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WOKING ENGLAND

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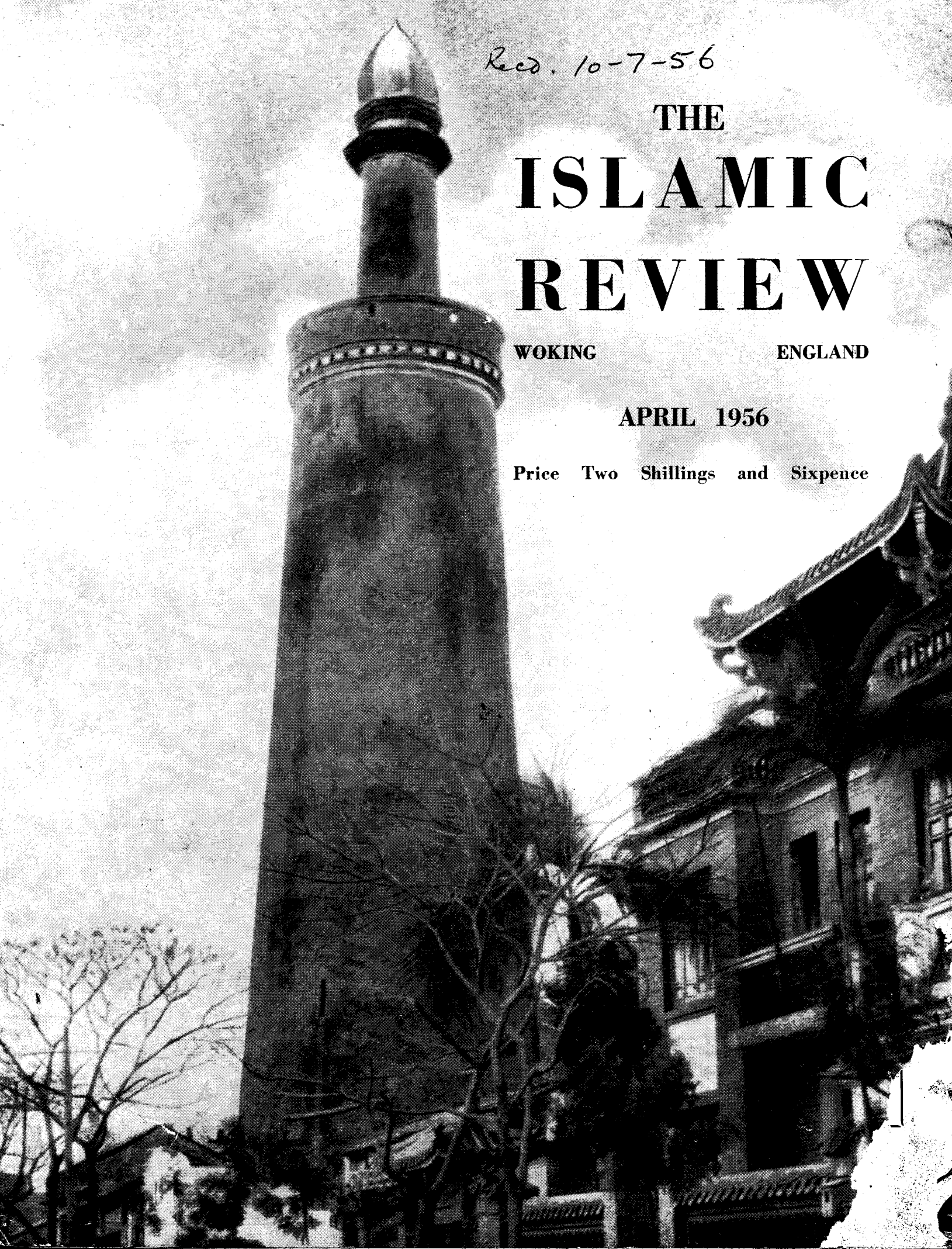

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The Islamic Review

APRIL 1956

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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The picture on the Cover is that of the Kuangta Mosque at Canton, China. It was built on the site of the ancient Huisheng Mosque, the latter being built in 627 C.E. during the reign of Chen Kuan of the Tang Dynasty.

