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Mutual Understanding Amongst Muslim Nations

An encouraging improvement in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations

The recent visit of the Afghanistan Foreign Minister to Karachi and the statements he made, and a later survey of recent developments in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations by Sardar Muhammad 'Ali Khan Raufi, the Afghanistan Minister to Pakistan, are notable events in the realm of recent Muslim diplomacy.

The visit of His Royal Highness Prince Sardar Na'im Khan appears to have been concerned with exploring the potentialities of military and economic collaboration. He stressed the "friendly and brotherly" relations existing between the two countries and stated that talks held at Karachi concerned the people of the North-West Frontier and not "boundary adjustments". Although the Pakistan Press was cautious in its appraisal of these events, the fact that the Foreign Minister did not speak Pushtu and that the "Pakhtunistan" question was not directly mentioned, or even hinted at, made a favourable impression, and there was even talk of Pakistan's Premier, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, visiting Kabul. The Afghanistan Foreign Minister's remark that the people of the North-West Frontier should be given an opportunity "of expressing themselves" could hardly be received with alarm by the Pakistan Government, which has been so active in developing this part of its territories and has succeeded in peacefully administering an area which under British rule was perpetually seething with tribal wars and revolt and civil disobedience.

The Afghanistan Foreign Minister also pointed out that a $3,000,000 loan from Soviet Russia and a $4,000,000 loan from Czechoslovakia were being spent on economic development of the country and not on armaments. On his return to Kabul, the Afghanistan Foreign Minister gave a favourable interview dealing with impressions of his visit to Pakistan. He emphasized the religious and cultural ties which bound the two countries together and once more reiterated the fact that Afghanistan had no claim to any part of Pakistan territory.

The Afghanistan Minister to Pakistan underlined these impressions when speaking at Peshawar on 11th November 1954. He said: "Such frank discussions often contribute considerably in removing any misunderstandings," that their efforts at mutual understanding were bound to succeed, given goodwill and sincerity of purpose, and that he looked forward to further meetings of this sort.

It is the earnest wish of every Muslim that both countries will make a maximum effort to iron out all differences in the realization that the mutual religious, cultural and geographical ties which bind these two brotherly Muslim nations together are vast in comparison with the misconceptions which have hitherto held them apart. Time and patience achieve results in diplomacy, and one can look forward to closer economic co-operation between the two countries, when a railway, given peace conditions, would be built from the Soviet frontier through Afghanistan to Karachi, and the Soviet Union's Asian trade would be diverted to Karachi, thus making Karachi one of the major ports of the world and providing Afghanistan with much-needed communications. This is only one of the many long-term possibilities to be envisaged if these encouraging and sensible diplomatic moves are given a chance of bearing fruit.

North African solidarity

The Algerian people are fighting side by side with their brother Tunisians in the Aures district of Southern Algeria. where about 3,000 North Africans are heroically resisting French paratroops. The Tunisian Fellagas, or patriots, were driven on to Algerian soil by the French troops operating in Western Tunisia. Several hundred Tunisians have crossed the frontier; the French have exploited the matter in order to outlaw the nationalist political party, called the MTD, parts of which stand for Algerian independence, but up to now public opinion. The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, has stated that (following the transfer of Foreign Minister Chaudhri Muhammad Zafurullah Khan to the Hague) his country will continue to support these movements fighting against imperialism.

A real improvement in Turkish-Egyptian relations

Speaking on 1st November 1954 at the opening of the Grand National Assembly at Ankara, the President of Turkey, Mr. Jelal Bayar, declared that the Egyptian Government had displayed a valuable sign of solidarity by accepting the insertion of provisions in the Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the Suez Canal in favour of the security of Turkey and had recently reciprocated Turkey's wish to establish friendly and closer relations between the two countries. He hoped that rapid and auspicious developments might be registered as a result of the friendly and brotherly relations existing between, on the one hand, the Egyptian Premier and the Egyptian Government, and, on the other, the Turkish Premier and the Turkish Government. He referred to the visit of King Hussein of Jordan, which had resulted in the sincerest and most confidence-inspiring manifestations of friendship, and also to the visit of the Iraqi Premier, General Nuri Saidi, which had prepared the ground for future developments. He described Pakistan as a great nation which had a great future before it, and that the Turkish-Pakistan Treaty had inspired the Turkish people with happiness. In this connection it is worthy of note that the Turkish Premier, Mr. Menderes, is to visit Egypt. His visit and a recent article in the Government organ, Zafar, are both evidence of the determination and sincerity of the Turkish Government to explore further possibilities of a Turkish-Egyptian rapprochement. Undoubtedly the danger of American Zionist pressure on Turkey now that the Democrats have won power in both the American Senate and House of Representatives is to be expected, but the Turkish people and the American Government and military advisers know full well that security in the Middle East is dependent on the goodwill of the people of Arabs, and not on the questionable backing of a handful of Zionist imperialists.

The Sudan and Egypt

The Sudan Premier, Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, in his encouraging trip to Great Britain, stressed the link of brotherhood which has existed and will, in his opinion, always exist between the Sudan and Egypt, irrespective of the fate of individual political personalities in Egypt or the Sudan. He very intelligently resisted all the traps set for him by veteran British journalists to get him to make anti-Egyptian utterances. During his stay in Great Britain, Mr. Azhari increased his political stature by his dignified behaviour. He was received by Queen Elizabeth II and by the British Premier, Sir Winston Churchill, as an equal.

Altogether the picture of Muslim co-operation is most favourable and encouraging.
A characteristic of Islam is that in it labour occupies a place of honour.

One of the characteristics of Islam is that it is a comprehensive system which satisfies all the needs and ambitions of mankind whether of the mind, the spirit or the body; whether of the individual, the family, the State, or society. Since Islam is so comprehensive, it is to be expected that it should deal, in its legislation, with the organization of labour and the workers, and that it should lay down regulations in the form of general flexible principles which are capable of expansion, and which can be applied in various ages, and according to the prevailing circumstances.

Of course, we do not expect that the Muslim system should present us with a system of legislation for labour, detailed item by item; for it is not reasonable that the remedy be prescribed before the appearance of the disease, or that legislation be promulgated before the need for it arises. The class struggle between the workers and the employers did not exist at all in the first Muslim society; and this is the main reason why Islam laid down the general principles governing labour legislation, and left for law specialists the task of working out their details, defining their application and converting them into legal formulae.

This article is confined to a discussion of the Islamic view of the position of labour. Islam assigns to labour a place of honour and esteem. For is there any more evident mark of esteem than Islam’s emphasis on the fact that all the prophets were labourers at one stage of their lives? Is there any more obvious mark of honour than Islam’s explicit statement that working with one’s hands is the noblest means of earning one’s livelihood? This is the essence of the texts that have dealt with this aspect of the question of work and workers. It will clarify this idea further and fix it permanently in the mind if we review these texts as they occur in the Qur’an and the sunnah (practice of the Prophet Muhammad).

The first of these texts that we refer to relates how a certain prophet was a craftsman who worked in iron and dedicated himself to his craft, making it his source of livelihood. This was the Prophet David (God’s peace be upon him!). The following verse occurs in the Qur’an:

“...And We gave David grace from Us. O ye hills and birds, echo the praises of God with him. And We made the iron subserve unto him, (saying) make thou long coats of mail.” (34:10-11.)

The words of the Prophet Muhammad on position of labour

This Qur’anic text explicitly refers to the fact that David was a labourer and that his work was the making of coats of mail. David, then, was a blacksmith, equivalent to the modern foundry worker, in that he worked in iron. The verse serves only as evidence to confirm the facts which we have explained. But there is also a hadith, closely connected with this verse, which says: “David ate nothing save what his hands had produced”. It is perfectly clear that the hadith agrees with the Qur’anic verse in referring to David as a worker. But the hadith goes beyond the verse in specifying that David had no other means of livelihood than his work.

The gist of these two texts, the verse in Chapter 34 and the hadith, is that the only means which David used to earn his daily bread was work and nothing else.

There is another hadith, which mentions that all the prophets were shepherds; and herding is another kind of work. Al-Bukhari (2:21) tells that the Prophet (God’s peace and blessing be upon him!) said: “God never sent a prophet who was not a shepherd.” His companions said, “And you?” and he replied, “I used to tend them for the people of Mecca in return for payment in qararit”. It is clear from
this hadith that all the prophets, without exception, passed through the stage of tending sheep. The practice of the Prophet Muhammad is preserved for us in another tradition of his which states that the best kind of food a man can eat is the produce of his own hands. The text of the tradition is, “No one ever eats better food than that which is the produce of his own hands.”

We want to draw attention particularly to the universal nature of this text, for it denies that there can ever be any food that attains the high rank of that which man produces himself by his own work and effort. It is also worthy of remark that although the hadith mentions more clearly the work of labourers, yet it embraces also all those who depend on themselves for their livelihood. It attacks by implication all those unlawful means upon which some people rely in earning their livelihood, such as usury, gambling, charlatanry and legerdemain. The hand is specified in the hadith only as standing for the other limbs, because man uses his hands more than any other part of his body for production and consumption. If we did not adopt this interpretation, the text would not cover the workers whose jobs can be summed up as supervision and control, and it would not be correct to understand it as referring to other men whose professions require mental effort. This usage is a common figure of speech in Arabic and many similar examples occur.

The sunnah went even further in honouring the worker and making him conscious of his rank in Muslim society. The Prophet Muhammad testified of a worker whom he saw in his company that the fire did not touch his body. The tellers of the Hadith, when relating the story of his testimony, said that a man who worked as a craftsman came to the assembly of the Prophet and sat near him. The Prophet took the hand of the worker, pointed to it and said, “This is a hand that will not be touched by fire.” What could be nobler than that a labourer should be like the prophets, eating through the work of his hands that food to which God assigns the highest place? The hardship of work that roughens his hand is a paved way to paradise, and a road that leads to the favour of God.

Exploits of the productive power of others are warned by the Prophet Muhammad

The human soul varies from individual to individual, for thus were men created. Some men are betted by their souls to oppress and exploit others whenever they have an opportunity to oppress and exploit: the strong oppress the weak; and the intelligent exploit the stupid.

If this feature is accepted as a characteristic of human nature, it follows that there must be, in any system of legislation, some clear landmarks, which may set limits to check those who are tempted to trespass against the law. These landmarks will serve such men as ladders to point out the areas of danger and of safety and to show them God’s domain, any violation of which arouses His wrath.

Among the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad which warn those who exploit the productive power of the worker without paying him his wages, or without paying him a wage commensurate with the physical or mental effort he expends on his work, the first that we come across is the one in which Muhammad says that God says: “There are three types of people who will find Me their enemy on the Day of Resurrection: the man who promises a thing in My name and then breaks his word; the man who sells an article to a free man, takes his money and then withholds the article; and the man who engages a worker, exacts from him his full contract, and then fails to pay him his due.” There is no doubt whatsoever of the severity of God’s warning in this case. For, what warning is more terrible than that God will be a man’s enemy? He that has God for an enemy shall have a bitter end, and shall be confirmed in wickedness. We may describe this tradition as having for its aim the protection of the labourer from exploitation by his employer. There is another tradition which protects the worker against delay in paying his wages. This is the saying of the Prophet (God’s peace and blessing be upon him!): “Give the labourer what is due to him before his sweat is dry.” The implication here is immediate payment: the worker must receive his wages within the time fixed between him and his employer. If the worker is engaged for a job that will be completed in an hour or thereabouts, his wages must be paid him as soon as he completes his work. If he is employed on a daily, weekly or monthly basis, then his wages should be paid at the end of the day, the week or the month respectively. This provision applies also to civil servants and to other kinds of employees. If an employer delays the payment or tries to put it off, he should be brought to court; the same applies even if the employer has made the contract with the worker in the name of the Government.

The Prophet Muhammad on the greed of foremen

Just as there are traditions in Islam that protect the worker against exploitation or delay in the payment of his wages, so there are traditions which protect the worker against the greed of foremen, and in particular against the practice whereby they pocket a proportion of the worker’s wages. The Prophet Muhammad referred to this practice by the word Qasama in the tradition, “Beware of al-Qasama.” He was asked, “What is al-Qasama?” and he replied, “When a man who is in charge of a group of people takes for himself a share of each man’s wages.” A good example of al-Qasama is the foreman over a group of young workers (or apprentices), or the contractor, who deduct for themselves part of the wages of all their workers without justification, simply because they happen to be bosses and use their position as such to increase their income at the expense of those who work under them. And it is because this practice is so hateful and so immoral that the Prophet warned against it in the tradition, “Beware of al-Qasama.” This practice may be described as oppression, and those who resort to it as oppressors. But God, according to a tradition of the Prophet, says: “O my creatures! I have made oppression unlawful to Myself; so do not you yourselves resort to it.” Oppression has caused many whole towns to be destroyed. “These towns We destroyed when they did wrong, and We appointed for their destruction a just rite” (The Qur’an 18:59). And God warned the oppressors of their bad end in His words: “And they who have done wrong will know one day with what treatment they shall be treated” (The Qur’an 26:227): “Whoever of you does wrong We shall cause to taste great punishment” (The Qur’an 25:19): “But if anyone repent after his wrongdoing and set things right, God will turn mercifully towards him” (The Qur’an 5:39). The oppressed workers must bring their grievances to court, and the judiciary will look into them and “He will pay them their rewards in full: God loveth not the wrongdoers” (The Qur’an 3:57).

The Prophet Muhammad condemns ambiguity

Islam goes even further than this. For there is a tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, reported by one of his com-
companions, Rafi, which forbids the employer to expose the worker’s wages to ambiguity, or to leave it open to chance whether the wages materialize or not. Rafi says: “We were the largest landowners, and we used to employ people to work the land, saying, ‘This piece of land for me and that for you’ (i.e., the employee). But this land may yield and that land may not. So we were forbidden to continue in this practice.” Rafi’s statement clearly shows that his family used to hire people to cultivate their land in Medina. The practice that was followed then was that the farmer-worker’s wages were paid in kind from the produce of the land. But the landowner used to allot for the worker a specific piece of land on the farm. This piece of land assigned to the employee might not yield any produce at all, and the worker was therefore exposed to the whims of chance and to serious loss, for the land might yield something and he would then get his wages, or it might yield nothing and he would not get his wages. When the Prophet legislated against this assignment of a specific piece of land to the worker, he must also have had in mind the consideration that human nature might get the better of the worker, who would then pay more attention to his own piece of land than to that of his employer; and this would constitute an injury to the employer’s rights. We can therefore say that the reason for the Prophet’s prohibition of that practice was to protect equally the rights of the worker and the rights of the employer. And after all, the law exists to ensure that each man has his rights.

The Passing Away of an Elder
Indonesian Muslim
Statesman
Hadji Agus Salim

The picture on the left was taken at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, last year on the occasion of the festival 'Id al-Fitr. 1373 A.H.—1953 C.E., when the late Hadji Agus Salim led the congregational prayers and delivered his address.

Hadji Agus Salim, one of the best-known of Indonesia’s elder statesmen and a figure deeply revered by his compatriots and respected in the Muslim world for his deep Islamic erudition and piety, died on 4th November 1954 shortly after celebrating his seventieth birthday. He will be remembered by his non-Indonesian Muslim friends by their brief contact with him on the occasion of the 'Id al-Fitr (1373 A.H.—1953 C.E.) at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, when he led the 'Id prayers and delivered the sermon which was his own in every way.

Born in West Sumatra on 8th October 1884, he became prominent in the struggle for Indonesian independence, being one of the early leaders of “Sarekat Islam” (United Islam Party). During the pre-1945 period, he served in various capacities — as a journalist, a diplomat, a member of the Volksraad and also with the League of Nations— but it was not until the advent of Indonesian independence that his talents received their due recognition.

He served as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1946 and 1947, and in the latter year led a mission to Muslim countries. In 1948 he was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Delegation to the United Nations at a crucial period when the recognition of Indonesia’s independence was in the balance.

In 1953 Hadji Agus Salim came to Britain as the Senior Indonesian representative at the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Until recently he was an adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

His remains were laid to rest in the Kalibata (the Heroes’ Cemetery) at Jakarta.
ISLAM’S SHARE IN THE REAWAKENING OF EUROPE

By ‘Omar Farroukh

Ibn Khaldun’s view is that political awakening precedes religious reformation

It is always difficult to decide in favour of one side or the other in an argument; and the argument at the basis of the present discussion is not an exception to the rule: Which of the two ought to come first, the religious reformation or the political awakening? A close study of our problem shows, by the pure form of logic and the practical evidence of history, that the awakening must precede. Religion itself is a form of authority; it is the authority that suffered the least number of revolts. In spite of every intrinsic value in religion it needed always, for its expansion and supremacy, a strong royal house or a leader representing an influential family. This is in keeping with the opinion of Ibn Khaldun on the subject. But before I bring Ibn Khaldun to witness, I would like to say a word on Ibn Khaldun himself, taken from a near and ready reference, namely, The History of the Arabs, by Dr. P. Hitti. Dr. Hitti says:

‘Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 C.E.) was born in Tunis of a Spanish Arab family. . . . He represented for the first time a theory of historical development which takes cognizance of the physical facts of climate and geography as well as of moral and spiritual forces. As one who endeavoured to formulate laws of national progress and decay, Ibn Khaldun may be considered the discoverer . . . of the true scope and nature of history or at least the real founder of the science of sociology. No Arab writer, indeed no European, had ever taken a view of history at once so comprehensive and philosophic. By the consensus of all critical opinion, Ibn Khaldun was the greatest historical philosopher Islam produced and one of the greatest of all time.”

