shall not associate aught with Him, and (that) some of us shall not take others for lords besides God ; but if they turn back, then say : Bear witness that we are Muslims " (3 : 63).

"And do not dispute with the followers of the Book except by what is best, except those of them who act unjustly, and say : We believe in that which has been revealed to us and revealed to you, and our God and your God is One, and to Him do we submit " (29 : 46).

I remember in this connection a meeting I had in 1956 with His Holiness Pope Pius XII. I told him, "Your Holiness, our respective peoples have had long bloody wars. The Crusades continued until the end of the First World War. It is time that we did put our swords in their sheaths and face one common danger, the danger of godless materialism. Muslims and Christians must learn to work together and to respect each other." With this His Holiness concurred.

I was pleased to read of the recent friendly dialogue between Muslim and Christian scholars in Beirut. Such debates should make Islam better understood by the Christian world. We must watch and emulate the efforts exerted by the Pope to bring the various Christian sects together and to achieve reforms in the lives of the Catholic peoples.

Two requisites to achieving inter-Islamic consciousness

A word with regard to the nature of Islamic unity which I propose. Visiting Pakistan in 1958 I had the privilege of speaking at several meetings in universities and societies. In all those speeches I emphasized our need for the concept of an Islamic Commonwealth of Nations. I certainly do not dream of making one State of the whole Muslim world. That is neither practical nor desirable, but I do believe in the necessity and feasibility of promoting inter-Islamic consciousness amongst the Islamic nations of the world. It seems to me that Islam is a much more realistic international and human bond than any other bond, whether geographic, political, economic or ideological, for Islam, as a bond, includes all of these and is superior to all of them.

Recently His Majesty King Faisal of Su'udi Arabia made the same proposal this year at the World Muslim Conference. We sincerely hope that such a summit meeting will lead to

the idea of an Islamic Commonwealth of Nations. Mecca, the holy city of the Muslim world, with the pilgrimage which is annually taking place, is the natural centre, but many of the offices and functions of the Commonwealth could be carried out in Jerusalem because of its geographic, climatic, political and religious significance. Thus Mecca and Jerusalem should both unite in bringing the Muslim world together to promote the idea of Islamic unity. The Muslim world, to be truly Muslim, has to abide by the teachings of the Qur'an and achieve brotherhood and unity.

To achieve unity in the Muslim world we need a basic reform of Muslim life socially, morally and religiously in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'an. This requires, in the first place, a great educational campaign and active leader-

ship in social, moral and spiritual reconstruction.

In the second place, the Muslim lands need enlightened governments which base their rule on the teachings and spirit of Islam in a dynamic, progressive way. Fortunately the Muslim world is in a state of ferment, and enthusiastic preachers of unity are not lacking.

In conclusion I wish to recite the following chapter from the Holy Qur'an :

"In the name of God the Beneficent, the Merciful. When there comes the help of God and the victory, and you see men entering the religion of God in companies, then celebrate the praise of your Lord, and ask His forgiveness, surely He is oft-returning (to mercy)" (1-3).

The Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1965

A Unique Sociological Achievement of Islam

It is this annual gathering of Muslims from all over the World that enables them to learn the oneness of mankind. Muslims are the only people in the world who are free from racism and colour prejudice

"And proclaim to men the Pilgrimage; they will come thee on foot and on every lean camel, coming from every remote path" (The Qur'an, 22 : 27)

More than 1,200,000 Muslims performed the pilgrimage to Mecca this year — 11th April 1965 (9th Dhu-al-Hijjah 1384 A.H.). The name of the country along with the number who came from that country is given below.

Aden - - - - 481	French Somaliland - - 97	Kenya - - - - 204	Somali - - - - 962
Afghanistan - - - 4,144	Gabon - - - - 1	Kuwait - - - - 4,830	South Africa - - - 704
Algeria - - - - 9,673	Gambia - - - - 149	The Lebanon - - - 4,371	South Vietnam - - - 11
Argentina - - - - 1	Germany - - - - 5	Liberia - - - - 155	Southern Rhodesia - - 60
Bahrain - - - - 2,750	Ghana - - - - 552	Libya - - - - 12,181	Spain - - - - 1
Burundi - - - - 3	Greece - - - - 203	Malagasy Republic - - 11	Sudan - - - - 14,050
Cambodia - - - - 165	Guinea - - - - 1,069	Malaysia - - - - 5,366	Switzerland - - - - 7
Cameroon - - - - 422	Hadhramaut - - - - 2,035	Mali - - - - 1,563	Syria - - - - 20,918
Central African Republic 100	Holland - - - - 7	Mauritius - - - - 36	Tanganyika - - - - 270
Ceylon - - - - 335	Hong Kong - - - - 2	Morocco - - - - 8,023	Thailand - - - - 2,410
Chad - - - - 1,563	India - - - - 18,666	Nepal - - - - 44	Togo - - - - 129
China (Nationalist) - 20	Indonesia - - - - 15,234	New Zealand - - - 7	Trinidad - - - - 7
Congo (Brazzaville) - - 2	Iran - - - - 19,073	Niger - - - - 2,859	Trucial States - - - 1,236
Cyprus - - - - 63	Iraq - - - - 15,319	Nigeria - - - - 12,299	Tunisia - - - - 342
Hahzoney - - - - 155	Italy - - - - 1	Oman - - - - 2,830	Turkey - - - - 21,603
Eire - - - - 67	Ivory Coast - - - 47	Pakistan - - - - 26,053	Uganda - - - - 310
Ethiopia - - - - 3,238	Japan - - - - 1	Palestine - - - - 5,897	U.A.R. - - - - 18,683
France - - - - 189	Jordan - - - - 8,771	The Philippines - - - 873	United Kingdom - - - 354
		Portugal - - - - 19	U.S.A. - - - - 12
		Qatar - - - - 1,683	Upper Volta - - - 464
		Russia - - - - 19	The Yemen - - - - 3,381
		Senegal - - - - 3,319	Yugoslavia - - - - 170
		Sierra Leone - - - 69	Zambia - - - - 1

The Development of the Mosque Form in relation to the needs of the Muslim Liturgy

With a special reference to Mosque Architecture in Egypt

The Liturgical Features of the Mosque

By James Dickie, M.A.

The development of the mosque form in all Muslim countries has been conditioned by certain factors, including such imponderables as the genius of the race or national character, and others more predictable, such as the nature of materials available in a particular country, the local architectural tradition pre-dating the Islamic conquest, and lastly, the liturgical needs of the Muslim service in so far as they affect the construction of mosques and their interior arrangement. With regard to Egypt the first two (calculable) aspects have been thoroughly explored by Briggs¹ and Cresswell², and the purpose of this article is to examine briefly the development of the mosque form in relation to the needs of the Muslim liturgy. To do this it is necessary to take into account not only the primitive mosques of the Hijaz, but also the purpose and significance of the mosque institution within Islam.

The concepts of the "chosen people" and the "holy land" in Judaism and Islam compared

Islam is a religion in the Semitic tradition and its immediate antecedents are to be sought rather in Judaism than elsewhere. Revelation expands in accordance with man's capacity to understand it and, considered in this light, many of Islam's foremost tenets were already present in germinal form in the Torah. Two of the central Jewish ideas are the Chosen People and the Holy Land: the notion that God chose a particular race as the vehicle of His revelation and established them on a particular piece of soil as their theatre of operation. But in Islam the transition from a narrow, tribalist religion to a universal faith is already complete. In place of the notion of the Chosen People, Islam substitutes that of *al-Umma*, the Community of Believers. God's address to the Arab nation in the Qur'an (2 : 143) is of key importance in the understanding of Islam's message: "Thus We have appointed you a *middle nation* that ye may be witnesses against mankind and that the Messenger may be a witness against you." Here the God-man relationship which revelation involves is established on a twofold level: Muhammad, the first of the prophets to be chosen from amongst the Gentiles, is a witness against the Arabs, who as the vehicle through which Islam is to be given to the world are themselves witnesses against the entire human race. Out of the concept of a tribe with their own tribal god has emerged the vastly different one of the universal Congregation of Islam.

This raises the cognate question of a Holy Land, and here we see the subtlety of Islam as compared with many other faiths. Christianity lacks a centre: Judaism is too closely linked to its centre for its own health. In place of a Holy Land, Islam substitutes the notion of *qiblah*. The announcement of the new *qiblah* differentiating Muslims from Jews (for hitherto Muslims had prayed toward Jerusalem) is given in the Qur'anic passage (2 : 144): "We have seen the turning of your face toward heaven [for guidance, O Muhammad]. And now We will make you turn toward a *qiblah* which shall please you. So turn your face toward the Sanctified Mosque, and ye [O Muslims], wheresoever you may be, turn your faces toward it." *Qiblah* therefore means a focal point or centre in relation to which the community is balanced. It could be Peking or London: it happens, because the Arabs are a middle nation,³ to be Makka (Mecca). To grasp this extremely subtle idea it helps to think of Islam as an enormous wheel with Mecca at its hub and which gyrates on this city as axis. The spokes of this wheel radiate outward to all corners of the globe and whenever the canonical hours of prayer fall in any country the Muslims of that place must turn toward its magnetic cynosure. *Prayer in Islam is directional*. The Prophet said,⁴ "The whole earth has been made a mosque for me," and even when no mosque is at hand the Muslim uses his prayer-mat as a place pre-established for worship, a substitute for the mosque.

We are now in a position to know what a mosque is: it is not a temple or repository for idols like a Hindu temple; though it may contain a tomb it is not a safe for relics like a Buddhist pagoda; nor is it the House of God like a church where God is considered to be materially present in the bread and wine of the sacrament. It is simply a meeting-place for prayer oriented towards Mecca. The principal wall of a mosque is therefore the *qiblah* wall.

The introduction of the Mihrab in the mosque building took place in the 8th century C.E.

But to distinguish between this wall and others less important there must be some conspicuous feature, and this

3 The so-called Middle East is, of course, both historically and geographically the centre of the world. The Arab Motherland occupies an area equidistant between Asia and Africa with Europe on the former side and America on the latter completing the balance. The same area remained the historical centre of the world till about the 16th century, and though the political centre of gravity has shifted since then, Toynbee argues that this displacement is merely temporary.

4 The *Bukhari*, 7 : 1.

1 *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford, 1924.
2 *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1932-40.

is the origin of the *mihrab*. Though the word *mihrab* occurs more than once in the Qur'án⁵ where it appears to mean synagogue, it was not introduced as an architectural feature in the mosque till well after the Prophet's death when, in 88-90 A.H. (707-709 C.E.), 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz — the great Umayyad caliph and saint — rebuilt the Prophet's Mosque using Egyptian architects. These builders reproduced at Medina a niche in the *qiblah* wall similar to the niches with which they were familiar in their Coptic churches at home.⁶ A few years later, in 710-712 C.E., the Mosque of 'Amr at Fustat, which had been the first mosque to be erected in Egypt, was rebuilt with a *mihrab* and the latter has ever since been a standard feature of mosque architecture. Indeed, the alignment of the *mihrab* with the main axis of the building forms the constant factor in mosque architecture: the eye has to be led up to the consummation at the far end which in Islam takes the form not of a crowded altar but of an empty niche. No matter how complex the architectural structure, whether we are dealing with the frozen forest of marble that is the Mosque of Cordova or the mud-brick mosque of a Nilotic village, the articulation of its parts is invariably the same.

The Prophet's Mosque at Medina is the prototype

Before discussing the remaining liturgical features we must return to the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. Attempts⁷ have been made to find a Christian origin for the primitive mosque plan in the Syro-Byzantine architecture of the period and Jewish antecedents could be argued, but in our opinion the prototype is to be sought here, as in so much else, in the *sunnah* of the Prophet. In its primitive form the Prophet's Mosque⁸ was a square enclosure open to the sky with an entrance on each side saving the *qiblah* wall, which was blank. Adjoining this wall a roof made of mud and palm fronds and supported on eight palm trunks served to protect the worshippers against the sun. Here at the start three salient features of subsequent mosque planning are established: first, the division of the mosque into *liwan* and *sahn*, sanctuary and courtyard; second, the construction of the sanctuary in the form of a pillared hall; lastly, the principle of axial planning as seen in the three-door arrangement (presumably of the following form: one door on the main axis of the mosque facing the *qiblah* and the remaining two on the east and west walls, facing each other on a secondary axis at right angles to the main one). Here, in fact, we have in embryo all mosque planning from the seventh century to the twentieth.

The Minaret

Albeit the most conspicuous feature to the beholder, the minaret is the least liturgically significant of all. To summon

the faithful to prayer the Jews used a ram's horn (*shofar*) and the Christians clappers. The early Muslims felt the need of a method peculiar to Islam and, following a dream in which the Companion 'Abd Allah Ibn Zayd saw someone calling the faithful to prayer, the Prophet bade the Abyssinian Bilal mount and summon the people to worship. This was the origin of the *adhan* but not of the minaret, for Bilal simply used the roofs of houses as his platform. Later, however, when the Arabs conquered Damascus and converted the church of St. John the Baptist into a mosque, they used the four towers at the corners of the church enclosure as platforms. This became a regular feature of mosque architecture when in 673 C.E. during another rebuilding of the Mosque of 'Amr the first minarets to be built as such were erected at the four corners. It is reasonable to assume that these minarets were inspired by the towers at Damascus.

The Minbar

For the Friday sermon the Prophet had a primitive *minbar* of tamarisk wood whence he delivered the *khutbah*. From such humble origins derived the magnificent ivory-inlaid pulpits which today occupy the place of honour to the right of the *mihrab*. From the shape of the *minbar* one would judge it to have been in origin the throne of the leader of the community placed in the place of assembly of the community, rather than a pulpit in the Western sense of the term. The fact that the Imam was originally the Caliph's deputy or viceroy would seem to confirm this theory.⁹ There is one last item of liturgical furniture to be considered, the *kursi al-Surah* or lectern. My researches here, I have to admit, are incomplete. Originally the Friday service had only two main parts, not three as today:¹⁰ it consisted of *khutbah* (sermon) followed by *salat* (congregational prayer). But at some precise point in the early history of Islam which I have not yet been able to determine, readings from the Qur'án were introduced as an expedient to prevent the worshippers from chatting whilst waiting for the sermon to begin.¹¹ The usual location for the *kursi* is adjacent to a pillar near the *minbar*.¹²

The development of the mosque building in Egypt

Now we must direct our attention towards the mosque plan as it developed in Egypt. The mosque built by 'Amr Ibn al-'As, the conqueror of Egypt, at Fustat followed in its primitive form and all its subsequent rebuildings the plan established in the Prophet's Mosque, that is, a pillared hall. This plan was repeated in the Mosque of Ibn Tulun (which built in 876-879 C.E. can lay claim to being the oldest *intact* mosque in the world) and was invariably used till the end

5 3:37, 39; 19:11; 34:12; and 38:21.

6 Invariably round-headed, several of these niches which show how the earliest *mihrahs* must have looked can be seen in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo. An early specimen of a *mihrab* survives at Jerusalem cut into the living rock in the cave under the Dome of the Rock.

7 Thus the courtyard corresponds to the atrium, the sanctuary to the church proper and the *mihrab* to the apse, or, in the case of the synagogue, to the forecourt, auditorium and Torah niche (Ark) respectively. Neither of these theories resists detailed examination; however much Islamic architecture owed to Byzantine influence, the emergence of the mosque form was a wholly original and indigenous phenomenon.

8 We cannot ignore either the first mosque to be built as such in Islam, that of Qubaa', the village four miles outside Medina, where Muhammad first put up after the Hijra. It formed a rectangular enclosure with a covered portion exactly as the Medina Mosque was to be later. This may be the mosque referred to in the Qur'án (9:108).

9 The first Imam was Muhammad himself and the term *Imamah* is synonymous with *Khilafah* (Caliphate), the sequence of his deputies or successors. The Imams of the earliest mosques, Basra, Kufah, Fustat, etc., were the appointed deputies or viceroys of the Caliph in these areas. The Imam was therefore not simply the prayer-leader but the leader of the community and led the communal prayer *in that capacity*. Though now divested of his secular functions and a purely religious figure, at prayer times he recovers all his original responsibilities and is the sole valid representative of the community to God.

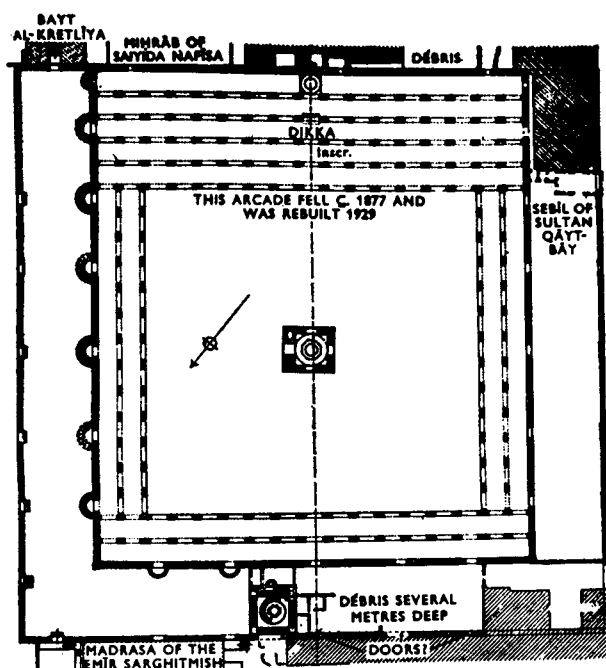
10 This practice is confined to Arab countries only.

11 To this day the visitor who offers prayer at any of the half-dozen so-called Sunni mosques in Cairo will find that there is no reading from the Qur'án, no *mihrab* and a *minbar* only three steps high. These mosques are independent of the Ministry of Waqfs, being privately endowed by pious merchants who eschew any form of innovation (*bid'ah*).