This mosque and the Chilin Mosque at Chuanchow, Fukien Province, and the Fenghuang Mosque at Hangchow, Chenkiang Province, are known as the three biggest mosques on the Chinese coast.

There are about 50,000,000 Muslims in China, i.e., about 12 per cent of the population of China.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

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"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . ." — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLIV. No. 4 APRIL, 1956 C.E. Sha'ban-Ramadhan, 1375 A.H.

THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

The 23rd March, 1956, an epoch-making and unique date in the History of Islam

Pakistan has redeemed her pledge

In accordance with its constitution, the sovereign and independent State of Pakistan assumed the style of "The Islamic Republic of Pakistan" on 23rd March 1956. It will be recalled that it was on this date precisely sixteen years ago that the Muslims of the sub-continent of India proclaimed their resolve to establish a homeland of their own and to order in it their lives which their beliefs and culture demanded. Therefore, soon after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, and before grappling with the thorny problem of framing an Islamic constitution to regulate their external and internal affairs, the first thing they did was to decide that the constitution of their country would contain nothing that was repugnant to the Qur'án and the Sunnah. Thus it was on 12th March 1949 that the historic fundamental Objectives Resolution was approved by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Parts of the Resolution are worth reading once again, if only to know that the pledge the people of Pakistan gave then to the world of Islam has now been solemnly and duly redeemed.

The Objectives Resolution reads:

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful; Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has designated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; This Constituent Assembly, representing the people of Pakistan, resolves to frame a constitution for the Sovereign independent State of Pakistan; wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed; wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Qur'án and the Sunnah;

"Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures; . . .

"Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights, including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

"Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

"Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

"Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights, including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air, shall be safeguarded;

"So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the world and make their full contribution towards international peace and the progress and happiness of humanity."

The people of Pakistan, the custodians of this promise, have now demonstrated to the world that although they had to face seemingly daunting difficulties to achieve their objective, they are as determined as ever to pursue their goal and to live up to the ideals of those millions of their compatriot Muslims who laid down their lives in the cherished hope of seeing their dream come true. The Objectives Resolution was a guarantee to them that the future constitution of their country would aim at creating an Islamic State.

The years that have since passed have been so wearisome that even the most confirmed wellwishers of Pakistan and Islam had begun to entertain doubts about ever reaching the objective set before them. They were hardly blameworthy for their disillusionment; for in the entire history of Islam, if there is anything conspicuous by its absence, it is that the Muslims have never set up a State that would call itself a Muslim State, leave alone an *Islamic* State. Even contemporary history did not seem to offer encouragement to be otherwise. For instance, the new constitutions of some Muslim countries talk of Islam and race in one and the same breath. To think of a State in terms of race is to fail to understand the real purpose of the mission of Islam. Whatever the future may hold in store for the progress of the people of Pakistan, they have, by styling their country "The Islamic Republic of Pakistan," to say the least, deserved well of the Muslim world, and will hold it their debtor for a very long time to come. Indeed, this step of theirs will go a long way to focus its attention on the mission of Islam in the world of today and tomorrow. Pakistan is being unique in the Muslim world in choosing for itself the distinctive style of "The Islamic Republic of Pakistan"; for it proclaims in clear and emphatic terms that the time has come for the world to realize that it is not so much the race nor the

language as an ideology that principally keeps a people together.

Theocracy in Islam can never degenerate to a rule of the priests

Here it might be mentioned that we are not oblivious of the fact that in Christendom there have been and are States that have made the religion of Christianity the basis of their Statehood in Europe. In Christendom, theocracy — the rule of God — for various reasons has always degenerated into being the rule of the priests. The people of Europe had to struggle hard to rid themselves of the tyrannical priestly rule. Will the people of Pakistan have to go through the same ordeal?