Although Ibn Khaldun considers religion as a factor of supreme importance in the national life of every people, he believes that a religious mission cannot be realized without a powerful group backing it. Certainly, a religious mission adds strength and prestige to all political movements, but it cannot create them. Contrary to all popular belief, Ibn Khaldun asserts that the Prophet Muhammad’s family was powerful and wealthy at the same time; otherwise Islam could not have secured, even in Arabia itself, such a strong hold in such a short period.

Evidence of history supports Ibn Khaldun’s view

The evidence of history also supports Ibn Khaldun’s theory. The supremacy of Christianity in Southern Europe was established at the beginning of the fourth century, and only through the efforts of Constantine the Great, when he declared Christianity the State religion of the Roman Empire (311 C.E.).

Luther wrote an Address to the German Nobility (1520), “. . . in which he calls upon the rulers of Germany, especially the knights, to carry out a reform of the Church, since he believed that it was vain to wait for the popes and bishops to do so.”

In England it was King Henry VIII himself who declared the doctrines of the Anglican Church (1539 C.E.). The fate of the declaration was decided between Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth first. The outcome of the struggle between the two sister queens was the spread of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the practical strength of five to fifty-five. since Mary reigned five years only from 1553 to

1 J. H. Breasted.
1558, while Elizabeth occupied the throne of England exactly fifty-five years from 1558 to 1603 inclusive.

On the Continent the Reformation found access to zones where ancient Rome had had only shadowy influence. The warm shores of the Continent, the basin of the Rhine and the whole stretch of the Eastern boundaries remained faithful to the cults of either the eastern or the western portions of the Roman Empire, in spite of the geographical, racial, linguistic and economic conditions prevailing in Eastern, Southern and Western Europe. It is really astonishing to know that Rome had stationed in these lands, which remained Catholic, her strongest garrisons, which were pagan. The martial heathen authority of ancient Rome had given way only before the ecclesiastical Christian authority of the medieval Roman Catholic Church.

The pure argument of logic and the practical evidence of history, as criteria in determining the relation of religion to society, were both presupposed by Islam ten centuries before they were unequivocally imposed on the leaders of the reformation in Europe. All the Muslim reformers of modern times also had advocated the establishment of a strong State to carry out reforms of different aspects. Muhammad himself was not only a prophet, but a leader of a community and a head of a State as well. Islam did in fact assign to religion a strong social character and required only a simple doctrinal belief.

When a religion becomes the religion

If such living elements were taken into real consideration in introducing a religion or any other social order, we would safely escape, as followers or upholders of the religion or the social order, the ingenious irony of a Bernard Shaw. Bernard Shaw was right when he maintained, in his own sarcastic style, that a religion should not be divorced from reality. Moreover, if the living social elements are really and cleverly interwoven in a religion, then that religion would be nearer to the pure and original form of the religion. All forms of religion would then lose their attributive names, and we would all come to the core of reality clothed in the words of Goethe.\(^2\)

\[
N\ddot{a}rrisch, dass jeder in seinem Fulle
Seine besondere Meinung preist!
Wenn Islam Gott ergeben heisst,
In Islam leben und sterben wir alle.
\]

(*Tis foolish that everyone in his case
His own opinion alone does praise!
If Islam submission to God be.
As Muslims we all live and die.)*

A word must be said about the ultimate relation between the doctrine, on one hand, and the social system on the other hand, to the religion. In religion we should insist on a distinction between the doctrine and the social arrangements, attached sometimes artificially, to the doctrine. The simpler the doctrine, the more practical and less subject to modification it is in the midst of ever-changing conditions of life. Social arrangements, on the contrary, are accommodations which are expected to undergo modification.

It is extremely dangerous to identify the social system with the doctrine, or to invent a social system wholly dependent on the doctrine. If a community does so, it would soon find itself before a sharp dilemma: either to keep on straightening out its doctrine perpetually or to lead a rigid, harmful and antiquated social life. There is no relation between religion and marriage, for example, except good regulations for the status of the future family. A good State of family education may replace the religion in this respect.

Europe's contact with Islam brought about changes in Christian doctrine

I should now like to dedicate a few words to the social version of the story of religious dissatisfaction in medieval Europe. This version clearly shows that the doctrine had to be remodelled according to the changing conditions of life. A decisive factor in bringing about these new conditions was the rise of Islam and the continuous contact of Islam with Europe on the battlefields and in the field of science and thought.

The first real contact Islam had with the world was its contact with the Byzantine Empire. Muhammad himself had sent two detachments against the Byzantine army in Syria; and in 630 C.E. he led an expedition in person. The first and the second Caliphs dealt crushing blows to the Byzantine forces in Syria. In the course of ten years only, the whole of Syria was liberated by the Arabs from the yoke of the Eastern Empire, despite the fact that Emperor Heraclius I (610-641 C.E.) took the field at the head of his numerous and well-equipped armies to resist the advance of the Arabs and of Islam.

This contact, though it took place outside the land of the Greeks, produced some lasting effects on the Greeks themselves. George Finlay, the historian of the Byzantine Empire, says: \(^4\)

"The social conditions of the inhabitants of the Eastern Empire had already undergone a considerable change during the century which elapsed from the

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2 The Black Girl, p. 11.
3 West-Oestlicher Divan, p. 56.

4 G. Finlay, History of the Byzantine Empire.

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accession of Heraclius to that of Leo III (717-741);... and this change in society created a new phase in the Roman Empire. ... Leo III was the reformer of the Church and State. He was the first Christian sovereign to arrest the torrent of the Mohamadan conquest: he improved the conditions of his subjects, he attempted to purify their religion from the superstitious reminiscences of Hellenism, with which it was still debased, and to stop the development of the quasi-idolatry in the orthodox church."

Soon the practical results of this contact was felt deeply in the life of the Greeks and in the Greek Government machinery. Finlay says further:8

"As long as Mohammedanism was only placed in collision with the fiscality of the Roman government and the intolerance of the orthodox church, the Saracens were everywhere victorious, and found everywhere Christian allies in the provinces they invaded. But when anarchy and misfortune had destroyed the fiscal power of the State, and weakened the ecclesiastical intolerance of the clergy, a new point of comparison between the government of the emperors and the caliphs presented itself to the attention. The question, how justice was administered in the ordinary relations of life, became of vital interest. The code of Justinian was compared with that of the Koran. The courts presided over by judges and bishops were compared with those of the Moolahs.6 The convictions which arose in the breasts of the subjects of the Byzantine emperors changed the current of events."

The contact of Islam — iconoclasm — with Hellenism — iconolatry — creates seditions and rebellions in Byzantine Empire

When Islam came upon the scene, the Eastern Roman Empire was literally full of superstitions. The Greek Orthodox Church was a house for images, and Christians of that part of the Empire were thrown back into mere idolatry. A very vivid contrast of the actual religious life of the Byzantine Empire and that prevailing in Islam is contained in the words of Bernard Shaw:7

"Six hundred years after Jesus, Mahomet (Muhammad) made a colossal stride ahead from mere stock-and-stone idolatry to a very enlightened unitarianism."

But whenever any two nations come in contact, even though they are foes, as were the Greeks and the Arabs, they must influence each other. So, it was unthinkable that a belief based on the absolute abstraction of the deity should not affect, by way of contrast at least, the Greeks who had become by that time semi-偶像ists. Soon a battle ensued throughout the Byzantine Empire. The two antagonistic camps represented the two opposing beliefs in God: Iconolatry and Iconoclasm. The European Greeks, who had retained more of the ancient Greek mythology, were Iconolatrous, requiring the representation of God in a human form, and modelling all religious experience and theological conceptions on our earthly and passionate life. Those of them who were Asiatic (including Emperor Leo III, who was an Asiatic himself from a town near the boundaries of Syria), and consequently more averse to be influenced by the Muslim idea of God, even on the battlefield, were Iconoclasts, and forbade the cult of images altogether. The two parties at first held councils and met in debates to settle their differences: but soon they encountered each other in the streets, and the clash of arms was heard from every quarter.8 Finlay says:9

"In the year 726, Leo was embarrassed by seditions and rebellions, caused by his decrees against image worship. ... The Iconoclasts, however, now began to remove images from the churches in possession of the clergy of their party, and the troops (mostly Asiatics) on several occasions insulted the image over the entrance to the imperial palace, which had been once removed by Leo the Isaurian, and replaced by Irene. The Emperor (Leo V) now ordered it to be again removed, on the ground that this was necessary to avoid public disturbances."

The State at last decided in favour of the Iconoclasts. And the clergy, therefore, who adhered to the principles of the image-worship were, in consequence, deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and sent into banishment; but the party revolutions that had frequently occurred in the Greek church had introduced a dishonourable system of compliance with the reigning faction, and most of the clergy were ready to yield up their opinions than their benefits."10

Islam influences religious movements in Western Europe

Leaving eastern Europe and turning to western Europe, we find similar religious movements which were influenced to a great extent by Islam.

An early prominent figure in this line of Western religious reformers was Peter Abelard (1079-1142 C.E.), a French scholastic philosopher who tried to give a formally rational expression to the received ecclesiastical doctrine.11 Contrary to the general trend of medieval theology in Europe, he maintained that one should first rationally investigate and then decide whether one should or should not believe. Abelard was accused of expressing heretical opinions on the Holy Trinity.12 In his Si et Non (Yes and No), written in 1121-1122, he treated the relation between philosophy and theology.13 He collected in this book the contradictory statements from the Bible and the Fathers of the Church and reassembled them in one hundred and fifty-seven questions.14 Abelard was supposed to have invented this method, but we know now that al-Ghazali made use of it a generation earlier. In his Tahādat al-Fulūṣīja (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), al-Ghazali classified the fallacies of ancient philosophy, according to his own judgment, and grouped them under twenty questions: then he attempted a refutation of all these questions. He completed his work in January of 1095, a quarter of a century before Abelard made a similar attempt. Al-Ghazali's work has in view a logical and rational defence of Muslim theology.

France was also the cradle of other religious movements, the Waldensian and the Albigensian. These two movements sprang up in south-eastern France, in Llbi (hence the name Albigensian), Toulouse and Lyon, a zone which witnessed only a promenade-like march of the Muslim troops. But

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5 Ibid., 23f.
6 By "Moolahs" Finlay means "the religious men of Islam".
7 The Black Girl, p. 23.
8 History of the Byzantine Empire, p. 24.
9 Ibid., pp. 19-20, 111.
10 Ibid., pp. 112-113.
11 Encyclopaedia Britannica.
14 Larousse, idem.
15 Collins, p. 555.
this zone had, nevertheless, experienced a religious and intellectual contact with Muslim Spain.

The Albigensians also called themselves “Cathari”, or purified. They “taught that the Christian religion itself was false”, and wanted to substitute for it another creed. Their new creed “had its origin in two religious movements of antiquity, Gnosticism and Manichaeism, both of which, in turn, were based on the Persian dualistic notions... Catharism was an imported creed, entering Italy from Bulgaria, probably through commercial channels, in the eleventh century... Much of its popularity was doubtless due to its attack upon the morals of the clergy and the wealth of the Catholic Church, as well as to its own high ethical principles. For the Cathari not only refused to obey the Catholic hierarchy, but rejected infant baptism, the Mass, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, considering Transubstantiation the worst of abominations. They disliked elaborate ceremonies, the use of incense and sacerdotal vestments, and ran in the most abusive language against the veneration of images and especially against the use of the cross.” 15

Protestantism influenced by Islam

The story of Zwingli (1484-1531), Calvin (1509-1564) and especially of Martin Luther (1483-1546) is too well known to need retelling or even recapitulation. But two points ought to be emphatically stressed here. First, the Iconoclast movement, which could not ultimately gain the upper hand in eastern Europe, found in central and northern Europe the most fertile soil. Protestantism, in all its forms, is pronouncedly against images and against the hierarchy of the Church. Both of these are Islamic attitudes. In Islam there are neither images nor symbols; and Islam is the only religion without a hierarchy. Secondly, it is maintained that the Reformation received its real impulse from the “wish to re-examine the past on the basis of the original Hebrew and Greek manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments”. The corruption of Rome and the Turkish invasion of the Byzantine Empire, it is further argued, were only secondary factors.

Taking all this at its face value, we would soon discover too that Islam did share here in the Reformation. The scientific spirit, which embodied the examination and comparison of manuscripts of ancient works, was really a product of Islamic origin. No one in the Middle Ages thought of regaining Greek wisdom and thought except the Muslims. Luther himself was a student of the scholastic philosophy, which was, in Luther’s day and down to the seventeenth century, under the influence of Muslim thought. In spite of the vigorous opposition set by the Catholic Church against Averroism, the latter continued to exert a strong influence on the intellectual and religious life of Europe. Concerning the comparison of the original manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments particularly, it should be mentioned that Luther never knew much Hebrew and was not specially strong in Greek. 16

The motto of Anselm and Islam

Moreover, while Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109 C.E.) had a motto, Credo ut intelligam (I believe in order that I may understand), Islam had from the outset decided that belief without understanding, leaving the views of the different schools of theology aside, is not valid. “Belief, according to Islam,” said Maulavi Muhammad ‘Ali, “is not only a conviction of the truth of a given proposition, but it is essentially the acceptance of a proposition as a basis for action... and no other belief is known to Islam.” 17

The principle of understanding and reflection is very important, and rather essential in Islam. Revelation itself is made to those who can understand; the Qur’an says: “We make clear the communications for a people who reflect” (10:24). Even that which is allowed or not allowed, in religion, is subject to our thoughtful consideration. Regarding this principle, the Qur’an says (2:219): “They ask you (O Muhammad) about intoxicants and games of chance. Say: In both of them there is a great sin and means of profit for men; but their sin is greater than their profit. And they ask you as to what they should spend (in the way of alms and support of the cause of Islam). Say: That which you can spare. Thus does God make clear to you the communications, that you may ponder.”

Nature, too, is subject matter for thinking, according to Islam. The Qur’an declares (3:189-190): “Most surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day there are signs for men of understanding, those who remember God standing, sitting or lying on their sides, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth: Our Lord, Thou hast not created this in vain! glory to Thee! save us from the chastisement of the fire.” Knowledge is rather a decisive factor in assigning any value to men. This basis of evaluation is repeatedly alluded to in the Qur’an, for example (39:9): “Say: Are those who know and those who do not know alike? Only the men of understanding are mindful.”

Anselm and al-Ghazali

Now, a close contemporary of Anselm, but of a totally different orientation in the matters of beliefs, was al-Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.). Al-Ghazali, though a theologian and a defender of faith of Islam, had accepted a challenge of the early Muslim thinkers who advocated that no man, no thinking man in fact, should be satisfied with the creed he inherited from his parents, unless he be convinced of its truth personally. The fine Autobiography of al-Ghazali is nothing but a detailed record of the internal struggle, intellectual and spiritual, of that great Muslim theologian and thinker. A real Muslim is the thinking Muslim. Mere belief is a primitive stage in human society. It is the pre-history of thought.

16 Breasted, p. 244.
17 Collins, pp. 498, 500.
18 Averroism is the philosophy of the Muslim thinker Ibn Rushd (Latin: Averroes).
21 Quoted from the Translation of the Holy Qur’an, Lahore, Pakistan, 1935.

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His Majesty King Sa‘ud on Palestine and the future of Zionism there

"PALESTINE IS THEIR HOMELAND WHICH THE ARABS INHERITED FROM THEIR FOREFATHERS"

(Below is the résumé of an interview which His Majesty King Sa‘ud of Sa‘udi Arabia granted to Mr. Alfred Lilienthal, an American Jew, whose name became famous in the Muslim world as a result of his anti-Zionist book, What Price Israel?, published in America last year. The book lays bare the Zionist aims and ambitions and the methods employed to achieve them.

Mr. Lilienthal visited Riyadh, Sa‘udi Arabia, on 19th September 1954

Americans until two years ago knew next to nothing about the Arab case

His Majesty King Sa‘ud, in speaking to Mr. Alfred Lilienthal, remarked that Sa‘udi Arabia differed very much from the countries of the Middle East he (Mr. Lilienthal) visited during his tour. His Majesty pointed out that the beginning had just been made in the laying of various programmes and plans involving numerous reforms, rehabilitation and progress of their cultural, social and economic life, and that though the country had to go through different phases in her life under different régimes yet it did never possess the resources for progress and uplift and rehabilitation.

Continuing, the King said, “Our road to our long-term plans of reform is at once arduous and distant, but we are determined, by the grace of God, to shoulder the burden of responsibility in order that we provide for our people and our country a life of progress which we ardently wish for and for the sake of which we launch upon the struggle.”

Thereupon Mr. Lilienthal said, “The American public opinion as recently as only two short years ago lacked information on everything pertaining to the Arab countries and their problems, especially what relates to their common problem of Arab-Zionist relations. It is only recently that the Americans could study books, hear lectures and read articles and be benefited largely from the broadcasts which acquainted them with the Arab viewpoint about this problem and its ramifications. Consequently the people of America have begun to know about the justice of the Arab problem and begun to express their sympathy for the Arab standpoint, especially what relates to the Arab refugees. Would Your Majesty comment on these problems?”

The Muslims and Arabs will have no choice but to have recourse to force if Zionists do not undo the wrongs done to the Arabs of Palestine

His Majesty said, “We are grateful to you and to all those who take part in expounding the righteousness and justice of the Arab cause, as the Arabs have no effective propaganda machinery for giving vent to the justice of their problem, but truth could not be eradicated in every place and every time, nor could its helpers and supporters be abolished who boldly declare the truth, inviting people’s attention to it and making an appeal for it. Let me make it absolutely clear. It is my habit to express my opinion exactly as I believe, in full consonance with my own conscience. If you have already met some Arab leaders and been acquainted with their views on this problem, in their own specific method, let me tell you very plainly that on the solution of this problem largely depends the peace and security of this part of the world.

