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Between Ourselves

The Cover

The picture on the cover is symbolic of the resurgent world of Islam. It is borrowed from a photo taken on Pakistan Day, the 14th of August, 1951, at Karachi, Pakistan.

It depicts a battalion of Pakistan Women's National Guard marching past the saluting base where the Governor-General of Pakistan took the salute amidst a gathering of thousands of people.

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The Islamic Review

January, 1952

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The Islamic Review
THE 'ULAMA AND THE YOUTH OF ISLAM

No one will deny that we are living in an age in which the keen battle of ideologies is in such sharp conflict that the like of it has never been known before. The world is divided into two opposing camps. In the midst of this bitter struggle for supremacy the countries where Islam reigns supreme present a picture of their own which continues, despite the many inducements and temptations, to maintain its identity. It can as yet be distinguished from both of them, although it can be said for certain that the days of sitting on the fence are numbered and that soon it will have to throw in its lot with one of them. The ultimate nature of such a decision, we believe, will depend on the relationship between the learned of Islam — the 'Ulama — and the youth of Muslim countries.

As a result of their internal and external problems and their political backwardness, the Muslim countries have not had the attention of the world focused on them in a measure that is theirs by virtue of their strategic importance and the natural wealth they possess in world economy. Indeed, very seldom would one come across a leader of the Western or Eastern bloc who would show a real appreciation of the ideals and ambitions of the world of Islam.

The youth of Islam, not satisfied with the state of affairs in its own countries, is trying to grasp the real nature of the struggle between Capitalism and Communism. In its search for facts it also looks at Islam. It finds a fundamental difference between Islam and the ideology of Communism, but it also discovers a striking similarity between them. It also finds that there is a wide gap between the lofty humanitarian principles of Islam and the conditions of grovelling poverty, corruption, the concentration of the national wealth in the hands of the few, social injustice, and the absence of social conscience amongst its men and women. Side by side with this it is also becoming painfully aware that in the outside world the idea is growing that Islam and economic poverty are inseparable. This has thrown its mind into confusion. It looks for guidance and a helping hand from its own leaders. It would appear that it is hesitant as yet in its decision. It would seem that its pride in its glorious heritage is perhaps keeping it back from aligning itself with the fortunes of the Communist bloc. Communism, whose main appeal lies in the satisfaction of the natural appetites of man, has not as yet succeeded in fastening its feet in the lands of Islam, but is beckoning it to embrace it.

Notwithstanding the sorry plight and miserable conditions in its own countries and the glowing future being held out to it by Communism, the youth of Islam has not as yet broken loose from its loyalty to Islam. But how long will it be able to stand the stresses and strains of misery and temptation?

In the context of this brief analysis, the importance of the duty of the religious leaders of Islam — the 'Ulama — cannot be overestimated. As all reform and the strength for it must first proceed from within, the part the Ulama have to, and can, play in helping the youth of Islam over the mental and spiritual crisis that is swarming round it from all sides assumes a great importance, if only they would rise to the occasion.

It must be admitted with a sense of sorrow that as yet there are no palpable signs of it, although the writing on the wall is there for all to read. A tour of the mosques of the capitals of the Muslim countries would convince anyone that our analysis is not far from wrong. The sermons and speeches that one hears therein expatiate on heresies, sins, the life after death, its pleasures and torments, corruption and laxity of sexual morals to the exclusion of all such topics as have a direct bearing on the social, economic and political well-being of the Muslim community. The Muslim youth of to-day is avid of hearing discourses on its duties and obligations towards its governments and those of the governments towards it, on how Islam envisages a society in which the wealth of the Muslim countries is prevented from getting concentrated into the hands of the few, in which the aged, the poor, the orphans, the widows have a right to share in the property of the more fortunate members of their community. When we emphasize the importance of the social, economic and political aspects of life, we do not wish to give the impression that the purely religious aspects have no place in our life. What we wish to convey is the undue importance they occupy on the pulpit, that they are far removed from the hard realities of life and that they do not solve the problems of the world of Islam. They cannot remove the poverty and squallor and corruption that one sees in the world of Islam of to-day. The only way to eradicate them is to awaken the social conscience in every Muslim man and woman.

The Ulama have the tools to do this job. The facilities they enjoy are already there. People throng the mosques without any inducement or publicity. The love of the Great Unseen Being takes them there every Friday. Thus the only thing to be done is to utilize and capitalize all this. One has to imagine oneself the mental revolution that can be brought about if sermons with a special reference to our economic, social and political problems in the light of the Qur'an and the Hadith are delivered.

Islam has the unique advantage of being a religious system in which the worldly and the religious are interwined. It rises by head and shoulders above the other social systems of the world inasmuch as in it the worldly can be spiritualized, thus making the action of each individual into a source of blessing to the community.
By the Light of the Qur’an and the Hadith
Some Characteristics of a Muslim

By KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

1. Justice and equity. “Act equitably; that is nearer to piety” (5 : 8). “When you judge between people you judge with justice” (4 : 58).

2. Trustworthiness. “Surely God commands you to make over trusts to those worthy of them” (4 : 58).

3. Acts of reform. “So be careful of (your duty to) God and set aright matters of your difference” (8 : 1). “The believers are but brethren, therefore make peace between your brethren” (69 : 10).

4. Helping in good action. “Help one another in good-ness and piety, and do not help one another in sin and aggression” (5 : 2).

5. Giving good advice. “You are the best of people raised up for men, you enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong” (3 : 109).

6. Forbidding wrong. The Qur’an says: “And from among you there should be a party who invite to good and enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong” (3 : 103).

7. Fulfilment of promises. The Qur’an says: “Fulfil the promise; surely (every) promise will be questioned about” (17 : 34). “Yes, whoever fulfils his promise and guards (against evil) then surely God loves those who guard (against evil)” (3 : 75).

8. Payment of debts. The Qur’an makes payment of debts of the deceased a first lien on the property left by the deceased (4 : 12).

The Prophet Muhammad says that the best among men is he who pays his debts willingly, and the worst is he who is harsh in payment of his debts.

9. Regard of limits. The Qur’an says: “If you shun the great things which you are forbidden, We will do away with your evil inclinations and cause you to enter an honourable place of entering” (4 : 31). “These are the limits of God, so do not exceed them, and whoever exceeds the limits of God, these it is that are the unjust” (2 : 229). “O you who believe, do not violate the signs appointed by God” (5 : 2). “And whoever respects the signs of God, this surely is (the outcome) of the piety of hearts” (22 : 32).

10. Abstinence from injuring others. The Qur’an says: “(He is the most violent of adversaries who) . . . runs along in the land that he may cause mischief in it and destroy the tilth and the stock, and God does not love mischief-making” (2 : 203). “God forbids indecency and evil and transgression” (16 : 90).

11. Speaking good and kind words. “And you shall speak to men good words” (2 : 85).

12. Return of greeting. “And when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with a better greeting than it or return it; surely God takes account of all things” (4 : 86).

13. To be just and equitable in our profession. The Qur’an says: “And give full measure and weigh with justice” (6 : 153).

14. The giving of loans to those in poverty. The Qur’an says: “And if the debtor is in straitness, then let there be postponement until (he is in) ease; and that you remit it as alms is better for you” (2 : 280).

15. Charity to neighbours. The Qur’an says: “And serve God and do not associate anything with Him, and be good to the parents and to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the neighbour of your kin and the alien neighbour” (4 : 36).

16. Co-operation. “And hold fast by the covenant of God altogether and be not disunited” (3 : 102). “And be not like those who became divided and disagreed after clear arguments had come to them” (3 : 104). “Help one another in goodness and piety” (5 : 2).

17. Obedience to the master. “We have exalted some of them above others in degrees that some of them may take others in subsection” (63 : 32).

18. Obedience to the rule. Obey God and the Messenger and those in authority from among you” (4 : 59).

19. The removal of things that injure from the way of the people.

20. General gratefulness. The Qur’an says: “And certainly We gave wisdom to Luqman, saying, Be grateful for his own soul; and whoever is ungrateful, then surely God is Self-sufficient, Praised” (31 : 12). “And why should God chastise you if you are grateful and believe?” (4 : 147). “And when your Lord made it known. If you are grateful, I would certainly give to you more, and if you are ungrateful, My chastisement is truly severe” (14 : 7).

It should not be forgotten that the giving of thanks by lip-service is of no avail in Islam. The very word Suhkr, the Arabic equivalent of “thanking”, means the proper use of gifts given to us. The Qur’an repeatedly refers to gratefulness as the chief quality of men.

21. Love of God. The Qur’an says: “Except those who repent and make manifest the truth; these it is to whom I turn mercifully” (2 : 160).

22. Love of the Prophet. The Qur’an says: “The Prophet has a greater claim on the faithful than they have on themselves . . .” (33 : 6).

23. The reading of the Qur’an. The reason for putting the above three items as constituents of Muslim faith, I think, self-evident. If we have to follow the Qur’an as a Book of guidance in our daily life we must read it. Similarly, if we have to keep God before us as our prototype, and equip ourselves with His Attributes, our love for Him can induce us to do the same. The Prophet Muhammad is an example. He transmuted all God’s injunctions into action. We must, therefore, follow his footsteps, and if we love him we are sure to do so.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
WHAT IS ISLAM?
An Attempt at an Objective Definition

By 'UMAR ROLF BARON EHRENFELS, Ph.D. (Vienna) and MAHMUD SHERIFF, M.A., B.L., Dipl. Anth.

"The reason for this cultural unity, though not identity, lies in the inherent force of the Islamic teachings, particularly the idea of the unity of God, and the unity of mankind, as well as the adaptability of Islam to both the Oriental and Occidental streams of thought. Thus Islam assimilated the Hellenistic culture with which it came into contact at the beginning of its expansion, and, in India, adopted a wide field of features, ranging from the use of the zero in its positional value, Hindu numeral signs or astronomy to such objects as Ayurvedic medicine or the circle of Indian mythology which the Arabs also brought from India to Europe".

1. Five interpretations of the word "Islam"

1. To a layman Islam stands for a religion or a dogma preached by Muhammad, the Prophet of Arabia, and practised by a large section of mankind all over the world, but more particularly in, and around, the Near East — that is, the homeland of the first neolithic village and the early chalcolithic city-civilizations of the fourth and third millennia B.C. This system preaches the unity of God and propounds a code of morals and behaviour as a means of salvation.

2. To an historian the word "Islam" suggests more than a system of theology. It stands for a distinctive civilization and a socio-politico-economic order, based on a form of practical theology. It has been evolving, since the days of the Prophet, whilst spreading into countries around Arabia, on the shores of the Arabian Sea, and beyond.

3. To an ordinary Muslim the word "Islam" is conceived as the name of his religion and as such comprises a system of life, guiding its followers individually and socially, whilst binding its members into a fraternity which transcends the boundaries of state, language, race, colour and local traditions — an order that regulates the relations between men and women from the point of view of their worldly welfare, besides regulating the relations of the individual to his or her concept of God.

4. Etymologically the word "Islam" is derived from the root word 'ilm in the paradigm of 'aša, which means a state of health. It may also mean nature. The secondary or derivative meaning of the same word would indicate the state of being at peace or of entering into a state of peace. This idea is explained in Islamic phraseology as implying submission to the will of God, which leads to a state of peace — the end and aim of all human endeavour.

5. Al-Qur'ān, the sacred book of Islam, declares that all true religion, or real communication with God, is Islam. "This day I have perfected for you your religion, and completed my favour on you, and chosen for you Islam as a religion" (3:18). The essence of the religion is submission to God. "I have submitted myself entirely to God and (so does) everyone who follows me" (3:19). "I follow the wish of God," says the Prophet. The Holy Qur'ān further declares: "Yea, whoever submits himself entirely to God and he is the doer of good to others, he has his reward from his Lord and there is no fear for such, nor shall they grieve" (2:212). "It is entire submission to God and the doing of good to His creatures that is the true source of salvation, and that is what Islam means according to the Holy Qur'ān."1

Hence a Muslim makes his peace with God by entire submission to His commands. This, as the verse above indicates, is not a negative inaction, but a positive attitude, viz., doing good deeds and realizing the desire for divine guidance.

Again and again al-Qur'ān advises action. How often occur the words "Those who believe and do good!" Thus belief in God and submission in the Islamic sense of the word imply a positive attitude. "Those who believe and do nothing cannot exist in Islam. Those who believe and do wrong are inconceivable, for Islam means submission to God's will, and thus obedience to His law, which is a law of effort and not of idleness."2

"You are the best of the nations raised up for the (benefit of men); you enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong and believe in good" (3:109).

2 M. Pickthall, Lectures on Islam, Madras, 1927, p. 12.
2. Islam — not Muhammadanism!

The word "Muhammadanism", used as a synonym for Islam by non-Muslim — and even some Muslim — authors, is misleading. Islam is not merely a religion preached by the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him!), but it is the religion, preached by different prophets, at different times, and in all parts of the world, even though their teachings may not be preserved in the pristine beauty. The Qur'an says that there is no nation to which a warner has not been sent (35:24), and so it is that Muslims believe in the messages of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David and Jesus, who are mentioned by name in the Qur'an, as well as in many others, to whom reference is made generally, but not by name, these having been unknown to the Arabs of the time. The essence of their message, too, consisted, according to the Qur'an, in the unity of God and submission to His will. "And the same did Abraham enjoin upon his son, and so did Jacob: O my son, God has chosen the religion for you, and therefore die not unless you are Muslim" (2:152) and again: "Who has a better religion than he who submits himself entirely to God" (4:125). Al-Qur'an further says, "He has made plain to you the religion that which he enjoined upon Noah, and that which we have revealed to thee, and that which We enjoined upon Abraham and Moses and Jesus, that keep to obedience and be not divided therein." (42:13). Thus they all shared the religion of Islam in their own time.

Further, the word Muhammadanism suggests to many, the idea of worshipping Muhammad as a god or semi-god — an idea quite contrary to the teachings and traditions attributed to Muhammad, the Prophet, who stressed the fact that he was a mortal human being, like any other man and warned his followers not to defy him. "Say, I am a mortal like you: it is revealed to me that your god is one God" (18:110).

3. Main features of Islam

The basic principle of Islam is, as it was in Judaism and Christianity, the belief in the unity of God and hence submission belongs only to Him, as we also find it expressed in the great hymn to the One God in the Rig Veda3, and at the root of practically all the so-called primitive religions with which cultural-historical anthropology is concerned4.

This concept of the unity of the Godhead and submission to His will, is understood to lead to a unity of thought which is meant to culminate in unity of action. The Islamic theory of universality of the Godhead and His message (both in point of space and time) expands itself into the acceptance of the unity of mankind. God (and His message) is, according to the Prophet Muhammad, not the monopoly of one ‘Chosen Seed’. He is, contrariwise, the Lord and protector of all. Submission, therefore, is in reference to the whole sphere of man’s activities and hence there is no distinction between the religious and the secular in Islam. His sovereignty embraces the whole of human activity.

This concept is expected to bring about peace and mutual understanding amongst the many different groupings of men, as a result of peace with God, the Creator and Protector of all. The attainment of such peace is the ultimate purpose of a Muslim’s life. This belief is much more than a mere profession of faith. It is a way of life — based on practical wisdom.

The other basic features of Islam, besides belief in God and the prophethood of Muhammad (may the peace of God be on him and all the prophets of God!) point the way towards the same end, viz., the attainment of peace with God, and amongst men, both here and in the life to come. Of these other features the following institutions stand out prominently.

PRAYER is no doubt an institution which Islam has in common with all other religious systems, though it should be frequently and regularly performed by Muslims (i.e. five times a day and at regular intervals). A particular feature of Islamic prayer are the body postures to be observed ordinarishly and gone through several times during prayer. Historically, it is not proved that the origin of the traditional movements was introduced by the Prophet. Certain prayer habits among Ethiopian Christians would suggest the possibility of a pre-Islamic origin of these movements. This problem is not clarified culture-historically nor do the Hadith give a definite clue to the solution of this interesting culture-historical question. The psychological and physiological effect of the prayer postures can hardly be doubted. Suits and other mystics in Islam gave explanations of their own. These postures correspond to three main types: (a) The vertical line of the fully erect position, (b) the open angle of the half bent posture, and (c) the round and circular position of full prostration. The postures would thus appear to correspond to basic types of symbolism5.

According to one interpretation given by Syed ‘Azamullah of S. India, in oral communication, the prayer postures symbolize universalism of submission by (a) the world outside the animal kingdom, such as, for instance, trees and hills, in the fully erect posture, (b) by the quadrupled animals in the half bent position, and (c) by the reptiles, worms and fishes, etc., in the fully prostrate position.

The main function of prayer in the Islamic concept is the individual communion of the transitory with the eternal i.e. the realization of the Godhead. Communal prayer in Islam with its emphasis on conformity of movements stresses the idea of fraternity among men and women who used also to come together for common prayers in the days of early Islam. "Pray thinking of me" says the Qur’an. Prayer in Islam is meant to be an incentive to work; not a hindrance. It is meant to strengthen the Muslim for a hard struggle in face of failures and disappointments and to make the Muslim turn to God who is the source of all strength. Men shall have nothing but what they strive for" (53:39).

FASTING plays the double role of (a) teaching self-discipline and self-control in the way of God and (b) acquainting the rich with the feeling of hunger as experienced by the poor. It teaches men to conquer passions and selfish desires in the way of God.

ZAKAT is an institutionalized way of translating the thus created sentiments of compassion, and craving to help the poor, into practical actions. It tends to counteract the trend towards the accumulation and concentration of wealth, and to lessen the gulf between the rich and the poor. The principle of sacrificing one’s egoistic, or animal-tendencies is at the same time here recommended, thereby introducing the concept of trust and responsibility. Muslims are enjoined to express their gratefulness to the Creator by helping the created out of what He has given them. Zakat also provides for social security, combining the social legislation (labour welfare), and insurance principles of modern days6.

5 Bé Yin Rá, Funken (1924), pp. 13, 29. et seq.

6 THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, has been taken over from the pre-Islamic customs of the Arabs, and strengthens the sense of trans-tribal or trans-national unity in the Islamic world, quite apart from and other effects which pilgrimages to sacred shrines no doubt impart to participants. Abu Hanifa calls it the best of all 'ibadah (worship) saying that here one takes a risk of life in the way of God, spends in His way and thus exhibits his love towards Him. Love towards the Creator is amply exhibited here, according to al-Ghazali, for the pilgrim does even apparently irrational things, such as the throwing of stones, or going round the Ka‘ba. "The very purpose of these acts is purposelessness, and the objective test of love."

The concept of JEHAD allows of two interpretations as well. First, as a supra-national defensive alliance of all Muslims as against attackers from outside, and secondly, as an inner war to be fought within the single individual soul. This interpretation of Jihad has been taught by various mystic schools of Islam and it has also played a rôle in modern reform movements.

4. Culture — historical position of Islam

Anthropologically and culture-historically seen, Islam stands for a certain type of civilization which, in spite of many variations and local sub-types, bears its own distinctive mark. These are marks, which, through all these centuries have distinguished the Islamic Geistalt from various other patterns of culture, but to define which is extremely difficult, because it is much more elastic than any of the definitions applicable to Islam as such.

Broadly speaking, Islam can be seen as a religious movement, which has changed the destinies of many nations, and has given rise to a particular type of civilization. Islam proved to be a unifying force between different claims and groups. The transformation of social conditions, brought about in a short time and over a large space, continued also after Muhammad and it gave the Islamic world a colour of its own.

Yet this culture is by no means the same all over the Islamic world, nor is it actually "Islamic" in the purely historical or theological sense. This is, for instance, borne out by the depiction of animals and human beings in painting, architectural designs and photography, or the falling into disuse of many behaviour-patterns, once considered orthodox; the comparatively lesser insistence upon prayer and fasting, as well as the general decay of the institution of Zakat in most, if not all, parts of the Islamic world. Another example of the kind is furnished by the wide variations in dress, food, and other behaviour-patterns. Among men as well as women's dress in the days of the Prophet, for instance, was extremely simple, scanty and well-suited to tropical conditions. This certainly cannot be said either of the dress fashions evolved under Persian — or Mogul — influence, or of those following the North European patterns, all of which are the product of cold-country conditions, now adopted in tropical countries. Nor can it be claimed that Islam succeeded in establishing a classless society in spite of various attempts to this effect, though it is true to say that economic, class, race, and national differences are generally less in Islamic societies, as compared with their opposite numbers in non-Islamic groups of the same period, geographical environment or culture-historical origin. No doubt there is yet a streak of unity, in spite of all these deviations; a certain Geistalt that marks Islam as a distinct pattern of culture — "It includes a whole complex of culture which has grown up around the religious core and has in most cases been linked to it with greater or less modification, a complex with distinctive features in political, social, and economic structure, in its conception of law, in its ethical outlook, intellectual tendencies, habits of thought and action. Further it includes a vast number of people differing in race, language, character and inherited aptitudes, yet bound together not only by the link of a common creed but even more strongly by their participation in a common culture, their obedience to a common law and their adoption of common traditions".

5. Why the world of Islam possesses a cultural unity

The reason for this cultural unity, though not identity, lies in the inherent force of the Islamic teachings, particularly the idea of the unity of God, and the unity of mankind, as well as the adaptability of Islam to both the Oriental and Occidental streams of thought. Thus Islam assimilated the Hellenistic culture with which it came into contact at the beginning of its expansion, and, in India, adopted a wide field of features, ranging from the use of the zero in its positional value, Hindu numeral signs or astronomy to such objects as Ayurvedic medicine or the circle of Indian mythology which the Arabs also brought from India to Europe. That these mythological features comprise something more than the fantastically entertaining elements, such as we find in the Panchatantras and hence also in the Arabian Nights, will be recognized, if it is called to mind that the saga motif of Moulawus and of the Sacred Grail came by the same way through Arab transmission from India to Spain and France and thence found its way to the heart of the Western world.

The CALIPHATE was for a long time a unifying force in the Islamic world. The Caliph was the temporal head of all Muslims. He was himself under the command of the sharī‘a, or religious path. Obedience to him meant obedience to divine law and this theory had a firm hold on the Muslim masses. None the less, the learned jurist also advocated the same theory. Even during the period when the Caliph was reduced to a puppet with little power and authority, he was still theoretically acknowledged as the head of the Muslim world, and even powerful sovereigns like Mahmud of Ghazni derived their power from him, in name at least. Thus the historical Caliphate as a potent element in Muslim thought was a unifying force, till it was put to an end by Mustapha Kemal Attaturk in 1923. But the idea of Pan-Islamism has not died with it, as witness recent developments in the Near East.