12 It is curious to note that the reading desk in a synagogue should be called *Almenar* (a corruption of the Arabic *al-minbar*!). The reason is that the reading-desk was formerly used as the synagogue's pulpit.

of the twelfth century when Egypt was conquered by Saladin. Some of the most famous mosques, including the Azhar, al-Hakim and the Sayyidna Husayn, are of this type; indeed, examples continued to be built till quite recently. The type in our opinion has many disadvantages and was rightly superseded by more suitable forms. The roof of such a mosque could never be high inasmuch as it was almost always supported on columns taken from demolished churches; the average height was about thirty feet. Moreover, the acoustics were atrocious; the forest of columns necessary to support the roof interfered with the voice of the Imam and he rarely could be heard away from the centre before the microphone was introduced in the present century. Lastly, this same forest of columns prevented the worship from focusing on the *mihrab*.

Properly to understand the new mosque type introduced by Saladin we must glance at the contemporary political

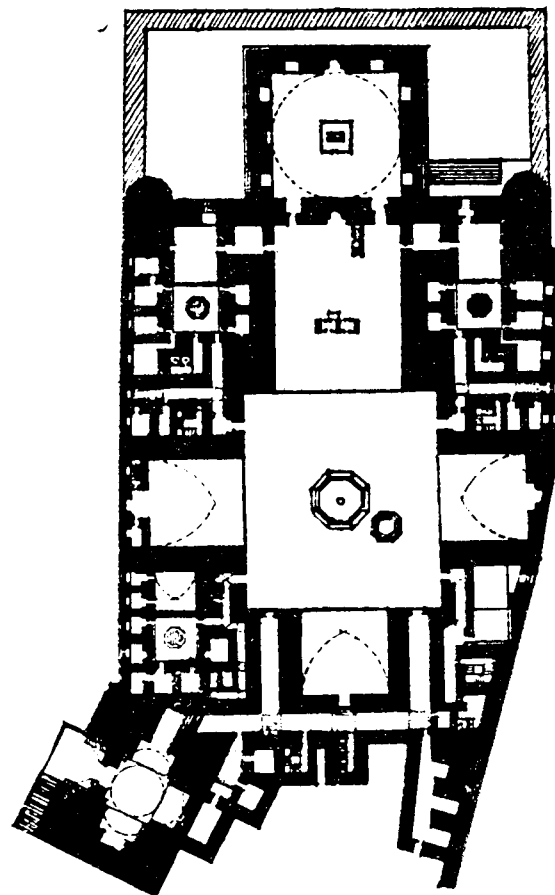


The Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Plan showing sanctuary in the form of a pillared hall

situation. The Sunni Ayyubids, or family of Saladin, had just conquered a Shi'ah country, as indeed Egypt was under the Fatimid dynasty. To counteract, therefore, the influence of Shi'ah centres like the Azhar they established a number of collegiate mosques or *madrasahs* where Sunni Islam would be taught. Basically a *madrasah* is a cruciform mosque with four *liwans* (arched transepts) opening on a central courtyard. The accidental resemblance to the layout of a cathedral is worth noticing. These four *liwans* served as lecture halls where each of the four schools of Sunni law was taught. Though most Egyptians today follow the Shafi'i rite, all four rites were studied and at times of prayer everyone assembled as in an ordinary mosque. The founder's tomb was in a special funerary chamber furnished with a *mihrab* of its own. The most famous example of this type is the great, austere 14th-century mosque of the Sultan Hasan below the citadel. In the later stages of its development the *madrasah* became a thing of infinite lightness and grace, the walls being lined

with marbles intricately cut and joggled, floored with a tessellated marble pavement and the *liwans* roofed in wood sumptuously carved and gilded. Probably never since the grandeurs of Rome have richness of materials and lavishness of colour combined to produce such chromatic symphonies as these Mamluk mosques of Cairo. One interesting development of this period remains to be noticed: the covering of the central courtyard with a wooden lantern which admitted light to the interior through a clerestory. This complete roofing-over of the floor space foreshadows the mosque of the 20th century.

Today both these kinds of mosque are obsolete. The obvious disadvantages of the pillared hall preclude its further use and, as for the *madrasah*, Muslim law is now taught in



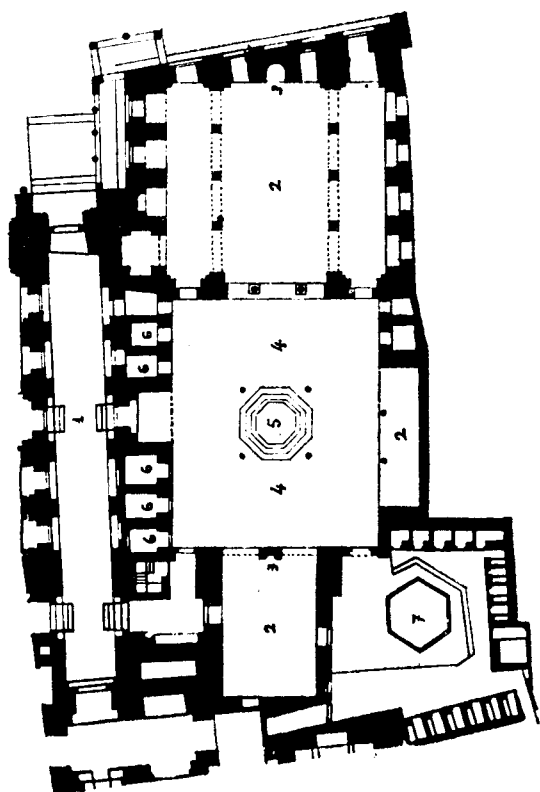
The Mosque of Sultan Hasan. Plan showing cruciform arrangement of the four liwans

classrooms and lecture-halls, not in specially constructed mosques.

The modern mosque building — the three basic forms

The variety of form of the modern mosque is endless. The architect, released from the fetters of tradition and with a wide range of new materials like concrete and steel at his disposal, has had an entire vista of new architectural forms opened up to him such as his medieval counterpart never dreamt of; amidst so many possible choices it is only to be expected that a certain amount of confusion will be found. Nevertheless, certain tendencies are evident. One is to abolish the courtyard except in certain cases as an appendage which

can accommodate overflow congregations on the 'Ids. Another is to have a wide, open prayer-hall in which every worshipper can see the ritual at the *mihrab* and hear the cantor and preacher with ease. Three basic forms can be distinguished: first, the rectangular or square plan (in the latter case frequently domed¹³); second, the octagonal mosque; and last, the three-aisled mosque (a large central aisle and two narrow flanking aisles). This last reproduces exactly the plan of the Christian church but has its roots in the medieval *madrasahs* of the Sultan Qalawun (see illustration) and Sultan Barquq. Examples of the square mosque are legion, but we would instance the Mosques of Yahya Pasha and Husayn Kamil, both in Alexandria; two conspicuous examples of the octagonal plan are the Mosques of Abu al-'Abbas and 'Abd al-Rahman Lutfi, the principal mosques of



The Mosque of Sultan Qalawun. Plan showing division of sanctuary into three aisles

Alexandria and Port Said respectively. The third plan is represented by the beautiful little Gezira Mosque in the Nile gardens and the great Rifa'i Mosque, burial place of the ex-royal family. Both the last are in Cairo, but probably the best place anywhere in the Middle East to see modern Islamic architecture at its best is Alexandria; this city's growth — to seventy times its original size in a century — has given rise to a need for new mosques on an hitherto unprecedented scale.

The mosque building of the future

What of the mosque of the future? May we expect to

see modern mosques like Coventry Cathedral, a biscuit factory masquerading as a place of worship? There is already one such mosque in Cairo, in the industrial suburb of Shubra al-Khaymah. Most would agree that the guiding principle of the mosque architect should be to create a building which accords with the needs of the Muslim liturgy. At present, and throughout fourteen centuries, there have been certain unsolved problems. Most pressing is the issue whether to exclude women from the Friday service or allow them to participate. At best in the old mosques a screened-off area of the floor was reserved for them. Today many new mosques provide a gallery with screen at the rear of the auditorium, access to which is gained by a separate entrance, and this would seem to solve the problem. Certainly, with a gallery located behind the men's section and screened from view by a *mashrabiyyah*¹⁴ the traditional segregation of the sexes during worship can be so maintained as to satisfy even the most exacting jurists. The use of a gallery is an innovation which consciously or unconsciously follows synagogal practice; whatever its origins, it is to be welcomed as tending to increase the participation in public worship of a sex whose role in the Muslim community has too often been neglected.

Criticism and suggestions

But if this innovation can be justified the second is wholly reprehensible. We refer to the introduction of the microphone: for nowadays no muezzin troubles to climb the minaret; instead, the *adhan* blares out from a cacophonous loudspeaker located on the minaret balcony. Inside the mosque it is little better, for here too the cantor's voice is hideously amplified and distorted by loudspeakers. In certain extraordinarily large mosques an amplifier is indispensable, but in 95 per cent of cases it is not, and to mangle the Qur'an by using imperfect equipment — as is usually the case — is to treat it with disrespect. Along with this must be considered the equally deplorable introduction of strip lighting in the mosques and neon signs proclaiming the *Kalimah*.

With these proposals practically everyone would agree, but my last points take the form only of tentative suggestions. However, in order to see these proposals in their proper perspective we must examine the order of the service. Omitting the two *rak'ahs* of salutation to the mosque, the service can be tabulated (with explanatory translations of the parts) thus:

Order of Service	Place where Performed	Functionary Responsible
<i>Qir'ah</i> (Reading)	<i>Kursi</i> (Lectern)	<i>Muqri'</i> (Cantor)
<i>Adhan</i> (Call to Prayer)	Minaret	<i>Mu'adhdhin</i> (Muezzin)
<i>Salat Sunnah</i> (Individual Prayer)	Auditorium	Congregation
<i>Adhan</i> repeated	<i>Kursi</i>	<i>Muqri'</i>
<i>Khutbah</i> (Sermon— 1st part)	<i>Minbar</i> (Pulpit)	<i>Khatib</i> (Preacher)
<i>Du'a'</i> (Informal Prayer)	<i>Kursi</i>	<i>Muqri'</i>
<i>Khutbah</i> (2nd part)	<i>Minbar</i>	<i>Khatib</i>
<i>Iqamah</i> (Standing Call)	<i>Kursi</i>	<i>Muqri'</i>
<i>Salat Fard</i> (Congregational Prayer)	Auditorium	<i>Khatib, Muqri'</i> and congregation

These proposals relate to that considerable portion of the service covered by the cantor. The same desire for vain-glory as prompts the cantor to use a microphone where none is required too often makes him place his lectern in line with

13 Representing the vault of heaven, the dome in Islam, when viewed from the inside, symbolises the upward movement of the spirit in prayer. It was first used to surmount the *maqsurah* or area immediately preceding the *mihrab*, then to given prominence to the tomb chamber and finally to increase the scale of the sanctuary.

14 The beautiful lattice screens of turned wood for which Egypt is famous. A similar partition, called *mehitzah*, screening off the women's gallery, is found in the more traditional synagogues.

the *mihrab*, obscuring thereby the congregation's view of it. But even in mosques where this does not obtain the cantor still kneels facing the *qiblah*.¹⁵ This means that one half of the congregation see his back and have his voice projected away from them whilst the other half hear him from behind and do not see him at all: an unsatisfactory state of affairs by any standards! As, after all, the cantor is leading the service at that moment, he should be *both visible and audible* to as many of the congregation as possible. The *Qir'ah* is not the *salat*: it is not private converse with God. There is therefore no reason why the cantor should not face the congregation just as in churches influenced by the Liturgical Movement the celebrant says Mass behind the altar, facing the congregation. The liturgical reform here proposed is to have the *kursi* in close proximity to the *qiblah* wall, place it facing outward and have the cantor intone the *surah*, the second *adhan* and the *du'a'* in that position, turning round to face the *qiblah* only after he has intoned the *iqamah*.

The last point is more tentative still. Instead of the

¹⁵ That the cantor should recite facing the *qiblah* has undeniable beauty, and such indeed is the synagogal practice, but in a synagogue the seating arrangements are different, being parallel to the side walls; the congregation look inward towards the reading-stand from both sides of the auditorium, turning to face Jerusalem only at certain key points in the service. But as in a mosque the worshippers face the *qiblah* at all times the analogy is inexact.

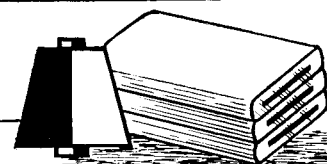
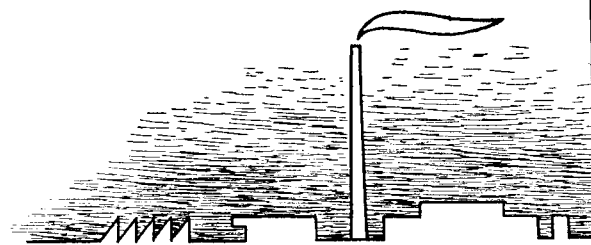
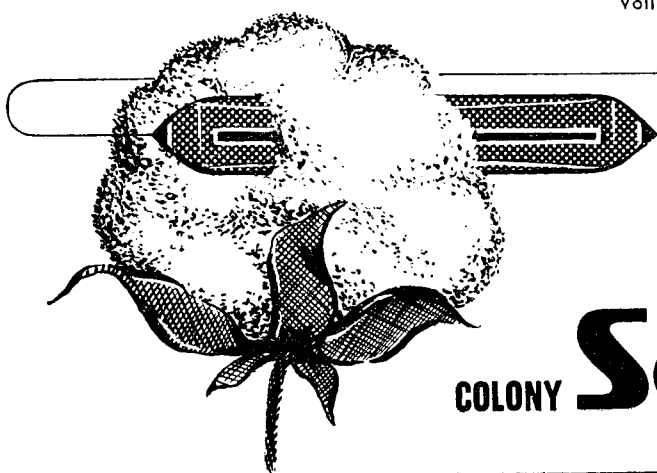
cantor intoning Chapter 17 week after week it might be better to have a cyclic reading of the entire Qur'an once a year as Jews do with the Torah and indeed as Muslims do already in Ramadhan. In this brief account we have confined ourselves to the mosque in relation to the liturgy; a second dimension of our theme could be the mosque in relation to the worshippers which would cover the personnel of the mosque (Imam, cantor, etc.) as well as the congregation and the requirements for prayer — ablution, head covering, etc.

Catholicism at this moment is seeking to return to a Patristic liturgy and Judaism is divesting its services of countless medieval accretions in order to recover the original liturgy of the Temple; but Islam, on account of its traditional hostility to anything that smacks of *bid'ah* has retained its primitive form of worship more or less incorrupt through the centuries. The danger lies elsewhere, in the uncritical manner in which Muslims absorb Western influences, giving rise to those abominations of taste which disfigured first our cities then our mosques. This much at least of music the Muslim liturgy has, that it is a Godward-directed rhythm in which mind, voice and limbs simultaneously participate. For the ritual to be ignored and dignity and decorum to be absent from it, such neglect can but lead to the spiritual barrenness in which certain Protestant sects have ended and from the example of whose fate Muslims can learn much.

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A Brief History of the Spread of Islam in Malaysia

The All-Malaya Muslim Welfare Organization

Islam introduced into Malaya at the end of the 14th century C.E.

Islam, the official religion of Malaysia, has been in that country for over 500 years. Before its introduction to Malaysia it was already being practised by people in some other parts of the Malay archipelago. Marco Polo, who travelled to the countries of Asia, has related of his visit to Perlak (Ferlec), a country on the east coast of Sumatra in 1292 C.E. He reported that the people of Perlak at the time practised Islam.



A national level Qur'an Reading competition was held for two nights on 27 and 28 August 1965 at the Masjid Negara, Kuala Lumpur. The competition, which was declared open by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun 'Abdul Razak Ibn Husain, on 27 August, was held in conjunction with the official opening of the National Mosque of Malaysia. Our picture shows Puan Rahman receiving the trophy from the Prime Minister, the Tunku 'Abdul Rahman

This competition is held annually at Kuala Lumpur in which leading Qur'an readers from several countries of Asia and the Middle East take part

A tombstone found on the east coast of Sumatra has an inscription of Sultan Malik al-Saleh, the Sultan of Pasai-Samudra, who died in 1297 C.E. This shows that not only

the people there were Muslims but their Sultan was also a Muslim. The famous explorer Ibn Battutah also came to Pasai in 1345 C.E. At that time Islam had already spread to the countries around Pasai.

In Malaya the earliest Muslim inscription was found in Trengganu. The inscription shows that a group of Muslims had lived in Trengganu in the year 1326 or 1386 C.E. But it appears that Islam had not yet been well established and had not spread to other areas.

Islam in the Malay world began to spread rapidly to the territories of the Malacca Kingdom when it was at the height of its glory.

No exact date can be given when Islam was introduced into Malacca, although some historians place it in the year 1414 C.E. But it is most likely that the Malays of Malacca were in contact with Muslim peoples at the end of the 14th century C.E. An old Chinese record mentions that the first time the Chinese Emperor heard of the existence of the Malay Kingdom of Malacca was from Indian Muslim traders of Southern India who had gone to China in the year 1403 C.E.

It seems that intercourse between the Malays of Malacca and the Muslim traders had resulted in the acceptance of Islam by the Malays. The record of a Chinese explorer who visited Malacca in the year 1413 C.E. relates that the Malays of Malacca were of the Islamic faith.

Raja Kechil Besar accepts Islam

In the Malay annals, Raja Kechil Besar, the fourth Sultan of Malacca, was the first Sultan in the State to embrace Islam. After his conversion his name was changed to Sultan Muhammad Shah. By referring to Chinese sources written in the 15th century and comparing it with that in the Malay annals, it may be safely concluded that this conversion took place at the beginning the 15th century C.E. or earlier, towards the end of the 14th century C.E.