Those who are apprehensive of the self-same phenomenon recurring in Pakistan fail to take into consideration the fundamental difference between Islam and Christianity. In Islam, in the first place, there is no sacerdotalism ; secondly, the Qur'án and the wealth of detail of the life of the Prophet Muhammad hardly leave any room for an individual or individuals to arrogate to himself or themselves the right to interpret the mind of God or the master as is in Christianity, whose founder, Jesus, is silent on so many vital problems of our daily life. In Christianity the priestly class is a necessity ; in Islam there is simply no room for it. In Christianity theocracy must end in the tyranny of the priest ; in Islam theocracy will always remain and mean the rule of God. Pakistan, with Islam as the basis of its constitution, will be a theocratic State where the authority of God is sovereign, without the attendant dangers that can result from making Christianity the basis of the body politic of a State.

The stupendous task ahead of Pakistan

By adopting the distinctive style of " The Islamic Republic of Pakistan ", the people of Pakistan have set themselves a task the like of which has never been shouldered by Muslims as a community at any time anywhere in their history, the few years of the early caliphate excepted. The eyes of the world of Islam are now fixed on Pakistan. She has now to show by word and deed that an Islamic State is not only possible but also that it is the best that the Muslim and non-Muslim world can have.

The stupendousness of the task will become clear when one recalls that soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and his first two successors, Abu Bakr and 'Umar, the Muslim community was lulled into accepting some institutions which are absolutely alien to Islam by interested parties who succeeded in giving such a strong twist to the teaching of Islam that it has taken it exactly 1,375 long years, including those of shame and helplessness, to become aware once again of its future and to muster courage enough to say to the world that it intends to establish an Islamic republic. The actions of the people of Pakistan will be regarded by the non-Muslim world as a running commentary on the teaching of Islam.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, in a speech of his in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan which he made on 1st March 1956, gives an indication of the hopes and desires of the people of Pakistan when he said :

> " The non-Muslims in our midst will in the development of their culture, in their rights as citizens, enjoy the same status as the Muslims. They are an integral part of the life of Pakistan and they must occupy an honoured place in our body politic. But they — the non-Muslim minorities in our midst — will judge us not by our professions but by our conduct.
>
> " By daring to call ourselves the Islamic Republic of Pakistan we have taken a great responsibility. In our individual lives we may fail, and God is forviging and men may overlook our individual faults, but the sins of a nation are never forgiven, neither by God nor by history.
>
> " We have to go further and secure equality in the social and economic spheres, equality of opportunity and equality of status and the dignity of the individual. That is why feudalism must go from this country — it does not allow an individual tiller of the soil that dignity and that reward for his labour which is his due."

" What is in a name ? "

It has been said that there was no necessity for the State of Pakistan to call itself " The Islamic Republic of Pakistan " ; for

> " What is in a name? That which we call a rose,
> " By any other name would smell as sweet."

True enough. But the Republic of Pakistan, if it be inspired by the ideals of Islam, the conduct of the Prophet Muhammad and his immediate successors, and if its leaders are kept constantly reminded of the ideals of Islam by the ever-present word of " Islamic " and of steeling their determination that there are to be no backslidings in the matter of social justice, of which the world of Islam has long been and is being reproached by the non-Muslim world, will have justified its decision to call itself " The Islamic Republic of Pakistan ". Pakistan, one can be sure, is aware that it has yet to earn the right to this eminent title of being " Islamic ", and the gratitude of the Muslims of the world by accomplishing the great task that lies ahead of it and the Muslim world.

PEN PALS

R. D. Calver, 6 Albany Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex, England. Aged 17 years, wants Arab pen pals (actually residing in Sa'udi Arabia), but is unable to write in Arabic. *Interests*: Literature, music, etc.

Aboobaker Mohamed Lorgat, c/o Pioneer Stores, 178a Jules Street, Belgravia, Johannesburg, Transvaal, South Africa. Aged 20 years, wishes to correspond with Muslim girls from North Africa, the Middle East, Balkan States, Albania, Pakistan, Kashmir, Central Asia, Thailand, Japan, North America and South America, between the ages of 16 and 20. *Interests*: General, but especially drawing and sketching. Correspondence in English ; reply is asured.