The Use of ARABIC as the theological language, at least among the learned doctors, the belief in the Holy Qur‘an as the basis of their law, the institution of Hajj and the consideration of Arabic traditions rather than national ones, has largely contributed towards the unification of the various branches of Islamic culture. It has also created a sympathetic bond between the various Muslim peoples.

We have seen that the definition of Islam is a rather complex task. There are several definitions possible, which are neither mutually exclusive nor even to a higher or lesser degree "true", but refer merely to different aspects and different view-points of Islam.

The more concentric the position of the observer is, in regard to the complex of Islam, the more difficult becomes the definition.

One point of view has scarcely been touched upon here: that of the Sufi, or mystic, among Muslims. To live in complete submission to God has a still deeper, and still more comprehensive, meaning to him, which, however, lies outside the scope of this brief introduction into the problem of merely defining: "What is Islam?"

9 Al-Ghazali, translation of Kimm-e-Sa‘aadat into Urdu by Inayatullah Khan, Lahore, 1926.
THE BEAUTIFUL NAMES OF GOD

By E. E. EVANS-Pritchard

NOTE.—In Islam, God has ninety-nine names, known as the Beautiful Names, Most Excellent Names, of God. When I was doing a six weeks’ trek by camel caravan through the deserts of Libya, I took from this Muslim Rosary all the names I could remember and strung them on to my own string.

He is God, there is none other,  
Blows His Name on every wind,  
The revolving spheres intone it,  
He the Merciful, the Kind;

He who made the weary deserts,  
He the Mighty, He the Grand,  
He who made the massive mountains  
In the spreading of His hand;

He who made the lights of heaven,  
He the Spacious, He the High,  
Sun and moon and stars He set them  
In their places in the sky.

He who span the moons in order,  
Who divided day from night,  
He the Clement, He the Peaceful  
Sent the dove-years on their flight.

He defined the land and ocean,  
Marked the limit of the seas,  
The Magnificent, the Splendid  
Held them back by His decrees.

He who sends down rain in season,  
He who waters tree and herb,  
He the Generous, the Giver,  
The Exalted, the Superb;

He the Helper, the Provider,  
Gives to man and beast and bird,  
Feeds them flesh and leaf and berry  
By the bounty of His word.

He who fills the wells and rivers,  
Makes to grow the golden corn,  
He the Seer, Hearer, Knower,  
Uncreated and unborn;

He who seeketh not, nor asketh,  
With every quality endowed  
He requireth not, nor needeth,  
The Sufficient and the Proud;

The Protector of whose guidance  
Lonely prophets oft have told,  
He whose loving arms hath shielded  
Tenderly His saints of old;

He the Pardoner, Forgiver,  
Limitless His mercies seem,  
Bountiful as rains of winter,  
Cooling as a mountain stream.

He Creator and Destroyer  
By whose hands all things are wrought,  
Who created man from nothing  
And who bringeth him to nought;

Made him out of river clay,  
Breathed into the image breath,  
But the Gatherer, the Gentle  
Breathed into it also death.

He the Quickener, the Powerful  
Fashioned clots of blood from dust,  
The Bestower, the Withholder,  
The Compassionate, the Just.

He the One, the One and Holy,  
To His will all creatures bend,  
He the Living, the Eternal,  
The Beginning and the End;

The Avenger at whose anger  
Towering waves are frozen still,  
Stand the planets in their courses  
Fearful to offend his will;

Clothed in light sits the Enduring  
On His celestial throne,  
He the Watchful one, the Patient,  
He who waiteth all alone;

Not bounded He by bounds of space,  
Not encompassed He by time,  
He beyond all comprehension,  
He the Gracious, the Sublime.

In the brightness of His presence  
Angels veil with silver wings,  
Nor Cherubims, nor Seraphim  
Countenance the King of Kings.

The glittering stars, His girdle,  
Bind the raiment of the skies,  
The Conqueror, the Glorious,  
The Omnipotent, the Wise.

1 Courtesy, the Editor, The Arab World, Vol. II, No. 11, New York, U.S.A.
MUSLIM FINANCE

By SHAREEF al-MUJAHID, M.A.

“It is said that it was a usual affair in Baghdad to find persons wandering about with their zakat-money in search of the poor and the needy in the lanes, mosques and mausoleums of the great metropolis without finding any poor and needy to receive the zakat-money.”

Taxes in early Islam

“Finance,” to quote a great economist, “is the very life-blood of a nation.” For it is on public finance that the welfare and progress of a nation depends. In fact it is the most important branch of economics, and is concerned with the income and expenditure of the State. Political economy studies and indicates the art of managing the income and expenditure of the State so as to maximize economic welfare at the minimum of cost. Its aim is thus to secure the maximum social welfare out of the revenue of the State.

In the Muslim financial system, great importance was paid to this aspect. The whole machinery was set up in such a way as to benefit the condition of the people. It was this anxiety on the part of the Muslim administrators — the greatest amongst whom was, of course, the Prophet Muhammad — that motivated them to lay down in clear, categorical terms that the Treasury belonged to the whole community. Bait al-Mal — for that is the name for the Muslim Treasury — is the property of the Muslims one and all, without any distinction whatsoever, and everyone, even the lowest amongst them, has claim upon it.

Broadly speaking, Muslim finance was evolved out of the confluence of three systems, viz., Roman, Persian and Arabian. For instance, many taxes and sources of revenue, such as khbarj, Tributum Soli, Tributium Capitis, etc., prevalent amongst the Persians and the Romans in the 6th and 7th centuries, found their way into the Muslim system. The Arabs were already acquainted with zakat (compulsory tax on property, etc.), or sadqaq (charity), prevalent amongst the Jews, which the latter considered as a purifying agent. Besides these, some taxes were divinely ordained. Since the State under the Caliphs was a quasi-theocratic State, the divine injunctions — as laid down in the Qur'an and as established by the Prophet — had no mean influence in the evolution of the Muslim financial system. As such, taxes under the Muslims were divided under two heads, viz., (1) religious and (2) secular. Under religious taxes come zakat, ’wbir (lit. one-tenth), jizya (poll-tax) and khums (lit. one-fifth), and under secular ones, khbarj, ’wbir and jay (war booty).

The taxes collected in each province were paid out by the respective Provincial Treasuries. All expenses connected with Provincial administration, such as those of soldiers, stipendaries, and civil servants, connected with or attached to a Province, were paid out of its revenue. Besides, all works of public utility, such as schools, canals, gardens and mosques, were likewise constructed at the cost of the particular Province where they were required. The balance, if any, was remitted to the Imperial Treasury at Medina in the time of the first three Caliphs, at Kufa in the time of Ali, and at Damascus and Baghdad during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods respectively.

Under the worldly Umayyads and the Abbasids, a large number of taxes were introduced by avaricious monarchs and oppressive potentates, the demoralizing effect of which on the community cannot be gainsaid, e.g., there was the child tribute, and the presents received by the Caliph or his repre-

sentatives at different centres on festive occasions. However, it must be noted here that those taxes had no divine sanction in Islam and cannot be said to have formed part and parcel of the Muslim financial system, as visualized by the Prophet Muhammad and as evolved and completed by his first four successors, known in history as al-Khilafa al-rashidun (the Pious Caliphs).

Now let us take the items one by one and see how they strengthened the foundations of the State and how far they were a success in practice.

1. Al-Ghanima

Ghanima consisted of the spoils of war and comprised weapons, horses, and all other things, including women and children, taken in wars from the unbelievers. It was the custom of those days to loot the property of the enemy after his discomfiture and take captive the womenfolk and children. Thus a large booty fell into the hands of the Muslims during the conquest of Persia and Syria. Out of these spoils of war, four-fifths were divided amongst the soldiers on the field of battle, while the remaining one-fifth, called khums, went to God and His Prophet, i.e., to the State to be used according to the instructions of the Holy Qur'an. The Prophet Muhammad used to divide the khums into three parts: one for himself, one for his relatives, and the third part for the support of the orphans, the indigent and the wayfarers.

Under the Pious Caliphs this was, as usual, divided into three parts, but the shares of the Prophet and that of his relatives were spent in equipping the Muslim army with the machines of war. Nothing out of it was given to the Prophet's relatives, and 'Umar instead fixed annuities to them in accordance with their relationship to the Prophet Muhammad.

The same custom was adhered to by the Umayyads. But 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (717-720 C.E.) felt that so long as the Qur'anic injunction remained, it was normally unjustified and legally indefensible to do away with the Prophet's share, and hence decided against his (former) naseema's decree. As long as he reigned, he saw to it that the khums were scrupulously and systematically sent to the Bani Hashim to be divided amongst them. But with the end of his reign also came to an inglorious end his decree, and the practice of the Pious Caliphs was reverted to by his successors.

Later, Abu Yusuf (during the time of the Abbasids) writes that as maintained by al-Shafi'i, the share of the Prophet Muhammad should be utilized for the welfare of the whole community, whilst that of his relatives should be given to the descendants of the Bani Hashim, as was prevalent in the days of Abu Bakr. However, Abu Hanifa and most of the Hanafi jurists held the view that the fifth should be spent as done by the Khalifa al-rashidun.

2. (c) Al-Zakat

Zakat was a sort of compulsory poor-tax, levied on definite forms of property, and collected only from Muslims who had attained their majority and were in full possession of their faculties. The Prophet framed some rules in regard to it, which were strictly followed by his successors. It was levied on (a) grains of the field, fruits, dates, grapes, etc. (b) animals, i.e., camels and other domestic quadrupeds, (c) gold and silver, and (d) merchandise.
The zakat on land produce was a sort of land-tax, called 'usbr, which was collected from the Muslims only. The Arabs, being a freedom-loving people, were strongly opposed to the paying of any tax, which they considered a symbol of slavery and humiliation. Therefore, the Prophet Muhammad thought it politic to make provisions through which the taxes on their lands and merchandise could be exacted without giving offence to this national characteristic of the Arabs and in a form most amenable to their independent character; and thus it was that it came to be called zakat or poor-tax, so that they might willingly pay the same. In fact, this system of paying a sort of poor-tax was already prevalent in some parts of Arabia. Zakat is a Hebrew word, meaning "purifying", and the Jews maintained that their wealth was cleaned or purified once zakat had been paid out of it.

In levying zakat, the whole wealth was divided into four categories: (1) land (or land produce), (2) gold and silver, (3) animals, and (4) merchandise. On land produce, it was levied at the rate of 10 per cent or 5 per cent, according to whether the land was watered by rain (or stream) or by a bucket — to be paid immediately after the harvest. It was payable only when the produce exceeded a certain quantity fixed by the Qur'an. For instance, in the case of wheat, zakat was levied only when five wasuq (1 wasuq = 323 lb. approx.) were produced in a season.

On gold and silver, the zakat was paid at the rate of 2½ per cent. The condition here was that the minimum amount of 200 dirhams should remain in a Muslim's possession uninterruptedly for a full circle of 12 months. (Aurangzeb, the great Mogul Emperor of India, d. 1707, in his day fixed the minimum at Rs. 52/8/-, as being the equivalent.)

Regarding animals, from those possessing fewer than 5 camels, or 30 cattle or 40 goats, no tax was collected. Up to 25 camels, zakat was to be paid in goats (4 goats), and for above this number there was a varied and graded scale.

On merchandise, the tax was collected at 2½ per cent, as in the case of gold and silver. Al-'usbr was the tax on the produce (of the land) taken by the State on such lands as were divided and distributed amongst the early Muslims as parts of their booty.

Zakat, as mentioned earlier, was, notwithstanding its nomenclature, a compulsory tax on Muslims, ordained by God. More, it is one of the cardinal principles on which the structure of the Islamic faith rests, and its importance can be well gauged by the fact that it has been placed next only to prayers. Again and again the Qur'an in a stern voice commands the Believer thus:

Wa aqimu al-Sakat wa atu al-Zakat.

(And keep up the prayers and pay the poor-tax.)

Its significance can be gauged from the fact that it occurs no less than 82 times in the Holy Book. There can be no compromise in regard to it. In fact, such is its importance that the first Caliph, Abu Bakr, preferred to lose the adhesion and support of a powerful tribe during the early days of his Caliphate, when Islam itself was in a very critical position, unprotected and open to all sorts of dangers, and when its very existence as a religion was at stake, rather than to acquiesce in their demand to write zakat off; and what is more, be preferred to wage a jihad against those who refused to pay.

(b) Al-Sadaqah

Sadaqah was the alms given by the rich voluntarily in the way of God. Sometimes the terms of zakat and sadaqah are used in the same sense, but the proper use of the term is as has been stated herein.

These charities — zakat as well as sadaqah — were spent for the amelioration of orphans, wayfarers and the blind, to emancipate slaves, to ransom prisoners, and to provide the necessities of life for the incapacitated and pay the poor-tax collectors (Amil al-Sadaqah). A part of them was also spent to pay off debts and to help new converts to the religion.

This fine system, as the German Orientalist, Von Kremers, says, owes its origin to the socialistic principles of Islam, which create a universal brotherhood out of the Believers in Islam, and lays down in clear, categorical and unequivocal terms that none should go without food, without proper clothes and raiment, without medical aid, and education; and that the oppressed should be emancipated and the slaves liberated. In fact, the credit in full for devising this system goes to the Prophet Muhammad, who, himself being an orphan and fully aware of the hardships the poor were put to, and in order to create a homogeneous society, as a prelude to the progress of Islam and the fulfilment of his life's mission, laid it down in such clear-cut terms. This contains a kind of socialism which, if developed, can easily excel Communism.

In passing, it may also be stated here that it was not Marx who first propounded the principles of Socialism, and not Lenin and Stalin who enforced them, one after the other, but it was the Prophet Muhammad ("the master-mind of the age," as Muir would like to call him, but who was in fact "the master-mind of all ages," as Ameer 'Ali so significantly points out), who preached this code of life and what is more, implemented it in the very Arabian society which was noted for its heterogeneity and diversity. And nursed, nourished and nurtured thus by the Prophet Muhammad, it developed as the empire expanded, and found its full fruition in the time of 'Umar, who made of it, as Von Kremers says, a principle and a law. Later history has borne out how the vision of the Prophet Muhammad who saw in it the progress of Islam — and hence adopted it — was fulfilled to the fullest extent.

3. The nature of al-Jizya tax

Jizya or poll-tax was a tax levied on non-Muslims expressly for the protection afforded to them and their property by the Muslim State. The word, according to some writers, has been borrowed from the Aramaic word "gazit". This was a tax levied by Persians corresponding to the Tributum Capitis of the Romans. And, some writers are prone to think that the word is derived from the root word "jaiz"; inferring thereby that the tax was a compensation for the protection granted to a non-Muslim after exemption from military service. This tax was paid by all tribes who had not accepted Islam on condition that their internal administration, religious and secular, would remain uninterrupted by the Muslim State. As against the rule for Muslims, every one of whom was to render military service to the State, "these tribes were exempted from such an imposition". Women, children, beggars, monks, madhabbari (the slave to be freed after the death of the owner), the slaves, the aged, the insane and the sameen (incapacitated), were, however, exempted from this tax if they did not possess sufficient independent means. In the days of the Prophet Muhammad, it was one dinar per year for every male member capable of paying it. 'Umar later graded it and fixed one, and two and four dirhams per annum according to whether one belonged to the lower, middle or rich class.

There are instances in Muslim history when non-Muslim tribes on accepting military service were exempt from the payment of this tax. Jurjan and Shah Bazaz concluded peace with the Muslims on the same terms. In the time of 'Umar, the people

4 N. Shibli, Seerat al-Nabi and al-Faraq; see also Mawardi.
5 The Qur'an (9:60).
6 Von Kremers, Orient under the Caliphs.
8 N. Shibli. Seerat al-Nabi.
9 al-Baladnari, pp. 124, 154, 271.
of Jarjowa, for instance, during the Syrian conquest, when Antioch was captured and payment of jizya was commonly accepted by the populace, refused to do so on the plea that "they were prepared to fight the Muslim battles against the enemy".10

There are also instances to show that the Muslims, when unable to render protection to the *DHIMMIS* (the protected people), gave back all the jizya they had collected. On the eve of the battle of Yarmuk, Abu 'Ubaydah was forced to evacuate the town of Homs, from which he had taken jizya. He gave orders to return the money, saying that they were not entitled to it since they could no longer give them protection.11 So also in the time of 'Uthman, the Caliph instructed his men not to levy any jizya on Cyprus, which had just been conquered, since they were not sure of defending it in case of an invasion.12 Thus it may be seen that this institution has no relation whatsoever to the picture painted by certain prejudiced Orientalists as something like poll-tax, but was a payment made by a section of the people in return for exemption from military service and, as such, it is a travesty of the truth to call it a religious tax, or as emanating from differences in religion, much less, as born of religious discrimination.

The backslidings of the Umayyads

But, with the rise of the Umayyads, the simple and scrupulous patriarchal system of the early Muslim period was abandoned. The Caliphate became a dynasty composed of avuncular nobles who indulged in all sorts of luxury, pomp and pleasure. By this time they had acquired the Roman customs of frittering away their wealth in all sorts of unproductive and un-Islamic ways, as a consequence whereof there arose the need for augmenting the resources and revenues of the State. During the early Umayyad period when the conquests of Islam were going on unhampered and unabated, the whole wealth of the conquered countries was pouring into the coffers of the monarch — for the Caliph had by then reduced himself to that wretched status, so that no difficulty was felt in meeting this huge personal and State expenditure. But after a time, when conquests stopped and no wealth came as booty, the Government found themselves reduced to great financial straits. Besides, the noble teachings of Islam had attracted many non-Muslims, sometimes in thousands and tens of thousands. So that en masse conversions became the order of the day, entailing stupendous loss of jizya and the additional expenditure of paying them pensions. And, as can be expected, this only went to further aggravate the already none too pleasant financial conditions.

The Mawalis as these converts were called, were free, once they had accepted Islam, from the payment of jizya. Not only that, they further became entitled to receive pensions from the State. They were to attach themselves to one tribe or another, and thus they became the mawla of that tribe. This was the arrangement followed when the converts were limited in number, but when the influx of these non-Muslims into the fold of Islam was out of all proportion, they called themselves Mawali-al-Islam.

So long as the Pious Caliphs ruled, they enjoyed both the concessions, but under the Umayyads and, more especially, when the State suffered much in its revenue as a result of mass conversions, these concessions were withdrawn.

More, the Umayyads, in their anxiety to keep the revenues of the State not only intact and undiminished but augmented, went, unfortunately, even to the dangerous extent of discouraging conversions to Islam. So that on anyone getting converted, they declined to free him from jizya or to enlist him as a State pensioner. To discourage conversions further, they even resorted to such debasing and revolting devices as of making circumcison compulsory on all those who desired to become Muslims.13 This un-Islamic attitude of the ruling class obviously resulted in great discontent amongst the masses, and more especially among the Mawalis, and culminated in revolts, but they were quickly suppressed and the rebels given short shrift.

However, 'Umar II (717-720 C.E.), as soon as he assumed power, went the whole length to relieve their sufferings and to mend the regulations in existence there. When it was pointed out to him by one of his officials that placing the Mawalis on a par with the Arabs in the matter of taxes would emply the Treasury, he replied: "Glad would I be, by God! to see everybody become Muslim so that thou and I have to till the soil with our own hands to earn a living." When a complaint was made by the Governor of Egypt about the fall in revenue due to mass conversions, 'Umar II wrote back: "God sent His Prophet as a missionary and not as a tax-gatherer." Forbidding the officials in Khurasan to test the sincerity and earnestness of the new converts by their willingness to get circumcised, he said: "Muhammad was sent to call men to the faith, not to circumcise them."14

As under the Pious Caliphs, there was no uniform rate of jizya per head. Instead of each individual paying jizya, quotas were fixed for various villages — which were collected, no matter whether the population had decreased in the course of time or how many of them had become Muslims.15

Al-Kharaj under the Caliph 'Umar the Great

Kharaj was the tax collected on land lent by the State to the non-Muslim agriculturist. The Arabs were conversant with this tax before the rise of Islam, since it was prevalent in Roman and Persian dominions, including the northern Arabian kingdoms of Hira and Ghassan. So that kharaj corresponded with the *tributum soli* of the Romans and *kharag* of the Persians.

When Khaybar was conquered, the Prophet at the request of its inhabitants reinstated them in their lands, and asked them to pay half the produce as kharaj to the State.16 And, thus the institution of kharaj came into being amongst the Arabs.

When Persia was conquered, the question whether the conquered lands were to be divided amongst the Muslims or be left in the possession of the former cultivators of the soil, came to the fore. A special session was called for deciding the matter, and it was agreed to follow the latter course.17 As the empire expanded during the time of the first two Caliphs, the need for an elaborate system to collect and administer the taxes was felt. Accordingly, 'Umar proceeded to organize their administration.

Since a uniform system was not suited to the whole empire, comprising, as it did, such diverse countries as Arabia, Persia, Syria and Egypt, 'Umar wisely adopted, as far as possible, the former systems prevalent in those countries, only removing the glaring evils in them and instead introducing the new Islamic spirit in the old mundane administration. All the lands were gauged and an annual tax was fixed, taking into account the fertility of the soil and the privileges afforded by nature. The rate generally fixed was one-third of the produce, and at no time, afterwards, was tax levied at the rate of half the produce, as in the case of Khaybar (in which case it was done for various political reasons).18

As long as the strong hand of 'Umar was there, he did not allow the Quraysh to migrate to the provinces and to acquire lands there. For, he knew that once they acquired large estates they would become ease-loving and lotus-eating. His conception
was that Arabia was to be the granary of the soldiery of Islam, to conquer fresh lands and to fight in the cause of God. This was, in fact, the main reason why he decided against the distribution of the conquered lands in Persia amongst his soldiers. But, with the end of his reign, and especially during the Umayyads, the Arab nobility began acquiring big estates, and this created many new and unforeseen difficulties.

The principles adhered to during the regime of the Pious Caliphate were as follows:

1. Lands in possession of the Muslims up to the verdict of the special shura (consultative assembly), which decided the question, in 16 A.H. (637 C.E.), were to continue as 'rizb-lands.'

2. Muslims were not to acquire kharaj-lands.

3. If the owner of kharaj-land became a Muslim, he had to give up his land and enlist himself as a pensioner of the State, the proceeds of the sale of the land going to the Treasury.

4. If a convert to Islam chose to retain his kharaj-land even after his conversion, he had to pay the kharaj amount as lease and not as tribute to the State, which was only from non-Muslims.