The tragedy of Palestine is the creation of world Zionism with the help, influence and support of the British and American politicians, as well as the policy of negation adopted by some of the Arab leaders. If these things did not obtain, we would never have been what we are now. The Arab demands for their lawful rights represent a just cause. Palestine is their homeland which they inherited from their forefathers. If the Jews were found in Palestine, and used to live in it in the too distant past in remote history, then in your country of America there were people other than those who are dominating it today. It would never occur to any sensible man that one day they should demand your countrymen to quit, for no other reason than the fact that they were its only inhabitants in the distant past. I mean the Red Indians and the British.”

On this Mr. Lilienthal said, “What are Your Majesty’s views about the restoration of peace and understanding between the contending parties?”

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The Arabs and Muslims have no choice but to defend themselves if Zionists persist in their hostilities

His Majesty replied, “I would like to remind you about the relations between the Arabs and the Jews in the early mandatory régime in Palestine and before it — they lived as peaceful neighbours. The Arabs used to safeguard all their rights due to the Jews, used to respect what the Jews considered holy, and used to live together as citizens. For the return to that atmosphere there are two alternatives. Either the Jews recognize and revert to the right and undo the wrong with the help of the Big Powers who like to see stability in this part of the world by allowing the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, their fields and businesses, and also by compensating the Arabs for what the Jews have destroyed by damage, confiscation, loss or wilful demolition. They ought to adhere and faithfully implement the resolutions passed by the United Nations regarding Palestine. The Jews have to put a final stop forthwith to the heavy infiltration of the Jews from all over the world into this narrow piece of Arab territory. Or, if no way could be found to implement this proposal and the Jews persisted in their hostilities, threatening the Arabs with total extinction, the Arabs and the Muslims will have no other choice but to have recourse to the second alternative of self-defence, which one day they will have to choose, though reluctantly. I mean the defence of their lives and their country, with all that the Arabs and Muslims possess in men and money.

“The Arabs and the Muslims alike shall stand up in defence, men and women, the young and the old. There is no getting away from this since we believe what an Arab verse says: ‘If there was no transportation except arrows, then what would be the course left to him who is forced but to ride them?’.

“I would like to tell you the bare truth. Millions of Arabs and Muslims are longing to shed their blood in the protection of the Aqsa Mosque (the Dome of the Rock) and to purge the sacred land from the Zionist menace. This shall come to pass; there is no doubt about it at all. The Arabs and the Muslims regard Palestine as their former Qiblah (the direction towards which Muslims face themselves) and the third sacred territory after the Ka'bah and Medina. It is an integral part of the Muslim territory. The powers whose concern is the calm and peace of the Middle East must realize this truth and make it their ideal. If these powers then found those who helped the implementation of the Zionist plans in the creation of the “State of Israel” in Palestine, they must understand that the awakening of the Arab masses today is different from what it was yesterday. Not a single military Arab today dare accept any truce or call for any sort of understanding and co-operation with the Zionists, so long as the Arabs in Palestine are in their present state of.oercion, and their women, their children, their young and old, toil under difficulties, turned out of their homes, their elders, their businesses and their homeland, and so long as the Western Powers in the United Nations help the Zionists in not implementing its resolutions on Palestine and so long these Powers are oblivious of the Arabs and their importance.”

Zionists’ ambitions aim at occupying Medina

His Majesty in reply said: “What I stated some time ago I invite your attention to now. This is the only reply to what the responsible Zionists in Israel stated at that time. They claimed that Israel was to extend as far as the Tigris and the Euphrates, the Sinai Peninsula and the northern part of Saudi Arabia, including Medina, in which is situated the mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad, and is a sacred territory. Above all it is my own homeland, and that of all Arab Muslims. From the claims made by responsible leaders of Israel and from those of the creators of Israel, the ambitions of Zionism are abundantly proved. These ambitions form part of the curriculum of the schools and are inculcated in the minds of the children. What I expressed some months ago along with our preparedness in might is the only answer.”

Mr. Lilienthal said: “I once again tender my gratitude and appreciate the clarity of the statement made by Your Majesty. I am glad to observe that Your Majesty distinguishes between Zionists and the peace-loving Jews who wish to live loyally and peacefully in Arab homelands feeling safe in their lives, their rights and their religious rituals as loyal citizens of the country they live in.” Mr. Lilienthal further said: “I am glad to hear this from Your Majesty and I shall publish this in my book on my tour in the Middle East on my return to America. Once the American people realize the justice of the Arab claim, I am sure of their due support and help for the Arab cause. Your Majesty’s Ambassador in America (who was present at the audience) is aware of this and of the Americans’ attitude towards right when explained to them.”

The King thanked the American writer and wished him a pleasant journey and bon voyage.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Murderous attacks and the desire for peace

The tension along the borders of Israel, particularly along her borders with Jordan, has been increasing of late. And the anger of the Arabs has also been rising progressively.

Israeli forces recently made serious attacks on Arab villages in Jordan. The casualties suffered by the Arabs and the damage done were not as great as those suffered in the Qibya incident last year. But they were nevertheless serious.

That Israel wants some kind of peace with the Arabs is obvious. And the methods she is employing for the realization of this peace, and the motives she has behind it, are equally obvious. Her methods are villainous, and her objects are treacherous.

Israel wants ultimate peace with the Arabs because she is finding life rather uncomfortable in the economic circumstances forced upon her by the Arab boycott. She wants cheap raw materials from the Arab countries which she can manufacture and sell to the Arabs at great profit. She wants Arab markets for her industrial products, and is longing for an opportunity to colonize the Arabs economically. She wants to put an end to her dependence on financial aid from world Jewry, which of late has ceased to flow as abundantly as it did just after the birth of the State of Israel. During the last few years, world Jewry has dug deeply into its pockets to breast-feed Israel. Now it thinks that the time has come to wean Israel and leave her to fend for herself economically. And Israel cannot hope to stand on her own feet until she has free play in the Arab markets which are as yet a rich paradise for industrial exporters.

No military equilibrium between the Arab states and Israel

Israel has been trying for a long time to conclude a peace agreement with the Arabs and to devise a modus vivendi with the Arab world. But the Arabs did not respond to Israel's peace overtures, and now Israel is trying to terrorize them into acceptance of this peace. She has carried out one murderous attack after another on peaceful Jordanian villages, pillaging and plundering on a wide scale. She has spread propaganda about her great military might; and her military leaders have on more than one occasion said that they are more than able to stand against the joint forces of the Arab states and to defeat them in battle.

It cannot be denied that there is as yet no equilibrium in military strength between the Arab states as a whole and Israel. Many military observers think that Israel is at present rather stronger militarily than the Arab states put together, and that a full-scale open war between the Arab states and Israel may end in favour of Israel. There is also little doubt that the Arab states at present are in a rather vulnerable position vis-à-vis Israel.

The lifting of the embargo on the sale of arms to the Arab states

The Arab states have been trying hard to remedy this perilous situation. They have earnestly sought arms and equipment, and have endeavoured to train their armies on modern lines. Egypt has been in the forefront in this respect, and Syria under the Shishakly régime was not lagging very far behind. One of the sacred aims of the Egyptian revolution, and one of the main ambitions of the present leaders of Egypt, is to achieve great military strength. New armament factories have been established, the air force has been increased, and the set-up of the whole Egyptian Army has been reorganized.

But since the beginning of the Palestine war, Egypt and the Arab countries as a whole have suffered from a great deficiency in modern heavy armaments and equipment. The United States of America, Great Britain and France had decided to prohibit the export of arms to the Arab states, lest these arms may be used against Israel and thus disturb peace in the Middle East. Repeated requests by the Arab states for the lifting of this embargo on the sale of arms to the Arab states were refused by these great powers, until August this year when the embargo on the sale of arms to the Middle East was suddenly lifted. The Arab states were very jubilant over this. To them it meant that they would at last have an opportunity to get strong and thus become independent and safe from foreign aggression.

But in lifting the arms embargo, the three great powers did not purposely intend to make the Arabs strong against Israel, nor to encourage the Arabs to have a "second round" with Israel. They wanted the Middle East to become safe from Communist aggression. They had earlier tried to entice the Arab states to join a "Middle East Defence Pact", but the Arabs would have no part of this for various reasons, chief amongst which was the fact that they were not happy at the prospect of joining an organization in which Israel would be a member.

"Unfair to Israel?"

The joy which entered Arab hearts at the lifting of the arms embargo was matched, or perhaps more than matched, by the dismay and anger of Israel. Israeli statesmen who, only a few days earlier, had condemned the conclusion of an agreement between Britain and Egypt over the evacuation of British troops from the Suez canal and described it as a dagger in the back of Israel, now whistled the same tune about the arms embargo. "Unfair to Israel" was their slogan. They said that the great powers, by lifting the arms embargo, were giving weapons to the enemies of Israel and encouraging them to wage war against her. They said that the great powers were purposely strengthening the Arabs and thereby reducing the comparative strength of Israel. They also said that the great powers, who professed that they wanted peace and stability in the Middle East were, by lifting the arms embargo, doing something that would have quite the opposite result.

"Unfair to Israel" they said — and "Unfair to Israel" they will continue to say to anything that might tend to restore respectable military and economic strength to the Arab states.
Israel's peace through war

The peace which Israel is proposing is one in which she will give up little, while the Arabs give up a lot. That kind of peace is not one which the Arabs will ever seriously consider. Israel is thus thinking of forcing peace upon the Arabs, and she is thinking of doing this quickly and in a most devilish manner. The Arab states are at present comparatively weak, and Israel seems to have a good chance of defeating them in battle, should there be a show-down soon. The show-down must take place soon, however, because the Arab states are getting stronger every day, and if Israel were to wait too long she would find that the Arab states would not only become her match in military strength, but would become much stronger than she. So she is trying to provoke the Arabs into a full-fledged war as soon as possible, and before the odds turn against her. She is fighting against time, and she is doing her utmost to raise Arab temper to boiling point. Israel’s attacks against Arab villages on the Israeli border should be interpreted in this light. There is a strong political group in Israel, mainly sympathisers with the old Stern Gang and the Irgun Zvai Leumi (the perpetrators of the Deir Yassin massacre in 1947 in which 150 Arab women and children were brutally murdered), who are bringing great pressure to bear upon the Israeli government to take up this policy seriously. These political groups, who are by no means a minority in Israel, have for long cherished the ambition of raising the Jewish flag over ‘Amman and over a good part of the Sinai peninsula. They have been sparing no efforts to rally Jewish opinion the world over, particularly in the United States of America, to their camp.¹

Will the Arabs play into the hands of Israel?

The question now is: Will the Arabs play into the hands of Israel by losing their temper with her over her repeated acts of aggression? What Israel wants the Arabs to do is that they should respond to her acts of aggression and carry out retaliatory measures. She will answer back — allegedly in self-defence — with venom. The Arabs will hit back, and if they hit back hard enough, Israel’s reply will be more in the nature of a full-scale war than of an isolated incident. And Israel’s might will fall against the Arabs. She will also appear to the world as if she acted in self-defence. She will occupy what she wants of Arab land, and will not be dislodged. Israel has already tried this game and found it profitable. Over and over again she faced the United Nations and the whole world with faits accomplis, and she found the United Nations and the great powers either too impotent or too dishonest to do anything about putting matters right.

The provocative acts of Israel have so far not brought the response she desires from the Arabs. Instead of embarking on retaliatory measures, the Arabs have defended themselves in a correct and gentle diplomatic fashion. They protested to the United States of America, Great Britain, and France (who are the signatories of the Tripartite Declaration of May, 1950 which guaranteed the status quo in Palestine and promised to intervene directly if any move were made by the Arabs or Jews to alter it). In the middle of September, heads of the Arab diplo-

¹ In the February, 1953 and the October, 1953 issues of The Islamic Review we reproduced pamphlets issued by Jewish organizations that held such views. In these pamphlets an appeal was made for the military occupation by Jewish forces of the State of Jordan, which was described as “part of the true and undivided Israel.”

matic missions in London made a move without a precedent when they called at the British Foreign Office and handed to the Minister of State a lengthy aide-mémoire on the dangers of the situation between the Arab states and Israel. This move was attributed in some quarters to the alarm of the Arab states at the representations which Israel has been making against the lifting of the arms embargo and the strengthening of the Arabs by the supply of modern arms and equipment to them. But the issue was in fact much wider. The settlement of the Anglo-Egyptian dispute, which has for long handicapped any reasonable rapprochement between the Arabs and the Western powers, has now freed Arab hands; and the Arabs are anxious to seize this opportunity to concentrate all their efforts on the solution of their remaining external problems, chief amongst which is the Palestine problem. They are also desirous of devoting attention to their domestic problems and to putting into effect on a wide scale their plans for economic and social development. The Arab envoys made it clear to the British Government that the recent development in friendly relations between the Arab states and the Western powers was threatened by the continued hostile attitude of Israel. They pointed out that peace in the Middle East might easily be imperilled if Israel were left unchecked in her present activities.

Israel dangles new bait before Arab eyes

Having failed in her attempt to provoke the Arabs to open war, Israel has reverted to another game — one that looks respectable on the surface. She has recently expressed her willingness to release all Arab funds and deposits held in British banks at the termination of the mandate in Palestine. These are estimated to amount to £8,500,000, and have been taken over by the “Trustee of Absentee Property” in Israel and used by the Israeli Government as part of its treasury. Two British banks have been authorized to pay this money by small instalments and to hand over the deposits which were held in their safes. Israel has made a similar offer, though on a much narrower scale, not long ago. She offered to release a total of £1,000,000 of small deposits held in the name of Arab refugees at British banks in Palestine at the end of the mandate; and a total of about £750,000 was paid in consequence of this offer.

It is interesting to note that Israel did not make this new offer to release £8,500,000 to Arabs resident outside Israel until two British banks offered her a large long-term loan at a very low rate of interest to compensate her for paying back to the Arabs what was only part of their due. These banks had brought pressure to bear on Israel because they felt that life was getting difficult for them in the Arab world unless Israel paid this money to the Arab refugees. Lawsuits were brought in Arab countries against these banks for the recovery of money which was deposited with them. If judgements were given against the banks — and the laws of the Arab countries seem to indicate that judgement would in fact be given against the banks — the banks would have had to pay up without hesitation or carry out a “moonlight flit” from the Arab countries. And the latter course, if at all possible, would not be in the best interest of these banks which are doing good business in the Arab world. It was fortunate for the banks concerned that they managed to persuade Israel to release these accounts in return for a long-term loan to be given to her by them.

£8,500,000 — a drop in the ocean...

But would the release of £8,500,000 compensate the
Arabs in money for all that Israel has usurped from them in Palestine? An estimate made by the Arab League of the value of the property which the Jews usurped from the Arabs in Palestine show that this £8,500,000 is simply a drop in the ocean. The value of Arab property now in the hands of the Israel Government amounts to £1,935,000,000. This estimate is made up as follows:

- £100,000,000 — the value of an area of 120,600 dunams of orange groves and buildings and stores thereon.
- £1,000,000 — the value of 1,000 dunams of banana groves.
- £275,000,000 — the value of 530,600 dunams of olive groves and various fruit orchards.
- £30,000,000 — the value of 5,000,000 dunams of land cultivated with cereals and other crops.
- £220,000,000 — the value of an area of 12,300,000 dunams of semi-arable land and pastures.
- £1,110,000,000 — the value of houses and other buildings.
- £200,000,000 — the value of movable property — goods, furniture, jewellery and other valuables.
- £6,000,000 — frozen accounts in British banks in Israel.
- £1,000,000 — frozen accounts and deposits with insurance companies in Israel.

All this valuable property is now in the hands of Israel. And so is a very vast area of communal state-lands which was in the ownership of the Government of Palestine, and which the British authorities had no scruples in handing over to the Government of Israel. And so, too, is a sum of £14,000,000 which was in the treasury of the Government of Palestine and was later released to the Government of Israel.

The 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine who are now living on charity and rotting in idleness and misery, at one time possessed and enjoyed all this valuable property!

Israel's manoeuvres at the United Nations

Israel has made great play of her offer to release this £8,500,000 to the Arab refugees. During the ninth session of the United Nations in New York, late in September, the Israeli delegation made a determined effort to rally world opinion against the Arabs. It tried hard to show that Israel desired to conclude peace with the Arabs. It also tried to show that without peace there would always be irritating clashes on the Arab-Israel borders which might endanger the peace and security of the whole Middle East. The release of the £8,500,000 of Arab funds and deposits was put forward by the Israel delegation as proof of the sincerity of Israel's desire for peace with her neighbours.

The Israel delegation also emphasized that Israel was ready and willing, upon the conclusion of a final peace settlement, to grant Egypt access to a route across the Negeb in the south of Palestine to link it with Jordan and the other Arab states. Jordan, too, the Israel delegation said, would be given facilities to use Haifa as a free port. An offer was also made for the compensation of the Arab refugees in respect of the property which they had lost in Palestine, provided they were permanently settled outside Israel. All this, if the Arab states conclude a final peace settlement with Israel and agree to relinquish their right to insist upon the enforcement of the resolutions passed by the United Nations during the past few years — mainly the one requiring Israel to withdraw from the parts which were not allocated to her under the original resolution for the country's partition, and also the resolution which called upon Israel to arrange for the return to, and the resettlement in Israel of all the Arab refugees who are desirous of returning, and to compensate fully all those who do not wish to return to their homes in Israel.