TO OUR READERS AND PROSPECTIVE SUBSCRIBERS

As a result of increase in the cost of production, the yearly subscription rate of THE ISLAMIC REVIEW will be increased from 25/- to 30/- for 12 calendar months as from 1st July, 1956. However, subscriptions received before that date for the period beginning with July, 1956 will continue at the current rate of 25/-.

THE MANAGER,
"THE ISLAMIC REVIEW",
WOKING, ENGLAND.

1st MARCH, 1956.

(GOD is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth)

FASTING IN ISLAM

By 'ABDUS SUBHAN KHAN

Institution of fasting not peculiar to Islam alone

Fasting, the third of the five pillars of Islam, is of profound significance to Muslims all over the world. To regard it as a mere injunction ordained by God for Muslims to obey will be to minimize its overwhelming blessing. It has in itself its own vitality, which is revealed only to the person who undergoes the exercise and experience of the fast. In its every part, fasting is never void of its quintessence, which amply bespeaks its greatness as a divine ordinance.

The universality and the purpose of fasting are stated and stressed in unequivocal terms in the Holy Qur'án, which says:

> " O ye who believe, enjoined on you is fasting as it was enjoined on those before you, that haply ye may ward off (evil) " (2:183).

The institution of fasting is not peculiar to Islam alone. Before the advent of Islam, fasting was practised either for the atonement for sins or for the attainment of salvation. When a man committed any transgression, he felt that he had incurred the wrath of his deity, whom he wanted to propitiate by abstaining from food. Fasting, then, was one of the methods of self-immolation. The ancients realized well that surfeiting prevents man from making spiritual headway, so that he becomes a slave to his carnal desires. So we find fasting to be an important part of all true and great religions.

But Islam gave to humanity a new interpretation of all ancient institutions. Self-immolation of any kind, and for any purpose, was declared taboo. Unlike the fasting of other religions, Islamic fasting is more genuine, pure and solemn inasmuch as it is neither a penance nor a punishment. It is one of the basic rungs of the ladder that leads to Heaven. Its aim is to enable Muslims to guard against tempting evils — animal passions, wicked words and impure thoughts. It creates a remarkable degree of unity and discipline among the Muslims. Total abnegation of food and drink is the order of the day both in glittering palaces and in tottering huts.

At the very beginning, the Muslim fast was more or less akin to that of the Christians, who were instructed to observe some rigorous rites while fasting. It was, therefore, enjoined that fasting in Islam should be distinguished from that of the preceding ancient religions, for " there should be no severity in religion ", as the Holy Qur'án lays down. Eating something late at night, known in Arabic-speaking countries as *Suhur,* and *Sihri* in Pakistan and India, was made compulsory, so as to make fasting distinctive from that practised by the Jews and also to render it more practical and humane. The Holy Qur'án ordains:

> " It is made lawful for you to approach your wives on the night of the fast; they are an apparel for you and you are an apparel for them . . . and eat and drink until the whiteness of the day becomes distinct from the blackness of the night at dawn " (2:187).

The importance of fasting and the convenience in its performance is further emphasized thus:

> " Whoever of you is present in the month, he shall fast therein and whoever is sick or upon a journey, then he shall fast a number of other days; God desires ease for you and He does not desire for you difficulty " (2:185).

Fasting is a superb, silent gymnastic for the will

Hunger and thirst are two formidable forces of nature which no Hercules can easily subjugate nor sword ever conquer. The only weapon to defeat them is man's will, which is effectively cultivated and fostered in the month of Ramadhan, when every Muslim defies hunger and thirst in order to seek the favour and blessings of God. Fasting is thus a superb silent gymnastic for the will. The Prophet Muhammad's life provides us with numerous instances when he passed hours in hunger, his stomach sometimes tied with slabs. This shows the value and utility of hunger. God in the Holy Qur'án says: " I will test you with fear, and with hunger and thirst." It is evident that anyone whose will-

power is strong enough to survive the natural odds will come out successful when put to test by his Creator.