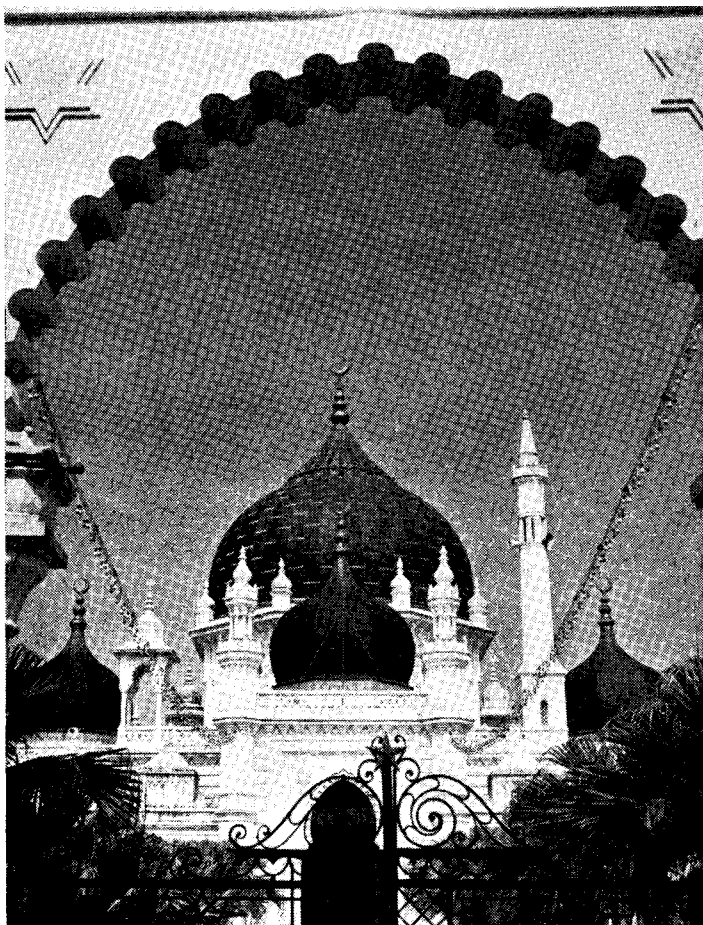
Since the time of the conversion of the Sultan Muhammad Shah to the Islamic faith Islam has spread far and wide throughout Malaysia. Malacca, the centre of the biggest Malay kingdom in South-East Asia, then became the Islamic centre of that time. From Malacca the religion spread to the other Malay States. The spread of Islam in Malacca was one of the factors which brought about the downfall of the Majapahit kingdom. Without doubt it was the Malays of Malaya who were the propagators of Islam to the other regions of the Malay world.

Islam's influence on law and literature during the 15th century C.E.

Since the 15th century, the study of Islam in Malacca had been seriously pursued to a very advanced stage. The *Malay Annals* describe about religious missions having been sent from Malacca to Pasai to participate in discussions on religious matters and Islamic philosophy. The Sultan of

Malacca right down to his subjects engaged themselves in the study of Islam. The honour placed on Islam was great indeed. This is shown by stories about the special position enjoyed by the teachers of Islam among the Malay community in Malacca. Of greater significance was the story in the *Malay Annals* about the Muslim figure of Hadzarmaut sending a book, *Dar al-Mazlum*, to Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca. This book was received by the Malacca Sultan with full honour, carried in procession around Malacca, and later sent to Pasai to be translated into Malay.

Apart from the book *Dar al-Mazlum*, the extent of the development of Islam in Malacca can be judged from the existence of story books connected to Islam which have been translated into Malay. Two of the books which are known to have existed during the Malacca Sultanate were the *Hikayat Muhammad 'Ali Hanafiyyah* and the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*. According to the *Malay Annals*, both of these books had been very familiar to the Malay warriors. This shows that the influence of Islam in the Malay world in the 15th century C.E. was not confined to religion alone, but had affected the Malay literature as well.



The Zahrah Mosque in Alor Star, Kedah

In another aspect, Islam had also made its influence felt in legal procedures. In the book *Hukum Qanun Melaka*, which had been used by Malay Governments in the 15th century C.E., there had been many elements of Islam.

The attempts of the Portuguese and Dutch fail to influence the Malays in favour of Christianity

After the Malacca Sultanate had been defeated by the

Portuguese in 1511 C.E., the centre of Islam shifted to Aceh, Sumatra, Indonesia. This does not, however, mean that Islam had lost its vitality in Malaya. On the contrary, Islam continued to gain strength, as was proved by the writings of the Portuguese at that time about their failure to spread Christianity among the Malays. While the Portuguese were in Malacca, the Muslim Sultanate carried on its government, at least in Johore, Pahang and Perak.

The Malay kingdom in Johore was controlled by the descendants of the Malacca Sultans. The Sultans in Johore did not take the defeat of Malacca easily. Various steps had been taken to wrest the rule of Malacca from the hands of the Portuguese. Some of these steps might have been taken by political and economic motives, but at least one of these movements was based more on the elements of Islam than anything else. This was when the Malay Kingdom of Johore went hand in hand with the Kingdom of Aceh to launch an attack on the Portuguese in Malacca.

Portuguese rule in Malacca collapsed in 1641 C.E. The defeat of the Portuguese was the result of the co-operation between the Dutch and the Malay Kingdom of Johore. Although the Dutch had occupied Malacca for nearly 200 years, Christianity was unable to influence the Malays, who still adhered to Islam.

The kingdoms of Perak and Johore under the patronage of their Muslim rulers

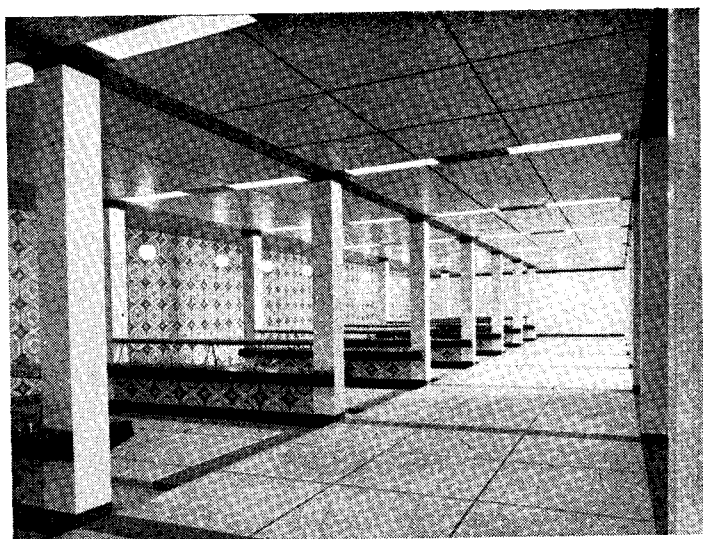
The Malay Kingdom of Perak, for instance, had absorbed many of the elements of Islam in its laws — the laws which have been widely known as “The 999 Laws of Perak”. Evidence to show that the Malays were practising the Islamic faith could be found in the book *Misa Melayu*, an historical



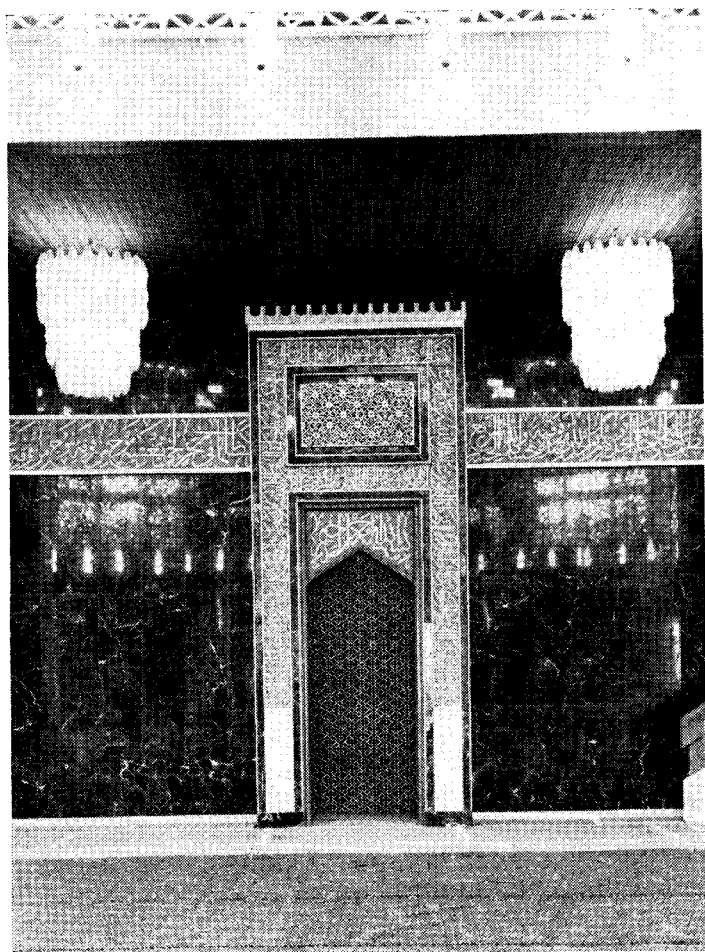
The Mosque at Pekan, Pahang, a small Malay town near the mouth of the Pahang River, and the home of the Sultan of Pahang

account of Perak which was written in the 18th century C.E. between 1756-1770 C.E., had built a mosque as a place of worship. His Highness celebrated the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad on a grand scale. The occasion was not only confined to the higher circle but was celebrated by the whole populace. Besides, His Highness in his daily routine practised *Melayu*, “After the early morning prayer His Highness sat at the Balai Lipu . . . after the noon prayer the Sultan sat in audience in the presence of royalties and dignitaries — religious personnel and the poor. . . .”

In the early 17th century C.E. the Malay Kingdom of Johore had under its sovereignty several surrounding territories and had built its capital in Riau. The Johore/Riau Kingdom had then become a Muslim centre especially in the 19th century. Members of the royal family had gone on pilgrimages to Mecca and returned to Riau with well-known religious teachers. Many Sultans and their regents had shown a strong inclination towards Islam. These dignitaries had



The ablution hall, showing decorative fountain from where worshippers perform their ablution



The Mihrab of the National Mosque, the place where the Imam stands to lead the prayer.

The Mihrab is splendidly decorated with colourful Qur'anic verses. The face of the wall surrounding it has a glossy blue finish. This Mihrab is rectangular in shape, which is a departure from the normal Mihrab style, which often takes the shape of an arch

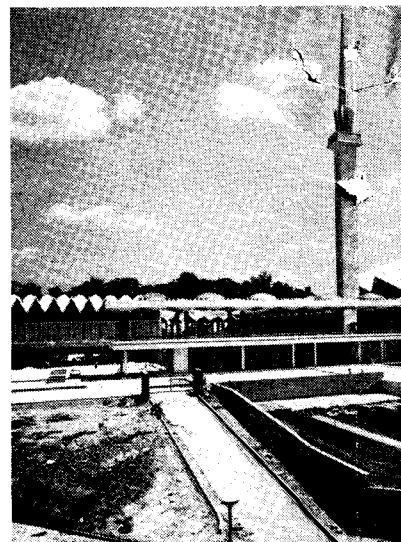
**A New Architectural concept of the
while retaining the best in tradition**

The Masjid Negara (The at Kuala Lumpur

Designed by a Malay Muslim architect, En

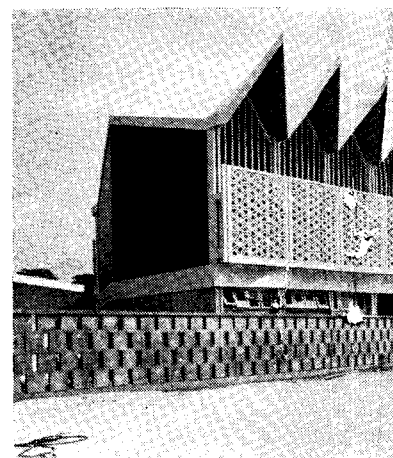
It cost \$10,000,000 (£1,250,000)

SOME FACETS OF THE



*View of the National Mosque in
opened by His Majesty the Yang
27 August 1963*

*Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., the Imam of
Woking, England, had the privilege
Tunku 'Abdul Rahman, the Prime
the Opening Ceremony*



An exterior view of the mosque

ot of the Mosque Building in Malaysia
n-traditional Muslim Decorative Art

The National Mosque) Lumpur, Malaysia

n architect, Enche Baharuddin bin Abu Kasim

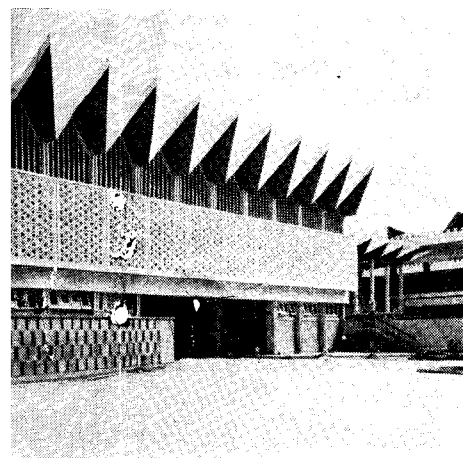
50,000) and took five years to build

OF THE NATIONAL MOSQUE

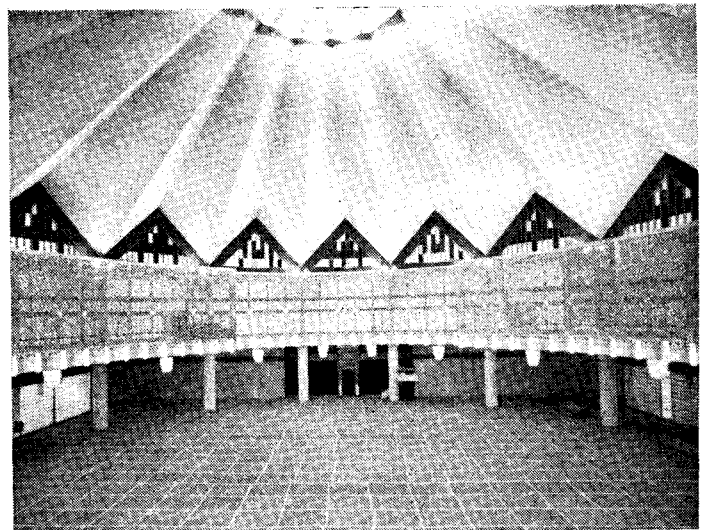


il Mosque in Kuala Lumpur which was
jesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong on
27 August 1965

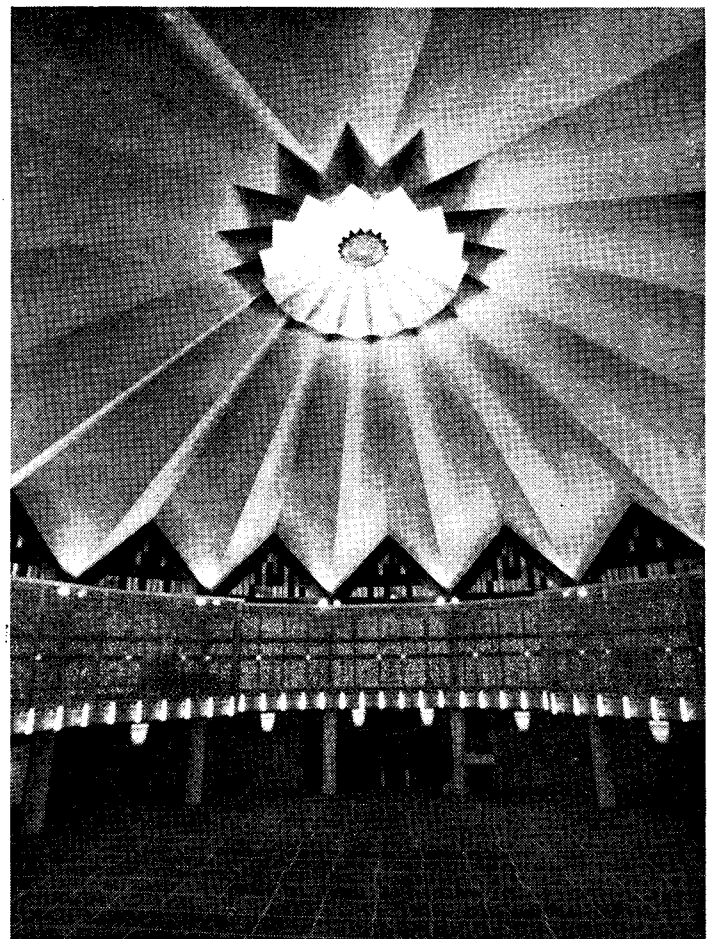
A., the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque,
ad the privilege of being invited by the
nan, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, to
he Opening Ceremony



