THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

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AGENT IN KASHMIR

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free; single copies Rs. 1/11
Abdul 'Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, Roshni, Srinagar, Kashmir.
SOME DISTINCTIVE TRAITS OF
PAST MUSLIM GOVERNMENTS AND THE EDUCATED YOUTH OF ISLAM

It is painful to note that the majority of Muslim educated youths nowadays seem to be ignorant of the past history of Islam, and what is worse, by indiscriminately imbibing false accounts of malicious critics and mischievous sectarian propagandists, they have adopted a lukewarm attitude towards the religion of Islam itself — the religion which is by far the most rational and assuredly the best suited for saving misguided humanity from its present trends of wholesale destruction.

While the Western nations of Europe and America are trying to restore Christianity to its former position of guidance in life, it is disturbing to find some ill-informed modern Muslims talk of eliminating Islam from corporate life and confining its activities to a limited personal domain.

Islam is a way of life, not of renunciation or isolation, but of wholehearted co-operation, free from racial distinctions and discords. All Muslims are equal in the eyes of God, and should constitute their government or mode of living on terms of equality with one another. An Arab could never arrogate to himself a higher status in comparison with an African, Indian or Tartar.

A civilization that considers acquisition of power and pursuit of pleasure to be the sole aims and objects of life is assuredly most dangerous to humanity in the long run. To look down upon other nations and communities different from one's own is by no means a humane characteristic. A careful perusal of Islamic history will show that the Khilafat rasidah — the period of the first four Caliphs after the Prophet Muhammad — was free from all such blemishes. As a matter of fact, it was an ideally perfect government. It is true that it was short-lived, but it was based on real Islamic principles; and while it existed it was most successful in all respects. The family feuds and party dissensions that cropped up later undermined the body politic of Islamic principles, whose neglect deprived Islamic countries of their continued progress and supremacy.

It will be equally clear from a study of Islamic history that whenever there was a return to the true principles as in the short régime of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (717-720 C.E.) at Damascus, and in a few other instances of Muslim rule with partial promulgation and re-establishment of these principles, in Spain, India or Africa, the old grandeur returned and universal Muslim happiness prevailed.

However far removed some Muslim governments may have been from the Khilafat rasidah ideal, history shows that there were no mass murders in the name of religion, no State-constituted inquisitions to reform heretics or followers of different faiths, no pogroms for systematic annihilation of despised communities, no wholesale elimination of "uncivilized" aboriginal inhabitants of countries conquered and taken possession of, with extension of power on land or sea.

The "Foreign Offices" of Muslim Governments (in their normal transactions) were free from the chicanery, quibbling and sophistry, or, while dealing with weak and disabled nations, "mailed-fist" and "hob-nailed boot" policies of 19th century European powers. There were no secret treaties or coalitions to wipe out whole nations or communities from the face of the earth; no deceptive high-sounding proclamations of "liberty, equality and fraternity" about the freedom of smaller nations, with the real object of keeping them under subjugation; no announcements of protectorates or assumption of mandatory powers to swallow helpless countries and communities at leisure. Whatever was agreed to and put down in black and white was genuine and meant to be adhered to, not meant to deceive.

The Dhimmis (the protected peoples) of Muslim States were free from military service, but enjoyed safety of life and property. They were at liberty to follow their own religious laws and customs and to use their own languages. There were no false propagandas or false promises to secure votes for power as in modern election campaigns.

MUHAMMAD 'ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN.
Morals to be Observed in Family Circles, etc.

To serve parents: The Qur'an says: "And your Lord has commanded that you shall not pour anger upon them but Him and goodness to your parents; If either of them reach old age with you, say not to them 'Ugh,' nor chide them, and speak to them a generous word. And make yourself submissive gently to them with compassion, and say: O my Lord! I have compassion on them, as they brought me up (when I was) little." (17:23-24). And we enjoined on man goodness to his parents, and if they contend with you that you should associate (others) with Me, of which you have no knowledge, do not obey them." (29:8). And We have enjoined man in respect of his parents... Be grateful to Me and to both your parents; to Me is the eventual coming... And keep company with them in this world kindly." (31:14-15).

The Qur'an places obedience to parents next only to submission to God. It creates in us a strong sense of our obligations to constituted authorities; but modern civilization is lacking in this respect. Children in influence and parents in penury are common objects in the West. Unfortunately, the lesson to be learned from the conduct of Jesus to his mother is something undesirable. Even the whole of Biblical literature does not lay any great stress on this moral, though it is one of the Ten Commandments. The Qur'an, on the other hand, speaks strongly and repeatedly of our serving our parents, especially in their old age. It clearly warns us of following our example if they go against the "Ways of the Lord.

The bringing up of children. The Qur'an says: "And do not kill your children for fear of poverty." (17:31). ("The servants of the Beneficent God are they who bear witnesses to the justice of the children and say: O our Lord! surely Thou art the Mighty, the Wise." (2:129); as well as those who are godly people. "It is not meet for a mortal that God should give him the Book and the judgment and prophecy, then he should say to men: be my masters; rather God's; but rather be worshipers of the Lord because of your teaching the Book and your reading it." (3:78).

Fair dealing in business. The Qur'an says: "Woe to the defaulters, who, when they take the measure from men, take it full, but when they measure out to others or weigh out for them, they are deficient." (85:1, 2, 3). "Give a full measure and be not of those who diminish: And weigh out with a right balance: And do not wrong men of their dues, and do not act corruptly in the earth, making mischief." (26:181).-5.

Bearing true witness. The Qur'an says: "Of the servants of God are the bearers of witness for God's sake, though it may be against your own selves or (your) parents or near relatives; if he be rich or poor, God is most competent (to deal) with them both: therefore do not follow (your) low desires, lest you deviate, and be among those who fear God." (4:134, 135). And the servants of the Beneficent God are they who do not bear witness to what is false." (25:72). "O you who believe! be upright for God, bearers of witness with justice, and let not hatred of a people make you not to act equitably." (5:8). "And do not mix up the truth with the falsehood, nor hide the truth while you know it." (2:42).


Trustworthiness. "Surely God commands you to make over trusts to those worthy of them." (4:81). "Act of reform. So be careful of your duty to God and set aight matters of your difference." (8:1). "The believers are but brethren, therefore make peace between your brethren." (49:10).

Helping in good action. Help one another in good and piety and do not help one another in evil and against all: (5:2).

The Qur'an says: "Fullfil the promise; surely (every) promise will be questioned about." (17:34). "Yes, whoever fulfills his promise and guards against evil, then surely God loves those who guard against evil." (3:75).

1 You will find others who desire that they should be safe from you and secure from their own people; as often as they are sent back to the mischief they get thrown into it headlong; therefore if they do not withdraw from you, and (do not) offer you peace and restrain their hands, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them; and against these We have given you your clear authority." (4:91).
WHY MUST WE BELIEVE IN ONE GOD?

By 'ABDUS SUBHAN, M.A. (Alg.), B.Litt. (Oxon)

Islam, the only religion that believes in undiluted Monotheism

The unity of God or that there is one God in this universe has been the most fundamental and cherished teaching of Islam. As a matter of fact, no contribution of Islam to the sum total of world thought could have been richer and greater than this. For, we know from history that of the greatest religions of the world, namely, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam, Christianity believes in Trinity, Buddhism in Nihilism, Hinduism in Polytheism and Islam in Monotheism at once pure and undiluted. Now the question of all questions for Muslims is, why must we believe in one God? Or, what is the harm if we believed in more gods than one? Or, why is it that Islam lays so much stress and emphasis on our belief in one God that a tradition of the Prophet Muhammad has it that he who even utters the formula, namely, that there is no god but God straightway enters Paradise? Contrarily, in the eyes of Islam, he who believes in Polytheism not only ceases to be a Muslim, but also forfeits the right of even being pardoned by his Lord, so that he is condemned to an eternal hell-fire as the Qur'an has it.

"Lo! He forgiveth (all) save that to whom He will. Whoso ascribeth partners to God, he hath indeed invented a tremendous sin" (4:48).

We know full well that He is above our belief in one God or in many. For, it is immaterial for Him, Ghani, Self-sufficient that He is, if we believe in Him or we do not, or if we believe in one God or in many, as the Qur'an has it when it says, "And whosoever striveth, striveth only for himself, for lo! He is altogether independent of (His) creatures" (29:6).

Necessity of belief in one God, therefore, veers round us and us alone and not Him. Why is that so? has remained a most pertinent question with us the Muslims.

The necessity of belief in God

Justice or satisfaction for an aggrieved individual may sometimes elude the Highest Court of Judicature in a country, human as the institution is. Where is he, then, to prefer his appeal for justice? To God and God alone is the reply that comes handy to us. He remains the only haven of safety and security for the weak, the vanquished, the disgruntled and the disappointed — categories from which nobody, however high he or she may be, can be exempt for all time to come. Hence, it is not possible for a being of flesh and blood to endure in this world for ever and a day without the support of the idea of one Godhead. Some day or other, he or she has got to bow down before and submit to Him. No citation in this connexion could be more appropriate and fitting than what happened to the late Mr. Joseph Stalin, erstwhile undisputed leader of Communist Russia before his death. It is an open secret that Communism is based upon materialism pure and simple and has as such no room for the existence of God and His religion. But man's adversities are God's opportunities, so says an English proverb. When Stalin fell dangerously ill and the best medical experts of his century proved helpless to bring about his cure, Communist Russia was obliged to turn to God, the Almighty, and supplicate to Him for Stalin's recovery — a fact which Moscow radio of the day broadcast to the world at large — a broadcast which was in extenso quoted by the leading journals all the world over — an object lesson for those who still waver in their faith in God, the Creator of us all.

Such being the case, a man without belief in God can safely be likened to a boat without a rudder. Is He, then, to
exist merely as a creation of our imagination, because we cannot do without Him, or has He an objective reality of His own? As an argument either by circle, al-Daur, or by infinite regress, al-Tasākil, leads us nowhere so far as the creation of this world is concerned we cannot but fall back upon creatio ex nihilo and that by God Who is transcendental in character. To illustrate our argument by circle, al-Daur, we say that a mango has grown out of a shell and the shell out of the mango tree ad infinitum that it leads us nowhere so far as the origination either of the shell or of the mango tree or, for the matter of that of, the world itself is concerned unless and until we fall back upon the creatio ex nihilo by God Who is transcendental. In the same way, if we proceed to argue through infinite regress to say that (a) is born of his father, who again of his father and who again of his father and so on and so forth to an infinite regress, it will lead us nowhere until we stop at our common father, Adam and say that he was created by God out of nothing. What holds good with regard to the creation of Adam, holds good also with regard to the creation of the world as a whole. Once we have been able to arrive at this conclusion that God has created this world from nothing, our purpose is served and our point gained.

Why the theory of more than one God fails

The next question we have to discuss is whether there is one creator for the whole of the universe or there are many creators for it, that is to say, whether there is one God in this universe or whether there are many gods. A maxim has it that too many cooks spoil the broth. If this holds good so far as an insignificant thing like the cooking of broth is concerned, it should hold good with all the greater reason and force so far as the intricate administration of the heavens and earth is concerned as the Holy Qurān itself adumbrates when it says, "If there were therein gods beside God, then verily both (the heavens and the earth) had been disordered" (21 : 22). Hence there is but one God Who sustains this universe. Again to argue philosophically, if there were two gods instead of one in this universe, either they would be equally powerful or one of the two would be powerless and the other powerful. Now the one who was powerless could not deserve to be God. On the other hand if both of them were equally powerful and if the one wanted to kill the other to spare him, life and death could not then take place simultaneously, as they are contradictory terms, so that if death were to take place, life would not. In that case the one who wanted death would be stronger than the other who wanted his life. The weaker of the two could not then deserve to be God. If both of them were, however, equally powerful and agreed among themselves to spare the life, they could do so for a time only, but not indefinitely as two of a trade cannot agree. The theory of two Gods thus fails. If the existence of two deities in this world was ruled out, that of more than two could be done with greater reason and cogency. Hence there is and can be but one God in this universe. Further, the establishment of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, which should and must be the aim of every true religion in this universe, is not possible unless there is but one God in this universe. For, if the God of the master were not the God of the slave, if the God of the master were not the God of the black also, and if the God of the West were not the God of the East also, kinship or brotherly feeling could not germinate between man and man, descending as they do from the common parentage, namely, Adam and Ève. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, therefore, become a practical proposition only when there is only one God in the whole of the universe. Those who believe in one God with its full implications, that is to say, that those who bow down and acknowledge the supremacy of one God only and of none else, they become as a matter of course His vicegerents on this earth with all the resources of the ether, the land and the sea at their disposal as the Qurān has it, “See ye not how God hath made serviceable unto you whatsoever is in the skies and whatsoever is in the earth” (31 : 20).

The effect of belief in one God on human character

And it is, therefore, they who must needs constitute the most dominant nation of the world, ordering the people to do what is right and forbidding them to do what is wrong, as the Holy Qurān has it when it says, “Ye are the best community that hath been raised for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency” (3 : 110).

And this is true when they are sincere in their belief in one God with its full significance or it does not avail them in any way how loud soever their cry from the house-top may be about their profession of unity. Again those who believe in one God sincerely with all His attributes, that is to say, that those who believe that God is All-Powerful, All-Seeing, All-Hearing, Omniscient, Omnipresent and in other attributes can never commit sin — a state of affairs when they are bound to become men of character, the surest passport for their success, not only in this life, but also in the life hereafter. For, true belief in the divine attributes cannot but lead us to their assimilation in our lives both individual and collective as the Sufis have it when they say: (mould your character according to the divine attributes). That is to say, that if you believe that God is All-Knowing, it is incumbent on you to be knowing, learned or literate so that ignorance and true belief in the fact that God is All-Knowing are incompatible and cannot as such go hand in hand. What holds good with the divine attributes holds good with as much force of the rest of the divine attributes. If we do not assimilate in ourselves the divine attributes as laid down in the Qurān and the Sunnah, the Tradition and Practice of the Prophet Muhammad, a mere lip-profession of them on our part is not likely to render us any good at all.

Thus, once our belief in God is bona fide, our summum bonum of life can never be anything else than the Beatitude Vision, which may as well be characterized as our union with Him, as the Holy Qurān has it, “Lo! we are God’s and lo! unto Him we are returning.” (2 : 156). Again, if we sincerely believe in Him, we cannot but pine away for Him when He remains unseen and can as such never give up His thought even for a moment as the mystic poet, Jalāluddin Rūmî has it when he says, “Listen! to the reed (my soul) as to how it is complaining (all the time). And it is complaining against the pangs of its separation (from its Lord).” This is why he further maintains, “I am not accommodated in the heaven and the earth but I am accommodated in the hearts of the Muʾminin (true believers).”

It is then and not till then that our thought of Him becomes all-absorbing and all-engrossing. When this is achieved, our future is more assured. We should, therefore, believe in one God not only because that there is but one God existing in this world, but also because it serves our purpose both material and spiritual to do so.

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
How change in economic order should be brought about

This should be done in accordance with what has been said earlier in this article with regard to the limitations on the exercise of the right of private ownership of property, and in accordance with what I shall state when dealing with the principle of public ownership and the economic duties of the State. When the present economic order is replaced with the Islamic economic order, it must not be based on usury, which is both evil and harmful to the economic well-being of a community, and it is necessary to do away with this practice altogether by means of legislation. Banks will then be left with another function to perform in the economic sphere, viz., the supervision of the financial affairs from the point of view of currency and negotiation. Such an arrangement would require that the banking system should be run on co-operative bases and should become a department of State under the control of the Ministry of Finance. In such a case, the banks will perform, in addition to their customary functions (except that of lending money on interest), the function of lending money to those in need of it, without interest, after ascertaining the extent of the real need for the loan, and the ability of the borrower to repay it. Due consideration should be given to the special circumstances of the borrower with reference to the interests of the community as a whole.

For example, if a farmer were to ask for a loan to exploit the land of which he is the owner or allotted to him by the State, application should be referred to the Ministry of Agriculture. This Ministry should go into the details of the case and recommend his application to the bank for a loan, which the bank will do without charging any interest. If this Ministry, after making all these enquiries, should recommend that the applicant be given a loan to the amount he asks for or a lesser amount, then the bank should advance such a loan in strict compliance with the recommendations of the Ministry, and without any interest whatsoever being charged.

The same procedure should be followed in other cases. Wherever and whenever the conditions for granting a loan are satisfied, the loan recommended should be given. Only if such a system is adopted will the society be rid of the evils of usury and the needs of the members of the community will be fully satisfied. This will bring about prosperity and happiness in a nation and ensure the progress of its affairs, agriculture, economic and industrial, in a harmonious and efficient manner. The objection that the borrower is likely to evade the repayment of the loan given him does not hold good; for such may be the case even where interest at a very high rate is charged. An adequate safeguard against such a mishap would be the careful investigation of the department concerned in its recommendation of grant for loan to a person whose need is genuine and who is after all not a bad debtor. The government would be in charge of collecting such loans as it does various other taxes. In addition, it must not be forgotten that the teachings of Islam exhort a debtor to repay his debt, and this is a powerful element that would lead good Muslims to repay to the government the loans advanced to them. The Prophet Muhammad says: "Whoever has taken the money of other people with the intention of paying it back, God will repay it for him; and whoever has taken such money with the intention of spending it, will be destroyed by God."

5. The right of disposition of property

Islam has laid down rules restricting the manner of disposing of one's property. The owner has not been left absolutely free to dispose of it as he likes. Rules have been formulated which may operate during his life or after his death. The guiding principle in all such cases, however, is the interest and welfare of the community as a whole, with proper regard to the interest of the ownership of the property as well.

The disposition of property by transferring the ownership to another person may take place either during the lifetime of the owner or after his death. In his lifetime this may take the form of a gift or a grant to the person to whom the property is disposed, or, of course, such disposition may be by way of sale at a fixed price. After the death of the owner, the disposition of such property may be pursuant to a device or a bequest, or it may be way of repayment of a debt or obligation undertaken during the owner's lifetime. Islam has laid down rules prohibiting the owner from disposing of his property to an enemy during war or period of hostility between one nation and another. This provision has been made in order to ensure that no indirect aid or benefit is given to an enemy by the disposition of property to him. Islam has also prohibited the giving of charity to an enemy during war.

