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**The Islamic Review**

**November : 1954**

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A CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENT IN ANGLO-ARAB RELATIONS

The Yemen

The visit of British officials from Aden to the capital of the Yemen is yet another proof of the desire of Her Britannic Majesty’s Government to settle outstanding differences between the United Kingdom and the Arab world rather than have recourse to force and the time-dishonoured expedient of bombing raids by the Royal Air Force, which have never settled anything in the south of Arabia, nor on the North-West Frontier in the former days of British rule on the sub-continent of India.

Egypt

It is, of course, true that the Suez Canal agreement has been condemned by the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt and by other sections of the Egyptian opposition, but it is a tremendous achievement on the part of the Egyptian Government to induce the Conservative Government led by Sir Winston Churchill to sign any agreement which would lead to the disappearance of British troops from the Canal Zone within a year or two.

Sir Winston, who has frequently made statements to the effect that he will never preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, has shown once more evidence of greatness in accepting the inevitable and in causing the withdrawal of British troops before Anglo-Egyptian relations had degenerated as they did in January 1952 into scenes of bloodshed which threatened the peace of the whole world. Sir Winston may have been forced to swallow a bitter pill, to eat humble pie and apparently to act in contradiction with some of the imperialistic principles he has often propounded, but it is far better to suck a bitter coating off a pill and to find that there is solid sugar inside than to suck through the sugar coating and be faced with a solid bitter inside, as was the case in the abortive Anglo-Iraq Treaty of Portsmouth which led to rioting and resulted in the fall of the Iraq Government of Mr. Saleh Jabr.

In Egypt the Government is also faced with the criticism of the extremists and other sections of the opposition. It is but right to point out here that none of these elements were successful in persuading or intimidating the British into signing any sort of agreement. Logically, the opposition should give full credit to Colonel A. Nasir and the present Government for bringing about what appeared to be the impossible. Extremism is a necessary element of modern society, but at the present juncture it is necessary to honour an agreement which has been so hard to achieve. The 1936 treaty between Egypt and Britain was at the time relatively progressive, and the present agreement over the evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone is another step towards Arab unity and the relaxation of foreign control over the Middle East. It is extremely unlikely that an aggression on Turkey will take place in the near future and lead to the return of foreign troops of occupation. In Britain the people are beginning to realize that Egypt’s friendship is worth far more than any defunct question of imperialist prestige as advocated by Colonel Blimp or John Bull or any of the fossilized characters of the British cartoons. Britain has learned that she will gain through trade and goodwill far more than she ever achieved through force and racial domination. Egypt has to build herself up as a first-class power and to tackle the vital questions of economic and social equality for all her citizens. The military régime has made an excellent start in attacking corruption and class prejudice. It now has to face the question of its relations with the Muslim Brotherhood and the students and the eventual introduction of some form of democratic régime. It is to be hoped that some form of bloodless compromise can be worked out within the framework of the present régime whose leaders have done so much for Egypt. Equally it is to be hoped that the sincerity, vitality and high principles of the Muslim Brothers and the students may be kept in existence.

Iraq

The presence of British troops in Iraq has long been a major grievance between the two countries. It appears that a new agreement is imminent in which British airmen are likely to be replaced by Iraqis in addition to a certain number of British technicians. Iraq has not had a national revolution similar to that which took place in Egypt, and the leading
Government politicians are always being accused of being either pro-British or pro-American. Iraq was able greatly to increase her oil revenue through peaceful negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company and other companies, thanks to the standstill in Iran. The Iraq Premier, General Nuri Sa'id, no doubt hopes to achieve more through friendship with Britain than through enmity. But with all this his prestige is at stake, and it can only be enhanced by achieving the withdrawal of British troops. Here again the British Government has much to win by withdrawing its armed forces and thus granting Iraq complete freedom of action. The charge has been made that the British support anti-democratic political elements in Iraq. Withdrawal would leave the Iraqis completely free to solve their own internal problems in their own way. There is some hope that reason will prevail at last.

Jordan
The problem of the military defence of Jordan and the role of Major-General J. B. Glubb has long been a matter of debate in the Arab world, and it is an accepted fact that during the Palestine war Britain did everything possible to restrain or to contain within modest means the first Arab offensive and that in between the two armistices the Jews were able to get arms from Czechoslovakia and thus turn the tables on the Arabs. General Glubb may have the best intentions, but as long as the Arab Legion is wholly dependent on British finance, it is only natural that pressure will be brought to bear on Jordan to restrain her from resuming regular warfare against the Israeli invaders, no matter what the provocation. It is therefore in the interest of the Arab States as a whole that they should finance the armed forces of Jordan (to the tune of at least £10,000,000). In the long run this would also prove of benefit to Britain, for strong Arab forces are absolutely necessary to the strategic plans of the Western Powers in the Middle East. Israel has proved a dead loss to Britain economically, politically and strategically, and it is high time that the British political parties ceased being blackmailed by a few hundred thousand Jewish electors when practically every Britisher who has been service in the Arab countries is pro-Arab and genuinely anti-Zionist.

America and the Arab States
General Eisenhower was elected to office against the predominantly Democratic Party Zionist electorate, and there has been growing evidence of late amongst the Republicans that they have begun to realize the uselessness of Arab nationalism as an ally in the Middle East. Certainly in the British Foreign Office since the days of Mr. Chamberlain and during Mr. Ernest Bevin’s tenure of office there has been strong support for the Arabs, and there is a growing realization that if the British do not arm the Arabs, the Americans will do so. Thus realism and justice may prevail. But the present rumours of peace talks on Palestine can only be effective if Jerusalem is internationalized and if the Arabs are allowed to return home to Palestine and if adequate compensation is paid along the lines proposed by the Arab League.

The Sudan
Apart from the terrible Mahdist rioting during the visit of General Muhammad Najib and Major Salah Salem to Khartoum, the transition period in the Sudan has passed with commendable rapidity and tranquillity. A Sudanese Chief of Staff has replaced the British General and a Sudanese Police Commissioner has also taken over from his British counterpart. Latest figures show that there were fifty-four British soldiers in the Sudanese forces on 30th June 1953 and that since that date eight British officers have left. The 108 British officials in the administration will shortly be replaced by Sudanese, as will the six British officials in the police force. Yet the French in Tunisia, a country with a population of less than half that of the Sudan and a country far smaller in area occupied by one of the most intellectual sections of the Arab people, had over 16,000 French officials until recently!

France and North Africa
French policy in North Africa is years behind British policy, but just as the French were forced out of Syria and the Lebanon by Arab nationalism and the British army of occupation, so British policy in the Sudan and Egypt has influenced the French to grant home rule to Tunisia and to release fifty leading Moroccan nationalists and trade union leaders who have been rotting in jail since December 1952 for an alleged plot of which they have now been judged innocent. While in these two countries the North African Nationalist movements are chiefly responsible for their improved conditions together with Arab-Asiatic pressure, the progressive trend in British policy with regard to Egypt, the Sudan and the Gold Coast, has had its effect in Tunisia, a “Tunisianization” of the administration is going ahead based on what has happened in the Sudan.

Sa'udi Arabia
In the Arabian peninsula the efforts of Sa'udi Arabia and the Yemen to put an end to petty separatism, which has long kept the Arab States disunited, are being viewed slightly more sympathetically by the British Foreign Office. The visit of high British officials to the Yemen is a revolutionary procedure. Britain’s oil refinery at Aden and her maritime interest can only be effectively secured by peaceful co-operation with Sa'udi Arabia and the Yemen, while the retention of the petty trucial sheikdoms is completely opposed to the interests of a democratic State like the United Kingdom.

The Arabs in Britain and elsewhere
The Arabs in Britain and in the Arab States should give every possible encouragement to every progressive move made by the British and not persist in blaming the British for every problem under the sun. It is most harmful to discourage potential friends by exaggerated criticisms and to give the people of Britain the impression that Arab friendship cannot be won at any price. Mr. John Freeman, M.P., one of the most brilliant members of the Labour Party, did well at the recent Arab Students’ Conference in London to point this out and to regret the ineffectiveness of Arab propaganda in Britain due to the inefficiency of the Arab propagandists compared with their opponents.

The Arab League
The Arab League has just allocated £100,000 for propaganda in foreign countries. The excellent idea of an Arab League news agency controlled by the countries which form the Arab League has been proposed. It is to be sincerely hoped that this project will be put into force and that the Arab League will set up an effective propaganda office in London where public opinion is in a receptive mood and where responsible opinion is still most influential in world affairs.
ISLAMIC TOLERANCE

By Hasan al-Hudaiby

The Leader of the Muslim Brothers of Egypt, Mr. Hasan al-Hudaiby

"Islam’s injunctions to its followers are quite clear: The Muslims must be fair and just to all people. Had Islam given us a different command, e.g., to fight them — we would have been bound in duty to do so.”

An American correspondent’s doubts about the Muslim Brotherhood’s intentions regarding non-Muslim foreigners in Egypt

God says, “Surely this Qur’an guides to that which is most upright...” (The Qur’an, 17:9).

Not long ago a correspondent of a foreign newspaper called at my office. He came with one of my Muslim Brethren to act as interpreter between us.

I noticed, from the first moment that he stepped into my office that he was rather anxious, even timid. I tactfully avoided giving him any indication of my having noticed his state; and we conversed in a cordial and homely manner, and I answered all his questions. When the time came for him to leave, I noticed that the alarm which he had exhibited when he first entered my office had left him, and he was at ease. So I asked him to stay a little longer. I had a question to put to him, and I put it in these words: “You have asked me exhaustive questions about the aims and policies of the Muslim Brotherhood, and especially in so far as these aims and policies concern our relations with foreigners. You asked whether foreigners will be permitted freedom to practise their religion or to carry on their trade or profession. You also asked whether the Muslim Brotherhood would co-operate with foreigners in schemes designed to further progress in the country. You asked, in fact, many other questions on this subject. I answered your questions fairly and unequivocally. My answers to you were based on the teachings of our religion, Islam. This religion, like many civilized and developed social systems in the world today, makes ample provision for safeguarding the interests and welfare of foreign minorities. Why is it, therefore, that you have the impression that the Muslims are narrow-minded and reactionary on this point — a view that was clearly indicated by the many questions you put to me on the subject?” To this the correspondent answered: “This unfavourable view of Islam is a thing that we acquire in our schools from our earliest days. We hear it repeated so often that we innocently come to believe it. It will need many generations before our misguided views on Islam can be changed, or at least shaken.”

Campaign against Islam

It is true that after the Crusades (in the 11th to 13th centuries, C.E.), many of the non-Muslims who had come to the world of Islam from Europe and other parts of the Christian world returned home with some good ideas and impressions about Islam and the Muslims. These favourable views, however, were not destined to gain wide credence or circulation in the Christian world. The views of reactionary clergymen prevailed. They assiduously and systematically disguised facts favourable to Islam, or distorted these facts, and they rewrote the history of Islam after having gravely falsified it and used it to serve their ulterior motives. That kind of “history” of Islam has for centuries now been the only means available to non-Muslims in their schools and institutes of higher learning for acquiring knowledge on Islam. And, ironically enough, that kind of distorted history has often been taught to Muslims in some missionary schools and institutions. The distorters of the history of Islam have spared nothing in their efforts to impeach the pride and glory of Islam’s heritage. They have been doing this mischievous work fearlessly and shamelessly for a long time now. In these foreign versions of Islamic history, vile attacks on the Prophet of Islam have been a regular and redundant feature; and the religion of Islam has in general been subjected to unjustifiable calumny. As time went by, even some of the so-called Muslims began to lend an ear to these impeachments of Islam, and to believe in some of them. They began to imitate and ape foreigners in all matters, and they thus entered into closer relations with them and befriended them. And all this, of course, helped to further the ends of the enemies of Islam.

The duty of Muslims is to act justly and equitably towards non-Muslims

This kind of campaign against Islam will go on in some form or other. God says to Muhammad: “And the Jews will not be pleased with you, nor the Christians, unless you follow their religion.” (The Qur’an, 2:120). It is thus our duty as Muslims not to return the evil of the enemies of Islam with like evil. Indeed, how can we do that when we are commanded by God to believe in Him, His angels, His books
THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT AND ZAKAT

The Pakistan Government will hold the Muslim world its debtor for a long time to come when on the 23rd July 1954 it decided to invest the institution of Zakat with the official status that is its right. The Government of Pakistan will collect Zakat through the sale of Zakat coupons at all its Treasuries and Post Offices in the country. This step is quite in accordance with the intentions of the Prophet Muhammad, whose first successor, Abu Bakr, took up arms against those sections of the Republic of Islam that had refused to pay the Zakat after the demise of the Prophet.

The Pakistan Government has taken this decision on the recommendations of the report of the Zakat Committee appointed by it in 1950. The report is the result of opinions and dissertations prepared for it on the basis of a questionnaire sent by the Committee to the various Muslim Governments and other important religious institutions in the world of Islam.

Owing to lapse of time between now and the days of the Caliph Abu Bakr, the Zakat institution, instead of being looked upon as the State's function, steadily degenerated into a private and personal affair of the individual. This naturally resulted in many a point connected with it having remained obscure and undecided. This is why the report of the Committee reveals that there is no consensus of opinion amongst its members on all points, especially in the matter of the relationship of the Zakat to the modern governmental taxes, the manner of its assessment and collection. However, the report suggests that if there be people who are willing to pay Zakat voluntarily and above the present taxes, the Zakat should be collected by the Government and credited to a special fund, known as the Zakat Fund, to be allocated to the various provinces of Pakistan for administration through Boards of Trustees and spent on the establishment of poor-houses, orphanages, homes for widows, and other similar charities.

An official summary of the Zakat Committee report reads as follows:

1. The Committee has held that Zakat is a specified portion of wealth given away as determined by the Law-Giver to be spent in the manner specified in this behalf, for the sake of God only, without any worldly considerations. Zakat is thus an act of worship and is a financial dedication to God, and it is in this capacity that it has been made obligatory.

2. There was some difference of opinion in the Committee on the question of assessment and collection of Zakat. However, all the members of the Committee agreed that if the public was willing to pay on a voluntary basis any additional amount over and above the amounts paid by them in the form of taxes, this should be credited to a separate fund to be administered separately. The Government has accepted this recommendation, and it is proposed to establish a separate fund to receive the Zakat collections.

3. The Government has rejected the suggestion of the Committee to print special coupons which will be made available for sale at all Treasuries and Post Offices. The sale proceeds will be credited to the Zakat fund and allocated to the units. The funds, so allocated, will be administered by Boards of Trustees to be set up by the Central, Provincial and State Governments, and spent on specified objects, such as establishment of poor-houses, orphanages, widow houses, etc., as suggested by the Committee.

4. There was a controversy in the Committee regarding the position of Government taxes vis-a-vis Zakat. Some members were of the view that certain taxes now realized by the Government fall under Zakat and if the taxpayer paid them in a spirit of religious devotion and the Government spent the collections on the specified items of expenditure, it would amount to a proper discharge of religious duty. This view was strongly opposed by others, being inconsistent with the definition of Zakat as accepted by the Committee.

One of the members of the Committee has pointed out that Government taxes do not fall under Zakat and their payment does not absolve a Muslim from the duty to pay Zakat, as taxes are not levied, assessed or paid as Zakat. According to him the State has a right to levy taxes in addition to Zakat, and the State taxes could not be adjusted against Zakat. Some other members have also held the view that Zakat being a financial dedication to God, its levy for meeting the financial requirements of the State would militate against the intention of the Qur. This implies that the payment of Zakat could not justify any relief from other State taxes. The Government agrees with this view.
Muhammad
THE PROPHET OF UNITY

By the late Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi

Religions before Islam have not recognized the true position of man in the universe.

There are two things which, in connection with the perfection of God’s unity, may be recognized as the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end. The idea of unity starts from the actual greatness of God and ends with the position of man. The polytheist and the idolater, the star-worshipper and the naturalist, in adoring the idols and fetishes, by paying their homage to animals and demons, and by deifying the heavenly bodies and even mankind, abundantly prove that they have not recognized the true position and the true worth of man. In fact they actually assign to mankind a lower place than that given to the stones, the trees, the animals, the rivers, the mountains, the moon and the stars. They think that the sun and the moon are not made for man, but that man has been created for the sun and the moon. Fire and water — all the manifestations of nature from the sun downwards — they are content to take as their masters for the service of whom they have been created. The sovereignty of such gods as these had divided the human brotherhood into a variety of classes, high and low, of noble and of humble birth. Some had been created from the head of the Parmeshwar, others from his hands, and yet others from his feet. There was no trace of human equality. Mankind had become irretrievably split up, and any prospect of reunion seemed both remote and fantastic. The powerful and haughty sovereigns of Babylon, of Egypt, India and Persia had raised themselves so much above their fellow men that their accession to power and removal therefrom seemed to be controllable not by human agency, but by the gods and the angels.

But it was the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad which banished all fears, except the fear of God, from the hearts of men. The doctrine of God’s unity levelled the high and the low, abolished distinctions of nationality and caste, and did away with all differences of wealth and poverty, colour and race. The rule of pride and vanity, oppression and violence, came to an end, and all men were recognized as the slaves of God and, therefore, as equal in His eyes. All were acknowledged as brethren among themselves, and as having equal rights one with the other.

The Prophet has told us that night and day, the sun, the moon, the stars, the rivers, fire, trees, in short, all things in the universe, are made for man and are ever active in his service. Who then can be more ignorant than he who makes any one of these creatures the object of his worship?