Hunger and thirst, two great forces of nature, under control

As hunger and thirst quell the rude and rampant desires of man, so God has included them in the arena of religion and has made the fasting of Ramadhan incumbent on all believers. As a token of love, once an Abyssinian king sent a doctor to Arabia to render service to the sick. During his long sojourn in Mecca, the doctor received no patient for treatment. Amazed at this, he enquired the reason for the absence of ailments. The Arabs told him that their good health was due to the fact that they never loaded their stomach too much and always rose from the table with yet some desire to eat.

It is admitted on all hands that two forces in man contend for supremacy, the carnal and the spiritual. When the former gains the upper hand, there is outrage and carnage, ferocity and atrocity; but when the latter triumphs, there is peace and pleasure. The Islamic fast, when scrupulously performed, results in the suppression of the vicious and the sublimation of the virtuous in man.

Spiritual significance

But the mere act of abstinence from food and drink is not all that is meant by the fasting of Ramadhan; for, in Islam, fasting and starvation are, as it were, names of two different objects. The former is done willingly and voluntarily, the latter grudgingly and forcibly. The true import of the Islamic fast is abstention from everything that is evil. The Prophet Muhammad said:

> "Fasting is an armour with which one protects oneself; so let not him (who fasts) utter immodest or foul speech, nor let him act in an ignorant manner; and if a man quarrels with him or abuses him, he should say twice, I am fasting. And by Him in Whose hand is my soul, the odour of the mouth of one fasting is sweeter in the estimation of God than the odour of musk" (*The Bukhari*, 30:2).

Fasting pacifies the turbulent passions of the body and elevates the power of determination in man. It paves the way for the gradual exaltation of the spirit. Constantly overpowered by our terrestial cravings, we cannot gain much ground on the path of spirituality. It is only when we conquer our body that our mind rises and reaches the heights of divine bliss. Besides, fasting makes us God-conscious and steels our belief in the All-Powerful. Things which were legal for us until a certain time in the morning become forbidden until sunset. A man, surrounded by delicious foods, sits in his room during the day in Ramadhan, but in spite of the fact that there is nobody to see him there, he does not take anything, because he feels that God is seeing his action. Another faster, hungry and thirsty, sits alone in his room on a hot Ramadhan day, but he never dares to take even a sip of water, only because he knows that he is in full sight of God. Will such God-fearing persons ever think of taking resort to gambling, bribery, drinking and other evils? This kind of drill for the mind, like its counterpart physical exercise, leads to an increase of knowledge, belief, morality and willpower in man. And the heavenly prize promised for this exercise is extraordinarily precious. The Prophet Muhammad said "God says, that fasting is for Me and I will grant its reward, and a virtue brings tenfold reward" (*The Bukhari*, 30:2).

Ramadhan literally means "burner" — burner of sins. In this blessed month, the bestial elements which constantly goad man to commit heinous crimes and transgressions lose their venom. Total abstinence from food and drink for twelve to fourteen hours every day continually for thirty days blunts the edge of evil forces. If the faster does commit any sin, the blessings of fasting are mighty enough to wash it off. Fasting, with its abundant blessings, consumes all sins, and is, therefore, an effective means for the purification of the body and the soul.

Material boons of fasting

If we stop for a moment to analyse fasting from the worldly standpoint, we shall see that it is an exercise which conforms to all scientific and hygienic principles. Apart from the purgation of the psyche, it rinses and cleanses the body of all impurities which have collected in the blood during the past eleven months.

The medical experiments of modern physicians show that there is an electric energy that runs all through the body like blood. This strength is always in search of something which it can dash to pieces, and as long as the stomach is filled, that electric energy struggles with the food and breaks it up, but in an empty stomach, it encounters tracts which then badly need food for consumption. This is the real state of hunger. As a man keeps from food when the bowels demand it most, the volume of that electric energy increases and quickly spreads through his body, which thenceforth begins to lighten. At this stage, a combination of relief, strength and delight comes to his possession, and it is here that he feels how deep and intense are the worldly boons of fasting.