As to the manner in which the owner may use his property for his subsistence, Islam has formed rules on the subject and drawn a line between prodigality and extreme abstinence. According to the teachings of Islam, the owner of property is required not to be extremely abstemious or stingy as to deny himself the legitimate joys and pleasures of life. The Muslim is exhorted to enjoy the good things of life and take advantage of the bounties of God given to him. If a person has sufficient money, but nevertheless deprives himself of everything but the bare necessities of life, he is regarded as a sinner. He must be compelled by the State to spend sufficiently on meeting the necessities of life of his family and dependants. If a person is unable to support his family or dependants by reason of the fact that he does not possess sufficient money, then it becomes the duty of the other members of his community to discharge that obligation on his behalf. Again, Islam is not content to see a person being kept alive on the minimum level of subsistence, but considers that it is every person's right that he should have a comfortable standard of living. The aid which must be given by the more fortunate or affluent members of the community to the less fortunate must come either in the form of zakah or sadaqa, or by compelling the next-of-kin or relatives of those in need and distress to come to their aid, or by way of the State providing such needy persons with employment which will give them sufficient money, or, if they be unable to work, by paying them an adequate allowance. In Islam, the poor have a quasi right or vested interest in the wealth of the rich. A poor person is defined in Islam as "a person who is not adequately provided for the purpose of enjoying a moderate existence and whose income is less than his expenditure on that
scale." Although a person might possess sufficient money to meet the very bare necessities of life, yet it is the duty of the State, according to the teachings of Islam, to ensure that his meager or insufficient income is augmented to such an extent that it will become adequate for raising his standard of living and for enabling him to partake of the moderate joys and blessings of this world.

Likewise, the teachings of Islam prohibit a person from spending extravagantly. The prodigal, it is held by some schools of jurisprudence in Islam, might be prevented by the State from exercising authority over his property, so that he will not have the opportunity of wasting or squandering it away. Immoderate spending of money on the luxurious pleasures of life is as much an evil as the spending of money on vice; and so Islam, in order to put into effect its desire to eradicate vice and evil from the community, intervenes to control and regulate this matter. Another purpose for prohibiting prodigality is the desire that one class in the community should not, by its very extravagant spending, rise very distinctly above the less affluent class and so create a great cleavage between one set of persons and another in the community, with the consequent class distinction and hatred between one class and another in the community.

Poverty leads to crime

Islam abhors poverty as much as it abhors abundance of wealth. The existence in the community of a class of persons who are very poor and needy has always been a cause of weakness in the structure of a nation; and, equally, the existence of a distinct class of persons who possess vast riches, in marked contrast to a very poor section of the community, has always led to the decline and ultimate destruction of that community. Both poverty and great wealth have through the ages proved to be serious diseases in the body of a nation, and a happy medium between these two states of affairs must be drawn if the integrity and strength of the community are to be maintained. Islam is only too conscious of this important fact, and intervenes to remedy the disease of dire poverty as well as the disease of abundance of wealth. The Qur'ân says: "And they who, when they spend are neither extravagant nor parsimonious, and the just mean is even between these" (25 : 67). The rich person who is a miser and who leads the life of a very poor man causes by his attitude a lowering of the standard of living in the community, and, by the hoarding of his wealth prevents the circulation of money in the community which is quite harmful to the interest of social life as well as to his own kind and personality. Whenever the standard of living in the community rises, the power and integrity of that community rises too. Poverty is one of the most devastating evils in a community, and with ignorance and depravation, which has always followed in its trail, it has caused the downfall of many nations. Poverty leads to ignorance, and ignorance leads to a reduction in the talents and achievements of the community, to laziness, and to the lack of understanding of religion and the spiritual aspects of life — in short, it reduces the human being to a level not very much above that of a dumb animal. And there is yet another evil flowing from poverty: the poor will never tolerate their unsatisfactory existence, and they will seek to improve it in their own way and procure money by some means or other. And the usual way of obtaining such money is by theft or some other form of criminal activity. The poor and needy, when looking at the great wealth and fortune of the wealthier classes, can never fail to envy those people and to nurse a hatred against them — in other words, there will be "class consciousness" in the community, which alienates some sections of it from others.

Some of the poor and needy, their standards of honesty and morality weakened and with no power or opportunity to resort to theft or other forms for the extortion of money, seek to get the money they need by other equally evil methods. They sell their honour and dignity and stoop to the mean forms of disreputable activities in order to make a living. And it cannot be denied that the existence of such a state of affairs, where a certain class in the community is driven by poverty to the depths of degradation and forciblystripped altogether of any sense of honesty or decency, never brings any good to the community. Sooner, rather than later, this state will bear fruit, and this fruit will bring decay to the community.

The very rich, who spend lavishly on their joys and pleasures, are equally to be blamed. By leading a life of idleness and inactivity, and by indulging in luxury and easy joys, their morals become degraded and their feelings for their fellow-beings become weakened if not altogether extinguished. They start to fear departure from this world, even though their continued existence becomes a burden and a source of mischief to the community.

And so the very rich and senseless become the enemies of any progress or move that might raise the standard of living of their fellow-beings or improve their lot. It was for this reason that Islam recognized the need to intervene in this matter and to regulate the extent to which a person might possess wealth, and the manner and purpose of spending that wealth, in order to avoid causing thereby the downfall of the social structure.

And if the rich do not abide by these rules, the teachings of Islam justify, in the views held by some scholars, the deprivation of such rich persons of their civil rights and the placing of their money in the hands of official custodians who will administer it in the manner best suited to the interest of the nation.

Naturally, there can be no rigid rule as to what is and what is not "poverty" or "great wealth" and "prodigality". This must be determined in the light of these economic and other conditions prevailing at any particular time. And, of course, the customs and traditions prevailing in a country must be taken into consideration. But above all, it must always be kept in mind that the foremost object of the State, and the purpose which it must serve, is to bring about a raising of the standard of living of the have-nots. Such a raising of the standard should not come by lowering the standard of living of the rich. It must be done by the direct raising of the standard of living of the poor, without necessarily bringing down the standard of the not so poor. Everyone in the community should be made to derive a benefit from this upgrading process, but the standard of living of the community as a whole, or that of any particular class, must not be brought up so high as to make it indulge in luxurious and prodigal ways of living.

6. The right of public ownership

The right of the public to own certain property is natural. Indeed, the community as a whole can be regarded as the real owner of all property situated geographically within its domains, even though such property may be, by custom, in the possession of a person or a group of persons. Such property belongs to the community as a whole because it originally belonged to God, and the community as a whole is the rightful successor of God in this respect. God says, "Believe in God and His Messenger, and spend from that whereof He has made you heirs. So those of you who believe and spend — for them is a great reward" (The Qur'ân, 57 : 7). Thus the community can be regarded as the owner of everything in the possession of any one of its particular members. And the community as a whole, as the rightful and original owner of such property, may delegate this right of ownership to a particular individual. Such "delegation" is usually made in a well-defined form. As has been discussed before, "private ownership" implies simply a permission to
utilize and dispose of wealth or property in accordance with certain established rules; and it does not imply the absolute and complete ownership of it in the sense that the owner may deal with it in any manner he chooses. The methods of disposition of property have been clearly laid down and they must be adhered to by the owners. Certain types of wealth, in view of its nature or economic influence on society, cannot be safely entrusted to the private individual. For this reason it must remain in public possession — in the ordinary sense — and no individual or group of individuals in their private capacity may exercise any right of control or disposition over it.

The conditions and circumstances which call for the vesting of property in the public ownership are many, and chief amongst them are the following:

Essentials of life are public property

(1) Where property is in its nature a public utility.

A "public utility" is something which is considered essential for the life of the community as a whole, and with which the community cannot dispense without a grave harm or inconvenience. What is it and what is not a "public utility" must, of course, be determined by reference to the social and other conditions existing at any one time. The Prophet Muhammad said that "public utilities" were the common possession of all the members of the community — "People are partners in the ownership of three things: water, grazing fields and fire". The Prophet meant by this statement that these things should, in that type of society and in view of the circumstances and conditions of that era, be considered public property. Things which are considered as essential to the life and welfare of the community as these things were at the time of the Prophet come under the definition of "public utilities", and their ownership should thus be vested in the whole community. The Muslim jurists since the earliest days have held that there are certain types of property which by their very nature cannot be allowed to vest absolutely in any private individual or individuals except with the express permission of the community, and as delegates or trustees for it. At other times in the history of Islam such things as open spaces and parks in villages and towns, the fields where wood for fuel or other purposes could be cut, the grazing fields, and the lands where sand could be obtained, were all considered to be public utilities the ownership of which was vested in the community as a whole. The Imam 'Ala' al-Deen al-Kasani (d. 587 A.H.—1182 C.E.) in his book Baday' al-Sanaye', says:

"The land where salt, petroleum or pitch and other similar things which are essential to the life and welfare of the Muslims are found, cannot be allotted by the Imam (ruler) to any particular private individual, because every Muslim has a right in them."

The principle that everything which is in the nature of a public utility and which is essential to the life and welfare of the community as a whole is public property, is a very flexible principle which can be applied effectively to any era or place. It can for our present time be taken as a guiding principle which will justify the vesting in the State of the ownership of such things as all the mineral deposits, the oil wells, the seas and rivers and their banks, etc.

State has a right to acquire ownership even of such property as may have become vested in a private individual or individuals

(2) All property which the interest and welfare of the community requires should be vested in the public ownership, even though such property may have become vested in a private individual or individuals by legitimate means, should nevertheless be taken from private hands and vested in the State in its capacity as a representative of the community as a whole. The fact that such property had come into the hands of private individuals by legitimate means should not deter the State from dispossessing these individuals at a later date and acquiring the ownership of the property concerned. The main consideration in all this should be the interest and welfare of the community, which must override every other consideration. At the present time, such things as water supplies, electricity supplies, the means of transport (railways, and other similar public transport utilities), appear to fall within the description of indispensable public utilities, and should be acquired by the State.

State may own or control industries

(3) Everything of which better use could be made and a greater benefit derived if managed or exploited directly or indirectly by the community as a whole, rather than by an individual or a group of private individuals, falls under the category of public property. It is, for example, legitimate for the individual to set up factories or other industries on any scale he desires; but if this process should result in hampering the establishment of larger combined industries which could be more beneficial to the community as a whole by producing cheaper and better goods, and if such a project could not be undertaken by individuals in their private capacities, due to the lack of funds or any other cause, then such smaller industries or factories should be vested in the public ownership so that the larger project can be undertaken by the State. Also, where by the existence of smaller industries a monopoly of a certain commodity is operated to the detriment of public interest, then that industry should be vested in the public or State ownership. Very often, the establishment of an industry on a large scale, instead of leaving the production in the hands of small interests, results in cheaper and better goods. Individuals who possess the smaller industries are not always capable of enlarging or expanding their industries to the desired scale. And as the State is, as a general rule, in a better position to undertake such larger projects, it must take the matter out of the hands of the individual and undertake the establishment of the larger industry. Monopoly, which always results in stifling the choice of the buyers and maintaining prices at a high level, is a practice that is undoubtedly harmful to the public as a whole. To remedy this position, the State must intervene and regulate the industry concerned, or, if necessary, take that industry altogether out of the hands of its owners. No large producer or industrial concern wielded by a private individual or a group of private individuals should ever be allowed to dictate to the public and enforce its caprices on it. A vigilant and conscientious government must protect the public from such harmful practices by itself taking over such sources of production.

(4) All the income and revenue of the State in the way of taxes or dues, confiscated property, fees for services rendered, war booties and other property acquired by the agents of the State in their public capacity, are public property, and must be used for the benefit of the community as a whole.

7. Land and its ownership and exploitation

(1) Land in all the countries conquered by the Muslims is considered public property. But such land may be apportioned or allotted to individuals, and these individuals become entitled to its proceeds. Such interest in the land is tantamount to ownership, in that the person who holds such interest may dispose of the land by sale, or may devise it to his successors or dispose of it for any legitimate purpose. But such right over the land exists only by virtue of an original authorization by the State; and although the exercise of these rights is wide, the land is not in the absolute ownership of the individual. The State may
in certain cases intervene and require the possessor of the land to deal with it in a particular manner, and if he refuses to do so, the State may exercise its residuary right and dispossesses him of that land.

(2) The possessor of land is required by the State to exploit it and make proper use of it. He must also contribute a certain proportion of the proceeds of that land to the public funds. If the possessor of land should fail without legitimate excuse to exploit the land for a continuous period of, as some opine, three years, the State may dispossess him of it and allot the land to another person.

(3) According to the Shari'a of Islam, land is considered to have a value akin to that of money. And so, in the same way as the State may take a certain proportion of the wealth of a rich individual in order to give to the needy, it can take a certain proportion of any vast areas of land possessed by one individual and give such land to those who do not possess sufficient. Islam disapproves of the concentration of vast areas of land in the hands of a few.

The Qadi Abu Yusuf in his book al-Khuraj says: "Land is, in my opinion, in the same status as money. The Imam may require a contribution to the public treasury to be made from the money possessed by the very wealthy; and he may also dispossess of his money a person who is assisting the enemy or using that money in a manner injurious to the community. The Imam must also allow land to individuals, and no land must be left without an owner, so that he may encourage building and construction". The Imam Ibn Hajar al-Makki said: "Land is owned by the public treasury . . . and the Imam may dispossess any person to whom he has allotted a piece of land whenever he chooses". The Prophet Muhammad said: "No person may have anything other than that which it has pleased his Imam to give him".

8. Zakat

The funds of zakat (the poor-rate) are public funds. They are, however, different from other funds in the public ownership, the difference being in the manner of collection, in the rate at which the individual is liable to contribute to them, and the manner in which they are expended. Zakat can be levied only on Muslims, and non-Muslims are not supposed to contribute to this fund. Zakat is not a public tax, but is paid to the State as an act of charity and piety on the part of the individual. Since the spiritual and religious aspect is the main reason for its levy, zakat affects only Muslims. The payment of zakat is an essential part of Islam, like praying, fasting, pilgrimage, etc. Zakat is payable at all times, and it does not cease when the State is free from financial distress or need. It must be paid by Muslims to the State whether or not the State stands in need of it. It is payable when a person has attained his majority, and is in full possession of his mental faculties. Zakat differs from other taxes imposed by the State, which are levied on every person who fulfills certain conditions as to the size of his property, and irrespective of whether he is a Muslim or not and whether or not he is an adult or in full possession of his mental faculties.

The assessment of zakat is made in accordance with certain well-established rules. The zakat is equivalent to one-fourth of one-tenth of all gold, silver and trading goods possessed by an individual in excess of a certain fixed amount known as al-Nisab (minimum assets). If a person's assets fall below the amount of al-Nisab, he will not be required to make any contribution towards the zakat fund. Al-Nisab with regard to grains, cattle and other kinds of possessions has been fixed by various jurists, and the extent to which the owners of such properties have to contribute towards the zakat has also been ascertained. The assessment of zakat is thus done on a different basis to that governing the assessment of other State taxes. The amount of the latter varies with the economic needs of the State at various times, while the amount of the zakat is fixed and rigid.

The funds of zakat may be utilized only for the benefit of certain classes of persons. The objects for which zakat may be spent are defined in the following verse of the Qur'an: "(Zakat) charity is only for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer it, and those whose hearts are made to incline (to truth) and (to free) the captives, and those in debt, and in the way of God and for the wayfarer — an ordinance from God. And God is Knowing, Wise" (9: 60). Thus, altogether eight heads of expenditure are recognized. They are as follows:

(i) the poor, i.e., those persons who own property but whose ordinary and reasonable expenditure on the necessities of life exceeds their income;

(ii) the needy, i.e., those persons who do not own property and who have no income;

(iii) those employed to administer it, i.e., persons who are engaged officially in collecting and distributing the zakat;

(iv) those whose hearts are made to incline (to truth), i.e., persons whose acceptance of Islam and their friendship and favour towards Muslims will be advantageous to Muslims;

(v) (to free) the captives, i.e., in order to set free Muslims who are held as slaves by other nations, and whose ransom is to be paid by the zakat funds (this class of person does not exist today);

(vi) those in debt, i.e., those persons who have undertaken onerous debts;

(vii) in the way of God, i.e., for the presentation of jihad;

(viii) for the wayfarer, i.e., the traveller who is in distress.

These are the classes of persons who are eligible for benefit from the zakat funds. Zakat money, therefore, should not be spent on any other class of person, nor should it be used like other money levied by the State for various purposes. If at any time there should be no one eligible for a grant from the funds of zakat, the money should be held in reserve by the State, and later spent on charitable purposes.

9. The economic functions of the State

As already explained, the State should be regarded as the representative and agent of the community in all matters, including the general economic aspect. The State, on behalf of the members of the community as a whole, owns everything within its territorial jurisdiction. The economic functions of the State are manifold, chief amongst which are the following:

(1) The distribution of wealth amongst the members of the community in accordance with the teachings of Islam;

(2) The maintenance of equilibrium amongst the different classes in the community;

(3) The propagation of social justice;

(4) The exploitation of public property to the interest and advantage of the whole community;

(5) The general supervision and control of the economic life of the community;

(6) The levying of taxes; and

(7) The levying of zakat.

These functions will now be dealt with separately.

1 It is not proper to limit the significance of the words "in the way of God". The words are general and include fighting for Islam, propagating the message of Islam, and all charitable duty. Ed., I.R.
(1) THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY AMONGST ITS DIFFERENT MEMBERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM.

This, above all, requires the State to regulate the exploitation and disposition of property held by private individuals. The purpose of such control should be to enhance the progress and welfare of the community as a whole. This requires:

First: The State should ensure a balance between labour and reward in accordance with the Islamic doctrine “from each according to his ability, and to each according to his effort”.

Secondly: Property in the hands of private individuals should be protected from misappropriation, damage, theft or plunder, by the imposition of heavy penalties on the intruder on such property.

Thirdly: Honesty and fair play in all commercial and other transactions should be enforced and heavy penalties imposed on those who commit fraud, monopolize the necessaries of life, or deal in usury or charge interest on loans.

Fourthly: The power of the individual to spend his money or use it indiscriminately should be controlled, so that no harm should thereby result to the community as a whole. Thus, extreme stinginess and abstemiousness should be prohibited, like extravagance and prodigality.

Fifthly: Proper safeguards should be provided to prevent the wealth of the community from concentrating in the hands of a few individuals. The Qur’an gives the reason for this as: “...so that it be not taken by turns by the rich among you...” (59:7); and

Sixthly: Proper safeguards should be devised to ensure that money possessed by an individual is not hoarded and prevented from circulation in the community. God says: “...And those who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in God’s way — announce to them a painful chastisement” (9:34).

(2) THE MAINTENANCE OF EQUILIBRIUM AMONGST THE DIFFERENT CLASSES IN THE COMMUNITY.

This is perhaps one of the most difficult functions of the State. It requires a great deal of insight and administrative and other skill into political affairs, along with wisdom and far-sightedness in the highest degree. This duty of the State should aim at levelling the classes in the community, and making the difference between one class and another not so marked or great.

The present state of affairs in the Muslim world, for example, where there are three classes — the upper class, the middle class and the lower class — and where the gulf between one class and another is very wide indeed, is against the teachings of Islam and should be changed if the laws of Islam are to be enforced or obeyed.