He taught the world, by means of divine revelation, that man is the noblest of all creatures in the universe, that he has been sent to perform the duties of God’s vicegerent, and that he has been crowned with the dignity of the deputy of God. Among the millions of God’s creatures it is he who has been charged with the trust of God, an office that was not bestowed either on the angels or the heavens, the earth or the mountains. The Qur’an says that man has been blessed with reverence and greatness, that he is the noblest of all creatures, and that he has been honoured with the gifts of God. He has the power to rule over land and sea; he eats clean food, his stature and presence are of the noblest; and he has come into the world as the vicegerent of God. Whom, therefore, can man worship in the universe except God?

Thus the teaching of the Prophet has freed man from every other bondage, and has limited his homage exclusively to the One God. It has made the whole world subject to the service of man for whom it has been created. What creature is there, then, on the surface of the earth that can be the subject of his worship?

The noble ideal of self-respect, the grand conception of the truth, and the strong sense of duty up to which the world has progressed — these, too, have their source and inspiration in the Qur’anic teaching, which revealed to man his true position and made him realize his own self. They taught him how to perform his duties; they united individuals and nations, and established them all on the same level. It was only these teachings which made the men who grazed goats and camels to be governors of the world, and enabled the Bedouins who played with particles of sand to compete for the riches of the world and for the crowns and thrones of kings. Men who knew no bed but the sandy sheet of the desert, spread their couches in the palaces of Caesars, and the owners of a few oases became the masters of the whole world.
Muhammad's repudiation of every kind of division

Men had, by their pride, divided a united humanity into a hundred classifications. Kings were deified and worshipped as gods, and their orders had the force of the Commandments of God. Nimrod of Babel and the Pharaohs of Egypt had proclaimed themselves to be the most high gods of their nations, but it was the voice of Muhammad which summoned them down from their exalted thrones and placed them on the same level as the rest of mankind. The Prophet even disapproved of according to anyone, except God, the title of king or emperor (The Bukhari).

Similarly, while men of other religions had deified their apostles, saints and martyrs, the Prophet placed every one of them in different ranks of God's service, and pronounced them all to be alike God's servants and slaves.

The nations, too, had classified themselves into different ranks and degrees. The Israelites conceived themselves to be the family of God. Among the Hindus the Brahmins were held to be created from the head, the Rajputs from the arms, and the Shudras (the untouchables of India) from the feet of God. Similarly in the Roman Empire, the Romans were deemed to be born for sovereignty, while those who were not Romans were condemned to slavery and servitude. Thus, there stood between the nations the separating walls of superiority and inferiority, honourableness and meanness, holiness and unholliness, that had divided a single humanity into hundreds of humanities. It was the voice of the Prophet Muhammad only which first addressed those who claimed to be above their fellow men and said: "You, too, are men, among the creatures of God," and, demolishing all those dividing walls at a single stroke, placed all mankind on the common level of humanity.

"O Mankind! verily We have created you male and female and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Verily, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the best in conduct." (The Qur'án, 49:13).

All distinctions of nationality, family and birth were totally abolished, and the superior claims of the Brahmins, the Jews and the Christian Popes were as completely extinguished as the title to godhood of the Nimrods and the Pharaohs.

The birth and dispersal of all nations from a single first man — Adam — was considered, before Islam, by the Jews and the Christians only as a doctrine in the theory of creation. The Prophet Muhammad made it the corner-stone of his moral teachings and built on it the grand structure of the unity of humanity which, God willing, shall never fall again. He declared before the largest assembly of the proud Arabs: "God has put an end to the pride of the days of ignorance, and your boast in your paternity. You are all the sons of a single Adam who was made of clay."

The superior and conflicting claims of the Arabs over the Persians, and of the Persians over the Arabs, the rights of nobility asserted by the white people against the black, and by the black against the white, were now done away with, and it was declared that "the Arabs and the Persians have no superiority over each other, nor the white over the black."

In short, it was his teaching which united all mankind. Arabs and Persians, Europeans and Africans, Hindus and Chinese, all now stood on the same level of a common brotherhood, and all were considered as brothers, acknowledging the unity of God and the messengership of the prophets. Except piety, all distinctions of birth and convention were abolished, and the world was taught "Do not envy, nor entertain any malicious feeling against one another, and be slaves of God as brothers to one another."

The division between the secular and religious life runs like a red thread in all religions preceding Islam.

One of the great misunderstandings from which men suffered was the belief that religion and the world were not concerned with each other, but moved in spheres apart. It was held that he who adopted a religious life kept himself aloof from the world, while he who chose the world and the charms of the world relaxed, by doing so, his hold on religion. Although this belief had assumed a practical shape in Persia, India, China and other Eastern countries, and had constituted a dividing wall between the spheres of activities of the hermit and the king, making their unity and cooperation almost impossible, it was the people who considered themselves the followers of revealed books and the first to be addressed by the prophets of God, who claim particular attention in this matter. From the Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian and Zoroastrian points of view the belief deemed most worthy of consideration was that which divided mankind into those who were reserved for the service of religion and those who were of the world worldly. Among the Hindus the Brahmins were held to be born naturally for a religious life, the Rajputs for sovereignty, the Vaish for commerce and agriculture, and the Shudras for labour and menial service. Their lives had also been divided into different periods. Thus thirty years were reserved for education, thirty for earning their living in the world, and thirty for prayer and worship. Among the Buddhists the Bhikshus were set apart as a distinct class whose business it was only to spend their lives in religious practices. Similarly the men of the world formed a separate class. It was they who managed the affairs of the world and whose duty it was to provide for all the expenses of the Bhikshus (mendicants).

Among the Jews the "Levites" were the soothsayers of religion. They had been kept apart from the affairs of the world. They were excluded even from family inheritance as being concerned with worldly goods. The rest were men of the world. The Christians had carried this division to a greater length. They had set up two distinct sovereigns, God and Caesar, and had been instructed to give to God what was God's and to Caesar what was Caesar's.

The practical result of this wrong notion, according to which the Jews and the Christians tried to mould their lives, became manifest in two ways, the Jews considered this world to be the net result of their life here and hereafter, while the Christians regarded the next world as the aim and object of their present existence. The principle which governed the empire of the Jews and pervaded their business conduct was simply that this world was the end of man's life and activities. Hence they disregarded religion and confined their attention solely to worldly things, considering the gifts of this world to be the reward of every good deed. It was owing to this belief that a large sect among them believed only in the gifts of this world and absolutely disbelieved in the rewards of the next or in any resurrection. On the other hand, the early Christians rejected the things of this world and looked for every blessing in the kingdom of Heaven, adopting for this end a monkish and ascetic life.

The teaching of Islam does not recognize the division between the secular and religious life.

But Islam, as revealed through the Prophet Muhammad, removed this old misconception of the world and taught that the two are really one and the same thing — that worldly life is religion and religion is worldly life, that is, as it ought
to be lived. Religion when influenced by passion becomes a thing of this world, and a worldly life becomes religious when it is governed by the laws of God. Thus the thing which divides the two is man's own point of view. If that point of view is correct, the dividing line disappears and the two become one. Dominion and sovereignty, which are regarded as concerns of the world, assume a religious character when administered in accordance with the Will of God. To accumulate riches is a worldly business, but when the accumulation is made with a view to serving mankind it becomes a thing of religion. To lay down one's life is a worldly affair, but it becomes religious when it takes the form of martyrdom, and is done in obedience to the Commands of God.

The Prophet Muhammad taught us this truth in a practical way. His prayers and fasts, Hajj and Zakat, his vigils and nocturnal devotions, the recitation of the Qur'an and the preaching of laws, his religious wars and his devotion to the affairs of the State, in short, each and every act of his life was as much connected with the world as it was associated with religion. At the same time that he was looked upon as another Alexander or Caesar he appeared as a Prophet of God and a Heavenly Messenger. After the Prophet, his Caliphs and his Companions (may God’s peace be on them all!) also illustrated this point, and all the glorious deeds of their lives revealed the same spirit — that engendered by the amalgamation of the religious with the secular life — wholly in accordance with the aim of the Qur'an. The Qur'an has, in several passages, prescribed the reward of man's actions to be given both in this world and in the next, that is to say, it has ordained that man shall have the reward of his good or evil deeds in this world as well as in the next. The Muslims had this point before them long after the Companions, and so long as they continued to realize it all their deeds were near perfection, and their worldly and religious life one and the same.

Today the Islamic nations are the victims either of the Jewish belief or of the Christian. Today the pulpit and the throne are held to be two different things and the commander of armies and the leader (imam) of the prayer are deemed to belong to two different groups of men, while the fact is that our pulpit and our throne were one and the same thing, and it was the commander of our armies who led our prayers.

The foremost cause of the rapid revolution brought about by Islam in its early stages was that it had abolished the dividing line between the religious and worldly life.

The Muslims have long forgotten this teaching of the Prophet. They, too, have prescribed limits for religion and for the world, and have become subjects of two sovereignties, God and Caesar. They consider dominion and sovereignty, commerce and service, the acquisition of wealth and the study of the arts as affairs of the world, while they regard prayers and fasting and the telling of beads only as works of religion: although, in fact, if the purpose be righteous, every worldly struggle, every political effort, every educational service, every commercial enterprise and step in industrial progress and every invention becomes wholly religious; but if the purpose be not righteous, then even a whole night of prayer and a whole day of fasting are alike worldly and worthless.

The distinction, if any, between religious and worldly matters in the religion brought by Muhammad consists not in any difference of deed but in the spirit of these deeds. This is the secret which explains why Islam, when it came as a religion, came also as the herald of dominion and sovereignty. In the Buddhist creed religion and worldly dominion are separate. The Israelites were granted sovereignty four hundred years after the Jewish religion was revealed. Christianity was able to ascend the throne even some centuries after Jesus. But when the Prophet set up the pulpit of his religion at Medina, the throne of worldly dominion was also set up there, and at the same time great moral and spiritual, commercial and political, literary and educational and other activities, in short, all the branches of civilization were established at their assigned places. Within thirty years a new world of religion and morality, learning and virtuous living, justice and equity, fraternity and equality, culture and civilization, had been created, which spread from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. The united nationhood of the Muslims and the people of the Book presented an example of human brotherhood which has no parallel in the history of the world, and Arabia, Persia, Turkey, China, India and Byzantium, Barbary and Abyssinia jointly laid the foundation under the standard of unity set forth in the words: “There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Messenger,” a common fraternity of which we find no equal even in the present era of civilization and progress.

The foremost cause of this rapid and great revolution was that Islam had abolished the dividing line between the religious and the worldly life, and did not consider a life of solitude and asceticism equivalent to worship. On the other hand, the conquest of kingdoms, the foundation of educational institutions, commercial journeys by land or sea, warlike enterprises, attempts to establish peace, legitimate endeavours to earn a living or acquire wealth, efforts to help the poor, the helpless, and travellers, kindness towards children and the family, and individual efforts to serve the cause of God, all these are religious actions according to the creed of Muhammad. Hence every activity and struggle in the life of a Muslim which is directed to win the favour of God amounted to an act of religion.

Muslims declined when they forgot the essential point of the oneness of this world and religion.

The true cause which brought about the fall of the Muslims in the past was simply that they had forgotten this essential fact of the oneness of the world and religion. The sovereign was entrusted with temporal matters, while the Shaikh al-Islam (the title of the chief religious leader in a Muslim country) became responsible for the affairs of religion and, like the Christians, they began to make a distinction between the worldly and the religious life, between Caesar and God. A list of religious matters was prepared as distinct from those which were classified as temporal. Some retired to monasteries, mosques and hermit cells and called themselves the servants of God, while others entered into the struggles of a worldly life and became people of the world. The result was that those who claimed to be religious were no longer able to engage in the business of the world, and lost the business instinct, while those who were openly people of the world lost the fear of God and were deprived of the wealth of His favour.

Now it is the duty of the followers of Muhammad to realize this secret of the unity of religion and the world, and to seek the means of salvation in this unity. In the cause of God they must earn money in the markets of the world, sacrifice their lives in battle, acquire useful arts and sciences in schools and universities and effect inventions in the laboratories. They must earn the riches of this world as well as the rewards of the next, and consider the dominion of the earth and the kingdom of heaven as dependent one on the other.

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TYRANNY DOES NOT PAY!

By S. A. Khulusi

They were two great friends from a city that is a happy mixture of East and West. Though they belonged to the educated class, with European outlook and taste, they were both in their heart of hearts very much Easterners. Long friendship led to real affection which they wished to crystallize into some sort of family alliance. Both had a sister, so what could be better than exchanging their sisters in marriage? The two families would then be really united in a strong and unbreakable matrimonial bond.

They were wed on the same day amidst the pomp and joy of the occasion. Parties were thrown. Music played till after midnight. The papers the next day were full of the description of revelry and ostentations of gaiety. Everybody in town was speaking of this unprecedented wedding ceremony where the generosity of the two ruling families of the town was more than amply displayed. Everyone had his share of wedding sweets wrapped in beautiful silken handkerchiefs in the Oriental fashion. The notables, however, had their well-founded apprehension of such a union, because it meant that eventually the whole district would be at the mercy of one strong family that had all wealth and power at its disposal. It meant a strengthened yoke given to an already crushing yoke of feudal masters who cared for nothing but their gluttony, leisure and selfish aims.

Now Ahmad Agha, who was the elder of the two friends, had a strong backing of tribesmen who worked as mere serfs under him and who could neither marry nor move from one place to another without the personal permission of the Agha. They were even sold with the piece of land that Ahmad chose to sell. He was cruel beyond words. It is said that he was independent of the Sultan, whose authority could not be extended to his territory. No tax-collector ever dared to cross his boundary. All legal laws ceased to function as soon as his frontier was reached. He was supposed to rule according to a certain tribal law. But even this was more often than not set aside because the Agha's whims and fancies of the moment were an irrevocable law. It is related that he once had one of his peasants punished by cutting out his tongue, because he dared to recite a Qur’anic verse in defence of his case. On another occasion he ordered a red-hot brass plate to be placed on the newly-shorn head of a supposedly disobedient servant. On a third and still crueler occasion he came to inspect the water dykes, and as he found a break from which the water was gushing forth into the neighbouring field, he looked round and saw some farmers fast asleep, and ordered his men to carry them and throw them into the gap and hurl the earth on them, which they did, and the breach was completely blocked. Such was the character of the eagle-nosed sharp-eyed Agha.

His friend Hasan Agha was of much milder disposition. In fact he was quite the opposite of Ahmad: short, thin, with a thread-like moustache and a pointed chin. How they came to be such close friends and admirers of each other for so many years remains a mystery. Yet people were thankful for such an amicable alliance of the lamb with the beast, because they could always fall back on Hasan to intercede with his tyrant friend, an office which he frequently performed with success, thus mitigating the ruthlessness of his savage friend. But unfortunately such a strange and unnatural union had come to an end sooner or later. Ahmad started ill-treating his wife, the sister of Hasan, at times even beating and torturing her. The remonstrances of Hasan, her brother, were of no avail. On the contrary, it caused a certain coolness between the two staunch friends that developed later on into a bitter enmity.

What was the cause of this changed behaviour of Ahmad, who in spite of his notorious cruelty towards his subjects was a loving and affectionate husband? People were not long in finding out his real motive. It was related something like this by various people with slight variations. The Sultan's daughter was now of age. He contemplated marrying her in order to have a real influence in the Imperial Court, and after the death of the Sultan, who knows, he might become anything from a possible usurper of the throne to a Regent, but he must dispose of his present wife. Could he divorce her? He could, but in that case he must pay her such a large sum of dowry stipulated in the marriage contract. He wanted to force her to quit everything and seek an unpaid divorce.

Now there was nothing left to her brother Hasan to make him desist and go back to normal but to treat Ahmad's innocent sister in a like manner. He began to subject her to similar tortures, on the grounds that Ahmad treated his poor sister in a like manner. It was only then that people realized the real nature of the former affinity between the two friends that brought them so close together. It was cruelty, which was manifest in the one and latent in the other, for Hasan proved himself cruel to his helpless wife beyond all limits: he regarded her as Ahmad's hostage with him until he turned kindly to his sister or released her amicably, but neither issue was forthcoming. As the well-known saying of the Prophet goes, “Let the crisis reach its peak, then it will easily solve itself” (Ishaddi azmatu tanfariji). Suddenly the news reached town that the Sultan's daughter had died after a three-day illness and that preparations were being made for her funeral, and a twelve months' mourning throughout the empire was decreed. The shock was too great for Ahmad, who in a moment of lost mental balance could only find relief in a dose of poison that put an end to a strong-minded, spiteful despot, and left the way open to the milder and kinder-hearted Hasan, who had learnt a lesson from the fate of his brother-in-law. He devoted the rest of his life to the reform of his country and people; he liberated his serfs, redistributing the land, abolishing feudalism, spreading education and proclaiming equity and justice for all. Today, after the lapse of so many years, his country stands strong and powerful, and at the gate of the capital a foreign observer notices two statues, one of gold for Hasan and another of black metal for Ahmad, for the nation must remember the happy days of its good rulers as well as the dark days of its tyrants to keep the lessons it had learnt constantly in mind.
WHAT THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA LEARN OF ISLAM

America wants the friendship of the World of Islam because (a) Iran and Sa‘udi Arabia hold some of the world’s largest oil reserves; (b) Indonesia and Malaya are the world’s biggest producers of tin and natural rubber; (c) strategic waterways run through the Muslim world.

The extent of the Muslim world

“Allah Akbar — Allah Akbar”

(God is the Greatest — God is the Greatest).