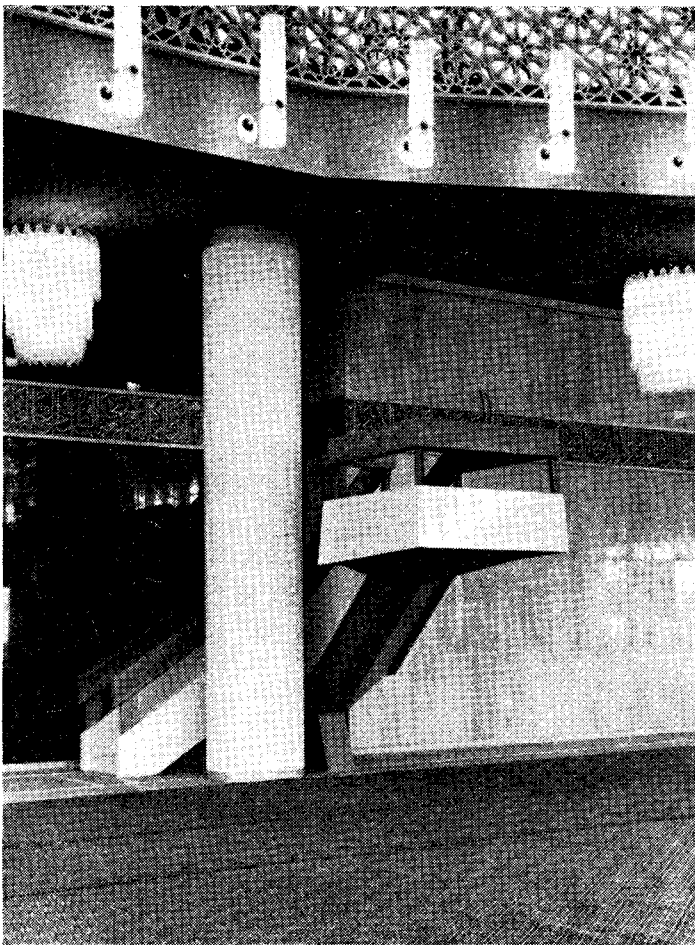
view of the Special Dewan or hall



Interior view of the Grand Hall — the main place for prayer
The hall is 153 feet square, surrounded by reinforced concrete
walls faced with glistening Italian marble. It is exquisitely
decorated with a band of Qur'anic verses written in Kufic
running across the four walls just above the doors



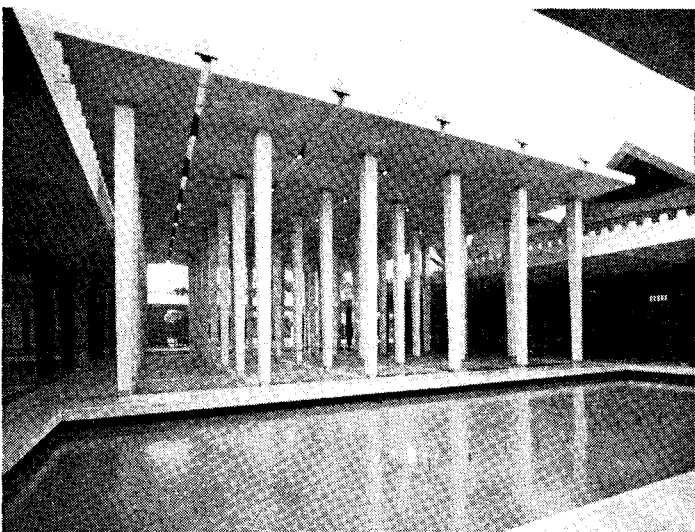
The huge aluminium rosette with a Qur'anic lettering centre-
piece under the apex of the Grand Hall dome
The centre-piece is an exact replica of the decoration on the
great dome of the famous Blue Mosque at Istanbul, Turkey



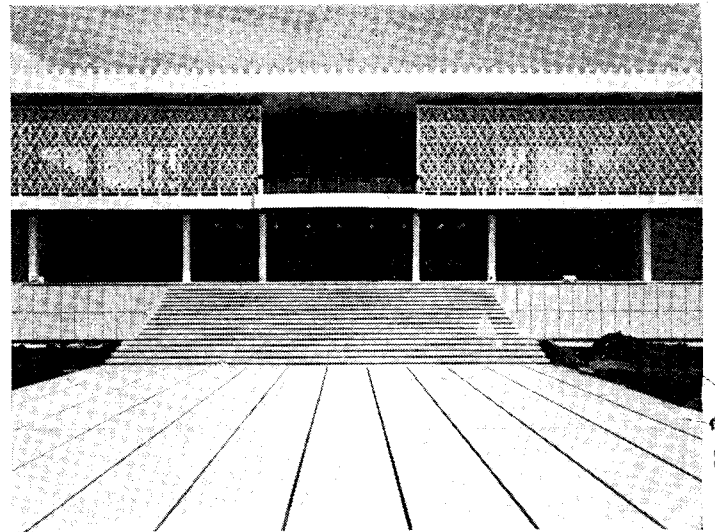
The Minbar, or pulpit, in the National Mosque, is a cantilevered reinforced concrete structure faced with white marble



The 235 feet high Minaret standing in the middle of the decorative pool



The 48 decorative concrete parasols covering the middle portion of the courtyard of the National Mosque flanked by pools decorated with fountains



The main entrance into the National Mosque

practised Islam and among other things they had built mosques and had either invited or engaged religious teachers to spread Islam in Riau, as recorded in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*. "The Regent set sail for home in Riau. His Highness built palaces and mosques and studied religious teachings from those who were well versed . . . in the subject. Furthermore he was much attached to his kinsman Raja Haji Ali, from whom he learned the concept of religion. . . ."

The challenge of the West to Islam in Malaya

Islam continued to spread in the Malay sphere during the 19th century, especially in Riau, and had flourished in the Malay Peninsula. But by the 20th century, however, Islam was faced with a new challenge. During the 20th century the Muslim community of Malaysia underwent a change in the trend of thinking on religious matters due to Western influence and Islamic interpretation brought about by Jamaluddin al-Afghani and his follower the Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh. These modern trends, which were brought into Malaya by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi and the Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin, did not get full cognition by other people of religious learning. On the other hand they were received favourably by the graduates of the University of al-Azhar, Cairo.

The Muslims in Malaysia obtained much material gain in their way of life by these Western influences. These Western teachings in the beginning of the 20th century brought about a new outlook, a new sense of values and modern upbringing.



One of the outstanding pieces of architecture in the State of Johore — the Sultan Abu Bakar Mosque at Johore Bahru, the State capital

Even under such conditions the products of the religious learning under the old system still succeeded in instilling religious fervour among their followers. In these institutions, no uniformity in administration and system of education existed. However, it was under those circumstances that local religious officials and teachers were born and trained.

Some of the products of these institutions sailed for Cairo, Mecca and India to further their studies. The training they received abroad, however, did not lay enough emphasis on religious conditions and problems prevailing in Malaysia.

Among the Muslims themselves opinion and outlook differed. Such differences originated in foreign countries and

these had crept into Malay. Religious teachers who could not tolerate these challenges kept away from the scene. New changes were looked upon as undesirable and must be forsaken. What remained was in matters of the life hereafter and moral questions.

Such passive attitudes when confronted with scientific advancement were bound to create uncertainty and confusion among the younger generation. Old customs and traditions were no longer tolerated and their places were taken over by the modern trend of thinking which flourished.

These dangerous conditions prevailed unobtrusively without any sign of repercussion.

The formation of the Muslim Association in 1940

In 1940 the Muslim Association was formed in Singapore, and the first person to give encouragement to the movement was the late Maulana 'Abdul 'Aleem al-Siddiqi. Progress was brought about by Dato' Syed Ibrahim Omar al-Sagaff, its Chairman. This new organization certainly infused new life in religious learnings. This centre became the Mecca of religious learning in Malaya and so brought about a higher status to the religious schools. It also became a religious centre for the dissemination of Arabic studies and religious teachings in Government schools. It was also the aim of this centre to raise the status of religious education among religious officials in religious departments and the Kadhis Courts apart from its task of spreading Islamic teachings as best as possible. Committees were formed and steps taken to obtain the support of the people. Finally, the late Sultan Hisamuddin al-Hajj 'Alam Shah, the Sultan of Selangor, generously donated one of his palaces to be turned into a Muslim college in Klang. In 1955 the first Muslim College began to function, and this is the highest seat of Islamic learning in Malaysia.

In 1957 Malaya obtained her independence from the British. Under the Constitution, Islam is declared the official religion of the country. This was an event of great historical significance in the development of Islam, since Malaya was made a colony under foreign yoke in 1511. When Malaysia was formed in 1963 Islam continued to be the official religion.

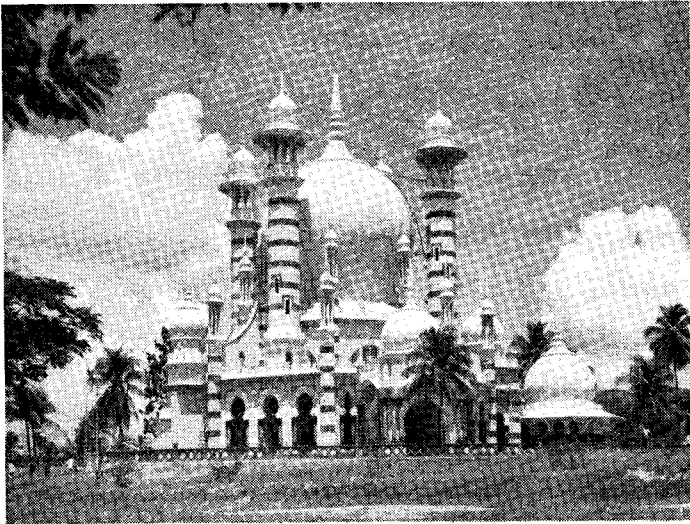
In May 1959 a Department of Islamic studies was established in the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. In the light of historical developments, this now becomes the highest seat of Islamic learning in Malaysia.

Since Independence the Islamic religion has been made a teaching subject in English schools in Malaya. In 1957 Islam was made a subject for the Lower Certificate of Education. This was indeed a welcome progress in the teaching of Islam because till then it was only taught in the Government and native religious schools and not in the English schools. Finally, Islam was made a subject in school at all stages.

The missionary and welfare activities of the All-Malaya Muslim Welfare Organization

In the field of Islamic missionary work too, the authorities are now playing an important role, in particular through the All-Malaya Muslim Welfare Organization. This Organization was founded in Kuala Lumpur on 19 August 1960 on the initiative of the Hon. The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku 'Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj, a well-known figure in Islam. Ever since the formation of this Organization the Hon. Tunku 'Abdul Rahman has been its Patron. The main objects of this Organization, amongst others, are :

- (a) to uphold and spread the Islamic faith throughout Malaysia ;
- (b) to perform welfare work to the public irrespective of their caste, creed or colour ;
- (c) to establish relationships amongst the Islamic peoples and bodies in other countries ;
- (d) to develop mutual understanding and good relationship amongst the various faiths in Malaysia and other efforts for the benefit of the followers of Islam and the citizens of Malaysia in general.



The 'Abudiyah Mosque, Kuala Kangsar, Perak

In order to launch the programmes of this Organization towards the realization of its aims and objectives, it is necessary to build a missionary training centre to educate and produce efficient Islamic missionaries. To realize this aim the organization set up an Islamic missionary training centre at the fourth mile, Jalan Ampang, Kuala Lumpur. This training centre is called "Dar al-Arqam", after the home of a Companion of the Prophet which was at one time used as the headquarters of the Islamic movement during the early period of the growth of Islam. Initially the organization succeeded in giving missionary training to 11 students who graduated in 1965 from religious secondary schools and are able to speak English.

It should be mentioned here that this centre is run under the guidance of a Muslim figure who is not a stranger particularly in Ma'ay society, namely Ustaz Muhammad Taqiuddin from Egypt, with the assistance of several others who had received higher education in foreign countries. In the meanwhile a number of Islamic community halls have been built in several localities around the States of Kedah and Selangor. In Selangor alone these Islamic halls can be found in Klang, Petaling Jaya, Jinjang and Sungei Buloh.

Lectures and talks on Islam are given in these halls in Chinese. Literature and other publications propagating Islam are given out at the same time. Consequent upon these activities many non-Muslims are attracted to the truth in the

teachings of Islam. The result is that in 1963, 36 non-Malays embraced the Islamic faith ; in 1964, 99 persons ; and in 1965 another 23 persons embraced Islam. Efforts amongst the Islamic community itself have not been neglected. The Organization carried out several activities in conformity with its objectives and aims. Information pertaining to Islam has been distributed amongst the Islamic community, and in this respect a religious course and instructions on Islam especially designed for Muslim youths were held in several places in this country, covering the effort to spread Islam amongst the aborigines.

The al-Rahmaniyyah Institute

Apart from the Muslim Welfare Body, which is supported by the Government, the al-Rahamaniyyah Institute, which was formed in 1964, is also an Islamic missionary and welfare body in Malaysia. The aim of these three missionary bodies is to deliver Islam to the general public in an effective and systematic manner.

The efforts of the Malaysian Government in building the National Mosque is but one of the steps taken in the interest of Islam. Construction on the National Mosque was first started in 1964 in Kuala Lumpur. The Mosque is yet another symbol of Islam in Malaysia, a symbol that will become the centre of the radiant light of Islam, shining not only for Malaysia but also throughout South-East Asia.



Tun 'Abdul Razak Ibn Husain, S.M.N., Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Minister of Rural Development, Federation of Malaysia, who headed the Central Organizing Committee, responsible for the construction of the Masjid Negara (The National Mosque)

THE PALESTINE QUESTION

Unity of the Arabs alone can solve the problem of the Arab Refugees

By A. J. Toynbee

"The present situation in Palestine is tragic, but the refugees have not forfeited their rights. They are still the lawful owners of their homes and properties. They still have the right to live in their own homes and own country. In fact, they have the same fundamental human rights as everyone in the world. All over the world people's consciences have been awakened to these human rights, especially since the terrible sufferings that mankind has passed through during and since the Second World War. In an age in which human rights are acknowledged without dispute, the human rights of the Arabs cannot be ignored. In my belief, no attempt to settle the Palestine Problem can be permanently successful unless it does justice to the rights of Palestine's Arab inhabitants"

Moral and political aspects of the question

1. The Palestine question has two aspects, a human one and a political one. Of course, these two aspects are bound up with each other. As soon as you consider one, you have to take account of the other as well. My own approach to the question is through its human aspect, but of course this leads me into trying to deal with the political problem too.

2. By the human aspect I mean the tragic fate of a million men, women and children who have been deprived of their homes, their property, and, worst of all, their future.

I think, above all, of the refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, which I visited in 1957. I think of the schools — good schools — in which the children were being given an education, but one that could not open up any prospects for those children in their grown-up life, except to continue to be refugees.

3. Of course, this is not the first instance in which a people has been driven from its home by fear of death. In the eighth and the sixth century B.C., the people of two small kingdoms in Palestine — Israel and Judah — were driven out of their homes in what is now, not the new state of Israel, but the part of the Arab state of Jordan that lies to the west of the Jordan River. It is a moral tragedy that the descendants of the Jewish exiles should now have inflicted on the present-day Arab population of Palestine the wrong which the Jews' own ancestors once suffered. What hope is there for human nature if we inflict on others the very wrongs that we ourselves have suffered? The experience of having been victims ought to deter us from victimizing our fellow human beings.

4. In the past, perhaps, the forcible eviction of people from their homes has been taken for granted as one of the normal misfortunes to which human life is exposed. What is peculiar, and particularly shocking, about the eviction of the Palestinian Arabs in 1948 is that, by that date, such treatment of one people by another had already come to be condemned by a general consensus of the human race. In taking the Palestinian Arabs' homes and property by force, the Israelis were sinning not only against their own conscience, in the light of their own people's past experience, but also against the conscience of mankind.

5. Moreover, the Palestinian Arabs were innocent victims. Of course the great majority is always innocent in any group of human beings on whom suffering is inflicted.

Consider the Germans who have become refugees in Western Germany from Czechoslovakia, from Eastern Germany, and from those former German territories that have been annexed to Poland and to the Soviet Union since the end of the Second World War in 1945. Perhaps only a small minority of these refugees were Nazis. Yet all of them were German citizens; and, as German citizens, each of them bore some responsibility, however slight, for having allowed Hitler to come into power in Germany and to stay in power. They, therefore, bear some responsibility for the crimes that the Nazis committed. It is true that the penalty of exile is a much heavier punishment than the great majority of them deserved. Still, none of them were completely guiltless of complicity in the Nazis' crimes. By contrast, the Palestinian Arabs were completely innocent of the crimes committed against the Jews by the Germans under the Nazi régime. It was not the Palestinian Arabs who committed genocide against the European Jews; it was the Germans. The Germans murdered the Jews; the Palestinian Arabs have been made to pay for what the Germans did. After the defeat of Germany and the overthrow of the Nazi régime, the victorious Western powers allowed the surviving Jews to compensate themselves for the Germans' crimes at the Palestinian Arabs' expense.

I can understand the Jews demanding, after their experience at Nazi hands, that they should be given some piece of territory somewhere in the world, where they would be masters in their own house and where there would be an asylum for any Jew who, in future, might be threatened with a repetition of what the Nazis did. But, if the Jews had a claim to be given a piece of territory, this should have been done at the expense of the Western nation that had done its worst to exterminate the Jews. If the creation of a new state of Israel was judged to be a legitimate form of compensation to the surviving Jews, the territory for this state should have been taken from the Europeans, not from the Arabs. The new Israel should not have been carved out of Arab Palestine; it should have been carved out of Central Europe.

How deeply the West is impervious to understanding the injustice done to the Arabs

This point seems to me to be simple and obvious. But once, when I made it in a lecture in a Western country (not Germany; not Britain), it was received with shouts of Laughter. The people who laughed were not Jews; they were

non-Jewish Westerners, and the country was one that has been traditionally opposed to colonialism. Yet they laughed because it seemed to them preposterous that a Western nation should be made to pay for its own crimes with its own territory, when the West's moral debt to the Jews could, so it seemed to these Westerners, be settled by giving the Jews the territory of a non-Western people that committed no crime at all against the Jews.