The Arab reply to Israel's claims at the United Nations

Dr. Ahmad Shukairy, formerly Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League and now the head of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations, was quick to reply to this Israeli move. He said that Israel has fallen into the habit of making every year a major move intended to convince world opinion that she was anxious to establish peace in the Middle East, and that she was willing to make serious sacrifices for this purpose. A year ago, he said, Israel put forward a comprehensive proposal for peace with the Arabs. The resolution appeared reasonable and attractive to many people. But those who were deceived by it were not possessed of full knowledge about the Palestine problem. Israel's trick could always be exposed by the listing of the various solemn resolutions passed by the United Nations against her — resolutions which she disregarded in a most arrogant manner. The new Jewish proposal for a peace settlement with the Arabs was thus a new impression of an old book. Dr. Shukairy concluded by saying: "We challenge Israel and all those who sympathize with her. The matter to us is very clear and simple. All that Israel need do in order to secure peace with her Arab neighbours is to rectify her attitude towards her neighbours and be forthright and honest. Does Israel want to return Arab refugees to their homes? Does she want to give full and proper compensation for all the property which she has usurped from the Arabs? If Israel's answer to all these questions is a sincere "Yes", then we would be liars and she would be truthful. But if she avoids answering these questions in a frank and unambiguous manner, then we shall leave it to the world to pass judgement on the matter."

The Arab point of view was made very clear by what Dr. Shukairy has said. Let us hope that world opinion will see the matter in this clear light. In the meantime the Arabs...
have their path quite clear before them. They must not sell Palestine and her people for less than they are worth. And they must not fall into Israel’s trap and start a war for which they are not at present ready. But ready or not, they must not shirk from defending themselves with everything at their command.

Morocco

Moroccan nationalists acquitted of “plotting against the safety of the State”

A court in Morocco has recently given a ruling to the effect that it would not hear the case against a number of Moroccans accused of conspiring against the safety of the State following the Casablanca riots of 1952.

The decision to release these Moroccan nationalists has been the result of the determined struggle of the Moroccan people. These nationalists, as well as many hundreds of others, were arrested at the beginning of December 1952, following the assassination of Ferhat Hachchad, the Moroccan trade union leader. When the Moroccan federation of trade unions appealed to the Moroccan workers to express solidarity with the Tunisian people, by declaring a twenty-four hour strike, the French imperialist authorities were angered by the solidarity and sense of patriotism exhibited by the Moroccan working class. These authorities thus decided to suppress the Moroccan trade union movement, with a view to eliminating it altogether. On 22nd December 1953 massacres and demonstrations, ending in clashes between the workers and troops armed with machine guns, occurred in Casablanca, and resulted in 2,000 innocent Moroccans being killed in their struggle against the injustices of French imperialism.

The French are the real culprits

The French authorities, whose hands are dripping with the blood of the innocent, saw the massacres as a pretext upon which to accuse the Moroccan Istiqlal and Communist parties of plotting against the external security of the State, and subsequently banned the two parties and referred their leaders to the military court. The investigation into this case has continued for about two years, and now the military court has ruled that it will not hear the case in which these nationalists were accused. The director of the French newspaper Maroc Presse, commenting on the case, said there was no evidence to prove the charge of plotting against the security of the State. This is an indisputable fact. It is also a fact that the imperialist authorities were the real schemers against the Moroccan national movement.

The decision not to hear the case against the accused has come as an irrefutable truth of the plot laid by the imperialist authorities. All over Morocco, people are now saying that the true perpetrators of the slaughter of 2,000 Moroccans have now become known: and the people are asking whether these persons will go unpunished. Public opinion in Morocco, as well as world democratic public opinion, demands that following the acquittal of the nationalists, the ban on the Communist and Istiqlal parties should be lifted, and that freedom of the Press and of assembly, as well as trade union freedom, should be guaranteed.

These steps are needed to create a suitable atmosphere for negotiations between France and the true representatives of the Moroccan people, on the restoration of national sovereignty to Morocco. However, the nationalists are of the opinion that such an atmosphere will only be achieved through the unity and struggle of the whole Moroccan nation.

The Iraqi Premier’s visit to Turkey

The Iraqi Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa‘eed, went to Istanbul on an unofficial visit on his return to his country from London, and stayed as the Turkish Government’s guest from 8th to 19th October, 1953. The visit constituted a valuable opportunity for the exchange of views with the Turkish Premier, the Deputy Premier, and the Foreign Minister, who remained specially in Istanbul from the beginning to the end.

The talks concerned the relations between the two countries, the situation in the Middle East, and the international policy affecting it. Keeping in view the fact that the realization of the Turkish-Iraqi friendship — which is the natural consequence of the brotherhood between the Turkish and Iraqi nations, and which is required by the positive interest of the two nations in an active and close co-operation in every field — will be very beneficial not only to the two countries but also to the Middle East, the unity of aim towards its materialization has been crystallized.

The Premier of Iraq, General Nuri al-Sa‘eed
Turkey's attitude to be compatible with the interests of the Arab world

It was agreed between the Iraqi and Turkish Premiers, according to an official communiqué, that the establishment of world peace and stability, which constituted an indivisible entity in present conditions, would only be possible for those nations which were sincerely attached to the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter by the setting up, in full unity, of a common, uninterrupted security front against those who pursued the aim of collectively suppressing and exterminating them. The conclusion was also reached that it was essential to work in co-operation without further delay so that such a security front could be established under the most suitable conditions.

The Turkish Premier expressed to the Iraqi Premier the genuine affection and respect entertained by Turkey for the Arab countries, and declared that he was ready to give every assurance on behalf of his Government that the pursuit of an attitude by Turkey incompatible with the lawful interests of those countries was out of the question from the point of view of Turkey’s own interests. Both Premiers expressed their determination to make the utmost use of every opportunity for the continuation of personal contacts. General Nuri al-Sa'eed invited Mr. Menderes to pay an official visit to Iraq, and the latter has accepted and stated that he would be able to make the visit at the beginning of next year. Such visits by the leaders of one Muslim country to another are a practice which should be encouraged.

The Conference of Arab Chambers of Commerce at Baghdad

The resolutions adopted by the Conference

The Conference of the Arab Chambers of Commerce which ended its sessions in Baghdad late in October adopted many important resolutions. One of these was a recommendation that free transit facilities should be given in Baghdad airport and Basrah harbour; another was to urge the Sa'udi Arabian Government to resume work on the route between Najaf and Medina. Another matter that engaged the attention of the Conference was the project for an international route between Dammam harbour in Sa'udi Arabia and the Mediterranean. Other subjects discussed at the Conference were road communications between the Arab countries, the reduction of costs of transport and freight, the problems of transit, the setting up of an Arab shipping company, the unification of the systems of chambers of commerce, agriculture and industry in the Arab world, and the unification of the system of weights and measures in the Arab countries. In all the deliberations of the Conference one fact was very much in evidence. It was the strong desire of the delegates from all over the Arab world to set Arab economy on a healthy, solid and organized basis.

The Conference was attended by delegates from Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. No delegates came from Chambers of Commerce in Sa'udi Arabia, Libya, the Yemen, the Sudan, Bahrain, Kuwait or Arab North Africa.

The need for the reorganization of Arab economy

In his inaugural address to the delegates, Dr. Nadim Bajahji, the Minister of Economic Affairs in Iraq, said that Arab men of business had a very important role to play in the reform of Arab economy. The Iraqi Government, he said, was conscious of the need for the reorganization of the Arab countries on more healthy lines, and for the development and expansion of the economic relations between the various Arab countries as preliminary to the realization of complete economic unity between them. Dr. Bajahji said that the Iraqi Government had already started to implement a comprehensive development programme which comprised improved irrigation schemes, the building of dams and reservoirs, the expansion of industry, and the building of roads; and he invited the delegates to inspect the progress made in the execution of these projects. He urged the various Arab governments to strengthen economic relations between them, and emphasized the urgent need of the Arab countries to organize their national economies on the basis of the exploitation of their natural resources. This, he said, can be done through the carrying out of comprehensive programmes for economic development based on mutual cooperation between the various Arab governments. He hoped that the development programme started by Iraq would be complementary to development programmes in the whole Arab world.

Mr. Taha Makhlouf, the head of the Egyptian delegation, stressed in his speech to the Conference the fact that Egypt was on the threshold of a new era characterized by a strong desire for cooperation in the economic field with the various Arab countries. Mr. Wajih Murad, a delegate from Jordan, urged the Arab financiers to invest their capital in Jordan. Jordan, he said, "was the first line of defence against the menacing Zionist expansion".

The Conference decided to set up various committees amongst which was one to be concerned with the giving of economic aid to Jordan, and another was to be concerned with implementing a more tight economic blockade of Israel.

Action, not words, needed

This is not the first conference of Arab Chambers of Commerce held in recent years. The idea of a conference of Arab Chambers of Trade is undoubtedly a good one. No harm could come of business men and financiers in the Arab world meeting together and exchanging views on their countries’ economic problems. So far, however, not much good has come out of these conferences. For one reason, and this applied to the present conference, not all the Arab Chambers of Commerce were willing to attend. There might be some excuse for Bahrain, Kuwait and North Africa for not sending delegates, but the absence of delegates from Sa’udi Arabia, Libya, the Yemen and the Sudan is difficult to explain.

The resolutions adopted by the Conference covered wide fields. If only part of them be actually implemented, Arab business men and the Arab people as a whole will have cause for jubilation.
THE MINARETS OF DAMASCUS

Top — The Minaret of the Muzaffari Mosque (1202-1213 C.E.).
Centre — The Minaret of the Muraliya Mosque (15th century C.E.).
Bottom — The Minaret of al-Qali Mosque (1470 C.E.).
1 Courtesy, the Editor, Al-Nafi’ , Beirut, the Lebanon, for July 1954.
DAMASCUS, SYRIA'

Shukri

beautiful works always ignored by tourists in the various mosques at Damascus, illustrations of various periods of this beautiful and one of the of the world of Islam.

Metal, glassware, and mosaics

The manufacture of metalware, especially copper, gold and silverware, has for long flourished in Damascus. Recent excavations in Byzantine and Roman ruins around Damascus have led to the discovery of many beautiful specimens of this craft. Damascus was also famous for the making of swords, on many of which verses from the Qur'an or poems were engraved or encrusted in gold or silver. The making of kitchen utensils and cutlery of various kinds has also for a long time been a speciality of the craftsmen of Damascus.

The fine quality of glassware made in Damascus has been proverbial all over the Middle East for many a century. The glass-makers of Damascus produced and still produce innumerable varieties of beautiful glass ornaments.

The making of mosaics, which the craftsmen of Damascus originally learnt from the Romans, was an art in which the craftsmen of Damascus soon made great headway and developed on lines of their own. The mosaics which decorate the Omayyad Mosque in Damascus are universally recognized as far more beautiful and delicate than anything the Romans have produced.

Future of the traditional crafts

In 1923, a French artist founded in Damascus a school of ancient Oriental crafts. At this school craftsmen were trained in the art of making furniture of intricate design, wood carving and engraving, the repair of artistic woodwork in houses, the engraving of overcrusting of intricate patterns on copper, and in leather work. The school gave a great impetus to many of the traditional crafts of Damascus and revived interest in them. Ready markets were found in Europe for many of the products of the craftsmen who were trained at this school.

Metal crafts, and particularly the art of engraving on copper, were encouraged during the French mandate in Syria since World War I, and at one time there were about 1,500 men and women engaged in this craft in Damascus. Now, however, there is little more than a score of men and women engaged in this industry. Their handiwork is offered for sale mainly locally.

Most of the traditional crafts of Damascus have gallantly survived the challenge of the machine and of mass production. Many of them, however, are ailing. Let us hope that the people of Syria will see to it that no effort is spared to protect these traditional industries and encourage them so that the name of Damascus should continue to shine, and its craftsmen to please and fascinate the lovers of art the world over.

THE MINARETS OF DAMASCUS

Top — The Minaret of the Shaykh Muhiy al-Din Mosque (1518 C.E.).
Centre — The Minaret of the Manjak Mosque (1368 C.E.).
Bottom — The Minaret of the Jubian Mosque (14th century C.E.)
Above — Modern tastes in comfort and old traditional tastes in decoration have combined together to produce the furniture of this typical reception room in a rich Arab house in Damascus. The furniture, the curtains, the carpet, and the hubble-bubble (with all that goes in its making) are the handiworks of the famous craftsmen of Damascus.

Below — A collection of brass and copper plates and trays made by the craftsmen of Damascus. They carry fine and artistic engravings of verses from the Qur’ān, poems or proverbs in Arabic, as well as other intricate designs.

Above — A Damascene craftsman at work on a so ago there were nearly 1,500 such craftsmen in there are little more than
Illustrations


AND CRAFTS OF DAMASCUS, SYRIA

Above — The furniture shown in this picture is inlaid with mother-of-pearl and is of extreme beauty. It is the product of the patience and skill of the craftsmen of Damascus.

Below — Plates and vases of copper, brass or silver like the ones shown in this picture have been a speciality of the craftsmen of Damascus for many generations.
MUSLIMS IN GERMANY

By Hasan A. Kornrumpf

Prospects of Islam in Germany in the near future

At the beginning of an article on Muslims in Germany there should be some lines on the future of a Muslim mission in Germany with a view to winning new adherents to Islam and to fight against misunderstandings and misinterpretations of this religion. Germany is a non-Islamic country; the influence of the Christian Churches, though weakened during the course of time, is still strong enough to dictate, at least indirectly, the attitude of the German public towards Islam. The Press and all other publications are as a rule not very favourable towards Islam, not always out of malevolence or fanaticism, but mostly out of ignorance and lack of sound knowledge. Islam is usually connected with the Arabian Nights and with the harem stories of Oriental potentates. The political instability and cultural backwardness of most of the Oriental countries of today also do not in any uncertain manner facilitate a successful propagation of Islam. Because of this and of other reasons — I cannot mention all here (the supposition that Islam is an Oriental religion and meant for Oriental people only is one of them) — I fear that at least for a time there will be little success for a Muslim mission in Germany. My Muslim friends may be disappointed at this statement, but I think it is right that this fact should not be lost sight of. For thirty years the Lahore branch of the Ahmadiyyah Movement has been propagating Islam in Germany. It has spent hundreds of thousands of German marks during this time, holding the Muslims of the world its debtor for its lofty aims; the result has been, till now, rather limited.

Until 1945, when the policy and the occupation forces of the Big Powers divided Germany into two parts, the German capital, Berlin, had witnessed many guests from the Muslim countries within its walls and the beginning of an active and vivid Muslim community. Diplomats, merchants, students and government officials from Oriental countries came to Germany for a short or long period. Some of them married German women and settled in Berlin for the rest of their lives; others died before they could reach their homes again. Already before the First World War the so-called “Turkish graveyard” in Berlin had been erected with the help of the Ottoman Government. Almost all the Muslims who have died in Berlin have been buried there, and when you pass by the graves lying in a south-west/north-western direction, you will find the name of many a Turkish, Arabian and Persian Muslim who was destined to end his days far from his home country.

Beginnings of Islam in Germany and the building of a mosque in Berlin and the Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha‘at-i-Islam, Lahore, Pakistan.

During the world war of 1914-18 a great prisoner-of-war camp, mainly for Muslims, was instituted at Wünsdorf, a few miles from Berlin, and there it was that the first mosque in Germany which held regular services was built. In the graveyard of the camp, besides 300 German men and women, 1,100 Russians, 600 Indians and 700 soldiers from the French colonies were buried. At the end of the war, the prisoners either returned home or remained in Germany, and the camp was used for refugees from Russia, mainly Turks (Tartars). Prayers were held regularly, and many Muslims from Berlin and the whole of Germany travelled to the mosque at Wünsdorf in order to pray there and to attend the two festival of ‘Id al-Fitr and ‘Id al-Adha. In 1924 the mosque had to be closed, it being a wooden structure which had decayed. But by this time there were other plans ready for a new mosque in Berlin itself. However, the first project, started in 1923, failed because of lack of sufficient funds. But the plans of the Ahmadiyyah Anjuman-i-Isha‘at-i-Islam, Lahore, Pakistan, for the building of a mosque in Berlin were successful. The new mosque, completed in 1927 and built in the Indian Moghul style, was opened for public worship in the self-same year. It has room for 200 persons; the cupola is 26 metres high, and each of the two minarets on either side are 32 metres. Beside the mosque there is a two-storied house with the living quarters of the Imam, an office, and a room for meetings.

The Imams of the mosque, until 1939, were the Maulana Sadruddin, assisted by the Maulavi Abdul Majid in the initial stages of the planning of the mosque building, the late Fazl Karim Khan Durrani, and Professor S. M. Abdullah, now Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England. Before long a very active life began around the Berlin Mosque. By 1939, 168 Germans had joined the fold of Islam, and there were at least 350 other Oriental Muslims — Tarjars, Turks, Arabs, Persians, etc. — who were in constant contact with the Mosque. This, of course, does not include the number of those German and foreign friends who regularly attended the lectures, festivals, garden parties, excursions, and took part in other programmes which were arranged by the administration of the Mosque. Among them were students, academic circles, members of the German Automobilists Club (ADAC), scholars, diplomats, Germans who had taken part in military expeditions in the Orient, and members of the former German
nobility. By this time the Berlin Mosque had become an important centre of Muslims; the German Press carried reports on the work of the Mosque, and from 1924 to 1941, Die Moslemische Revue, the only Muslim publication in the German language, was published four times a year. This magazine had the support of German Muslims as well as foreigners and non-Muslim friends of the Mosque and scholars. A special feature of the activities of the Mosque was the religious education imparted to Muslim children, who had their regular Qur'ân lessons, excursions to the vicinity of Berlin, etc. In 1939 a Muslim Women’s League was founded by a German Muslim lady, Mrs. Amina Mosler, to help with works of charity.