“Five times daily this cry sweeps across the Muslim world from the Pacific to the Atlantic, calling upon the faithful to renew their pledges of surrender to God. Except within the Soviet Union, where it has been forbidden, the call to prayer — the Azan — reaches the ears of almost 400,000,000 Muslims whose world embraces over 11,523,627 square miles. This is an area slightly less than that of the continent of Africa, over three times that of the United States and all its possessions, or one and a half times as great as that of the Soviet Union.

The Muslim religion

“Perhaps no other religion known to man has such a firm grip on its followers as does the creed of Islam. A noted Frenchman once likened Islam to a dam that dammed everywhere throughout its area whenever it is struck at any given point. There appears to be a common bond of religion between all States and areas of the Muslim world that goes beyond geographic borders or patriotism.

“Islam started with Muhammad, born at Mecca, in Sa‘udi Arabia, about 570 years after Christ. According to Islamic belief, Muhammad was visited at Hira, a desert hill near Mecca, during the month of Ramadhan, 610 C.E., by the angel Gabriel. The angel commanded him to ‘read in the name of Allah and to serve as Allah’s Messenger on earth’. From this incident came the name of the Muslim holy script, the al-Qur’an, or Koran, meaning ‘The Reading of the Man who knew not how to read’.

“Al-Islam, or the Surrender to the will of God, as Muhammad called his new faith, was not well received by the Arabs. Muhammad was forced to flee Mecca to Yathrib, later named Medina. Both Mecca and Medina are the holiest cities of Islam. This flight in 622 C.E. is called the Hegira, and marks the beginning of the Muslim era. From Medina the Prophet conducted a methodical campaign that not only secured converts, but also established him as a powerful ruler. His followers became known as Muslim, Mussulmen or Muslims, meaning those who have surrendered to God. Besides establishing the Muslim faith, Muhammad unified the Arab tribes of his day, destroyed idolatry, established a basic code of ethics, morals and law, improved the position of women, and decreed a code of personal cleanliness.

The Growth of Islam

“Within a few hundred years after Muhammad’s death, Islam was spread chiefly by the Arabs, using conquest and conversion, throughout Arabia, across North Africa into Spain, into south-eastern Europe, and across Asia as far as the island of Mindanao in the Philippines.

“During the Middle Ages, Islam made many contributions to Western civilization. Its universities in Cairo and Baghdad were centres of learning long before there were any in Christian Europe. Muslim scholars made important advances in medicine, astronomy, chemistry and mathematics.

Its basic ideas

“The basic principles of the Islamic faith are simple and comparatively few in number. They include acceptance of the fundamental creed, ‘There is no God but Allah; Muhammad is the Apostle of God’. The acceptance of this faith includes a belief in God, the angels, the sacred writings, the prophets, the day of judgment and God’s previous determination of good and evil. Five practices are required of all Muslims: (a) recital of the creed, (b) the performance of public worship, facing Mecca, five times daily, (c) fasting during the daylight hours in the month of Ramadhan, ninth month of the Muslim calendar, (d) the giving of alms, and (e) the pilgrimage to Mecca, the so-called al-Hajj. A service of public assembly is held on Fridays and substitutes for (one of) the five daily prayers.

Islam, Christianity and Judaism

“Like Christianity and Judaism, Islam is based on a belief in the oneness of God. Muslims also accept Christ and Moses as divinely inspired prophets, but they regard Muhammad as the last and greatest interpreter of God’s law.

“Much more than Christianity or Judaism, Islam has been accepted as a way of life. Over the centuries, its religious leaders have developed a code of special and legal rules that apply to nearly every detail of living. This code covers rules governing eating, laws for marriage and divorce, as well as rights of property and inheritance. Even today, Islamic law is still the basis for legislation in most Muslim countries.

“Because Islam is a religion of laws — many of them hundreds of years old — the Muslim world has been slow in adapting itself to new developments. Today, however, most Muslims are ready to adopt new ideas and methods.

Physical and geographical features of the Muslim world

“The Muslim world is one of extremes from the point of view of location, climate and geography. While great areas of the lands under Islam touch on the major bodies of water,
an equal or even greater portion have no access to the sea. Mountains and deserts are so arranged that, in many instances, even those areas bordering on the sea are habitable for only a few miles inland. In spite of a somewhat forbidding interior and numerous other unfavourable climatic and geographic conditions, the Muslims have turned their attention inland rather than towards the sea. Not since the days of the Barbary pirates of North Africa has any Muslim State become a great sea power. Today — except for the Muslims of Malaya and Indonesia, and Mindanao in the Philippines — the Muslim world has almost entirely forsaken the beckoning oceans. Its material strength, both military and economic, is found in the land.

**Major seaways run through the Muslim world**

The lands of the Muslim world enclose and command some of the world’s most vital strategic sea passages. Turkey exercises a firm control over the strategic Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Egypt’s land surrounds the vital Suez Canal, although present military control of the canal zone is in British hands. Tangier, an international zone, overlooks the Straits of Gibraltar at the western end of the Mediterranean. The eastern outlet of the Mediterranean through the Red Sea is flanked by Muslim States all the way to the Indian Ocean. The Persian Gulf, so vital to the oil industry, and most of the Arabian Sea, may also be classed as ‘Muslim waters’. In the south-east Asiatic water areas, the strategic Straits of Malacca, the Java Sea and the Straits of Macassar are also flanked by Muslim States.

**Its countries are under-developed**

Muslim countries are generally small in size in comparison with the Western Powers, and, in many cases, sparsely populated.

Some of the factors responsible for the lack of development in many Muslim States are (1) an outmoded sharecropper system of land ownership under which large estates are held by a few wealthy families and passed on from generation to generation, and (2) unfavourable terrain and the wandering habits of many of the tribes. Only Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt and Indonesia have had populations sufficiently tied to the land and the necessary resources to permit their development into ‘major States’ of the 1950’s.

**Climate**

The climate of the Muslim world is again a picture of extremes. The western portion has no regular rainfall but it has a considerable range in temperature that varies from cool winters with slight rain to warm, dry winters, and from hot, dry summers to short summers with regular rain. A very small area along the North African coast and the coastal area of Turkey has a Mediterranean-type climate with mild winters, moderate rain and warm, dry summers. The climate of the central region, the so-called Near East and Central Asia, ranges from semi-dryness and the desert to a mountain-type climate with snow and ice. The eastern portion of the Muslim world, including Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines, has hot, dry winters and hot, wet summers or a wet tropical climate that is hot and wet all the year round. No part of the Muslim world lies within a zone that is considered most desirable from the point of view of agriculture and human habitation. Rainfall throughout its many square miles varies from less than ten inches per year to less than twenty-five inches, or else it goes to the opposite extremes of over seventy-five inches per year. Moderation of climate is relatively unknown in the Muslim world.

**The structure of the Muslim world**

The common bond of the Islamic faith is the major connecting link between the Muslim countries. However, the Arab countries — Egypt, Iraq, the Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Sa‘udi Arabia — are joined in an Arab League that was formed in 1945 to deal with certain common problems.

Like other religions, Islam is divided into different sects with their own interpretations of Muslim law. Some of these differences go back to the early days of Islam when religious leaders disagreed on the meaning of certain points of doctrine.

It is only within comparatively recent times that an effort was made to separate Church and State in the Muslim world. In many Islamic countries, religious courts still exist along with civil law courts. Unlike the West, the religious scholars of Islam exercise a great deal of direct influence on the social and economic life of the people.

**Racial groups**

Broadly speaking, the people of the Muslim world may be grouped into several main racial divisions — Arabs, Turko-Tartars, Iranians, the Dravidians and Oceanic races of the Pacific, and the Negro race. Slightly more than 10 per cent are in the first group, and of these the true Semitic Arabs are found in the Arabian Peninsula. The North African Arab, so-called because of his use of a type of Arabic as a mother tongue, is of the Hamitic-Berber stock, and is not a true Arab. The Asian Muslim is, for the most part, Turko-Tartar in origin. To this group must be added the people of Turkey and the Afghans, both of whom are somewhat different from the basic Turkomen stock of Central Asia. The Negro Muslims and the Far Eastern Muslims have no racial connections with their fellow Muslims.

**Social development**

Except for a few Christian communities in Syria, the Lebanon and Egypt, all Arabs are Muslims, and the same general type of social development is the rule in all Arab-speaking countries. Illiteracy is widespread. In some areas 90 per cent of the people can neither read nor write. There is almost no middle class, except in the nomadic-Bedouin areas, where the constant fight for food and water serves as a great equalizer. In most areas you find a small, wealthy upper class and great masses of the people living in comparative poverty. Industry is only beginning, with Turkey and Egypt as the principal examples of progress. Agriculture is the leading occupation. But, except for the ‘Fertile Crescent’ along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and some areas in Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaya, the land is not very productive. Most of the usable land is in the hands of large landowners, and the majority of the people are tenant farmers or farm workers.

**The Muslim world is restless**

Questions of land, social equality and independence mixed with Arab politics, soci’ unrest and Muslim fanaticism present serious problems in this region. In Africa and western Asia, the wealthy upper classes, with the support of the new educated class, appear to be leading a movement for full independence and urging a closer association of Arab States. At the same time, they are trying desperately to retain their privileges and power. The rank and file appear to be following the lead of the upper class. But they are filled with a desire for social equality and have a new-found national pride. Either of these factors could produce political and social upheaval.

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"In commenting on this situation, Assistant Secretary of State Henry A. Byroade recently said: 'The old colonial relationship is dead... and will stay dead. Alien rule over dependent peoples must be replaced as rapidly as possible by self-determination. But premature independence can be dangerous, retrogressive and destructive, and would serve neither the United States nor the dependent people's interests.'

**Turkey is a strong point in the Muslim world**

"Of all the nations in the Muslim world, Turkey is probably the most advanced, and most nearly approaches major power status. Once the overlord of all the Arab States from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic, Turkey's possessions were steadily whittled down. By the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire was no longer able to continue in control, and a revolutionary movement under Kemal Pasha (Ataturk) succeeded to the government of the remains of the Ottoman Empire. By 1921, Ataturk was in complete control, and the modernization of Turkey began. In November 1922, he abolished the Sultanate and expelled the Sultan. A year later, he proclaimed the Republic of Turkey."

"Among his early acts was the abolition of the Caliphate — the first separation of Church and State in any Muslim country. Among his sweeping changes were the abolition of the fez, women's veils, polygamy, and the use of Islamic law. Women were given the vote under his new constitution and granted equal status with the male population. European clothing and customs were made obligatory, as was European law and the Latin script. A modern system of education was instituted, and formal training of the young become compulsory. By the time of his death in 1938, he had brought Turkey well on the road to modernization and further along in social and political development than had any other Muslim leader since Muhammad."

"The Turk is still a Muslim, and no efforts were made by the State to destroy his traditional faith. But he is a Muslim who faces West and whose interests are closely tied to the Western Powers."

"Under the guidance of Ataturk and his followers, Turkey has changed from a strictly agricultural State to one in which manufacturing is encouraged and developed under a system of five-year plans. Large-scale industry is mostly Government-owned, but private development is being encouraged. By 1950, 300,000 industrial workers were engaged in work in the infant Turkish industry."

**Muslims of Central Asia**

"The Muslim population of Central Asia, numbering more than 20,000,000 persons, is within the Soviet Union, or under Soviet influence and control. Many tribes are settled in organized communities, but the greater percentage wanders from place to place. Coming from the Turko-Tartar racial stock, they are mostly herdsmen and soldiers with no great liking for industrial or agricultural pursuits. Their area extends in a broad belt from the Caspian Sea eastwards into China proper."

"The Central Asian Muslims represented one of the first targets of Soviet oppression. Early in the 1920's, expeditions from the Kremlin set out methodically to pacify or crush them. Their mosques were destroyed, their valuable cultural centers and libraries at Bukhara and Samarkand were burned, and massacres were common. Today they live restlessly under Soviet dictatorship, having a fictional self-rule that only stimulates them to a greater hatred of their masters."

**Iranian Muslims**

"The Iranians are remotely related to the Central Asian Muslims who cross into Iran from time to time. For almost a century before World War I, Iran was the recognized sphere of influence of Great Britain and Russia. With the Bolshevik Revolution, the Iranians broke the Russian grip on northern Iran. The modernization of the country can be said to have started about 1920, under the leadership of Reza Pahlavi, its Prime Minister and later Shah."

"Reza Pahlavi reorganized the army, suppressed banditry, and started a course of action modelled after that of Ataturk in Turkey. In 1925, he ousted the Kajar dynasty and instituted numerous changes. These included the breaking of the power of the Muslim clergy, abolition of Muslim traditional dress, extension of the educational system, and the establishment of industry. Very little progress was made in land reform."

"Iran has a constitution apparently democratic in character, but the powers of the large landholder have not been broken. The small, wealthy upper class still dominates the country. Recent events in Iran disclose unrest and growing nationalism similar to that found in the Arab States. Because of Iran's vast oil reserves, the country is a tempting prize to an aggressive-minded power such as the Soviet Union."

**Pakistan — a new Muslim State**

"Pakistan, with more than 75 million inhabitants, is one of the largest Muslim States in terms of population. Established on 15th August 1947, at the time of the partition of India, she owes her birth largely to a ten-year effort by the Indian Muslim League led by Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah. Besides being one of the most heavily populated Muslim States, Pakistan is the only Muslim State to hold the status of membership in the British Commonwealth."

"Pakistan was carved out of the sub-continent of India to meet the demands of the Muslim population and to eliminate the religious ill-feeling that existed between the Hindus and the followers of the Prophet. It consists of two widely separated areas, the larger part being in the west adjoining Iran and Afghanistan. The Bengal, or eastern half, was created by dividing the Province of Bengal between Pakistan and India."

"Social conditions are comparable to those of India, with widespread illiteracy, overcrowding, overworking of the available farmland, and insufficient food. Pakistan's agriculture is controlled by large landholders, employing two-thirds of the agricultural workers either as tenant farmers or farm labourers. It has been suggested that many of Pakistan's social problems could be solved by increased industrialization, modernization of farming, and increased educational facilities. But the retention of power by wealthy landowners may slow down the sincere efforts being made to effect the necessary reforms."

"For all practical purposes, the Muslim League is Pakistan's only party, since the others represent only a small minority of the population. Pakistan is organized along the lines of a strong central government with a federal system made up of the old Provinces and States now incorporated within the country."

"Like Turkey, Pakistan holds an important strategic place on the wing of the Muslim Crescent that extends along the southern border of the Soviet Union. Pakistan is eager for assistance that will enable it to become modernized and to assume a major power status."

*November 1954*
Muslim States of the Far East

"Because the Far Eastern Muslim States are still new in the family of nations, it is too early to comment on their places in the Muslim world from the point of view of their social and political development. Indonesia is a democratic federation operating within a loose-knit Netherlands Union. Malaya is a federation of States operating under the British Crown and the native Sultans. While Malaya is essentially a Muslim State, the Malayans themselves are in the minority, being outnumbered by the Chinese and Indians. Many of these are merely temporary workers in the tin mines and rubber plantations. Communist and nationalist violence in both areas are holding back social progress and political development. The Muslim population of the Philippines, totalling about 700,000, is concentrated in the south, on the island of Mindanao. Known as Moros, after the Spanish word for ‘moors’, they represent only a small percentage of the total population, which is mainly Christian.

Resources and industry in the Muslim world

"Although the Muslim world is one of the richest areas of the globe in certain natural resources, it is essentially agricultural rather than industrial in character. Because, with the exception of Turkey and Iran, most Muslim States gained their independence within relatively recent times, and the effects of foreign control are still visible. Colonies are traditionally regarded as sources of raw materials rather than producers of the finished product. For that reason, industrialization has been held back in the Muslim world. Except for those people employed in obtaining the raw materials, the vast majority of the inhabitants turn to agriculture.

Muslim lands hold the world's largest oil reserves

"But the natural resources of the Muslim world are its real wealth. The Near East is probably the richest oil area on earth and its output reaches almost fantastic figures. In 1948 Egypt, Bahrein, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia produced a total of 423.6 million barrels of oil, or 16.8 billion gallons. So great is the oil production of this region, and such is its importance that it overshadows every other economic consideration. In spite of this great wealth, the Near East is an area in which poverty is widespread. Foreign capital and know-how are necessary to develop its oil reserves. American, British, French and Dutch capital constitute the major financial backing of the development, with the first two dominating.

"Contrasted with other oil-producing regions, and considering that none of the Arab oil-producing areas are fully developed, the figures become even more startling. Iran, for example, in 1948 produced only 21.2 million barrels less than Soviet Russia with its 8,000,000 square miles of territory. The 1948 output of Iran and Saudi Arabia exceeded by 154 million barrels the output of Canada, Mexico, Rumania, Argentina, Colombia, Peru, Trinidad, British Borneo and Indonesia combined. The combined output of the Arab States and Iran exceeded that of the Soviet Union by 213.6 million barrels in 1948. From these figures it can be seen that the oil available under existing conditions is a factor of immense strategic importance to both the free world and the Communist-controlled world.

"The Far Eastern Muslim States also contribute important quantities of crude oil. Indonesia produced 30.7 million barrels in 1948, while British Borneo yielded 17.5 million. Efforts are now under way to locate the oil that is believed to be in Pakistan. Should these fields be the equal to those found in any other Muslim oil country, the yield would place Pakistan well on the list of important oil-producing nations.

"It should be emphasized that in today's industrialized world, possession of adequate oil supplies could well mean the difference between national strength and national weakness. It has been estimated that the United States, Great Britain and other free world nations together control about 90 per cent of the world's oil, while Soviet Russia and her satellites possess only about 10 per cent. The control exercised by the West over Muslim oil is an uneasy one. Its retention in time of war would be difficult under existing conditions.