How under the Umayyads the landed class in Islam was started

Once the land-hungry Quaysh got an opportunity to satiate their desires in acquiring big estates of kharaj-lands with the rise of the Umayyads, there was a mixing up of these principles resulting in a more confused situation. And betimes, they became a powerful factor in the body-politic of the State and claimed and got the concession that as Muslims the State was entitled to exact only al-'usur, and not al-kharaj, from them. Thus they came to enjoy pensions from the State on the one hand and the fruits of the 'usur-lands on the other. So that with millions of people rallying round the faith, in the trail of each fresh conquest, thus claiming both pensions and remission from the payment of kharaj, the breaking-point was reached. However, the early Umayyads made compensation for this great loss of revenue by unjust collections and levies definitely unjust and inequitable from non-Muslims and new converts through the agency of unscrupulous persons like al-Hajjaj.

Umar II, the Pious Caliph, when he attained the Caliphate, in line with his reforms in other departments, tried to give this department, too, a twist in favour of the earlier organization, as prevalent in the days of the Pious Caliphs. He prohibited the sale of kharaj-lands to the Muslims from the year 100 A.H. (718 C.E.), and more, he saw to it that most of the misappropriated crown lands and other estates were regained. However, in face of a powerful clique opposing him, he could not give a completely retrospective effect to his decree. When cases of Muslims acquiring lands were brought to his notice he issued orders for the banishment of both the buyer and the seller, to forfeit the purchase money to the Government, and to restore the land to the peasant. This decree of 'Umar II remained in force only for the next two reigns, when once again the grabbing of land with the acquiescence, and in some cases the active support of, the Caliphs, became the order of the day. However, the one redeeming feature was that they were made to pay kharaj on the newly-acquired lands.

Of all the countries comprising the Muslim Empire, in Spain alone was left to its logical end the original practice of dividing the land amongst the army. But then this was actuated by the requirements of the situation existing in Spain at the time of the Muslim conquest. Though the Christian hordes were wiped out on all fronts and peace and order reigned supreme, yet many rebellious elements had gone underground, and there was every necessity for keeping eternal vigilance over those dark forces of disruption and disaffection. And so Muslim colonies were established across the length and breadth of the peninsula with a view to restoring law and order and keeping the turbulent elements in check. However, even there the lands which were conquered without resort to arms and through peaceful surrender were allowed to remain with the former owners in return for tribute.

Here mention must be made of Nasr ibn Sayyar, the Khusranian Governor of the days of Merwan II (746 C.E.), and his reforms, which solved to a very great extent the financial problems arising out of the unscrupulousness of the powerful clique that was bent upon grabbing lands during the Umayyad period. In his days the Mawali were unjustly forced to pay both the jizya and the kharaj, so as to compensate for the great financial loss incurred by the State by the passing of kharaj-lands into the hands of the Muslims. To remedy this defect, he proposed that a fixed amount solely from land-tax be raised from every taxable district and that every landowner, irrespective of his religion or nationality, should pay the tax in proportion to his estate. Obviously, as was to be expected, these proposals were opposed tooth and nail by the ruling class. However, some time after it was introduced in Khusran and found workable, other provinces also became votaries of this system of tax-collection.

Al-Fay, or Crown lands

This was what is commonly called crown lands or property whose income went wholly to the State. The difference between this source of revenue and kharaj was that while, in the latter case, a part — one-third in most cases and one-half in the case of Khaybar lands — went to the State, in the former the income in full went to the State.

It was the custom of those days, as also of modern times, to mark the private estates abandoned by fleeing politicians, the former crown lands, those estates which were confiscated for active opposition to, or rebellion against, the State, unclaimed lands and forests, as fay. In Persia, besides these categories of lands, those endowed to fire temples and those set apart for making roads and maintaining the postal service were also declared fay.

Under the Prophet Muhammad, there were certain crown lands, such as the estate of Fadak, etc., the income from which was distributed amongst the Prophet Muhammad's relatives, the orphans, the poor, the travellers, and for the general good of the Muslim community. On his death, these lands went to the State. Some of these lands were used as grazing reserves for the animals paid in zakat and sadaqa, and they were called Hima.

During 'Umar II's reign, the lands belonging to Khaybar and Fadak were returned to the Bani Hashims by the Caliph, who affirmed that they were its rightful owners. But soon afterwards, his successors once again took possession of them and made them crown lands.

The entire income of the fay-lands was set apart for public works and public utilities. Canals were dug, tanks were built and dams were constructed so as to facilitate irrigation through this fund. Canals to regulate water supply for drinking purposes were also built in several places. The large amount of work

10 Von Kremetz, Orient under the Caliphs; see also William Muir, Caliphathe.
20 Von Kremetz, Orient under the Caliphs; see also William Muir, Caliphathe.
21 Von Kremetz, Orient under the Caliphs; see also William Muir, Caliphathe.
22 Von Kremetz, Orient under the Caliphs; see also William Muir, Caliphathe.
23 al-Baladhuri.
24 al-Baladhuri.
turned out in this direction all over the empire can be gauged
by the fact that, according to al-Maqrizi (d. 1422 C.E.), in Egypt
alone not less than 120,000 labourers were employed throughout
the year for such purposes.

Al-Ushur
This was a sort of customs duty that was levied on
merchandise. Under zakat, Muslims were already paying a tax
of 2½ per cent on articles of merchandise, and so no further tax
was collected from them. But from the non-Muslims, it was
collected at the rate of 5 per cent and 10 per cent from Dhimmis
and non-Muslim foreigners, as the case might be. This tax was
introduced by 'Umar I on the report from Abu Musa Ash'ari that
Muslim traders paid a tax of 10 per cent in foreign lands.

During the time of the Prophet, no tax was collected on
horses, since horses were introduced into Arabia only a few years
before and their supply was still scanty. Moreover, the breeding
of horses was useful to the Muslim republic especially for war
purposes, and so he gave definite orders not to levy any taxes
on them. But by 'Umar's time, trade in horses had become
extensive and lucrative, so much so that there was no further
cause for the State to patronise it. Hence the second Caliph
decided to levy tax (zakat in the case of Muslims and 'ushr in
the case of the non-Muslims) on it, similar to the one on cattle.

Unauthorized extractions
(a) Extra taxes in kind

During the Umayyad period, extraordinary taxes were also
extracted from the populace. They consisted of articles in kind, such
as material for shipbuilding and other implements. The chief
of each district was made responsible for their deliveries and
no money was accepted in lieu of it as it was meant for the
benefit of the whole community. Having been prevalent under
the Roman Government, these taxes were for some time con-
tinued during the time of 'Umar, who later abolished them. But
the worldly Umayyads, who in their long and chequered history
never cared about the morality or injustice of a measure, as long
as it brought them material good and happiness, took recourse
to it again — for did it not augment their riches and revenue?
(b) Presents, etc.

The Umayyads also gave a fresh lease of life to all those
customs of the now defunct Roman and Persian Empires through
which they could exact more money from the people. One such
was the acceptance of presents on festive occasions, such as the
Noruz and the Mahragan. The custom, betimes, became so
favoured with the ruling hierarchy that one of Mu'awiyah's
Governors in Iraq is said to have received presents almost to the
extent of 1,000,000 dirhams on a Noruz.

And, as if all these unjustified extractions were not enough,
a certain 'mumul' or 'customary fee' was collected for supplying
fields with water and a sort of stamp fee collected for paper used
for writing documents. In some places, such as the Yemen, the
Governors even collected khuraj instead of 'ushr. 'Umar II, a
true Muslim, adhering to the very letter of the law, could not
brook such corrupt methods for exacting unjust taxes, and hence
put an end to them. But, as in the case of his other reforms,
was but short-lived — till his sad demise.
(c) Child tribute

Indeed, Islam did much to emancipate and ameliorate
the position of slaves and enjoined upon Muslims to treat a slave
as a member of the family. It was also declared meritorious in the
Qu'ran to free slaves; but in spite of all these checks on the
perpetuation of slavery in Muslim society, the institution, as
such, was not abolished lock, stock and barrel. It was against
the spirit of the age. Hence Islam did not go to the farthest
limit. But, unfortunately enough, the Arabs, once the Prophet
Muhammad was gone, took undue advantage of this concession
and unscrupulously loaded themselves with thousands of slaves
to attend on them and embellish their palaces! Also the
Umayyads resorted to the ugly practice of levying child tribute
on the Berbers.

That this was a complete negation of the very principles
for which Islam stood there can be no doubt. But the Umayyads,
worldly, greedy, avaticious, pleasure-loving, and given to all sorts
of evils, as they were, with no religious bias behind their actions
or rule, managed to degrade and degenerate themselves so far as
to introduce such a measure — and that merely to satisfy their
evil cravings and to add to their pomp and glory.

However, that conscientious Umayyad Caliph, 'Umar II, a
Muslim to the marrow of his bones, could not brook this
un-Islamic, heathen practice, and passed immediate decrees for
its abolition as soon as the Muslim world saw him ascend the
throne of the Caliphate.

Conclusion

Such was the system that prevailed in the whole Islamic
Empire. No doubt, as has been stated under various heads,
with the expansion of the Empire and the change of times,
some glaring defects and lacunae came to light, yet it must
be said in fairness to the Muslim administration of those times
that there must have been something grand about it to have
lasted for centuries together. And that is why the German
Orientalist, Von Kremmer says: “that the financiers of these
days were no fools, as one might think”.

Whatever the base critic may say to the contrary, there is
no denying the fact that during this period of world history,
human progress and development peeped out of every corner of
the Empire, prosperity reigned supreme, and a progressive
tented life was the order of the day. More, during this period,
education, enlightenment and knowledge of all the arts of life
came out of the cloisters and became universal. Schools, colleges
and mighty universities were established; hospitals, poor-houses
and orphanages were founded by the score; beautiful mosques
and glorious monuments were raised by hundreds; canals were
built; a network of irrigation was laid out; seas were conquered
and trade flowed from the heart of the Empire to the farthest
lands of the earth; palaces, domes, minarets and a thousand
and one adornments covered the whole Empire.

Yes, theirs was a civilization unparalleled in the annals of
world history and a culture which is still the theme of great
poets, famed philosophers and mighty historians. Besides, they
have been the cause of no mean contribution to the development
of science and other branches of knowledge.

And all these only go to substantiate the fact that they had
immense wealth at their disposal so as to facilitate their progress
in these branches of human knowledge, which again means that
their financial structure was firmly established. At one time,
it is authoritatively reported, when Walid I (d. 705 C.E.), the
Umayyad Caliph, was questioned about what they called his
frittering away great moneys on the construction of buildings
and monuments, and was asked how he hoped to make good that
huge expenditure, he told them that the Imperial Treasury was
sound and stable enough to meet the expenses of the whole
Empire for full five years without receiving any revenue!

It is said that it was a usual affair in Baghdad to find persons
wandering about with their zakat-money in search of the poor
and the needy in the lanes, mosques and mausoleums of the
great metropolis without finding any poor and needy to receive the
zakat-money.

Insignificant though these events are, yet they are a sure
pointer to the prosperity that was theirs.

JANUARY 1952
The immensity of the task of the national viability of Libya

A new Muslim nation was born on January 1, 1952, when the three provinces of a former Italian colony were united as the independent State of Libya — the first country in history to be created by a world organization.

Since World War II, Cyrenaica and Tripolitania were temporarily administered by the United Kingdom and the Fezzan by France. The future status of the three regions was finally settled in November, 1949, when the United Nations General Assembly, without a dissenting vote, recommended that Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan "shall be constituted an independent, sovereign State". A provisional government was established by the Libyan National Assembly in March, 1951. This Assembly also recommended that Sayyid Muhammad Idris al-Sanussi, the Amir of Cyrenaica, should become the constitutional monarch of the new country, the United Kingdom of Libya.

But national viability requires more than a political constitution. Mr. Adrian Peit, who has been United Nations Commissioner in Libya since January, 1950, has continually emphasized that the United Nations has an equally great responsibility in providing Libya with the technical assistance it needs to develop a sound economy and set up efficient governmental machinery.

The immensity of this task is expressed in his reports. The three regions of Libya total 1,150,000 inhabitants living on 1,750,000 square kilometres, but much of this land is desert. The country’s average per capita income is a mere $35 a year.

Mr. Peit summed up Libya as "an underdeveloped area with a marginal agricultural economy, basically handicapped by inadequate rainfall and poor soil." Irrigation, dry farming, and animal husbandry in the coastal regions, however, can support Libya once she possesses the knowledge and skill needed to work land in these regions efficiently.

Educational needs of Libya

This need raises serious educational problems. From 1942 to 1946, no schools were open in Libya. Even to-day, the elementary school population of the entire region is only 39,000 (and no more than a few hundred children attend secondary schools). Mr. Peit reported that Libya’s minimum requirement is schooling for 100,000.

This deficiency, coupled with antiquated agricultural methods and heavy war damage, led him to write: "Unless means are found to improve the agricultural techniques of the country and to bring in new capital investment, there is a grave danger that the Libyan economy will sink back toward a pastoral economy of nomadism, with inevitable social and political consequences which may jeopardize the very existence of the State."

In July 1950, at Mr. Peit’s request, a United Nations mission surveyed Libya to ascertain in what ways the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development could help the creation of the new State. On the recommendations of this mission, a programme was drawn up showing the means by which the United Nations and its specialized Agencies could begin furnishing aid.

This called for international experts to begin work in Libya in such fields as public finance, education, agriculture, viticulture, irrigation, wool production, electric power and social welfare.

1 Courtesy, the Editor, Unesco Courier, Vol. IV, No. 11, for November, 1951, Paris, France.
A study of public finance in Libya has already been published, and the United Nations experts are now advising on specific problems. In the field of vital statistics, a sample census of three selected tribes has been conducted, thus giving the region reliable demographic statistics—a prerequisite for any sound economic development plan.

In the field of education, Unesco was given a specialized role. Working in cooperation with the British administration of Tripolitania, it has set up a technical training centre to prepare young Libyans for posts in the new government.

His Majesty Sayyid Muhammad Idris al-Sanussi,
King of the United Kingdom of Libya

This centre, in which 230 students were enrolled during its first year of operation, does not aim much higher than supplying the foundations—the clerks, the typists and the secretaries—needed for an efficient civil service.

Unesco is also awarding fellowships to enable Libyans to study abroad and prepare themselves for higher administrative posts in their country’s new government.

In addition, Unesco has begun to establish another centre in Libya designed to train primary school teachers and to produce the teaching materials they require. This centre is also intended to furnish specialized personnel to attack the problem of illiteracy, of which Libya has a high percentage.

In all, more than 60 experts have been sent to Libya by the United Nations and its Agencies, and nearly 50 fellowships and scholarships have been awarded.

This aid has been described by Mr. Pelt as "one of the most constructive and most useful examples" of how the United Nations’ technical assistance programme for underdeveloped regions can operate.

Fezzan: greatest area, fewest people

The Fezzan is bounded on the west by southern Algeria, southern Tunisia and Tunisia, on the south by French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, on the east by Cyrenaica, and on the north by Tripolitania. It is a vast depression, with an area of some 800,000 square kilometres, enclosed within plateaux which isolate it from the sea — some 500 to 600 kilometres distant — and from the neighbouring lands. Within the depression lie three oases — Sebha, Brak and Murzak — around which is grouped the non-migratory population. Widely scattered and thinly planted palm groves are also to be found in the Zelaf.

The population of the Fezzan is estimated at 50,000, of which one-fifth are nomads or semi-nomads. The non-migratory population is found within the depression; on its fringe and beyond live the nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. In the north these are tribes of fair-skinned stock with a strong Berber influence. In the south, in the foothills of the Tibesti and in all the area as far as Fort Lamy, Tebbo vs. Hamitic origin are to be found. In the Tassili, in the west, there are sections of the Berber Confederation of the Tuareg-Arjer, who are scattered between Timbuctoo and Nigeria.

Ethnically, the non-migratory population of the interior is mixed, containing elements of both fair and black races. They live among palm trees, cultivating wheat, dates, barley, millet and sorghum. This population can be divided into two groups: three-quarters are very poor, deriving their livelihood from the harsh and unremitting labour with which they irrigate small plots of land; the remaining quarter might be described as the middle class of the country, living in relative ease. These are the land-owners, traders and officials.

The subsistence economy of the Fezzan, based upon an oasis palm-garden culture, is handicapped by the difficulty of obtaining water and by primitive methods of irrigation and cultivation. The depressed economic situation is reflected in the under-nourishment of the population and the annual emigration, which further aggravates the problem of manpower.

The chief resource of the Fezzan is the date palm. Estimates of their number vary considerably, but most of them are wild and uncultivated, and it is probable that not more than 1,000,000 date palms are productive. The date crop, of about 15,000 tons annually, is in excess of local needs, and the surplus is bartered for oil and barley with the nomads or exported by caravan or lorry. The poor quality of the crop, together with the transport cost to markets, limits its export value. Local production of grain is insufficient to meet the requirements of the population and must be supplemented by imports.

In the three principal valleys of the Fezzan, a water table of varying depth makes it possible to increase the area of irrigated land, either by open wells in the areas where the phreatic folds are nearer the surface or by flowing wells from the artesian level. Open wells, in the present stage of technical development, can only be exploited by traditional methods, efforts to introduce petroleum pumps having proved a failure. Artesian wells, which do not require the labour of men and beast, not only relieve the pressure on the utilization of manpower, but also provide for a greater area of irrigable land in proportion to expenditure.

The condition of the sahli-like jebbad or drawer of water, bound by a system of contracts to the proprietor and receiving only a share of the harvest, has been progressively improved during the French administration. The lot of the jebbad and the entire population can be improved by the further distribution of newly irrigated lands, continued supervision of the harvesting and storage of crops and maintenance of the security of the non-migratory population against raids by nomads.

The only known mineral resource of commercial value is natron (sodium carbonate), the annual export of which is less than 100 tons. There is no industry; rudimentary handicrafts have only limited local importance.

Tripolitania: main asset—farming

The existing administrative division between Tripolitania and the Fezzan was agreed between France and the United Kingdom for the duration of the occupation of Libya. Tripolitania, by this definition, extends over some 250,000 square kilo-
metres between Tunisia and Cyrenaica. The greater part of its area is desert. The widely settled parts of Tripolitania consist, first of the narrow coastal belt of oases between Misurata and Zuara, which contains 60 per cent of the population of the territory, and, secondly, of the northern edge of the Jebel, a broken plateau running north-east from the Tunisian frontier to Homs, where it intersects the coastal belt. The Jebel is separated from the coastal area by a wedge of steppe, and south and west of the Jebel this merges into semi-desert and desert country suitable only for pastoralism and the shifting cultivation of barley. The total area of productive land varies with the annual rainfall, but only about 1.5 per cent of the total area is devoted to static farming. This area is, however, generally well-watered and offers a fertility in striking contrast to the greater part of Libya.

The population of Tripolitania is estimated at 800,000. The indigenous population, numbering about 750,000, is Arab with a considerable admixture of Berbers, of whom some groups in the western part of the country have retained their distinction of community and their language, and continue to follow the schismatic Ibadite rite. Arabs and Berbers live amicably together in spite of past differences. All are Muslims: the religious followers of the Sannusi Order have been estimated at 30 per cent of all Muslims.

The urban population is about 165,000. Some 105,000 Muslims live in the towns, mainly engaged in handicrafts and small trade. Most of the rural population are settled farmers living in the coastal oases and in the Jebel. Semi-nomads are numerous, both in the Jebel and in the steppe areas bordering the oases. Inasmuch as many of the non-migrating population combine pastoralism and shifting cereal cultivation with static farming during parts of the year, it is impossible rigidly to classify the population by numbers according to the ways of life. The wholly nomadic population is much less important than in Cyrenaica and is found principally in the Sirtica and Ghibla areas. Only among the nomads and a few of the hill tribes exists the closely-knit tribal structure which characterizes Cyrenaica. In the more prosperous and populous coastal area the tribe is gradually giving way to a village and town society.

The minorities comprise about 45,000 Italians, 13,000 Jews, 2,000 Maltese and 400 Greeks. The level of the Italian community has, as far as possible, been maintained numerically by the British Administration at the point to which it had fallen at the end of the war. The Italians, about half of whom are town dwellers, have large commercial and agricultural interests which had been developed during Italian rule.

The Jewish minority, now almost exclusively urban, has been rapidly diminishing in the last 18 months because of emigration, largely to Israel. This exodus has reduced the Jewish community from about 29,000 in 1948 to 13,000. The rate of emigration has recently slackened.

The economy of Tripolitania is based principally on agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries, with esparto grass and rough handicrafts as auxiliary resources. Olives, barley, citrus fruits and grapes, which cover a considerable area of the coastal belt, are the principal crops. The Muslim population of the coastal belt lives chiefly by gardens and palm groves, cultivating market crops and fruit trees irrigated from wells operated mostly by animal power. Some Arabs have, however, undertaken farming
on a larger scale. In the northern part of the Jebel, olives and other fruits are grown in important quantities, and tobacco, which is a monopoly of the British Administration, as it was of the Italian, is grown with some success, although it is mostly of inferior quality. In the steppe and semi-desert sheep and goats are pastured and barley cultivated by scratch ploughing.

The Italian community outside the town is chiefly engaged in the cultivation of olives, citrus fruits, vines, almonds, and, on a lesser scale, wheat. The Italian farms, both private concessions and para-statal settlements, represent a remarkable feat of pioneering and land reclamation, which, chiefly owing to the comparatively long period of immaturity of the olive tree, has only recently begun to demonstrate its full productive value. Indeed, many of the plantations will not bear fully for some years to come. They are, however, the greatest economic asset of the territory, an asset which can easily be lost if constant care to prevent erosion and other deterioration is not maintained. Both the concessions and the settlements were assisted by the considerable tax exemptions, subsidies and credit facilities accorded to agriculture by the Italian Government. A certain unbalance is becoming apparent in their financial position as a result of the gradual expiration of these facilities, and it is likely that some measures will be needed in order to maintain them, since production and markets are not yet proportionate to the capital and maintenance outlays.

After two years of serious droughts in 1947 and 1948, the territory has enjoyed good harvests, and exportable surpluses of agricultural products have increased.

Cyrenaica: problem No. 1 is water

Cyrenaica extends over 700,000 square kilometres. It lies between the Western Desert of Egypt on the east and Tripolitania on the west. On the south, it reaches to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the mountain wilderness of the Tibesti, in French Equatorial Africa. Its area is almost entirely desert, which is rainless throughout the year. In the north, however, a low plateau of limestone hills benefits from rainfall adequate for the profitable cultivation of cereals and fruit. A number of fresh-water springs are also to be found in the hills, which support considerable vegetation. This plateau is fringed by a narrow coastal belt, where the rainfall again declines. The plateau gradually falls away to plains in the south and east, which provide pasture over a considerable area and where barley is grown, as the rainfall permits, year by year. In the few oases of the southern desert, date palms and some vegetables are grown.