This laughter shocked me because it revealed to me what seemed to me a shocking persistence of the colonialist attitude of mind. A guilty Western people's territory was held to be sacrosanct, because, though guilty, they were Westerners. An innocent non-Western people's territory could, it was held, legitimately be given away to the Jews by the victorious Western powers. This amounts to a declaration of the inequality of the Western and the non-Western sections of the human race. It is a claim that Westerners are privileged, however guilty they may be. It is a denial of those universal human rights that, in truth, are possessed by every man, woman, and child in the world, irrespective of differences in civilization, religion, nationality, race.

6. *Britain's share of responsibility for the present fate of the Palestinian Arab refugees*

I have just made a general criticism of the West's attitude to the eviction of the Palestinian Arabs. As I am an Englishman, I must now go on to consider my own country's special share in this general Western responsibility.

Britain's special responsibility is great. She was in occupation of Palestine for the thirty years, 1918-1948, immediately preceding the catastrophe that the Palestinian Arabs suffered in 1948. It was the British Government that made the Balfour Declaration and that had the chief say in drafting the mandate under which Britain administered Palestine from 1922 onwards.

Britain's share in the betrayal of the Arabs

I blame Britain particularly for two things :

(i) *Britain created expectations in the minds of the Palestinian Arabs and the Zionist Jews that were incompatible with each other.*

Britain gave the Palestinian Arabs the expectation that they were eventually going to have in Palestine a national state of their own.

The mandate for Palestine was one of the so-called "A" class, under which the mandatory was pledged to prepare the people of the mandated territory for eventual independence as a self-governing nation. At the time when the mandate for Palestine was drafted and was brought into force, the Palestinian Arabs amounted to at least 90% of the population of Palestine. It was therefore reasonable for them to expect that the independent state, to which the mandate was to lead up, would be an Arab national state with a small minority of Jews and other non-Arabs in it.

At the same time, Britain allowed the Zionist Jews to entertain the expectation that there would be a Jewish state in Palestine one day. This Jewish expectation was perhaps less warrantable than the Arab one. In both the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, the Jews had been promised, not a national state in Palestine, but a national home. But the meaning of the term "national home" was not defined. There was no explicit statement that it ruled out the pos-

sibility of an eventual Jewish state in Palestine. Britain knew quite well that a Jewish state was what the Zionists were hoping for and working for. It was natural for the Zionists to suppose that, since Britain had not explicitly ruled out a Jewish state, she would not oppose the evolution of the "home" into a state.

As you will see, a lawyer could demonstrate that Britain's undertakings to the Arabs and her undertakings to the Jews were compatible with each other on a strictly legalistic interpretation of them. But, from the practical point of view, what mattered was, not the lawyer's interpretation of these British undertakings, but the expectations that they would create — and naturally and legitimately create — in the minds of ordinary human beings. These legitimate exceptions, created by the British undertakings,



Victims of Zionist aggression

were unquestionably incompatible and were therefore bound to lead to a conflict between the Palestinian Arabs and the Zionist Jews.

(ii) *Britain refused, throughout the duration of her mandate, to face the situation that she had created; she refused to adopt a definite policy and to carry this policy out.*

The only chance of removing the conflict that Britain herself had created was for Britain to take a definite line and to impose it on both parties. Whatever line she might take was bound to disappoint one or other of the parties to some extent. This was Britain's own fault, because it had been obvious that the expectations that she had created were irreconcilable.

Britain ought to have made up her mind, and have declared, at an early stage of the mandate, what kind of an

independent Palestine, and what kind of Jewish national home in Palestine, she was proposing eventually to establish. She could have decided that there was to be a unitary Palestinian state in which the Arabs would be in a majority but in which the Zionist Jewish minority would have a Jewish national home guaranteed to them. Alternatively, Britain could have decided that the Jewish national home was eventually to take the form of a Jewish national state carved out of Palestine, and that Palestine was therefore to be partitioned into two separate states, a large one for the Arab majority and a smaller one for the Jewish minority.

Britain flinched, from beginning to end of the mandate, from taking the decision that it was her duty to take. One reason why she failed to do her duty on this point was, I am afraid, because she was unwilling to face the unpopularity that she was bound to incur by disappointing the expectations of the Jews or the Arabs or both.

The decision ought to have been taken by Britain long before the situation in Palestine was complicated for her by Hitler's persecution of the Jews in Europe. And the European Jewish refugees should not have been given an asylum in Palestine. They should have been given one in Britain and the United States: for the sake of humanity, these two Western countries ought to have opened their doors wide to Jewish refugees from persecution by another Western country. Both Britain and the United States could have absorbed the European Jewish refugees without any disastrous political consequences for them, such as have overtaken the Palestinian Arabs as a result of the influx of European Jewish refugees into Palestine.

As you see, I blame my own country severely for the tragic state of affairs in Palestine today.

Unity of the Arabs alone can solve the problem of the Arab refugees

7. Palestine and Arab Unity :

The present situation in Palestine is tragic, but the refugees have not forfeited their rights. They are still the lawful owners of their homes and properties. They still have the right to live in their own homes and own country. In fact, they have the same fundamental human rights as everyone in the world. All over the world people's consciences have been awakened to these human rights, especially since the terrible sufferings that mankind has passed through during and since the Second World War. In an age in which human rights are acknowledged without dispute, the human rights of the Arabs cannot be ignored. In my belief, no attempt to settle the Palestine Problem can be permanently successful unless it does justice to the rights of Palestine's Arab inhabitants.

Looking towards the future, one asks oneself how the other Arab peoples can help the Palestinian Arabs most effectively. It is obviously a delicate matter for an outsider to offer suggestions about this. All the same, I will venture to give my own opinion. I think nothing could help the Palestinian Arabs so much as a movement towards a close and effective unity in the Arab World as a whole. There is a saying that union is strength. I am sure this is true. I feel sure that if the whole Arab World were to speak with a united voice, this voice will be heard by the rest of the world and would be listened to with greater consideration than

it is receiving today. In fact, I think the voice of the United Arabs would be effective in shortening the period during which the Palestinian Arabs are suffering the present injustice that is being done to them.

Of course we are all aware of the difficulties that have prevented Arab Union so far. Some of these difficulties come from outside the Arab World. Some of them, however, are domestic difficulties, and no outside power can prevent the Arabs from overcoming these domestic difficulties if the Arabs have the will.

Will history repeat itself in the matter of the unity amongst the Arab nations ?

As I am an historian, I tend to look at present problems in the light of the past. I remember an earlier occasion on which the Arab World was involved at a time when it was divided and weak. I am thinking, of course, of the Crusades. The crisis produced by the first Crusade for the Arabs and for Islam was as great as the crisis produced by the establishment of Israel. In this earlier situation, the Arab reaction was not immediate. In the end, the Arabs did succeed in uniting closely enough and on a large enough scale to save themselves from the threat to which they have been exposed.

The Arab World is a large world and it is perhaps natural that it should take time for a movement towards unity and co-operation to spread through all the Arab countries. Looking ahead, I believe that in the present case the movement towards unity will prevail as it did eight hundred years ago. Today, once again, the whole Arab World is under heavy pressure from outside. We are living in an age in which it is becoming increasingly difficult for any country to stand alone. We are moving into a period of unification. The European peoples seem to be now in process of uniting with each other after a period of disunity which in Europe has lasted for eleven hundred years. This, I am sure, is because the Europeans are now conscious that they are faced with the choice between uniting and going under. I believe the same causes will produce similar effects in the Arab World, and, in other regions as well.

The Western peoples ought to be sympathetic towards the idea of Arab Union because the position of the Arab World is not unlike the position of the West. The West feels that it has a tradition of civilization which is of value to mankind as a whole, and wishes to preserve its western heritage as a contribution to mankind's common treasure. The Arab World, too, has its own contribution to make to the common stock of civilization. Arab unity and revival can be nothing but a benefit to the world as a whole. The Arabs too have much to give to their fellow-men.

I realize that I have been treading on ground that is particularly delicate and controversial, but I venture to give my opinion because I have no axe to grind. I am a well-wisher of the Palestinian Arabs in particular and of the whole Arab World in general.

8. The question of Arab Unity is, no doubt, a delicate one though not, I suppose, in the United Arab Republic. I should like to see the greatest possible number of the Palestinian refugees not only recover their homes and property, but return home under a Palestinian Arab government. In the mean time I should like to see life made as tolerable as possible for the refugees in any way in which this can be done without compromising their claims for the restitution of their property and for the recovery of their homes.

THE HIJAZ RAILWAY¹

ITS HISTORY

During the Hajj season 12 trains will run daily in the autumn of 1966, and 15,000 passengers will make the trip in 24 hours from Ma'an to Medina. Over Mountains, through valleys, across the rock-strewn plains

By Daniel da Cruz

"It was near ten o'clock when we heard the signal gun fired, and then, without any disorder, litters were suddenly heaved and braced upon the bearing beasts, and the thousands of riders mounted in silence. The length of the slow-footed multitude was near two miles, and the width some hundred yards in the open plains. We marched in an empty waste, a plain of gravel, where nothing appeared and never a road before us."

So wrote the 19th-century explorer of Arabia, Charles M. Doughty, as he set out from Damascus with a caravan of 6,000 pilgrims and 10,000 camels and pack animals. Destination: the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. Expected time of arrival: some 40 to 50 days thence — more if desert wells were dry or the caravan attacked by Bedouin marauders. Making the *hajj*, or pilgrimage, in those days demanded more than religious zeal; it required courage, endurance and money, and the bleaching bones of those who lacked these prerequisites marked the way south with disturbing frequency.

Small wonder, therefore, that the news of a great rail project, to link Damascus with Medina and Mecca, was received with joy and thanksgiving by the Muslim world when proclaimed in 1900 by 'Abd al-Hamid, Caliph of Islam and Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his accession to the sultanate. The Sultan, as it happened, hoped that his announcement might bring belated lustre to a reign characterized by a stern despotism, and yet neither the idea of a railroad, nor its execution depended in the least upon 'Abd al-Hamid. The idea was spawned in the mind of a German-American, Dr. O. Zimble, as early as 1864, when the fever of a railroad building in the United States was at its height, and no project anywhere seemed impossible; and it was pushed to completion by a Syrian Arab named 'Izzet Pasha al-'Abed.

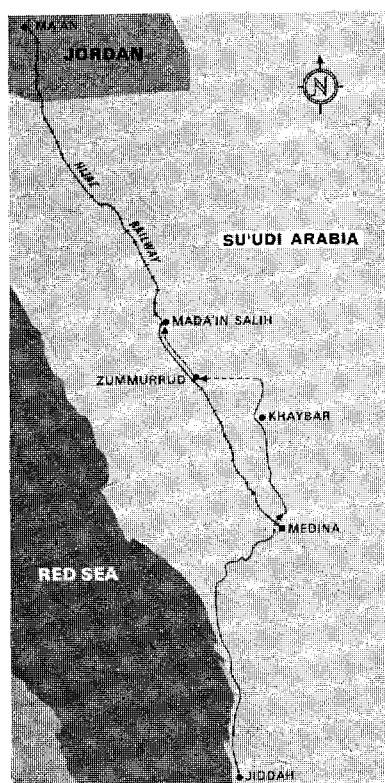
'Izzet Pasha al-'Abed was a remarkable man. Second

secretary to 'Abd al-Hamid, he was named President of the Hijaz Railroad Commission and charged with not only building the railroad but paying for it. In an empire whose chronic deficits had won it the name "The Sick Man of Europe", this was not to be easy. But 'Izzet Pasha al-'Abed was equal to the task. Unlike projected railroads in even the healthiest of nations, the Hijaz Railway financed the entire operation without a single foreign loan or the floating of a single bond issue.

'Izzet Pash engineered this remarkable feat with a combination of applied psychology and arm-twisting that compels admiration even today, when fund raising is almost a science. His initial move was to persuade Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to donate first \$250,000. For the sake of their *amour propre*, the Khedive of Egypt and the Shah of Iran felt impelled to do the same. With the example of their rulers before them, the peoples of all Muslim nations, rich and poor alike, soon fell into line, contributing what they could. This, of course, was not nearly enough. So, with the zest for extracting revenues for which they were celebrated, the Turks collected an impost of five gold piasters on every new house built in the Ottoman Empire, required every member of the Turkish civil service and armed forces to "contribute" 10 per cent of one month's salary (yielding one million dollars), instituted a head tax of five gold piasters on every male citizen in the empire, and issued special Hijaz Railway stamps. The sale of titles swelled the ranks of the "beys" and "pashas", and brought in capital quite out of proportion to the rather tattered glory of belonging to the Turkish nobility.

By the time the railway was completed and in operation, the Turkish Government had collected not only enough to pay the construction costs, but to provide a surplus equal to \$1.75 million. Thus the Hijaz Railway became probably the first in history to be paid for before selling its first ticket, the first to start life with a cash surplus, and undoubtedly the first to be operated by a *waqf* — a self-perpetuating, non-profit religious endowment for the administration of property according to Muslim law.

Work on the Hijaz Railway began in May 1900, with a route survey by the Turkish engineer Hadshtar Mukhtar Bey, in what today would seem an incredibly off-hand manner: he simply tagged along behind a Medina-bound pilgrim caravan, taking his sitings and jotting down his observations as he jogged along on camel-back. Considering the route that the railroad was to cross, this approach seems today almost unbelievable. It began in Damascus, headed due south over the bare rolling plains of Hauran, passed Der'a and what is now 'Amman, climbed the mountains east and south of the Dead Sea, and dropped down to the fastness of Hijaz bordering the Red Sea. It included the eerie landscape south of Ma'an that one observer likened to that of the moon. The valleys, that



¹ Courtesy, the Editor, *Aramco World* for September-October 1965, New York, U.S.A.

observer said, are "chasms and gorges . . . full of twists and turns, 1,000 to 4,000 feet deep, barren of cover and flanked on each side by pitless granite, basalt and porphyry . . . piled up in jagged heaps of fragments . . ." At other places the country is "blue-black and volcanic," the observer wrote, adding that eventually it changed into a "valley of soft-black sand, with more crags of weathered sandstone rising from the blackness".

Despite that, the imperturbable engineer explored no alternative routes, believing — with good reason as it turned out — that over the centuries the caravans were sure to have found the easiest and best routes. Furthermore, a sure water supply, so necessary to camel caravans and railway operations alike, was assured from ancient wells which marked the route at intervals.

The following year the German engineer Messner was given the honorary title of "pasha" and put in charge of an international team of engineers: 17 Turks, 12 Germans, 5 Italians, 5 Frenchmen, 2 Austrians, 1 Belgian and 1 Greek. Since labour along the line was non-existent — there were Bedouins, of course, but these sons of the desert scorned manual labour as not befitting free men — the Turkish Army supplied the deficiency with a draft of 3,630 enlisted troops, mostly from Syrian and Iraqi regiments.

Lacking lateral access to the projected line, for there were then, as now, few roads in the area able to bear heavy loads, the construction crews were obliged to carry all food, fuel and building materials with them as they went, instead of stockpiling them along the route where needed. Despite these cumbersome logistics, the line snaked steadily southward. It crossed the plain of Hauran, lurched down the precipitous gorge of the Yarmouk River into the Jordan depression, ricocheted through the valleys until once more gaining the highlands near Ma'an. From an altitude of 3,540 feet at Ma'an, the line dipped down and up again to 3,780 feet at al-Mutalla' in present-day Su'udi Arabia, tobogganed to 1,290 feet at Hadivvah, and, finally levelled out at Medina at an altitude of 2,050 feet.

Although only at rare intervals did the railway cross running water, it intersected innumerable dry river beds which at unpredictable intervals of one, two or sometimes even five years, became raging torrents from sudden cloud-bursts somewhere along their course. It was therefore imperative to build bridges across their dusty beds, or risk washouts of long sections of track where the rains came. In all, some 2,000 bridges and culverts were constructed, without exception from native stone found nearby instead of concrete, which would have had to be imported at great cost. The tedious labour involved in chipping irregular stone into smooth square or rectangular blocks was performed by poorly paid conscript troops, but so well were the flat-topped or arched culverts and bridges built that today, 60 years later, 1,500 of them survive only marginally impaired.

Like the bridges, the other aspects of the railroad's civil engineering were solid and built to last. Rails of 21.5 kilogrammes per metre (14.33 pounds per foot) section were secured to steel ties weighing 88 pounds each, chosen for durability and low-maintenance qualities. Beneath them the road-bed of crushed-rock ballast, 12 inches deep, rested on a rather narrow embankment of local gravels. The 42-inch gauge, unique among the world's railroads, was undoubtedly selected as a military precaution, for the line would be completely useless to an enemy whose rolling stock were of a different gauge. An additional military measure was the construction of many more "station" structures than were actually needed, for many of them were erected in the middle of the desert, hundreds of miles from the nearest human

habitation. Forty-eight in all, the interval between stations averaged 11 miles, just about right for armed patrols stationed at each to maintain the security of the line between. Built of stone and suggestive of frontier blockhouses, the stations had rifle-slots instead of windows. Emphasizing the fortress aspect were the water wells that surfaced in an inner courtyard out of reach of possible attackers and an ingenious arrangement by which defenders could pour a murderous fire into the courtyard should the outer defences be breached.

The terrain through which the Hijaz Railway was built is uncommonly hostile to man, but the weather can be even more taxing. Describing the rigours of the summer season, a European observer related how on one trip in the Hijaz "the hot breathlessness changed suddenly to bitter cold and damp, sun blotted out by thick rags of yellow air over our heads. Brown walls of cloud rushed changelessly upon us with a loud grinding sound. It struck, wrapping about us a blanket of dust and stinging grains of sand, twisting and turning in violent eddies. Camels were sometimes blown completely around. Small trees were torn up and flung at us. The storm lasted eighteen minutes, then down burst thick rain in torrents, muddying us to the skin, and we had to run to high ground to avoid flash floods."