Large reserves of tin and rubber lie in the Muslim world

"Tin is abundant in the eastern Muslim States. Indonesia and Malaya are the leading tin-producing regions of the world. Most of the world's supply of natural rubber is produced in these countries. Bauxite, from which aluminium is extracted, is present in commercial quantities in Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia. In other areas of natural resources the Muslim world is not so well off. Virtually without coal or iron in significant quantities, the capacity for developing an industrial civilization in the heavy industries is lacking in most of the countries. Chromium is found in Turkey, cobalt in Morocco, nickel in Indonesia and tungsten in Malaya. Also, some quantities of antimony and molybdenum have been found in Muslim Africa. Copper, lead and zinc are completely absent or found in only insignificant quantities.

Trouble spots in the Muslim world

"The international relations of the Muslim world are complex, and only the outline of the most critical problems can be given here. Any area composed of so many newly created independent States as the Muslim world presents many problems. Because of the highly strategic character of the Muslim world, it is necessary to find solutions as rapidly as possible in the interests of world peace. This is the problem facing the free world.

Morocco and Tunisia

"Most of the ‘trouble spots’ of the Muslim world are concentrated in the Arabic-speaking areas of the western half. Morocco and Tunisia, Protectorates of France, are striving for independence and national status. At this time, unrest in such vital strategic areas concerns the whole free world since these States play such an important part as bastions of defence against Soviet aggression. They have a combined population of nearly 12 million, most of which is Muslim.

Egypt

"In Egypt, a recent revolution has replaced the monarchy with a republic. Besides wresting with internal problems, the present administration, headed by General Najiely, is attempting to eliminate British control of the vital Suez Canal, expel British troops from its territory, and solve the problem of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Egypt is also disputing Israeli encroachment and manoeuvres on her borders — and the control of disputed land between the two States is a source of international concern. Continued difficulties between Egypt and Britain could be dangerous to world peace.
Arabian Peninsula

"All the States of the Arabian Peninsula have suffered some form of internal disturbance within the last few years. All have been engaged in disputes, armed and otherwise, with Israel. While in the main these States are not hostile to the West, their friendship with the free world is not on a firm foundation. But balanced against this is their almost open hostility to the Soviet Union and Communism. As a forward step to defending themselves against possible Soviet aggression, an Arab Defence Council consisting of the Foreign and War Ministries of Egypt, Sa'udi Arabia, Iraq, the Lebanon, the Yemen, Syria and Jordan has been established. Purpose of the council is to 'unify the efforts of the Arab States in the defence and maintenance of peace and security'.

"General co-operation with the West has been obtained on most issues through participation in the United Nations and by direct treaties, but the firm friendship of the area must yet be courted and won.

Iran

"Iran is still the stormy petrel of world affairs. Her common border with Soviet Russia, her vital oil supplies, and the presence of a militant Communist minority within her boundaries, create a political situation that is dangerous to the free world. In her efforts to dislodge British influence and control of her oil industry, Iran nationalized the oil industry and expelled British operators. Later efforts at compromise have been unsatisfactory. During the summer of 1953 Premier Mossadegh, supported by Nationalists and the Tudeh, or Communist Party, attempted a revolution against the Shah but was unsuccessful. The political situation in Iran is still unsettled. However, British-Iranian diplomatic relations have been resumed.

To some authorities, Iran is a key State in Muslim affairs. If Soviet Russia succeeds in establishing Communism as a power in Iran, the whole Near East could be swept into the Soviet world. The loss of Iran's oil and its strategic position would be a serious blow to the free world.

Pakistan

"Pakistan, new and aggressive, is strongly pro-West. Given the proper encouragement in the form of arms and economic support, it could become a staunch and valuable addition to the free world. Pakistan is on friendly terms with all her neighbours except India, with whom she is disputing the provinces of Kashmir and Jammu. Because both States regard the two provinces essential to their development and economic well-being, no immediate solution appears likely.

Communism and the future of the Muslim world

"Because a large part of the Muslim world—borders on Soviet Russia, the threat of Communist aggression is very real. Geographically, Islam forms a crescent about the southern half of the U.S.S.R. and borders on the area called the 'heartland' by students of world geography. Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan are in direct contact with Soviet borders and are directly under the hammer of Soviet might.

"In Turkey and Pakistan the threat is purely external rather than one of internal unrest. Both States are well aware of the ever-present Soviet threat to their independence because of their strategic position. To the Kremlin, control of Turkey means possession of the Straits that Russia has so long desired. Pakistan in Soviet hands would open the gate to India and provide second routes for the invasion of Iran and South-east Asia.

"While Turkey and Pakistan constitute strong bulwarks, Iran represents an area of weakness. Long under Russian or Soviet influence, in part at least, and vulnerable to sea attack in the north, Iran must be made politically and militarily strong to prevent Soviet advances into the richest oil fields in the world. In the north, her province of Azerbaidjan is culturally connected with the Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic, and once was a Soviet republic for a short period.

"The internal Communist influence is stronger in Iran than anywhere else in the Muslim world. The Tudeh Party is a real menace to internal peace, actively stirring up anti-democratic feeling, hostility to the West and internal disorder. While this powerful and vocal minority has, so far, managed to survive every effort to purge it, Communist efforts in other Muslim areas have taken the form of guerilla activities, as in Malaya and Indonesia, or in aiding and abetting local subversive groups, as in Tunisia and Morocco. The sudden surge of national feeling in the Arab world offers an excellent opportunity for Communist agents to add to the concern of the West and to take advantage of internal disorders.

"In general, Communism and Islam can never be in harmony, and there is every indication that the two will not co-operate. However, should the Communists be able to break down the religious principles of Islam, the Muslim world would very likely be lost to the democracies. So far, this approach has not proved workable. But if anti-Western feeling continues to grow, it might provide an opening wedge.

"Because many of the Muslim countries gained their independence within comparatively recent times, they have not had much experience in self-government. In the years ahead, they will need the help of the United States and other freedom-loving nations in building modern, democratic systems of government.

"But it is important to remember that the idea of democracy is a part of the Islamic faith. Many of the conditions in the Muslim world are, according to modern Muslim leaders, due to the corruption of the teachings of Islam. In the words of Liaquat Ali Khan, former Pakistan Premier, 'When we use the word 'democracy' in the Islamic sense, it pervades all aspects of our life. It relates to our system of government and to our society with equal validity, because one of the greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea of equality of all men.'

"The laws of Islam, when properly applied, prevent the large accumulation of wealth in the hands of only a few people at the expense of the vast majority. In Islam there is no class-consciousness: people in every walk of life can worship together and marry other Muslims. Islam, like the Jewish and Christian religions, teaches the direct relationship of each individual to God. Obviously, the future advancement of the people of the Muslim world will be heavily dependent upon how well they carry out the democratic ideas of Islam, with its belief in the dignity of all men.

"At this critical point in Muslim history and development, the understanding and generosity of the West will play a powerful role. The Muslim world has possibilities for the development of a great democratic structure. The Western powers must weigh this carefully. And they must discover the best methods of achieving it if the Muslim world is to be saved from Soviet control and encouraged to contribute to building a peaceful world."
## THE DISTRIBUTION OF MUSLIMS IN THE WORLD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Area in square miles</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Muslim Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADEN COLONY</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADEN PROTECTORATE</td>
<td>105,000</td>
<td>650,000</td>
<td>645,000</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFGHANISTAN</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>12,000,000</td>
<td>11,900,000</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA, SOUTH-WEST</td>
<td>317,725</td>
<td>252,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA, THE UNION OF SOUTH</td>
<td>473,000</td>
<td>11,418,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALBANIA</td>
<td>10,700</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>825,000</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALGERIA</td>
<td>846,100</td>
<td>8,830,000</td>
<td>7,785,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOUTH AMERICA:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentine</td>
<td>1,113,000</td>
<td>17,425,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>-0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>British Guiana</td>
<td>83,000</td>
<td>425,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>109,650</td>
<td>109,000</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bechuanaland</td>
<td>275,000</td>
<td>294,000</td>
<td>57,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutan</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
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<td>-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo (North)</td>
<td>29,382</td>
<td>348,000</td>
<td>260,000</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including Labuan: area 35 sq. miles, population 9,253)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>2,226</td>
<td>46,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
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<td>7,235,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>261,610</td>
<td>18,489,000</td>
<td>740,000</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<td>Cameroons (British)</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>1,083,000</td>
<td>596,200</td>
<td>55%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cameroons (French)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>25,332</td>
<td>7,540,000</td>
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<td>China</td>
<td>43,000,000</td>
<td>601,912,371</td>
<td>50,000,000</td>
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<td>Comoro Islands</td>
<td>386,110</td>
<td>20,439,000</td>
<td>18,900,000</td>
<td>92%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congo (Belgium)</td>
<td>910,000</td>
<td>11,000,000</td>
<td>2,103,000</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (French)</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>684,000</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>3,572</td>
<td>497,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>11,104,000</td>
<td>623,000</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>410,000</td>
<td>15,000,000</td>
<td>4,500,000</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>7,100</td>
<td>302,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>130,127</td>
<td>4,029,000</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Equatorial Africa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>970,000</td>
<td>4,406,000</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaboon</td>
<td>481,000</td>
<td>2,241,000</td>
<td>970,000</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE CONGO</td>
<td>106,000</td>
<td>409,000</td>
<td>118,000</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ubangi Shari</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>684,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French West Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>47,000</td>
<td>1,505,000</td>
<td>676,000</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Guinea</td>
<td>97,000</td>
<td>2,180,000</td>
<td>1,320,000</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Sudan</td>
<td>582,000</td>
<td>3,330,000</td>
<td>1,903,000</td>
<td>99%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>184,000</td>
<td>2,065,000</td>
<td>179,000</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>109,940</td>
<td>3,069,000</td>
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<td>Mauretania</td>
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<td>518,000</td>
<td>517,500</td>
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<td>Niger</td>
<td>484,000</td>
<td>2,290,000</td>
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<td>Senegal</td>
<td>78,000</td>
<td>1,872,000</td>
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<td>East Togoland</td>
<td>20,040</td>
<td>1,084,666</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Cameroons</td>
<td>2,997,000</td>
<td>490,000</td>
<td>490,000</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>4,130</td>
<td>252,389</td>
<td>214,529</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gibraltar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>91,843</td>
<td>4,095,276</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guinea (Portuguese)</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>351,000</td>
<td>297,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guinea (Spanish)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>170,000</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
<td>51,180</td>
<td>7,960,000</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>10,500</td>
<td>3,112,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hong-Kong</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>2,030,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1,221,072</td>
<td>356,891,624</td>
<td>35,000,000</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India (Portuguese)</td>
<td>1,636</td>
<td>672,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Area in square miles</td>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>Muslim Population</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDO-CHINA</td>
<td>272,300</td>
<td>27,580,000</td>
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(inclusive of Cocos Islands and Christmas Islands)

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<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Muslim Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>1,246,000</td>
<td>1,235,000</td>
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<td>265,872</td>
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Total of Approximate Muslim Population 427,996,558

November 1954
The importance of TI

It encircles the globe from Morocco to Mindanao like a girdle round the human body. It has a population of over 450 million. The area occupied by it is vital to a world which believes in the dignity of human personality and in which the individual exists in his own right. It embraces an area of

...
OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

has an area of 11,523,627 square miles which produces such strategic materials as oil, rubber, jute, cotton and tin. In this area the religion of Islam is a strong bond that binds together its millions of followers into a brotherhood of man that knows no race or colour prejudice. And through this area run such vital waterways as the Suez Canal, etc.
PALESTINE AND THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

By His Excellency
Dr. Muhammad Fadhil al-Jamali

The Chairman of the Iraqi Delegation to the United Nations, His Excellency Dr. M. Fadhil al-Jamali (right) with the President of the United States of America, General Dwight D. Eisenhower

The tension resulting from Israeli outrages and Communist infiltrations keeps Iraq constantly on the alert

The country which my delegation has the honour to represent is a firm believer in the United Nations. It bases its foreign policy on the spirit and the letter of the Charter. In the spirit of the Charter we want peace based upon truth and justice. We want peace because we believe that peace means life and war means death for mankind. Peace is especially essential for a young and relatively small country like Iraq that wishes to develop its resources and to make its contribution to humanity and civilization as it often did in the past.

My country is launching a vast programme of development. We are putting most of our oil revenue in reconstruction and building. In this endeavour, we are setting a fine example for international co-operation. Foreign experts, foreign companies and contractors, including British, American, French, Canadian, Dutch, German, Pakistani, Indian, Belgian, Swiss, Scandinavian, as well as representatives of other nations and neighbouring countries, all join in a work of development and construction in a spirit of co-operation and fair dealing. It is a true expression of the spirit and ideals of the United Nations in the realm of reconstruction. We would like to see this peaceful co-operative effort continue and flourish, but we are not as carefree as we would like to be because of the tensions in the international situation.

Hardly a day passes without an outrage committed by Israelis against defenceless Arabs on the borders. Hardly a day passes without the shooting and arrest of Tunisians and Moroccans fighting for the liberty of their homeland. We are most perturbed by Communist infiltration and subversive activities both inside Iraq as well as in our neighbouring countries. Communist domination and warfare in China, Korea, Indo-China, each gives us serious warning that we cannot remain carefree while engaged in the progressive development of our country. We must think and prepare for our own security. These worries which I am sure we share with the rest of the free world are due at least to two basic causes. The first is that reactionary forces in the world, not appreciating the change in the spirit of the time, have clung to old out-worn policies based on greed, aggression, domination and exploitation of peoples internally and externally. Reaction internally is exemplified by the wide gap in wealth between the rich and the poor, between the rich who waste or hoard riches and the poor who do not even enjoy a decent standard of living. Reaction externally is exemplified by the colonizing powers not recognizing the right of weaker peoples to their own country, to their own homes and property, to freedom and self-determination, and to a prosperous and decent standard of living.

There is no doubt that the prevalence of the forces of reaction in the world gave birth to forces of destruction, especially the destruction of the social, moral, and religious values. These forces of destruction as we witnessed in Iraq are led by the so-called Communist elements.

The factors that disturb world peace and the ways in which the United Nations Organization can tackle them

We need to face the basic issues that disturb humanity today and agree on a diagnosis and remedy. We usually engage in specific situations and try to treat them individually as if they were unrelated to the rest of the world, as if they were isolated and disconnected events. This never-ending treatment of specific incidents and situations, separately without an all-inclusive treatment of the basic issues involved, will never lead the world to peace and stability so that human talent and energy might be directed towards constructive endeavours.

Most of the problems facing us in the United Nations arise either from forces of reaction as represented in declining old colonialism, or from the new form of subversion and domination represented by international Communism which is deadlier than the old form of colonialism for it aims to enslave people by dominating them spiritually, mentally as

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1 Being the text of a speech delivered during the general debate of the Ninth Genera' Assembly of the United Nations Organization.
well as physically. It turns man into an automatic machine to be enslaved and exploited by the State. Or it turns the masses into blind obedient servants of the State to be directed and exploited by the ruling few.

These are certainly not what the United Nations Charter stands for. The Charter stands neither for reaction nor for destruction. It stands for the third way; the way of steady evolutionary progress. The United Nations stands for the dignity of man, for the freedom of the individual, spiritually, mentally, as well as physically. It stands for the brotherhood of man whereby there shall be no discrimination on grounds of race, religion, or class. It stands for settling disputes by mediation and negotiation. It stands for international co-operation in the realm of construction and development, as well as in the liberation of the under-developed and dependent peoples. It is this third way, the way of the United Nations, that must be made effective and should be universalized.

Looking back to the nine years of the existence of the United Nations, one cannot fail to recognize its many and varied achievements in terms of liberating peoples, in averting bloodshed, localizing wars, and in terms of human relief and technical assistance. We certainly acknowledge with appreciation the contributions of the United Nations to the liberation of the Lebanon, Syria, Indonesia, and Libya. We certainly appreciate United Nations intervention in Korea to check aggression. We appreciate United Nations contribution in the field of helping under-developed countries and dependent peoples to attain higher standards of social and economic levels. The specialized agencies of the United Nations are making considerable contributions to that effect.

In this connection I wish to register my country's thanks and gratitude to the high and noble spirit expressed by the United Nations Organization, its several member states as well as its agencies for material help, relief and sympathy which contributed much to the saving of the city of Baghdad from the disastrous flood of last spring and which helped many flood refugees.

Problems that await courageous handling by the United Nations

Acting in the spirit of the United Nations Charter the leaders of the United States and the United Kingdom and those of the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, presented the world with a new method for achieving independence and liberation of dependent peoples, the way of negotiation and agreement and not that of strife and bloodshed. More recently the Anglo-Egyptian settlement of the long-standing Suez Canal problem has been a proof of patience, wisdom and statesmanship of all parties concerned. We are especially gratified to see our sister Arab State, Egypt, fulfill her national aspirations while at the same time recognizing her responsibility towards the future defence of the Arab States. We are also gratified that our neighbour and friend, Iran, at last settled her oil problem preserving her national interests. We regret that at Geneva no final settlement of the Korean question could be achieved. We are relieved that cease-fire both in Korea and Indo-China, put an end to bloodshed in those afflicted countries, but regret that their unity is still not yet achieved.

We can go on enumerating bright events achieved either directly by the United Nations or indirectly by nations motivated by the spirit of the Charter. The problems which await settlement by the United Nations today and which require courageous and responsible statesmanship by member states are just as significant and numerous. These problems represent sources of tension and endanger peace and harmony in the world of today.