The beginning of the Second World War in 1939 brought an extraordinary rise of Islamic activities in Berlin. As the then Imam of the Mosque, Dr. S. M. ‘Abdullah, who was a British subject, had to leave Berlin, the local Muslim community elected ‘Abdelgani Osman, a Tartar, as his successor. It should be said in passing that the Turco-Tartars have been the most faithful friends of the Berlin Mosque. The number of Muslims in Berlin quickly rose to 8,000, including the 6,000 Yugoslavs. Many of them entered the German army. In 1941 the former Grand Mufti of Palestine, al-Hajj Amin al-Husaini, and the former Prime Minister of Iraq, Rashid Gailani, fled to Berlin together with a number of Arabs. On the festivals, prayers had to be held twice because of the great number of devotees. Friday prayers were regularly attended by 30 to 35 persons, and every Sunday another 50 to 60 Muslims who had to work during the week held common prayer in the mosque. Lectures were held at the house of Mrs. Mosler, where especially the Yugoslav volunteers had their meetings and religious lessons. It should be recorded here that Mrs. Mosler, who had promised Professor Abdullah and the Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Ishaat-i-Islam, to stay in Berlin during the war and to take care of the property of the Mosque, did so during the dark days of the Allied bombing attacks and the Soviet conquest of Berlin, when tens of thousands of Berliners died in the streets and in their houses.

Repairs to the Berlin Mosque after the war have cost till now £5,000

The end of the war brought complete disaster to the Muslim community of Berlin; its members were either killed or scattered all over Germany. The Mosque and the house of the Imam were severely damaged; the home of Mrs. Mosler completely destroyed. Nevertheless, she and her son stayed in Berlin, and before the street fighting had ceased they tried to remove the debris. Small pieces of paper were pinned to the trees, and a simple meal and cigarettes were promised to those who were willing to help. As during the first months after the war the whole of Berlin had been occupied by the Soviet army, Mrs. Mosler applied to the Russian commandant for help, who, I believe, was a Muslim. He sent twenty workmen for cleaning and repairs. In the summer of 1945 the Soviets handed over the sector of Berlin in which the Mosque is situated to the British. No time was lost by the proprietors of the Mosque to ascertain the condition of the Mosque. The Anjuman asked the Maulavi ‘Abdul Majid to go to Berlin, the military authorities agreeing to his journey to Berlin in April 1946. He was followed soon after by Professor Abdullah. It was a relief to find that, despite the great damage and pilfering and looting, the costly carpets of the Mosque and part of the furniture of the house had been saved. The Anjuman, on learning that the Mosque had been badly damaged, raised some money for repairs. At first the windows and the roof of the house were repaired. Later the cupola of the Mosque, which had been destroyed together with the minarets, was rebuilt, and finally, the interior of the Mosque was renovated and redecorated in 1951. Yet, because of the cold, it could only be used during the short months of summer. Until 1951 the Anjuman had spent 61,000 German marks (£5,000) on repairs to the Mosque. This sum was not sufficient, but this was the best that the Anjuman could do. Besides this heavy expense, they had to find more than 1,000 marks every month for taxes, the salary of the Imam, gas, electricity, water, etc. The German Government is pledged to compensate for the damage done to foreign property during the war; initial steps have been taken in this direction, but no compensation has yet been made.

The Berlin Mosque’s first German Muslim Imam

Until 1949 the work at the Mosque had been done by Mrs. Mosler and some friends who had gathered around her. On her recommendation a young German Muslim, Mr. M. A. Hobohm, was appointed Imam of the Berlin Mosque.

A picture of the Berlin Mosque as it was before damage during the war. Its minarets have yet to be restored.

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after having undergone several months of training at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. Thus it was the first time that the German Muslims had a German Imam. At present the work of the Berlin Mosque is supervised by the writer of these lines.

Unfortunately, Mr. Hobohm came up against difficulties in the execution of his work which were caused by a small number of Muslims, mostly foreigners. This hostile section of the Muslims of Berlin accused Mr. Hobohm of not being a real Muslim. With this the small Muslim community in Berlin split into two groups. It is a matter of regret to record that its barely 300 members even today seem unable to co-operate in matters of their common religion.

Here it may be stated that the social activities of the Berlin Mosque before the Second World War and the extraordinary increase of the Berlin Muslim community during the war will not return so long as Berlin is not the capital of undivided Germany. As to the number of converts after the war to 1949, there were 19 Germans who found their way to Islam and 82 others during the time of the Imam Hobohm. A new periodical was started under the name of Orient-post, or Barid al-Shaqr, but owing to lack of funds only a few numbers could be published in the German, English and Arabic languages. On 'Id festivals and for special lectures the attendance of Muslims and friends of the Mosque went up to 100; but as the years passed this number began to dwindle. This is due partly to the sad splitting up of the Berlin Muslim community. During last winter the financial condition of the Berlin Mosque deteriorated, and Friday prayers and lessons on Islam had sometimes to be given up altogether because of lack of coal.

An estimate of the number of Muslims in Germany

It is estimated that Muslims in the whole of Germany number about 5,000, but this figure is not exact. However, this number is composed of many Arabs and Tartars who came to Germany during the last war. Many of them fought in the German army against the Allies and for political reasons cannot return to their home countries, while there were others who only sought adventure. At present they are mostly living in camps, especially around Munich, in Southern Germany. After the last war a considerable number of students came to Germany from the Muslim countries, amongst them many Persians. As a rule they are unaware of the existence of a mosque building in Berlin and keep to themselves.

I was told that in Hamburg there is a mission of the Qadiani (Ahmadiyyah) Community, but I have no access to the details of its work. Hamburg also has a German Muslim community of its own. It was founded in 1938 under the leadership of a German Muslim, Mr. ‘Omar Schubert. He was able to secure the co-operation of a number of German Muslims living in Western Germany. I was informed that this group had joined the Qadiani group, but had since on better knowledge seceded from it.

In the end I think it necessary to stress the fact that, though the Berlin Mosque was built by the Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha’at-i-Islam, Lahore, Pakistan, and always had Muslims who were members of that organization except during the war, it nevertheless has never been a centre of propaganda other than that of Islam, and the German converts did not ipso facto become members of the Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha’at-i-Islam. Thus those who assemble in the Berlin Mosque belong to all sections of the Muslim community, some being Sunnites or Shi’ites; they pray together, as they are all Muslims. A word of tribute must be said about the Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha’at-i-Islam, Lahore, Pakistan, which has been the only organization to spend large sums of money for the Berlin Mosque and the Muslims in Germany. Indeed, every Muslim should appreciate this.

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**ISLAM IN ENGLAND**

**THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST**

**Lectures and Meetings**

The following meetings were held and lectures delivered at the London Prayer House at 18 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

*Saturday 2nd October 1954.* Dr. S. M. ‘Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, gave a reading from the Qur’âan and drew the attention of the audience to the important lessons which are contained in the narratives of the previous history of the prophets as mentioned in the holy book. He specially dealt with the history of the Prophet Moses (may the peace of God be upon him!).

*On Saturday 16th October 1954* Mr. ‘Abd al-Majid, Editor of *The Islamic Review*, at an informal meeting dealt with some questions which were put to him by the audience.

*On Saturday 23rd October 1954* Dr. S. M. ‘Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, spoke on the subject of “Hijra (the Flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina) and its Importance.” He dealt very briefly with this very important subject, tracing the historical events which eventually led to the flight of the Prophet Muhammad. He dealt with his subject with a special reference to the lessons which Muslims have to learn from this epoch-making event. In the course of his interesting talk, he pointed out that the reason for the rapid acceptance of Islam by the Medinites was to be found in the fact that the Medinites were more knowledgeable than their contemporaries, the Meccans. He opined that Islam always had a better chance of reception in places where there was learning and knowledge. In the discussion that followed it was pointed out that of the many reasons that led to the spread of Islam eastwards rather than westwards, one was that the West of those days was enshrouded in ignorance and that Islam, decrying superstition, could not have been understood in the West.

*On 30th October 1954* Mr. Iqbal Ahmad gave a brief talk on one of the most interesting subjects related to the ‘Sufism’*. The speaker tried to differentiate between the so-called Sufis and the true mystics of Islam such as the Mawlana Rumi, Rab’i’ah of Bastra, Junaid and Imam Ghazâli. The usual discussion in the form of questions and answers followed the lecture. The speaker contested the suggestion that Sufism was the result of the impact of Greek thought on Islam, although one of the audience maintained that the kind of Sufism to which Muslims became accustomed was foreign to the very essence of Islam, which is dynamic and which lays an equal emphasis on both the worlds — this world and the life hereafter — and that in its present form Sufism in Islam, if not Hellenic, was definitely extraneous.
SOME ASPECTS OF
INDONESIAN CULTURE

By Dr. Takdir ‘Alishahbana

“This is why it can be stated that Indonesia is actually living in thirty centuries at the same time. At the same time we are in the Stone Age and in the Machine Age. Thus it can be said that in Indonesia, cultural history runs parallel with sociology . . .”

One of the famous Indonesian writers,
Dr. Takdir ‘Alishahbana

The effects of the Japanese occupation

The Second World War had the most unexpected consequences for Indonesia. The four years of Japanese oppression and war agitation upset the whole nation. All standards and values, which under pre-war Dutch colonial rule seemed firm as a rock, were shaken beyond recognition during those four years. The Indonesian villages, those isles of tranquility founded on age-old traditions of family solidarity, suddenly began to move because, in contrast to Dutch colonial rule which, out of studied self-interest, had kept Indonesian rural areas as unchanged as possible, the Japanese Government now encouraged the entire Indonesian population to rise in favour of its East-Asian imperialistic dreams. Nothing and nobody remained untouched: the peasant, the civil servant, the teacher, the religious and political leaders were all affected, but it was chiefly the simple Indonesian youth which was made war-minded and through this became aware of the vast possibilities and unknown forces it possessed. It plunged enthusiastically and with high ideals into the boiling sea of war which the calculating Japanese had unleashed in Indonesia.

The Indonesian revolution has to be seen in this setting if we are to understand how this most gentle of people suddenly became street fighters, organizers of mass meetings, guerrillas and smugglers, turned into dreamers and artists, such as could not have been foreseen before the war. On the other hand, this actually resulted in the tragedies and problems of the Indonesian State and its peoples after their liberation. Indonesia, one of the richest countries of the world and a nation with every possibility for advancement, became as it were swamped in a morass.

Most of the present difficulties are certainly due to the lack of experienced and trained workers, both in the business world and in governmental circles, and this has resulted in uneven and indecisive handling of many affairs. For instance, Indonesia now has a population of eighty million and yet there are only about one thousand medical doctors, three hundred lawyers and a hundred fully-qualified engineers to cope with the various problems. But this is not all because, in addition to these temporary difficulties, there remain the larger problems which the liberation and the revolution did not solve and actually rendered more acute. I refer to the cultural problems and, when I speak of “culture” I mean the whole complexity of the manifestations of human intellect in which lies the difference between the human being and the animal. Thus culture, in the most human meaning of the word, and seen against this background, the Indonesian revolution, was but an incidental acceleration in the growth of the people, following as it did their more intensive contact with the Western world of the twentieth century.

Indonesian history has a succession of four cultures

(a) Ancient Indonesian or pre-Hindu culture

If we look back to Indonesian history of the last two thousand years, we can see a succession of four cultural periods which determined not only the past but also the present Indonesian problems. First, we had the ancient Indonesian, or pre-Hindu phase which, though it varied throughout the Archipelago, still left so many common traces everywhere that we can rightly speak of an ancient Indonesian cultural layer. The ethnological terms “animism” and “dynamism” mean that life during this cultural phase
was dominated by the belief in spirits and spiritual forces. In this frame of mind, what could be called science is nothing else but the mastery of the knowledge of these spirits and forces, and what might be called technique is the method of drawing conclusions from that knowledge and acting accordingly to satisfy human needs. The wisest, holiest and most powerful man was consequently he who possessed the fullest knowledge of the mysterious forces and at times had communication with them. These ideas were not the result of independent investigations and thought. According to tradition they came into existence as the result of the contact of these mysterious forces with the ancestors in a remote past.

Man in the primitive state — and I mean man as a consciously thinking and acting being — has no or little awareness, so that his social, economic and political way of thinking and behaviour is a consequence of tradition handed down from generation to generation. Since these ideas are sacred and therefore unchangeable, it can readily be understood that the entire spiritual and social life is directed to the past. The word “old” in this cultural sense is typical; for “old” means wise, holy and powerful.

Another aspect of this civilization is the formation of the community into small, closely united and consanguineous groups who live together harmoniously because of traditions of mutual assistance handed down from father to son. Every important occasion in the life of the individual, as well as that of the community, is dealt with by means of joint deliberations, and thereby the cultural entity of the community as a whole is more apparent than in any other cultural phase. This first cultural layer of Indonesian society has all the fundamental characteristics of any primitive society.

(b) Hindu culture

At the beginning of the Christian era, Indonesia became acquainted with another nation which had already reached a more advanced cultural phase. The Hindus had already formulated a script of their own. Technically they were in many respects far more advanced than the Indonesians, while their social life could be seen in their vast and wealthy kingdoms, all economically active due to the development of the exchange of goods, which was made possible by the highly effective transport communications. This was under the patronage of the monarchs who possessed an hierarchically-founded corps of civil servants and large armed forces.

Their ideas in connection with spiritual forces and spirits were also much more advanced. Just as there have been outstanding individuals who have towered above all others in the social sense, their advanced conceptions developed a world of gods having a well-defined “task-distribution” and hierarchy.

In short, it can be said that this new cultural wave differed from Indonesian indigenous culture, in that it was much more advanced in logical thinking, technique and organization, and this development ran parallel with the individualization of human society, as well as the personification of the mysterious forces which rule the world.

And yet the differences in thought and ideas of the Indonesians and the Hindus — who had now arrived — were not so great as one might imagine. Betty Heymann, who has made several studies of Indian philosophy, says that Indian thinking is primitive in fundamentals, but, in their way of expression, already a most advanced culture. The Indian world and life-philosophy is basically a continuation of the primitive philosophies of the world and life. For instance, the doctrine of reincarnation is a sequel to the belief in the wandering of spirits. It is only more elaborate, more profound, and has an ethical function in social life.

Contact with the Hindus and Indian Buddhists and their culture had a great influence on the Indonesians, and developments were to be seen on all sides. Not only did the large and powerful kingdoms of Sri Widiya and Modjopahit come into being, but they united the small Indonesian communities and changed the Indonesian conception of spirits and ancestors to fit in with the Hindu pantheon. The unification of the social and economic life gave rise to a lively intercourse between the various communities, and this served to accentuate the centralizing character of the new kingdoms.

Also the magnificent architecture, as typified in the Buddhist Borobudur and other temples, together with the birth of literature, which dates from these times, are only comprehensible in view of the changes in the social and spiritual life of the Indonesian people. This development went hand in hand with technical progress and an increased use of the script.

(c) Islamic culture

About the end of the Western Middle Ages there was a new cultural wave — that of Islam. Although Islam had come to Indonesia partly from India and had been greatly influenced by Indian culture, it created a new stage in the development of Indonesian culture with the introduction of the new religion.

I have already mentioned that the ancient Indonesian and the Indian way of life and thought were basically the same, but with the introduction of Islam quite a new element appeared. Whereas during the second stage man was in uninterrupted communion with the spiritual forces, the gods
and nature. Islam with its strong monotheistic conception made a clear division, not only between God and man, but also between man and nature. In fact Islam had a revolutionary influence and the complicated system of innumerable gods and spirits was reduced to mere superstition. The Hindu caste system, which held that the hierarchy of the gods ranged down to mankind, had to give way to the conception of one God beneath whom all men were equal; due attention was paid to man, as a being distinct from nature whether dead or living. The art, which flourished because it was bound up with the early Indonesian and later the Indian religion, decayed and lost its significance. The One and Only God of Islam demanded nothing but the simple and direct prayers of the devoted.

In the economic field, Islam also caused great changes. Introduced as it was by Indian and Arabic merchants, it is probable that this new religion influenced the rise of an extensive trade in the Indonesian Archipelago.

(d) Western Culture

The last stage of Indonesian cultural development came from the West. Speaking of the West, I should like to emphasize its secularizing tendencies, by which I mean the liberation of man as an independent, thinking and consciously acting being. It is in this Greek spirit, as portrayed in the Renaissance — Aufklärung — and the modern world that the great differences between European culture and the previous cultures are revealed. Its most typical characteristics are its high degree of rationalism, its worldly vision and its individualism, which makes man free as a thinking and acting person and which enables him to discover and control the secrets of the forces of nature. This in turn results in a greater number of people being able to enjoy both dignity and wealth than ever before in our history.

Especially is the contrast obvious when we compare the old Indonesian culture with the European one. The former signifies tradition and repose, the latter movement and constant progress. In contrast to the old Indonesian culture, that of the West is directed to the future, to youth and originality, and this results in a dynamic community which looks forward to the future and is constantly renewing itself. It is of course dangerous to summarize the varied manifestations and ramifications of European culture in a few words, especially as it has become international and is itself undergoing a serious crisis.

This Western culture, which was introduced to Indonesia by European colonizers and has gradually penetrated the whole political, economic and social life of the country, has caused many radical changes in the structure of the Indonesian community during the past half century. As a result, a small but important group of Indonesian intellectuals came into being. They absorbed Western culture and, armed with the knowledge and means provided by this culture, they have taken a lead in liberating the millions, not from Western culture, but from the political and economic grasp in which the peoples of the West had held Indonesians during the three centuries they had been in the country. In this cultural framework, therefore, the Indonesian revolution was not a battle between East and West, but a liberation within the scope of the new international culture.