Neither the lunar landscape, however, nor the climate stopped the work construction for long. On 1 September 1901 the Damascus-Der'a section was inaugurated. A year later to the day the Der'a-Zarqa' section was opened, followed by the extension of the line to 'Amman in 1903, Ma'an in 1904, Tabuk in 1906, Mada'in Salih in 1907, and Medina in 1908. Between 1900 and 1908, the year the Hijaz Railway went into active operation, the Turks had put down 808 miles of rail, a very respectable engineering feat considering the imposing handicaps and the quality of the completed line, which an American railway engineer recently described as "technically, a first-rate job".

Although the Hijaz Railway had originally been planned to extend all the way to Mecca, Medina was destined to be its southern terminus. Increasing resistance from peninsular tribes, who keenly felt the loss of revenues as railway carriage replaced camel caravan in transporting pilgrims, made it impolitic for the feeble Ottoman government to insist on pushing the line farther. Nor did the Hijaz Railway have its former champion to press its case, for Minister of the War 'Izzet Pasha al-'Abed had, like his master Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid, been deposed the very year the railway was completed by a revolt of the "Young Turks".

The romance and novelty of the Hijaz Railway largely evaporated with its completion, although it retained one noteworthy distinction: reflecting its Muslim mission and ownership, the railroad's management did not allow non-Muslims to approach Medina closer than Ma'an without special permission (just as on the 2124-mile stretch between Mada'in Salih and Medina only Muslim engineers and workers were employed). Otherwise it became just another railroad, prosaically transporting the paying public between Damascus and Medina in an elapsed time averaging three days. The Hijaz Railway settled down to grow old gracefully.

It was not to be. Within less time than it took to build it, winds of war blew hot upon the Hijaz Railway. Turkey entered the Great War on the side of the Central Powers, and its occupation of the Middle East threatened the narrow bottleneck of the Suez Canal, through which passed the vital lifeline between Great Britain and its maritime bases in India, Singapore and Hong Kong. No longer was the Hijaz Railway a beneficent pathway for devout Muslims making the *hajj*, but a military highway down which Turkey could send its armed might, strengthening its grip on the Arabian Peninsula

and, by its mere existence, pose a constant threat to British power in Egypt.

Winston Churchill summed up the British position in typically apocalyptic terms :

"The Turkish armies operating against Egypt depended upon the desert railway. This slender steel track hundreds of miles of blistering desert. If it were permanently cut the Turkish armies must perish : the ruin of Turkey must follow. . . . Here was the Achilles' heel, and it was upon this that this man in his twenties directed his audacious, desperate, romantic assaults. . . ."

"This man" was, of course, T. E. Lawrence, who was to become famous in the West as "Lawrence of Arabia".

Colonel Lawrence also saw the military value of the railroad but developed a different theory about how to combat it. "Our ideal," he wrote, "was to keep his (the Turk's) railroad just working, but only just, with the maximum loss and discomfort."

In practice, the strategy the Allies adopted was based on the strengths of the Arab warriors. The Bedouin was unused to formal operations, in which organization and a preponderance of firepower were usually the deciding factors. But his assets of mobility, toughness, self-assurance, knowledge of the country, intelligent courage and love of surprise attack were ideal for hit-and-run operations which would cut the line, harass patrols and keep the Turks making repairs, answering false alarms and chasing phantoms. In a typical operation, the Arabs with one or two British demolition experts would suddenly materialize out of the desert, swoop down on the line and disperse or annihilate the Turkish patrol guarding that section of the railway. In the hour or so before Turkish troops could arrive in force, sappers would first conceal trigger-action mines up and down the right-of-way to take care of reinforcements arriving by train, then go to work on the vital bridges or overpasses. Filling drainage holes in the spandrels with three to five pounds of explosive gelatine each, fired by short fuses, they could bring down a whole line of arches, shatter the supporting piers and strip the side walls, all in six minutes of frantic work.

At the first sign of Turkish troops, the Arabs would mount their camels and melt into the desert, as silently as they had come.

The tribesmen went at their work with extraordinary zest. In the first four months after the Allied capture of Aqaba they destroyed 17 Turkish locomotives and many miles of track. Within a year, travelling on the Hijaz Railway had become an uncertain adventure. At Damascus passengers scrambled for back seats on trains. Engineers struck. Civilian traffic languished, and, as the war approached its close, ceased altogether.

In 1918, as the British and Arab forces swept almost unimpeded towards Damascus in the last great offensive of the war in the Middle East, the roles of the two sides were reversed. The Allies, who by then held the Hijaz Railroad from Der'a to Medina, feverishly repaired what they had spent two years in destroying, so that they could use it to bring troops, ammunition and food to the front from the south. The Turks, having bled themselves white trying to keep the line running, now devoted their best efforts to destroying it. They were as frustrated in the second undertaking, however, as they had been in the first. Within weeks the Allies rolled triumphantly into Damascus.

The Allied strategy of disrupting, rather than destroying, the Hijaz Railway had been rigorously applied ; the revolt in the desert accounted for the total destruction of perhaps no more than a few miles of road-bed. According to his own account Lawrence, a man not given to self-effacement, con-

fessed to the demolition of only some 80 bridges, out of a total of 2,000. Why, then, with the major portion of the Damascus-Medina railway still serviceable — from Damascus to Ma'an, in fact, regular service has been almost uninterrupted up to the present day — was not the line repaired and put into full operation immediately after World War I?

The answer must be sought in the political cross-currents that buffeted the Middle East after that war. Neither Britain nor France, assuming mandatory powers in the new Arab nations carved out at European conference tables, found it in their interest to re-establish fast and easy communications between Damascus and Medina, which would tend to unite what they had just split asunder. Against this obduracy, all attempts by the Muslim world to restore the road of the pilgrims foundered. When in 1938 the late King Ibn Su'ud of Su'udi Arabia announced the gift of 50,000 Turkish gold lira toward the restoration of the Hijaz Railway, the Syrian Government enthusiastically responded by earmarking 270,000 Syrian pounds for the same purpose, whereupon French occupation forces prorogued the Syrian Parliament and the project died.

It wasn't until both Syria and Jordan became fully independent that serious efforts to rebuild the Hijaz Railway bore fruit. An Executive Committee for Recommissioning the Hijaz Railroad Line was established, with four members each from Syria, Jordan and Su'udi Arabia. King Ibn Su'ud put \$570,000 at the Committee's disposal in June 1955 for a study of the damaged portion of the line and an estimate of rehabilitation costs of the Ma'an-Medina section. The committee, in turn, in August 1956, awarded an American engineering firm a contract to make the survey and the engineers went forth to see what the years had done to 'Izzet Pasha al-'Abed's great project. They quickly found the answer : not much.

Preserved by the dry desert air, engineers noted, great segments of rail still ran straight and true across the sands, unrusty, the dates of manufacture — 1907 and 1909 — still perfectly legible. Some stations were in almost perfect condition despite evidence inside of nomadic occupation — ashes from cooking fires, the residue of herds of goats quartered within against the wind and inscriptions in Arabic of the local equivalent of "Kilroy was here". At some stations the gaunt steel frames of passenger and freight cars stood silently on sidings, their wooden sides, roofs and seats long since stripped away to fuel Bedouin camp-fires, but their coiled springs, flanged wheels, couplings and fastenings still intact. In others it seemed as if the workers had one day just suddenly vanished, leaving things exactly as they were in the middle of a normal work day. At Mada'in Salih, for example, a locomotive, seemingly intact, stands to this day on a track in a repair shop with a jack affixed to the front end ready to raise it into the air for repairs. Scattered on the floor are layers of broken roof tile inscribed : "Tuileries Romain Boyer-Marseille". Outside is a flat-car with two square water tanks punctured with bullet holes, and a coal car with enough coal still in it to stoke the locomotive. Along a "street" that leads by what were once barracks for Turkish troops, Bedouin children today play in the sand while others bend over their books in a station house that the government has converted into a school.

In their formal reports, the engineers gave reasons for cautious optimism about the feasibility of rebuilding the railway. Considering that the line had been laid down half a century previously, had been subjected to systematic sabotage for two years by British and Arab raiders, and had received no maintenance at all south of Ma'an since 1917, the line was in surprisingly good shape. On the abandoned Ma'an-Medina

section, some 37 miles, or about 7 per cent, of the track was gone, most of it ripped up by the British between Ma'an and Mudawwara in World War II to build a spur. Sand dunes covered eight miles, or 1.6 per cent of the line, in drifts ranging from 6 to 16 feet and up to 1,000 feet long. Blown sand was a greater problem, for it lodged between the rails up to four inches deep for a distance of 160 miles, 30 per cent of the way between Ma'an and Medina. Washed-out embankments accounted, finally, for an additional 31 miles, or 6 per cent, of the line; this was the direct result of silted-up drainage systems, which impounded, instead of discharging, the occasionally heavy December-to-March rains. The operating portion between Ma'an and Damascus was also in relatively good condition.

Agreement among the governments of Syria, Jordan and Su'udi Arabia to re-activate the entire Hijaz Railway line was a foregone conclusion. The project was to be financed by splitting the estimated \$30 million construction cost equally among the three governments, with the aid of an eight-year loan for materials by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The successful bidder for the project, a consortium of the British engineering firms Alderton Construction Westminster, Ltd., and Martin Cowley, Ltd., signed the contract for the job on 6 December 1963. This group, the Hijaz Railway Construction Company, Ltd., in turn retained Mr. L. B. Franco as project manager and Mr. William Cruse, President of the American Railway Engineers' Association, as chief engineer. Mr. Franco, an American construction engineer with a distinguished record of achievement on five continents, assembled a crew of 25 Syrian, Jordanian, American, English, Belgian and Malayan engineers, and began work in March 1964. If the projected construction schedule is met, the last spike will be driven sometime in the autumn of 1966.

The state of the art of railway building is probably among the slowest-changing of the engineering sciences, for nearly all railroads are still basically steel rails fixed to wooden ties resting on a solid stone-ballast foundation. But there will be changes, some in the fundamental specifications. The road-bed will be reinforced with a 12-inch layer of ballast; the crown will be widened about two feet and on much of the main line the original rail, which was taken up and stacked along the route last spring, will be replaced by a more durable steel rail weighing 31.1 kilogrammes per metre (21.85 pounds per foot). The old steel ties, installed 28.16 inches apart by the Turks, have also been taken up, and it is clear, looking at their corroded tips, why they will be replaced. Good for their day and extremely rugged, they were, unfortunately, susceptible to corrosion from the moisture held by blown sand. In their stead the contractors will lay down ties of worm-resistant and practically indestructible Australian *jarrah* wood measuring 4½ in. by 8 in. by 6 ft. 6 in., much cheaper than steel even when spaced more closely at intervals of 24.16 inches. The rails will be fastened to the ties with elastic spikes of the latest design.

When the Turks ran the railroad, the maximum speed was 25 miles per hour, which, with coaling and watering stops, added up to a three-day run between Damascus and Medina. Shooting for a new maximum speed of 44 m.p.h. and a one-day run, the engineers will iron out many of the sharper bends in the line (some of which have radii as low as 425 feet), introducing transition curves and replacing the worst curves with gentler turns having radii of more than 1,000 feet. The steepest gradients will be eased to a maximum of 1.99 per cent — still fairly steep by American railroad standards.

According to the present timetable, the next order of business, now that the old rails and ties have been removed, is the reconstruction of grade crossings, station houses and wells. Meanwhile, building stone for culverts and bridges will

be prepared, mostly by traditional methods used by the original builders. By then, the new steel rails and wooden ties will have arrived, and the laying of track will begin at the rate of more than a mile and a half a day — three miles if track is laid from both ends.

Before the project is completed, 60 per cent of the rail, nearly all the ties and all the switches will have been replaced, involving the importation of 23,000 tons of steel rails from Europe and 750,000 *jarrah* ties from Australia. Considering the anticipated speed with which this material will be installed and the 5,000-odd men needed to do the job originally, the labour force — a mere 300 men — which will do the work seems a printer's error. The difference, of course, is in the phalanx of dozers, trucks, cranes, scrapers and other mechanical devices available today. A U.S.-made stone crusher, for example, will do the job previously requiring the full-time hard labour of 1,000 men. And a track-laying machine costing less than \$20,000 will enable a small crew of technicians to lay 85 miles of track in 54 days.

Machines won't solve all the engineers' problems. Despite a revolution in transportation techniques, all material must still be brought to the site either by road from Aqaba or by rail from Beirut, just as it was by the Turks. The builders must still drill wells along the line for their water (the old wells have long since silted up), going down from 200 to 275 feet in most places, but over 2,750 feet around Ma'an. There is no way to avoid corrosion on that part of the line which crosses the desert's extensive salt flats, and as for positioning drainage structures across the river beds, this can be the engineer's nightmare, since water comes down different dry watercourses each year. Even the surveying, done from trucks rather than camel-back this time, is a problem. In the winter of 1963-64, ice and snow blocked access roads to the rail line, and from May to September the day temperatures of 115° to 135°F. produce mirages that make goulash of transit readings. Some of the dilemmas are strictly economic, such as the proposed elimination of a long switchback halfway from the Jordanian border to Medina. Entirely feasible from the engineering standpoint, it would cut two minutes off the schedule, but the cost — \$500,000 in new bridges and other structures — was thought prohibitive for two minutes of anybody's time, and the idea was quietly dropped.

So far, the work is proceeding smoothly and systematically, and there is every reason to believe that it will finish on schedule. When it does, five diesel-powered trains a day (twelve times as many as formerly) will speed in each direction, accommodating 5,000 passengers as well as mail and freight. Because there is only one track this will involve, of course, an extensive use of sidings. During the *hajj* season, 12 trains daily will be put in service, and 15,000 passengers will make the trip in 24 hours in comfortable contrast to the 6,000 who made the six-week trip by camel in Doughty's day. Settlements will spring up along the line at many of the 33 of the 48 original stations which are to be rebuilt. Fresh fruits and vegetables will flow southward into natural markets in Su'udi Arabia, and mineral wealth from the peninsula will seek its outlet on the Mediterranean littoral. Jordanian phosphates from the Dead Sea, one day soon to come into commercial production for the export market, could well justify a spur line to Aqaba; a similar intriguing possibility is a branch line from Medina to Yenbo on the Red Sea.

Attractive as these incidental advantages will certainly prove to the economic and cultural life of the region, the Hijaz Railway will remain in the future primarily what it was in the past: the high road of the devout to the holy cities of Medina and Mecca, the means of fulfilment of the Qur'anic injunction that every Muslim make the pilgrimage at least once in his lifetime.

A problem of Identity in Arabo-Islamic Countries with their Precious Heritage of Islam

The need of the instauration of a new, more humane and more workable social order

Why no Industrial Revolution in Muslim Countries?

By Shakib Khelil

Introduction

The laws of humanity seem to have lost their power of solving problems of our century. On the contrary, the law of the jungle has replaced them, making our twentieth-century man resemble his prehistoric ancestor. Only the environment seems to have changed.

It is undeniable that the modern world has produced many new problems — social, political and economic. When dealing with these problems, the leaders of the under-developed countries in general, those of Muslim States in particular, are reacting by either doing too much or too little. Where one does draw a line is anybody's guess.

Taking into consideration the preceding remark, it is interesting to consider the Muslim leaders' programme of action : many, when faced with the new patterns and system of values, think they are only a temporary thing and thus prefer to maintain themselves in their traditional way of life ; if it is wise to ponder over the past, it is more important to consider the present and meditate on the future. Others, however, do not recognize the new set of conditions and try to evade them. They get lost in generalities far from satisfying anyone looking for results and programmes. Others finally go as far as to claim that the new patterns of life have definitely swept the old system of values into oblivion, thus dramatizing the feeling of hopelessness associated with the ways of life before the Western civilization clashed with them.

The thought that comes to one's mind, at least for the one recognizing the existence of the problem, is : " Isn't there anything in our old system of values we can use as a source of inspiration and actions in our present programme? "

Importance of the problem

I shall start by referring myself to Algeria ; for Algeria is my homeland. Algeria is part of the larger family of the Arabo-Islamic civilization. In order to look into the latter's grandeur and weaknesses, it is necessary to go through a great amount of Islamic treasure written mainly in Arabic. It is important to recognize at this point that few Western scholars have access to it, and even then they are limited in their search, if not by the language barrier or prejudice, then by their native culture.

Fadhil Zaky Muhammad¹ shows also that another reason for not leaving all considerations to be made by Western scholars is " the lack of knowledge of Arabic-

Islamic civilization on their part despite the fact that this civilization played a significant role in the Western renaissance ".

The aforementioned reasons seem to be well founded when one considers the errors made by Western thinkers on the subject. Fadhil Zaky Muhammad¹ gives many such examples in his brochure.

The point seems to escape Western scholars that the Arabo-Islamic civilization is not synonymous with Western thought and rests upon its own ideals and traditions, as pointed out by Fadhil Zayk Muhammad.¹

Western scholars, however, are not denied the right to study, analyse, and appraise the Arabo-Islamic civilization. On the contrary they are credited with exposing many of both its capabilities and deficiencies. As an example, Jean François Kahn² considers the problem faced by Muslim countries in general, and Algeria in particular, in their way to socialization.

Purpose of the investigation

As pointed out earlier in this essay, the problem to be considered is not only a mere clash of old and new systems of values, or to be precise, a reappraisal of values inherited through an Arabo-Islamic past and made compelling by our contact with new ways of life.

The problem, and Muhammad Guessous³ defines it well,

" is not merely a crisis of demography, technology, politics and organization. It is also, and before everything else, a cultural crisis, a crisis in identity."

What is needed then is a self-conscious effort to rethink our past, redefine our basic values and aspirations, and mobilize all energies for the instauration of a new, more humane and more workable social order.