From our point of view, the first of these problems is that of Palestine, for it has disturbed peace and harmony in an area which is most vital to the world on account of its strategic importance as well as its material riches, particularly the Holy Land. The United Nations influenced by power politics, and Zionist propaganda, partitioned Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews, thus creating a situation which led to the homelessness and destitution of nearly one million Arabs, Muslims and Christian alike—a great injustice to the peace-loving Arabs, the rightful inhabitants of Palestine. Thus Israel came into existence.

Israel's disregard for the United Nations resolutions and United Nations failure to handle the problem

But Israel was not satisfied with the United Nations resolutions to which she owes her own existence. She has already violated United Nations resolutions by usurping by sheer force territory that was not allotted to her by the United Nations. Her terrorists butchered old men, women, and children exterminating the whole population of villages like Dair Yasin, thus intimidating the defenceless Arab population of Palestine and forcing them to leave their homes. The result is territorial conquest, homelessness of nearly one million Arabs, and turning Palestine, the Holy Land, the land of peace, into an arena of war and political strife. Israel transferred her capital to Jerusalem in defiance of the several United Nations resolutions for its internationalization. War and shootings from the Israeli side ever endanger its holy places in Jerusalem. Israeli shooting and aggression mainly on the Jordanian borders and sometimes on the Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese borders continue to occur with no restraint or retribution. The deplorable attacks on the villages of Qibya and Nahhalin this year, destroying homes and killing scores of human beings, including old men, women, and children are eloquent examples of Israeli conduct in the Middle East. The Security Council censured Israel for her lawless massacres of the peoples of Qibya but that did not restrain her from committing the massacres of Nahhalin and a long series of other attacks. The culprits were never called to account and no indemnity was imposed on Israel. The natural consequence of this state of affairs in Palestine is quite a multiple one. To begin with, it is an insult to humanity and disrespect to life, property and law. In the second place, it is a defiance and disrespect to the United Nations and we rightly believe that nothing injured the prestige of the United Nations more than her weak, unjust and ineffective way in which it handled the problem of Palestine. In the third place, it disturbed peace, stability and harmony within the Middle East. In the fourth place, it embittered the relations between the Arab peoples and those nations who were responsible for the creation of Israel and for her continued existence without at least guaranteeing that she does abide by law and by United Nations resolutions. In the fifth place, it wounded the religious sentiments of millions of faithful people in the world who wished to see Palestine as a haven of peace for Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike, and not to turn Palestine into a place for religious conflict and desecration and destruction of some of the holy sites and places. The pitiful condition to which the Muslim and Christian refugees of Palestine have fallen cannot fail to embitter the feelings of their co-religionists throughout the world. In the sixth place, it uprooted Jewish people from homes where they have lived for thousands of years like the Jews of Iraq and created a problem of double loyalty for the Jews of the world at large.

NOVEMBER 1954
The two bubbles of the Zionist propaganda against the Arab States

Thus, the United Nations handling of the Palestine problem, influenced by political pressure and the voting power of the Zionists, did no service to the moral, religious, and political aspects of humanity. But is the problem ended? We can flatly say no. It can never end until justice is done to the Arabs of Palestine. The Arabs are as much attached to Palestine as any one is attached to his own home plus a spiritual connection which can never be abandoned. But what can the United Nations do? It is well to know that things have reached this regrettable state of affairs? Well, nothing less than implementing its own resolutions. The United Nations must see to it that Israel abandons her arrogance and aggressive practices against the Arabs.

The Arab states are exercising great self-restraint in not retaliating against the frequent incidents of Israeli border attacks. We know that Israel's aim is to provoke the Arabs into an armed conflict. This we are determined to do our utmost to resist in the interest of world peace. The great powers who are primarily responsible for the creation of Israel must at least stop Israeli aid unless she yields to United Nations resolutions and stops shooting innocent Arabs.

We wish to express our appreciation to the true observance commission whose unbiased and objective handling of border incidents made the world see through neutral eyes Israeli aggression and disregard for human life and law. We regret the termination of the services of General Bennike and congratulate him on his safe departure from his post. For he continued his neutral and unbiased service, his destiny might well have been like that of the late Count Bernadotte. We trust that General Burns will be just as fair and unbiased as his predecessor.

There are two bubbles of Zionism propaganda which we wish to explode. The first is that Israel wants peace and the Arabs do not. This is a complete misrepresentation of truth. Israel shouts for peace by word but not by deed. For, in fact, responsible Israelis have often repeated that they do not intend to yield Arab territory allotted to the Arabs by the United Nations. They do not intend to agree to the internationalization of Jerusalem. They do not agree to the principle of the return of those refugees who choose to do so to their own homes. They have never paid for the produce of Arab farms nor for the rental of their property under their control. They have usurped and sold individual Arab property to incoming Jews. They have frozen Arab money in British banks working in Palestine. They continue to shoot at Jordanian villages bordering Israel. They treat the Arabs who remained in Israel as Class B citizens and restrict their movements, usurp their lands, destroy their villages, including churches and mosques, and limit their access to health, education and other social amenities. They rule Arabs by military force and not by civil authorities and deny them elementary civil government. They have turned Arabs in Israel into veritable prisoners of war. Are all these deeds conducive to peace with the Arabs or do they want a peace which denies to the Arabs their right to home and property in Palestine? This kind of peace can never happen. A true peace based on right and justice and recognition of Arab rights is not wanted by Israel.

The answer to Israel's claim to being a bulwark of democracy

The second propaganda bubble is that Israel is a bulwark of democracy in the Middle East, and that it is a signpost for progress and prosperity in the area. This line of propaganda could very well be exploded by enquiry into that democracy enjoyed by the Arabs who live in Israel whether they be Christian or Muslim. We have proofs that discrimination is inflicted on those Jews who went to Israel from the Arab world as well as those who went from India. The return of hundreds of Indian Jews back to India as a protest against racial discrimination by Israel was reported by the New York Times. This is the nature of the democracy imported by Israelis into an Arab world which knew no religious or racial discrimination before the coming of the Zionists. As for Israel being a signpost of progress, we submit that given Western money and know-how to any part of the Arab world, progress and development will not be less than that claimed by Israelis.

It is high time that the leaders of the world should realize what grave injustice has been inflicted on the Arabs and to recognize the following facts:

First, that from a religious point of view Palestine can never become Jewish alone. The whole of Palestine is holy to Muslims, Christians and Jews alike. Second, the Arabs of Palestine, Muslims and Christians alike, will never accept a "diaspora" inflicted upon them in this twentieth century. The United Nations must see to it that at least those territories allotted to the Arabs in the partition scheme of 1947 are restored to the Arabs if partial rectifications of the injustice is to be made. Israel must observe United Nations resolutions on Palestine. Three, the United Nations must establish sanctions on those found guilty of aggression that takes place on borders between Israel and the Arab States. An aggressor must be punished if aggression is not to be repeated. Four, the United Nations must see to it that Arab private property, revenue from farm produce and rentals, are all passed on to their rightful owners. Five, the United Nations must enquire into the treatment of the Arabs who live in Israel. The great powers must feel morally responsible for the injustice inflicted on innocent Arabs as well as for the inhuman and aggressive acts committed by Israel.

The Palestine problem provides a true barometer whereby to measure the moral and human sensitivities of mankind. The conditions of the Arab refugees will always provide the readings of that barometer.

Tunisia, Morocco and the United Nations

A second zone of tension which deserves United Nations constant attention is that of Tunisia and Morocco. These two countries, whose people have been struggling for freedom and independence, did not receive in the last session even the attention they deserved from the United Nations. Their case was not acted upon. We sincerely hope that the people of France and their present government shall see to it that the national aspirations of Tunisia are recognized and that their negotiations with Tunisian representatives will lead to fruitful results based on mutual co-operation between friends and equals. We regret, however, that unrest and bloodshed in Morocco continues because the French Government has not yet taken any positive steps in the way of responding to Moroccan national aspirations. We sincerely hope that the French Government will see to it that His Majesty Muhammad Ibn Yusuf, the Sultan of Morocco, is restored to his throne. His Majesty the Sultan is the spiritual as well as the temporal leader of his people. We were astonished how France, whose tradition of respect for freedom of worship is well known, could interfere with the religious life of the Muslims of Morocco by removing their spiritual leader. We appeal to France that the legitimate Sultan should be restored and that negotiations with the true representatives of Morocco should be initiated. The United Nations must give all her support and blessings to such line of approach.

Probably the most serious problem facing the United
Nations is that of the tension between East and West and all that it involves in terms of armament race, partition of Germany, occupation of Austria, and non-admission of some twenty nations who wish to join the United Nations. To us these problems and many others could be settled on the highest level between the leaders of the great powers in accordance with the United Nations resolution of 1950 which my delegation, jointly with that of Syria, had the honour to introduce and which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly. In such a meeting the fears, suspicions, and claims of the two camps should be frankly stated and mutual measures should be provided to dispel these fears, suspicions, and settle the claims.

The cold war can come to an end if international Communism abandons its dogmatic and totalitarian spirit and stops the work of infiltration and subversion in other lands.

We hope that one of the basic functions of the conference which might be called to revise the Charter should be to examine the provisions of the Charter in the light of the ideological conflicts which endanger world peace today and provide mankind with techniques to implement the ideology already accepted by all the signatories of the Charter, that ideology which is the fruit of human evolution in the last 5,000 years.

The ideology of the Charter recognizes the unity of mankind and admits the truth of the oneness of the world. It does not think in terms of East and West; of Europe, Asia and Africa; it is a global ideology. The ideology of the Charter includes respect for the right of the individual to freedom and to a decent standard of living in accordance with law. The ideology of the Charter recognizes the right of peoples to freedom and self-determination. The ideology of the Charter recognizes co-operation between nations and settlement of disputes by peaceful means. We all have accepted this ideology. How shall we succeed in its application? This, in our view, should become one of the primary topics which the next conference of the United Nations to revise the Charter might take up.

It is not enough to revise the Charter, and it is not enough to formulate abstract principles. What is more important is to develop the will to act and to practise what we profess, for in the last resort it is action that achieves the aims and ideals of the United Nations.

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**PEN PALS**

Boys and girls who want to make pen-friends in Pakistan or any other country may write to Pakistan International Exchange Service, 4/15 Raja Mansion, Karachi-1, Pakistan.

Mr. A. Y. Moolla, 82 Station Road, Tamaing, Insein District, Rangoon, Burma. Aged 17 years, a young Burmese Muslim high school student; wishes to correspond with boys and girls between 13 and 22. Also wishes to exchange stamps. *Interests:* Stamps, photos, sports, reading and general knowledge. All letters answered.

Maung Hla Shwe, c/o Y.Y.P.P. Club, P.O. Box 1063, Rangoon, Burma. Aged 20 years, a University student, wishes to correspond with friends in Arabia, Egypt, Iran, Iraq or from any country of the Middle East. *Interests:* General correspondence and all social and educational activities.

Maung Maung Tin, 50 25th Street, Rangoon, Burma. Aged 20, a University student, wishes to correspond with friends. *Interests:* Stamps, photographs, etc.

H. M. Z. Farouque c/o T.M.S. Hamid, Esq., J.P., 24 Fouzia Ulia, Kurugoda, Akurana, via Kandy, Ceylon. Aged sixteen, wishes to correspond with friends especially in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. *Interests:* Cricket, football, athletics, etc.

Lakhpat Raj Path, Sardarpura Road, No. 2, Jodhpur, Rajasthan, India. Wishes to correspond with friends all over the world. *Interests:* Collection of stamps, view cards and coins. If you wish to exchange stamps, send some of your own country to him when he will send an equal quantity of Indian stamps to his correspondent.

Mukhtar Ahmed Awan, 425 Islam-A-Bad, O/S Lahore Gate, Peshawar, NWFP, Pakistan. Wishes to correspond with friends especially in Arab countries and Europe. *Interests:* Stamp collecting and cricket.

Mohamed Amin Sheikh, P.O. Box 6752, Nairobi, Kenya, aged 15 years, wishes to correspond with friends. Can write in English, Urdu, Swahili or Afrikaans. Early reply to any letters received promised. *Interests:* Reading detective books, photography, feather collecting, collecting curious stones and pen-friendship.

Sahir Hussain, Rahim Manzil, Princess Street, Nanak Warha, Karachi, Pakistan. Aged 17 years, wishes to correspond with friends. *Interests:* Stamp collecting, pen-friendship and commercial art.

Miss Naz Parveen, Rahim Manzil, Princess Street, Nanak Warha, Karachi, Pakistan. Aged 15 years, wishes to correspond with friends. *Interests:* Stamp collecting, coins collecting and needlework.

Mr. A. Razzaq, 3 Kabir Street, House No. 9, Outside Mori Gate, Lahore, W. Pakistan. Aged 16 years, wishes to correspond with friends all over the world. *Interests:* Stamp collecting and the study of foreign literature.

Mr. Ghulam Jafar Qasimi, 81 Estcourt Road, London, S.W.6, England. Aged 26, a law student in London, wishes to correspond with Muslim brothers and sisters of all ages everywhere in the world. Letters may be in English, Arabic, Persian and Urdu. *Interests:* Law, journalism, photography, rambling and riding.

Salman Ali K. Dhanani, P.O. Box 794, Nairobi, Kenya, would like to have pen friends from Europe, Turkey, Syria and Tunisia, between the ages of 14 and 18 years. Wishes to correspond with both boys ad girls. *Interests:* Stamps, history and general.

A. F. Sameen, c/o S. A. Latif, Horetduda, Moratuwa, Ceylon. Aged 17 years, is anxious to have constant friendship with pen pals of either sex, between the ages of 16 and 18 from foreign countries, preferably from England, Pakistan and Australia. *Interests:* Cricket, football, athletics, etc.

M. L. Abrar, B.A., P.O. Box Kalimpong (Darjeeling), India. Aged 24 years, wishes to correspond with both sexes between the ages of 16 and 24 from all parts of the world. Can correspond in English, Urdu, Hindi and Nepali. *Interests:* Exchanging photographs, magazines, religious books and pictures of historical places, discussing political affairs of the world, discussing Islamic faith in the light of Marxism and socialism, Islam as a revolutionary party, as a religion, as a benefactor to mankind and as a first and last religion of all the prophets of the world. Political situation in Tunisia, Morocco, Indo-China, Kashmir, Palestine and Korea, the diplomacy of Anglo-American bloc and Russian bloc and lastly, the conflict between the East and West. Letters will be welcomed from each and every body irrespective of caste, creed, religion, colour and nationality.

Abdul Aziz, 2 Mosque Road, Tapah, Perak, Malaya. Aged 15 years, wishes to correspond with friends particularly from Egypt, Germany, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and Sweden. All letters should have a reply. *Interests:* Exchanging stamps and view cards, friendly correspondence, scouting and swimming.

M. J. Ghous Hasim, 20 Alexandra Road, Colombo 8, Ceylon. Aged 18 years, wishes to correspond with friends all over the world. All letters will be answered.

M. S. Abdulla, "Noonson", Dharo Town, Ceylon, wishes to correspond with friends from Syria, Saudi Arabia and Spain. *Interests:* Stamps, literature, sports and religion.

N. Abbas Alleesaib, 43 Etienne Pellereau Street, Port Louis, Mauritius. Aged 36 years, wishes to correspond with friends, preferably female. *Interests:* Reading (French and English books), sport, collecting stamps, view cards and views of any part of the world.
THE PROPOSED ANNUAL ISLAMIC CONGRESS
AT MECCA

The Text of its Draft Charter

The annual Islamic Congress at Mecca, which was first proposed when Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Prime Minister of Egypt, and Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, conferred with King Sa'id on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Mecca recently, has been acclaimed throughout the Muslim world. The Acting Secretary-General of the Congress, Colonel Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt, issued on the 16th September 1954, a draft of the charter of this proposed Congress. The draft charter embodied the general aims and organization of the Congress. It was a very important document, and we print hereunder a translation of its full text:

The aims of the Congress

(1) The aims of the Congress are:

(a) To spread Islamic culture free from all prohibitions and superstitions; and to prepare the Muslims to adhere strictly to the teachings and virtues of Islam in every place in which there is a Muslim Society, and to raise the standard of the Muslim countries and their people to the proper Islamic level.

(b) To co-ordinate the economic policies of all the Muslim countries and the Muslim nations, so that they can co-operate in exploiting properly and efficiently the full economic potentialities of the Muslim world.

(c) To co-operate in furnishing every Muslim country with the best financial and administrative systems suitable for its capacities and potentialities, in order that it may carry out its obligations in the Muslim community of nations.

(2) The Congress shall co-operate fully with the Arab League for the purpose of the realization of the above aims. Its Secretariat and its Committees shall co-operate with the Secretariat-General of the Arab League and its specialized Committees. The Congress shall also co-operate with Islamic organizations which have aims and ambitions similar to those which the Congress professes, e.g., the Islamic International Economic Conference in Karachi and the Islamic Centre in Washington.

The Congress shall also co-operate to the extent to which it is convenient and possible so to co-operate — with any international group which seeks to achieve aims and ambitions similar to those which the Congress professes, e.g., the Asian-African group, and the United Nations in its cultural, economic, and social activities.

The organization of the Congress

(3) The Islamic Congress shall have a President, an Executive Council, a General Assembly, and a Secretary-General.

(4) The Executive Council of the Islamic Congress:

(a) The Executive Council shall meet every year in Mecca during the pilgrimage (hajj) season to examine proposals and recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General. The Executive Council shall also be permitted to meet at any time in any Muslim capital.

(b) The Executive Council shall consist of the heads of the Governments of Muslims States, and of the leaders of Muslim communities which have no independent government to represent them.