The population of Cyrenaica is estimated at 300,000, the overwhelming majority of which are Arabs. There is a Jewish minority of some 200, reduced from 4,500 in 1948, and small Maltese and Greek communities. Except for a few priests and nuns, the Italian pre-war population left the country before its final occupation by the Allied Forces.

The town-dwellers number some 85,000. The rural population consists mainly of semi-nomadic tent-dwellers, mostly inhabiting the coastal plateau where they cultivate their barley and herd their animals. On the plateau tribal boundaries are well defined, and nomadism consequently severely restricted. In the desert fringes to the south of the plateau the vagaries of the rainfall necessitate a greater latitude of movement, but it is only a minority which leave their habitat on the plateau to find grazing and cultivate in the desert. The rural population is organized in tribes, among whom the land is divided. The main tribes (Sa‘ādi) hold their land by right of conquest dating from the Arab invasion in the 11th century. In addition, there are dependent groups (Murabitīn) who have attached themselves to the powerful Sa‘ādi tribes. All the Bedouin claim pure Arabian extraction, but there is undoubtedly an admixture of Berber stock, especially in the oases to the south of the plateau.

The economy of Cyrenaica is handicapped by the lack of natural resources and the underdevelopment of its land and water. It is based on the raising of livestock which is carried on, together with the shifting cultivation of barley, by the majority of the rural population. On the northern plateau, however, and in some parts of the coastal belt, wheat is grown by modern methods, and olives, vines, apricots, and other fruits thrive together with market vegetables. The development of this area is actively encouraged by the Ministry of Agriculture.

A meeting of the National Assembly of Libya, taking place under the chairmanship of the Mufti of Tripoli, Muhammad ‘Abd al-As‘ād al-‘Alam. The three territories are represented equally, each by 20 delegates: the Cyrenaics at left, the Tripolitians at right and the Fezzanese in the foreground.
THE SPEECH OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF PAKISTAN
The Honourable Mr. Muhammad Zafarullah Khan
on the occasion of
the signing of The Japanese Peace Treaty

The example of the Prophet Muhammad’s unparalleled clemency to the vanquished enemy of Mecca

"Dignity cannot be developed by those who are subject to alien control, however benign; self-respect is not felt by those who have no rights of their own in the world; who live on charity and who trade on sufferance. Regard for justice rarely animates those who are subjected to such grave injustice as would be the denial of (I am sure I would have Mr. Dulles’ permission to substitute for present peace) freedom. Fellowship is not the mood of peoples who are denied fellowship”

"Peace is best," says the Qur’ân

The soldiers of Pakistan set up a proud and distinguished record in the struggle for victory against Japan, as they did also in the war against Nazi Germany. For close upon four years the Japanese tide of aggression carried fire and sword into many lands of Asia. When that tide was at last stemmed and finally turned, it left in its wake lands devastated and desolate, peoples crushed and groaning under heavy loads of suffering, misery and humiliation; the hardest to bear was the humiliation, the outrages and affronts to the dignity of the human person.

The end came at last, and in its closing stages was swift and sudden. Bitter and searing memories of the agony that was the Japanese occupation persist, and often recur in nightmares. That is the condition of those who survived. They may persuade themselves to forgive and may even strive to forget. But what of those who perished under the cruel burden? It seems much harder to forget them and to forgive on their behalf.

Now we of Asia, Africa, Europe and America met together to make peace with Japan; and peace is best (The Qur’ân). It is the balm that heals, it is the silken cord that seeks to join together those whom war had put asunder. It blesses and is blest. That we are met for the purpose of making peace with Japan, in this city of San Francisco, in the State of California, marks a certain fitness and propriety.

The spirit that should inspire the Peace Treaty with a vanquished foe

From this coast and, to a large degree, from this city was launched, upon the oceans and into the air, a vast proportion of that material effort which eventually forced the surrender of Japanese arms. It is fit and proper, therefore, that the final scene that marks the consummation of that effort should be enacted in this city. Now that the long battle has been waged and won and enough time has been taken for the preparation for the peace, what is the spirit that should inspire that peace? Six years ago the peoples of the United Nations gathered in this city of San Francisco, resolved to combine their efforts to accomplish certain aims, among them to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law would be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in greater freedom, and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite their strength to maintain mutual peace and security. The time having

1 This statement was read at San Francisco, U.S.A., on September 6, 1951.

The representatives of the Arab countries are conferring at the Palais de Chaillot, Paris, with the Honourable Mr. Muhammad Zafarullah Khan (centre). On the right of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan are seated their Excellencies 'Abâ al-Rahman 'Azam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League and Muhammad Salab al-Dine Pasha, Egyptian Foreign Minister
arrived to make peace with Japan, the allied nations were confronted with the challenge to prove by their conduct what they had so solemnly proclaimed in their words. It was, Mr. President, again fitting and proper that the city of San Francisco should be the witness of the manner in which that challenge is proposed to be met, not with references of the allied nations themselves but with regard to the nation against whom they had allied themselves.

Unfortunately, not all of us are met here for that inspiring purpose. One great people who could have pre-eminently furnished that proof, for it had suffered the most at the hands of the power-drunk and aggressive Japan, is not represented here because of the difference among the allied nations as to who is entitled to represent it. In our judgment, Mr. President, the matter no longer admits of doubt, but there are others who do not look upon it the way we do. We have no right to impose our view upon them any more than they have to impose their view upon us. So, perforce, our gathering must remain incomplete.

We also regret the absence of India and Burma, our two neighbours. Their absence is voluntary—they have chosen not to respond to the call; if the reasons for their absence are those so far announced, we are, with all respects, unable to appreciate them. It is worthy of note that India’s reasons are not those of Burma, and vice versa. So far as the treatment of Japan itself is concerned, India finds the treaty too restrictive—Burma finds it too liberal.

Nevertheless, these are regrettable gaps in the ranks of Asiatic nations represented here. Let it not be forgotten, however, that there are represented among us here Asiatic States, numbering well over a quarter of the assembled allied nations.

The shining example of the Prophet Muhammad in the treatment of his vanquished foes in the Peace of Mecca in 630 C.E.

Mr. President, the history of mankind is, unfortunately, too plentifully strewn with wars which human progress, in knowledge and learning, in the arts and sciences, in manufactures and industries, has progressively rendered more terrifying and devastating.

War has of necessity to be followed by some kind of truce or peace, and in the nature of things the terms of the truce or peace must be determined by the victors. With one glorious and shining exception which did for long set up a tradition amongst the Muslims, history affords little evidence of victors being inspired by a spirit of magnanimity in dealing with the vanquished foe. The outstanding example was the Peace of Mecca, now thirteen hundred years old, with its lesson and its lustre undimmed.

Through thirteen long and weary years, the Prophet of Islam and his little band of devoted followers bore with calm dignity and patience the bitterest persecution at the hands of the Meccans. Starvation, flogging, tearing apart of living human bodies tied to the legs of camels driven in opposite directions, scoffings, humiliations, degradations and outrages of every description were the order of the day. Thus driven from their homes, this small but slowly increasing band left Mecca and sought a refuge in Medina. Here, too, they were not left in peace. Over a period of seven years, the Meccans continued their aggression by organising equipped expeditions against the half-starved, ill-clothed, ill-armed Muslims: the object of the aggression was to make the Muslims abjure faith in and worship of God; of no avail were treaties and agreements designed to leave the Muslims in peace to worship God in their own way. Each treaty was repudiated and cast aside by the Meccans the moment they thought they could do so with impunity.

When at the end of twenty years of sustained and brutal persecution and aggression, the Prophet of Islam suddenly appeared on the heights of Faraan above Mecca, at the head of ten thousand saints, with no battle fought and not a drop of blood shed, the Meccans cowered in terror at the realization that at last dire vengeance was about to overtake them. Their chiefs, summoned by the Prophet, confessed that every penalty that might be imposed upon them and their people would be light in comparison with their long record of misdeeds, but they hoped that the Prophet would deal mercifully with them.

Even with the hope of receiving mercy sustaining their sinking hearts, little did they anticipate the reply that the Prophet made gently, mercifully, sorrowfully, as if seeking there and then to assuage their anguish and lighten the burden of their remorse. He pronounced the healing words: "There shall be no retribution exacted from you, you shall all go free. I pray God to forgive you" (The Qur'an). Penalties for specific misdeeds were announced in respect of a dozen or so individuals, most of whom were also subsequently pardoned.

The Muslims marched into Mecca while tears cours ed down the cheeks of the victors and of the vanquished, tears born of a conflict of weeping up memories which no pen has so far been able adequately to portray. One Muslim in charge of a band of warriors was unable to resist an exclamation which the Meccans chose to resent as derogatory to them. The Prophet immediately removed the offending Muslim from his position of command. Such was the victory and the peace of Mecca. History furnishes no more comprehensive definition of magnanimity. That peace more than amply justified itself. The Prophet had been taught, and so have we, "Repel that which is evil with that which is best and behold he between whom and thyself there was enmity has become thy warm friend" (The Qur'an).

The Peace of Mecca turned the enemies of twenty years into devoted friends and brethren for all time. Some of the towering figures of the age of chivalry and renaissance that was inaugurated that day found the opportunity for the practical expression and the full flowering of their genius through the Peace of Mecca. Human life throughout vast areas became for centuries happier, richer and more dignified through the spirit that inspired that peace.

We have been rendered more familiar with the other kind of peace where the victors have been agreed on the measure of spoilage and dismemberment of the vanquished, and controversy has raged only over the sharing of the spoils. We are also, to our cost, familiar with the long chain of ills and disasters that such peace breeds. Having failed to learn from beneficent examples we are at last beginning to learn from bitter and painful experience. A new spirit is beginning to inspire the regulation of international affairs. It is still somewhat shy and timid and appears to falter under the burdens it has to carry. It behoves us to do what in us lies here to nurse and nourish and support it.

Present treaty for justice and reconciliation

What sort of a treaty are we met here to conclude and sign? It is not claimed that the treaty is perfect—abstract perfection would be impossible to achieve—but, as has been said, it is a good treaty. In accord with the new spirit the peace it offers is peace of justice and reconciliation, not of vengeance and oppression. It is a peace of justice: for the vanquished has been stripped and divested of the panoply and insignia of overwhelming powers and of the means of readily embarking upon new aggression. More could not consonantly with justice be attempted in that direction, and if attempted would defeat its own object. It is a peace of reconciliation.

The treaty itself leaves Japan entirely free to develop and foster its economy and its civic and political institutions and to
improve social amenities and services as it may think best in conformity with the international standards set up in that behalf. Here there is no controversy over sharing the spoils; there are no spoils to share. Such controversy as there is between those who are in accord, regarding the spirit of the treaty, is over the degree to which just claims for compensation and reparation may be pressed without doing violence to the spirit of the treaty and the principles and purposes that it seeks to carry into effect and achieve.

We agree that though it contains imperfections it is a good treaty. It does not, in our judgment, contain the seeds of another war, it truly seeks to establish peace. We are prepared to subscribe to it, the hope and confidence that will justify itself in its results. True, being no more than an agreement and a declaration of principles, it constitutes only an act of faith; but it is a necessary act of faith.

It gives to Japan all, and more than all, that it had any right to expect. It opens to Japan the door passing through which it may take up among its fellow sovereign nations a position of dignity, honour and contentment and prosperity for its people. It is evidence of a new departure in the relations of the East and the West as they have subsisted during the last few centuries. We welcome it as a harbinger of even happier consummations.

Mr. President, if this is a treaty of benevolence, it is benevolent both to Japan and to ourselves. If there is a treaty of magnanimity, we are being magnanimous to Japan and to all posterity. If there is, in this treaty, any aspect of charity, the charity covers Japan as well as the rest of us. Only let us make sure that there is enough of it to cover all of us. So much for Japan and the treaty itself. Japan that fought by the sword, carried destruction, desolation and mourning to many lands and many peoples; Japan that had been for so long lost, but may soon find herself. Japan shall soon be free once more; this time, let us hope, to embark upon a course of beneficence, to devote its genius wholly to the cultivation of the arts of peace to the lasting benefit of its people and the rest of mankind.

One word more, Mr. President, and I have done. So much I have said for Japan. But what of the peoples who still await their freedom — people who have fought nobody, who have been guilty of no aggression, some of whom have been deprived of their liberty by the sword, others who have been cheated of it through treachery, still others who have been cozened out of their birthright by abuse of their trust. We felt inspired and exalted by the words of Mr. John Foster Dulles when he said: "Dignity cannot be developed by those who are subject to alien control, however benign; self-respect is not felt by those who have no rights of their own in the world; who live on charity and who trade on sufferance. Regard for justice rarely animates those who are subjected to such grave injustice as would be the denial of (I am sure I would have Mr. Dulles' permission to substitute for present peace) freedom. Fellowship is not the mood of peoples who are denied fellowship." Noble words, and true. They will resound around the globe. They will be acclaimed by those who are still held in political or economic subjection and bondage as their charter. The question we ask is: When will those bonds be cut asunder, and these, our brothers, in many lands of Asia and Africa, restored to freedom, enjoyment of fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person? Millions anxiously, yearningly, poignantly await the answer. Let it be forthcoming before hope deferred makes the heart sick and the sickness of the heart turns into a devouring and raging madness.

THE ETHICS OF GHAZALI

By MUHAMMAD ZERROUKI

"He who reforms himself should not think that he is freeing himself of the vices of men; he should think that he is freeing men of his own vices" — KOSHEIRI

The ethics of Ghażali are essentially modern by many standards

In a burst of passionate admiration the Muslims called Ghażali Hujjat al-Islam, an expression which means both the proof and the champion of Islam. Indeed, few men in the history of mankind have given such an exalted example of work, of reflection, of meditation, and of piety, and few men have had such a noble conception of their duties on earth. The lives of a number of famous thinkers which show that there were failings in their private lives differ from that of Ghażali, for in his case the man and his work are equally worthy of veneration. Modern critics can bear witness that even in the heat of pleading he never at any moment lapsed into partiality or chauvinism. His co-religionists who had to dispute his theories, and the Christians who could not accept his concepts owing to the tenets of their own faith, always conceded to the perfect integrity in which he conducted his discussions.

Muhammad Abu Hamid al-Ghażali al-Tusi was born and died at Tus. (His grave is situated near that of the famous Firdusi.) He lived in 450-505 A.H. A prolific writer, his works embraced every aspect of intellectual thought of his time. For Orientals, his works remain as fresh as when they were written, while for Westerners they provide an extremely rich field for investigation. One branch of Ghażali's work, ethics, is of particular interest to present-day thinkers. The reason for this interest lies in the fact that the ethics of Ghażali appear by many standards to be essentially modern; in other words, they conform to modern Western conceptions of morality. In the words of the famous French Orientalist, Baron Carra de Vaux: "Ghażali is a modernist in the sense that his nature is dominated by moral sentiment and that he bases such sentiment on the sound basis of dialectics."

A realistic morality

The merit of Ghażali lies in the fact that he grasped and later developed the dominating characteristic of Islamic morality, a morality which aims at always observing a just medium. The Qur'ānic law is equally far removed from the Biblical precept — "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth", and the Evangelical precept of "turning the other cheek". It smooths out the relationship between men when some critical situation has set them at loggerheads, and it provides them with a middle course, which enables them to bear with each other. The Qur'ānic laws represent the most realistic and best approach towards human psychology. They do not recommend the use of brute force against a neighbour who has been wicked or unjust as this is inhuman; on the other hand they do not always recommend forgiveness as this would be Utopian. On the other hand, they certainly do not discourage generous gestures and they repeat the appeals to moderation and goodwill of the sacred verses in which God says: "Fight in the way of God those who fight you, but do not exceed the limits" (2: 190); "Repel evil (of the unbelievers) by good. We know what they say" (23: 96); "And not alike are the good and the evil. Repel evil by good
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We hope to supply later.
Astronautics: The New Science of Space Travel

By MAURICE GOLDSMITH

Astronautics is a new science. It is the science of space travel, of flight beyond the earth's atmosphere and of voyages to other worlds. Its rapid development during these past few decades is bringing a note of hard reality into the world of mythology and fantasy that for centuries has been fed by the writing of men who dreamed of exploring the realms of space. It was Galileo who — as in so many other cases — laid a foundation for this reality. Through his telescope he saw 400 years ago what no other man had ever seen before. "It is a most beautiful and delightful sight to behold the body of the moon, which is distant from us nearly sixty semi-diameters of the earth, as near as if it was at a distance of only two of the same measures," he wrote. "And consequently anyone may know with the certainty that is due to the use of our senses, that the moon certainly does not possess a smooth and polished surface, but one rough and uneven, and just like the face of the earth itself, is everywhere full of vast protuberances, deep chasms, and similitudes.

Galileo's telescope bore out the theory of Copernicus that the sun, and not the earth, was the centre of our planetary system; and that the earth was only one of many planets of its kind. Indeed, Galileo was able to discover "four planets neither known nor observed by any of the astronomers before my time."

Arthur C. Clarke, chairman of the British Interplanetary Society, points out in his new book, The Exploration of Space, that only one writer of ancient times wrote a story about travelling to the moon. He was Lucien of Samos, who, in about the second century A.D., told how a man was taken to the moon in a waterspout which seized his ship when he was sailing beyond the Pillar of Hercules! Another more recent story of a journey to the moon was written just over 400 years ago, following Galileo's discoveries, by another great astronomer, Johannes Kepler. The hero of his story arrived on the moon by supernatural means, but his description of what he found there was based upon the latest scientific knowledge of that time.

Since that day, travel in space has provided the theme for innumerable stories. Now, however, the moon is actually coming within our reach. In two or three generations the first man may land there, and long before then — perhaps within a few years — an unmanned rocket may have reached the moon. We have already contacted that planet by radar. A signal has been sent across 240,000 miles of space and it has brought back an "echo" from the moon. The naked eye and the revealing telescope will no longer be our main means of "exploring" the heavens. We shall be able to travel through interplanetary space and see the realities for ourselves.

The instrument which will make this possible is the rocket. (It is interesting that this seemingly most modern of inventions originated about 700 years ago in China.)

To leave the earth and to travel in space we require to do two basic things: first, to devise a means of overcoming the earth's gravitational pull so that we can get into space; and secondly, once there, to find a means of travelling around in an airless vacuum, which is basically what outer space is. We are all familiar with the force of gravity. If it did not exist, neither would we. It is gravity which makes life possible for us by keeping a thin blanket of air tightly round the earth. With increasing height, however, the force of gravity slowly diminishes. At 250 miles up — the greatest height yet reached by a rocket — it loses only 10 per cent of its value at sea level.

But at 12,000 miles up, a one-pound weight would weigh only one ounce. "It follows, therefore," says Clarke, "that the further away one goes from the earth, the easier it is to go onwards. In terms of gravity, leaving the earth is rather like climbing a hill which at first is very steep, but later becomes more and more gentle until finally it is almost perfectly flat."

It was Sir Isaac Newton, the English scientist, who first formulated the laws of gravity. It was also he who gave us the clue that has enabled us to understand the mechanics of travel in space, when he said: "For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction." To understand what this means, take an ordinary sausage-shaped rubber balloon and blow it up. Then let go of the balloon, and it will dart rapidly around until the air has gone out of it. What has happened is that molecules of compressed air in the balloon are bombarding the closed front end of the balloon — and it is this which is pushing the balloon forward. That is, the action of the molecules in bombarding the front end of the balloon is producing the reaction of balloon movement.

This is basically what causes a rocket to move. It is essentially a cylinder with the back end open. It carries along its own oxygen, and the chemical reaction causes the molecules to move about swiftly and to bombard the confined space in the cylinder. The molecules fly out of the open end. In this way, the action of the molecules bombarding the closed front end produces the reaction that pushes, or thrusts, the rocket forward. The great virtue of this is that the rocket would actually move faster if there were no air at all, because the air in front tends to slow it down.

The rocket is, therefore, the ideal form of space-ship because it can generate enormous power for little weight or size of engine (for example, the V2 was four times as powerful as the Queen Elizabeth), and this will enable it to overcome the earth's gravitational pull. It will also work most efficiently in the vacuum of outer space and at high flight speeds.

To escape from the earth a rocket needs a velocity of 25,000 m.p.h. This may seem utterly fantastic, but we should remember that while in 1940 the top flight for a rocket was under 1,000 m.p.h., in 1950 it was nearer 5,000 m.p.h. It is certain that there will be great developments in the immediate years ahead.

Rocket research is proceeding in all advanced industrialized countries, for a variety of purposes: to assist the take-off of aircraft, to propel aircraft at extreme speeds and heights (for example, the American Bell rocket plane was the first to fly faster than sound), for high-altitude research by instrument-carrying projectiles, and for guided missiles. So far as fuel is concerned, it is probable that future rocket spacecrafts will ultimately make use of atomic power.

On the basis of all this work, experts declare that within the next few decades there will be set up in space an "earth-satellite-vehicle", a man-made "planet", in a close orbit around the earth. This would circle the earth without remaining at a constant distance, and would stay there indefinitely without using any power.

It could be used, for example, as a research observatory beyond the atmosphere, for physicists and astronomers; as an observatory for meteorologists who would be able to "see" the earth's weather system developing; as a radio relay station, which would allow of world-wide reception of television; and, unfortunately, as a military base for reconnaissance. Man may soon be setting out on the "roads" to the planets.
TURKISH OLD AND NEW

Some Specimens of Motifs for

Above — A 17th century hand-embroidered over-robe in court style, preserved in the Topkapi Museum at Istanbul, Turkey.

* *

Above — A Turkish girl student at the ancient patterns to design motifs. In this picture can be seen the well-known which reads "And We have not sent you

Below — An 18th century piece of embroidery from the Museum, Istanbul.
Above — A 19th century embroidered jacket for full-dress court uniform with the embroidered belt, preserved in the Topkapi Museum, Istanbul, Turkey.
TURKISH EMBROIDERY

History
The Turkish woman of to-day has emerged as the equal of man. In the school, in the factory, in the office — as a school teacher, as a wage earner, as medical doctor, in civic and political life she moves her way forward successfully with men. But like all womanhood, the Turkish woman did not always enjoy the same privileges. There was a time when she was strictly confined to the home. History — which records the deeds of the mighty more faithfully than the everyday life of the ordinary folk — tells us of Turkish queens and queen mothers whose forceful personality played an important rôle in shaping the destiny of the Turkish nation. But it is not through the deeds of these extraordinary women that we try to picture the life of the ordinary Turkish mother, wife or sister of the past. There is more concrete evidence of the depth of their influence. Turkish folk literature abounds with tales of feminine wisdom and prowess. Turkish historians as far back as the sixth and seventh centuries vie with each other in telling of the splendours of Turkish rulers who sat on thrones of gold, surrounded by cloth embroidered by their women. Even European literature is full of citations of the legendary glory and splendour of Turkish clothing and embroidery. And in the fifteenth century, when the Turks came to establish themselves in Eastern Europe we learn from European historians that the tents pitched on the battle-ground by the Turkish army excelled in beauty and comfort the palaces of the European monarchs of the time. Some of them contained 30 or 40 chambers, including bathrooms which were unknown at the time in Western Europe. Despatches from foreign ambassadors to the Turkish court in those days prefer to dwell more upon the beauty of Turkish clothing than upon the politics of the day. This beautiful embroidery was the work of the woman who, even though she did not enjoy the same privileges as man, contributed so much to enriching the everyday life of her own menfolk and of other races and nations. Like the ancient Roman roads, the fortifications, castles and temples that lie scattered over Europe, Asia and Africa, as one travels in Eastern Europe one often comes across old Turkish castles, forts, bridges and roads. All these have had their use in their time and are now landmarks of the past that is dead beyond resurrection. But the cultural influence that the Turkish woman has brought into these lands still lives and flourishes in the embroideries of many countries, such as Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece.