The first question to be raised then is : " What did the Arabs achieve in all domains in general, the social and economic in particular, and lack in others? " The answer will allow an objective self-criticism that will thrust us on the right perspective.

Further considerations on the contacts between Arab and European societies and organizations will determine the real causes of the sources of Arab weaknesses and strengths.

¹ Fadhil Zaky Muhammad, *Foundations of Arabic-Islamic Political Thought*, Baghdad, 1964 (see also *The Islamic Review* for April 1965, in which this article appears).

² Jean François Kahn, *Socialisme et Islam*, Journal *Le Monde*, Paris, for 7 to 13 January 1965.

³ Muhammad Guessous, *The Meaning of the Arab Revolution*. Lecture given in Champaign, Illinois, for the O.A.S. Dr. Guessous is Research Associate at the C.I.S. in Princeton.

But as Muhammad Guessous once more points out :

"Arabs were in possession of a system of norms and values — structured primarily but not exclusively around the religion of Islam — which gave them a universal language and represented, in their eyes, the key to the examination and resolution of practically all their problems."

Thus the question arises, and it will need a clear answer, as to what role Islam has to play when one considers it in the light of Western philosophy, liberal democracy, Socialism, Communism, etc. It is important to note that this question comes after the two previous ones for the purpose of defining the ways in which we do not want to be faithful to our past.

Finally, it will be left to consider an exposition of the solution that can be brought out to light.

The Arabs : achievements and weaknesses

A great amount of literature has been accumulated on the achievements of the Arabo-Islamic civilization. But not all of it is exhaustive of all its achievements, whether they be in medicine, philosophy, physical sciences, art and architecture. One has only to invoke names such as Abu Sina, al-Farabi, Ibn Khaldun and al-Idrisi to start the imagination on a tour with the mind full of pride. It is no more important to digress further by giving examples than to point out the fact of the greatness of the Arabo-Islamic civilization. For further information one is referred to the mass of literature accumulated on this subject by both Western and Eastern scholars like, for example, the book *Islam in Modern History* by Wilfred Cantwell Smith.

But while enumerating these and other achievements, Muhammad Guessous wisely points out that we usually forget to add that even in the golden age of the Arabo-Islamic civilization

"the majority of our people reaped little or no benefit from all these accomplishments. Instead they were sick, poor, ignorant and helpless. Theirs was a kind of life in death, a life robbed of all significance. They spent most of their time defending themselves against tyrannical fathers, aggressive neighbours, powerful landlords, unjust rulers and all the manifold catastrophes of nature — epidemics, famines, droughts, floods, earthquakes,"

and he adds

"this was also our past, and we must never forget it".

Speaking specifically about unjust rulers, Abdul Hamid Tchikou⁴ notes that their injustice generated fatalistic attitudes whether in decadent times of internal rule or under colonization which brought the people intellectual laziness and routine, ignorance and inefficiency.

Another point of view as given by K. A. Fariq⁵ consists of the following: the old and new impulses of glory and pride not only caused the Arabs to forget the dictums of the Qur'an and the Prophet, but also did not allow them to grasp the real spirit of their new faith, and it is owing to this initial shortcoming that the whole structure of politics, sociology and morality till this day has rested on crooked and unsound foundations. However, K. A. Fariq is careful in defining who

these Arabs were and comes out with the fact that they were official Arabs and tribal chiefs.

Looking closely at the social structure of the Arab countries before colonization, Yves Lacoste⁶ approaches the problem by pointing out that around the sovereign were assembled an aristocracy of princes, priests, officers and merchants who profited from the taxes, directly when they were given the right to collect them or indirectly from the imperial liberalities.

Thus the ties between the aristocracy and the masses were not even as numerous or as strong as was the case of the feudal system in Europe. As a consequence, these structures were incapable of giving a sufficient cohesion to the whole.

In fact, Lyautey, one of the greatest French colonizers, understood that the conquest of Morocco was possible only because of the asthenia provoked by the traditional structures, and colonization would last as long as these structures remained.

Yves Lacoste, moreover, notes the very important point concerning the non-existence of a bourgeoisie such as the one in Europe. Rather the merchants and the bureaucrats formed an aristocracy by themselves. The Arab society as it existed, i.e., as a non-differentiation between the feudal and the bourgeois systems of production, did not contain the seeds for industrial revolution, although it would have been able to achieve it technically. Consequently the factors promoting individualism and the birth of a bourgeois class did not appear within the Arab society.

Summing up, it is clear that the existence of the humble people did not have any resemblance to the courtly life splendour, and far from leading them to aspire and live for themselves, it actually led them to feel weak and too eager to lose their identity in a tribe, dynasty, or a religious brotherhood. The gap between the ruling order and the masses prepared the ground for colonization, which automatically found its allies within the indigenous aristocracy.

Contacts between Arabs and Europeans

At the time the Europeans started their colonization of the Arab countries, these were generally, according to Yves Lacoste, very powerful States. They were powerful by the actions they could take, the administration that was under their supervision, the considerable sums received by means of taxes. However, they were very fragile, for political life was the business of only a small minority group and did not integrate the masses who lived away in the midst of numerous autonomous cells.

Thus Yves Lacoste sees a fundamental difference between the European societies that were centralized and coherent, and the Arab societies that were decentralized and incoherent. Adding to the preceding, the extreme harshness of unjust rulers and the greediness of the aristocracy who profited from the destruction of the old structures by the Europeans to arrogate to themselves more privileges, one easily could have deduced the inevitability of colonization and the characters of the weaknesses of the Arab societies of that time.

A question that is timely to ask is : "Why did not the Arab societies, which had such a magnificent past, continue their progress and industrialize?" 'Abdullah Muhammad

⁴ Abdul Hamid Tchikou, "About Some Politico-Social Ideas of Ibn Khaldun" in *Bulletin Connaissance de l'Algerie*, No. 15. Published by U.N.E.A., U.S.

⁵ K. A. Fariq, "The Shu'ubids," in *The Islamic Review*, Woking, for April 1962.

⁶ Yves Lacoste, "Les Causes de la Colonisation et du Sous-Developpement in *Révolution Africaine* for 2 January 1965. No. 101, published in Algeria.

Lutfiyyah,⁷ in considering the old structures as they existed before contact with the West was made, found out that the institution of government found in the village was oligarchical and authority was superimposed. The logical deduction is that very weak or even no contradictions seemed to exist between a bourgeois and noble class both integrated within the aristocracy. As is well known, it is precisely the existence of this contradiction that was one of the main reasons for the industrial revolution in Europe.

As mentioned earlier, although some colonizers like Lyautey saw the problem and understood that a condition for the maintenance of colonization is the subsistence of the old structures in the major part of the colonized country, the old structures were broken up by the colonizers themselves when they took over the land and thus disturbed the existing order.

As a consequence, Muhammad Sadiq al-Mashat⁸ notes the dislocation of the traditional organization and patterns of conduct, the disintegration of the authority of the patriarchal family, the decay in the customary pattern of personal and familial loyalty, the creation of a mass of impoverished and contented urban proletariat which resides in close proximities to manifestations of comfort and luxury, the decline of Islamic values, morals and codes of conduct, moral confusion resulting from culture conflict, the development of high cultural goals (mostly in materialistic terms), the emergent strong emphasis on individualism, and the pursuit of self-interest in the wake of the breakdown or the weakening of the old family coupled with the decline of social controls.

As an example, 'Abdullah Muhammad Lutfiyya considers the changes in a village community and comments :

"Those villagers who have come under the spell of Western culture, have been largely responsible for the socio-economic changes in the village. A money economy replaced the barter system, women slowly but surely are emerging from their traditional subservient position as equals of men. The conjugal family unit is receiving its independence from the extended kin group, and religion conditioning is giving way to newly developing secular and worldly attitudes."

Briefly, this phenomenon contributed to the dismantlement of the old structures by integrating the people in a larger network of exchanges, emphasizing individualism, giving priority to improving people's lot on this earth here and now, and resulting in a moral confusion. Therefore the leaders of Muslim countries tend nowadays to respond to this newly-developed worldly aspirations by being pragmatists and thus improve the lot of the poor. A whole programme of development is set up to be carried out by plans that are well-defined.

However, although no one denies the noble aims for which these leaders are working, one is frightfully faced by Muhammad Guessous's question :

"Development for what, to what purpose, at what costs ?"

⁷ 'Abdullah Muhammad Lutfiyyah, *Baytin, A Jordanian Village: A Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Society*. Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1961. Xerography \$12.60. Order No. 62-1661.

⁸ Muhammad Sadiq al-Mashat, *Social Change and Delinquency in Iraq*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1961. Xerography \$7.80. Order No. 61-5389.

Islam and the new models of modernization

One theme so dear to the new Arab generation is socialism. The latter will be the only one to be considered as it is the main source of modernization tapped today by progressive Arabs countries. Before going further, it is worth noting that among all models available today none fits an Arab country conditions. A mere transplantation would prove to be costly in terms of national culture and identity.

The primary goal of Socialism is defeating exploitation of man by man, by putting an end to exploitative capitalism and feudalism. In considering the many approaches proposed as capable of achieving such a purpose, one is faced by such solutions ranging from a mere economic development to a welfare State. However, Socialist transformation is not merely a material change in the economic life of society ; it is before all the representation of the productive forces of the society and their active participation in implementing their political rights.

This answer was clearly and unequivocally given by Algeria when setting up "Self-Management" programmes or public ownership of the means of production. As Muhsin Ibrahim⁹ puts it :

"By supporting self-management, the necessary guarantees against the problems of bureaucracy have been provided and the freedom in social relations has consequently been furthered. This then is the favourable environment for the true exercise of democracy."

Public ownership is considered to be the underlying principle for transformation into a Socialist society, and when considered in the light of existing private ownership, it is seen by Muhsin Ibrahim that this transformation will carry with it an accelerated growth in the weight and extent of public ownership.

Muhsin Ibrahim goes one step further and considers the possibility of transformation without recourse to class struggle. He then brings up the case of the U.A.R. 23 July Revolution when the leaders did not consider class struggle as a necessary element in the transformation into a Socialist society. After the secession of Syria from the U.A.R., Muhsin Ibrahim concludes that in this case the leading revolutionary movement was deprived of the alliance of the productive classes, who, alone, were capable of guarding the Revolution against subversion of the forces of exploitation.

But it can be argued that the secession was due to other reasons than the one stated by Muhsin Ibrahim. Concerning public ownership, it was installed in Algeria in areas left vacant by French colonizers and in other parts of the Arab world it was preceded by due compensation and never by violent confiscation.

Consequently Arab socialism does not seem to resort to violence as a means of achieving economic and social transformation for materialistic ends. While striving for distribution of wealth, it does not discourage private initiative or repudiate the concept of private property. As Ragaei al-Mallakh¹⁰ summarizes it :

"It is more of a response or reaction to the need of releasing Arab people from customs and conditions

⁹ Muhsin Ibrahim, "Arab Socialism in the Making". Translation of an Arabic article written by the author in *Arab Journal*, Vol. 1, Nos. 2-3. Published by the Organization of Arab Students in the U.S.A., 2929 Broadway, New York, U.S.A.

¹⁰ Ragaei al-Mallakh, "Some Economic Aspects of Arab Socialism" in the *Arab Journal*, Vol. 1, Nos. 2-3.

imposed on them, long ingrained in an economy which has offered but little to the individual. The objection to feudalistic systems, the desire to achieve justice, sufficiency and equal opportunity are not slogans or mere official statements but are the proclaimed goals and more exact descriptions of the necessary reforms".

Islam : an all-comprising general religion

In the following lines a brief but clear understanding of Islam's concepts as an all-comprising general religion, and the present characters of the so-called Islamic countries with their acquired experience, will be examined. The purpose of the preceding is to determine Islam's untapped potentials and how big a source of inspiration and actions they are considered to be.

Islam is not only a spiritual religion but, as the Muslim scholar, the late Shaykh Mahmoud Shaltout,¹¹ Rector of al-Azhar University, puts it, "an all-comprising general religion" concerned with the organization of the concerns of society and its life structure.

Islam as the foundation-stone of modern democracy is well substantiated by Fadhil Zaky Muhammad, and as the source for moral and spiritual traditions is well justified by Professor Arnold Toynbee :¹²

"We can, however, discern certain principles of Islam which, if brought to bear on social life of the new cosmopolitan proletariat, might have important salutary effects on the 'Great Society' in a near future. Two conspicuous sources of danger — one psychological and the other material — in the present relations of this cosmopolitan proletariat with the dominant element in our modern Western society are race consciousness and alcohol; and in the struggle with each of these evils the Islamic spirit has a service to render which might prove, if it were accepted, to be of high moral and social values. . . . It is conceivable that the spirit of Islam might be timely reinforcement which could decide this issue in favour of tolerance and peace";

as not only a rational code governing the social and economic life but as a factual implementation is given primary consideration in the Prophet's Farewell Address :¹³

"It is not legitimate for any one of you to appropriate to himself anything that belongs to his brother unless it is willingly given to him by his brother. . . . An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab; also a non-Arab has no superiority over an Arab, except by good actions. . . . Those who did not pay the full price of the work done by a workman were far removed from the mercy of God. . . . Safeguarding the rights of women . . .";

and as the source of progress and scientific advancement is clearly demonstrated by Muhammad Ashraf :¹⁴

"The Prophet proclaims that to listen to the instructions of science and learning for one hour is more meritorious than standing up in prayer for a thousand nights";

and by Rom Landau,¹⁵ who summarizes :

"In Islam religion and science did not go their separate ways : in fact the former provided one of the main incentives to the latter. . . . In Islam both philosophy and science came into existence not to supplant the primitive 'theism' of religion, but to explain it intellectually, to prove and glorify it. It is thus not surprising that Islamic science never became dehumanized — as it did in the West — but was always at the service of man".

When considering the advantages offered by the new models of modernization, justice is usually put in the forefront. It is thus important to consider its meaning in Islamic law. Na'ima Akram Shah¹⁶ mentions that Islamic law first enjoins an indiscriminate justice : "Be always just. That is nearer to righteousness" (The Qur'an, 5 : 8), and then keeps dicta of natural justice and equity rather than formalism in the forefront and deprecates legal pedantism. In addition to the notion of justice, Islamic law considers social peace as the supreme objective of temporal life and consists of a rational and imaginative approach to problems.

Moreover, Islam is considered as having preserved the Arab language in all colonized Arab countries and as having kept alive within it the sources for their identification with their cultures and systems of values. Even nationalism, that brought an end to the Church hegemony in other religions, does not seem to alter the force that Islam represents. 'Ali Ahmed 'Abdel Kader¹⁷ notes in his theory of nationalism that the latter commanded State authority while religion retained only its spiritual force, and in considering specifically the issue of Islam versus Arabism finds that Islam has never been the embodiment of a national ideology, nor by its very nature can it be.

But the argument can be presented that Islam will face its real test once reconstruction problems arise, and then, as Wensick¹⁸ suggests :

"it seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up".

It is rather too early to predict if national ideas will be preponderant in Islamic States, for these are just beginning to organize themselves concretely. However, it is important to note, in relation to what was previously said, that in contrast to the early concepts of the other religions, Islam does not teach renunciation of this world. But Islam does teach that you should live in this world according to the dictates of God.

Islamic countries and experiences

Most Islamic countries, when separated from their lords of yesterday, were faced with the problems of how to cope with the pressing modern tasks and integrate themselves in this world while still retaining their moral and spiritual values.

While some countries like Afghanistan included in their constitution terms which narrowed the scope of Islam, others

15 Rom Landau, *Islam and the Arabs*. George Allen Ltd., London.

16 Na'ima Akram Shah, "Concept of Islamic Law," *The Islamic Review* for Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1962.

17 Ali Ahmed 'Abdelkader. *Concepts of Nationalism : Their Applicability in the Arab World*. Ph.D. Thesis. Indiana University, 1962. Xerography, \$11.80. Order No. 63-3796.

18 As quoted by N. M. Sultan Maricar, "Iqbal — The Muslim International Poet," *The Islamic Review*, April 1962.

11 Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*. Cambridge University Press, London and New York.

12 Arnold Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial*. London, 1948.

13 The Prophet's Farewell Address, *The Islamic Review* for May-June 1962.

14 Muhammad Ashraf, *Muslim Thought*, Lahore, Pakistan.

like Turkey did away with the *Shari'ah* itself by replacing it with the Swiss Civil and Criminal Codes.

These two examples are extreme in that one does not recognize the wide variety of schools of thought in Islam, thus restricting its citizens' intellectual forces, and the other cuts them from their original source of values. In both cases, however, there is a clear misunderstanding of the potentials hidden in Islamic values.

In both cases one also recognizes the lack of effort made in guaranteeing to the citizen the responsibility to think for himself. A wiser step would have been to set up commissions expressly for renovating Islam from old taboos and misconceptions and then make it known through a wide campaign of explanation and familiarization. Muslim leaders of today seem to forget that what made Islamic civilization so great was the room left for disagreement, and proof of this is the existence of a wide variety of schools of thought in Islam.

It is understood then that, for those who did not want to achieve a clear cut with their past, and Algeria is one of them, a solution can be reached by resuming ties with the past; a past free from undue restrictions would release intellectual forces with all their might and regain the vitality of their renowned forefathers.

For that purpose it is important to determine which points in Islam need a revision in the light of modern thought. In Algeria, for example, French education was mainly intellectualist and individualist. Under the influence of Western culture the youth became naturalistic in their outlook of life and started to regard Islam as a religious and cultural anachronism and an obstacle to progress. As an example this youth will point out the conditions of the people and compare the *medarsa* scholars with the Western school graduate. As a result, and the former President Ben Bella¹⁹ saw it well:

"I respect those who do not believe in God, and I think that they can be good militants, but they should not force us to adopt their disbelief. I will say that if they are the majority in this room, this country is not that way."