Where, however, the various sections of the community are equal in their economic and social status, the duty of the State will then be to devote its attention to other aspects of the welfare and progress of the community — cultural, spiritual, etc. — as was the case during the days of the Caliphate of ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azeez (717-20 C.E.) and of ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan (685-705 C.E.) and other Caliphs. During the days of the Caliph ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azeez, for example, there were no poor to be found amongst the Muslims who stood in need of any allowance from the zakat fund. Yahya Ibn Sa’d, the envoy of the Caliph ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azeez, once wrote: “The Caliph ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azeez sent me to collect the sadaqa from the Muslims of Africa; and when I collected it, I enquired if there were any poor on whom the money could be spent, but I could not find one poor person. There was no one to give the sadaqa to, since ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azeez had made all the people contented.”

Where there exists a great gulf between the very rich and the very poor members of the community — a state of affairs which is likely to endanger the peace and stability of the community — then the State must proceed to remove this gulf between the classes and prevent wealth from concentrating in the hands of a few individuals while others possess nothing. In such circumstances, if the State possesses sufficient funds it should pass them on to the poor classes and those who stand in need, on such a proportion that all the less fortunate members of the community will be brought up to a standard of living that compares favourably with that of the upper class in the community. An example of this is what the Prophet Muhammad did when he distributed the booty after the battle with the tribe of the Banu Nadhir to the poor and needy amongst the Immigrants (Muhajirin) and did not give the Helpers (Ansar)2 any part of it, except two men, Abu Dujana and Sahil Ibn Hanif, who were poor, and thus in the same position as the majority of the Immigrants. With these gifts of land, palm-trees and other property, these Immigrants were able to settle themselves in a good standard of life which compared favourably with that of their neighbours. It also prevented the property that was seized in this battle from going to a small group of individuals, as well as helping to create a balance between the different classes in the community. It was in reference to this action of the Prophet Muhammad that the first ten verses of Chapter al-Hashir in the Qur’an were revealed. The reason and justification for the measures taken by the Prophet Muhammad were given as: “...so that it be not taken by turns by the rich among you...” (59:7).

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BY

MURIEL G. HEATH

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If, however, the State does not possess sufficient funds or properties which it can give to the poor and less fortunate members of the community in order to lift their standard of living, then it is justified in expropriating money and property from the wealthier classes for the purpose of distribution amongst the poor and needy. The Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab said: "If I were to have in the future the chance that I had before, I would take from the rich what they possessed in excess of their needs and give it to the poor". Had he not been assassinated, he would have put this promise into effect. The State must, therefore, in application of the principle that "the wealth of the community belongs to the community as a whole," take, whenever necessary, from the rich what they possess in excess of their needs and give it to the poor and needy.

(3) THE PROPAGATION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

This duty entails that the State should provide free education to all sections of the community. It also requires the State to provide free medical and other services. Islam requires husbands and fathers to provide their families with the necessities of life, and if they refuse to do so their dependants can appeal against them in the court. But a husband or father is not expressly required by the laws of Islam to provide for the education or medical treatment of his dependants. This is not so because Islam does not recognize the importance of the provision of these facilities; it is because both education and medical treatment are functions to be discharged by the State and not by the individual. In the early days of Islam, the teacher and the physician were forbidden from taking any fee or reward for their services, and they were paid exclusively from the public treasury. Thus, the provision of adequate facilities for education and for medical treatment are some of the most important social duties of a State modelled on the teachings of Islam. Amongst other duties of the State in the social field are the following:

(1) The securing of employment for the unemployed.

(2) The general control of the relationship of employer and employee and the control of minimum wages and working hours, etc.

(3) The establishment of institutions for the aged and the invalid and those prevented by physical deformities from earning a living. (It is told about the Caliph 'Umar that when he was on a journey to Damascus he passed by a village where he noticed a group of deformed and invalid Christians. On learning of their plight he ordered that they be given enough money from the zakat fund to enable them to maintain their livelihood. Also, during the days of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, the State provided on a permanent basis a servant for the cripple and a guide for the blind.)

(4) The provision of the necessities of life to those who are unable to earn a living, and who have no one to support them, until such time as the State is able to secure a suitable employment to these handicapped persons, if they are able to undertake such work. (It is told that the Caliph 'Umar the Great once saw a blind man standing by a gate. He enquired about him and was told that he was a Jew. He then asked the blind man, "What has driven thee to this end?" The man replied: "Capitation-taxes, old age and need". The Caliph 'Umar then took the hand of the blind Jew and led him to his house, where he gave him sufficient for his immediate needs. He then sent for the keeper of the public treasury and said to him: "We do not do justice when we leave a man like this Jew without any means of support... the sadaqa (zakat) is for the poor and needy; and this Jew is in need and he is one of the people of the Book". The blind Jew was then exempted from paying capitation-tax and was given a regular allowance from the treasury.)

(5) The securing of adequate means of support to families by the payment of an allowance to all married couples in proportion to the number of children under age which they maintain. The Prophet Muhammad fixed a certain allowance for the single person and an allowance equal to double that amount for a married person. The Caliph 'Umar also fixed a certain allowance to be paid to married couples in respect of their children and during the latter's minority. The story is told by the son of the Caliph 'Umar about his father: "A group of traders came to spend the night at the Mosque. During the night, the Caliph 'Umar heard the crying of a child, so he went to its mother and asked her to see if the child needed anything. Twice again during the night the child cried, and on both occasions the Caliph 'Umar went to its mother. Early in the morning, the child was again heard crying, and so the Caliph 'Umar went to the mother and said to her, 'Why does not your child go to sleep?' She answered, 'He has given me a great deal of trouble this night; I want to wean it, but it persists in crying for my milk.' Why do you want to wean in such a hurry?' asked the Caliph. 'Because the Caliph 'Umar does not give an allowance except in respect of the child that has been weaned,' answered the woman. The Caliph 'Umar was shocked by this revelation, and the thought that he might have caused some mothers to wean their children before the proper time for the sake of becoming eligible for the allowance, and this distressed him very much. He then ordered that an allowance should be paid in respect of every child of every Muslim from the date of its birth, and he sent a crier around the town to make this fact known, and wrote to the governors of other Muslim countries ordering them to enforce this rule.

(4) THE EXPLOITATION OF PUBLIC PROPERTY TO THE INTEREST AND ADVANTAGE OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY.

The State must take good care in the management of the property in its hands and must administer such property with the care and acumen of a good owner. It must exercise the same degree of care and attention in the exploitation of public property as would be exercised by an industrious private individual in administering his own property.

(5) THE GENERAL SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY.

The individual in the community must be allowed to exercise his free will as to the way in which he is to administer his own commercial, agricultural and other affairs. But the individual is allowed to exercise this freedom only where this right will not cause harm to the community. The individual is free to devise methods for advancing his own wealth and welfare; but in many cases the exercise of this right in a very selfish and greedy manner brings great harm upon the other members of the community. It is where such a danger becomes imminent that the State has the right to intervene and restrict the freedom of the individual in his choice of method for managing his own affairs and enhancing his fortune and prosperity. In the complicated economic pattern of modern times, planning and control by the State in the economic field has become essential, if the interest and welfare of the individual is not to conflict with that of the community as a whole. And it is precisely to remedy this state of affairs that Islam has made explicit provisions. The economic functions of the State involve:

(i) The supervision and control of the commercial affairs of the country — both domestic and foreign.

(ii) The supervision and control of the agricultural and industrial affairs of the country.
(iii) The issue and control of the country’s currency and other forms of legal tender (as was done by ‘Umar the Great); and,

(iv) The establishment of banks and other institutions for conducting the financial affairs of commerce. The banks should be under the direct control of the State, and no interest should be charged on loans.

(6) THE LEVYING OF TAXES.

The amount and the method of collecting the various taxes required by the State to enable it to discharge its manifold duties to the community should be laid down in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

(7) THE COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF ZAKAT.

A separate department should be set up under the Ministry of Finance to levy and distribute the zakat. The salaries of the officials of this department and the other expenses of the department should be paid exclusively out of the zakat funds.

10. The general policy of propagating the good and welfare of the community.

Where the above specific provisions in the Shari’a are found to be inadequate or unsuitable for the purpose of advancing the interest and welfare of the community, the State should resort to those general provisions in the Shari’a which empower it to make any rules or laws which are pre-eminently needed for this purpose. The sitrah of the jurists would, of course, be very welcome in this respect. Islam has permitted the State, in those cases where there is no express provision of the Shari’a on the subject, to enact laws that may be found necessary to remedy any evil. The Caliph ‘Umar made use of this provision when he ordered that half the property of these governors of Muslim Provinces who had been found to have benefited privately from their official position should be taken over by the government. Again, when he found that some sellers of milk had adulterated it with water, he ordered that the milk suspected of being adulterated should be poured down the drain and not offered for sale, even at a reduced price. These actions were intended to prevent the occurrence of such fraudulent practices and to teach a severe lesson to those who had indulged in them. Although there was no express provision in the Shari’a to justify the actions of the Caliph ‘Umar in this respect, he maintained that his actions were fully justified on the ground that they were intended to serve the interests of the community by combating evil and fraud. The other instance in which the State may make laws on subjects not covered by the Shari’a is where such laws would serve the welfare of the community. According to the teachings of Islam, the means and methods used for the attainment of good are also considered good. An example of this is to be found in the action of the Prophet Muhammad when he prohibited the creditor from accepting any gift from the borrower, so that the gift would not be in the nature of an inducement made by the debtor for the purpose of delaying the settlement of the debt, and thus in the nature of an illicit interest of benefit arising from the debt.

In the light of the provisions of the Islamic Shari’a as mentioned above, the State will find that it has a very wide scope for the enactment of legislation to suit modern times. Some of the provisions of the economic systems of modern times may usefully be adopted by an Islamic State, and there is no harm at all in its adaptation of other rules and practices contained in non-Muslim systems which have proved their merit and usefulness. But any such adaptation from non-Muslim systems should be done with the greatest care and after very careful scrutiny. The spirit of the teachings of Islam should always be in the mind of Muslim economists. They should seek to harmonize such provisions as they find good in the non-Muslim systems with the guiding spirit of Islam, before they finally give such provisions acceptance. This, as has already been pointed out, is possible because the teachings of Islam are flexible and adaptable and can be made to suit our modern times and solve all the complicated problems of Muslim countries of today, and, indeed, of all times.

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**BIRTH CONTROL IN ISLAM**

The question is often asked: Is birth control permitted in Islam?

Those who ask this question also want to know whether the use of drugs which prevent conception may be used for this purpose.

A few centuries back people knew nothing of contraceptive methods except as or coitus interruptus. Many Muslim jurists have written about this practice and have given it detailed consideration in their treatises.

In the book *Naif al-Atsar* Jabir, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, relates: "We used to have coitus interruptus during the days of the Prophet Muhammad. The Qur’an was still being revealed." The purport of this statement is well agreed. A similar statement is made in the *Muslim*. "We used to practice coitus interruptus during the days of the Prophet, and when this fact came to his knowledge he did not forbid us from it." Another statement was made by Jabir: "A man came to the Prophet and said, 'I have a woman slave who is also our servant; I visit her by night but I fear very much that she might become pregnant.' The Prophet said to him, 'Practise coitus interruptus in your relations with her, if you so desire; for she will receive what the Almighty has ordained for her.'" This statement is reported by Ahmad, Muslim and Abu Dawud in their *Collections of the Hadith*.

Abu Sa’d relates, "We went out with the Prophet in the raid on the Banu al-Mustaliq, and captured a number of women slaves; we desired women very much and the abstinence from intercourse became very hard on us. We therefore wished to practise coitus interruptus, and we asked the Prophet for his opinion on that, and he said, 'There is nothing to prevent you from doing, for the Almighty has already assigned all that is to be born until the Day of Resurrection.'" This statement is well agreed to by the various authorities. Abu Sa’d also relates, "The Jews say, 'Coitus interruptus is likened in a minor degree unto the burial of girls alive', but the Prophet said, 'The Jews have told a lie! If the Almighty wished to create anything, no one would be able to prevent that.'" This statement is related by Ahmad and Abu Dawud in their *Collections of the Hadith*.

Usama Ibn Zaid relates, "A man came to the Prophet and said, 'I practise coitus interruptus with my wife.' The Prophet asked him, 'Why do you do that?' The man replied, 'I fear the fate of her children in case she might become pregnant.' To this the Prophet answered, 'If coitus interruptus had been harmful, it would have harmed the Persians and the Romans.'" This statement is reported by Ahmad and Muslim in their *Collections of the Hadith*.

The Caliph ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattab is reported to

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* Courtesy, the Editor, *Liwā’ al-Islām*, Cairo, Egypt, for January 1951.
have said, 'The Messenger of God has forbidden the practice of coitus interruptus with a free woman, except with her permission' (cf. the Collections of Ahmad and Ibn Majah).

The reason given above by one man for his practising coitus interruptus with his wife, viz., the fear for the fate of the woman's children in case she might become pregnant, has been regarded by the Muslim jurists as one of the causes and justifications of coitus interruptus. Amongst such justifiable excuses is the anxiety that may be imposed on a man by having large families; also the desire that the offspring of a woman who is in a state of slavery or bondage should become slaves.

Al-Tahawi, the famous Hanafi jurist, devoted a special chapter to this subject in his book, Sharh Mu'adil al-Aththar, in which he wrote, 'Some people disliked the practice of coitus interruptus for various traditional ideas as to the repugnance of this practice; but others disagreed with these views and did not see any harm in its practice provided that it is to be practised with a free woman her consent to it has been obtained; but if a free woman did not give her permission, the husband could not practise coitus interruptus with her. Certain Muslim jurists, however, have expressed disagreement with both these views, and maintained that the husband is at liberty to practise coitus interruptus whether or not his wife gave her permission.... It would appear that the preponderance of opinion is in favour of the permission of the practice of coitus interruptus in those cases where the wife consents to it; this being the view expressed by jurists like Abu Hanifah, Abu Yusuf and Muhammad.'

Al-Tahawi also says, 'The companions of the Prophet Muhammad discussed the question of the practice of coitus interruptus at 'Umar's house and disagreed on the verdict upon it. 'Umar then said, 'You have disagreed on this subject although you are the selected ones.... The Jews allege that coitus interruptus is an offence likened in a minor degree unto the burial of girls alive...'. At this stage in the discussion, 'Ali is reported to have said, 'Nothing can be akin to the burial of girls alive until it passes through the seven stages described in the Holy Qur'an:

"And certainly We create man of an extract of clay, then We make him a life-germ in a firm resting place, then We make the life-gem a clot, then We make the clot a lump of flesh, then We make (in) the lump of flesh bones, then We clothe the bones with flesh, then We cause it to grow into another creation. So blessed be God, the best of creators" (23: 12-14).

"This statement by 'Ali was warmly commended and approved by 'Umar, who is reported to have said, 'May God reward you with good.... Let it be known that there can be no offence akin to the burial of girls alive except with regard to that in which God has instilled life; what God has not given life to cannot be regarded as alive, and is thus on the same plane as the dead:' This is a clear and forcible pronouncement to the effect that the practice of coitus interruptus is permissible according to the teachings of Islam.

Al-Tahawi has cited many sayings of the Prophet and other incidents to support this view. He said, 'It has been ascertained, on the authority of the Prophet and from what I have already mentioned, that the practice of coitus interruptus is allowed on the conditions I have already mentioned in detail at the beginning of this chapter."

Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328 C.E.) mentions something about this subject in his book, Al'am al-Muwaqqi'een, where he says, 'The Prophet was asked for his views on the practice of coitus interruptus, and he answered, 'Not from all that which the male emits can the woman conceive; and if God desired to create something nothing will prevent Him from doing so.' Later, a man put this question to the Prophet Muhammad: 'I have a woman slave and I practise coitus interruptus with her; and the Prophet answered, 'This does not prevent anything, if God desired it.' Some time afterwards the man came to the Prophet and said, 'The slave whom I have mentioned to you has conceived,' and the Prophet answered, 'I am but the servant of God and His Messenger!'" Ibn Taymiyyah cited many sayings of the Prophet to support this view.

Ibn al-Qayyim, in his book, Zad al-Ma'ad, devoted a long chapter on the subject of coitus interruptus. In this book he states that "the opinion of the Prophet is in favour of the practice of coitus interruptus". He then reiterates the sayings of the Prophet (which have already been cited in this article) and says, "The sayings of the Prophet are clearly in allowing the practice of coitus interruptus.... The permission for its practice can be found on the authority of ten of the friends of the Prophet, viz., 'Ali, Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Waaqqas, Abu Ayyub, Zaid Ibn Thabit, Jabir, Ibn 'Abbas, al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali, Khattab Ibn al-Ar'ar, Abu Said al-Khadr and Ibn Mas'ud."

Ibn Hazm (994-1064 C.E.) says, "The permission of the practice of coitus interruptus has been given in plain terms on the authority of Jabir, Ibn 'Abbas, Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Waaqqas, Zaid Ibn Thabit and Ibn Mas'ud; and the reports of these traditions are true and accurate...."

The foregoing are the views expressed by notable Islamic jurists on the question of the practice of coitus interruptus. The conclusion to be drawn from these views is that the use by Muslims of drugs that prevent conception for a specified period of time is permissible and is in no way against the principles of Islam, especially if the use of such drugs is in those cases where there are weighty reasons warranting the prevention of conception.

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PAKISTAN THROUGH FOREIGN EYES

By HECTOR BOLITHO

"A story of Jinnah"

Pakistan, like the North American states, was largely created through the vigour and brilliance of one man — Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah. He might be described as the George Washington of his people, since he gave them freedom and the chance of becoming a nation. But the two men could not have been less alike in character. One cannot imagine Jinnah at Mt. Vernon, resting from the arguments of the White House and soliloquizing over the calm delights of being a husbandman. Instead, he walked through his tropical garden once a week, congratulated his servants on its tidiness rather than its beauty, and never once paused to pick a flower.

To appreciate the creation of Pakistan one must comprehend the character of Jinnah. His father was a modest hide merchant, in Karachi at a time when its population was a twentieth of what it is today. Their home was in two rooms on the first floor of a big house. The dusty streets—worried by the sands and wind from the Sind Desert — were Jinnah’s playground; and the game the boys played was marbles. When he was fourteen Jinnah said to one of them, "Don't play marbles in the dust. It soils your garments and your hands. We must stand up and play cricket."

All Jinnah's story is in this boyhood incident. Sixty years later he made the millions of Muslims in India stand up from the dust and he led them out of the wilderness of oppression. Those who care for Pakistan and its future, watch the child-nation with patient concern hoping that they will not doze in the sun — their fierce, traditional enemy that attacks them with sloth — and that they will continue with their garments unsoiled and their hands clean for the tasks that fall to them.

Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah was always a fierce individualist, with little sense of meekness. There was no slow-burning flame of reasonableness in him; he was a jet-propelled rocket, with but one course to pursue. This course was from study to law; from law to politics; then from politics to power. During this flight, he never considered any "point of no return". Also, he had but one source of strength and propulsion — his incredible will-power. When the time came for him to create Pakistan, he did not assemble an army to back him up; nor did he ever consider the tasks ahead of him in terms of force. He trusted his greatest ally — his fierce determination — and this he trusted implicitly. He once said, "Failure is a word unknown to me."