(c) Every Muslim State shall send to the conference the heads of its government or his deputy, who shall be permitted to have with him advisers and other assistants, at the meetings of the Council.

(d) Every Muslim country which has no independent government shall send a representative to the Congress.

(e) The Executive Council shall be entrusted with the putting into effect of the resolutions passed by the Congress. The execution of this resolution shall be in the manner agreed by the Council, and shall be laid down in the working rules of the Congress.

The General Assembly of the Islamic Congress

(5) The General Assembly of the Islamic Congress:

(a) Every representative body in a Muslim country shall send some of its members to the ordinary and the extraordinary sessions of the Congress, and the number of delegates to be sent shall be determined by the rules of the Congress.

(b) The proposals and recommendations of the Secretary-General of the Congress shall be put forward to the General Assembly of the Congress, in order that they shall be considered. Resolutions taken on these proposals and recommendations shall be transmitted to the Executive Council in its capacity as the authority entrusted with the putting into effect of these resolutions.

(c) The General Assembly and Executive Council of the Islamic Congress shall elect a President. The appointment shall be for a period of one year and open to renewal for any length of time.

The Secretary-General of the Congress

(6) The Secretary-General of the Islamic Congress shall be responsible for the preparations of proposals and recommendations for the Executive Council and General Assembly of the Congress whether at its ordinary meetings in Mecca or at its meetings in any other Islamic capital.

The following committees shall assist the Secretary-General:

(a) The Cultural Committee.

(b) The Economic Committee.

(c) The Administrative and Financial Committee.

Each committee shall consist of properly qualified experts from the various Muslim nations, and shall be appointed by the Secretary-General. These experts shall receive no salary or reward for their services. But the Government of the country of which the expert is a citizen may pay to the expert travel expenses incurred by him in the course of his services to the Congress or any other expenses incurred by him in the performance of his duties to the Congress.

(7) There shall be in every Muslim country a branch of the Secretariat-General of the Islamic Congress. This branch office shall be controlled by an Assistant Secretary-General to be appointed by the Secretary-General with the agreement of the government of the Muslim country concerned. An Assistant Secretary-General shall act as a liaison between the Secretary-General and the government of the country concerned.
The government of the Muslim state in which a branch office of the Secretariat-General of the Islamic Congress is set up shall bear all the expenses of the running of this branch office.

The Secretary-General, however, will not be barred from contacting directly the government of any Muslim state. (8) The Secretariat-General of the Islamic Congress and the committees of the Congress may make direct contact with the Secretariat-General of the Arab League and the various committees of the Arab League.

(9) The Secretary-General of the Islamic Congress shall be assisted by a technical adviser who will co-ordinate the activities of the committees of the Congress. The Secretary-General shall also be assisted by an administrative officer in the administrative business of the Secretariat-General and by a financial adviser in the financial affairs of the Secretariat-General.

The financial resources of the Congress

(10) The financial resources of the Islamic Congress shall consist of "ordinary resources" and "extraordinary resources".

(a) The ordinary resources shall be:

(i) regular contributions from the budgets of Muslim states which are members of the Congress — at the rate of 1%, 1.5%, or 2%.

(ii) An optional contribution at the rate of one-tenth of the rate of zakat required from every Muslim.

(b) The extraordinary contributions shall be:

Contributions from various organizations and charitable institutions (waqfs).

(11) The Congress Library

Whereas the three committees embodied in the Secretariat-General of the Congress shall be engaged in the study of the economic, social and other conditions of the various Muslim countries in order that they may submit proposals and recommendations to the Congress to enable it to achieve its aims;

And Whereas information and proper statistics on the conditions of many Muslim territories are at present defective as a result of the neglect from which these countries have suffered for many generations;

It shall be amongst the first duties of the committees of the Congress to carry out the appropriate extensive study and research, so that its proposals and recommendations shall be based on solid and realistic foundations.

This study shall be carried out thus:

(a) By seeking the assistance of experts from every Muslim country—if possible—through the branch office of the Secretariat-General of the Congress.

(b) By means of study and research tours undertaken by experts engaged by the committees of the Congress.

(c) By obtaining all books and other publications available on the various Muslim territories, including works by Western authors. All the authorities must be thoroughly scrutinized before they are accepted. Good use shall be made of works published by the various specialized committees of the United Nations Organization.

(12) The advisers of the Congress

The Secretary-General shall appoint advisers to the Congress from amongst Muslim personalities who have attained distinction for their illustrious struggle in the cause of Islam and who can render valuable service to the Congress in view of their experience and position in their communities. These posts shall be honorary.

The bridge to be crossed

Colonel Anwar al-Sadat, introducing this draft charter, said that the idea of an Islamic Congress was as old as Islam itself. It was one of the basic teachings of Islam which Muslims in the early days had observed properly. It provided an opportunity for the Muslims from all parts of the world to gather together every year not only to perform the pilgrimage (hajj), but also to get acquainted with each other and to discuss their common problems and aspirations. "But the idea soon died out as foreign conquest reduced the Muslim nations to a state of ignorance and poverty", he said. "We are now trying to cross the long bridge which separates our past from our present", he added.

He proceeded to say, "The revival of the old idea of an Islamic Congress did not mean the initiation of an expansionist or imperialistic policy on the part of the Muslim countries. "As Islam in some minds is associated with the glory of the first Muslim Empire, I feel it is absolutely necessary to declare that the age of empires is over, and that the future of the world is now in the hands of the people working in the spirit of fraternity, co-operation, and justice'.

Colonel Anwar al-Sadat explained that the Congress would be a conference of governments and peoples alike. The inclusion of governments, he said, was intended to invest the Congress with executive power. Arrangements would be made to enable the Congress Secretariat in Cairo to keep in touch with Muslims not only in independent Muslim countries but also in non-Muslim countries and in colonial territories.

Reaction to the Congress

The draft of the charter of the Islamic Congress has been sent to the various Muslim governments for their approval, and the idea of the Congress has been met with jubilation in all Muslim quarters. One Iraqi paper summed up its views on the proposed Congress thus: "It is a right step towards the ultimate aim of establishing an Arab-Muslim bloc capable of defending Arab and Muslim causes and repulsing foreign ambitions and imperialistic manoeuvres". A Pakistani paper described the proposed Congress as "a great step forward in the proper direction".

But in the Western world there were mixed feelings. A leading London weekly, The Economist, forecast that the proposed Islamic Congress would become a permanent feature of the politics of the Eastern hemisphere. It said: "Religious solidarity apart, the particular advantages of an organization to Muslim states is obvious. It will allow any one of them to mobilize the others automatically in support of its own position or protest to the world and to bring in block votes. Previous attempts to unite Islam in the twentieth century — in Mecca, Cairo, in Jerusalem and in Karachi — have been handicapped from the start by schisms. But now certain notorious points of friction between Islamic states have been removed and Islamic leadership is becoming increasingly realistic'.

And all that means, in brief, that the Muslims are marching forward!

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1 If the rate decided upon be ½%, the share of Egypt or Pakistan will be approximately £1,000,000, while the share of Iraq will be about £500,000.

2 A start has already been made in the setting up of a library for the Congress, and efforts are being made to provide this library with all useful technical publications on Muslim territories. Use has also been made of the publications which have been confiscated from the libraries of former royal palaces.
to give the narrative its desired shape, then the popular imagination creates in its conscience, aesthetic and moralizing, the legend which must serve the ethical scope for which humanity unconsciously torments and vexes itself.

If the popular creation is happy, if the legend responds to certain fundamental and eternal canons of the artistic and aesthetic creations of the human psyche, then its fortune is made and it lays such solid roots in the fertile field of the story, that it becomes very difficult to pull it up and re-establish the naked truth of the facts. The analysis of the legend is a clumsy and coarse work, for the demolishing operation of criticism takes the place, sometimes, of the genial legendary invention, which presumes altogether a state of human evolution, or simply a denial that leaves behind it a sad and sinister emptiness, or a complicated explanation of a fact, simple enough, in the simple mind of contemporaneous persons, but exalted and exaggerated by the sentiment and the conscience of the succeeding generations. Very often an aspect of the historical evolution of humanity finds a happy and beautiful synthesis in legend.

This is precisely the case with the pretended destruction of the Alexandrian Library, a legend which has in itself an undeniable foundation in truth of some sort; in fact, this legend sums up in popular form the sentiment that the victory of Islam signified the condemnation and the end of the dominion of the ancient classical spirit in Asia, a dominion commenced with Hellenism, consolidated by Romano-Byzantine arms, and which disappeared for ever as soon as the Arabs, the heralds of the renewed Semitism of Asia, had traversed the confines of the desert and overrun the trembling Byzantine Empire.

The truth of such considerations will appear more manifest if we examine attentively the literal version of the celebrated passage of the Christian chronicler, Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus, who wrote towards the end of the thirteenth century (he died in 685 A.H.) and was one of the first to transmit the legend of the destruction of the famous library.

**Abu 'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus, a Christian, invented the legend**

At this time (or a little before the Muslim conquests) there became famous among the Muslims a certain John (Arabic), known among us (Christians) by the surname of Ghramatiqué (the Grammarians) or al-Nahwi. He was an Alexandrian and belonged to the Jacobite Christian faith, and very ardently used to support the doctrine of Sawari (Severus). He abjured the Christian faith concerning the Trinity, although the bishops assembled in the council in Mistr invited him to recant and renounce his heretical opinions. He refused to obey: therefore the bishops dismissed him from the office which he used to hold. As soon as he saw that 'Amr Ibn al-'Asi had conquered the capital town of Alexandria, he went and visited the Arabian general, who had already known the great fame of John's learning, and received him with all due honours. 'Amr heard from him philosophical discourses of which the Arabs had had no knowledge or familiarity as yet, discourses which astonished and troubled him. But 'Amr was a very intelligent man, ready to listen, sincere and precise in his thoughts, and accordingly took John as a companion and kept him always by his side. One day John told him: “You have descended into all the magazines or storehouses (hawasi) of Alexandria and have put your seal over all that is stored therein: concerning those things in them which interest you I do not wish to question you, but from the things which can be of no real advantage to you we can draw greater profit (if you would concede them to us).” And ‘Amr asked him: “And what is the thing that you are in need of?” John said: “The books of philosophy (Kutub al-hikmah) which are conserved in the government's deposits (Kha'iza'mul-mudukiyiyah).” ‘Amr answered him: “But I cannot give any order concerning such things until after I have requested the permission of the Prince of the Believers, ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattab.” And in fact he wrote to him, informing him concerning the discourses he had held with John the Grammarians. And the answer of 'Umar arrived in the following manner: “With regard to the books you have mentioned, if they contain things that agree with the Book of God, then we have no need of them, for there is already so much in the Book of God which is amply sufficient for us. But if they contain what is contrary to the Book of God, then again we have no need of them, and I order thee to destroy the books.” Then 'Amr Ibn al-'Asi prepared to distribute them among the baths of Alexandria to burn them in the ovens: six months were necessary to burn them all.

Listen to what has taken place and marvel (O reader)! (Abu 'l-Faraj, pp. 175-176).

**The views of Gibbon on the legend**

The legend has attracted the fantasy of the writers and of the learned, and it was received with pleasure by those who, for religious purposes wishing to persecute the followers of Islam, had the delight of putting round their neck a carcanet or iron collar as the barbarous enemies of ancient civilization and of culture in general. Gibbon, who entertained no tender sentiments in favour of Christianity and admired the manifestations of the Islamic civilization, in the fifty-first chapter of his history refers summarily to this anecdote and putting in relief the words with which Bar Hebraeus concludes his narrative, he declares himself decidedly against the veracity of the fable, and recalls the fact that two other Christian chroniclers, earlier than Abu 'l-Faraj, namely, Eutyches and al-Makin, entirely ignore the destruction of the Alexandrian Library, whereas they both having not the slightest sympathy for the Muslims would have been certainly pleased to record a fact so tending to their dishonour or disgrace. Gibbon maintains that it is most unlikely that the Arabs should worry themselves about destroying books, and he sets out to state rather how many have been the disasters which have befallen the celebrated library ever since the times of Julius Cesar, and how the criminal bigotry of the Christians has been one of the most efficacious means for the destruction of all the literary and artistic monuments of paganism. Moreover, Gibbon adds that, if we were to collect all the records of contemporaneous testimonies from the time of the Antonius until that of Theodosius, it would be seen how the palace and the temple of Serapis no longer contained the 400,000 or the 700,000 volumes collected there by the thirst for knowledge and by the passion for greatness of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

Let us leave the noble considerations and the happy intuitions of truth with which Gibbon closes the indication to this legend as final; but we must mention that Lebeau, in his great history of the Byzantine Empire (Book LIX, Section 12, vol. xi, pp. 295-296), not only welcomes the whole legend, but holds it to be certain, adding as proof the testimony of 'Abd al-Latif, an Arab and Muslim author who died in the year 629 A.H.: that is to say, he lived half a century before Abu 'l-Faraj. This Egyptian writer, in fact, mentions some great ruins of Alexandria, and adds: “I believe this edifice to be the porch where Aristotle used to teach and after him his disciples, and that here was the Academy, built by
Alexander the Great, when he founded the city, and where the library was fixed which was burnt by ‘Amr with the permission of ‘Umar” (‘Abd al-Latif, p. 183 of the French edition).

The views of the French Scholar, De Sacy, and Butler

De Sacy, in his edition of ‘Abd al-Latif (pp. 240-244), prints a long and most learned note on the question, where, having put together summarily all that has been written and discussed in favour of (Langles and White) and against (Reinhard and Sainte Croix) the veracity of the account given by Abu ‘l-Faraj, he declares himself decidedly in favour of the historical truth of the legend without taking into account that none of the earlier chroniclers has ever referred to it: that Sa‘yf Ibn ‘Umar ignores it altogether, he who on the capture of al-Mada‘in (cf. 16 A.H. §§ 194-205) narrates so many and such minute particulars. As a support to his thesis, De Sacy adduces (from Hagi, iii. 90-91) a passage of Ibn Khalidun (Prolegomena, iii. 124-125), in which it is stated that there was a distribution of many Persian books by Sa‘d Ibn Abu Waqqas, after the victory over the Sassanides, and in spite of the order of the Caliph ‘Umar, given in words identical with those in which he had ordered the destruction of the Library of Alexandria.

De Sacy cites, moreover, the modern writer Haji Khalifa, who (p. 78 of Diz. encycl., ed. Flügel) indicates how the Arabs in old times (it is famed that: yurwa) used to burn many books in the countries which they conquered.

Recognizing, however, that the story of the destruction of the library could not be referred to the famous Alexandrian Library, De Sacy, for reasons so evident that he does not even care to repeat them, maintains that the library was another one, viz. a Christian library much inferior to the old one, and completed only a short while before the advent of the Arabs. In fact, De Sacy quotes also the testimonies of Orosius, of Ammianus, son of Hermas, and of John Philoponus, from which it follows, that in the fifth century of the Christian era the Alexandrian Library, formed by the Ptolemies, no longer existed.

Concerning the same question Butler devotes a long chapter (pp. 401-426) to showing that the account is false, supporting his view with a rich concourse of arguments and proofs, some weak, others efficacious: among the latter is the statement that John the Grammarian mentioned by Bar Hebraeus proves to be the same person as John Philoponus, and that he was dead before the coming of ‘Amr, and consequently even this particular item turns out to be false. Besides, he passes in review all the testimonies of the classical authors, from which it results that the Alexandria Library was destroyed in the burning of Alexandria in the Alexandrian war of Julius Cesar in 48 B.C. Moreover, he adduces other historical facts which equally imply a destruction of the Alexandrian edifice and of all that it contained, also as events long past.

For the convenience of the studious we also add the passage from al-Maqrizi, which is taken partly from ‘Abd al-Latif.

‘Amud al-Sawari

This column was of spotted red stone (= porphyry ?) and used to belong to the long (al-matt) deposit (al-sawwar), round which arose at a time about 400 other columns. They were broken to pieces by Giragha, the governor of Alexandria at the time of the Sultan Salah al-Din Yusuf Ibn Ayyub (564-589 A.H.), and thrown on the shore of the sea with the object of obstructing the landing of the enemy whenever he should present himself. Among other things it is said that the column was one of a number which supported the porch (riwaq) of Aristotle, in which he used to teach science (al-hikmah). They say it was a dar ilm — that is, a house of knowledge — and contained a library (khitzana kutub), destroyed (afterwards) with fire by ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Asi for he had orders from the Caliph ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattab (Maqrizi, Khitat, i. 159, lines 26-30).

The German Scholar, Krehl, on the legend

Ludolf Krehl published in the Acts of the IV International Congress of the Orientalists, Florence, 1878 (vol. i. p. 433-454) a work entitled “Über die Sage von der Verbrengung der Alexandrinischen Bibliothek durch die Araber,” in which he combats with various arguments the veracity of the tradition which he describes as a legend. His arguments are good, though he loses himself here and there in discussing things in a more general manner, which a little distract one’s attention from the principal argument. He sets off all the difficulties raised by the tradition, the silence of the historical sources of the first six centuries after the capture of Alexandria, and records the destruction of the grand library of Baghdad by the order of Hulagu Khan, the King of the Mongols, when he effaced and destroyed Baghdad in 656 H. (= 1258 C.E.). (Cf. Notices et Extraits, iv. 569.) It is probable that this fact (i.e., the incident of Baghdad) may have inspired Gregory Bar Hebraeus (Abu ‘l-Faraj), born precisely in 1226 C.E., to give a willing welcome to the legend in his chronicle. Krehl turns aside to demonstrate that during the Arab conquest the Library of Alexandria existed no longer. It was destroyed and disappeared in those tempestuous political vicissitudes to which Alexandria was exposed, from the time when Julius Cesar caused the museum to be burnt at the siege of Alexandria in 47 or 48 B.C., until the fall of the Byzantine Empire in Egypt.