If we review these four cultural phases of Indonesian history, it must be conceded that there have been certain developments. The Hindu culture was more individualistic and rational than the old Indonesian. Islamic culture took us one step further, while that of the West has led to an individualism and progress in rational thinking as has not been known before in its history.

We can actually reduce these four phases to two large divisions because ancient Indonesian culture had much in common with the Indian, and Islamic culture shows many of the same traits as the West, which is not surprising because both are derived from the Semitic and Greek way of thinking. I emphasize this because, in my opinion, I consider that in the coming years the most efficient combination will be the result of a close co-operation between Islamic and Western elements in Indonesian culture.

The problem of Indonesian culture is complex, as evidenced in the discussions at the Educational Congress at Solo in 1937 and after

But it is obvious that the problem of Indonesian culture as a whole is much more complicated. These phases did not succeed each other in a clearly marked way; on the contrary, the whole picture shows a mosaic of different traits, which have resulted in the most surprising effects.

In many places the old Indonesian culture has remained intact. For instance, in Bali it has combined with certain elements of Indian culture to produce very distinctive art forms. In Central Java the results of this fusion were further enriched by the contribution of Islamic and Western cultures. In Minahassa and Ambon and certain other places, the ancient Indonesian culture came directly into touch with that of the West, while in Aceh and elsewhere a mixture of Islamic and ancient Indonesian culture predominated.

I have endeavoured to explain the general position, but in reality the situation is still very complex, as the degree and way of intermingling of the various cultures exercises influences on the cultural traits throughout the country. This is why it can be stated that Indonesia is actually living in thirty centuries at the same time. The oldest cultural phases dwell side by side with the newest elements of modern culture. At the same time we are in the Stone Age and in the Machine Age. Thus it can be said that in Indonesia cultural history runs parallel with sociology. Bear in mind that each of these cultural phases had several currents and tendencies, and Western culture in particular, in its present state of crisis, an infinite number, and you will have an idea of the complicated cultural problems in Indonesia. I will now show, by means of concrete examples, how this cultural situation can lead to complications and controversy.

In 1937 an Educational Congress was held in Solo to establish the basic principles of national education. Leading figures of the educational world were present to voice their opinions, among them Ki Adjar Dewantoro, Dr. Sutomo, Sigit, Dr. Radjiman, Sutopo and many others. On the whole the delegates were much against any form of neutral public or governmental education organized on Western lines. The objections were manifold and amounted to the fact that Western education would breed individualists, rationalists and materialists, and would alienate Indonesian children from the Eastern attitude of mind. Almost everyone who gave preliminary advice at the Congress was in favour of a return to the pesantren ideal. Pesantren are Islamic schools where, under the guidance of religious teachers, young men learn to recite the Qur'án and are instructed in the knowledge of religion. One thing is typical of these pesantren, and that is that the relation between teacher and pupil is quite different from that in the schools of today. The pupils lived with the teacher, helping him with his daily tasks, and were treated as members of his own family.

But even when giving a definition of the pesantren ideal,
there were many differences of opinion in the meaning attached to this concept. Some speakers supported the pesantren system because they held that the family atmosphere would be maintained in education. The child would not be separated from its natural home environment. Children attending the Taman Siswa schools called their teachers “father” and “mother”, and this form of address is still found today in most Indonesian schools. From this attitude we can trace the strong family ties of the old Indonesian culture. Other speakers held that the pesantren system meant peace and order, and this reminds us of India and the Shantiniketan of the Indian poet, Tagore.

Dr. Radjiman, who thinks along Buddhist lines, was in favour of seeing the ego annihilated, while Dr. Sutomo, one of the pre-war political leaders, wished to introduce moral education, and for this reason advised the introduction of the pesantren system, which he also considered would be the best and cheapest way of fighting illiteracy. Still another speaker and a prominent Islamic leader laid emphasis on the religious education given in the pesantren.

But this was not all! During the debates at this Congress a young Muslim emphatically declared that the pesantren system was finished, and the spirit, which in the past had made these institutions real and living Islamic cultural centres, was now dead. Why revive the corpse? What was needed was a new Islamic spirit, and this could be found in the new schools of this modern age.

After the Congress there was a great deal of controversy in which almost all Indonesian newspapers took part. Because of its anti-Western attitude and its aversion to rationalism, individualism and materialism, ironically enough the Congress was blamed for having dealt with the problem in too Western a way. Some people considered rationalism, individualism and materialism were typical Western problems which were not yet manifest in Indonesia. On the contrary, Indonesia actually needed more rationalism, greater individualism and an increase of material goods. This is still a living problem after the lapse of seventeen years, and even after the social and mental revolution, and is evidenced by the fact that these controversies, which were published in 1947, have recently been republished.

**Mental controversies in Indonesia not confined to education only — co-operative movements is a case in point**

But also in other fields of thought and life in Indonesia these mental controversies are to be seen, and often lead to hesitation and confusion. A well-known example of this is the co-operative movement. Owing to the weak economic position of Indonesia, it was obvious that already people were thinking of the establishment of a co-operative movement, a form of economic organization which would give strength to the weaker members of the community and protect them from the alien groups who were in a much stronger position. But it must be said that up to the present time all efforts to create such a movement have failed. In my opinion this is due to the cultural formlessness of the Indonesian people. Although “co-operation” is a less individualistic economic form of Western organization, it cannot be denied that this form of organization is a result of the individualistic, rationalistic Western attitude to life.

A person who joins a co-operative organization of his own free will is well aware of his personal material interest in so doing and looks to the movement to further his personal aims. He can withdraw from the organization when it no longer satisfies his own ideas and interests. His rational and businesslike attitude is alien to Indonesians, and above all to the peasants. They already have a special form of economic and social co-operation which originated with the old Indonesian culture, though it is different in essence, since it is derived from quite another school of thought. This form of co-operation to which I refer is called gotong royong, or the mutual help given by the inhabitants of a village in cul-

*A mosque at Jakarta, Indonesia, built in 1932 C.E.*

*Mosques in Indonesia represent one of the four elements of Indonesian culture*
tivating the land, building houses, preparations for marriages, funeral ceremonies, etc. In this gotong rojong system there is no place for motives of individual gain. This type of co-operation is a traditional part of village life, in which all the inhabitants take part. It is a solidarity inherited from the ancestors. I think that the failure to establish co-operative organizations can be attributed to the fact that they are derived from Western culture, whereas the people are still living in the ancient Indonesian cultural sphere of thought. The members have no sense of individualism; they lack the courage to call the treasurers and secretaries to count, because this type of distrust of fellow members of a village community is unheard of. Nor is there any rationalism or business acumen, as this would be unbecoming in the kind and informal village atmosphere where the people are related to each other.

There is yet another thing. In view of the pedagogical and propagandist factors, the villager is made aware that co-operative organization is the same as gotong rojong, especially as otherwise it would have been too difficult for him to grasp. One forgets, however, that two elements of different cultures and spheres of life are dissimilar. In my opinion a revolution must take place in the Indonesian mind. Then and only then will co-operative organization produce results, and this calls for strenuous efforts on the part of leaders of education.

Further examples of mental controversies

Further examples can be given, such as the place of women in the community, the relationship between parents and children, the tendencies in jurisprudence, the meaning of religion in the life of the people, the currents and tendencies in art and literature. The revolution paid no attention to these problems. That was inevitable, but soon they will be upon us and we cannot escape them. It is possible for a flood, being a primitive force, to sweep away countries and cities and to change the whole scene, but in order to rebuild them we need forethought and planning. No reconstruction is possible without an understanding of these problems and, as they are now becoming acute and being fully realized, they are developing into universal problems and not only those of Indonesia.

If we say that Western culture is the only one which has inherited from all the past cultures of mankind, we can also say that Indonesia has not merely inherited but lived through some of the most important cultures of old times. Throughout its history, Indian, Islamic and European cultures have poured into Indonesia — nor should we forget the Chinese, as for centuries Indonesia has been in close touch with the society of the celestial empire. And if we bear in mind that all these great cultures are at the very moment undergoing dissolution through Western culture, and consider that these cultures and this very Western culture are themselves experiencing acute crises — the end of which is not yet in view — then it may perhaps be realized how many are the controversial forces in Indonesia and how many directions they can follow.

With all this my readers should not think that Indonesia has only controversy, chaos and doubt. These various divergencies are in themselves so many different possibilities of solutions. It may well be that, with these treasures of human experience in thought and deed, the Indonesian spirit will arise from the chaos of the recent revolution, rejuvenated, vital, and in a position to make an important contribution to this anguished world which, having suffered from two world wars in the past half century, now yearns for peace and harmony.
THE CANAL WATER DISPUTE BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA

Pakistan is the result of the creative strength of Muslim culture.

Pakistan, an energetic new nation with a population of some 76,000,000 — 86 per cent of whom are Muslims — came into being on 14th August 1947. It is new, but its roots stretch back over the centuries to the great Moghul Empire, which so nearly unified India under Muslim rule. As was the case then, Pakistan today, under Muslim rule, provides one of the real pillars of democratic strength in the great South Asian areas from Suez to the Pacific.

Out of her Indian empire, Great Britain gave Pakistan broadly those areas in the north-east and north-west in which the population showed a Muslim majority. East Pakistan, with its population of 42,000,000 crowded into only 54,000 square miles, is in the very fertile Ganges-Brahmaputra valley, and grows 75 per cent of the world’s jute (burlap). A thousand miles of the territory of India separate it from West Pakistan, lying in the Indus River basin, where 34,000,000 people occupy an area of 310,000 square miles — much of it desert and mountains.

The nature and size of her population make Pakistan the largest Muslim country, and the sixth largest among all nations.

Many people have doubted whether a nation cemented together mainly by a common religion could ever be viable. They forget that in reality Pakistan represents the blossoming in the modern world of an age-old culture which last flowered under the Emperor Akbar (1533-1605 C.E.) and his descendants when the colonization of America was only about to start (Jamestown was founded in 1607), and Queen Elizabeth (1533-1603) had only begun to expand her little kingdom into the great British Empire. That culture had produced great art, a new national language, great advances in mathematics, the superb Moghul architecture, and the Taj Mahal, universally recognized as one of the world’s most beautiful buildings.

Plainly it is the creative strength of such a culture that is the foundation of Pakistan. Had that fundamental not been there, Pakistan could never have been achieved in face of the difficulties under which she attained her existence.

West Pakistan owes its very existence to the waters of the Indus Basin.

Pakistan and India, before Partition, had been one political and commercial entity. Partition of that entity along communal — not economic lines — to the disadvantage of Pakistan, could not help but raise many serious disputes between the two new countries. The Kashmir question, which has probably been the most publicized, started a private war, which might well have become general, had not the United Nations been able to negotiate a “cease fire” in 1948. But the problem of arranging a fair and impartial plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir should be a part of Pakistan or of India has been before the United Nations for the better part of seven years, and the solution is not yet in sight.

The problem of the settlement of claims for the property which the refugees in either country left behind when they fled in terror for their lives to the other country remains a festering sore.

Probably the most serious problem is the dispute over the waters of the Indus Basin. Pakistan is, and probably always will be, an agricultural country, no matter how rapidly industrialization takes place — agriculture which in the West depends almost entirely on irrigation — irrigation which India threatens progressively to diminish.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), by its study of the development possibilities in the Indus Basin, in co-operation with the engineers of India and of Pakistan, is helping to find a solution of this problem of far-reaching importance. Success can be a blessing directly or indirectly to a fifth of the population of the world for generations. Failure could mean a suicidal war between the two countries.

West Pakistan, the downstream user of the Indus Basin waters, is dependent on irrigation for its very existence. Its rapidly expanding population, augmented by a net increase of refugees from India, needs all the irrigation water which, in the past, converted 31,000,000 acres of desert into some of the world’s most fertile food-growing fields. Additional supplies must also be found if it is to feed the population, growing in West Pakistan alone at the rate of 400,000 a year.

India, the upstream claimant, needs more irrigation water, even though rainfall in that region is heavier than in West Pakistan. Lying upstream, India has the power to take this water, to the everlasting detriment of Pakistan. There is just so much water in the rivers of the Indus Basin, and all of the flow of water that can be utilized is supplying existing uses, or, as in the case of the Indus itself, has been designated for use in process of development. How can the needs of both be met?

One of the means Britain adopted to overcome the terrible famines which devastated her Indian Empire during the latter half of the nineteenth century was the development of one of the world’s greatest irrigation systems in the Panjand, Sind. Making use first of the waters of the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej rivers — the five great tributaries of the Indus, which give the Panjand its name (Panj five, and ab water) — 36,500,000 acres of desert blossomed to be called the “Bread Basket” of India. Without this water, these most fertile fields would promptly return to desert. That this is no idle statement has already been demonstrated in those areas in Pakistan from which irrigation water has been withheld by India since 1948.

The proportions of this irrigation system will be realized when it is understood that the mean average annual flow of the rivers of the Indus Basin is 168,000,000 acre feet — twice that of the River Nile, ten times that of the

1 Lands customarily irrigated by the Bahawalpur State distributary, and the end reaches of nine minor distributaries and forty-one courses from the Upper Bari Doab Canal system, extending into Pakistan.

2 Definitions: An acre foot of water is the amount of water which would cover an acre of land to a depth of 1 ft. A cubic is a flow of 1 cubic foot of water per second. 1 cubic flow 24 hours — 2 acre feet.
Colorado River, thirty times that of the lower Rio Grande River. But the greater part of this huge amount of water comes in June, July and August, when the snows on the high hills are augmented by the monsoon rains on the catchment areas of the rivers. Irrigation for only a part of a crop season is of little use — so during the flood season a substantial flow escapes to the sea. But, even as it is, 36,500,000 acres are provided with irrigation from these rivers — 31,000,000 in Pakistan (84.9 per cent) and 5,900,000 in India (15.1 per cent). Of the 82,400,000 cultivable acres within the Indus Basin, 74,800,000 acres (80.78 per cent) are in Pakistan, while 7,600,000 acres (9.22 per cent) are in India. To the lay observer, Pakistan, with 90.78 per cent of the cultivable area in the Indus Basin, should be entitled to more of the total irrigation than the 84.9 per cent she now enjoys. Yet India desires to reduce even the 84.9 per cent.

In building this great system, Britain paid scrupulous regard to the principle of international law, requiring upstream users of water at all times to respect the requirements of downstream users. New irrigation projects were sanctioned only as supplies were determined to be available, and then were subject to detailed regulation to protect the existing downstream users of supplies from the same rivers.

India, the upstream user of the waters of the Indus Basin, disregards her international obligations to Pakistan, the downstream user.

These principles were re-examined by the Indus (Rau) Commission, and restated in their report (Simla 1942), in reference to a protest by the Province of Sind (now a Province of Pakistan), that the proposed building of the Bhakra Dam (now in India) on the upper Sutlej, would adversely affect the water supplies customarily coming to Sind from the Sutlej.

At the time of Partition, both sides agreed that there would be no change in the distribution pattern of the irrigation waters as a result of the location of the new international boundary.

Since both sides agreed, there was no “dispute” to refer to the Arbitral Tribunal, the body established by Act of the British Parliament to settle all disputes arising from Partition referred to it by the Partition Committees as insoluble by mutual agreement. But various other matters concerning the canals did come before the Arbitral Tribunal, and in each case the award was based on each side continuing to receive the supplies allocated to it before Partition.

The authority of the Arbitral Tribunal overriding that of two independent countries obviously could not continue long. On 31st March 1948, its work accomplished, the Arbitral Tribunal was terminated.

On the very next day, 1st April 1948, the East Punjab
(India) engineers "closed all the canals crossing the international boundary from India into Pakistan. Since this was the beginning of the actual spring planting season when water was most needed for the Kharif crop, the matter was most serious. The great damage to standing crops, and the farmers' inability to plant the new crops, resulted in widespread unrest and fear, which steadily mounted as day by day the canals remained closed. Something, no matter how drastic, had to be done, not only to save the crops, but much more, to restore the confidence of the farmers whose very existence was threatened by this summary withholding of the irrigation water.

An ad hoc meeting was held at Delhi on the 3rd and 4th May 1948, during which the flow of the Central Bari Doab system and in the Dipalpur system were restored, but the Bahawalpur State distributary, and the tail reaches of nine minor distributaries and forty-one water courses taking off from the Upper Bari Doab Canal and extending into Pakistan remained closed, and have remained closed to this day.

Another meeting was held in Lahore in July 1948, and again in Delhi in August 1949, but no agreement was reached other than that the flow in the Central Bari Doab and Dipalpur systems would be continued and further meetings would be held, although they were delayed until March and May in 1950, when again no agreement could be reached. It was clear that India was adopting delaying tactics.

Pakistan seeks an amicable solution of the problem created by India's action

From the very beginning, at these meetings and in formal notes, Pakistan urged that the matter be referred to the International Court of Justice, since the issue was largely legal. India refused. Nor would India agree to arbitration, by a neutral body, of the basic question of the rights of the two countries to the waters of the common rivers.

On the 1st September 1948 the East Punjab (India) engineers informed the West Punjab (Pakistan) engineers that the arrangement made on 4th May 1948 for the continuation of the supplies of water to the Central Bari Doab canal system and to the Dipalpur canal system would end on 30th September 1948. When the West Punjab engineers reported this threatened closure to their Central Government, the Pakistan Foreign Minister sought assurance from New Delhi that the supplies of water would be continued until the two governments could reach a final agreement. Nehru in his capacity as Foreign Minister replied giving such assurance. But a little later, i.e., on 24th October, India not only rejected the proposal to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice, but also refused even to negotiate, unless the West Punjab accepted the East Punjab contention that the sole right to the waters of the common river was vested in the East Punjab Government.