Until we respect this will-power, imposed on a people who are indolent by nature and subdued by centuries of oppression, we cannot understand why Pakistan was possible. Today, throughout the young country, the determination endures. One must search for it, because the first impression, especially in Karachi, is of listless Pakistanis, dragging their weary steps in the streets, and resting here and there to catch any kindly breeze that blows, against a June temperature of 109 degrees. But this is a deceptive first impression. In spite of the terrible mischief of the sun, there are factories, hydro-electric projects, engineers changing the courses of rivers, bridges being built, and schools. The colossal industry is rising from the sand, and machines throng among the once quiet hills.

It is the memory of Jinnah that compels this determination to flog nature into profitable usefulness. The ghost of the stern, steel-grey-eyed master is very lively. One senses his presence — a figure in immaculate English clothes, using a monocle with an actor's cleverness, and raising an admonishing finger in the face of his people as he says, "No dreaming in the noon-heat; no idle listening to ancestral voices."

This is the twentieth century and you must get on with the job." Jinnah was such a man and it is incredible that he should have been born in a hot country that seduces determination and tempts promises to perish in the moment they are made.

When I was in Karachi I received a letter from an educated woman in California in which she said: "I looked at my atlas

1 Courtesy, the Editor, Pakistan Quarterly, Karachi, Vol. II, No. 4.
but could not find you. I was glad therefore to hear that Karachi is in Pakistan. That must be near India.” This letter stresses the need for a short explanation of the lands that comprise Pakistan before we look at the people who live on them.

The two forces that unite the Eastern and Western wings of Pakistan

Anyone glancing at the map for the first time might be alarmed for the political future, and military safety, of the new Muslim State. Pakistan is, in fact, two countries. In the far east is the area of 54,000 square miles — the great jute lands, the “golden fibre” lands — of East Pakistan. In the west is the area of 310,000 square miles — the cotton lands, the “silver fibre” lands — of West Pakistan. The two are separated by 1,100 miles and rice the staple diet; in the west they speak Urdu and eat wheat. Yet all these differences are thrust aside before the two forces that bind the different peoples together. They are both Muslim. When the sun sets, over the jungles of Bengal in the east, or over the blinding sands of Sind in the west, people bow towards Mecca. The second force comes from the shadow of Muhammad ‘Ali Jinnah, that falls on both alike. He compels them, still, to believe that Pakistan can be built as one. And against many of the laws of nature and custom — Pakistan is being built as one.

The city of Karachi

The capital of both East and West Pakistan is Karachi, in the west. One hundred years ago it was a treeless fishing village and port, existing on the sea edge of the Sind Desert. Today there

The dotted areas show the two wings of Pakistan, separated by 1,100 miles

of alien, Indian territory — as if Connecticut and California suddenly decided to become a separate nation and to live as one, apart from the rest of America. East and West Pakistan may communicate only by sea and air: India does not allow them to exchange visits across the intervening broad corridor by rail or road.

Distance is not the only influence that separates the two halves of this new State. East Pakistan, made up of East Bengal and part of Assam, is largely forest and swamp, with an annual rainfall of 200 inches and a population of 860 to the square mile. The demon here is malaria. West Pakistan is, in the main, a great desert, brought to life by an incredible system of canals, but forever haunted by thirst. In the east, Bengali is the language are 1,300,000 people living in the city; shelter is at a premium, and the masons build day and night — offices, villas and little huts — to accommodate the refugees that come to Pakistan in millions, as the result of Partition. If you flew over the city you would see some lordly new buildings in which the Government is housed, two or three “luxury” hotels, where the cost of living compares with New York, suburbs of gleaming white villas, and, on the edges, the squalid hovels of the poor — the wretched ones living in rush huts. Overhead fly the vultures and kites, the dreadful sentinels that wait for anything that dies. Karachi seems to be surrounded by desert that stretches to the horizon, except to the west, where the prospect is redeemed by the harbour. Here is a lively sight: pander-boats, with their lofty
sails, bent low over the water; tiny craft frail as cigar boxes; the big ships from the ports of the world; and a few low, sandy beaches washed by the warm Arabian Sea.

In the city are the stacks of thousands of bales of cotton; the bazaars, with shops as small as sentry-boxes, bustling and screaming with business; the Government officials, conducting the affairs of the country in their own unique form of English, and meeting at great curry-struggles where they talk international politics with intense fervour. In the luxury hotels there is a brisk coming and going of diplomats and business men; the diplomats come from all the lands of the earth, and the business men are anxious with rivalry. But the beaches — the escape to the sea from all this conglomeration of politics and salesmanship — present a more joyous scene. Along the sand dunes, the diplomats and rich men have built hundreds of little huts, in which they relax on Sundays. The Europeans splash and swim gaily in the sea, together with many Pakistanis. Some look on — too shy to appear naked. They are as respectable, in a genteel way, as Victorian ladies taking the waters at Brighton. So you see the ways of life: perhaps an English girl, in shorts, playing cricket on the sand, while her Muslim sisters pass by, coy and ladylike.

The city of Lahore

If you travel from Karachi to Lahore, you will fall in love with this ancient inland city, where the Moghul emperors lived in King James I’s time, making poetry out of marble and water, roses and trees. And you will wonder why Muhammad Ali Jinnah ever chose the sand stretches of Karachi for his capital; then the map will explain to you that Lahore is less than twenty miles from the Indian frontier. During the weeks following Partition, the massacres here, of both Hindus and Muslims, were as terrible as the example Europe had already set them at Buchenwald and Belsen. It would not be wise for the capital of the new land to be too near a potential foe.

In Lahore one can trace, in a vague, unscholarly way, the history of this part of the continent. There are the fort and tombs and gardens of the Moghuls, which give us some idea of what was happening in the land when the Stuarts began to reign in England. Then come the less graceful memorials of the Sikhs — invaders and spoilers of beauty. Then the memorials to the British, of which there are many. It is not the time to assess the good, or the evil, of British rule in India, but there are enough universities, schools, hospitals, roads and bridges to make one feel that in the final summing-up, the follies of pride and the all-too human desire for gain, will be overlooked.

There is music in Lahore, in place of the clash of Karachi: a feeling that, in the old houses which have survived, and in the gardens that catch the morning light with a hundred colours, people have lived for a long, long time. The city prepares one for the pleasures that await when one leaves for the journey to Rawalpindi, Peshawar and the Khyber Pass.

The heart of Pakistan lies in the hills

If you seek for the heart of a country you will usually find it not on the lowland, but in the hills. When I made the journey from Lahore to Peshawar, the changing complexion of the land soon made me realize that this is true of Pakistan. The way is along a good wide road, and, in the morning, a thousand little parakeets — like bright green flames — darted up from the

WESTERN PAKISTAN

A view of one of the principal streets of Karachi, Pakistan

AUGUST 1953
telephone wires and the trees. We paused, half-way between Lahore and Rawalpindi; to lunch beneath an immense banyan tree, beside a well. The Punjabi who was guiding the blindfolded bullocks in their monotonous circular track, pumping up the water, left the well and went into his humble hut. He came out carrying his bed on his head. He placed it in the shade of the tree and, with an enchanting smile, he bade us sit down. When we had eaten, I went to him with thanks, and my hands full of apples. Thus one approached the highlands, with an exchange of respect and good manners.

There is one abiding sadness in the life of Pakistan today — an obsession in every mind over the fate of Kashmir. Here is the child of divorced parents: the parents being India and Pakistan. Like a judge in the divorce court, the United Nations is left to decide the future of Kashmir while the parents plead, and blame, and chafe, because the judge takes so long over his verdict. This is no time to go into the rights and wrongs of the Kashmir question; but one cannot help feeling, as time passes by, that the child is capable of making its own decisions; is capable, through free election, of choosing which parent it wishes to live with for the rest of its life.

Rawalpindi is the nearest city to the Kashmir frontier, and one is constantly aware of this — of being caught up in the tide of fierce controversy. Otherwise, Rawalpindi, which is the great military city of Pakistan, has something of an English look. The ghosts of “Poona” colonels strut the sidewalks and the flower-beds recall the municipal gardens at Cheltenham.

The city of Peshawar

But it is to Peshawar, and the Khyber Pass, that the Briton most easily gives his heart. Here are the highlands, the Pathans; proud, good-looking, humorous and kind. One melts into their society as easily and quickly as if one were at home.

Three chieftains were waiting for us at the entrance to the Khyber Pass; they carried pistols, but they also brought an invitation to lunch. First they took us to the great Jamrud Fort, which commands a view over the Jamrud and Peshawar plains — and acts as a sentinel to the Pass. I seem to remember that it was the fort which we saw in that noble old film, "Lives of a Bengal Lancer." Then we went to lunch with the chieftains; a meal of such splendour, twenty-two dishes piled up on a large table, that afterwards I needed my mid-day nap. But it was not to be: we were driven through the incredible Pass, with the flanks of rock, like walls of red-hot copper, rising on either side. There were three ways: one for the trains, one for motor cars, and one for camels and donkeys. We passed each other amicably — passengers looking out of the train windows, the sleepy drivers of the camels, and ourselves in our car.

It might have been the highway of peace, this road, leading to the frontier of Afghanistan. But we looked again and saw enough signs of the battles and sniping that kept the Khyber Pass wide awake until the British withdrew in 1947.

We came to an iron chain and the sentry boxes that mark the frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The political theorists and the seers after strife would have us believe that this is a bitter frontier over which the two Muslim nations might some day resort to war. Let me describe what happened to us. We walked up to the chain and paused. The first words were spoken by the Afghan sentry, who wore a Chinese-looking uniform. He said, "Satare muste" (May you not be tired!). We answered politely, and then noticed that near his sentry box there was a garden and some fruit trees. I asked my guide, "Is there enough water here for this garden?" and he answered, "There is no water on the Afghan side of the barrier, but we have run a pipe over from our supply, so that the sentries can make tea and water their garden."

It was curious to come so far to find this lesson in human kindness — an Afghan soldier making his tea and watering his yellow daisies with Pakistan water, and thus turning this lonely sentry post into an example for the world.
Social reformers the world over are now more than ever conscious of the need for economic reform and for the raising of the standard of living as a prerequisite of promoting the welfare of a nation. Gone are the days when a political party could get into office merely by whipping up the nationalist sentiments in the people by means of fiery oratory. A modern voter is now more conscious of the power of the vote and is more careful in exercising it properly. The East, however, is yet to be educated fully in this new conception. Emotional and sentimental distractions to the masses in the East have for a long time now deviated them from insisting on governments playing an effective role in alleviating the misery and wretchedness which is the lot of more than 80 per cent of the population in these countries.

The Iraqi Development Board is perhaps a symptom of this slow change of attitude on the part of the masses, and a proof of the realization on the part of politicians in the Arab Muslim world that they must produce good results if they are to justify their existence. In the Arab world now there is a marked zeal towards developing the natural resources and increasing the economic potentialities of the Arab countries, as the means of overcoming poverty, disease and ignorance, which have for very long been endemic there.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., has recently made a survey of the economic conditions of Iraq. This survey revealed that the greater part of useful irrigation water in Iraq is completely wasted because of the lack of an efficient irrigation system and the inadequacy of water storage facilities. Vast areas of good arable land are lying idle, and are deteriorating. The prevention of soil salinity and the reclamation of land by the use of efficient systems of irrigation is not not only possible but is also necessary for the economic prosperity of Iraq. The water which is found in abundance in Iraq is on the whole wasted. In addition, floods cause destruction in many areas.

It was to remedy these ills and to put the natural resources in Iraq to good use, and to prevent what should be a source of blessing from being, as has hitherto been the case, a cause of distress and havoc, that the Iraqi Development Board was set up recently. The setting up of this Board was the result of the conclusion of an agreement between the Iraqi Government and the Iraq Petroleum Company for a fifty-fifty sharing of the profits of the oil industry. The Iraqi Government's revenue from oil, which amounted to £5,250,000 in 1950, rose to £13,750,000 in 1951, and finally to about £33,000,000 in 1952. And it is expected to rise still further in the future.

The Iraqi Government has decided to allot 70 per cent of its annual revenue from oil to the Development Board. The Board was originally entrusted with powers to spend this money on projects for the economic development of the country. It has already formulated a six-year plan for the expenditure of £155,000,000 on various projects to be completed by 1956.

The Development Board has so far devoted its attention mainly to projects for the improvement of agriculture, in which about 60 per cent of the population is engaged. The increase in agricultural production in the country depends to a very large extent on the setting up of an efficient system of irrigation and on the control of floods caused annually by the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. As part of the improvement of agriculture generally, the Development Board has plans for the reclamation of the soil and the prevention of soil salinity.

The Tigris and the Euphrates carry annually something like 70,000,000 cubic metres of water. The water flows at its highest during the spring, and it thus arrives too late for winter farming and too early for summer farming. So far, the water of these two rivers has been completely wasted, and, what is more important, it has been allowed to cause great damage by flooding periodically vast areas of good cultivable land. The first stage of the control of the overflow of the water of the Euphrates and its utilization for irrigation was completed last year. Two canals were dug to connect the river at Habbaniyah. One of these canals takes the water during the flood season to Habbaniyah for storage, and the other takes back the water that has been stored at Habbaniyah back to the river when the level of the water subsides during the summer. Progress is also being made on the second part of this project which aims at the building of a reservoir near Habbaniyah to store the water overflowing from the river and utilize it for irrigation purposes.

The Development Board also has in hand projects for the utilization of the three main tributaries of the Tigris for irrigation purposes and for the production of hydro-electric power, and for the building of the Dukhkan reservoir about 230 metres long and 100 metres high, which will serve the dual purpose of providing water for irrigation and of generating hydro-electric power for use in the surrounding districts. It is estimated that this reservoir will be capable of irrigating about 2,000,000 dunums of reclaimed land, most of which will be distributed amongst landless peasants.

There are also other important projects for the draining of 23,000 dunums of swamps of the river Tigris, 166,000 dunums in Saqawiyya, and over 30,000 dunums in Tobreej. The Development Board also hopes to make use of the old canal stretching from the left bank of the river Tigris, which was built in Babylonian times. The canal, which is about 150 kilometres long will make it possible to irrigate thousands of acres of land which has been idle and neglected since Babylonian days.

The projects, formulated by the Development Board, are expected to increase the area of cultivable land in Iraq from the present 11,000,000 dunums to about 15,000,000 dunums in 1956. This will be achieved mainly by the utilization for irrigation purposes of the abundant waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is noteworthy that the waters of these rivers were sufficient, when properly utilized in Babylonian days, to support on the land a population equivalent to almost six times the present population of Iraq. On this assumption, it is not idle thinking to hope that Iraq will, if proper use is made of the waters of these two rivers, become one of the most fertile and prosperous countries in the Middle East.

Of the £155m. which the Development Board intends to spend on its comprehensive six-year plan, £53m. will be spent on irrigation, £31m. on the development of local industries, £28m. on the building of hospitals, schools and other public buildings, £27m. on the construction of bridges, and £25m. on soil reclamation. Large sums will also be spent on the building of an efficient network of roads to cope with the expected increase in road transport.

The strength and efficiency of the Iraqi Development Board lies in the fact that it is a semi-independent non-political organization. This, of course, enables it to formulate and go ahead with development projects with a greater sense of security and immunity from changing political tides in the country.
About 2,500 Muslims and non-Muslim guests and friends from far and wide celebrate 'Id al-Fitr at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.

The congregation of Muslims from all parts of the world has assembled under a huge marquee erected in the grounds of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England.

Three Europeans accept Islam as the norm of their life.

The 'Id service is over. The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, is initiating three Europeans — (left to right) Mr. Gunnar Eriksson (Sweden), Miss Patricia Parry (Welsh), Miss Anneliese Wilden (German) — by asking them to recite the simple but pregnant Kalima — La ilaha illa 'l-Lah (there is but one God and Muhammad is His Messenger) — in the presence of the congregation. The Kalima or the formula of faith of a Muslim is designed to warn Muslims of the inborn inclination to raise Muhammad, or, for that matter, any other benefactor of mankind, to the pedestal of deity.

No pews in a Muslim

His Excellency Hadji Agus Salim is delivering his address in the congregation. He emphasizes that the Muslims should apply their philosophy to their work in divided society.

In the congregation is seen sitting the Sultan amid other Muslims.
There is no ordained or hereditary priesthood in Islam — an eminent Indonesian Muslim scholar or politician leads the ‘Id prayers.

His Excellency Hadji Agus Salim, a former Foreign Minister of Indonesia, who came to England as leader of the Indonesian Delegation at the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, is leading the ‘Id prayers. Our picture shows him raising his hands to the ears while he is sounding the words “Allahu akbar” (God is the Greatest). The whole congregation is following suit, declaring by this symbolic action that it is cutting itself from the outside world.

Second from right in the congregation behind Mr. Salim is the Imam of the Shab Jehan Mosque, Woking, al-Hajj Dr. S. M. ‘Abdullah, Ph.D., M.Sc.

Islam conquers the unconscionable barriers of prejudices of race and colour.

A partial view of the huge concourse outside the spacious marquee erected to house the worshippers and visitors consisting of all races and nationalities where race and colour barriers have no place. The Muslim festivals are designed to strike at the very root of the mischief of race and colour. No other social or religious system but that of Islam has succeeded in demolishing the otherwise impregnable barriers of race and colour.
An Equal amongst Equals

His Highness the Sultan of Selangor, Malaya, who was on a short visit to England, joins the 'Id congregation at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. Our picture shows him taking cine pictures of the 'Id occasion in which each individual felt and behaved as the equal of the other — a feeling which Islam alone is capable of releasing in an individual, no matter how high or low his walk of life.

The Islamic system of life does not admit of the veil

A group of West African ladies in their national attire is standing in front of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, who, unlike their snobbish and custom-ridden sisters in some parts of the world of Islam, have never known the so-called "veil". It is the veil of the eye that the Qur'an enjoins (24:30) and not of the face
Old acquaintances are renewed and new friendships made

The Honourable Mr. Mustapha, Minister of Works in the Government of Sierra Leone, West Africa (left) has met an African compatriot of his and is wishing him a Happy 'Id.

An expression of fraternal love

To a Pakistani, Indian and Afghan, the 'Id celebrations are not complete unless he has embraced his brothers, showing by this symbolic act of his that he holds them dear and near.

Our picture shows the Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Speaker of the Parliament of Pakistan (left), embracing another Pakistani Muslim. Their embrace is accompanied with the words 'Id Mubarak — a Happy 'Id.

A corner of Indonesia at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

As is natural, people of one nation, because of their linguistic and other affinities, tend to congregate together. The Indonesian friends have followed this tendency in the otherwise international gathering at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.