Variety of design
In the old days every Turkish girl’s dream was to have the most beautiful trousseau she could imagine. Both in village and in town teenagers spent most of their time in sitting together, and as they chattered and sang they let their imagination play on the designs of different household goods they embroidered for their future homes.

A Turkish girl of the Embroidery Institute, Ankara, is sketching from an old piece of tapestry to devise a design for a new pattern of material

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
In those days it was the custom to hang as many pieces of fine embroidery on the walls of the bridal chamber as space allowed and every maiden, naturally, reflected her innocent conception of beauty in her embroidery.

That's how one develops a love and an insatiable appetite for variety. There is total freedom of treatment, as will be seen in the specimens. Thus, in this infinite variety of patterns one always finds the impressionist view of nature. It is the needlewoman's impression of flowers, trees, animals, or whatever she has cared to portray. Her needle is her brush, her silk dyes, her paint — she designs and embroiders as the fancy takes her.

Among the motifs most often used are designs incorporating the tulip, hyacinth, carnation, and the violet; trees such as the cypress, poplar and oak; pear-trees; portraits of the sun, moon, clouds; palaces, kiosks, ornate tents, sailing boats, etc. Naturally, each subject shows certain characteristics of treatment which indicate its date, and even its area of origin. For instance, the eighteenth century saw the introduction of examples of skilled penmanship in the old Arabic script into prevalent designs. However, Turkish embroidery reached its peak of beauty and aesthetic accomplishment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries during the period of expanding glory of the Ottomans in which the other arts, such as poetry, architecture and ceramics, also attained their climax.

Materials used

Turkish embroideries are to be found in a great variety of materials, extending from fine silks, satins, velvets, and other textiles to such unexpected vehicles for the needleworker's art as leather; depending on the tastes, fashions, and needs of the different epochs. What distinguishes Turkish decorative needlework is the special use of gold and silver thread. The kilap[tan, as it is called, is an old Turkish invention and is a mixture of silver thread combined with fine copper thread in imitation of gold. Like the Italian painters of the Renaissance, Turkish embroidery artists developed their own silk dyes, and, like the dyes of the old Turkish carpet industry, all colours were fast — obtained from vegetable dyes whose manufacture was a closely guarded secret. These dyes retained their brightness for hundreds of years. Some of the old pieces that have survived wear and tear for hundreds of years can still be seen in their original colouring. The number of different colours used in the oldest specimens of Turkish embroideries is somewhat limited: for example, one hardly ever comes across yellow, probably because of the extensive use made of gold thread which would have left yellow too pale by contrast. But as the centuries succeeded one another, both the number and variety of shades in colour increased, until the colours used included all the blues of heaven and all the greens of earth. And as the number of colours increased so did the mastery of the needlewoman in colour-blending. Among the pieces of embroidery that we possess from the 16th and 17th centuries one can easily pick out samples executed by simple, unknown souls that could compare in colour and composition with the masters of the art of painting. Turkish towels in the days of old attained renown not only due to their soft, velvety texture, but, especially, due to the beautiful needlework that decorated their edges. However, Turkish women used embroidery to trim almost everything in daily household use: bed-jackets, blouses, bed-spreads, sheets, towel edgings, table linen and napkins, handbags, slippers, and babies' dresses, etc.

Other items also included belts, handkerchiefs, gloves, curtains and drapes, and even sun umbrellas.

At court and in society individuals vied with each other in the splendour of their court robes, ceremonial uniforms, quivers for arrows, tents, harnessing and saddles. All had their special forms of embroidery. Saddles and trappings were embroidered in silver and were decorated with coral stones and pearls.

A peep into Turkish Embroidery Institutes to-day

The advent of the Turkish Republic in 1923 quickened the tempo of life in Turkey and with the changes for the establishment of a modern state following one another relentlessly, less and less time remained for this fine art, which is essentially an art of leisure. But this desire for aesthetic expression through needlework so deeply ingrained in the tradition of Turkish womanhood soon asserted itself, in spite of the pressure of everyday life. And the ingenuity of the modern Turkish girl contrived to find a contemporary use for this old art. The patterns of old are now being used to enrich ball dresses, blouses, and various other items in the contemporary women's wardrobe.

The patterns of old, obsolete costumes are transformed into completely modern dresses. This is done in the Institutes for Girls. These institutes have been founded with the object of providing vocational training in needlework, dress designing, dressmaking, millinery and allied feminine crafts in addition to the regular high school education. They are scattered all over Turkey and any young girls who feel an inclination for that kind of work can attend these schools which are run by the State and are free of charge.

Let us follow a child of twelve entering one of these institutes: general education is carried on until the age of 17, but with the last two years she will also have started her technical training: seven hours per week for cutting and sewing, two hours for hat making, lingerie, and designing. At 17 she decides what branch she wants to specialize in, and enters the workshop.

If she wishes to become a dressmaker, for instance, in her first year in the workshop she will help others, take a course in professional designing, give several hours to embroidery, millinery, housekeeping, and cookery. Likewise, she will teach needlework several hours per week in the lower school.

In her second year, she devotes more time to work in the atelier and does fewer hours of teaching. In her third and final year, she interviews clients, creates and makes her own models. For her final examination, she is required to buy the materials, create, make and sell her model within a specified time. At the same time, all her needlework and embroidery specimens will be examined, and she will have to pass written tests in all other subjects.

Each school is a completely self-contained unit with facilities for laundry, ironing, invisible mending, dyeing, and even the making of small pieces of jewellery under one roof.

The Palace of Topkapi

These beautiful embroideries constitute one of the many attractions in Turkey. For the historically-minded there is the Palace of Topkapi, dominating the Golden Horn and viewing Leander's Tower and the Bosphorus as it winds its way into the Black Sea. This was the old residence of the Turkish Sultan, the glory and splendour of which was the talk of Europe, Asia and Africa for many centuries. In this palace, which is a museum to-day, the most beautiful specimens of old Turkish embroidery can be seen. The items constitute an exquisite and colourful panorama of the different phases of Turkish embroidery during the past four centuries and while giving an idea of the customs and fashions of the past, they also underline the refined taste of the Turks — peasants and city folk alike — who used them.

Modern samples of embroidery can be purchased and seen anywhere in the country — giving proof that the aesthetic urge in the Turkish woman to create beautiful things to please her fancy and to give pleasure to others still flourishes in modern Turkey.

JANUARY 1952
THE PROBLEMS OF EGYPT

THE ABROGATION OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN TREATY

By G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

"In a Press conference in Paris on December 10, 1951, Salah al-Dine Pasha stated that during the past 30 years Britain had promised on sixty occasions to evacuate Egypt, in the course of twelve separate series of negotiations."

A retrospect of the negotiations between the Egyptian and British Governments

After the succession of blunders and errors made by the British Foreign Office in the handling of the Iranian oil dispute, it was reasonable to imagine that, learning from their past mistakes, the officials who control the British foreign policy might have taken the long-heralded Egyptian intentions to denounce the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty seriously. To make matters worse, the late British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, plunged Britain into a General Election, so that at the time when Egypt took action, there was no chance of a reversal of former British policy. And now Egypt is faced with the very same Foreign Minister as signed the 1936 Treaty, which she has now abrogated.

In December 1950, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Salah al-Dine Pasha, in conversations with the late Mr. Ernest Bevin, envisaged the possible denunciation of the Treaty which gives Britain the right to occupy certain areas along the Suez Canal with the maximum of 10,000 troops and 400 pilots in peace time and certain ancillary forces. He also informed Mr. Bevin that ''public opinion in Arab countries was not prepared to enter into relationship with Israel''. He asked that British troops should evacuate the Suez Canal and that the Egyptian Army would be responsible for maintaining the British Army workshops and possibly might maintain ''a small number of British technicians for a limited period during which Egyptians could be trained, etc.''. These quotations are taken from the recent British White Paper on Anglo-Egyptian conversations, on the Defence of the Suez Canal and on the Sudan.

The Egyptian Foreign Minister rightly maintained that Britain had air bases within a short distance of Egypt and that only in wartime could the possibility of foreign troops occupying Egyptian soil be envisaged, and that in the event of such an occupation taking place, these foreign troops must leave Egyptian soil within three months from the cessation of hostilities.

On October 13, 1951, the British Ambassador delivered a note to the Egyptian Government proposing that (a) the present British base in Egypt should be formally handed over to Egypt on the understanding that it would become an Allied base within the Allied Middle East Command, with full Egyptian participation in the running of this base in peace and war, and (b) that the strength of the Allied forces of the participating countries to be stationed in Egypt in peace time would be determined between the participating nations, including Egypt, from time to time as progress is made in building up the forces of the Allied Middle East Command. Egypt was also to participate in an air defence organization. The British Government also proposed that an international commission should reside in the Sudan to watch over the constitutional developments there and that a date should be fixed ''for the attainment of self-government by the Sudanese as a first step on the way to the choice by the Sudanese of their final status''.

In rejecting these proposals, Egypt's Foreign Minister, Salah al-Dine Pasha, stated that the new proposals were worse than the old situation, for whereas under the 1936 Treaty only one power occupied a strictly defined area with a limited number of troops, under the new proposals several Powers would occupy an unlimited territory, for an unlimited time. In denouncing the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the Egyptians also announced that the King of Egypt would bear the title of "The King of Egypt and the Sudan". Salah al-Dine Pasha has now proposed that a plebiscite should be carried out in the Sudan provided that all British officials and troops were first withdrawn.

The Arab countries solidly in favour of maintaining a neutralist policy towards the two big blocs

Although the Anglo-Egyptian dispute is of long standing, its real significance is bound up with the Western defence system aimed to prevent any possible Soviet aggression and the British Commonwealth's vital strategic and economic interests. The United States of America is at present engaged in building some of the largest airfields in the world (at least five in number) in Morocco. The Suez defences are the last stage in the link-up with Turkish troops in the Middle East. But there is a very strong opposition in all Arab and Muslim countries to any active participation in building up big defences against the Soviet Union. Apart from Iran, these countries have no experience of Soviet occupation, and they still look on the British and French as their imperialistic aggressors. Although the Government of Iraq is friendly to Britain; the opposition parties — the Istiqlal Party, the National Democratic Party, the Popular Front, and the party led by Salah Jabur (who signed the 1948 abortive Portsmouth Treaty) — are all in favour of maintaining a neutralist policy towards the two big blocs. And the former Prime Minister of Syria, M'ruf Dawalibi, who was recently arrested by Colonel Shishikly, and the Sha'b Party, were all against participation in Western defence schemes. The solidarity in favour of Egypt of the Middle East States is unquestionable. To add to this is the slowness with which the British have taken steps to introduce the Egyptians into the Suez Canal defence system. This is also one of the main causes of the present crisis. As in the Iranian oil dispute, action has been taken far too late. Vital as the defence of the Suez is to British interests, it is an unpleasant fact that the Labour Government, which had been instrumental in liberating so many countries, should go out of office while still supporting the traditional policy of British imperialism, and be viewed in Egyptian eyes with almost the same amount of acrimony with which they viewed the Churchill wartime Cabinet.

Orabi Pasha's abortive attempt at reform thwarted by the British

The British occupation of Egypt is inseparably bound up with the opening of the Suez Canal. The Viceroy Muhammad 'Aliy, more than a hundred years ago, realised that a canal through Egypt would cause the end of Turkish-Egyptian rule. Lord Palmerston, the famous British Foreign Minister, was the first to realise that if such a canal were built Britain would have to occupy Egypt. Disraeli pursued his usual policy of first condemning the Canal and then buying up over 177,602 shares
from the Khedive Isma'il, and pursuing a policy which under Gladstone inevitably led to the British occupation of Egypt. The Khedive Isma'il spent over £46 million on various projects of modernisation of the Egyptian State. After his deposition the future Lord Cromer became the financial dictator of Egypt (since 1878 sharing power with other European creditors). A great movement was started on the part of the Egyptians to reform themselves under the leadership of the eminent Shaikh 'Abduh and a soldier who had risen from the ranks, of fellahin parentage, Colonel 'Orabi Pasha. Together with Mahmoud Sami and Colonel 'Abd al-'Aal Hilmi, they planned a series of reforms, and at the time when their army was defeated by the British at Tel al-kabir by General Wolsey they were aiming at ultimately overthrowing the Khedive and thoroughly cleaning out the rotten régime. They were championed by a courageous English landowner and poet, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922) who spent £3,000 on lawyers' fees and managed to save 'Orabi's life. Blunt, who was a great admirer of Islam, and who had written a book called The Future of Islam in 1882, always maintained that if 'Orabi had been left alone by the British he would have effectively carried out reforms which would have been of permanent value. His views are supported by many Egyptians to-day who maintain that the British in smashing up 'Orabi's movement maintained in power a corrupt, rich oligarchy which to this day refuses to disburse its ill-gotten gains in the interests of the Egyptian fellahin and workmen.

The Suez Canal earnings

Early under Cromer's rule the 15 per cent profits in the Suez Canal Company were sold to a French financial concern for the mere pittance of about £880,000. Since that day this percentage of the profits has amounted to almost that capital sum in a single year, while the British Government has reaped many times over its original capital investment. The British had made a clear profit of £69,000,000 by 1949. But the French have done even better for themselves (the British have 44 per cent of the shares), for in the British case it may be claimed that 50 per cent of the ships going through the Canal (52.5 per cent recently) were British ships, and that the profits obtained by the Company came from British use of the Canal. Yet fantastic as it may seem, although this Canal was cut through Egyptian territory, and originally largely financed by an Egyptian viceroy, Muhammad Sa'id, until recently there were only two Egyptian directors as compared with 19 French and 10 British. And it was only as late as March 7, 1949, that the Company offered Egypt 7 per cent of the gross profits, to take five Egyptian directors on the Board, and to give four-fifths of the technical posts to Egyptian personnel. It is small wonder that there was a clamour in the Egyptian press to demand at least 50 per cent of the profits or, alternatively, to nationalize the Canal before the expiration of the 100 years' lease in 1968. Fortunately for Egypt, attempts before the 1914 war to prolong the lease of the Suez Canal were frustrated by the Egyptian Government.

Why the Egyptians accepted the 1936 Treaty

The Egyptians realized that the termination of the British occupation of Egypt, which took place in 1936, could not have been obtained at that period without the unwilling concession made to the British as regards the maintenance of 10,000 troops and 400 airmen in the Suez Canal area. Although Egypt was menaced by the aggressive imperialism of Italian fascism, whose surplus population would have ultimately colonized all North Africa and East Africa from Suez to Abyssinia, the Egyptians, unlike the Libyans, never underwent the abominations of Italian fascist rule beside which the superior attitude of British officials in Egypt was a very mild tyranny. During the recent war the re-occupation of Egypt by the British and the failure to grant independence to Syria and Palestine by the French and British turned Arab nationalists against the British. General 'Aziz al-Masri, a veteran Arab nationalist who had fought with Faisal and Lawrence of Arabia, and previously had been a member of the famous Arab secret society, al-'Ahd, and had fought against the Italians in Libya, was arrested by the British. In 1914 his execution by the Turks had been prevented by the personal intervention of Lord Kitchener. He was a typical example of the disappointed Arab nationalists who were willing to work with Axis support to liberate themselves from what they considered to be British oppression. The autocratic behaviour of Lord Killearn, the British Ambassador at Cairo, who used troops to force the Wafdist Government on King Farouk, naturally created an alliance of the Muslim Brotherhood and of Court circles against British rule. And naturally enough, the Wafdist Party, once it went into opposition in 1944, resulted in all sections of the Egyptian community being united in their attitude towards the British. The Labour Government, with Ernest Bevin at the Foreign Office, aroused great hopes amongst the Egyptians. Bevin himself was immensely popular amongst all Egyptians and Middle East Arabs, and it was known that he personally was
friendly to the Arabs in Palestine. But on the question of the evacuation of the British troops from the Suez Canal and the question of the unity of the Nile Valley he was unable to reach an agreement with the Egyptian Premier, Sidiki Pasha, and Nokrashi Pasha.

The British, if they so wished, could have effectively armed and supported the Egyptians for the defence of the Suez Canal.

It seems an extraordinary thing that in Arab and Muslim countries under British occupation, whenever the British Government really wished to do so they were able to train efficient small armies. The troops commanded by Feisal Ibn Husain, 'Aziz al-Mastri and Lawrence, the Jordan Arab Legion and the Sudan Defence force, were amongst the world's best-trained troops, and the Muslim troops in North Africa are of equally good quality. Surely the British could have helped much more effectively to build up a Middle East Defence scheme in which the Egyptians, Syrians and Iraqis could have been responsible for the maintenance of their full defensive systems in peace time, as the quality of troops in these countries is not lacking. But the arms, equipment, training and leadership are. During the final campaign against the Khalifa Abdullah, in the Sudan, the Egyptian troops fought with great ability and showed their qualities of courage and determination. The question that now arises is, why couldn't the British troops not be replaced with Egyptians, who would have been effectively armed and supported? The Egyptians maintain that there are now over 50,000 British soldiers in the Canal Zone, and the incidents between British and Egyptians result in a useless loss of life on both sides. But it is really of mutual interest to both British and Egyptians to carry out economic co-operation, free from political domination. Egypt, like all countries which have long been under foreign domination, is naturally opposed to a war breaking out between the Western Powers and the Soviet bloc, as this would inevitably lead to the reoccupation of Egypt. Such a policy is quite understandable. During the last war Britain was occupied by hundreds of thousands of American troops, and although Britain was not under direct American rule it is still paying very heavily for allowing its foreign policy to be dominated by the amateurish efforts of American politicians who thought they could master in a few minutes problems which had baffled the most experienced British politicians for centuries. Britain had to plug up with these things, and the Attlee Cabinet recently fell from power largely through its subservience to American domination in accepting an impossible heavy armament programme. With these experiences in our own lives, could it have been expected that Britain would make a far greater effort to understand the reactions of the Egyptians and the Iranians?

It is to the interest of Great Britain to help and strengthen the Middle East States.

It is quite true to say that Egypt has bigger problems to solve than that of the Suez Canal and of unity with the Nile Valley, but it is quite useless to expect the Egyptians to settle their internal problems first. During the Iraqi question, with the commendable exception of such papers as The Manchester Guardian and The New Statesman, the Press forecast the early collapse of Dr. Mosaddiq's government, not realizing the tremendous popularity his campaign against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had aroused amongst all sections of the population. The policy of the British Government should be to aid the Egyptians by withdrawing from the Canal and giving them the chance of solving their tremendous economic and political problems before matters get worse, and not persist in maintaining that the present anti-British campaign is merely a abuse used by the Wafdist Government to divert the attention of the people from more pressing political and economic matters.

The British troops' task of defending the Suez Canal, faced with a hostile population in the rear, would decidedly become untenable in wartime. The fact should not be lost sight of by Britain that her chances of remaining a powerful economic unit in the world to-day depend on her strengthening and helping the independent Eastern and Middle-East States, and, particularly, the Muslim countries, and not on trying to force them into an artificial alliance against the Soviet Union, for the economic conditions in many of these countries have a certain appeal to Soviet propaganda, and the example of China, a powerful united State, able to stand up against Western imperialism, is very attractive to them. Great Britain and America should also realize that their propaganda about lack of political freedom and persecution in the Soviet bloc is not likely to be effective in countries which for centuries never enjoyed the luxury of experiencing a democratic régime.

Faced with the refusal of a handful of landowners who own 28 per cent of the land in Egypt to parcel this land out amongst the fellahin, the mass parties, the Muslim Brotherhood, led by the able magistrate al-Hodjaiby Bey (successor to the late Shaikh Hasan al-Banna), and the Socialist movement led by Ahmad Husain, are gaining ground at the expense of the Wafd. An incident that took place on June 23, 1951, in the district of Nabaouragh, is a pointer. On this day there was on the part of the fellahin an uprising, the first one of its kind in the history of the Egyptian fellahin, against the big landlord, 'Abdul 'Aziz Badrawi Pasha. According to the Wafdist daily, al-Misri, on this occasion the fellahs did not wait to be beaten up; they attacked the overseer of this estate and overturned his car into a canal, and he was taken to hospital; the police arrived and made several arrests. The Misr Commissioner of Police—cross-examined them at the town hall—which is an outhouse of the Badrawi Palace. When the crowd learned that the prisoners were undergoing torture, they marched on the Palace and demanded the liberation of the prisoners. Faced with this mob, 'Abdul 'Aziz Badrawi Pasha came out of his palace with a gun in his hand and fired on the crowd. One person was killed and eighteen wounded.

The agricultural revolution and the improvement of the condition of the Egyptian workman are vital problems which the Egyptians have to face for themselves. In Egypt there is a project for spending £60 million to inaugurate a free health scheme. This is a step in the right direction, but the longer the vital reforms are delayed, as a result of Britain's lack of understanding the aspirations of Egypt, the worse it will be not only for the Egyptians themselves but for all nations concerned with trade in Egypt and the security of the Suez Canal.

The unity of the Nile Valley.