Lumbroso (Rendiconti della R. Accademia Lincei, Classe scienze morali, serie quinta, vol. 12, 1903, p. 311) just upon this very question joins with some and would like to see an allusion to the famous library of Alexandria in a scrap of Syriac chronicle published by our I. Guidi (Chronicum Anonymum, nel Corpus Script. Christ. Orient., ed. Chabot, etc. Script. Syri. versio, series tertia, tomos iv. pag. 22). The text indicates or alludes to a deposit, or archives, or library of Alexandria, but this does not imply that it deals with the great and famous collection. Nothing in the (Syriac) text leads us to suspect an allusion to it, and we can add that in a great rich and cultured city like Alexandria there must have existed in all times numerous big libraries.

The Syrian Christian Scholar, Father Cheikho, on the legend

Concerning the Library of Alexandria and its legendary fate at the hands of the Arabs, there have written in these last years also Father Cheikho (al-Mashria, n. 4, April 19-., pag. 299-307; n. 5, maggio 1911, pag. 388-393: “Les sciences Arabes et l’incendie de la Bibliothèque d’Alexandrie” ; again, in a more recent number, 12th December 1912, pp. 912-918, in an appendix to some observations of the Shaykh Fida Husayn on the argument), which do not add anything new to the subject: and Mgr. Kyrillos Maccaire (Bulletin de la Société Khédive de Géographie, viii série, n. 8, pag. 423-460). This latter study collects a mass of new material drawn from the Fathers of the Church, and from other old sources of the Byzantine period, to demonstrate that, even if the famous library of the Ptolemies perhaps did no longer exist at the time of the Arab conquest, there might have existed others of equal importance, and admits that
there could have existed a large public library in Alexandria destroyed afterwards by order of 'Umar. Against the conclusions of this learned Coptic patriarch, so offensive to the good name of the second Caliph of Islam, an article appears in the same Bulletin (vii série, n. 10, pag. 553-570) from the pen of Muhammad Majdi, Counsellor of the Court of Appeal of Cairo, showing the conclusions of the Patriarch to be erroneous.

Both these writings deserve to be read, for they throw useful light upon the whole question. To the considerations made in the beginning of this excursion concerning the celebrated question, it will be necessary to add certain others, upon which it will suffice to insist very briefly, because in truth, all this discussion has, I know not what that is barren, empty and academic, so that the question must be treated from a point of view rather more elevated and comprehensive.

Prince Caetani's views and conclusions

We have already (in our Annali dell' Islam) said and repeated many and many times that the Arabs in making their conquests were drugged by the passion of glory, of power and of riches: Muslims only in name, they were not aiming at proselytism, they persecuted no faith whatever, and everywhere they had only one thought: to leave things as they were, for the money of the tributes flowed fluidly and copiously into the coffers of the State. There was no tendency towards obscurantism, nor the suppression of foreigners' faith and culture; on the contrary, whoever studies intimately the genesis and the evolution of the whole Islamic movement in its thousands and thousands of diverse manifestations, social, political, literary, juridical, fiscal, administrative, artistic, etc., etc., is struck indeed with the repeated observations that the same movement was not at all a movement of destruction, but altogether that of absorption of all that existed. Islam swallowed up, so to speak, all the civilization of the Asia, and made it its own, giving to it, however, only a new literal varnish, which may deceive the superficial student; but nothing is hidden to the expert observer and to the good judge of the historical evolution of the Oriental world under Islam.

In the beginning there existed the greatest cordiality between the Muslim Arabs and their Christian subjects. The Arabs admitted the Christians into very exalted administrative offices, and in the Muslim world there existed an exceedingly strong current of culture and of thought which sought to draw profit and advantage from the superior Asiatic civilization (Hellenistic-Judaico-Persian) to enrich the extreme leanness of the Islamic theology, ritual and culture. The hadith, with its hundreds of thousands of traditions, stands there to demonstrate what thirst for knowledge, what an irresistible want and need for absorbing and for adopting everything pervades the Muslim world up to the end of the second century of the Hijrah.

The tendencies, fanatic, obscurantist, anti-Christian in particular, and anti-liberal in general, gained themselves only afterwards, and this, too, owing to many and various reasons, political, social and religious, and through the preponderating influence of the non-Arab populations converted to Islam.

Hence, whoever knows well the history of these times and of this singular Asiatic civilization feels the unlikelihood and the absurdity of the legend, so contrary to the spirit of the first Arab conquerors. It is precisely for this reason that we have been content to give here only a summary account of the whole vexata quaestio, without troubling ourselves to linger and lose time by showing the falsity of a legend which, according to our manner of looking at things, has no nucleus or foundation of truth.
Altogether there are 4,000 inhabited islands in this great archipelago which stretches for more than 3,000 miles around the equator. About 3,000 of these belong to the Republic of Indonesia.

INDONESIA'S RIGHTS OVER WESTERN IRIAN
Dutch Sovereignty Contested at the United Nations

By G. H. Neville-Bagot

"The Iranian question is a question of colonialism or independence"

Speaking on 17th August 1950, President Sukarno of Indonesia said: "This (Iran) is not a trifling question; this is a major issue. I fear that the Netherlands do not yet understand that the Irian question is a major issue to us.

"The Irian question is not a question of ethnology; neither is it a question of our having reached a sufficient stage of maturity. As a matter of fact, imperialists have always advanced the argument of maturity, but this argument has never been a sound one. The Irian question is a question of colonialism or independence. Part of our country is still colonized by the Dutch. This is a reality, and we do not accept this. We want the whole territory of our country, from Sabang to Merauke, without excepting the territory of the Dayaks, without excepting the territory of the Toradjas, without excepting Irian."

On 29th June 1954 the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Sunarjo, at the opening of the Indonesian-Netherlands Conference at the Hague which led to the acceptance of the dissolution of the ties which formerly united these two Powers, stated: "... There is in the opinion of the Indonesian delegation a certain hesitancy to be observed in the attitude of the Netherlands Government concerning the inclusion of the question of the sovereignty of Irian over West Irian. ... The Indonesian nation regrets this most deeply: for no solution has been forthcoming for the situation which has thus arisen, and has become a source of disturbing the peace of Asia.

"As long as the problem of West Irian remains unsolved between our two countries, so will peace in Asia, Australia and the West Pacific continue to be endangered."

He further put forward the view that Indonesian nationalism, or rather national independence, "... was obtained through struggle. Consequently, it is a nationalism free from all vestiges of colonialism which forms the basis of our State, our country and our people."

Acting on instructions from his Government, Dr. Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro, the Acting Permanent Representative of Indonesia at the United Nations, requested that the "question of West Irian (West New Guinea)" should be included in the provisional agenda of the ninth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly in accordance with Rule 20 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly. His request, which is certain to be strongly opposed by the Netherlands and Australian representatives (Australia administers S.E. New Guinea, Papua, and Eastern New Guinea), was made in a letter dated 18th August 1954.

The basis of the Indonesian rights of sovereignty over Irian

The Indonesian case is based on the fact that on 17th August 1945 "a free independent Republic of Indonesia was established covering the whole territory of the former Dutch East Indies". Armed conflict followed between the Indonesians and the Dutch, and on 2nd November 1949 at the Hague the kingdom of the Netherlands agreed to the unconditional and irrevocable transfer of "complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia", which was recognized as an "independent and sovereign State". This transfer of sovereignty took place on 27th December 1949; the United States of Indonesia transformed themselves into the (unitarian) Republic of Indonesia and were admitted as such to the United Nations on 28th September 1950.

1 In the General Assembly, the West Irian question was adopted by thirty-two votes to eleven with ten abstentions. In the Steering Committee the vote was seven in favour with three against (Australia, France and the United Kingdom), and five abstentions (including the President of the Assembly, the Dutchman, Dr. Van Kieffens).
At the Round Table Conference held at the Hague in 1949 the two parties had been unable to come to a final agreement over the status of West Irian, or Western New Guinea as this country is called in Anglo-Saxon countries, basing their terminology on the erroneous linking up of the population with the inhabitants of Guinea in West Africa made by a Portuguese explorer-sailor 400 years ago.

It was, therefore, agreed “that the status quo of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year from the date of transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands”.

A resumé of the Indonesian Memorandum to the United Nations on the question of Irian

The Indonesian Memorandum points out that this was “a hard compromise for Indonesia to accept ... It was only with the greatest of difficulties that the Round Table Conference Agreement which left part of Indonesia temporarily under Dutch colonial administration was ratified by the Indonesian Parliament.”

It is stated that “West Irian is and always has been — historically as well as constitutionally (legally) — an integral part of Indonesia; that is to say, also of the former Dutch East Indies.”

As late as December 1948 Dr. Van Royen, who headed a delegation which signed the Roem-Van Royen Agreement, told the United Nations Security Council in Paris that “all parties agree that what used to be the Netherlands East Indies should become independent as soon as possible”.

Dr. Sudjjarwo stated that West Irian had a population of about 1,000,000 and occupied an area of 413,000 square kilometres, or 22 per cent of the total Indonesian territory. It was not developed and was “very much neglected under Dutch colonial rule.” It is historically an integral part of the Indonesian archipelago, and it was a part of the Dutch East Indies. Its people “were part and parcel of the Indonesian national movement for independence.” It was West Irian that the Dutch colonial rule régime established the concentration camp, Boven Digoel, to which Indonesian political leaders were exiled. The people of West Irian, being an integral part of the national movement for independence were also subsequently affected by the proclamation of independence on 17th August 1945. The party “Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian”, the largest political party in Irian, was largely initiated by Mr. Silas Papare, who was decorated by the Allies for the prominent part he had played in the resistance movement against the Japanese.

The members of this party, which aimed at Indonesian independence, had been jailed by the Dutch or forced to flee. Freedom of speech and movement “were drastically curtailed”. According to the Memorandum, a Dutch parliamentary mission to West Irian “admitted that very little interest was taken in the welfare of the native population. It described the social conditions of labourers as ‘very bad’, the wage scales discriminatory on a racial basis, and educational progress unsatisfactory.”

The Memorandum then deals with the unsuccessful attempts by the Indonesian Government to obtain satisfaction “by peaceful means and through negotiations, as envisaged in Article 2 of the Charter of the Transfer of Sovereignty”.

In April 1950 at a conference in Djakarta it was agreed to by the parties that an Irian Commission of Indonesians and Dutch be set up with the purpose of visiting and investigating what was happening in West Irian and that the negotiations at the Hague later that year be based on the findings of that Commission. At the Hague the Indonesians asked that de jure sovereignty over Irian of the Indonesian Republic should be recognized by the Dutch “without delay” and that this should be implemented by mutual arrangement in the middle of 1951. The Indonesians on their side guaranteed the “present and future interests of the Dutch in West Irian, including the guarantee to employ Dutch officials in the administration of immigration of Dutch citizens, etc.” Far-reaching autonomy was also promised to West Irian and the guaranteeing of human rights and religious freedom. The Dutch proposal of vesting the sovereignty over West Irian in the Netherlands-Indonesian Union was rejected, as it would have “meant in practice that Indonesia participated in colonial rule over West Irian”. The Dutch had proposed in fact the administration of West Irian by a West Irian Council on which the Indonesian members would participate on a “parity basis”.

In December 1951, when the Dutch proposed to submit the matter to the International Court of Justice, the Indonesian Government rejected this as the matter was “one of political and not of a judicial nature”. An Indonesian proposal of “joint responsibility” over West Irian as a temporary measure came to nought as a result of the resignation of the Indonesian Government. Subsequent attempts by the Indonesians to provide a peaceful settlement failed.

On the basis that Irian was part of the territory of the independent State of the Republic of Indonesia, the right of the Dutch to transmit an annual report to the United Nations under Article 73(e), dealing with non-self-governing territories, was vigorously contested by Indonesia.

In July 1954, when the Netherlands Government accepted the complete severance of all ties between herself and Indonesia, the Memorandum claims that “the Dutch Delegation definitely refused even to enter into negotiations on the question of West Irian. This attitude of the Netherlands is certainly contrary to the provisions of the Round Table Conference agreements as well as those of the Charter of the United Nations.” The Memorandum draws the attention of the United Nations General Assembly to “the perpetuation and continuing worsening of yet another source of friction in the Far East.” Under Articles 35, 10 and 14 of the United Nations Charter it asks “to make appropriate recommendations”.

Some data on Irian’s history and its political status from 1824 C.E.

Apart from the Memorandum and the speeches quoted above, the Indonesian Government has published three pamphlets and various documents in the English language, from which the following additional facts have been drawn.

There are about 10,000 migrants from the other Indonesian islands in West Irian, of whom 6,000 work in the oil-fields of Sorong. It is claimed that missionaries have come to the conclusion that the languages spoken in West Irian have the same grammatical forms as the Malay-Polynesian language group and that “modern Irians speak the Indonesian language as easily as other Indonesians”. Before the establishment of Dutch rule (over 120 years ago) West Irian belonged “to the orbit of the (Indonesian) Moluccan Sultanates of Tidore and Ternate”. The Dutch made West Irian into a “residency” or administrative unit of the Dutch East Indies.

Indonesia has for the Indonesians “a national and political connotation” rather than a racial one because the
word has been used in the national struggle for independence as a substitute for the Dutch colony, “the Netherlands East Indies”.

Article I of the Netherlands Constitution of 1922 points out that the Netherlands, the Netherlands East Indies, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles form the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Netherlands East Indies was replaced by the word Indonesia in the 1948 Netherlands Constitution, thus in both cases the integrity of Indonesia, including West Irian, was recognized. The action of the Netherlands Government which by an amendment of 19th February 1952 of the Netherlands Constitution included the territory of West Irian in the territory of the Netherlands is considered as a “... unilateral annexation which is illegal”. The Indonesians consider that the status quo of the residency of New Guinea being maintained was as agreed for one year in the 1949 Agreement meant that New Guinea or West Irian remained as formerly a part of the former Dutch East Indies or Indonesia.

The Dutch in annexing the territory as a part of Indonesia in a decree of 24th August 1824 recognized the rights of the Sultan of Tidore (Northern Moluccas) over West Irian.

The Indonesians claim that the Dutch Parliament was reluctant to grant Indonesia a separate entity of its own and that for this reason the Dutch might have refused to discuss West Irian. There are nearly 220,000 Dutch in Indonesia, and 99 per cent of these, according to a financial report of the stockbroker firm of Van der Werff and Hubrecht of Amsterdam, “demand that Irian be returned to the Indonesians”.

The dispute over Irian is basically a dispute between Western Imperialism and Asiatic independence movements.

It becomes clear that basically the dispute is between Western imperialism and the Asiatic independence movements. Indonesia, owing to its geographical position, has bigger racial, economic and religious claims on Malaya, North Borneo and Portuguese-occupied Timor. But the Indonesian politicians, although moving warily, are attacking the imperialists in South-East Asia.

There are in Indonesia today two rival political blocs, the present Government bloc, dominated by President Sukarno’s Nationalist Party, which is essentially neutralist in its foreign policy, and the Masjumi-Socialist bloc, whose most prominent personalities are Dr. Natsir and Dr. Shahrir. The Masjumi, the big Muslim party, is clamouring for an election, which it is confident of winning, while the Nationalist Party, whose Government is beset by many pressing economic problems as well as the localized trouble of the Dar-al-Islam revolt, has already made or tried to make political capital out of its severance with the Netherlands in July 1954, and if it can win back West Irian, it will go more confidently to the polls when the greatly overdue elections eventually take place. But it should be stated that the Masjum Party and the Socialists are equally insistent on the return of West Irian, as the matter is not a party issue. Also, at the united Nations Indonesia is unlikely to have acted unless she had secured in advance the support of the Muslim countries and the other members of the Arab-Asiatic bloc.

The Dutch former Foreign Minister, Dr. E. van Kleffens, has just been elected President of the United Nations General Assembly, which will have to deal with the Indonesian complaint.

Australia’s attitude to the question of Irian.

Australia has already voiced her support of the Netherlands. No doubt she will do her utmost to enlist the so-called “white” countries of the Commonwealth in support of Holland. Australia, which has a population of about 9,000,000, has always enforced discriminatory legislation against the yellow races on the pretext that a mass immigration of Asians into Australia would lead to the lowering of the high standard of living of the white proletariat. In a recently published book, Friends and Neighbours, published by F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1954, Mr. R. G. Casey, the Foreign Minister of Australia, devotes a chapter to New Guinea. He claims that the Netherlands’ sovereignty was to continue by agreement until it was modified “by agreement between the parties”. One of the first considerations, says Mr. Casey, must be the interests of the native inhabitants, and that Australia supported the Netherlands’ sovereignty of New Guinea on legal grounds. Mr. Casey says that the ethnic origin, the language and the culture of the inhabitants of New Guinea were different from those of the Indonesians, and that though the Indonesians had a high standard of civilization the inhabitants of New Guinea were primitive tribesmen. Mr. Casey is extremely polite in writing about the Indonesians but firm in his rejection of their cause. Like Mr. Eden, he is an adept at dressing up a reactionary attitude in the well-worn wrappings of European or Western diplomatic phraseology.

Of West Irian he says on page 102: “It is on our doorstep and we cannot be indifferent to what becomes of it. We have therefore a right to a voice in any discussions which would change its present status.”