After the Prayers, the congregation is entertained to lunch consisting of rice, meat curry and a cup of tea by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. Our picture shows (right to left) His Excellency the Indonesian Ambassador, Madame Agus Salim, Madame H. Subandrio and His Excellency Hadji Agus Salim.
A SHORT HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE
INDONESIAN NATIONAL STRUGGLE BEFORE 17th August 1945

The struggle against foreign rule dates back to the seventeenth century

To understand fully the reasons for the determined and united resistance by the Indonesian people to the Dutch attacks after the Proclamation of Independence and the setting up of the Republic of Indonesia on the 17th August 1945, it is necessary to trace the history of the struggle against foreign rule from the seventeenth century. Actually the struggle for national liberation first began about 300 years ago. The sporadic and spontaneous risings which date from that period gradually developed into the political form of a mass movement demanding independence for Indonesia.

It is only in the light of the past phases of the struggle that it is possible to understand why the entire people of Indonesia acclaimed the setting up of the Republic, the goal of the nationalist movement since the beginning of this century. The background and the development of the struggle for independence also refutes the ridiculous claims that the Republic of Indonesia was "made in Japan" or "conceived in Moscow".

Thus, a brief review of the national struggle from its very beginnings makes clear the process of evolution which brought the more recent mass movement into being, and shows that the achievement of Indonesian independence could not have been possible without the activities first of the leaders of armed risings and then the spokesmen of the people who acted within the framework of Dutch colonial rule.

The Indonesian struggle for independence is inseparable from the history of Western imperialism in Asia, for it was the very nature of foreign rule that impelled the long and difficult fight for liberty.

Colonial rule created the people's resistance

First Dutch contacts with Indonesia were established in the seventeenth century by traders and merchants. These contacts were followed by the imposition of Dutch rule over increasing areas, and finally over the entire territory of Indonesia. Dutch rule was consolidated by ruthless measures of force which led in turn to revolts under the leadership of the local sultans whose rights and lands were encroached on.

The Battle of Jacatra, in which Indonesian forces were led by Sultan Agung Hanjokrokusumo, took place in 1629. There were wars in the South Celebes between the local sultans and the Dutch in 1650, 1656, 1660, 1667 and 1669, the Banten War of 1750-1753, and others. Neither the kingdoms nor the sultanates were able to exert effective authority and there existed frequently rivalries between the rajas and the sultans. In this situation emerged a number of immoral national heroes, such as Trunodjojo (1674-1780), Suropati (1704-1705) and Mangkubumi (1747-1775), who led insurrections against those rulers collaborating with the Dutch. Fighting against the Dutch forces and against the collaborating rulers intensified in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century, despite the attempts of the Dutch to create divisions by provoking internal dissension between the sultanates.

When authority in Indonesia was taken over from the Dutch East Indies Company by the Dutch Government in 1800, the struggle became even more desperate, and the bloodshed of the nineteenth century perhaps was greater than at any other stage of Indonesian history. The first great battle occurred in 1806 under the leadership of Tjernibon, who led another uprising in 1818.

The most famous of all the revolutions against Dutch rule is the five years' fight led by Diponegoro against greatly superior Dutch forces. Diponegoro was taken prisoner at a peace conference suggested by the Dutch, and it is the bitter memory of this treachery that caused later suspicions of Dutch motives at any negotiations.
The Atjeh War, a glorious chapter in the history of the Indonesian people, lasted from 1873 to 1904. Defeat was averted at a crucial stage, when the Tenku Omar, who had collaborated with the Dutch, returned to his people and with the troops under his command fought back the oppressor.

About the same time as the uprisings led by Diponegoro in Java, the "Padri War" started in Sumatra under the leadership of Imam Bondjol, and continued to the end of 1837.

There are countless other examples of the selfless struggle waged for liberty in every part of Indonesia, and significantly, the writers of books on Indonesian history, mostly Netherlanders, carefully omit references to these events.

In the Moluccas, a determined revolt was led by Pattimura with the support of the young heroine, Christine Marta Tyahohu.

During the Kalimantan war the Dutch troopship "Onrust" was sunk by forces under Antasari and Perbatasir, the Commander-in-Chief of the Sultan of Banjar Jermas, the Pangeran Hidayat. Over 3,000 Dutch soldiers were lost in the forty-years' war along the Barito River.

The Budi Otomo

The Budi Otomo (the Noble Spirit) was founded on 20th May 1908 by a retired doctor, Wahidin Sudirohusodo of Jakarta. Concerned by the serious decline in health standards as a result of foreign rule, Wahidin Sudirohusodo began the publication of a magazine, Retno Demilah, in Indonesian and Javanese in 1904, and in 1906 and 1907 toured Java holding discussions with intellectuals from various fields. These efforts resulted in a scholarship committee being set up to provide educational opportunities for those unable to pay for complete schooling.

On 20th May 1908, together with Sutomo, Gunawan, Suradji, Suwardi, Surjaningsrat (The Ki H. Dewantoro), Saleh Gumbreg, Sarwono and several others from the Medical Faculty, Dr. Sudirohusodo founded the Budi Otomo, and soon branches of this organization were set up by students of the Teachers Training College in Jogja, of Oswin in Magelang and the B.A.S. in Surabaya. At a Congress of Intellectuals held in October 1908, the various Budi Otomo groups were united in a single organization. The aims of the Budi Otomo, although indirectly of a political nature, were restricted to a cultural level, for, by a regulation of 1854 the creation of any specifically political organization was forbidden.

Sarikat Dagang Islam

In 1911 there was set up the Sarikat Dagang Islam (the Islamic Traders' Association) on the initiative of H. Samanuddi. This body was intended to advance the commercial position of Indonesian merchants, but before long it lost this apolitical

1 The highest hereditary aristocratic title below the rank of the Sultan. The Dutch used to bestow this rank, now abolished, on the Indonesians.

2 Ki is the title bestowed by the people on their learned in religion and famed for their piety.
character, the name being changed to the Sarikat Islam (Islamic Association) and later to the Partai Sarikat Islam Indonesia (the United Muslim Party of Indonesia). Membership of the United Muslim Party of Indonesia rose to a peak of over 1,000,000 supporting the aims of self-determination, self-government and opposition generally to Dutch colonial rule. This programme was formulated at the party’s congress held in Djakarta in 1917.

Some of the historic and undying names in the history of Indonesian struggle for independence which culminated in the epoch-making fruition of the Declaration of Independence on 17th August, 1945.

Top row (left to right) — Dr. Muhammad Husni Thamrin, Dr. Muhammad Hatta, General Sudirman, Wage Rudolf Supratman, Mr. Sukarno, Dr. Satyabuddhi Darmadipojo
Centre row (left to right) — Walter Monginsidi, Dr. Wabidin SudiohBurung, Kjai Hadji Muhammad Dachlan, Tenku Imam Bondjol, the Pangeran Diponegoro
Bottom row (left to right) — Dr. Ratulangi, Ibu Kartini, Hadji 'Umar Said Tjakrunimato, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, Tenku 'Umar Djohan Pahlawan and Dr. Sutomo Sutadjiapatro

The Volksraad — the Dutch-sponsored Consultative Council — and the “November Promises”

Besides the expression of the desire for freedom through political organizations, the Dutch authorities came to be confronted with mounting criticism from the left-wing in the so-called Volksraad, or People’s Council.

Opened on 18th May 1918 by Governor-General Graaf van Limburg Stirum, the Volksraad, with powers more or less limited to consultation, did not satisfy the popular demands for political liberty, but was accepted as a parliamentary platform from which reforms could be advocated.

Dutch rule experienced considerable difficulties during 1918. The Indonesian nationalist movement was expanding, the Socialist Party in Holland was demanding far-reaching changes in the Netherlands and in Dutch rule in Indonesia. The

instability resulting from the First World War and the repercussions of the Russian Revolution gave added impetus to these movements. On 18th November 1918 a special session of the Volksraad took place at which Governor-General Graaf van Limburg Stirum promised the introduction of democratic government in Indonesia. But these glowing promises were never

a The word means “lady”, “mother”.

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fulfilled and as a gesture of protest Hadji Agus Salim (who in 1949 became the Minister of Foreign Affairs) resigned from the Volksraad.

Subsequently, nationalists' representatives in the Volksraad formed a single group, the Fraktie Nasional, with Muhammad Husni Tamrin as chairman. The programme of the Fraktie Nasional aimed at the achievement of Indonesian independence, insisting on improvement in the system of administration and improvement in the political and economic fields, these measures to be carried out legally.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Sukarno.

Left-wing influences and the Dutch repression

The spread of left-wing thought in Indonesia originated with the creation of the Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging (I.S.D.V.). This organization was founded in May 1914 in Semarang, by a Dutch Socialist, H. F. J. M. Sneevliet. No distinction of race or nationality was made in membership of the I.S.D.V. Quite a number of adherents of the I.S.D.V. became also members of Serikat Islam in order to disseminate Marxist ideas in its ranks. and from that time onwards there developed within the Serikat Islam two distinct ideological trends and a consequent division in the members. One group, led by H. O. S. Tjokroaminoto, Hadji Agus Salim and 'Abd al-Mu’izz, based their outlook on Islamic ideals; the other, led by Semaun, Darsono and Tan Malaka, followed a Marxist line.

In 1921 the conflict of these two outlooks led to an outright split in the organization following the decisions taken at Serikat Islam Congress in Surabaja to impose party discipline on all members. Those who rejected the restrictions of this decision broke away to form the Serikat Islam Merah (the Red Muslim Union), which was subsequently named the Serikat Rakyat (the People's Union) and was a subsidiary of the Indonesian Communist Party. A similar split developed within the ranks of the I.S.D.V. itself, and a right-wing group led by a Eurasian, P. F. Dahlan (now Amir Dahan), set up the Indische Sociaal Democratische Partij (I.S.D.P.).

The left-wing of the I.S.D.V. took on an increasingly Communist complexion, and following the creation of the Third International in March 1919, adopted the name of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (the Indonesian Communist Party) in 1920. Under the leadership of Semaun the P.K.I. gained wide support in the next few years and exerted an important influence in Indonesian political development. This was understandable since the oppression of colonial rule produces a correspondingly extreme political reaction. The Dutch seized on the risings of 1926/27 as a justification for the ruthless suppression of the P.K.I.

It was then that the Dutch colonial government introduced banishment to Digul for what were described as political offences. The power to order banishment was vested in the Dutch Governor-General, and permitted the arrest and exile of any inhabitant on the grounds of being politically suspect without even the pretence of a trial. Thousands of Indonesians were seized and shipped to Digul concentration camp as 'political suspects'.

Although banned after 1926 the P.K.I. continued its activities underground and appeared again as a legal organization only after the Declaration of Independence in 1945.

Tan Malak and Subakat, who had escaped from imprisonment, fled from Indonesia, and in Bangkok in 1927 set up a separate party, the Partai Republic Indonesia (P.A.R.I.).

These developments naturally gave an impetus towards the creation of labour organizations which came very much under the influence of nationalism, religion and Communism. The pioneer organization of the labour movement was the Vereeniging van Spoor-en Trenweg-Personeel (V.S.T.P.). This trade union was founded in 1908, the socialist Sneevliet playing a prominent part in its leadership. The history of the V.S.T.P. is a history of courageous struggle.

The Religious Movement brought into being the Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912 by K. H. Dahlan and still in existence today. The Nahdlatul 'Ulama is another similar organization. Included within the religious movement which covers also Indonesian Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, as well as Muslims, are numerous organizations of varying political trends.

Despite the general basis of nationalism written into the programmes of the various parties and organizations which sprang up, the spirit of provincialism was slow to disappear and was reflected in the creation of such localized movements as Pasundan led by Otto Iskandar Dinata and the Kaum Betawi (the People of Batavia) led by M. H. Thamrin.

The Youth Movement

The awakening of the peoples of the East which inspired Dr. Wahidin Sudirman Stock to found the Budi Utomo (the Noble Spirit) also roused the youth of Indonesia. Satiman Wirjoandjojo, a student from Stovia Djakarta, realized the importance of the part that could be played by the youth in the struggle for national liberation and recognized the necessity of a youth organization which could fulfil the task of preparing the national
leaders of tomorrow. His aims were realized in March 1915 with the founding of the *Tri Koro Dharma* (the Three Noble Aims) with three objectives: establishment of links between students in all Indonesian schools, the widening of the knowledge of its members and the awakening of interest in the languages and the cultures of Indonesia.

The organization, which subsequently adopted the name *Jong Java* (the Young Java), not only succeeded in attracting a large membership of students in Java, but had the effect of stimulating the organization of other youth groups, notably the Jong Sumatra, the Jong Celebes, the Jong Ambon, the Sekar Rakun (the Flower of Sacred Principles).

With the object of uniting the youth of Indonesia, the *Pemuda Indonesia* (the Youth of Indonesia) was established in Bandung on the 7th February 1927. This was a significant and fruitful step towards spreading the ideals of national unity and successfully countered the negative influence of provincialism. A proposal from the Jong Java that all purely local youth organizations should be disbanded and one organization set up to cover all Indonesia was readily received, and in December 1930 the Indonesia Muda was founded.

At the time of its formation the Indonesia Muda accepted only students as members, but it was responsible for the creation of other bodies, including the *Salub Pemuda Indonesia* (the Beacon of Indonesian Youth), the *Pergerakan Pemuda Rakjat*, known as the *Perpri* (the People’s Youth Movement). There were also smaller bodies active at this time with membership drawn from individual schools, the largest of them being the *Perkumpulan Pemuda Taman Siswa* (the Union of Taman Siswa Youth).

Parallel with the growth of the nationalist political youth there was a smaller, but none the less important, youth movement which was essentially religious in character. The largest organization coming under this category was the *Jong Islamiyen Bond* (J.I.B. — the Young Islamic Association), led by Kasman Singgodimedo and Shamsuridjal. Other religious youth organizations founded later included the *Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (the Muslim Youth), the *Pemada Kristen* (the Christian Youth), and the *Pemuda Katolik* (the Catholic Youth).

The development towards consciousness of national unity was also evidenced in the Scout movement. The *Pandu Kebangsaan* (the National Scouts), affiliated to Jong Java, Inpo affiliated to the Pemuda Indonesia and the P.P.S, affiliated to the Pemuda Sumatra, disbanded as individual groups and united in the *Kepanduan Bangsa Indonesia* (the Indonesian Scouts) under the leadership of Dr. Muwardi. There were a number of Scout organizations which did not join the K.B.I., such as the *Watan* affiliated to Muhammadiyah, the Serikat Islam Afdeling Pandu, affiliated to the S.I.I., the National Indonesische Padvinderij, affiliated to the J.B., but these all later united in the *Kepanduan Rakjat Indonesia* (the Indonesian People’s Scouts), a body with a pronounced left-wing tendency.

**The growth of national consciousness and the creation of Partai Nasional Indonesia under the leadership of Sukarno**

As the various political and social movements, the women’s movement, the youth movement, the labour organizations and other groupings gained ground, the need was felt for establishing a unity of objective. Before outlining this development, mention should be made of the "new dynamism" animating the popular national movement when the nature of the national movement became truly revolutionary as a result of the vicious repression carried out by the Dutch authorities after the uprising of 1926/27.

This "new dynamism" appeared with the creation of the Partai Nasional Indonesia on the 4th July 1927 under the leadership of Mr. Sukarno, Mr. Sarton, Mr. Iskah, Mr. Anwar, Dr. Samis and Suwirjo. The ideological basis of the new party was the recognition between Indonesian nationalism and imperialist oppression. The basic points were outlined by Mr. Sukarno in a simple and straightforward style, and it soon became evident that the clarity of these ideas would awaken feelings of patriotism and hatred of colonial rule amongst wide sections of the population.

Consequently, during the four years of its existence the Partai Nasional Indonesia was responsible to a greater extent than any preceding organizations for the political awakening of the people. Unfortunately, at the point where it was really becoming a mass party, Mr. Sukarno, Gato Mangkupradja, Maskun and Supriadinata were arrested and sentenced to four years’ imprisonment. The sentence was later reduced to two years.

After the arrests of its most outstanding leaders the Partai Nasional Indonesia was disbanded on the 17th April 1930 by those leaders still free, Sarton and Mr. Yamin, who later founded the Partai Indonesia, known as Partindo. *Bang! Karmo* (Sukarno) later joined this party. Partindo also was disbanded in 1934 when Sukarno was exiled to Flores, but the ideals which he had proclaimed bore fruit in the creation of the Gerakan *Rakjat Indonesia*, known as GSI (the Indonesian People’s Movement) in 1937. Amongst the leaders of the Gerindo were A. K. Gani, Amir Sharifuddin, Wilopo and Sarton. In contrast to the activities of the Partai Nasional Indonesia and the Partai Indonesia, the Gerindo put into effect a policy of organized opposition to the Dutch colonial government. The Gerindo developed into a socialist party and adopted a firm anti-fascist stand, a fact of considerable significance and importance in a period when the world was darkened by the looming shadow of fascism.

**The origin of the National Flag of Indonesia**

Another important fact in connection with the spread of national consciousness was the popularization of the Partai Nasional Indonesia and other parties of the red and white flag, the banner of struggle of the Indonesian people now the national flag of the Indonesian Republic.

Although the Partai Nasional Indonesia was officially disbanded in Indonesia, a group headed by Muhammad Hatta continued its activities in the Netherlands. At the same time, another group in Indonesia, led by Suharto, Perbatasari, T. A. Murad and Suhaogo, established the *Golongan Merdeka* (the Independent Group), later known as the *Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia* (the Indonesian National Education League). This body attached greater importance to the formation of cadres than to agitational activities, but was finally unable to function even within these limits owing to the prohibition on meetings and assemblies put into effect by the colonial government. Muhammad Hatta, Shahrrir and a number of other leaders of the Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia were exiled in 1934, first to Digul and later to Banda.

In the years immediately after 1930 not only the Partai Nasional Indonesia but the entire popular, left-wing movement, underwent a process of disintegration. The P.S.I.I., which, after the death of Tjokroaminoto, was led by Abikusno Tjoekrosujojo, W. Wondoamisenjo, Aradjji Kartawinata, became gradually weaker, and a breakaway group set up the *Partai Islam Indonesia*, known as the Pari. In 1937 this body united with the P.S.I.I. only to break away again and form the Partai Islam Indonesia.
Both these organizations were headed by Dr. Sukiman. Another group under the leadership of Hadji Agus Salim and S. A. Sangadjie and Mr. Muhammad Rum founded the Barisan Penjadar (the Vanguard).

The political impulse within the religious movement brought about the founding of the Pakempan Politik Katholiek (P.P.K.D.) (the Political Catholic Association of Java), set up in Jogjakarta in February 1925 by I. J. Kasimo. Five years later the name of this organization was changed to the Perkumpulan Politik Katholiek di Djawa, an Indonesian language rendition of the same name. This change of name marked the opening of membership to include all Indonesians. In 1938 the P.P.K.D. became known as the Perkumpulan Politik Katholiek Indonesia.