In the meantime, the reason for India's delaying action in the various conferences became quite clear. She had begun extensive new irrigation works, designed to take increasing quantities of the waters of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, which customarily had been applied to existing uses in Pakistan! India's intentions in this regard were made quite clear in her published "First Five-Year Plan" (p. 267). She intended to take all the waters of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej -- waters which customarily had irrigated five million acres in Pakistan! Until the completion of the Bhakra Dam, still some five years off, all this water must come from Pakistan's agreed share. Even after the completion of the dam, much of the water India proposes to take will be taken away from its established uses in Pakistan.

India enjoys much heavier rainfall. India has many other large rivers. The Jumna River, and the Ganges River waters, could be applied to irrigate this very area for which India proposes to take the water so vitally needed in Pakistan. The mean annual flow in these two rivers is more than 400,000,000 acre feet -- much more than double that of all the rivers in the Indus Basin. While the flow in the Jumna is being used somewhat, very little of the Ganges flow is being used for irrigation.

Pakistan's earnest effort, continuing through four and a half years, to get this vital dispute settled amicably by negotiation, met only frustration. Through all this, the threat of damage far greater than any invading army could bring with bombs and shellfire hung over Pakistan's head, because of the continuing threats by India to close the canals permanently, as she had temporarily closed them in 1948.

Having refused to refer the question to the International Court of Justice -- or accept arbitration by a neutral body -- India proposed that it be referred to a tribunal consisting of two judges from each country, a procedure which could only result in deadlock and delay. In the meantime India steadily continued with the construction of new irrigation works. It would seem that if Pakistan finally succeeded in getting the question before the International Court, India hoped to present the court with a fait accompli.

Fortunately, India did not carry out her threat to close the canals, and although Pakistan did not agree that the ownership of the waters of the common rivers vested solely in the Government of East Punjab, India did continue to negotiate.

The World Bank interests itself in the settlement of the dispute

In the summer of 1951, just as Pakistan was about to ask the Security Council to call on India to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice, an article by Mr. David E. Lilienthal appeared in Collier's Magazine for 4th August 1951 which for the first time seemed to offer a practical solution. Mr. Lilienthal wrote:

"It is pure dynamite, a Punjab powder keg. Peace in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is not in sight with these inflammables lying around. Unless a better answer on water is soon forthcoming, even if the Kashmir plebiscite could be held, peace would not come.

"An affirmative solution of the water problem can create an atmosphere that may make settlement of the Kashmir dispute possible on some basis not even now thought of because of the bitterness and sterility of the present argument.

"I suggest that this unnecessary controversy can be solved by common sense and engineering, to the benefit of all the people who live by the waters of the Indus River.

"Less than 20 per cent of the water of the Indus Basin is now put to use for irrigation; most of the waters of the six supplying rivers of the Indus Basin flow to the Arabian Sea unused. If this wasted water, or even a large fraction of it, is put to use, both India's needs and Pakistan's needs could be more than met.

"India's present course of drawing more and more water from the upstream of these rivers will injure Pakistan and endanger the peace.

"Pakistan's position -- that she has the legal right to the uninterrupted flow of water, a right to a share of waters stored by India's dams upstream -- is quite inadequate for this great issue, however sound her legal claim might be. If the dispute were between two farmers asserting their private rights, the International
Court of Justice might decide the legal issue in Pakistan's favour if India agreed to submit it.

"But this would not bring peace, for India's food problem would still be on her back. Such a legal decision would not prevent the waste of most of the precious waters of the Indus, it would further antagonize India, and certainly it would not start these two countries doing anything like setting up an act of partnership in developing their common resource, the six rivers on which their millions depend for their livelihood and their future. But Pakistan's position, though inadequate, should be the starting point, should be accepted as a minimum, without question."

"The starting point should be, then, to set to rest Pakistan's fears of deprival and a return to desert. Her present use of water should be confirmed by India, provided she works together with India (as I believe she would) in a joint use of this truly international river basin on an engineering basis that would allow (as the facts make clear it can) assure India's future use as well."

"The urgent problem is how to store up now wasted waters, so they can be fed down and distributed by engineering works and canals, and used by both countries, rather than permitted to flow to the sea unused. This is not a religious or political problem, but a feasible engineering and business problem for which there is plenty of precedent and relevant experience."

"This objective, however, cannot be achieved by the countries working separately; the river pays no attention to partition -- the Indus, she "just keeps rolling along," through Kashmir and India and Pakistan. The whole Indus system must be developed as a unit -- designed, built and operated as a unit, as is the seven-State TVA system back in the U.S."

"Jointly financed (perhaps with World Bank help), an Indus Engineering Corporation, with representation by technical men of India, Pakistan and the World Bank, can readily work out an operating scheme for storing water wherever dams can best store it, and for diverting and distributing water."

"Once the scheme is designed, the works can be operated by an Indo-Pakistan Agency, or by a supranational international agency such as the Schuman Plan provides in Europe, or by some special corporation like the Port of New York Authority, or some comparable scheme.

"Such a plan could certainly be financed, for this now worthless unirrigated land would, with water, become immensely productive and valuable; the increased value of the land, now owned by the respective governments, would be enough to base financing."

Mr. Lilienthal, formerly head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, was invited separately by the two countries to inspect their irrigation undertakings.

Mr. Lilienthal saw the irrigation dispute against the background of the many other disputes which vitiated relations between Pakistan and India: he recognized that this must be settled satisfactorily if there was to be any chance of settling the others; he recognized the urgent need for more water by both Pakistan and India: he felt the rising tension which might easily lead to war; he considered the amount of flood water which ran to waste in the six or seven weeks of floods each year, and felt that if this were properly conserved, there should be enough water for both countries; he regarded the problem as essentially an engineering problem to be settled by engineering works, not by political or emotional methods. He saw that if there was to be any chance of settlement of this or any other dispute, existing use of canal water must first be guaranteed -- then new uses would come from new supplies -- the stored water of the summer floods. He suggested that if the two countries would work together to build and jointly control the system, such a body as the World Bank might be willing to assist in financing it. He saw that such co-operative effort might well supply the inspiration which could lead to the settlement of other outstanding problems.

The World Bank saw in Mr. Lilienthal's proposals an opportunity to extend the usefulness of the Bank into the realm of world peace, while at the same time helping two antagonistic countries to work together in co-operation with the Bank to the lasting advantage of all. On the 6th September 1951, therefore, the World Bank wrote to the Prime Ministers of both countries, proffering its help in working out such a scheme as Mr. Lilienthal had proposed. Both countries expressed interest. So the President of the World Bank, Mr. Eugene R. Black, wrote to the Governments of both countries outlining a proposed method of procedure. He followed this by going out and discussing the proposals with the Prime Ministers of each country.

On 13th March 1952, President Black was able to confirm in identical letters to both Prime Ministers "that I have found common understanding as to the bases on which we could go forward under the Lilienthal proposal". All agree that "the ultimate objective is to carry out specific engineering measures by which the supplies effectively available to each country will be increased substantially beyond what they have ever been". Mr. Black went on to say that "while the co-operative work continues with the participation of the Bank, neither side will take any action to diminish the supplies available to the other side for existing uses.

The working party met in Washington in May and June 1952 and then again in Karachi and Delhi to exchange information, decide on further studies needed, and to tour the Indus Basin. The working party met in Washington in September and October 1953 to prepare the comprehensive plan for submission to the two countries and to the Bank. Nevertheless, India has continued the construction of new headworks and canals, and has dipped further and further into Pakistan's share of the common supply.

How Pakistan is affected by the canal flow drastically reduced by India

Flow records supplied by India, for the Madhopur headworks (an important diversion dam called "headworks" in irrigation parlance) on the Ravi, show that for the six months from 1st October 1952 to 31st March 1953, Pakistan received only 27.9 per cent of the available flow instead of the stipulated 46.8 per cent, while for April 1953 only 32.5 per cent of available supplies instead of the stipulated 39.5 per cent. These are percentages of available supplies -- not absolute amounts of water. Since available supplies were very low in the autumn and winter of 1952-53 due to meagre rainfall, the smaller percentage of the smaller amount caused greater hardship in Pakistan in this the wheat-growing season.

India has refused to supply similar figures for the flow at Ferozepore headworks. By measuring the flow above and below the headworks, Pakistan has every reason to believe that Indian canals taking off from this headworks received 32.4 per cent more than their stipulated share of the waters available from the 1st October 1952 to 31st March 1953.

This approximate figure, of course, takes no account of the considerable amounts of water withdrawn from the Sutlej above Ferozepore, by newly-constructed canals, such as the Sidhwan system opened in June 1952 to irrigate 200,000 acres, and the Mudki-Golewala system opened in May 1953 to irrigate another 200,000 acres in India. The result of India's withdrawal of so much water above and at Ferozepore has been to greatly reduce the flow in the Sutlej below Ferozepore, and hence seriously reduce Pakistan's water supplies supposed to be available at Suleimanki, Islam and Panjnad for important canals taking off from these headworks.

There can be no doubt that India's withdrawal of so much water in the winter of 1952-53 which customarily would
have gone to Pakistan had some effect on the failure of Pakistan's wheat crop harvested in the spring of 1953. Excluding the new Thal area, the wheat acreage irrigated by the canals Pakistan controls fell by only 1.8 per cent from the previous year — whereas the similar acreage in Pakistan irrigated by Indian controlled canals fell by 10 per cent — acreage of all crops in the same area by 14.8 per cent — the farmers planted all the wheat they could. Had it not been for the gift of a million tons of wheat to Pakistan by the United States, millions of people might have starved in West Pakistan — some of them because of India's action of withholding water.

When it became apparent that India was taking Pakistan's share of the waters — despite its fresh agreement in April 1953 not to do so — Pakistan protested to Mr. Black, of the World Bank. To eliminate any misunderstanding as to the supplies available in the common rivers, it was proposed that a joint commission, including a representative of the Bank, be set up for the collection and verification of current flow data. Under the date of 15th April 1953, Mr. Black advised that the Government of India was not prepared to accept this proposal. India would not permit verification of the withdrawals it made from the common rivers!

The comprehensive plan

The working party has been attempting ever since to work out a practical plan and procedure for carrying out Mr. Lilienthal's proposal, but as yet no definite agreement has been reached. In accordance with the proposal, the plan must include confirmation of supplies for existing users. This is the starting point. The supplies remaining are to be shared. A solution must be found, and can be, if there is a reasonable attitude on both sides.

Any workable plan for joint action will, of course, depend on the construction of several huge storage dams. Since flow supplies of the eastern rivers are already fully utilized. Additional supplies for new uses can only be obtained by storing the summer flood waters for use throughout the year. There are few if any suitable sites for storage dams in Pakistan. Financing for such large dams as may be feasible will take time to arrange. The realization of the plan will also be delayed by engineering considerations. Ten years may be required for the geological exploratory work, the designing and building of these dams, often in inaccessible locations. These are the critical years, because population growth will not wait.

The plan must also include provisions to assure that neither side will dip into supplies required for existing uses, until the new storage facilities can provide new supplies. The Government of India will undoubtedly be placed under strong pressure by its own people to take the water now, at the expense of existing irrigation in Pakistan, before the new supplies are available.

The Taj Mahal, Agra, India, built about 1631 C.E.
The Islamic culture in India has produced great art, a new national language, great advances in mathematics, the superb Moghul architecture, and the Taj Mahal, universally recognized as one of the world's most beautiful buildings.
ALGERIA IN FERMENT

Messali Hajj on the Future of Algeria

THE MYTH OF ALGERIA BEING THREE DEPARTMENTS OF FRANCE

By G. H. Neville-Bagot

The background of the unrest in Algeria

At the end of October 1954 some 250 Tunisian armed patriots were forced by the French army to take refuge over the border in the mountainous territory around Batna in the Aures, which lies in south-east Algeria. The French claim that this district was already “infested with bandits”, but it now appears that at least 3,000 Algerian-Tunisian patriots are operating as organized troops against the French, who apparently need at least two divisions to defeat these Muslim guerrillas. The French also claim that the Algerian patriots are working under the orders of the Maghreb leaders in Cairo and in particular of a certain Muhammad Ibn Bella, a friend of the Algerian nationalist Lahwel, and Muhammad Khider, a former member of the French Parliament and a veteran supporter of Messali al-Hajj.

Several Frenchmen and an Algerian quisling Caid have been killed. The capital of the Aures district, Aris, was recently occupied by Algerian-Tunisian nationalists, and at the time of writing these lines it is still being besieged by them from the overlooking heights. The town of Khenchela was also occupied for a time by the liberation forces, also the village of Foun-Touf. The population has shown a friendly disposition to the Muslim soldiers, who are apparently trying to recruit reinforcements. The Muslims are clearly led by able soldiers, most likely by North Africans who fought against the Zionists in Palestine.

The French and Algerian colonial reactionaries are trying to use the occasion to throw out the sympathetic French Minister of the Interior, M. Mitterand. The Mayor of Algiers, Monsieur J. Chevalier, and the French Resident-General in Tunisia, General Boyer de la Tour, are the main-springs of oppression against the Algerian and Tunisian patriots, who are putting up a magnificent display of Algerian-North African unity in Algeria, where the French have been in power for 124 years and where there are nearly 1,000,000 French colonials!

At least 400 Algerian nationalists have been arrested and questioned, including Moulay Mabah, Secretary of Messali’s political party, and Ahmad Mezerna, a former Deputy and editor of l’Algerie Libre. Terrorism and sabotage have broken out as far west as the port of Oran, near the Moroccan frontier.

The French are trying to blame the Egyptian radio station, which is a source of inspiration to the North Africans. It is possible that in the whole of North Africa the partisans are working in liaison with the Maghreb committee in Egypt and Cairo, while the big nationalist parties, the Destour of Tunisia, the MTLD of Algeria, and the Istiqlal of Morocco, are carrying on a so-called illegal political activity. But in the eyes of all the Arab Muslim world the North African partisans, “fellagas,” terrorists and saboteurs, are heroes carrying on a necessary campaign to drive the French out of North Africa. The fighting in the Constantine province of Algeria has performed the useful and necessary task of focusing world opinion on this part of the world,
where the people and Islam are together trodden under foot by the French assimilators but in vain. The Algerians have been licking their wounds and smarting under the defeat of the 1945 revolt in the Kabyle country and most of the Constantine province, when from 7,000-45,000 Algerian Muslims were butchered by the French troops.

The duty of the Arab League and Arab Asiatic bloc towards Algeria

It is now vitally necessary that while public opinion is thus focused on Algeria, the Arab League and the Arab-Asiatic bloc should raise the question of Algerian independence at the United Nations in the Security Council and in the General Assembly so that the fiction of Algeria constituting departments of France (the French contention is that Algeria is administered not as overseas territory but by the Ministry of the Interior) may be once for all exploded.

On 9th September 1954 the Arab League announced its intention of supporting the cause of Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian independence. Later, Colonel Gamal ‘Abd al-Nasir, the Egyptian Premier, in an interview, while praising the courageous policy of the French Premier with regard to Tunisia, stated that such a policy should be equally applied in Algeria as well as in Morocco. He maintained that France could not indefinitely rule Algeria as an integral part of France. That there is an awakening of national consciousness can be seen from the fact that 221 North African pilgrims from the French-administered territories (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco) have “chosen freedom” and have settled in Egypt this year rather than return home to live under French rule.

Messali on the future of Algeria

The following interview was given by al-Haj Ahmad Messali al-Haj to his party’s French weekly, l’Algerie Libre (Free Algeria), Algiers, Algeria, for 19th September 1954. Messali is the veteran leader of about 8,000,000 Algerian Muslims who are being kept under French rule by nearly 1,000,000 French colons. He was successively head of his former political parties — “North African Star” and Algerian People’s Party — and is Honorary President of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD).

The first two parties were dissolved by the French authorities years ago. The last was declared illegal in the beginning of November 1954.

Question. What chances of success do you expect for the North African question when it is brought before the United Nations?

Messali. The United Nations have known about the North African problems officially since the session of November 1951, for at that time the Moroccan question was raised for the first time by the Egyptian Government and was supported by all the Arab-Islamic-Asiatic States.

Equally it should be remembered that after the arrest of the members of the Shenik Government of Tunisia and the bloody repression which followed these events, this international organization was bound to find out the facts about the Tunisian question as well.

The absence of the Algerian question at this time when the Moroccan and the Tunisian questions were both brought up in the United Nations was not only abnormal and unnatural but its absence constituted, more, a grave error, for we have always considered and shall always persist in firmly believing that the problem of the Maghreb is one indissoluble question and that it can only be solved as a whole. For instance, in 1948, during the session held at Paris, it was possible to unite our efforts and present the whole of our case to this international organization at the same time.

By this unity of action taken on an international scale we would certainly have drawn into action the help of the 25,000,000 people of the Maghreb in support of the solution of this problem.

The importance of this action could not have escaped the attention of all political observers. I hope that this mistake will not be repeated again.

Algerian question at the United Nations and the Muslim countries

Question. Do you think that the Algerian question will be brought up this year at the United Nations?

Messali. Such is our wish and our desire. To achieve this we have ceaselessly worked for a very long time at home and abroad in order that the Algerian question should no longer be greeted with silence, but that it should be linked up with the Tunisian and Moroccan cases.

In spite of our various other activities this problem has remained the centre of our activities. The Algerian National Movement must needs break the wall of silence which colonialism has built up in the imagination more than in reality. From now onwards the internationalization of this problem enters the practical stage. The necessary steps have been taken to get a motion inscribed at the next session of the United Nations. And with this aim in view our representative in Cairo has made several representations to the Arab League.