The Egyptians base their right to responsibility for the rule of the Sudan on a series of points, some of which are acceptable by the British and some to which they are opposed. The population of the Sudan is to-day about 7,000,000, of whom some 5,000,000 at least are of Arab origin and practice the Muslim faith. During the recent discussions between the British and Egyptian Governments the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Salah al-Dine Pasha, maintained that all the people of the Nile Valley were of Hamitic origin and that the British were attempting artificially to separate the Sudan into northern and southern territory and to prevent the practising and spreading of the Muslim faith in the extreme south of the Sudan. Five years ago there were discussions on the question of the Sudan between Sidiki Pasha and Ernest Bevin which finally broke down, and in 1947 the Prime Minister, Mahmoud Fahmy Nokrashi Pasha (of the Sādist Party), demanded the evacuation of British troops from
A short history of the close relationship of Egypt with the Sudan

Muhammad Ahmed Ibn al-Saiyd 'Abd Allah, who was born on the Island of Lehab, near Dongola, in 1844, was a remarkable man. He showed considerable powers of generalship in defeating the Egyptian army under the generalship of Hicks Pasha. His fame spread to India, and in many parts of the Muslim world he was considered as an upholder of the Muslim religion who was fighting European imperialism. The killing of Gordon at Khartoum was done against his orders. The British tried to force the Egyptians to renounce all ideas of complete conquest of the Sudan and an Egyptian premier, Sharif Pasha, was forced to resign for trying to maintain the unity of the Nile Valley. Both Cromer and later Kitchener recognized the Egyptian interest in the Sudan. The Mahdist defeated the Abyssinians, and under the successor of the Mahdi, the Khalifa Abdullah, they suppressed tribal rule and unified the Sudan. The Egyptians, however, never renounced the idea of reconquest. And the supporters of the Khatmia, now known as the Murghibian, never supported the Mahdi's rule. The Mahdists produced several outstanding generals such as 'Uthman Djna, and Najumi, who was killed in 1889 in a battle with the Egyptian troops, and a few years later Egyptian troops acquitted themselves in defeating Djna in the eastern part of the Sudan. The final conquest of the Sudan in the years 1896 to 1899 was carried out by a combined British and Egyptian force, which included 17,000 Egyptians and 8,000 British. The expenses of the campaign were largely borne by the Egyptians. By an agreement in 1899 with the Egyptians a condominium (a government in which the Egyptians shared the administration) was established in the Sudan till 1924, when the Governor-General of the Sudan, the Sirdar Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo. Egyptian troops and some Sudanese came into conflict with the British. The pro-Egyptian Sudanese nationalists formed a white flag movement under the leadership of 'Abd al-Latif. The British expelled the Egyptian troops and demanded £500,000 compensation for the assassination of the Sirdar. Nokrashi Pasha, who later became Prime Minister of Egypt, was accused but acquitted of complicity in the murder of Sir Lee Stack.

The control of the waters of the Nile is absolutely essential for Egypt, for most of her area of 363,000 square miles is not fit for cultivation and the agricultural population is concentrated in 13,000 square miles irrigated from the Nile waters. The population is increasing by about 300,000 per year, and is now between 20 and 21 million. In 1924 the British told the Egyptians that after the murder of Sir Lee Stack they would increase the amount of water used for irrigation purposes in the Sudan by an unlimited amount. They did not carry out this threat, merely tripling the irrigated area in the Gezireh. The Egyptians, however, fear that a hostile Sudanese separatist government might carry out this threat.

The British carried out the progressive Gezireh cotton scheme, increasing the irrigated area from 300,000 to 900,000 feddans, a feddan being roughly 1 acre. Admittedly this was a very progressive scheme, as is evident by the following figures: 40 per cent of the crop's value went to the tenants, 40 per cent to the Government, and 20 per cent to the cotton syndicate, which had a very short lease. More than 20,000 families received over £50 in 1946 and considerably more in the following years. Cotton exports rose to £25,000,000 in 1950, cotton seed to £1,900,000, and gum arabic to £2,600,000. Child mortality was reduced to 68 per thousand. No foreign administration, however efficient, can satisfy the national aspirations of a subject people. All parties of the Northern Sudan wish for a speedy termination of British rule.
In the last few years there has been a remarkable development of political parties in the Sudan. The most outspoken of the pro-Egyptian parties is the Ashiqqa (Blood Brothers), which is now split into two sections, one under its President, Isma'il al-Azhari Bey, and the other under Nur al-Dine, and Qadir Umar, who went to Paris as a delegate of the party. Another party which has been friendly towards Egypt is the National Front, the Secretary of which is a lawyer, D. Osman, and which co-operated in the recent constitutional committee. The National Front (al-Jabha al-wataniya) is under the influence of Sir Sayyid 'Ali al-Marghani Pasha. It stands for a kind of Dominion status, recognising King Farouk as King of the Sudan. Another pro-Egyptian party is represented by the members of the Ittishadin (the Unionists), many of whose supporters are civil servants. The chief Independence Party is the Umma (People’s Party), under the leadership of Sir Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, the only surviving son of the leader of the revolt in the 1880’s. Other prominent members of this party are 'Abdullah Bey Khalil, a former officer of the Sudan defence force, which was raised to 30,000 in the last war and fought magnificently against the Italians; also Yaqub 'Osman, who was for some years the Umma representative in England, and is a member of the Congress of Peoples, a left-wing Socialism organization which contains affiliation to most of the nationalist movements in the world from countries where the people are living under foreign rule. There are also two small parties, the Abrar (Liberals) and the Qaumiyyin. In 1948 the pro-Egyptian parties boycotted the elections in the Northern Sudan. The Umma Party obtained 10 seats out of 75.

In March, 1951, the Governor-General set up a constitutional committee in which the National Front was represented but not the Ashiqqa Party. This committee has since been dissolved as members of it supported the institution of a plebiscite under international control which the British judge who was chairman of the committee claimed was outside its powers. At the present moment the British are proceeding with their plans for self-government by 1952, and they refuse to support the carrying out of a plebiscite which would involve the evacuation of the British civil servants and troops. They have also revived the tribal rule in the south, and these chiefs have been mobilized to stress their opposition to Egypt. There is, however, a very strong trend of opinion favourable to Egypt amongst the 5,000,000 Arabs, as these Sudanese do not consider that the acceptance of the Egyptian Crown would lead to much Egyptian interference in Sudanese political and economic affairs.

A new political party described as “The Republican Socialist Party” is apparently in formation in the towns and in the tribal areas. It aims at Dominion status within the British Commonwealth. The Government of the Sudan is likely to recommend a two-house Assembly leaving foreign affairs and defence in the hands of the British Governor-General, and not the United Nations as was recommended by some of the members of the Committee set up for this purpose.

**Egyptian Foreign Minister’s reply to the British White Paper**

The demolition of 75 mud houses in the Suez Canal area by British troops to enable them to assure their water supply without fear of interference from Egyptian liberation forces inevitably led the Egyptian Government to consider breaking off diplomatic relations with Britain and the dismissal of 350 British citizens working in the Egyptian Government’s employ. This demolition recalls a much bigger operation, which took place in Jaffa in 1936, when British troops demolished ten times as many houses under the pretext of “sanitary conditions”—an excuse which was dismissed by the British judge in Palestine as “a smoke screen of hypocrisy”.

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*THE ISLAMIC REVIEW*
present inflammable situation. The evacuation should have been carried out in 1949; if this had been the case, relations between the countries concerned would have been most cordial.

In a Press conference in Paris on December 10, 1951, Salah al-Dine Pasha stated that during the past 30 years Britain had promised on sixty occasions to evacuate Egypt, in the course of twelve separate series of negotiations. He blamed Mr. Herbert Morrison, the former British Foreign Secretary, for causing the initial reason of the rupture of relations by his statement in the British House of Commons on July 30, 1951, when he said that Egypt's refusal to participate in Middle East defence could not be allowed to cause prejudice to Britain's international obligations.

Replying to Britain's accusation that Egypt had denounced the 1936 Treaty on October 8, 1951, fully knowing that new British proposals would be formulated on October 10, 1951, he replied that the denunciation of the Treaty had been forecast, in the Speech from the Throne in December 1950, as an event to take place before the end of the Parliamentary session in October 1951. In July, Salah al-Dine Pasha told the British Ambassador that his communication was couched in terms of "war and invasion" whereas as "like members of the United Nations, we should speak in the language of peace, security, right, law and justice."

Following Dr. Mosaddiq's visit to Cairo, Iran has recognized King Farouk's right to the title of King of Egypt and the Sudan. This may be the forerunner of an independent, predominantly Muslim-East bloc which is the aim of the Persian divine Kashani — a natural reaction to the thoroughly inept mixture of bullying and vacillation of Britain, the ponderous lectures of the U.S.A. and the intrigues of France.

In spite of her great difficulties, Egypt is to be commended for bringing up the Moroccan question in spite of all the gibberish of Robert Schuman, France's Foreign Minister.

USEFUL DATA ON EGYPT

The Suez Canal

The digging of the Suez Canal was started in 1859 and completed in 1869. In 1875 Britain bought 172,602 shares for £3,976,568 which were worth £24,592,310 in March 1948.

Egypt

Area: 363,000 square miles of which only 13,000 are cultivable. Population roughly 20,300,000 of whom 19,000,000 are Muslims and over 1,000,000 Copts.

Political parties:
Hizb al-Warani founded by great Patriot Mustafa Kamil in 1905.
Wafid (originally Wafid al-Mistri or Egyptian Delegation) founded in 1918 by the late Sa'd Pasha Zaghloul. Now under the leadership of Premier Nahas Pasha and Fuad Seraj al-Dine, the Minister of the Interior.

Liberal Constitutional Party founded in 1922.
Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimoun founded by Hasan al-Banna in 1930. It was banned in 1938. Its leader Banna was assassinated in 1949.
It has now been reconstituted under the leadership of its new leader al-Hudaybi Bey.

Young Egypt Movement founded by Ahmad Hussein. It is now continuing its work under the name of Socialist Movement.
Sa'dist Party founded 1930 by the late Premiers Ahmad Mahir and Nokrashi Pasha and another former Premier, Ibrahim 'Abd al-Hadi Pasha.
Kutla Party founded 1944 by William Makram 'Abeed Pasha.

The Dynasty of Muhammad 'Ali

1805-49 Muhammad 'Ali the Viceroy of Egypt.
1849-54 'Abbas I.
1854-63 Muhammad Sa'id.
1863-79 Isma'il, the first khedive. Drowned in 1879.
1879-92 Khedive Tewfik.
1892-1914 Khedive 'Abbas Hilmi II. Deposed by the British in 1914.
1914-17 Husain Kamal.
1917-36 Fuad I. He became King of Egypt in 1922.
1936 Farouk I.

Important dates in Egyptian history

After 3,000 B.C. years of dynasties of Pharaohs, Egypt was under Persian rule from 525-332 B.C.
352 B.C. Alexander of Macedon conquers Egypt. Alexandria built.
30 C.E. Roman conquest.

JANUARY 1952
PERSIA AND EGYPT VERSUS IMPERIALISM

By 'ABU MUHAMMAD

“No longer will the nations of the world agree to remain bound and shackled by the weight and injustice of treaties and restrictions imposed on the weak by the strong and dictated by the force of especially unfavourable circumstances in which one of the parties to the treaties was more of a slave than a free agent.”

The achievement of Dr. Muhammad Mosadddiq

The name of Dr. Muhammad Mosadddiq, the Persian Prime Minister, has shone illustriously of late in the world’s political arena, and has eclipsed many others. The man has become the object of attention the world over as the symbol of a new world movement. This achievement by Dr. Mosadddiq has been brought about by his relentless stride and struggle for the attainment of the rights of his country; his unlimited devotion to retrieve the freedom and liberty of his people, robbed from them for a while by the imperialists; his determined stand in order to secure complete independence and autonomy for his country, free from any economic or political interference by outside powers, however thinly that may be disguised; and his unselfish and unlimited sacrifices for this great and meritorious cause.

History is bound to repeat itself; for never has there been a case where an illustrious man has risen from the ranks of a nation to lead it in a bitter struggle for its rights against tyrants and usurpers, without those rights being ultimately retrieved and secured. The extreme zeal and devotion with which Dr. Mosadddiq leads this struggle will certainly bring about the desired objectives of Persia and the Persian people will live thereafter to enjoy the fruits of his honourable deeds and to remember him kindly.

It is not the purpose of this article to deal with the origins of the dispute between Britain and Persia regarding the exploitation of the latter’s oil resources, for this has been thoroughly discussed in these columns on previous occasions. Our readers are no doubt well acquainted now with the intricate and hidden elements of that problem. I would, however, like to shed some light on recent developments in this problem and point out some of the decisive victories scored by Persia in this contest.

What Persia has won in her struggle with Britain

Britain has recently suffered at the hands of Persia one of the most far-reaching defeats inflicted upon her in modern times. It is great wonder that Britain and the other imperialist powers of the world have not yet come to appreciate that the days of flagrant imperialism have gone, never to return, and that the era of economic enslavement of one country by another as a means to consequent political enslavement is a thing of the past. The imperialists cannot see that the light of freedom has now shone upon the world and has enlightened the darkness under which many of the weaker and less privileged nations of the world have been labouring. The imperialists also fail to realize that this breeze of freedom has provoked in the oppressed peoples of the world a burning desire to seek and enjoy freedom and liberty above anything else.

Britain broke off negotiations with Persia. Persia, which agreed to enter into negotiations with the British Government only upon the advice and pressure of Mr. Harriman, President Truman’s special envoy, made it quite clear that she agreed to such negotiations with Britain only if they were to be conducted on a strictly business level. Persia made it abundantly clear that she would in no circumstances compromise on any of her rights or concede any right to Britain in Persia’s economic wealth or resources that would touch upon Persia’s complete and unqualified economic and political freedom. The negotiations, in Persia’s view, were merely in the nature of a business deal where one party, under no restraint or obligation, negotiates with the other the terms of a proposed deal and then reflects on it as to whether it would be to its advantage to conclude such a deal.

The British Government had thought that Persia would not be able to stand resolute for any reasonable time against the economic and other pressure exerted by Britain, and that the Persian Government would ultimately find itself forced to retreat somehow or other and adopt a compromising attitude towards the British claims. This hope was provoked by the thought, which Britain entertained, that the Persian Government would not be able to dispense with the revenue it received in oil royalties from the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and also that Persia would not be able in the immediate future and for sometime to come to exploit by herself her oil resources. It was because these views had predominated the British mind that the British Government’s delegation, headed by the then British Minister Mr. Stokes, had haughtily suspended the oil negotiations and returned to Britain. Britain declared that she would dispense with Persian oil through the oil resources of Bahrein; and she thought that the mere threat of this would bring the Persian Government to its knees to plead for a resumption of the oil negotiations.

The Caliph ‘Ali Ibn Abi Talib once said: “If fate wants to be kind to someone it would lend him the good attributes of others; but if it wants to be A kind to him, it would rob him of his very own.” It seems that fate is indeed unkind to Britain, and is robbing her of her own characteristic attributes. Gone is Britain’s characteristic wisdom and her tact, which have in the past enabled her to conquer and rule the greater part of the globe. Gone, too, is that quality of political skill which had been almost proverbial. Britain is no longer a first-rate power, and nothing she will do will ever promote her to a higher status.

At one stage of the oil dispute with Persia, Britain declared emphatically that she would not withdraw from Abadan and the other oil centres in Persia the British staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. But the Persian Government was not deceived by this show of might, and the Prime Minister, Dr. Mosadddiq, issued his order for the expulsion of the British staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with a warning to the British Government that unless that order was complied with by the withdrawal of those members of the company’s staff within the short time fixed, they would be expelled from the country forcibly. The British Government, infuriated at this injury to British integrity, submitted its case to the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, asking the Council to consider the British dispute with Persia as a matter of urgency and to order that the oil company’s staff be allowed to remain unmolested in their stations in Persia until a final decision or a settlement of the problem is reached. The Persian Government in sending this ultimatum to the British Government was clearly in earnest, and the British Government did not fail in this instance to appreciate the full seriousness and implications of the Persian attitude. The British Government did not wait for the Security Council to consider the dispute, and hurriedly withdrew the staff of the oil company from Persia, thus submitting to the very letter to the Persian Government’s ultimatum.

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between a state on the one hand and a commercial company with a legal individual entity of its own on the other. Dr. Mosaddeq pleaded that as this was the case, the oil dispute could not be regarded by the Council as a threat to world peace and security and hence that the Security Council could not assume jurisdiction to deal with it.

Despite the burning desire of Britain's strong and influential supporters in the United Nations Organization to help her, they could not, faced with the flawless and convincing logic of Dr. Mosaddeq, find a way of escaping submission to, and agreement with, the Persian point of view. The representative of France, Britain's faithful ally, did, however, find a way out of this impasse in an effort to save Britain's face to some extent. A resolution was proposed by him and adopted by the Security Council whereby the Council refrained from making any pronouncement on whether it had legal jurisdiction to deal with the matter but simply postponed the consideration of the dispute until after the International Court at The Hague, to which the dispute had earlier been referred by Britain, had given its opinion on the case before it, and decided whether the dispute was in fact one of an international nature in the proper sense or was merely a dispute between a state and a foreign private commercial company that should be resolved on a domestic basis in the ordinary way.

Britain, once again, returned empty handed and defeated.

No longer will the nations of the world agree to remain bound and shackled by the weight and injustice of treaties and restrictions imposed on the weak by the strong and dictated by the force of especially unfavourable circumstances in which one of the parties to the treaties was more of a slave than a free agent.

Egypt and the unfair Treaty of 1936

Is it conceivable, therefore, that Egypt, which occupies a very esteemed position in both the Eastern and Islamic worlds and is the leader of one of the world's important political camps, should remain tied down to the heavy bonds of the treaty she concluded with Britain in 1936? That treaty had imposed upon Egypt many heavy and unfair restrictions and conceded to Britain various unique privileges in both the political and economic fields. Part of Egyptian soil, the Suez Canal zone, was by the terms of the 1936 treaty taken out of Egyptian hands, and Britain allowed to station troops there at all times. In addition, the whole of Egypt, according to the terms of the 1936 treaty, was to be laid under the complete disposal of the British authorities in the event of a world war or the mere danger of one. The treaty, which Egypt concluded with Britain at a time when the latter feared imminent danger of aggression by Italy which forced Egypt's hand to seek Britain's protection at the time, imposed other onerous burdens on Egypt which restricted her freedom as an independent and sovereign state, and placed Britain in an especially advantageous position and accorded her many economic privileges, as, for example, the exemption from the payment of taxes and customs and excise duties that would have otherwise been payable on imports, etc.

The Egyptian Government sought to remedy the defects of this treaty by means of peaceful negotiations with the British Government. Diplomatic means and tactics were resorted to by Egypt and exhausted, but the British Government showed no response and remained as stubborn, dilatory and haughty as ever. Days and months passed by, and the danger of world war became magnified to an extent that threatened to drag Egypt to the arena in view of the presence on her soil of military forces of one of the major adversaries. This danger of world war was not at all welcome by Egypt, for she had desired to keep herself away from either of the two contesting camps, so that she can devote her whole attention to attending to her own pressing problems.
and introducing reforms to raise the standard of living of her people. The dispute with Britain with regard to the withdrawal of British troops from the Suez Canal zone and the union of the Sudan with Egypt prevented the Egyptian Government from pursuing this programme of domestic reform, and public opinion in Egypt, realizing this, became hostile to Britain's attitude. Public opinion in Egypt rose to such a pitch that the Government of Mustafa Nahas Pasha sensed the approach of a violent storm in Egypt unless something was done in the dispute with Britain, and done quickly. The Egyptian Government, faced with determined and agitated public opinion whose patience had been completely exhausted by Britain, could not escape taking a decisive step towards ending this dispute with Britain. No government could have been advised to continue on such a path of dilatory and futile negotiation in the circumstances. The resoluteness and strength of public opinion in Egypt became marked and oppressive as days passed with no change in Britain's deaf and uncompromising attitude towards the rightful claims of Egypt.

And so, after all diplomatic means were tried with no avail, there was only one course left for the Egyptian Government to take, and that was the complete abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 as well as the Sudan Condominium Agreement of 1899 which provided for a joint administration of the Sudan by Britain and Egypt, and which was ingeniously utilized by Britain as a means of reducing the Sudan to the status of something in the nature of a British colony.

The Egyptians solidly behind their Government in its denunciation of the 1936 Treaty

The Egyptian nation rallied very solidly behind its Government in this move and gave its sincere and unflinching support. Egypt, her King, Government and political parties became united in their aim to march towards the attainment of the supreme purpose of liberation from the bonds of these two agreements with Britain. Such an honourable and powerful stand by the Egyptian nation in the defence of its rights will not be a very easy matter for Britain to surmount or quench.

Finally, when the Egyptian Government formally declared the denunciation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and the Sudan Condominium Agreement of 1899, a great wave of joy and relief swept Egypt. The Egyptian Government proceeded to declare that the King of Egypt would henceforth be known by the title of "King of Egypt and the Sudan", and that the Sudanese, under the Egyptian Crown, would have a separate and independent constitution which would secure for them complete local autonomy within the conception of brotherly union with Egypt.

The Four Power Proposal about a Middle East Defence Organization

Once again, the British Government had not believed that Egypt could dare to take such a decisive unilateral measure under any circumstances, and again they were proved to be quite wrong. Naturally, the British Government was very much infuriated by the step taken by the Egyptian Government, and they raised their voice high with the threats that had become familiar during the Abadan crisis. This time, however, Britain hastened, in cooperation with the United States of America, France and Turkey, to approach Egypt with a proposal of a different apparent nature and colour. This was an invitation to Egypt to become a founder-member of a Middle East Defence Organization. The main points of this proposal were the following:

1. The establishment of an Allied military command for the defence of the Middle East, in which Egypt was invited to participate on a basis of equality;
2. Egypt to become the headquarters of that command;
3. Egypt to agree to her territory, harbours and airports being open to and at the disposal of this allied command in the event of an outbreak of war or the danger of war;
4. If in the event of Egypt agreeing to take part in this allied command, Britain would agree to the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and would hand over all strategic and other bases it occupies in Egyptian territory to the new allied command, in which Egypt would be represented.

The Egyptian Government, after studying this proposal, decided to reject it. Egypt, by this attitude, clearly indicated that she did not seek to rid herself of one "Allied" occupation only to become saddled with an occupation by four "Allies"; and she insisted that she would not consider her possible membership of a Middle East Defence Pact or any other international defence organization unless she had first become liberated and freed from foreign pressure on her soil, and unless the British forces occupying her territory were withdrawn, and her full and unqualified sovereignty and independence recognized.

Britain, on the other hand, has formally declared that she does not recognize the validity of the step taken unilaterally by the Egyptian Government in abrogating the 1936 Treaty, and that she considers this treaty valid until 1936, unless it is either revised or abrogated by mutual agreement before that time. As to the Sudan, the British Government has declared that she would not relinquish her authority except to the Sudanese themselves, after a lengthy transitory period. In other words, the British Government adopted a policy of straight and unmitigated opposition to the Egyptian Government's policy, and consequently relations between the two countries have deteriorated to a very ominous level.