In 1929 a Christian Protestant organization, the Perserikatan Kaum Keristen, was founded by Notosuarso.

Attempts to centralize the national movement

The various organizations and the breakaway groups of these organizations with their varying policies and aims were finally impelled by the desire to establish a working unity based on the nationalism common to all of them. This trend was in accordance with the requirements of a modern form of struggle and was first expressed in the setting up of the Radical Concentratie I in November 1918, followed by the Radical Concentratie II in November 1922.

The first large organization with national unity as a definite objective was the Persiapan Pergerakan Kaum Buruh (P.P.K.B.) (the United Labour Movement), which was founded in 1919. Within its ranks were various groupings, religious (predominantly Muslim), Nationalist, Socialist and Communist.

From 1930 to the time of the Japanese invasion in 1942 the greatest influence on the Labour movement was exerted by the Partindo, the Partindo (later the Gerindo), the P.N.I. and the P.N.I. group headed by Hatta.

Labour organizations functioning when the Dutch rule was toppled included the Persiapan Vakvonenden Pegawai Negeri (P.V.P.N. — the National Union of Officials), a body with moderate tendencies, founded on the 31st May 1929. The leader was R. P. Suroto, a prominent member of the so-called "Volksraad".

The Centraal Comite Al Islam, founded in 1922, was not a labour organization, but it did have a definitely formulated policy. In the course of its existence the Comite Al Islam organized ten meetings of the Kongres Al Islam. The eleventh and twelfth meetings of the Kongres Al Islam were organized by the Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia, known as the Mai, which was formed in 1937 and continued to function until banned by the Japanese. The Mai was, in effect, a continuation of the Centraal Comite Al Islam which faded from the scene after 1937.

The P.P.P.K.I.

The growing desire for unity in political activity gave rise to the Komite Persatuhan Indonesia in August 1926. An attempt was made by this Committee (of Indonesian Unity) to create a practical formula for co-ordinating the activities of a number of organizations, but these efforts came to nothing.

A year later, under the auspices of the Partai Nasional Indonesia, a further attempt to lay a basis for united action was more successful, and on the 17th December 1927 there was formed the Permajakatan Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia (P.P.P.K.I.) (the United National Political Grouping of Indonesia), the name of which was subsequently changed to Permajakatan Partai-partai Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia (the National Union of Indonesian Political Parties). Those parties adhering to this federation were the Partai Nasional Indonesia, the Serikat Islam, the Budi Utomo, the Pasundan, the Serikat Sumatra, the Kaum Betawi and the Indonesiaische Studieclub of Surabaya. Later the Serikat Madura, the Tirtajasa and the Perserikatan Celebes were affiliated.

Agitation for the withdrawal of the "rubber articles" from the provisions of the Penal Code of the Dutch East Indies (articles 153b to 161b) implanted the seed of political consciousness in the minds of wide sections of the people. Besides organizing opposition to the colonial government, the P.P.P.K.I. sought from its inception to establish overseas contacts through the Perhimpunan Indonesia (the Indonesian Federation) in the Netherlands. The Perhimpunan Indonesia was given a mandate to speak on behalf of the P.P.P.K.I. on such questions as forced labour and suppression of free speech in Indonesia. A memorandum on the penal sanctions of the "coolie contract" was transmitted through the Perhimpunan Indonesia to Albert Thomas, president of the International Labour Conference.

The influence exerted by the P.P.P.K.I. ebbed and flowed with the political currents of the times. The height of its influence was reached at the beginning of 1932 when the Kongres Indonesia Raja (the Congress of Great Indonesia) was held in Surabaya. Following the exile of Mr. Sukarno, the heart and soul of the organization, the P.P.P.K.I. declined until it could be said to exist in name only.

The Majelis Raja Indonesia

With the intensification of the international crisis and the gathering war clouds it was possible to set up an organization broadly along the same lines known as the Gabungan Politik Indonesia (the Political Association of Indonesia), which attracted support by its advocacy of parliamentary representation for the Indonesian people. The Gabungan Politik Indonesia, known as
the Gapi, also presented a note setting out its claims to the Visman Commission on the 14th February 1941. This Commission was set up by the Dutch authorities in Indonesia ostensibly to investigate the political wishes of the population, and was intended only as a gesture to stem the rising tide of popular protest against the tyranny of Dutch rule.

In December 1939 the Kongres Rakjat (the People’s Congress) was held in Djakarta under the auspices of the Gapi. The periodic holding of the Congresses of Kongres Rakjat was later supplanted by the Majelis Rakjat Indonesia (the Indonesian People’s Assembly), formed in September 1941, its membership comprising influential representatives of leading political organizations including the Gapi, the Maim and the P.V.P.N.

The Majelis Rakjat Indonesia constituted in fact a body representative of all Indonesia. Its aim was to secure parliamentary government by democratic means, and to this end it organized a considerable number of conferences which provided an avenue for the expression of popular opinion. Any group whose aim was the progress and development of the people in political, economic and social field was entitled to affiliate to the Majelis Rakjat Indonesia.

Prominent members of the Majelis Rakjat Indonesia included such figures as Abikusno Tjokro, Sukardjo Wirjo-pranoto, Otto Iskander di Nata, Sartono, and I. J. Kasimo from the Gapi, Wahid Hashim, Dr. Sukiman Wondoamiseno, K. H. M. Mansur and Umar Hebeis from the Maim, R. P. Suroso, Atik Suardi, Hindromarsono, Rooslan Wongkosumoro, Drijowongso from the P.V.P.N.

On the 16th November 1941 a meeting of its leaders was held to elect a full-time executive of three. The three selected were Mr. Sartono, president, Sukardjo Wirjo-pranoto, secretary, and Atik Suardi, treasurer.

On the 25th December 1941 the P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) withdrew both from the Gapi and the Majelis Rakjat Indonesia after disagreement with Mr. Sartono and Sukardjo Wirjo-pranoto.

The Women’s Movement

The activities of the Women’s Movement of Indonesia (the Gerakan Kaum Wanita Indonesia) were, at its inception, restricted to improving the general conditions for women as mothers and heads of households, and these activities were invariably of a purely personal nature. The pioneer of this movement was R. A. Kartini (1879-1904), daughter of a regent in Djepara. Kartini considered that the first requirement for the improvement of women’s conditions was an adequate education to counter the evils of forced marriage and other anachronisms. This demand for education for women, an unprecedented opposition to long-established tradition, received an immediate and wide response. In West Java the Dewi Sartika (the Sartika Goddess) actively propagated these ideas, and gradually the conception of emancipation was accepted by Indonesian women so long sheltered from participation in public life. The Putri Mardika (the Independent Women) was founded in Djakarta in 1912, but was also primarily concerned with the education of children, particularly girls. Other women’s organizations began to appear, some independently and others, such as the Asiah, incorporated in the Mubammadiah, were affiliated to or sections of existing (men’s) organizations. A number of women’s groups were able to establish schools known as Kartini Schools for young girls.

The first Indonesian women’s Congress was held in Djogjakarta from the 22nd to the 25th December 1928. This Congress was sponsored by the Wanita Utomo (the Noble Women), the Putri Indonesia (the Daughters of Indonesia), the Wanita Katoliek (the Catholic Women), the Wanita Muljo (the Noble Women), the Asiah of Mubammadiah, the women’s sections of the S.I. and of the J.I.B., the J.J. and the Taman Siswa. It was decided by the Congress to federate the existing organizations, this federation being named the Perikatan Perempuan Indonesia (the Union of Indonesian Women), later known as the Perikatan Isteri Indonesia (the Union of Indonesian Housewives). Since then the date 22nd December has been observed each year as Mothers’ Day in Indonesia.

The Partai Indonesia Raja

In 1935 there took place other fusions of political parties in Indonesia, the Persatuan Bangsa Indonesia, led by Dr. Sutomo, the Budi Otomo led by Wurjaningrat, the Serikat Sumatra, led by H. Dachlan Abdullah, the Serikat Minahasa, led by Dr. G. S. S. J. Ratulangi, the Serikat Ambon, led by Mr. Latuhaary, the Serikat Madura, led by Rooslan Wongkosumoro, the Kaum Betawi, led by M. H. Tamrin, and the Tinteraja, uniting to form the Partai Indonesia Raja, known as the Parindra (the Great Indonesia Party).

A similar fusion of the youth movement of the Jong Java, the Jong Sumatren Bond, the Jong Celebes, the Jong Minahasa, the Sekar Rukun and the Pemuda Indonesia was brought about at a conference in Solo in December 1930.

The first indication of the trend towards unity in the youth organizations had been seen at the Kongres Pemuda I (the First Youth Congress) in April 1926. At the Kongres Pemuda II in October 1928, a commission was set up to consider this question.
The National Anthem of Indonesia

At this second Congress there was clearly a more pronounced agreement on unity, but the most important contribution to the co-ordinating of the national youth movement was the acceptance by the Congress of the tune "Indonesia Raja", composed by Wago Rudolf Supratman, as the national youth song.

Certainly the composer could not have foreseen that twenty-one years later—short period in the passing of time—"Indonesia Raja" would not only be acknowledged as the song of the national movement, but would finally become the National Anthem of Independent Indonesia. The words were re-drafted in 1944 by a Commission (amongst whose members were Muhammad Yamin and The Ki Hadjar Dewantara), the new wording following suggestions made by Bung Karno (Sukarno) in 1931.

The Youth Congress of 1928 also reached agreement on the new historic pledge:

"We are young men and women of Indonesia, united in our Indonesian nationality; We are young men and women, sons and daughters of Indonesia, having one fatherland, the fatherland of Indonesia; We are sons and daughters of Indonesia, having one language, the Indonesian language."

The ideal of One Nation, One Fatherland and One Language were brought to the people, particularly by the activities of the youth movement. In this second Youth Congress some of the prominent leaders taking part were Kuntjoro, Purbopranoto, Rusmali, Jusupadi, Mokogito and Muhammad Yamin.

The student movement at home and abroad

The position of the students in any country, but particularly in a colonial country, is of especial importance because, by reason of the opportunities this group has for gaining knowledge and subsequently contributing towards the political consciousness of the people, it constitutes a spearhead of national thought.

In 1908 Indonesian students in the Netherlands set up their own organization under the name of "The Indische Vereeniging". This name was changed in 1922 to the Indonehsische Vereeniging, and later, in 1924, to the Perhimpunan Indonesia (the Indonesian Union), the successive changes of name being obviously due to a political impulse. The Perhimpunan Indonesia was a pioneer in the political field.

When first founded this organization had no political aims, but in 1925 re-drafted its constitution, recognizing the conflict of interests between the colonial ruling power and the peoples under colonial rule, and advocated the forming of a popular front. The Perhimpunan Indonesia made an important contribution to the national liberation struggle and amongst the personalities who played a leading part in its activities were Muhammad Hatta, Sarono, Kusuma Sumantri, Nazir Pamuntjak, Ali Sastroamidjjo, Abdulmadjid Djojoadingrat, Dermawan Mangunkusumo, Abd Manaf Subardjo, Sunarjo, Sastromuljono, Shahrir and Setiadji.

The principles formulated by the Perhimpunan Indonesia were repeated in the aims of the Perhimpunan Pelajar-pelajar Indonesia (P.P.P.I) (the Union of Indonesian Students), founded in Djakarta in 1926. The same influence was to be seen in the numerous study clubs which sprung into being at this time. The conception of a broad national unity was, moreover, the basis of the popular policy of the Partai Nasional Indonesia.

Both the Perhimpunan Indonesia in the Netherlands and the P.P.P.I. in Indonesia aimed at influencing the normal movement and the influence actually exerted by the two organizations was not inconsiderable. In April 1929 the Perhimpunan Indonesia was accredited as the overseas representative of the P.P.P.I. on certain matters, this step being necessary to draw attention to the conditions in Indonesia and the efforts of the people to achieve freedom from the chains of Dutch colonial oppression. This policy prompted affiliation in 1928 to the International League against imperialism in which Muhammad Hatta and Pandit Nehru each played an active part.

Besides awakening sympathy in other countries for the Indonesian struggle, the activities of this League gave opportunities to Asian leaders whose countries groaned under the yoke of foreign domination to meet and exchange views.

In Indonesia itself, after a period of successful development which had brought to the fore such leaders as Yamin, Amir Shafri, A. K. Gari, Hadromarmarono, Chairul Saleh, the P.P.P.I. lost ground, stifled in the oppressive atmosphere of 1935.

In 1935 there had been formed a non-political organization known as the Unitas Studiosorum Indonesiensis (U.S.I.) under the leadership of Kossish Purwaneagara, Shafriuddin Prawiranegara and some others. Then in 1936 Yusuf Wibisono founded the Studenten Islam Studieclub. In the same year there appeared the Indonehsische Vrouwelijke Studenten Vereniging (the Indonesian Women Students' Union) and the Indonehsische Studenten Vereniging (I.S.V.) (the Indonesian Students' Union) in Bandung.

A similar trend developed in the Netherlands when the Rakun Pelajar Indonesia, known as Ruji (the Indonesian Student Group), formed as a "general unification" (overkappingsvereniging) of all Indonesian students in the Netherlands. There grew up a working unity between the Ruji and the Perhimpunan Indonesia, the leaders of the Ruji — Sunto, Sudjarwo and Darusman — being also members of the Perhimpunan Indonesia. The student youth provided a number of capable leaders for the national movement, above all those who played a prominent part in the Indonesia Muda. Through the medium of the activities of Indonesian youth overseas the youth movement in Indonesia at that time began to establish connections with the international youth movement and at the International Youth Congress in Paris in 1937 and at the Second International Youth Conference in the United States, Indonesia was officially represented.

Cultural aspects of the national movement

Indonesian literature, art, dancing and drama reflected political developments through the years particularly in expressing the ideal of an Independent Indonesia. In literature the foremost group was the Padjadja Baru (the New Intellectual) formed by Sunusi Pane, Armijs Pane, Amir Hamzah, Sutan Takhir 'Ali Shalbana, Asmara Hadi and J. E. Tatengkeng.

As a step towards the improvement of the Indonesian language, which had been corrupted by Europeanisms and by disguise, the Kongres Bhsa Indonesia (the Indonesian Language Congress) was convened at Solo in June, 1938. This was an important expression of the growing consciousness of the need for strengthening by every means the national unity of the entire Indonesian people.

In sport also the desire for independence was seen in the setting up of the Persatuan Sepak Bola Seluruh Indonesia (the All-Indonesian United Football Association) in 1930 under the leadership of Mr. Suratin. In 1938 the Ikatun Sport Indonesia (the Indonesian Sport Federation) was formed by M. Sutardjo Kartohadikusumo.

Press and radio

In the liberation movement the national press was an important weapon. The creation of political organizations was followed by the appearance of numerous newspapers and magazines, almost all being imbued with the spirit of struggle. Frequently the axe of Dutch censorship fell heavily. Editors were arrested and as
often as not sentenced to terms of imprisonment but the struggle continued. Amongst the countless publications the following were the more influential and well-known: the Darmokanado, Solo, the Bintang Timur, Djakarta, the Peswarta Deli, Sumatra, the Sedyta Tama, Jogja, the Sinar Deli and the Pemandangan, Djakarta, the Suara Umum and the Tempo, Surabaya, the Pertiga Selatan, Palembang, the Sinar Sumatra, Pandang, the Express, Surabaya, the Suara Kalimantan, Bandjermasin, the Borneo Barat, Pontianak, the Utusan Indonesia, Jogja, and the Sipatabunut, Bandung.

In 1937 an active group of young journalists, including Pandu Wiguna, Mr. Sumanang, A. M. Sipahutar and Adam Malik founded the news agency called Antara. This step was perhaps the most far-reaching in effect in the struggle of the Indonesian press.

The radio which comes in the same category as the press similarly cannot be considered apart from political developments. The Dutch broadcasting station NIROM (the Nederlandsch Indische Radio Omroep My) was only a Dutch propaganda organ and naturally its broadcasts were unsympathetically received by the population. However, a number of Indonesian radio enterprises were formed, amongst them the S.R.V. (the Solosche Radio Vereniging) in Solo, the Mavro (the Mataramen Vereniging Radio Omroep) in Jogja, the Circo (Chinees-Indonesische Radio Vereniging) in Surabaya, all of which subsequently amalgamated to form the P.P.R.K. (the Perikatan Perkumpulan Radio Ketimuran or the Eastern Radio Corporation) directed by Sutadjo Kartodikusumo. In 1939 the P.P.R.K. was able to take charge of all transmissions formerly made by NIROM.

The period of Japanese occupation

The Dutch Colonial Government had always, directly or indirectly attempted to thwart the Indonesian national movement. Under the pretext of "maintaining law and order" (voor de handhaving van de openbare ruit en orde) Indonesians were summarily imprisoned or exiled to Digul. However, with the outbreak of the second World War in 1939, and more particularly after the fall of Holland in May, 1940, the Dutch authorities outwardly adopted a somewhat modified attitude. Popular claims were heard but the insincerity of this volte-face was crudely obvious. The Visman Commission set up in November, 1940, did no more than compile a lengthy list of opinions expressed by Indonesian leaders and the deliberate lack of any purpose of this Commission only provoked popular disgust.

It was hardly surprising then that there was little sympathy for the Dutch when the Netherlands fell to the Hitler armies and when Japan invaded Indonesia there was a general tendency, encouraged by Japanese propaganda promises, to accept the Japanese troops as an army of liberation from the hated oppressors of the Dutch rule. Many Indonesian leaders, out of hatred for Dutch domination, swayed by the military successes of the Japanese and by the glib Japanese promises, were willing to cooperate with the new overlords. There were, however, grave misgivings on the political orientation of the Japanese who were recognized and regarded as Fascist. Even at the time of the Dutch surrender to Japan it had become clear that the Dutch would never return to Indonesia.

The Three A's, a movement which was frankly pro-Japanese, came into existence, only to fade from the scene without having gained any measure of popular support. The welcome given to the Japanese gave way gradually to an antagonism which mounted to a hatred as the ruthless terror of the Kempeitai was seen in practice.

The leaders of the national movement found themselves in a difficult position. The Putera Tenaga Rakjat, known as the Putera (Sons of the People's Power) founded by Bung Karno, Bung Hatta, the Ki Hadjar Dewantoro and K. H. Manshur, made efforts to reconcile the demands imposed by the Japanese military machine with the demands of the popular movement, but these efforts obviously could satisfy neither the Japanese nor the people. The Djawa Hooikai Kai and the Pratik Kebahaktian Rakjat (the Centre of People's Service) also proved ineffective as a bridge between Japanese militarism and Indonesian nationalism.