Also, our friend ‘Abed Bouhafa, the President of the Committee of Liberation of the Arab Maghreb, whose headquarters are in New York, went to Cairo where he discussed with the members of the Arab League the necessity of bringing up the Algerian question as well as the Tunisian and Moroccan questions before the next session of the United Nations. He also went to Riyadh, where he informed His Majesty King Sa’ud and his Government about the steps he took on this account. Finally, after carrying out an intensive campaign in the Arab countries, our friend ‘Abed Bouhafa returned to his key-point in the struggle in New York, where he contacted the delegates of the different countries which were likely to support this question when it reached the point of discussion.

Question. In the course of your journey in the East did it help to get the Algerian problem known by our Arab and Muslim brothers?

Messali. After performing my religious obligations and my pilgrimage to the Holy Land at Mecca, I went to Cairo. I spent my time there informing the members of the Arab League and the representatives of the Arab-Islamic States about the different aspects of the question. I made a special point of clearly defining the deep aspirations of the Algerian people. I explained these matters to my many questioners, and above all I stressed the moral support which we expected to receive from them.

I should add that before leaving Sa’udi Arabia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Emir Faisal, granted me an interview at which he and I discussed at length the Algerian problem and its only possible solution.

Question. Apart from your journey in the East, have other steps been taken in this direction?

Messali. The French Government has attempted by a careful and skilful campaign to get the myth that “Algeria is three French departments” accepted internationally and it has presented this question to world opinion in a false light which merely fits in with the immediate requirements of
France. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to enlighten international opinion about the true state of affairs and the real situation in Algeria. For this reason we addressed an appeal to the United Nations during its session held in November 1948 in Paris.

Also, a memorandum was addressed to the United Nations in 1952 when it held another session in Paris at the Palais Chaillot.

Since my return from Mecca and during my stay at Chantilly I received not only certain journalists and political personalities, but also the delegates of the Arab-Islamic States, to whom I gave an expost of the Algerian problem.

This activity is only one aspect of the work carried out to inform Arab and Islamic public opinion objectively about the Algerian question. This aspect can only produce results in so far as it is related to other forms of activity.

How to raise the question of Algeria to the level of international discussion

**Question.** What in your opinion are the possibilities of internationalizing the Algerian question?

**Messali.** I was just about to come to this matter when you asked me this question. The United Nations and international opinion can only consider the problems which are submitted to them on condition that these problems are supported by the action of the people who initiate them and interest them in the first instance.

The colonized peoples are today sufficiently aware of this reality and they know that the United Nations is dominated by imperialist colonial powers which while proclaiming the principles of the Charter of the United Nations at the same time do everything possible to maintain their own privileges and to assure their perpetual power and presence in the colonized countries.

These facts have been extant since the colonial problems were first raised in the United Nations. The attitude of the colonialist powers is above all determined by their own interests and by the acuteness of political contingencies. Thus we have seen on occasions when these matters have been discussed, notably the Tunisian and Moroccan affairs questions, that the (great) Powers have sometimes abstained and sometimes voted against the inscription of these questions.

For these very reasons one should not be content with letting the matter rest with the bringing up of the colonial question on an international scale. There is also scope for the effective participation of the people directly concerned in this question. In our case the matter was examined by the Emergency Congress of the MTLD (Movement for the

**The Colonial people and the United Nations**

In the same issue of l'Algerie Libre in which the interview whose text is given above appears, an editorial is devoted to the United Nations and the colonial peoples in which it is pointed out that the Korean and Indo-China questions were settled outside the United Nations, that colonial questions when raised have been simply avoided or shelved, that despair animates the minds of the colonial peoples, and that the United Nations is being discredited but that the colonial peoples will find the means of interesting world opinion in their cause and in enforcing their right to enjoy liberty and justice.

In a further article in this self-same issue a demand is made for a Charter for the Peoples of Africa. The writer asks if the nations which, in particular Pakistan, went to Manila thought of the African peoples. The African problem is the one question which remains unsettled. Only Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia and, to a certain degree, the Gold Coast, are free in Africa, while some 150,000,000 people are deprived of the most elementary freedom. It rightly points out that for these 150,000,000 the Declaration of Human Rights and the principles of the United Nations remain mere words, and that the North Africans are not the mere herds to be driven by their colonial rulers. For them, it says, the era of domination is over; they will win back their rights and strive to achieve a Charter of Freedom and Equality for all the peoples of Africa.

1 Ahmad Messali al-Hajj is not permitted to enter his homeland, Algeria. He has been kept under surveillance in France by French police since 1952.
2 This movement was started by Messali al-Hajj for working for the United North African Independence.
3 For those not conversant with the Algerian problem it should be added that France set foot in Algeria in 1830 and she took over fifteen years to conquer Northern Algeria, while revolts took place sporadically until the first world war. The northern provinces of Algeria — Oran, Algiers and Constantine are administered as French departments under the Ministry of the Interior in Paris. Part of the so-called Military Territory of the south was also placed under this Ministry following the passing of the 1947 Algerian Statute.

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**The National Flag of Algeria**

This flag reproduced here in monochrome is in fact composed of two equal parts, the left half dark green, the right half white, superimposed by a red crescent and five-pointed star.

The unification of a great part of Arabia and the formation of the Sa'udi Arabian State had been one of the most promising and constructive achievements in the Muslim world during the past forty years. This movement began, as did the original Muslim movement in the time of the Prophet Muhammad, with a religious revival. It was essentially due to the strength of the faith of the Wahhabites that the House of Sa'ud was able to prevail under the brilliant and courageous leadership of the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Abdur Rahman al-Sa'ud. Once the people had faith (in this case renewed faith), there was nothing to stop them. However powerful and valiant their enemies, such as the House of Ibn Rashid, might be, they were swept away by the fire and unity of the Wahhabite warriors and a very useful work of unification was carried out without which the Arab-Muslim Renaissance of today would never have occurred. King Abd al-'Aziz later showed remarkable powers of diplomacy and he was one of the few people astute enough in the last war to forecast the ultimate defeat of the Axis Powers even when they were at the height of their successes in 1941-42. Thus his country was not occupied, as was the case with Iraq. Even earlier he had turned down a very tempting offer in return for oil concessions made by Japan. The Americans had made it clear that they could not better or even offer similar terms, but King 'Abd al-'Aziz was sufficiently astute to realize that the Japanese made their offer in order to get a footing on the Arabian mainland while the Americans, with their great wealth and technical superiority, and their (then) isolationist policy, would contribute far more to the welfare and technical development of Arabia with far less likelihood of American imperialism seeking to set foot in Arabia. Again, King 'Abd al-'Aziz, as the author of this book points out, sent his son, the Amir Mansour, to give moral support to the Indian Muslim troops on the eve of El-Alamein when there was still a danger of Rommel's Afrika Corps sweeping over the whole of the Middle East. King 'Abd al-'Aziz obtained the first so-called “fifty-fifty” agreement from Aramco, and this agreement was used by the Iranians and Iraqis and the Sheikhs of Kuwait, Bahrein and Qatar to extract better terms from the respective oil companies which had concessions in their States, and is resulting in a great expansion of public works programmes which will lead to the modernization of these States and their transition from feudalism and political impotence and the emergence of a large commercial and intellectual class.

The author of this book, Mr. K. S. Twitchell, an American engineer, was sent by the great American millionaire philanthropist, Charles R. Crane, of New York, one time United States Minister to China, to the Yemen and to Sa'udi Arabia (Mr. Crane paid all the expenses incurred). Mr. Crane, who “had acquired a life-long devotion to the Near East”, was one of the finest friends ever possessed by the Arab-Muslim world. He and Mr. King in 1919 opposed the Franco-British division of Syria including Palestine. If their advice had been followed, there would have been no Zionism rule in Palestine and thousands of lives and millions of pounds and a tremendous amount of time would have been saved. Also, the West would enjoy far greater prestige in the Middle East. Not content with giving advice, Mr. Crane sent Mr. Twitchell to the Yemen and started at his own expense a programme of improving communications. He built up American-Yemenite friendship which Mussolini tried to undermine later on. On learning of Mr. Crane's philanthropy, the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz asked for Mr. Crane's help. Mr. Twitchell relates the interesting story of how he managed after a great deal of persuasion to get a British-American mining concern to explore the resources of Sa'udi Arabia and American oil companies to build up what has now proved to be one of the main sources of the world's oil. Mr. Twitchell, who can well be proud of his pioneering achievement, pays a tribute to the selflessness of Mr. Crane, who refused all remuneration for his services to Arabia. Mr. Crane must rank as one of the most constructive and disinterested men of all time. The following few words of Mr. Twitchell will give the reader some idea of the intensely interesting subject matter dealt with in this book.

"From evening till midnight of May 25, 1931, I had a discussion with the King's representatives, Shaikh Abdullah Sulaiman and Shaikh Yusuf Yassin, regarding the possibilities of developing mines, oil and roads in Sa'udi Arabia. The King had sent Shaikh Yusuf to say that on account of depression, with the lack of pilgrims and consequent fall in revenue, he could not afford to follow out the development program planned and agreed upon. Furthermore, he wished me to try to find capital to carry out development previously discussed. To this I replied that I was an engineer and not a promoter in any way, but I would be glad to do my best under two conditions: first, that Mr. Crane would be consulted, his consent obtained, and participation offered him; second, that His Majesty would sign a letter authorizing and requesting me to undertake this project. . . . In July, 1932, a letter of request and authorization reached me in New York. Mr. Crane also gave his consent for the use of all the data gained at his expense, but he stated emphatically that he did not wish and would not accept participation in any company of companies, which might be formed for this work. He did not wish a statement ever to appear to the effect that there were ulterior commercial motives behind his philanthropic activities in Arabia. It is noteworthy that he carried out his decision not to share in any business venture that might grow out of his friendly aid to the Arabians." In this book an excellent survey is made by the author
under the heading of "Characteristic Features of Sa'udi Arabia" (geology, topography, climate, agriculture, water supplies, transportation, architecture, archaeology), social and political development, and the position of Sa'udi Arabia in world economy. There is also a very helpful glossary of Arabic place names and numerous illustrations, including some interesting buildings at Abha, Najran, Riyadh, Ta'il and Khamis Misfat.

The author is extremely modest about his own achievement and only too willing to pay a tribute to the late King of Sa'udi Arabia and to his fellow American and British colleagues. There is a considerable amount of commercial material, and this readable and well-informed book should prove to be a standard work on Sa'udi Arabia, and it is to be hoped that this invaluable book will be revised and frequently brought up to date, as things are developing so quickly in this part of the world.


Almost half this book, which is written by the Public Adviser of the Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, and a former Officer-in-Charge of Arabian Peninsula Affairs of the Department of State, deals with Sa'udi Arabia, and part of the section on the Yemen recapitulates the story of the activities of Mr. Crane and Mr. Twitchell, whose book, Sa'udi Arabia, is reviewed above.

It is only natural that the reviewer should wish to concentrate on the chapters dealing with the Trucial States and Bahrein, Kuwait and above all the Yemen, for they have not yet been subject to much recent inquiry.

Mr. Crane tried in 1927 to get the United States to sign a treaty with the Yemen, but the Americans waited for almost another twenty years. The Americans, met with hesitancy on the part of the Yemenis, showed great reluctance to sign, but finally did so, thanks to the tenacity of the 70-year-old Foreign Minister, Ragheb Bey, a former Turkish official who had stayed on in the Yemen after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and taken up service with the Imam al-Mutuwakkil 'ala Allah Yaha Ibn Muhammad Hamid al-Din.

A chapter deals with the "revolt" in San'a and the murder of the aged Imam. The author says that "under normal conditions the Wazirites would have waited until the Imam, who was over eighty, died, and then would have pushed their claims to the Imamate. But there is no such thing as a normal political situation in the Yemen, unless it be a condition of plot and counterplot ". The Wazirite plot was prematurely disclosed to the Imam, who summoned Prince Ahmad to San’a, thus precipitating the action of the opposition.

Mr. Sanger states that for generations two "powerful families" have dominated the Yemen. These are the Hamid al-Din clan, to which the Imam belongs, and the al-Wazir family, another powerful clan of land-owning Zaidi aristocrats, which has also supplied the Yemen with imams and other important Government officials. The leader of the al-Wazir clan at that time was 'Abdullah al-Wazir, a white-bearded patriarch of sixty, who had held many offices and was the chief negotiator in the Yemeni-Sa'udi peace talks of 1933.

On the death of an Imam, his successor was chosen by the "Council of Religious Elders". The reigning Imam favoured the succession of his eldest son, Prince Ahmad, who lived in the south at Ta'iz. "Although he had carried out certain modernization projects . . . he had taxed the people heavily. As a result, a move had sprung up in high Yemeni circles to win the votes of the Council for Abdullah al-Wazir."

There existed in Aden a group of 15,000 "Free Yemenis", or a "Greater Yemeni Society", who aimed at introducing a modern liberal form of government at home. A young son of the Imam who was "in his early twenties", Saif al-Islam Ibrahim, was living in exile in Aden; he was known for his liberal ideas. Manifestoes were published under his name "deplored the backwardness of conditions in Yemen and urging the establishment of a more limited monarchy whose goal would be the modernization of the country". The "Free Yemenis" secretly backed the candidature of 'Abdullah al-Wazir for the Imamate when it became vacant. Prince Husain, another brother, also backed al-Wazir, but harboured personal ambitions. The Premier, Qadi 'Abdullah al-Amri, wished to make one of his own family Imam. The Imam and the Prime Minister were murdered by tribesmen on 17th February 1948, and Prince Husain was killed by soldiers supporting al-Wazir when attempting to gain control of San'a for himself. The revolt was precipitated by the threatened appearance on the scene of Prince Ahmad, who had been recalled to the capital to help the Imam deal with the conspirators whose plans had been divulged. Prince Ibrahim flew to San'a from Aden and Prince Mutahhar, who supported Prince Ahmad, was imprisoned.

After losing several battles to the Wazirites, Prince Ahmad won over the governor of the port of Hodeida and was helped by officials of the northern coastal provinces and his partisans in San'a. He captured the capital and caused the Wazirite leader to be beheaded. Prince Ibrahim "died in prison of a heart attack ".

A strong influence in the Yemen today is Prince Hasan, described as "a strong conservative". In writing of Prince 'Abdullah, who visited the United States, Mr. Sanger describes him as the most astute Yemeni authority on foreign affairs together with Ragheb Bey. This brief sketch of the tragic revolt is 1948 is essential to all studies of the Yemen, which has a population of 4,000,000 and occupies 75,000 square miles.

The author mentions the technique of the Royal Air Force raids on the outlying districts of the Aden Protectorate. He points out that the Yemen claims sovereignty over Aden and the Protectorates. The murder of the Sultan Saleh Ibn Omar of Hillin and his son, Omar Ibn Saleh, in January 1949 are mentioned as examples of the unsettled state of these districts. The flight of the Sultan of Lahej to the Yemen could be added to this (as was pointed out in the editorial of The Islamic Review for November 1954, the unification of this under the Yemen would be a constructive step towards Arab unity, as would the absorption of the Trucial States into Sa'udi Arabia).

Mr. Sanger praises the work of W. H. Ingram in the Hadramaut, who was Resident-Adviser at Mukalla. In 1940 the "Ingrams Truce" was extended for ten years and the treaty between the Sultan of Shihhr and Mukalla of 1937 arranged by Mr. Ingram led to "relatively safe" travel in an area where there had been war for over 1,200 years. Mr. Sanger says that in 1944 the State-owned "slaves were freed
and a hospital built at Mukalla, the revenue rose from 600,000 to 1,500,000 rupees, and in 1954 there were 1,700 boys and 140 girls at school there.

Mr. Sanger lists the inhabitants under seven headings—the Sayyids, who came there in 900 C.E.; the Sheikhs; the Yafais, “a sort of Janizary corps, who are the actual rulers of the Qu’aiti part of the Protectorate,” and who were brought in originally as mercenaries; the tribesmen—Sabini (Subeihi), Nuwah and Humumi (dwarfs, “probably a neolithic survival”); townspeople descendants of the eighty Iraqi families who emigrated into the Hadramaut: “slaves” from Africa; and Akhdams, who perform menial tasks, said to be the descendants of Ethiopian immigrants. Mr. Sanger tells us that 20-30 per cent of the people migrate, mostly to Malay and Indonesia, where they have prosperous business colonies. The collapse of the “world market of myrrh and frankincense and the lack of ports have forced this migration.”

Of the smaller Trucial States, Mr. Sanger believes that the “bad feelings” between the Sheikh Ibn Sultan of Abu Dhabi and Sheikh Ibn Maktum of Dibai plays an important part in the life of these States. Britain patched up their differences in 1947.

Kuwait and Bahrain are dealt with sympathetically. The author says the oil royalties in Bahrain have been “quite fairly and usefully administered” by the Sheikh Sir Salman al-Khalifah, who shares the “wisdom” for this with his British advisers, one-third of the oil royalties being invested to be saved for the day when the oil has been exhausted. Referring to the capital invested in Bahrain by the American oil companies, Mr. Sanger informs us that more than $75,000,000 has been invested in the island by Bapco’s (British Petroleum Oil Company) parent companies, the Texas Company and the Standard Oil Company of California, and that the company’s policy is to employ as high a percentage of Bahrainis as possible. Thus in 1952 78 per cent of its employees were Bahrainis, 11.5 per cent Asians, and 11.5 per cent Americans, British, etc. The chapter on Aramco is extremely informative.

This is a helpful book as an introduction to further detailed reading. The chapter on Saudi Arabia fulfils both purposes.

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