The legal, political and economic consequences of the abrogation of the 1936 Treaty

The Egyptian public greeted with profound jubilation the inauguration of this new step towards the attainment of its national independence, and large demonstrations were organized all over the country. Some of these demonstrations, unfortunately, were not very peaceful, despite repeated warnings by the Government and the various passionate and repeated pleas made by high and responsible political personalities. With excitement amongst the Egyptian public so high, some minor but regrettable incidents of attacks on British life and property occurred. These incidents were then used by the British authorities in Egypt as an excuse to strengthen their hold on Egypt, and they proceeded to occupy the whole area of the Suez Canal Zone. Their forces in that area were greatly reinforced and they also brought in naval reinforcements and held them at bay to intimidate the Egyptian Government and people. This British move naturally provoked further antagonism on the part of the Egyptian public, who showed their feelings of resentment in mass demonstrations, in some of which there were clashes between British forces on the one hand and the Egyptian public and police forces on the other, with loss of life on both sides.

The attitude of the British authorities in Egypt has alarmed many political observers, who feared a major flare-up there as a result of Britain's stubborn stand. There was also anxiety amongst the many supporters of Egypt — and every Arab is a wholehearted supporter of Egyptian aspirations — who feared that the situation might get out of hand and Egypt become submerged in a blood-bath. Such fears, however, although not entirely unwarranted, should give no cause for complete despair. It had been expected that Britain would adopt a stubborn attitude at the start and would seek to retain the vitally strategic
Canal Zone with all the powers at her disposal. Egypt's abrogation of the 1956 Treaty and her consequent declaration that she regards the presence of British troops in the Suez Canal Zone and in the Sudan as illegal, has placed the British troops in both Egypt and the Sudan in the position of enemy troops engaged in an act of aggression by their forcible occupation of a foreign land and their threat and menace to the safety of an independent State. No longer are those British troops there by the terms of a treaty or with at least the formal, if not the real, approval of Egypt. In addition, the wide privileges and concessions that had been enjoyed by the British authorities in Egypt to Egypt's economic and political detriment have been withdrawn. The Egyptian problem has now been placed on an international level, and these legal, political and economic considerations are bound to have a great bearing on its determination in favour of Egypt.

The repercussions of the show of force by Britain in Muslim and Arab countries

Since this latter phase of Egypt's struggle against Britain has been initiated, Britain has gone through a General Election which resulted in the defeat of the Labour Party and the accession to office of the Conservative Party. But this brought no real change in the handling of this problem on the part of Britain. The policy of complete disregard of Egypt's rightful claims which had been pursued by the late Labour Government has been endorsed and followed in detail, though perhaps with more vigour, by the Conservative Government. This has demonstrated to the whole world that the tyrannical methods of imperialism never change and that the British imperialistic policy which she has practised for a long time the world over remains the same, whatever the political colour of the Government in power in Britain.

Let us consider the results and repercussions of this show of force by Britain in an effort to quench the national aspirations of Egypt as well as those of the entire Arab and Muslim worlds.

The irresponsible acts committed by British troops in the Suez Canal Zone and their intimidation of the civilian population in that area have had exactly the opposite result to that which Britain intended. The whole people of Egypt have now become more determined than ever in their fight, and they have now organized methods of effective resistance to the British. All Egyptians, whatever their political colour, have now united together more strongly than ever to pursue a policy of relentless and unselfish struggle to retrieve the nation's freedom and independence in full. To this has been added the wholehearted sympathy and support of the entire Arab and Muslim worlds in the struggle against Britain. So far, the Egyptian resistance towards Britain in the Suez Canal Zone and in Egypt generally has taken on only the passive form of economic boycott and complete non-co-operation. There is not one Egyptian labourer now working for the British authorities, not one Egyptian merchant that deals with them. The British authorities in Egypt, with the powers of the North Atlantic Treaty behind them, must now feel that their presence in Egypt is both hostile and unwelcome in the full meaning of the word. They must be fully conscious that the passive form of resistance with which they are faced at present is bound to assume, in the very near future, a very active colour that promises to be very serious and grave, and have severe repercussions in the whole Middle East and ultimately bring about the downfall of imperialism and all that it stands for. The observer who follows the developments in Egypt and senses public opinion there cannot escape noticing the rapid deterioration in the situation and the increase in the tension which is bound, in the end, to cause a major explosion from which Britain, despite her military superiority over Egypt, would not escape unscathed.

An effort to sow discord amongst the Arab States and in the Arab League

While the course of events in the Suez Canal zone takes on such a grave colour, and while Egypt continues to stand by her earlier rejection of the invitation to join the four Allied Powers and take part in a military organization for the defence of the Middle East unless and until her right to complete and untrammelled freedom have been recognized and until the whole of the Nile Valley has been freed from foreign occupation, the Western Powers — or rather those who carry the banner of the Western Powers: the United States of America, Britain, France and Turkey — have brought forth a new political stunt. On November 10, 1951, they published a joint statement on their policy for the defence of the Middle East, in which they said that they regarded the Middle East as a most vital area the defence of which is essential for the purpose of preserving world peace, and that it would be impossible to defend "freedom" in the Western world unless it be possible to defend "freedom" in the East. For this reason, the statement said, they were inviting the Eastern states, that is to say, the whole of the Arab states including Israel, to take part in this defence command on a basis of equality in both rights and duties, and on the express understanding that the Western members of the command undertake not to interfere in any manner in the domestic affairs of these Eastern states. The statement went on to say that the Western Powers did not have any intention at the present of placing the military forces of the Eastern states participating in this defence organization under the joint Allied command, and that such a step would be resorted to only in the event of the outbreak of world war. Finally, the Western Powers declared in this statement that they were prepared to supply those states that would join this anti-Soviet bloc with all the modern weapons and equipment and provide them with the technical and scientific advice and assistance needed to modernize and strengthen their military forces. The gist of this statement, in other words, was that the Western Powers wanted to be the "friends and allies" of the Eastern states, regardless of what the latter felt on this point, and that they would assume responsibility for the "defence" of these Eastern states even though they might not stand in need of such "defence". In plain words, this means that the Arab world must rally to the camp against the Soviet bloc, whether or not the Arab states want to join the anti-Soviet camp.

The Arab states will in due course announce their replies to these invitations, and such replies will no doubt be in every case in conformity with aims and aspirations of these states. The real and main aim behind the Western Powers' move in this case, which is to introduce disharmony and disunity in the ranks of the Arab states, is not likely to be fulfilled. Such discord amongst the Arab states and in the Arab League would, the Western Powers hope, be achieved if some of those states decided to join the Western camp, while the others remained aloof to pursue a policy of neutrality until such time as they achieved their national aspirations and were in a position to negotiate such pacts on a footing of true equality and in a position to safeguard and maintain their national independence above that of Western greed. It is earnestly hoped that such discord will never creep into the ranks of the Arab states and that they will all stand as one in whatever decision they may take on this Western offer, so that if they accept it they would be doing so in their own individual interests and those of the Arab world as a whole, and if they reject it, then on equally weighty considerations.

JANUARY 1952
PAKISTAN AND OTHER MUSLIM COUNTRIES

The Prime Minister of Pakistan on Egypt in a statement made by him on November 22, 1951 in Pakistan Parliament

"I rise to make a statement on the attitude of Pakistan to the Egyptian question.

From the inception of Pakistan, her leaders and her people have always regarded the Muslim countries throughout the world as members of one body. We feel for our brother Muslims wherever they may be situated, and whatever may be their difficulties. The Muslim world, like its symbol, lies in the great crescent from the waters of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific Ocean.

"In various periods of history, and especially in periods of storm and strain, the Crescent of the Muslims has shone bright and brilliant and our banners have drawn together, until we stood shoulder to shoulder, a band of brothers bound to one another for the common faith and common idealism, extending the hand of friendship to all but afraid of none, trusting in the justice of our common cause.

"Pakistan is part of this Muslim world, and is bound to it not only by a common spiritual and cultural heritage, but also by every consideration of material interest. We are vitally interested in the peace and security of the Middle East, and in the prosperity and stability of the Muslim countries comprised in it. Peace and security cannot, however, be imposed from outside; they can only be maintained with the willing consent of the people in the area affected.

"The basic condition for achievement of international cooperation and development of friendly relations between nations is unqualified acceptance of the principle of the sovereign equality of all nations, large and small, and of the right of all peoples of self-determination. Peace and progress can only be maintained by complete elimination of all forms of foreign domination.

"These are the principles which have guided us in our approach to the problems of Muslim countries. To the extent that lies in our power, we have striven ceaselessly, during the last four years, to apply these principles to the solution of these problems. Such service as we have been able to render the Muslim world has been made possible by undeviating adherence to this policy.

"In a greater or smaller degree most of the Muslim countries are to-day engaged in a struggle for achieving their national aspirations. We share these aspirations and have the fullest sympathy for them. We believe it is possible and practicable to achieve international security in the Middle East in a manner which would not be in conflict with national aspirations of people. In fact, in the world of to-day it is impossible to achieve it otherwise. The Egyptian dispute is part of this wider struggle, and in consonance with the principles I have outlined above, we have made earnest efforts since the beginning of this dispute to bring about a just and peaceful settlement. These efforts are still continuing. I cannot say at this stage how soon a satisfactory conclusion will be reached, but I am confident that with good will and a sincere desire for an honourable settlement conclusive to a lasting peace, agreement can be attained."

THE HONEST BRIGAND

By DR. S. A. KHULUSI

How shall I describe her to you, that lovely pearl of Arabia? She was as sweet as one could expect a woman to be. She was courageous as well as beautiful... generous like so many of her ancestors and compatriots. To her to give a pound was the same as to give a penny.

I can understand why her husband was so much attached to her. He adored her as a pretty goddess, and was always talking about her and thinking of the best ways of making her happy. Long were our chats together about "Salwar" (which in Arabic means consolation), and often he would point out to me how he genuinely believed in God because He had created such a wonderful person as his wife!

Laughingly once I said to him, "You should not tell me all her good points. I am almost tempted to kill you and marry her after you!"

"I know you would not do that," he replied, "because you have such funny principles; you hate, for instance, to touch a widow!"

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
"That is true," I said, "because I feel I am taking advantage of the helplessness of a deceased person. It is different in the case of a divorced woman. She is then no longer the heritage of a dead man. You know that the former husband is there and he can always settle accounts with you, if he chooses!"

"True... but that reminds me, there is an important business transaction taking place somewhere outside the city, would you like to come with me? It is only a few hours' trip. It will be a nice break for you from your tedious work, I am sure. You should give yourself a little rest at times, you know."

"For how long are we going to stay away?"

"Only a day."

"It suits me fine! But are you going to leave your little angel here with her little child?"

"Why not? I trust my wife. She is virtue personified!"

Next day we packed. Our journey was most lovely. I enjoyed every hour — every minute of it! When night came, we were strolling under canopies of vines along the Tigris. But in the city there was another story to be told. Hardly was it midnight when a gang of thieves broke into my friend's house. The poor woman was sleeping with her little child in a room on the first floor. The thieves packed everything they could lay hold of. A sound like the fall of a heavy piece of brass was enough to awaken the child, whose screams roused the mother from her golden dreams. She switched on the light, and raised the child from his bed.

"Darling, what ails you?" she muttered in a sleepy voice.

"Nothing, Mummy, nothing. I have just heard a terrifying sound in the courtyard."

"There is nothing in the courtyard, my dear little child. Let us go and see for ourselves. If you do not see anything, will you promise me to sleep quietly again?"

"I will, Mummy!"

The attractive young mother walked slowly to the corridor carrying her frightened child in her arms. As they reached the railings, she saw with her own eyes the reason for the terrified condition of the child. For a moment she could hardly believe her eyes; for there stood in the middle of the courtyard, the notorious gangster Musa who was the scourge of the city. He was ordering his underlings to pack this and that and do all sorts of work. There were huge bundles about to be carried away when the child screamed at the top of his voice:

"Mother, there are thieves... murderers!"

"No, child," said the mother in a quiet but audible voice, "that is your uncle, he is moving us to a new house."

Suddenly Musa the ringleader became firmly rooted in the place where he stood. He could not move an inch. When he collected his senses, the first command he gave was to unpack and replace everything as it was before they entered the house. His accomplices were surprised. "Why?" asked one of them with a gaping mouth and glaring eyes. "We have come here to rob, not to act honestly?"

"No, that cannot be. Once she has regarded me as the uncle of her child, she is nothing to me but a sister!"

"Madman!" yelled another member of the gang, who was leaning against one of the huge bundles which he had so carefully prepared to take away.

Musa walked steadily towards him and slapped his face: "I said 'unpack'; his loudly shouted. They were all terrified, and in half-an-hour everything was once again in an orderly condition. They left one by one, and when it was the turn of the leader he bowed his head in an apologetic manner, and followed suit. Neither the child, nor the mother uttered a word. They went back to bed and slept soundly, for the new uncle and his friends were guarding the house!

The next morning the husband knew all about this sensational drama. Not giving one word of comment he went to the library, opened the safe and took out one thousand pounds. Without taking any arms or weapons with him, he rode his white steed and made for the mountains. When he reached the cave where Musa was residing he was met by two guards at the entrance. They stopped him.

"Don't stop me," he said to the men, who were heavily armed, "I have a message for your chief!"

"Message or no message," said one of them, "we shall not let you in."

"But I have to see him..."

"I am sorry, you cannot."

While this argument was going on, a terrifying sound was heard inside the cave. "What is it? What is it?"

It was none other than the voice of Musa himself.

"Sire," screamed one of the guards, "it is a gentleman who says that he has a message for you."

"Let him in."

In a moment he was inside a dark cave, dimly lit with the flickering light of a candle. On a pile of pillows thrown about in a disorderly manner was the tall figure of a man. His face was red and dignified. His eyes large and penetrating. He did not look a bit like a highwayman. In a corner was squattting what looked like the charming wife of the brigand. She was watching the face of the stranger curiously. A jug of water, slightly broken at the top, was resting next to her on a mat. The ceiling was hewn very roughly, but it was all white and clean. Musa was puffing his long pipe, the sort of pipe that is used by villagers in Northern Iraq. He half closed his eyes as the stranger entered with heavy steps.

"Good morning," said the firm voice of the stranger.

"Good morning, sir, and welcome to our place," replied Musa as he rose to his feet and shook hands with the unexpected guest. He next offered him a pillow and bade him sit down.

Turning to his wife, he said: "Get us some coffee, please!"

In a few minutes coffee was served. While they were sipping the coffee, the brigand stopped in a casual manner to ask his guest about his message.

"I cannot tell you unless your wife excuses us for a minute."

Musa raised his head and looked at his wife as though asking her to respond to the request. She looked back in a distrustful way.

"No," said Musa, "he looks an honest man!"

"Not more honest than you," broke in the stranger without waiting for the woman to go, "here is a present from your sister. She is asking you to start business with it in town and give up your present life." There was a dead silence for a few minutes. In the end both Musa and his wife broke into tears.

"No one, no one," said Musa in a choking voice, "has put me to so much shame as that woman!"

JANUARY 1952
THE ‘ID AL-ADHA (1370 A.H.) SERMON

"It is this twofold call to action and unity which I have the honour to make to you to-day. I pray to God that He will guide aright all those in authority in the Muslim councils and in whose power it lies to pave the way for the re-emergence of Islam as a controlling force in the destinies of the world"

By AL-HAJI DAWUD COWAN, M.A.

The words of the Qur’ān inspire us

"I bear witness that there is no deity but God and I bear witness that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger. I seek refuge with God from the accursed Devil."

"In the name of God the Beneficent, the Merciful."

"God has promised those of you who believe and do good works that He shall surely make them His appointed agents on the Earth just as He chose those who went before them. And He has promised them that He will firmly establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them and that He will give them security after their insecurity. God says: They shall worship Me and not associate anything with Me and those who disbelieve thereafter are indeed transgressors" (The Qur’ān, 24: 55).

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Islam!

In the state of confusion and uncertainty in which the Islamic world unhappily finds itself at the present time, we Muslims can find true consolation and hope for the future in the noble verses of the Holy Qur’ān which I have just recited to you. They are verses which once inspired the small band of Muslims drawn from all classes, especially the most humble, of the population of Mecca, to bear with a true trust in God and belief in the divine nature of the Prophet’s inspiration the severest torments which could be inflicted on them by a savage and vindictive enemy, a ruling class jealous of its supremacy, the tribe of Quraysh, who saw in the spread of a religion of brotherhood and equality a dire threat to their unjust social system then prevailing in a part of the world from which God has seen fit to send most of His prophets bearing His message of peace and salvation to a wayward world. They are verses which for nigh on fourteen centuries have continued to inspire Islam in the happiest days of its most brilliant civilization and in its unfortunately too frequent periods of inner dissension and decay with the hope and trust that God will never desert His true servants no matter how sorely it appears that He is trying them. They are verses which still inspire us with the faith that Islam will once more achieve its proper position as leader of world civilization.

The fatal weakness of Muslims

We all know, although it is a fact that is not generally accorded its proper weight here in Europe except by an open-minded handful of students of Oriental History, that during the early Middle Ages the Islamic world, stretching from India in the East to Spain in the West, was the centre of civilization and culture, and in all the sciences and various branches of learning and art much in advance of Christian Europe, which had not yet recovered spiritually or materially from the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and the ravages caused by the barbarian hordes from the East. The capitals, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo and Cordova were bright lamps shedding a flood of light on a part of the world which was surrounded by a sea of ignorance, superstition and barbarism. But the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 was a death blow to the crumbling edifice of Islamic civilization, which had been decaying for a hundred years or more, and that only through internal wranglings, alaś, ever the fatal weakness of Muslims, a weakness which we must learn to eradicate if Islam is ever to become paramount again. From then on, with the exception of a few periods of brilliance such as the Mogul period in India and the rise and expansion of Ottoman civilization after the capture of Constantinople, the history of the Islamic peoples right up to the present day has been one long sad story of decay and collapse.

But in Europe the loss of Constantinople was the signal for the Renaissance, which gave new life to a dead people, life which remained constantly on the upward surge until two fatal and destructive wars rent the fabric of European civilization and faced Europeans with two alternatives, either to adopt a totally new and alien outlook on life, or else to gird themselves for the defence of all they hold precious in their civilization, especially their religious and cultural values.

What is it that keeps the Muslims from being to-day in the forefront of world civilization?

Does it not behove us Muslims who consider ourselves the bearers of God’s standard to gird ourselves likewise for the defence of Islam against the manifold dangers of materialism and godlessness which threaten it from all sides and for a supreme effort to restore it to its rightful place of eminence? Islam is a simple faith for simple men and women of sound hearts and intelligence. The five pillars of Islam, the belief in God and in the divine messengership of the Prophet Muhammad, the belief in God’s guidance of the affairs of this world and the recognition of our duty to help those of us who are less fortunate, to thank God through prayer for His countless favours to us, and to visit, if possible, the cradle of our faith, Mecca. These five pillars, as they are called, are a firm and rational basis upon which we can build a better, humanitarian world. What is it that we lack? What is it that prevents the Islamic peoples from being to-day in the forefront of world civilization, a position which they have a right to claim owing to the simplicity, nobility and universality of their faith?

I venture to think that what is needed above all in the Muslim world, and which I earnestly request you to proclaim throughout the many Muslim lands represented here to-day, is a sense of duty, an awareness that God sees our every action and that the time will come when He will call us to account for our actions. This must be a personal matter for every man and woman who is proud to proclaim Islam as his or her religion and way of life. We must also feel that not only God’s eyes but the eyes of the whole world are on us. How can Islam spread and prosper and be honoured in the outside world if we Muslims, individually or collectively, show a bad example? Islam consists of many millions of parts, each one of which is an individual Muslim man or woman. If the parts are sound then surely the whole, the Muslim community, will be sound. As is to be expected, the best advice which can be given to the young generation is to be found in the Holy Qur’ān:

"And say: Act and God will surely see what you do, He and His Messenger and the believers. And you will be brought back to Him who knows the unseen and that which is seen and He will inform you of that which you were doing" (9: 97).

1 Being the text of the sermon delivered on the occasion of the celebration of ‘Id al-Adha at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, on September 12, 1951.
Islam accords the greatest sanctity to work, and all work, no matter how humble it may be, must find favour with us. Have we not the personal example of our great Prophet himself who even at the height of his power used to patch his own shoes? The material and spiritual well-being of Islam can only be achieved by work, and for this each one of us is personally responsible, and if we are sincere in our desire for the regeneration of the Islamic world this must be our guiding light and constant aim. In this *Jihad* of ours he who sits down in despair or sloth by the wayside is lost or becomes an intolerable and clogging burden upon his community. By assiduously cultivating an unshakable sense of duty, a fine love of work for its own sake, an alert spirit of inquiry and a hatred of idleness, we Muslims can most certainly achieve a new and permanent renaissance of Islam, and while we strive thereby for the glory and renown of Islam, God’s religion chosen by Him for His creation, God will surely help us to achieve our own material well-being and write the greatest chapter of all in the long story of human progress towards a perfect world.
The lesson from the Pilgrimage to Mecca

For us the next lesson must be drawn from the vast conourse of many hundreds of thousands of Muslims from all corners of the earth and of every colour and class who are this day assembled in the neighbourhood of Mecca, the city of Abraham and the cradle of Islam, having completed what is the heart's desire of every man, woman and child of Islam, namely, to perform the pilgrimage, hoary with antiquity, to these sacred precincts. There the Muslim, no matter how insensible he may be, feels as he has never felt before and in a manner he will never forget until his dying day, the essential unity, equality and fraternity of Islam. There we meet once in every lunar year whether under the blazing sun of summer or the biting frost of winter, king and peasant, millionaire and pauper, dressed alike in the traditional pilgrim garb, the hearts of all filled with joy and gratitude to God for having vouchsafed to us the honour to visit such holy ground. There all our differences are forgotten and real understanding of our brother's difficulties and aspirations enters our hearts.

One of the great miracles of the pilgrimage to Mecca is that man's essentially quarrelsome nature seems to have been left behind as soon as the pilgrim enters the Holy Land. On all sides one sees happy, faces and even sharp words are hardly ever heard, and if at times tempers become frayed there are always a hundred peacemakers at hand to smooth out our difficulties and restore the weary pilgrim to his happy frame of mind. It is this general atmosphere of joy and happiness which most profoundly influences the pilgrim and makes him forget all the fatigue and worries of his long journey, so that when the next pilgrimage season comes round and finds him at home in the bosom of his family and loved ones he feels, and feels most strongly, that for him the greatest joy on earth would be to be once more one small individual in the mighty throng of Muslims going with prayers around the Ka'ba, the House of God, standing under the scorching sun in the plains of 'Arafat, sleeping under the stars in the stony waste of Muzdalifa or resting in a city of tents in Mina.