The Miao, the Islamic movement, and other mass organizations were banned, but the national leaders were drawing up plans in the meantime to meet the situation. One group favoured outright co-operation with the Japanese whilst the others conducted an underground struggle, these including Sutan Shahrir and Amir Sharifuddin. Muhammad Hatta, who had long before the outbreak of the war taken a definite anti-Fascist stand, was forced to work with the Japanese in order to ease the position of his compatriot Bung Karno (Sukarno).

The difficulties and the sufferings of the people increased as the Japanese occupation continued. Thousands were conscripted and forced into labour units of the Japanese Army. The death rate of the romusha (forced labourers) reached a distressingly high proportion of the total.

Whilst many of the actions of certain Indonesian leaders during the war are certainly open to the severest criticism, especially in the end of the war, many took advantage of the overthrow of the Dutch Colonial Government to strengthen Indonesian national sentiments. It was possible to publicize without restriction the evils of the Dutch administration and so awaken a deeper consciousness of what Dutch rule had meant for Indonesia and the Indonesian people. This activity showed positive fruition in the post-war period when the Indonesian people faced the attempts of the N.I.C.A. (the Dutch East Indies Government) to reimpose by armed force Dutch rule on Indonesia.

Almost contradictorily the obligatory military training of the youth in the Pembela Tanah Air, known as the Peta (Defence of the Fatherland) by the Japanese did prepare the youth for the operations following Dutch aggression against the Indonesian Republic. It is to be remembered also that there were several revolts by the Peta units. The largest of these took place in Blitar where the rising was led by Suripjadi. Other risings occurred in Indramaju and Tasikmalaya.

When the fall of Japan was imminent, the situation was utilized by every Indonesian leader to advance plans for the realization of Indonesian independence. The Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan (the Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence) was set up, comprised of representatives from every part of Indonesia. When Japan surrendered on the 15th August, 1945, the Committee finalized its work within two days and the proclamation of Indonesian Independence was issued on the 17th August, 1945.

Japanese domination in Indonesia made havoc of the country in almost every field, but there were nevertheless one or two positive aspects. One was the scope allowed for the development of the Indonesian language which was used for official administration jointly with Japanese. At the same time, despite the rigid limitation imposed by the requirements of Japanese propaganda, a good measure of progress was registered in the fields of painting, sculpture and music.

Overseas the youth of Indonesia continued the struggle for the national liberation of their Fatherland in fighting in the ranks of the Allied armies for the defence of democracy. Many gave their lives in the cause of the free peoples and in the name of Indonesia.

When the Independence of Indonesia was proclaimed, Indonesians at home or abroad, those who had worked with the Japanese and those who had fought with the Allies, were united in the new struggle for the defence of their own independent state.
RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MOROCCO

The truth about the petition for the deposition of the Sultan

Declaration made by the Sultan on the occasion of the end of Ramadhan

The Sultan of Morocco made public on 17th June 1953, a statement which is characterized by its moderate and friendly terms, particularly towards the French Government. The statement was issued in lieu of the usual celebrations normally held to mark the festival of al-Id al-saghir or 'Id al-Fitr when the Sultan usually receives the homage of his subjects. Because of his health, due to an indisposition following an accident, His Majesty was obliged to cancel the traditional Hédya celebrations at the end of the month of Ramadhan.

The tone of the Sultan's statement is evident at the outset when he says, "We assure our people of our will to continue working for its material and moral well-being, which could not have taken place in the absence of the effective collaboration of Frenchmen in Morocco, who have greatly contributed to its present development, nor without the peaceful collaboration of all the country's peoples."

Such words are a far cry from the "extremism" with which the Sultan has lately been accused in a petition signed by numerous Moroccan pashas and kaidas, and they have created a favourable impression among all communities both in Morocco and France. As a whole the text will doubtless create the atmosphere of calm and confidence so necessary to the fulfillment of the aspirations of both Moroccan and French peoples in the territory. "Our efforts," declares the Sultan, "are designed to reach a mutual agreement with the Government of the French Republic, to agree upon an over-all plan in keeping with modern times and to fulfil it within pre-arranged time limits."

Within the framework of this plan, the Sultan goes on, agreement has been reached already upon the matter of elected assemblies (djema'as), but with regard to municipal reforms there is delay. The Sultan is studying a plan of municipal reforms submitted some time ago by General Guillaume, the French Resident-General. It provides for the election of an assembly at present nominated and would include French representatives.

The question of French representation, says the Sultan, is being closely examined to define the extent, significance and final nature of the management of affairs in Moroccan cities. Final agreement, he adds, cannot be reached in an atmosphere of exacerbated passions and intrigues, and it is certain that the declaration will do much towards clearing the air.

After enumerating the urgent needs of the Moroccan people, such as adequate hospitals, schools, modern tribunals and healthy and cheap housing, the Sultan stresses the need for perseverance on both sides, for calm and sagacity to carry out the general plan in a spirit of mutual understanding.

"Franco-Moroccan friendship," he concludes, "should be maintained and developed. For us this friendship has never been a vain word. Our various declarations, our attitude towards the French people during the dark days of the last world war, the sacrifices made by Moroccans, prove this amply. It is in the name of friendship and to safeguard it that we have been led to draw the French Republic Government's attention to everything which seemed to compromise the Franco-Moroccan entente."

The petition for the deposition of the Sultan of Morocco

A fundamental difference of opinion - perhaps provoked, perhaps spontaneous - has come to the surface of Moroccan politics. On 21st May 1953 a petition signed by 287 Moroccan notables - among them pashas, kaidas and khalifas - and demanding the dethronement of His Majesty Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf, Sultan of Morocco, was submitted to General Augustin Guillaume, French Resident-General in the Protectorate.

To the petition are opposed a number of important pashas, notably those of Fez, Rabat, Casablanca, Meknès and Salé, who have issued strong protests against the petition which has been variously described by them as "high treason," "irreverent" and the whole incident as "organized dissidence" against His Majesty. As soon as the petition was published in the press, the first reaction came from the Imperial Palace itself in a communiqué signed by the 108-year-old Grand Vizir, Sidi al-Hadj Muhammad al-Mokri, who protested in the strongest terms.

Since then a mounting wave of protests has come from loyal subjects of the Sultan, and a veritable word-war is being waged between rival Moroccan factions. The country seems to be divided between north and south, between Arabs and Berbers, and this has given rise to the rumour that it is a coup monté by the French who have publicly favoured Berber separatism and in the past pursued a "divide and rule" policy in Morocco.

Added weight is given to this argument by the fact that the leader of the petitioners is Si al-Hadj Thami el-Galawi, Pasha of Marrakesh, a great Berber chieftain and an old friend of France whom he has supported whole-heartedly for over forty years.

The Galawi's avowed friendship for France is causing the Protectorate Government a great deal of embarrassment. And while the Sultan has in recent months resolutely opposed French proposals for legislative reform, His Majesty's supporters are today heaping lavish praise on France in their protests against the petition; and at the same time these protests contain virulent personal attacks against Galawi and his supporters while demanding that "administrative sanctions" be taken against them. At first sight, therefore, it seems that France has friends on both sides of the fence in this essentially religious dispute.

The 287 petitioners demand the deposition of the Sultan for alleged religious deviationism, for his affiliation with extremist parties, and for his opposition to "men of action" which supposedly refers to the signatories. The charges refer to the Sultan's association with the Istiqal (Independence) Party, now outlawed by the French who accused its members of provoking the bloody riots in Casablanca on 7th and 8th December 1952, and which has been violently condemned as anti-Islamic in spirit by Moroccan religious brotherhoods led by the pro-French Shereef Si 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kritani.

The reply from the Sultan's palace declared that the petitioners had no right to question the central authority and no competence whatever in religious matters which are the prerogative of the Ulamas. The pashas and kaidas are appointed in theory by the Sultan himself, but, said the Palace spokesman, His Majesty's powers had been so restricted in the matter that they were virtually non-existent. In point of fact kaidas are nominated by the Sultan, but he can choose only from three names submitted by the French.

The palace statement declares, also, that the Sultan has always held himself aloof from party politics, to which Galawi subsequently replied that His Majesty was a liar, and that the whole world knew that his advisers were members of the Istiqal Party. The Pasha of Marrakesh added that there was no question of competence: the petitioners had a right to express their own opinions. Exchanges of this sort are typical of the seriousness of the charges levelled by one side against the other.
The question of competence is the basis of a series of protests issued by several important pashas. Notable among them is Si al-Hadj Fatimi Ibn Sulaiman, a graduate of the Karawiyyne University and Pasha of Fes, who says: "These pashas and kaidis (the petitioners), totally ignorant of the most elementary principles of Islam, have let themselves be persuaded to commit publicly and with impunity crimes of high treason and an outrage against the dignity of the 'Imam of Believers' in Morocco.

The College of 'Ulemas of Fes, fearing that this act of high treason committed by mere functionaries of the Maktaben (the Moroccan Secretariat) bring a grave threat to Franco-Moroccan relations, and in order to appease the justified anger of the Moroccan peoples, demands administrative sanctions against all who, in violation of the guarantees of the Franco-Moroccan Treaty, organize, protect and finance this characteristic attack on the State's internal security."

The Pashas of Meknès, Sefrou and Salé (the latter claiming to represent 318 'Ulamas in Morocco), joined with the Pasha of Fes in lodging a protest with M. Vincent Auriol, President of the French Republic, in which administrative sanctions are demanded against Galawi for high treason. To the protests have since been added those of the Pashas of Casablanca and Rabat, and of 'Ulamas at Tangier in the International Zone of Morocco.

Thus, while a counter-petition is being drawn up, it seems that already the Sultan's supporters are gaining an ascendency over the Galawi and his co-petitioners, most of whom still remain anonymous.

Why the proposed legislative reforms by the French are not acceptable to the Moroccans

General Augustin Guillaume, who has cancelled his intended visit to the United States planned for the end of June, declared that he would not interfere and would try to push through legislative reforms, and that his first task was to get the reforms passed. A plan of municipal reforms was submitted by him to the Sultan for signature on 2nd March 1953. It provides for the election, by a limited Franco-Moroccan electorate, of an assembly which has been so far nominated. But the Sultan claims, and rightly so under the terms of the Protectorate Treaty (1912), that French settlers have no political rights and so refuses to accept the proposal. It is well to note, also, that Marshal Lyautey himself supported this thesis of non-eligibility of Frenchmen in Moroccan-elected assemblies.

Franco-Moroccan relations have become strained due to French insistence upon a partially French electorate. And His Majesty has continued to request that the fundamental principle of Moroccan autonomy in government assemblies be accepted, but his proposals for the opening of negotiations on the matter in Paris have been refused.

Observers have noted, however, a change in the palace attitude which, however small, may have some significance. In the protest lodged by the Pasha of Fes, lavish praise is heaped upon the French, and as the protest was manifestly supported by His Majesty it shows that he is ever ready to admit honestly and without rancour that the French have achieved praiseworthy accomplishments in the Protectorate. But the Sultan is no less adamant in his requests for a radical view or change in the fundamental principles being imposed upon him by the French Government, and this request is, as always, coupled with a fine democratic spirit of confidence and lack of the "extremism" with which His Majesty has been accused.

The dilemma of the French

It is just this honesty which may cause embarrassment to the French, who have long acted as though the palace were merely stubborn and intransigent. Now General Guillaume is faced with a dilemma: both sides of the dispute have praise for France and both sides have urgent demands to make of the Protectorate Government. Obviously General Guillaume cannot ignore the issue, although he pretends that it is none of his business — which is an unreasonable attitude because both protest and petition are addressed to him.

At present he is sitting on the fence. Will he cede to Galawi and attempt to depose the sovereign? Such an action is unthinkable; but in the Protectorate Treaty it is incumbent on France to protect and maintain the Sultan and his successors within the framework of the traditional Islamic law and religion.

The Pasha of Marrakesh, Si al-Hadj Thami al-Galawi, a great multi-millionaire Berber chieftain and an old friend of France. He is bitterly opposed to the Istiqlal Party which is working for the independence of Morocco.

By claiming that deposition would be authorized by the traditional law (i.e., popular proclamation of another sultan), this may be the loophole through which he may try to escape. But even the French would be scared stiff of the consequences of such a step.

Will he, then, take the administrative sanctions demanded against Galawi? This would be a much easier step, but would result in a terrible loss of French prestige. Has not Galawi been a fervent supporter of French policy in Morocco? And has he not been amply rewarded with power and decorations by the French so that he is now a multi-millionaire? These facts will trouble General Guillaume's conscience, so that he is likely to vacillate for a long time hoping, vainly, that the question will solve itself while he is sitting on the fence.

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At first sight Galawi’s supporters appear to be numerically superior. The figure 287 is impressive when it is considered that there are 23 pashas and about 350 kais in the whole of Morocco. But it has been admitted that the figure 287 includes "pashas, kais, khilafis and other notables" — the latter could mean almost any Tom, Dick or Harry who could be persuaded to sign the petition. Obviously they are of much less individual importance than the Sultan, the Pashas of Fes, Rabat, Meknès, Casablanca, or the hundreds of Ulamas who are, after all, the only arbiters in the matter of imposing or denying the Sultan. Moreover, who is proposed as successor to the present Sultan? Nobody has revealed officially yet, but it is certain that Galawi is not an eligible candidate, for he is a commoner.

It can be safely forecast that Galawi’s impudent petition will suffer the ignominious end it deserves, but how this end will be brought about is still not clear. If General Guillaume attempts to settle the dispute, he has less competence than anyone else to arbitrate in the essentially religious dispute; his decision would be extremely unpopular with one side or the other, perhaps both, and at all events a compromise would be impossible because the differences are so fundamental.

While the General is vacillating, the new French Government may try to solve the problem for him by plucking him off the fence and replacing him with a new Resident-General. But for the latter to attempt to carry on as if nothing had happened would be suicide, and to reconcile the opposing factions he would be faced with the same difficulties as his predecessor.

Unless strong, definite and resolute action is taken, the word-war may develop into something much more violent if the millions of loyal subjects of His Majesty rise up in legitimate indignation — or if Galawi’s supporters, lacking the official support of the French, take matters into their own hands.

It must be said that, in answer to the Sultan’s accusation of "organized dissidence" and coercion, Galawi has proposed a plebiscite of all pashas and kais. But the value of such a poll must be conditioned by the fact that indirectly, if not directly, these official representatives of His Shereefian Majesty are hand-picked by the French. But even some of these French-sponsored officials have already expressed fearless loyalty to their sovereign.

For the moment the petition and counter-petition alone are the means of measuring public opinion, because an independent Arabic Press no longer exists since the French suspended publication of newspapers. There are two newspapers in Arabic sponsored by the Residency, but they reflect the official attitude and are non-committal. The French Press in Morocco, meanwhile, tends to minimize as much as possible the importance of the protests against the petition — a fairly accurate indication of the real French opinion.

While the petition is causing embarrassment in official French circles, it is also creating an unhealthy atmosphere and interferes with the Sultan’s plans to reach an honest, peaceful agreement with France for final and complete autonomy for his people. And it is all the more regrettable because His Majesty’s inspired mission is for the benefit of Galawi and his men also. As a final censure against the dissenters, we may quote the Sultan himself. In his speech from the throne on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession on 18th October 1952, he said: "Remember that God is with those who stand united, and those who seek to sow discord are accursed in Heaven and upon earth.”

"THE SERMON OF THE ‘CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE’"

(Prepared by the Head Office of the Religious Affairs of Turkey and recited in all Mosques on Friday 29th May 1953)

Translated from the Turkish by

MEHMET KIDEYS

O Muslim Congregation! Today is the 500th anniversary of the Capture of Istanbul. Sultan Muhammad the Fatih who opened a new chapter in world history in general and in the history of Islam in particular, has thereby gained the commendation of the Prophet Muhammad who had predicted several centuries before the Capture of Constantinople, "Lututahanna al-Qunstantiniyata wa lanî'm al-Amiru Amiru-ha, wa lanî'm al-Jayshu zalik al-Jaysh," which means, "Constantinople will surely be captured, happy is the ruler who captures it, and happy are the soldiers who capture it."

This miracle of the Prophet Muhammad which predicted this epoch-making event, was realized at the illustrious hands of the Turkish people. The above quoted Hadith engendered the highest aspirations in the millions of believing hearts, and destroyed the enemies who tried to frustrate it.

Before the capture of Constantinople by Sultan Muhammad the Fatih, and during the 800 years between the Prophet and the Fatih, many Muslim armies had been motivated by this aspiration and many a Muslim commander had tried to capture this city and earn the commendation of the Prophet Muhammad. This first command which came from the lips of the Prophet had continued to give power of action and inspiration ever since. The Prophet had said: "Constantinople will surely be captured . Every Muslim heart believed that in the Prophet there is nothing that is contrary to truth, for God had declared in the Holy Qur’an, "My messenger (Muhammad) does not lie; he is true.

O Congregation! If knowledge had opened a battle against ignorance, the school of the Prophethood of Muhammad had opened a battle against injustice and superstition. Many heroes were brought up to accomplish this purpose. These received their training and education from such an educator and tutor that while he slept peacefully in his sacred grave, he lived forever in their hearts. The Prophet Muhammad who in fact received a special education from the Creator Himself declares: "I was educated by my Lord, and He surely educated me well." The Prophet did train numerous and illustrious commanders and caused them to be motivated by this miraculous declaration, "Constantinople will surely be captured."

The Prophet Muhammad was the sun which rotated around the purpose of "the dissemination of the Word of God" and the Muslim heroes were the stars that were gathered together around the sun. The Prophet regarded those who fought in the way of God like the stars in heaven.

When the sun sets, the stars appear; likewise when the Prophet passed away, in the heaven of our faith the stars appeared. When we adhered to them we found ourselves freed from the assaults against our faith and the storms of doubt which could have shaken our belief.

O Congregation! One of those stars, one of those heroes was Sultan Muhammad the Fatih.

In the Holy Qur’an God declares that "Those who fight in Our Name, We shall show them Our ways." The Prophet
Muhammad declares, "I solemnly swear by God that I should like to die in the Way of God and to come back to life again, to die in the Way of God and to come back to life again, and to die in the Way of God and to come back to life again to die in the Way of God." These words of the Prophet Muhammad have caused all the heroes of Islam to hold death in contempt. No nation that cannot look down contemptuously on death can ever hope to live an honourable life. The Muslims should remember that "the paradise, the land of believers, is where the shadow of the sword is." Muslim heroes who captured other lands always adhered to the principle of justice, because the Prophet Muhammad himself had laid it down about the non-Muslims who came under the rule of Muslims that requirements for or against us are similarly applicable to all non-Muslims. "Whoever without a just cause inflicts pain on a non-Muslim will find me an enemy on the Day of Resurrection."

**"The Dardanelles Gun" on exhibit in the Tower of London**

(Length complete, 17 ft., calibre 25 in., length of the chamber 66 in., calibre chamber 10 in., weight 18 tons)

This gun was made during the reign of Sultan Muhammad the Fatih.

The inscriptions cast on the gun read as follows: "Help O God! The Sultan Muhammad Khan, son of Murad. The work of Munir 'Ali in the month of Rajab, 868 A.H. (1464 C.E.)