Thus it is important to take into consideration the indifferent and even anti-religious attitude of the intelligentsia.

Solution and discussion of some contradictions

In the light of what has been said in the previous paragraph, it seems correct to take the first step and proclaim with Muhammad Guessous:

"From the early beginnings of Islam, Muslims have agreed that no individual, no particular organization, no special doctrine, shall monopolize for themselves the exclusive right to speak in the name of Islam. Islam is the common property of all Muslims and should not be left in the hands of charlatans, fanatics, reactionaries, intellectual mediocrities and scholastics."

The first step has been achieved by Pakistan and Indonesia when creating Research Institutes dealing with Islam. Lately in Algeria, Tedjini Haddam²⁰ declared:

"A great number of our brothers whose competence is not denied are going to mobilize themselves in this

month of Ramadan to present their literary and cultural production. . . . The subjects that will be treated will be religious, social, educational and spiritual, worthy of the prestige of the religious faith and the Islamic ethics."

The principal goal of this initial step is to simplify Islamic teachings and make them available at the level of the masses by any means — radio, press, conferences, etc.

A corollary to this action is to fight non-Islamic practices as known in many Islamic countries. No more will the Muslims have to rely on others to interpret for them a teaching of Islam. Now the Muslim will think for himself and will bear on his conscience the responsibility of making the effort to understand.

The second step will be to reform Muslim education by getting away from scholasticism and opening the students' minds to modern thought. The purpose of this action is to destroy the already established traditional opinions and established institutions and as a consequence prepare the ground for the reception of new ideas on proposals of reforms, in religious, social and political life. The preceding fact is further substantiated by Naguib:²¹

"The injunctions of the Qur'an have as much meaning and application today as they ever did, provided they are interpreted with due regard for the great changes that have taken place in human society since the Prophet preached his message."

Once these reforms and programmes of action have been achieved, one can turn to his past and say: "What aspects of my past should I be faithful to?" Obviously to those that fulfil my aspirations in this world morally, spiritually, socially, politically and economically.

Let it be known before going further that although the Arabs owe a great deal to their forefathers, they should show as much good insight as the latter did by disagreeing with some of their concepts and policies.

As a consequence Arabs nowadays are striving for equality of opportunity, sufficiency and justice. No more exploitation of man by man under whatever form it might appear. The Arab citizen in general, and the Algerian in particular, is realizing that more and more decisions have to be made by himself without referring to anybody. The citizen realizes that politics are not the privilege of a minority group but of the whole society, and he is expected to put in the effort for that purpose, that democracy cannot be realized socially and economically unless all the productive people are participating by using their rights.

Mr. Ben Bella²² said:

"We want to achieve the true Arabo-Islamic society where no exploitation of man by man exists, until there will not be people with their stomach full facing others who are poor and deprived."

That the end does not justify the means is well described by him in the same declaration:

". . . Islam, that we are using as a guide for the realization of our objectives, in the framework of justice and freedom."

19 President Ben Bella, address to the Fifth Congress of the Algerian Students, 12 August 1963, Algiers, Algeria.

20 D. Tedjini Haddam, M.D., Minister of Habous of Algeria. Interview to the A.P.S. on 29 December 1964.

21 Muhammad Naguib, *Egypt's Destiny*, London 1955.

22 President Ben Bella, address given at the occasion of the month of Ramadhan, 2 January 1965. *Actualité et Documents*, No. 50. Published by Direction Générale de l'Information.

The Islamic faith of the individual is stronger than any law that a State can promulgate since nothing has ever been devised to reach the inner mind and orientate it.

Thus Islamic values, some of which have previously been enumerated, are shown to be very precious untapped potentials which can restore to the Muslim world in general, and the Arab world in particular, its leading role in the world.

The contradictions between Islam on the one hand and Marxist teachings on the other

What of the contradictions between Islam on the one hand and Marxist teachings such as materialistic interpretation of history, obscurantist role of religion, and non-existence of private property?

Concerning the obscurantist role of religion in general, and Islam in particular, one is referred to elsewhere in this thesis. One needs only recall Albert Einstein's saying :

"Science without religion is lame. Religion without science is blind."

As to the materialistic interpretation of history, where the means of production are the sources of change in the structures of a society, room is left for disagreement. But if one thing only, it is to be noted that this interpretation results ultimately in the dictatorship of the proletariat, a process determined by necessity and is thus fatalistic in essence. So when Jean-François Kahn²³ mentions that a Muslim's fatalism is in contradiction with the philosophy of history, he is ignorant of two things : first, of the just previously mentioned remark, and second that the problem of free choice and determinism is as much debated in Islam as it is in other religions. To give one example, Senoussi²³ comments :

"The action of man is predetermined, but not his intention. Man is forced in a way that he accomplishes action that God alone produces, but free because he does not feel forced to either do what he likes or to abstain from what repels him."

23 Muhammad Ben Youssef Ben Chaib Senoussi, M.E.E. Gautier. *Siecles Obscurs*.

Finally, Islam by its inheritance laws aims at safeguarding small land holdings. However, it can be noted that until the arrival of the French in Algeria in 1830 most of the land was owned collectively and was called El Arch. In Egypt compensation was paid for the nationalized lands. In this case the Muslim "clergy", to use the expression of Jean-François Kahn, had very well understood the urgency of such a reform in the light of modern exigency. If in other countries, like Iraq and Iran, it did not work that way when a land reform was started, the reason is that the leaders of religious thought in these countries are still suffering from the crippling and atrophying effect of the narrow interpretation of Islam.

For Islam, evolution and social peace are preferable to revolution and class struggle as well as its antipodes.

In conclusion, whether Islamic teachings are in contradiction or not with new models of modernization might appear as the most important question to be raised by some authors.

For Arabo-Islamic countries, this question has actually been considered, but in its true light, i.e., in the light of Islamic teachings devoid of any superstructures brought about or as a result of either pre-Islamic or colonial periods.

However, it appears that these same Arabo-Islamic countries are going far beyond this polemical topic and reach for identification with a part of their past in which they find a source of inspiration and action for their present problems.

From everyday experience one may note that tools can give different results, depending on who is handling them, and more important, how the people are motivated. Models of modernization are considered to be tools that can be used to achieve for the Arab citizen what his forefathers neglected to do.

If identity with a precious heritage is to be maintained, and more important, if identity with oneself is to be achieved, the human element should never be kept out of sight. Islam has the privilege of having kept its temporal and spiritual force among the masses of the Arabo-Islamic countries, and thus represents a step in that direction.

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A PROPOSAL FOR THE PARTITIONING OF ETHIOPIA The Only Hope for the Somalis

Schuyler Heights,
Lake George,
N.Y., U.S.A.
15 June 1965.

Dear Sir,

The partitioning of the Indian sub-continent has not solved all the problems of the sub-continent, but the general idea of the partitioning may have established a precedent.

A partitioning of Ethiopia would have to be carried out by some superior power, such as the United Nations. A great deal of pressure could be brought to bear upon the present government of Ethiopia by an aroused United Nations Assembly. There would have to be Muslim freedom, but the nation of Haile Selassie would also have to remain intact and have an outlet to the sea.

The representatives in the United Nations of such countries as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia, the Yemen, Su'udi Arabia, Oman, Jordan, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon, united in their determination that a just and equitable solution of the problem of Ethiopia be found, can change the course of history for the area now largely enclosed by the Sudan, Somalia and Kenya. A Muslim State in the north and west, either independent or part of northern Sudan, and a Muslim State in the south and east, either independent or a part of Somalia, would still leave the central part for the Christian State.

The province of Sidamo east of 40° East Longitude, all the province of Bale, and the province of Harar as far north-west as the crest of the Ahmar Mountains, should form a *bloc*, independent or annexed by Somalia.

The provinces of Kaffa, Ilubabor, Walaga, Gojam and Bagemder, and the norther part of Eritrea, should be independent or annexed by the Sudan.

A United Nations-sponsored plebiscite would soon determine whether the peoples inhabiting these areas would choose to belong to an Islamic State.

It is very true that such a division would leave many Muslims in the "heartland" of Ethiopia, but the territorial integrity of a nation which has existed for centuries should be guaranteed, provided Muslims and other non-Christians within these borders are accorded fair treatment.

With these new borders established, there would probably be several years of migration in which many Muslims would move over into Muslim territory and Christians would move into Shoa or other Christian-dominated areas of the heartland of Ethiopia.

It is not likely that this freeing of Muslims from oppressive rule will take place unless the representatives of Muslim nations at the United Nations make a strong move towards arousing the United Nations to take action. At present too many of these Islamic nations are interested only in commercial advantages for themselves, even if these advantages leave them more closely attached to non-Islamic countries.

The only hope for the Somalis and other Muslims of Ethiopia will lie in a great longing in the hearts of men for the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

Yours sincerely,

NORMAN LEWIS.

SHARE-CROPPING IN MUSLIM SOCIETY

Djalan Kemiri 8,
Djakarta 11/16,
Indonesia.
14th June 1965.

Dear Sir,

With admiration I have perused Mr. Shamsul 'Alam's interesting essay, "Islamic Economy. Some Thoughts on Share-Cropping. Share-Cropping an Institution of Injustice," in *The Islamic Review* for April 1965, condemning share-cropping in any shape or form, and recommending that the governments of the Muslim countries should abolish this age-old unjust and rampant institution.

You will doubtless be pleased to know that this interesting treatise is being translated into the vernacular tongue and will be published in the local weekly *Pembina*, since it incidentally coincides with the land reforms being carried out in our country.

I agree with the writer that the time, circumstance, setting, place and scene are factors of consequence in pronouncing a judgment. The Traditions are admittedly not all equally canonic or authentic. But so is the sense of justice which is likewise changeable. Neither the Disciples of Jesus, nor the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, were infallible, and much less our doctors of the canon law (*Shari'ah*).

However, I would join issue with the author in his statement that many jurists have been weak-minded; they might

have been weak-kneed for vindicating several misdeeds of many Umayyad and some Abbasid monarchs.

The root-cause underlying the proscription is the injustice, the excess, the surplus value as referred to by Karl Marx, rather than the institution of share-cropping as it is. As the limit of interest or profit and of exorbitant interest or usurious profit is vague and elastic, so is variable share-cropping an elusive question of casuistry. There is a wide difference between the abominable practices of usury perpetrated by moneylenders and the operations of banks, which promote trade, agriculture, industry, etc. Man is by nature non-philanthropic, rather egoistic, and the government is to see to it that share-cropping does not lead to *l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme*, nefarious exploitation of popular penury, by imposing restrictions, introducing tariff-rates, standard contract forms, etc. A unilaterally advantageous contract is *haram*, but a contract beneficial to both parties is lawful. Variable share-cropping should not be left to the whim and discretion of the absentee landlord and non-cultivating owner. As a rational ethical religio-ideological system, Islam recognizes the rights of individuals and private ownership. Who would help for nothing, *con amore*, the man who had land and a tractor for irrigation, but he did not have seed or cow? Or a man who had a tractor for irrigation, seed and cow, but he had no land? Is not rightful share-cropping a solution? Permit me to appeal to the logic of sanity of any right-minded man.

The pivotal matter is your corollary from the interpretative quotation from the Holy Qur'an of the *Sahih* of Bukhari to the effect that an individual can acquire what he can use, and as everybody has a right to the land so nobody should start business in land.

The question arises now in respect of arid land, desert, swamp converted through investment of capital into fertile arable land. Has everybody a right to the land, and is not the capitalist entitled to sell or lease the land? According to your commentary the energetic Muslims of comfortable means would be deprived of taking the initiative to undertake something profitable to the society, which cannot possibly be the purport of the words of the Holy Qur'an cited by you and which is absolutely incompatible with the lore of Islam.

In addition, your statement that it was in the interest of the former defeated non-Muslim cultivators that they were allowed to continue to farm the land and give a share to the new Muslim holders, is not quite solid.

I would submit that share-cropping in this case is rather in their common interest and for common weal than a favour, and that under the Islamic code of justice, the institution makes no distinction between non-Muslim and Muslim cultivators; a good Muslim does not wrong anybody, nor does a Jew nor a Hindu.

In brief, it is the exorbitance of the rental which is improper and unjust, but not exactly the crop-sharing or leasing system. The *Zakah* can be earmarked for buying arable land in aid of the destitute agriculturists.

Soliciting the favour of your early sedate comments on the foregoing, I request you to kindly accept my fraternal salams.

Yours sincerely,

T. CHEHAB.

ISLAMIC COMMUNITY IN SOUTH GERMANY

Islamische Gemeinschaft in Süddeutschland e.V.,
München, West Germany
9.4.1965.

Appeal for Funds to build a Mosque in Munich, Germany

Dear brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'Alaykum Wa Rahmatullah,

We enclose a brochure giving details of the Munich Mosque project, which includes, besides a mosque (main prayer hall with gallery), a lecture hall, a library, an office and an apartment for the Imam and a hostel for about 18-20 students.

We have been trying to realize this project for the last several years and you will be glad to know that in the meantime, through the financial help of various Muslim countries and Muslims from all parts of the world, we have been able to purchase a plot in München-Freimann, Wallnerstrasse 1-3, approximately 2,400 sq. metres in area, at a cost of DM 119,800.

You will appreciate the importance of completion of this project. The Muslims in Munich and its surroundings, numbering several thousands — students and workers from Muslim countries and refugees from Communist countries — are in dire need of a religious and cultural centre. The greatest difficulty now in our way to start the construction work is lack of finances. What we immediately require is a sum of DM 950,000, so that practical steps could be taken without any delay.

We therefore appeal to every Muslim to help us fulfil our heavy responsibility. We shall most gratefully accept any help, however small, that may be extended to us.

All enquiries may please be addressed to:

The Secretary,

Islamische Gemeinschaft in Süddeutschland e.V.,
Post Box 331,
München-Pasing,
(West Germany).

Thanking you in anticipation for your co-operation and with all good wishes.

We remain, yours in Islam,

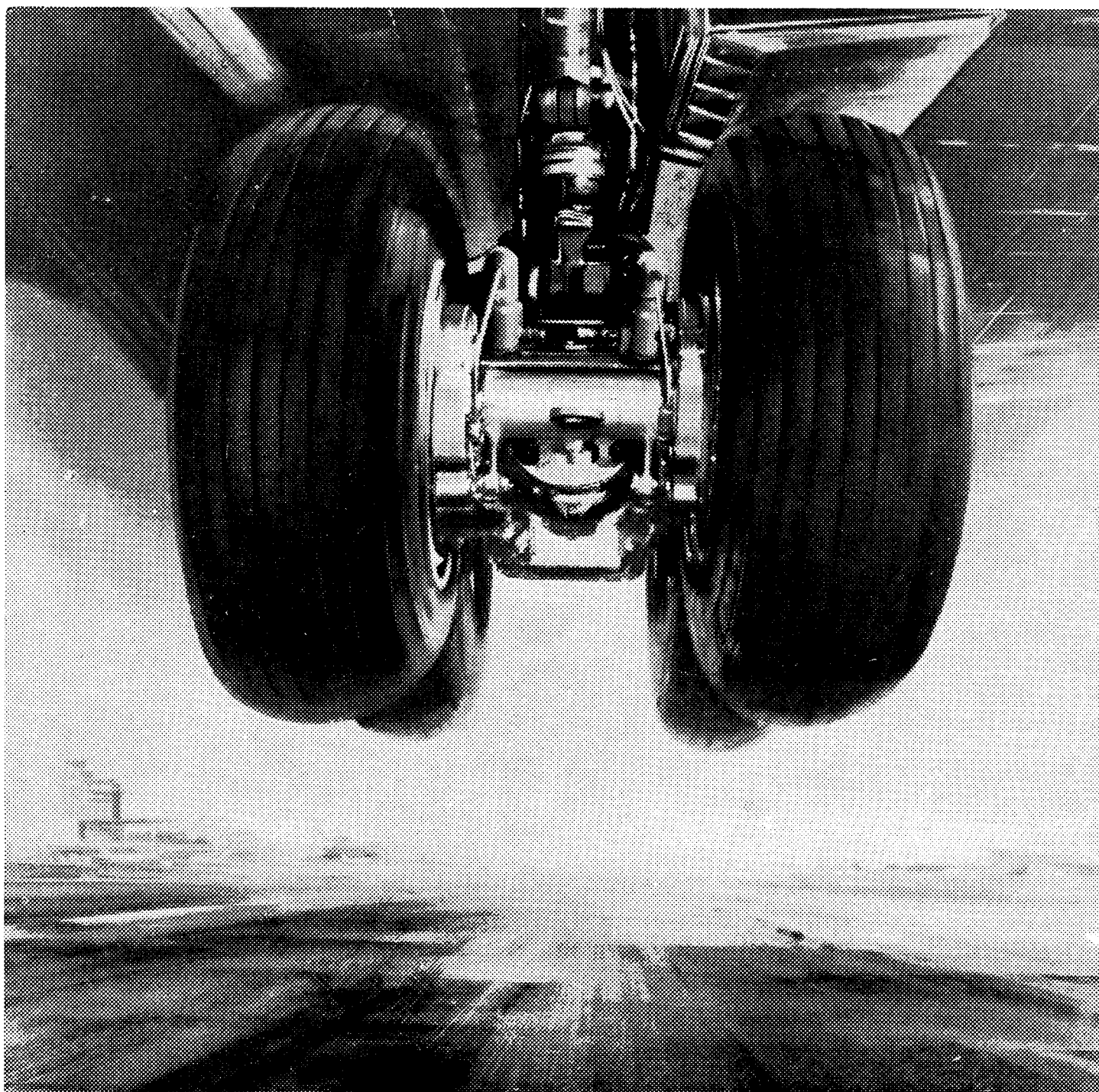
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