In July 1953 the Netherlands Foreign Minister and the Minister for Oversea Parts of the Realm visited Mr. Casey and Mr. Hasluck, the Australian Minister of Territories, who is responsible for the administration of the mandated territory of New Guinea (formerly German) and Papua, the southern part of New Guinea. Common plans were formulated to pool information and to improve communications.

Some figures showing the backwardness of Irian under Dutch imperialistic rule.

Australian-administered New Guinea territories have a population of about 1,159,048, and 371,436 in Papua. New Guinea’s exports amounted to £4,425,392. In 1952-1953 gold exports and copra accounted for over half the total. Of the 92,000 children at school, 83,506 were in missionary schools. There were three non-official indigenous members of the Legislative Council, which includes sixteen Australian members of the administration. There were in 1953 “no non-Governmental organizations of a political nature in the territory”.

These figures will give some indication of the backwardness of the country. In the Dutch-administered territory there is so far no locally elected Legislative Assembly. The Dutch claim that the total population is only about 700,000, of whom 400,000 are in contact with the Dutch, while the remainder are living apart. Dutch figures show that the Indonesian immigrants into West Irian number 8,000, and that there are 170,000 Christians. Exports in 1953 were £3,550,000 (mostly accounted for by oil exports). The Netherlands Government contributed half the budget. Apart from oil, which is extracted by the Dutch New Guinea Oil Company (Royal Dutch Shell 40 per cent, Standard Oil 40 per cent, and Pacific Oil 20 per cent), to quote the Netherlands Government report for the year 1953: “Economic potentialities lie in the field of agriculture, the exploitation of forests, fisheries and mining. Speaking generally it may be
said that exploration relating to these sectors is still in its initial stage; this also applies to the possible utilization of water power”. The greater part of the country is considered to be unsuitable for agriculture. The Dutch are exploring and mapping the territory.

Advisory councils were set up in 1951 in north, west and south New Guinea by the Governor for specific native interests. In these councils the indigenous members are by far in the majority: 28 of the 79 districts and sub-districts were administered by autochthonous district or sub-district heads, and in all, 49 of the 97 executive officers were autochthons. There were 342 autochthonous teachers out of a total of 754. In 1953 there were 24,099 children in village schools and 1,655 in “continuation schools”. The report states that in 1953 “there were no autochthons as yet with a secondary or academic education”.

This is the situation in West Irian after more than 120 years of Dutch rule!!

The Dutch may well argue that the population, the Papuans, speak many languages (the Australians report that a language is seldom spoken by more than 5,000 people1): they may well apply the argument that the people are of Melanesian origin, whereas according to European anthropologists, the other Indonesians are of mixed Indo-Mongoloid stock. The question of religion may well be raised in order to win the sympathy of the Latin-American bloc. On the other hand, the whole of the East and the Muslim world will support Indonesia’s attempt to liberate and develop West Irian, which still after years of Western occupation remains largely undeveloped.

REFERENCES
2 See supra for its special connotation in Indonesia.
3 Pronounced “Mashumi”.
4 These figures include the small populations of the neighbouring isles and 8,406 Europeans.
5 The Australians mention five race groups in New Guinea: 1 Papuans, 2 Papue-Melanesians, 3 Negritos, 4 Micronesians, and 5 Polynesians. The Melanesians represent two-fifths of the whole population.

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ISLAM IN ENGLAND

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

Lecture

Mr. M. A. Majid, Editor of The Islamic Review, delivered a lecture on 12th August 1954 at Embley Park, Romsey, Hants, on “The Message of Islam to the Modern World” under the auspices of the Thinkers’ Holiday 3 Merton Street, Cambridge. This organization had arranged talks by representatives of the principal religions of the world. The subject discussed was the approach of each religion to the moral and social problems of the world today. Mr. Majid in his address under the chairmanship of Professor H. Lewis, M.A., B.Litt., of the University of Wales, pointed out that as far as theory went, there was nothing to choose between Islam and Christianity, and for that matter, other religions of the world, the ethical teachings of each one of them being of the same high order as in others. But, the speaker said, Islam scored over its sister religions because it saw to it that its theory was accompanied by such institutions as enabled its adherents to put their ethical values into practice. He opined that the disparity between belief and action in other religions was to be traced to the absence of those institutions: for, he asked, how else was it to be explained that the Christians of today who believed in the Fatherhood of God did not put this belief of theirs into practice in their daily life. It was, the speaker pointed out, in the Christians of today that colour and race prejudice was most present.

Somali Muslims at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

On Friday 13th August 1954 a party of Somali land sailors came to see the Mosque and joined the Friday service. In the absence of Dr. S. M. Abdullah, the Imam of the Mosque, the Friday Prayers were led by Mr. Muhammad Asghar Ali, a member of the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission, who also delivered the sermon and after the prayers served the visitors with tea.

The Iraqi Press Delegation on the steps of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on 27th August 1954, after the Friday congregational prayers
The Libyan Press Delegation to England at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

On Friday 20th August 1954, members of a Press Delegation from Libya visited the Mosque. The Friday prayers were led by Mr. 'Abd al-Majid, Editor of The Islamic Review. He entertained the guests to lunch and they all spent a very happy time at the Mosque. The members of the delegation were: Sayyid Mohamed El Tayib El Ashshab, Press and Publications Officer to the Libyan Federal Government, Benghazi; Sayyid Mohamed Aissa Kadiki, Journalist and member of the Cyrenaica Legislative Assembly, Benghazi; Sayyid Mohamed Ben Zeitoon, Press Liaison Officer of the Tripolitanian Administration, Tripoli; and Sayyid 'Ali Giuna Muzughi, Assistant Director, Department of Finance, Tripolitania, Tripoli.

The Iraqi Press Delegation to England at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

On Friday 27th August 1954, a Press delegation from Iraq came to see the Shah Jehan Mosque. The delegation consisted of the following members: Dr. Isma'Il Najji, Proprietor and Editor of People's Clinic Magazine, Baghdad; M. Yahya Qasim, Proprietor and Editor of al-Sha'b, Baghdad; Mr. Abdul Baki Sa'id, Proprietor and Editor of al-Siyasa, Baghdad; and Mr. Salman Safwani, Proprietor and Editor of al-Yaqida, Baghdad. The delegation was entertained at lunch by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque and also acquainted with the work and activities of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust. The delegation was also introduced to some British Muslims who also joined the Friday service.

Marriage

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, solemnized the marriage between Zafullah Mubarak Thaha (from Ceylon) and Miss Irmgard Maria Noël (from Germany) at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on 27th July 1954. Another marriage was solemnized by Mr. 'Abd al-Majid, Editor of The Islamic Review, between Mr. Janissir Khan Jaffa (from Pakistan) and Miss Ethel Fatima Khan (from Pakistan) at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on 21st August 1954.

New members of the Brotherhood of Islam

Mr. Raymond John Lewis Meyrick, Mr. William Edward Hartzog, Mrs. Moitoi Abdul-Rahman, Mr. Vernon Morris, Miss Marjorie Ethel Harper, Mr. James Isler, Miss Janet Tetley, Miss Irmgard Marie Noël, Mr. Marshall Norwood Johnson, and Mr. James William Moran.
handling of the defeated Turkey, of Britain’s bellicose attitude which led eventually to the resignation of Lloyd George and to the successful opposition of the Muslims of the sub-continent and the opposition of France. The Aga Khan played a great, or at least, a considerable part in Turkey’s emancipation by enlightening world opinion on the true state of affairs but in this book he modestly minimizes his own efforts.

He gives the views of the former Khedive ‘Abbas Hilmi on his deposition by the British as ruler of Egypt in 1915. ‘Abbas Hilmi told The Aga Khan that he was anxious to return home from Turkey but was detained by an injury and that he had no intention of supporting Turkey when she declared war on Britain.

Again, The Aga Khan gives an account of the struggle of the Asiatic population of Kenya for recognition as the equals of the white settlers. This occurred thirty years before the emergence of Mau Mau!

The Aga Khan pleaded for more education and for universal primary education. “In my view the fundamental cause of India’s extreme poverty is India’s extreme ignorance.” He realized during his term of membership of the Viceroy’s Legislative Council on which he was invited to serve, by the Viceroy of India, that the Congress Party was incapable of representing India’s Muslims. There were “deep-seated and ineradicable differences . . . ” The British Raj artificially held the Hindus and Muslims together. Hindu extremism, insincerity and “. . . lack of perception of basic Muslim ideals and hopes ” by the Congress which “. . . persisted in ignoring the realities of the communal situation” was responsible for the ultimate rift between the Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims were in a majority in the Punjab, in Bengal and the North West Frontier and had established “a spiritual home” at Delhi, Agra and Aligarh. In the Aga Khan’s opinion, Mr. G. K. Gokhale was the outstanding and most considerate Hindu politician of his generation. The Congress, however, refused to choose a Muslim from Bengal or the Punjab as a representative on the Viceroy’s Legislative Council and only nominated “. . . third-rate Muslims from preponderantly Hindu provinces like Madras and Bombay . . . “

The Congress thus lost a chance of healing communal differences in time, or in other words, they turned a deaf ear to the timely advice proferred by the Aga Khan.

At Aligarh the Aga Khan met “. . . the moderate and realistic” Nawab Mohsen-ul-Mulk who was not anti-Hindu but who, in 1906, had come to the conclusion, which was shared by the author, that Muslims must have an independent organization of their own. Syed Ameer ‘Ali who was then a Judge of the High Court in Calcutta, although debarred from political activity by his office, gave them constant support. The Aga Khan was a great admirer of Syed Ameer ‘Ali’s learning . . . and for his capacity to expound and interpret our Muslim religion . . . “

The Morley-Minto reforms of 1906 gave no hint of evolution towards Indian self-government. John Morley said that, “a far coat may be very well in Canada, but no use at all in India.” The proposals aimed at achieving “. . . a modest devolution in communal and local matters and the admittance of Indians, on a rigidly restricted basis, to consultation — though not to decision — about their own affairs.”

The Aga Khan headed a delegation of Muslims which visited the Viceroy. The Muslims asked “. . . that the Muslims of India should not be regarded as a mere minority, but as a nation within a nation whose rights and obligations should be guaranteed by statute.” The Muslims asserted a principle, namely, their right to govern in provinces such as East Bengal and the Punjab where they had the majority. The Viceroy, Lord Minto, was sympathetically disposed to the Muslims who gained some concessions, but John Morley at the India office, London, said that the Muslims must not get too much power. Nonetheless, the Morley-Minto reforms marked a step forward for the Muslims. The real opposition came from “. . . our doughtiest opponent, a distinguished Muslim barrister in Bombay, with a large and prosperous practice. Mr. Mohammed ‘Ali Jinnah.” Mr. Jinnah who had built up his fortune entirely by his own efforts, was bitterly hostile to the Muslim leaders whom he accused of “dividing the nation” and he retained this attitude for nearly a quarter of a century. He was “our most inflexible critic and opponent.”

The All-India Muslim League was founded and the Aga Khan remained its president until 1912. Mr. Jinnah changed his views at the end of 1928, when the All-India Muslim League was demanding a federal India and he had come to the conclusion there was no hope for the Muslims in a Hindu-dominated Congress.

The Aga Khan pays a remarkable tribute to Mr. Jinnah. “Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life — Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi — Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of these men in my view outshone in strength of character, and in that almost uncanny combination of prescience and resolution which is statescraft.” Jinnah made it clear to Sir Stafford Cripps that Muslim opposition meant “Death or Freedom”. Jinnah like Mussolini, writes the Aga Khan, “had one guiding light. Whatever the policy, whatever the political philosophy underlying it, it would be successful and it would be morally justified, so long as he was successful and he was at the head directing it.” He (Jinnah) shared with Mussolini the conviction that he was superior to other men and that all would be

“The Memoirs of AGA KHAN

with a Foreword by W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM

For over half a century, His Highness Aga Khan has occupied a unique position in world affairs. Of him it can truly be said that he is one of the few really great men of this century, and his greatness rests upon the foundations of moral authority and of religious and spiritual wisdom.

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all right, provided that he had the conduct of affairs in his hands and the last word on all matters. This belief was not “pretentious conceit: nor was it self-glorification or shallow vanity.” Jinnah believed that he had greater wisdom than other people which he must use for the benefit of mankind. He had the “supereminent confidence faith” of a Luther or a Calvin. Opposition was not to be compromised with but to be “obliterated” by superior strength and sagacity. Jinnah in the Congress worked hard but he “was a fish out of water”. He worked loyally with the Muslim delegation at the Round Table Conference together with the Aga Khan, but his uncompromising spirit embodied, as no one else could do the beliefs and the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Muslims all over India. In 1946 Jinnah was in the Aga Khan’s opinion, “without a clear and fixed idea of his goal, no awareness that he would, within a twelve-month, be the founder of a new nation, a Muslim Great Power such as the world had not seen for centuries.” But in 1947 he made the right decision at the right time. This brilliantly written tribute is generous praise from one who was a founder and up till the emergence of Mr. Jinnah, the political leader of the Indian Muslims.

The Aga Khan’s work at Geneva and for peace in between the two wars deserves a warm tribute. He did his best to avoid the carnage of the last war. His remarks on race horses are as shrewd as ever.

The Aga Khan effectively destroys the myth that the division of India was due to the work of British imperialists rather than of the deep-rooted dimensions between Muslim and Hindu which he enumerates. He gives frequent examples of his failures to come to an agreement with Gandhi whose dual nature is brought into relief. While great English soldiers like Field Marshal Wavell, wished to keep the great Indian army they had helped to build up united, clearly Pakistan was entirely the work of the Indian Muslims without aid from Britain.

This is a book which must be read and digested by all those who are interested in world politics and modern problems.


Desert Adventure is yet another book dealing with a trip across the Sahara but in this case the author travelled on foot and camel and he was accompanied by a relay of Arab and Twareg guides. He gives some very amusing instances of the behaviour of the people he met and above all he describes the blue-dotted camel riders of the Sahara, the Twaregs, who are not Arabs but practice a corrupt form of Islam. The author tells us that they are on an average six feet four inches tall and their women are of proportionate stature; the Twareg women are more approachable than the men, and they play a predominant role in the life of the community, so that it is customary for the people to trace their descent from their womenfolk and not from their fathers. In the opinion of Captain Stuart the Twareg are perhaps the finest breeders of camels in the world and they acquire immense wealth from the sale of their pedigree camels. The Twareg are fearless and prefer to live out of doors. Their capital, Tamanrasset, is famous for the renowned French missionary and ex-intelligence officer, Père Foucauld, who was killed there during the Great War by some Sennussi tribesmen.

Desert Adventure contains an interesting description of the city of Timbuktu which shares with the Twaregs the legendary fame built up by European writers in the last century. The author describes it as “a small, isolated city of about 5,000 or 6,000 regular inhabitants. It’s visiting and itinerant population must be enormous. Everything is built of hard-beaten earth, all the roofs are flat and all the parapets square. Most of the houses are but one storey high, with smooth, unbroken, windowless walls with which the doors are flush. The narrow streets wind and wander aimlessly from one market place to another. Timbuktu is silent — strangely, almost weirdly silent. There are no carriages, no carts, no motor cars; no proper roadways and no footpaths. In the thick sand of the alleys and lanes that do duty for roads, the donkeys and the unshod horses make no more sound than the bare feet of the natives. Only in the market places are there crowds, bustle, noise or music — if one can call the noise of goatskin drums and high-pitched wailing pipes music.”

In his travels the author found that the puritanical Mozabites were one of the few sections of the Saharan populations who did not welcome him in his solitary stroll through the Sahara. He good-humouredly mentions how his Twareg guide, who, unknown to him, was a member of a rich family, took him over 200 miles out of his way in order to inspect or visit his family domains while pretending to take the author from one town to another.

Writing of travel in the Sahara, Captain Stuart points out that the word “erg” is one that the Arabs have coined to describe the great stretches of soft, shifting sands that we call dunes. The ergs are the property of the wind, and, in them, the wind reigns supreme. The wind put the dunes there and the wind blows them away again. The contours and the skyline are rarely the same for two consecutive months. That is one reason why there are no guides and no caravan routes through them. Guides are dependent on knowledge of landmarks. Move, or remove, the landmarks and the guide will usually get lost just as quickly as any other traveller. To attempt to travel for any distance through sand dunes, other than by compass steering, is a remarkably foolish and a dangerous proceeding.” This excellent summary of the difficulties is typical of this book. The good humour is maintained in some chapters devoted to a stay in Syria where the author was engaged in rounding up the hoarded wheat in the Aleppo district. Eventually his assistants found a village house with a remarkably large exterior and surely enough a vast quantity of black market wheat was found but not before a villager had taken a “pot shot” at the writer, who handed him over to the recalcitrant Mukhtar of Um Garaml who had by now turned King’s Evidence, for summary chastisement.

There are the usual superficial remarks about Muslims in which the writer confuses the prejudices of the ill-instructed primitive desert Arab’s superstitions with the true tenets of progressive Islam. For instance, “Abdullah could throw no light on the subject, beyond the very comprehensive (and undoubtedly true) assurance that ‘Allah willed it to be thus.’ This is the Mohammedan’s stock remark about everything that he does not understand or cannot alter or prevent. He uses it to explain everything, ranging from the prevalence of tuberculosis in some of the villages in the oases, to the fact that one’s last tea-cup or shaving mirror ‘came to pieces in his hands while he was packing that morning.’” Again after mentioning that eight out of ten desert Arabs carry a primus stove and a tin of methylated spirit and a supply of paraffin, he states, “In the old days, things might have been otherwise. I have met many fanatically religious Arabs, both in the Sahara and elsewhere. In spite of the fact that tobacco is forbidden by the Qur'an (the Qur'an does not even speak
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