There are inscriptions in modern Turkish cut near the touch hole giving directions for loading.

The stone shot was made of limestone or granite, weight about 630 lb. The charge of powder was about 300 lb.

The fact that the chamber or breech is separate from the barrel and screws into it has led to some controversy as to its intended use. One theory is that the gun is a true breech-loader, the breech being unscrewed to allow the insertion of the charge; the other is that the gun is made in two parts merely for ease of transport. The breech was unscrewed by seamen of H.M.S. Terrible under the command of Captain Commere, R.N., who was responsible for the transport of the gun to England in 1868, and has been left unscrewed to show the finely formed screw threads (19 in. diam., male thread; 25 in. diam., female thread).

Our picture shows some of the members of the Cyprus-Turkish Association, London, W.1, laying a wreath of homage to the memory of Sultan Muhammad on the pedestal of the gun on 29th May 1953 — 29th May 1453 being the date of the Fall of Constantinople.

O Congregation! Sultan Muhammad the Fatih is a person who has never, or very seldom if ever, been matched during the past centuries. God has amply rewarded him in both worlds. While Istanbul, the pearl of the cities of the world, was besieged several times by various nations previous to him, God had ordained that it should be captured by the Fatih and his heroic soldiers. This great victory was earmarked for the Turkish nation as a reward by God. Istanbul is the most cherished treasure, a city of lovely domes and splendid mosques, of our nation. This nation of rujus will preserve this magnificent heritage, this reward of God, the miracle of the Prophet Muhammad, to the Day of Resurrection.

Sultan Muhammad the Fatih conquered Constantinople, the town which had repulsed many formidable armies in despair all through the centuries with this unshakable faith in God. Sultan Muhammad, who was imbued with the most profound faith in God, had also taken advantage of all the material and spiritual means at his disposal. On Sunday 27th May 1453, he ordered his soldiers to fast and to purify their souls, and to gain the blessings of the Prophet Muhammad, who truly is the principal leader of humanity. Every soldier of the Muslim army was extremely enthusiastic to earn the Prophet's praise. The splendid takbir1 from every Muslim's lips increased the despair of the enemy, while it helped the Muslims to take heart. The Ulama recited the Qur'anic verses about the jihad, and recounted the rewards of God promised to Ghazis (fighters in the cause of God) and shahids (martyrs). Abu Ayyub al-Ansari2 is here in whose house our revered Prophet was a guest when he migrated to Medina. Abu Ayyub himself fought against the enemy to secure this land, and finally gave his life. Each soldier was a symbol of heroism, and almost all were either prostrating them-

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1 The recitation of the words Allahu akbar (God is the Greatest).
2 A companion of the Prophet who is buried in the outskirts of Istanbul.
address his soldiers. He said: "You hero warriors, our gratitude is due to God! From now on you are the conquerors of Constantinople. Now you have earned this honour from the Prophet, who has said, 'Conquerors will surely be captured; happy is the ruler who captures it, and happy are the soldiers who conquer it.' May your fight be a blessed one. Do not kill children, nor men of religion, and those who do not fight against you; do not molest women. Let everyone be worthy of the honour bestowed on you by the Prophet.' Following this address, he dismounted from his charger and prostrated on the earth with his face towards the Qiblah (the direction of Mecca), to express his gratitude to God for this magnificent reward. The city's inhabitants were extremely frightened; their lamentable cries rose everywhere, because Turks had been misrepresented to them as extremely wild and ruthless who inflicted the most horrible tortures on their enemies. The inhabitants of Constantinople believed that not a soul would be spared in this great city, and that the metropolis would be razed to the ground.

Indeed, they were justified in being smitten with consternation, for some two or three centuries before a Crusading army had invaded their city, ransacked their treasures, tortured and massacred the inhabitants. This frightful episode in their history had always lived in their memories. While their co-religionists were guilty of the most horrible deeds against them, what else could have been expected of the Turks? But the Fatih's decree changed this false assumption, which was proclaimed to all the citizens by towncriers: 'Let everyone attend to his occupation, the honour, life and property of everyone is safe.' This was most unexpected. In the beginning very few believed it, but as the days passed by they observed that no one was questioned about his religion nor were his liberties violated; the sun of justice warmed all the hearts with the sweet rays of liberty. Every day witnessed the conversion of hundreds of people into the religion which ordained justice. No one was forced to become a Muslim.

The Fatih conquered not only the land itself but with it also the hearts. He acted far in advance of what could have been expected from a person of his day. Because his heart and soul believed in the Qur'an, which says: 'There is no compulsion in religion, just from unjust has become manifest'. He was also determined to stay permanently in this conquered land and leave it to his successors as an eternal gift. He always believed in rule by force as transient, but rule by justice as absolutely permanent.

O Congregation! the Fatih who lived for fifty-one years spent thirty-one years of his life serving this nation, this religion and this country of ours. The Muslims of the world in general and Turkish Muslims in particular are now commemorating his memory with reverence, and dedicating al-Fatiha to his dearest soul. May his sacred grave be illuminated with light and his immortal soul be blessed!

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.)

More than 70 per cent of the workmen and peasants of Tunisia are unemployed according to a report of the French Trade Union, the C.G.T. Only 106,000 people are employed in agriculture although the agricultural population totalled 1,800,000 in 1948. One hundred thousand workers and other employees have work in the towns leaving a workless proletariat of 500,000. Such is the net result of the French policy of repression which culminated in the assassination of the trades unionist Farhat Hashshad, with the knowledge, if not the connivance of the French Colonial police (of European origin).

Hashshad's successor, Mahmoud Messadi and five other leading syndicalists have been exiled to Kelbi in the extreme south of Tunisia and Nuwira Boudali, the deputy secretary of the UGTT (the Muslim Trades Union Federation) has been prevented from returning to Tunisia (he was in Paris at the time of Hashshad's assassination). The French-Corsican police are on the offensive in league with the colonials, menacing daily the lives of the 40 notables who were consulted by the Bey and who unanimously demanded the rejection of the so-called French reforms. The French Colonial Ku Klux Klan, the "Red Hand", is carrying out a veritable reign of terror.

The French syndicalists estimated that in 70% of the cases of terrorism, the victims were Tunisians. The police arrest the Muslim population at will and tear up their identity cards and send them to concentration camps for unlimited periods of an unlimited duration. All the Tunisians in the vicinity of the headquarters of the UGTT were arrested when it was known that the French delegation intended to visit it.

In the past year there have been, according to official French sources quoted by Roger Stephane in the French left-wing weekly, L'Observateur, Paris, 1,529 acts of sabotage, bombing or other incidents of which only 451 have been placed at the doors of the large nationalist party, the Neo-Destour. Three hundred and four public buildings and 214 private houses have been damaged or destroyed. The worst acts of vandalism were
carried out in the Cap Bon promontory where Rommel’s troops surrendered in 1943. Here in response to the activities of the local Tunisians who were armed with a few old arms taken from the Afrika Corps, the army and the Legionnaires demolished houses wholesale and several women were raped and four children met their death. Roger Stephane saw a whole café full of Tunisians placed under arrest in December last. Outside the police station they were forced to run the gauntlet through the lines of policemen who beat them brutally in front of the police station.

He interrogated prisoners who claimed that they had confessed under torture. They had been beaten, stripped bare and drenched with cold water. One prisoner had complained of having been induced to confess only when pepper was forced up his anus and into his nose until he fainted. Others had had electric current passed through them, water forced down their nose while some were stretched out on tables and one was burnt with a red-hot poker which was placed against his backside.

In a “Red Hand” leaflet distributed freely throughout Tunisia, the Americans were denounced as “Grocer imperialists, the exterminators of the Red Race, the assassins of the Puerto Ricans, the upholders of slave black, the hangmen of the Filipinos”. All free men in Tunisia whether Muslims, Jews or Christians are asked to rally to “The Red Hand” organization in order “to save our old Mediterranean Latin-Arab civilization”. The Tunisian Trade Union leader, Hashshad is denounced as “the American”.

Further incidents have taken place in the phosphate town of Gafsa and there have been in all 50 “Red Hand” attacks on the Forty Notables whom the Bey consulted last year before rejecting the so-called French reforms.

Yours sincerely, G. NEVILLE-BAGOT.

* * *

WHAT ISLAM HAS OFFERED TO A NON-MUSLIM ENGLISHMAN

Hillcrest,
Rydal Bank,
Bebington,
Cheshire.
14th June 1953.

Dear Sir,

For the past six years I have had the privilege of working and living amongst people of Muslim faith in Tanganyika.

During that time, I learnt to know a great many of my Muslim friends very well, both at their place of work and in their homes, and I became very much aware of how real this faith was to each one of them. To me it seemed that their faith was not just a religion which had to be followed; it was a part of their life; their every action and their every thought was linked up with their deep faith. Whether rich or poor, all had an inner fountain of happiness which radiated itself towards all others whom they came into contact with.

I have travelled in all parts of the world. I have met people in all walks of life. I have seen the religious fervour of many religions and sects, but all these gave me the impression that the adherents of these various denominations in applying their religions to their lives, were trying to follow a ritual. I did not get that impression of the Islamic faith. My friends did not possess a mere religion which they followed in order to be spiritually happy. This great faith possessed them; it was part of them. It is difficult for me to put into words or to attempt to describe the great bond of fellowship that my Muslim friends enjoyed. I can only say that it has made a deep and lasting impression upon me, and now, back here in England where I am far removed from anything appertaining to Islamic culture, I am profoundly aware that my life is hollow, something has gone out of it, and a great longing to know more about the Islamic faith has finally urged me to write to you. I have read The Islamic Review abroad and gained a little insight into Islam.

Now I write to ask you as to how I might obtain your magazine regularly, also I would like to know where I could learn from the beginning more of this great faith. Is it possible to obtain the Qur’an in English.

Do you know of any Islamic Cultural Centre within reach of my home, say Liverpool, where I could enrol for a course of instruction? Please do not treat my inquiries as frivolous, but regard them as the yearnings of someone who has seen and felt the impact of the Islamic faith upon the lives of countless friends abroad and whose sole desire is to partake of the inner serenity which portrays itself in all those who follow this faith.

Yours faithfully,

LESLIE E. MAGINNESS.

* * *

PEN-PALS

A number of readers of The Islamic Review wish to have pen-pals of either sex from different countries. Their names, addresses and interests are printed below.

Miss Khalida ‘Ali, 64 Charlotte Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I., wishes to correspond with boys and girls of her age.

Interests: Reading, correspondence, collection of pictures and view cards. Age 20.


Interests: Exchange of view cards, stamps, etc. Age 21.

Mr. B. Mohddeen, 6 Mohddeen Mosque Road, Muslim Ward, Jaffna, Ceylon.

Interests: Reading magazines, having pen-pals in Muslim countries. Age 19.

Mr. Y. M. Thaha, 53/19 Kamal Street, Muslim Ward, Jaffna, Ceylon.

Interests: Picture collecting and correspondence with friends in Muslim countries.

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Mr. Khalid 'Ali, 64 Charlotte Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.
Interest: Stamp collecting, correspondence, wishes to have pen-pals in Egypt and other Muslim countries.
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Interest: Stamp collecting, correspondence, Islamic teachings.
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Interest: Correspondence on Islamic subjects, wishes to have pen friends from England and elsewhere.
Mr. A. M. Ayad, 51 Ilyaman Street, Sidi Gaber, Alexandria, Egypt.
Interest: Collecting photographs of the mosques.
Mr. G. Ducat, P.O. Box 245, Dundee, Natal, Union of South Africa. 
Age 29, wishes to have a girl pen-pal in Great Britain.
Mr. A. 'Aziz, Box 22, Pangani, Tanganyika, East Africa. Age 22.
Occupation: Farmer.
Interest: Stamp collecting, gardening, fishing, outdoor sports, history, music, Islamic literature, etc. Can write in Arabic, Urdu, English and Swahili.
Mr. A. Vaheb, P.O. Box 99, Jackson's Drift, Transvaal, South Africa. 
Wishes to have correspondence with pen pals in various countries on Islamic subjects.

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**BOOK REVIEW**

**BLACK SUNRISE** by Wilfrid Blunt. Methuen, London. 
Price 21/-.
This book is a biography of Sultan Mulai Ismail of Morocco (1672-1727 C.E.), who is remembered today as the architect of Mequinez (Meknes), the Moorish rival of Louis XVI of France, and as the unifier of Morocco, although as, Mr. Blunt points out, it is his elder brother, al-Rashid, who was really responsible for this action. Mulai Ismail enjoys a reputation as a ruthless activist equal to that of Czar Peter the Great or Ivan the Terrible, and Henry VIII of England.

He was far crueler than any of the above-mentioned monarchs and his tremendous energy was used up in creating and destroying magnificent palaces in his capital, Mequinez, which contains to this day some of the finest monuments of Moorish architecture, such as the Bab Mansur.

Ismail was a model of what a good Muslim should not be. This book reveals many of the grotesquely incongruous characteristics of Mulai Ismail. He openly paid lip-service to Islam on every occasion and preached in the mosques. He not only tried to force his Christian captives to accept Islam, but also sent out ambassadors to the courts of the European monarchs in order to convert them. He even offered to help restore the exiled English monarch, the arch-Catholic James II, to his throne. He practised every form of cruelty, and his harem contained thousands of women. It is said that he had far more respect for his horses than for any human being. He even fed his lion on occasions with humans, and he would strike down anybody with a spear when he felt inclined.

The Moroccans of today respect the memory of Sultan Mulai Ismail as one who was able to hold his own against European intrigue and as a ruler who was respected. But it has to be realized that the system of profligacy, corruption and terror which he stood for ultimately led to the downfall of the Moorish Empire.

Mr. Blunt, who has already published an excellent and sympathetic study of the great Algerian patriot, 'Abd al-Qadir, has gone to great pains to establish a clear-cut portrait of this monster. In this fascinating narrative, Mr. Blunt has written one of the best biographies which has appeared since the war.

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AUGUST 1953

39
**ISLAM IN ENGLAND**

**'ID AL-FITR AT THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING**

More than two thousand visitors from all over Britain assembled on a cloudy morning, Sunday 14th June 1953, to celebrate 'Id al-Fitr (the Muslim Festival of the Breaking of the Fast) at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Surrey, the veritable centre of Islam in Great Britain. Muslims from practically all countries and nationalities ranging from the farthest East to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, came together for the love of worship of the Great Unseen Being. Men and women, the rich and the poor, the Sultan and his subjects, all prayed together under the huge marquee, bedecked with multi-coloured flags of about two dozen Muslim countries, and erected on the pine-skirted spacious lawns of the Shah Jehan Mosque.

'Id prayers were conducted by a Foreign Minister of Indonesia, His Excellency Hadji Agus Salim, who led the Indonesian Delegation at the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Hadji Agus Salim in his eloquent and extemporary 'Id sermon in English referred to the present dispensation that pervades all the international assemblies of the world. He made an appeal to the Muslims of the world of today to appreciate their position which was epitomized by the Qur'an in its words — Ummatun Wasatan — a people that avoid all extremes and help themselves and humanity to get out of this chaos.

**Three persons accept Islam.**

Amidst shouts of Allahu Akbar (God is the Greatest), three persons from different nationalities accepted Islam at the hands of Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, M.Sc., Ph.D., Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. Hundreds of cameras flashed when Miss Patricia Parry (Welsh), Miss Anneliese Willden (German), and Mr. Gunnar Eriksson (Swedish) declared their faith in the Kalima (There is but one God, Muhammad is His Messenger).

All the visitors were served with luncheon afterwards.

The prominent visitors present were: The Indonesian Ambassador and Madam Subandrio; the Sultan of Perak; the Sultan of Kelantan; the Sultan of Selangor; the Honourable Tanizuddin, President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly; Major-General Yusuf, in charge of the Pakistan Contingent to the Coronation, General Douglas Gracey, ex-Commander-in-chief of Pakistan army.

**THE CONGRESS OF MUSLIMS OF THE BRITISH ISLES — 15th and 16th JUNE 1953**

The first session on the 15th June 1953, began at 11 a.m. with Dr. S. M. John of Burma in the chair. After Miss Fatima Baker-Davis had read out prayers in English, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah gave an address of welcome to the delegates of the Congress. The chairman then asked Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., the Secretary of the Congress, to read out the report of the last meeting. Mr. Bashir Ahmed of London School of Economics, was the main speaker of the session. He read out his paper on "Economic System of Islam" which stimulated very heated discussion, particularly about the role of Zakat and the problem of interest which have far reaching effects on the economy of a Muslim state.

A special coach was run in the afternoon from the Shah Jehan Mosque to Virginia Water, taking the whole party to this well-known local beauty spot. The sky was overcast with clouds. It had threatened to rain all the time and started drizzling at about 4:30 p.m. which forced the visitors to take shelter under some nearby trees. The more adventurous went on playing games in the spacious grounds of Virginia Water. Tea was prepared by the skilful hands of Mrs. Abdullah on a primus stove which had unfortunately refused to burn for the first half an hour. By the time the tea was finished the drizzling stopped and after the azan (call for prayer) the party worshiped in congregation. There were more games later on and at 6:30 p.m. all started packing up their things and then walked slowly towards the coach which brought them back to Woking.

The first session on the 16th June again started at 11 a.m. Miss Joyce E. Yasmin Scott acted as chairman and question master of the Brains Trust. After prayers by Miss Patricia M. Parry, B.A., A.R.C.M., various questions were put to the Brains Trust team. Members of the team were: Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Mr. Ghulam Kibria, Miss Fatima Baker-Davis and Mrs. Mahmooda 'Abdullah.

The most important questions discussed were: Is man moral by nature? Is mysticism just an escape from life and has it done great harm to the world of Islam? Should women go behind the veil? Why is military dictatorship the only course left for Muslim countries?

After the break for lunch and prayer the second session started at 3 p.m. In the absence of Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed Bawani, Dr. S. M. John took the chair. Maulana 'Abdul Majid, Editor of The Islamic Review, addressed the house for half an hour. The subject of his talk was: "Does the spiritual growth of a society depend on its political freedom?"

The next speaker of the session was the Honourable M. S. Mustapha, Minister of Works, Sierra Leone, W. Africa. He dwelt in detail upon the problems of Islam in West Africa. "We need schoolteachers, missionariers, nurses and social workers if we want to save Islam in West Africa," Mr. Mustapha said, "and it is only to Woking Muslim Mission and Pakistan that we look for help. Muslims are in majority in West Africa at present but if something is not done now, they may become a minority in the next fifty years. Islam is a natural religion to Africans but they need Islam's message re-interpreted according to present-day needs."

After the tea and the afternoon prayers, a visit was paid to Brookwood Cemetery to remember once again the departed souls of the Muslim community of the British Isles and pray for them. This brought an end to the two day Congress after the 'Id al-Fitr, 1953.
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