This lesson of true brotherhood and tolerance is one which can never be forgotten and which has no parallel anywhere in the world. May God grant to everyone of you present here to-day to experience it and be enriched thereby.

It is this twofold call to action and unity which I have the honour to make to you to-day. I pray to God that He will guide aright all those in authority in the Muslim councils and in whose power it lies to pave the way for the re-emergence of Islam as a controlling force in the destinies of the world.

(There is no object worthy of worship but God and Muhammad is his Messenger)

HOW I CAME TO EMBRACE ISLAM

By 'ABD al-RASHID DEREK HOWARD-SMITH

"The idea of One God, the Creator, appealed to me, but in my ignorance I thought of the Arabs as barbaric. I expect the type of Foreign Legion tale is the cause of this in the West"

I first learned of Islam almost three years ago at the time of my release from the Army in June, 1947. The period of leave allotted to me was ninety days, and part of this time I used to spend browsing in the public library, which I had recently rejoined.

I came across references to Islam in various travel books that I read, two outstanding ones being (1) an account of the experiences of Knud Holmboe, a Dane, described in his The Desert Encounter, and (2) an account of a man serving in the Civil Service in Malaya. This man, whom the author calls Chase, married a Malay woman and together they made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. The book is called Triumphant Pilgrimage, London, 1935.

After reading these books I searched amongst the "Religion" section of the shelves of the local library and found a few books in which reference to Islam was made. One in particular held my attention. It was The Eleven Religions and Their Proverbial Lore, by Selwyn Guernsey Champion. This particular book deals with the eleven principal world religions, Islam, of course, being included.

When I was ten years old I had joined the church choir at St. Mark's Church, Glodwick, Oldham. At that time I was attending St. Mark's School, and the headmaster was on the lookout for prospective choirboys. Along with two other boys I was persuaded to enter the choir and consequently attended church for the morning and evening services every Sunday. About three years later, when I was about sixteen years of age, I became confirmed.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Page or pages missing here.

We hope to supply later.
the best possible light to his reader — though at times in his effort to vindicate Lord Mountbatten he trumped up a scapegoat and the scapegoat is Jinnah every time. His attempt to repudiate Brigadier Desmond Young’s argument in the Spectator is a case in point. The Brigadier maintained that Lord Mountbatten was mistaken in agreeing to the move to divide the Indian Army and also in accepting the Governor-Generalship of the Indian Union when Pakistan had refused a Joint Governor-General. Mr. Campbell-Johnson attributes the blame on both counts to Jinnah’s attitude.

The book is divided into two parts — the first part deals with Mountbatten’s position as Viceroy, and the second as Governor-General of India. The epilogue, which represents the author’s address to the Royal Institute of Affairs five months after his return from India, provides a more balanced picture of the work of the Mission than the collection of notes, letters and memoranda which in the main form the material for the story, and which were made in his official capacity as Press Attaché. If the epilogue had been made the prologue and incorporated in his preface, the reader would appreciate his narrative better. None the less, the arrangement as it stands in no way detracts from the value of the book and its purpose.

When the Mountbatten Mission left London, it was well aware that the communal issue would be a prior consideration, yet the author seems to have little understanding of the difference between Hindu and Muslim mentality. His questions put to the representative of the London Daily Telegraph in Delhi is an admission of this fact. Mountbatten himself at his first interview with Nehru was more anxious to know what Nehru thought of Jinnah than of knowing Nehru himself. Later, when he did see Jinnah for the first time, his reaction was such as to preclude any chance of understanding Jinnah’s aims. It was an unfortunate augury, but the clash of their personalities exerted a great influence on their deliberations. Possibly Mountbatten was only following the dictates of the Socialist Government, whose desire was to please the Congress. A message from Mr. Churchill to Mr. Jinnah which Mountbatten carried on his return from a visit to London is also a measure of the distrust which Jinnah himself had of the Socialist Government’s intentions.

Whatever the underlying cause might have been, accusations abound in the book, of Jinnah’s hidden hand in the Junagadh affair, the Hyderabad hold-up and the Kashmir imbroglio. Take this passage in the book: “Mountbatten is disturbed by the editorial attitude of The Statesman, of Calcutta, which in its anxiety over the decline in Indo-Pakistan relations has denounced the injection of Indian troops into Kashmir, and he asked me to arrange for Ian Stephens, the editor, to come and see him. About an hour later, Stephens was with us, and Mountbatten began by saying, ‘You can’t build a nation on tricks’. ‘Jinnah at Abbottabad, ‘ he continued, ‘had been expecting to ride in triumph into Kashmir. He had been frustrated. First there was Junagadh, then yesterday’s fantastic hold-up of the Hyderabad delegation. India’s move on Kashmir was an event of a different order. Her readiness to accept a plebiscite had been declared from the outset. A large-scale massacre, including a couple of hundred British residents in Srinagar, by tribesmen would have been inevitable, if no military move had been made. The Maharajah’s accession gave complete legality to the action so far taken’.”

Contrast this speedy response with the feeble action taken during the Sikh rising in the Punjab; the solicitude shown to the arch anti-Muslim Sardar V. Patel to realize which side of the fence Mountbatten stood in those momentous days.

Antipathy was not confined to Jinnah alone; the lesser fry fared no better. Altaf Hussain, editor of Dawn, Karachi, was taken to task by the Press Attaché for some adverse comments made in the paper; whereas, Devadas Gandhi and Sahni of The Hindustan Times and Indian News Chronicle, respectively, in similar situations, were seen by Mountbatten himself.

Mr. Campbell-Johnson’s narrative is studded with anecdotes of which the following are a few examples:

“Pete Rees (Major-General T. W. Rees) kindly called in to see me after dinner to keep me posted with news. The situation in Kashmir, he said, was very obscure, and there was no proper intelligence. He was convinced that if the tribesmen had followed their own looting instincts they would have been in Srinagar now; but under the leadership of ex-I.N.A. officers they seemed, fortunately, to be more cautious”, and “. . . just as Kashmir is close to Nehru’s heart, so Junagadh is part of Patel’s homeland. . .”

The index does not give a complete clue to the subject matter. The Indian long coat “achkan”, the equivalent of the Russian “kaftan”, is wrongly spelt “ashkan”, and the “Chuppati” is referred to as biscuit when it is more akin to the English pancake.

All in all, the most that can be said about the book is that if it is not anti-Muslim, it is distinctly pro-Hindu.


The English language has always been very poor in grammars of the Persian language. By producing The Persian Language, Professor Levy has enriched his language and also made the study of this elegant and musical language of the Muslim East easy and possible.

Unlike other grammars Professor Levy’s book does not suffer from forbidding dullness which is associated with books on grammar. The author has succeeded in removing the tedium by the addition of some short but interesting and instructive chapters on What is Persian?; Religion of Persia; The Persian Calendar; Recent Developments; Outstanding Developments in Persian Literature, etc.

Those interested in the Persian language will find this book timely and useful.


This well illustrated and documented book written by an Egyptian scholar, comprises studies in Muslim naval organization in the Eastern Mediterranean from the seventh to the tenth century C.E. No such work has as yet been written either in Arabic or any other language. In 1880 Wisumfield affirmed in his report to the University of Göttingen that no coherent study of Muslim maritime activities had been made. In 1946 Gateau

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stressed this fact in the *Revue Africaine*, pointing out that the lack of documents seems to tempt no one to this field of research. It is not surprising that no serious and detailed study of the subject exists. This is due, in great measure, to the fact that the material for this particular aspect of Muslim domination is so widely scattered.

The subject is based on much interesting material buried in the Arabic texts of Muslim historians, geographers and travellers of the Middle Ages. Amongst the most valuable documents are the papyri which have made a great contribution to the knowledge of naval matters and have shed much light on the history of Egypt under Arab rule. The chapters devoted to arsenals and naval centres, materials for ship-building, organization of the raiding fleets, names and development of Muslim ships provide students of Islamic history with material published for the first time. The result of the research of the author is a contribution to knowledge of the highest value. For the historian, the politician, the student of affairs, and for all who wish to understand the background to naval warfare, the book will be found essential.

WHAT OUR READERS SAY . . .

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

ISLAM IN AMERICA

Moslem Society of the U.S.A. Inc.,

870 Castro Street,

San Francisco, California, U.S.A.

October 9, 1951.

Dear Sir,

The months of August and September kept us extremely busy, and, at the same time, brought us great joy and happiness. Dr. John E. Newland, M.D., 1115 Broadway, Santa Ana, California; Miss Jeanne Fleischer, 11942 Gashen, Los Angeles 49, California, and Arthur Irving Anderson, 2031 Berkshire Avenue, South Pasadena, California, joined the Islamic Brotherhood. We had also two international marriages performed in our Society's building. The first was of Dr. Sami Newland, M.D., and Dr. Ahmad al-Zahawi, M.D., of Baghdad, and the second of 'Abdul Karim Khuzaia, a student of the University of Southern California and Jeanne Fleischer. Imam Minto in his sermons impressed upon the people present that the best and the only practical way of knitting together the East and the West is through matrimonial knots, and he pointed out that in this respect the Muslims have a beautiful record and an example worthy to be followed.

On the 16th August, 1951, we had a special meeting of Indonesian Muslims at our place, and on the 18th we had the pleasure of joining them in celebrating their Independence Day.

On the 21st August, 1951, Begum Dr. 'Abdul Wahed of Pakistan arrived in San Francisco. The Pakistanis gave her a very hearty welcome. The Muslim Society gave a reception in her honour on the 26th. On this occasion it was proposed that Arthur Irving Anderson, who had recently made a declaration of the acceptance of Islam as his religion, should be given an Islamic name. Mr. Anderson liked the name of Athar Iqbal and accepted it.

Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, arrived in San Francisco as the head of his delegation to the Japanese Peace Conference on the 3rd September, 1951. The Pakistanis were very much impressed by his modest ways, patience and straightforwardness. He talked to them as a brother to a brother, and not only listened to whatever they said but also took intense interest in their affairs. The one thing which pleased them exceedingly was that he conversed with them in Urdu or Punjabi, and they all wished that his example would be followed by other Pakistani officials, so that they should feel that their mother tongue was something to be proud of and not an untouchable to be shunned. Sir Zafrullah addressed a public meeting, held in the Central Y.M.C.A. Auditorium, under our auspices, on Friday night, September 7. Those who heard him were of the opinion that he was not a diplomat in the political sense of the word. He talks politics but in a spiritual way. We are thankful to the Y.M.C.A. officers who very kindly allowed us the free use of their auditorium and helped us in every possible way to make our meeting successful.

On September 12, 1951, we celebrated 'Id al-Adha. For this purpose Imam Minto with some other members of the Society went to Sacramento. After the prayers the congregation was addressed by several persons, the prominent amongst whom were Mr. Khurshid, Private Secretary of the Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah and Sa'id Bazmi, the Editor of the *Ihsan*, Pakistan. Imam Minto spoke on the significance of 'Id al-Adha and the difference in our and other people's festivals.

On September 16, 1951, we had our 'Idd dinner, attended by nearly forty persons. Mrs. Hannah C. Corriveau (Islamic name Sakeenah) was kind enough to show us her technicolor film "The Life in India". She is an enthusiastic member of our Society and takes a keen and active part in all our activities. She is now planning to visit India and Pakistan in the second or third month of next year.

We have received a film "The Kashmir Conflict" from the Pakistan Embassy, Washington, D.C. It has already been shown to the members of the Commonwealth Club, International Club, Paint and Varnish Association and the Moslem Society of the U.S.A. Before or after its exhibition, Imam Minto explains to the audience the causes of the conflict between India and Pakistan over the accession of Kashmir, and the difficulties in the way of settling this dispute. He also answered the questions from the audience at the end of his talk.

We are extremely fortunate to have Mr. Francis H. Boland, Attorney-at-law as our friend. He is one of those rare personalities who render their assistance without being requested and without any obligation, and in such an unassuming manner that even the left hand does not know when the right hand is being extended generously toward the needy. Very recently, mainly through his efforts, we acquired a big piece of land adjacent to the property already purchased by us. We had not to spend even one cent for it, and this property is worth twelve hundred dollars. On this land we plan to build our mosque and library. These are our urgent needs. The earlier they are realized the better it will be for America as well as for the Muslim world. Nothing is more important today than the dissemination of the true knowledge of Islam, the only way of peace, the only hope for humanity. Will the
Muslims respond to our call or is our voice going to be a voice in the wilderness? They can help us with money, books and pamphlets for free distribution.

Your sister in Islam,
'ARIFAH BASHIR MINTO,
Joint Secretary.

* * *

MR. LIAQAT 'ALI KHAN AND MAULANA MUHAMMAD 'ALI
Newport,
Curacao,
Netherlands Antilles.
29th November, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Assalamu 'aleykum!

It is with deep feeling that I write to unite my condolences with those of many other Muslims all over the world on the twofold fate which has befallen the world of Islam. I refer to the deaths of Mr. Liaqat 'Ali Khan and of our dear teacher, Maulana Muhammad 'Ali (may God be merciful to them!).

Not being in receipt of up-to-date newspapers in the English language here in Curacao, it was several days before I heard of the dashingly assassination of the late Liaqat 'Ali Khan, and even then was unaware of the circumstances attending this tragedy. I feel sure, however, that there are now many other fine leaders who will continue the good work of this great statesman.

Closer to the hearts of the Brotherhood of Islam in general, I feel, is the death of Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, to whom all Muslims, and Englishmen in particular, owe so much. During my short association with the Woking Muslim Mission both in London and Woking, I experienced a feeling of deep affection for this grand old gentleman. He was in a sense a father to all of us, and helped us to follow the right path in life, as we owe so much of the taqdir lore to his great intelligence and explanation.

Yours very sincerely,
'ABDUL KARIM HERBERT.

* * *

IS BRITISH MILITARY STRATEGY IN EGYPT CONDUCTIVE TO PEACE?

The Editor,

December 9, 1951.

Dear Sir,

I am not a politician and can claim no credit for being conversant with army manoeuvres. I am British and an ordinary human being, sincerely longing, as most other people do, for fair dealing, justice and peace throughout the whole universe.

The news that the British Red Devils and bulldozers have ploughed their way through the Afghan village of Kafir Abu 'Amr rendering many innocent and simple peasants homeless came as a great shock to me. In no way does this act appear heroic; on the contrary it is grossly arrogant.

A mud house may not sound very important but to the peace-loving peasant it is his whole worldly possession and also his home, demolition under these circumstances therefore is nothing more than a tyrannical outrage of the worst kind.

If Western intentions are strictly honourable, then they must show more respect for the feelings of all the tolerant peasants of the Middle East and beyond.

We can no longer expect the Middle Eastern peoples to have any faith or trust in the West; for Western civilization, if it deserves that name, has in the past few years caused a considerable amount of misery amongst the peasants of Morocco and Tunisia, whilst the shocking tragedy of the Palestinian Arabs is too heartfelt ever to be forgotten.

Now Egypt too has suffered a blow, a whole peasant village has been plunged into acute unhappiness, whole families have been deprived of their rightful possessions, privacy and shelter. One has only to turn the table and to step into the position of these simple folk to appreciate their feelings now that civilization has left its mark.

Surely these are not suitable overtures to peace?

Yours faithfully,
(Mrs.) L. K. MISHAD

* * *

KIND READERS' APPRECIATION

22 Deschartus Street,
Port Louis, Mauritius,
December 5, 1951.

Dear Sir,

May I avail myself of this opportunity to wish you God speed and success in your endeavour, The Islamic Review following the path chalked out, is doing immense good to Muslims throughout the universe. The articles published are becoming more and more interesting. The Muslim world is having a good helping hand. The Muslims should put an end to their sleep or torpor. Ignorance is not innocence. Good literature is at their disposal. The various complicated points (enigmas) of their religions are elucidated. Nonsense is combated and logical facts are added. Furthermore, The Islamic Review brings us into close contact with other Muslim countries.

Yours very sincerely,
GOOLAM M. T. KAJEE.

* * *

Danesh Sarae-Keshavariz,
Rezaieh, Iran.
27th March, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Assalamo 'aleykeem!

On returning the copies of The Islamic Review for December, 1950 and January, 1951, to a friend who was kind enough to lend them to me, I made up my mind to write you asking for the gift of one year's subscription.

Now, my opinion of your magazine is not the same that I used to have before reading it — an ordinary magazine with dull articles. The Islamic Review indeed is the most useful, valuable, impressive and most interesting of all the Islamic publications in the world. This is not my own opinion alone, but also that of eight non-Muslims, three converts to Islam, and a good few Muslims who have all read your Review. I wish to have more of its copies. I have promised to place it at their disposal as soon as I receive them and read them through.

The light of Islam can be vividly seen through the pages of The Islamic Review, and reading its articles one feels that one is treading the path of peace and brotherhood; and one imagines one can hear the Prophet Muhammad calling: La Ilaha illa 'L-Lab, guiding mankind to God. To say the least it is a matter of great pride and honour for the present world of Islam to have such a useful publication.

Yours in Islam,
IRADJ BEHNAM.
Dear Sir,

Assalamu 'Alaikum

I had no idea that there was such a splendid organization in this country, in fact, I had begun to despair of ever getting into touch with anyone of the Muslim faith to whom I could turn for advice. My wife has written several letters to Arab Legations in London in the hope of being able to be put in touch with some Muslim activity and we were both feeling worried; for we were getting completely out of touch with Muslim holy days and the observance of Ramadan, etc. The fact that we are living in a strictly Christian community worried us about our burial when we die. This has been a great problem to us. I hope you will be able to advise us on this. Both my wife and I have felt very contented since getting your letter. Allah indeed has answered our prayers and we no longer feel lost.

I will explain how I learned of and accepted the Muslim faith as the only true religion. I first came into contact with Muslims during my stay in the Army in India. I, being a Roman Catholic, must confess that I wasn't very interested then, but what did impress me was the character and bearing of Muslims of even the lowest station in life. Being a clerk in the Quarter-master's Office I had a lot to do with Indian workmen employed in the barracks. I had to keep their accounts for pay, clothing, etc. These men left a real impression on me which took effect later on in my life. When I began to realize the hypocrisy of most Christians. I was then a Roman Catholic and a regular churchgoer. I returned home in 1958 and went to church regularly but somehow I began to realize that I was a hypocrite. I didn't really know what all those rites and ceremonies were all about. I don't think I did. I don't think I knew God and was very near to being an atheist. At such a time one feels a great sense of loss without knowing what that loss really is. That loss is the love of God which is innate in every human being and without it life has nothing worthwhile to offer.

I was called up when the last war was declared and sent to Palestine. Once again I came into contact with Muslims. I moved to Egypt and while working at the G.H.Q., Cairo, met an officer in the Egyptian police, Lt. 'Ali Haidar. He took the trouble to instruct me in the Muslim religion. How wonderfully simple and understandable it seemed! Here, I said to myself, indeed, was a religion where God spoke to the ordinary simple man in an understanding way and crept right into the heart. There is no mumbo jumbo in it and fancy clothes; love God, live a good life — that is Islam. I thought a lot about Islam, and by the time I found myself in Jerusalem I was determined to do something about it. I went to the Muslim court in the Old City and asked to see the judge. I told him I wanted to embrace Islam. He told me to find two witnesses. There were many Arabs outside the court and on hearing my story two of them immediately offered their services; so back into the courtroom I went with my witnesses and stood up before the judge. I recited the words my police officer friend had taught me. Although I knew no Arabic I understood them well. "Ashhadu an la illa ill 'Allah wa ashadhu anna Muhammadan Rasul Allah." (I bear witness that there is no God but God and I bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of God).

My sense of loss was gone. I had found God. How merciful He is to us; if only more of my countrymen could find Him in the same way.

I took Mustafa Kemal as my Muslim name and was soon well known in the Old City of Jerusalem. Any time I walked down any of its narrow streets I would be sure to hear someone shout Assalamu 'Alaikum! Mustafa Kemal.

I am, yours sincerely,

JOHN LEE.

"PALESTINE CONTINUES TO BLEED"

"Khan Yunus," Oriental Road,

Woking, England.

December 6, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Assalamu 'Alaikum

As one who has fought on the field of battle with the Arabs for their cause I was greatly interested in the article by Mr. Sharif al-Mujahid, "Palestine continues to bleed" published in The Islamic Review for November, 1951.

I agree heartily with the author in that the Arabs did not get a square deal as a result of World War I or the subsequent actions of the U.N.O. Also that the Zionists are determined to grab all they can from the Tigris to the Nile and farther.

But I strongly disagree with him over his remarks concerning the late General Allenby and Lawrence of Arabia. Why does he place any blame on these two men for the present plight of the Arabs? These men were only instruments in the hands of their leaders and they performed their tasks to the utmost of their ability.

The author in his article describes General Allenby as an imperialist. It seems to be the fashion just now for some people to brand those who make a stand for their country as being imperialists; but what does the author mean when he says someone is an imperialist?

Was 'Omar or Mu'tawiyah an imperialist? Would the author style Oqba who displayed his military might in Tunis as being an imperialist? What of Saladin? Perhaps in his day he too was described as an imperialist. As a matter of fact the author himself can find it out — if he reads history — that General Allenby was a very successful General and administrator respected by both friend and foe alike.

Mr. Sharif al-Mujahid has got his dates wrong when he says that Allenby entered Palestine in 1915. In that year Allenby was fighting in France; he did not enter Palestine until 1917, striking the first blow at the Turk-German forces on September 30th in the Gaza Beersheba district.

As for saying that Lawrence "planned and plotted" against Palestine I would say that nothing could be farther from the truth. Lawrence was one of the few men who have ever been able to establish unity among the tribes — blood enemies — whom he led. Where is the man, Arab or Muslim of any nation who can link up the Arab peoples as did Lawrence of Arabia?

The author could not have read the suppressed introduction to Lawrence's book, The Seven Pillars of Wisdom (see Oriental Assembly, published by Williams and Norgate, London), for otherwise he would have had a better appreciation of Lawrence the man, his aims and ambitions in regard to the peoples who put their trust in him.

I feel that the cause of Islam and of the Arabs will not be furthered successfully by writing such mis-statements as have been made by Mr. Sharif al-Mujahid concerning Allenby and Lawrence; let us instead boldly seek the truth in all things.

One final note and here I agree with the author when he states that it is largely the Arabs' own fault that they find themselves in the present plight.

Disunity, jealousy and discord stalk among them; more than anything else complete unity and unanimity of viewpoint must prevail if the Zionist is to be overthrown. And let us remember it is Zionism that we must fight.

I have fought alongside of the Arab in his cause and am willing to do so again if the need be; given absolute unity of effort and leadership the Arabs could if they whip up their determination drive the Zionist into the sea within 48 hours of making a start.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. B. FAROUK FARMER (Major), M.B.E., M.C.

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