The earthly blessings of fasting may be enumerated as follows: Fasting is beneficial for health reasons; it creates mildness and humility in temperament; all the limbs function with unusual perfection and strength; hunger and thirst are effectively controlled; continuous patience and restraint lead to gravity and seriousness; spiritual stability gains ground by abstention from sins; moral health receives added rejuvenation; sexual and fiery passions are calmed; mental faculties are purified and tend to harbour good thoughts; an impetus to sympathize with destitute persons becomes inevitable; and last, but not least, belief in, and obedience to, God are strengthened, enabling man to become more agreeable to Him.

The *saum* (fasting) and the *salat* (prayers) inseparable

The reason why the *saum* is ranked next to the *salat* in the Qur'án is that the former is the ultimate result of the latter. The *salat*, as laid down in the Qur'án, prevents us from indecent behaviour. But mere prevention is not enough. Fasting cements our power of restraint and solidifies our devotion to God by giving it a colour of reality. It teaches us how to translate those doctrines into action. The practice of prayer is made perfect by fasting. That is why the *saum* is placed just after the *salat*, for the effect cannot be separated from cause.

Fasting holds key to social emancipation

This is not all that is involved in the fasting of Ramadhan. There is an educational and training aspect which holds the key to social emancipation. The person undergoing the fast is naturally inclined to spend most of his daytime in deep thinking and silent contemplation. During these thoughtful moods, he will be able to form a genuine estimate of the unfortunate millions who are forced to face agonizing appetites. One month's prevention from

food and drinks enables us to feel the sorry state of those who suffer pangs of hunger throughout the twelve months of the year. By remaining hungry ourselves, we can very well compute how poverty-stricken people may feel in their daily lives. Thus the fasting rich, having realized the unabated distress of their opposite number, are naturally led to dispose some of their crumbs to the paupers. And it is here that the wide gulf between the haves and the have-nots can be bridged to a great extent. Thus the social conscience of the fasting man is awakened; his love and compassion are moved, and he emerges a changed man at the end of his fasting experience with a heart filled with the nectar of divine love. It is improbable that he will leave his valuable experience without being benefited by it. He will surely do all that lies in his power to extend a helping hand to the helpless, to feed hungry mouths. Fasting in Islam, therefore, does not end in self-reform and self-enlightenment only, rather is it intended to bring home to the rich the severity of hunger which they cannot otherwise feel.

Ramadhan — the month of the revelation

The glory of Ramadhan is enhanced by the fact that it was in this month that the first verses of the Holy Qur'án were revealed to the Prophet Muhammad on Mount Hira. God says in His Book:

> "The month of Ramadhan is that in which the Qur'án was revealed, a guidance to men and clear proofs of guidance and the criterion" (2:185).

It was this wonderful book that created the greatest revolution, social, political, economic, moral, intellectual, ever known to humanity. It was by moulding their lives upon the pattern of Qur'ánic teachings that the once barbarous and rugged people of Arabia brought about sensational achievements and became the masters and civilizers of the then known world. It was not an accident, therefore, that the Holy Book was first revealed in the blessed month of Ramadhan.

***I'tikaf* — manifestation of highest devotion**

The piety of a fasting Muslim reaches its climax during the last ten days of Ramadhan, which are spent in *i'tikaf*, or complete seclusion within the four walls of the mosque. Fasting during the *i'tikaf* period is much stricter than that which precedes it. The Holy Qur'án enacts:

> "Have not contact with them (your wives) while you keep to the mosque (in the *i'tikaf* hours). These are the limits of God. So do not go near (to transgress) them" (2:187).

A fasting devotee passes a period of ten days in absolute aloofness from terrestial attachments, in direct communion with his Lord — submitting the stubborn intervening "I" in absolute surrender to the infinite "Thou". It is during these nights that the *Lailat al-Qadr* (the Night of Measurement) — the night on which the Prophet Muhammad was to receive the Call — must be sought. An exclusive chapter in the Holy Qur'án describes the solemnity of *Lailat al-Qadr*:

> "Surely We have sent it (the Qur'án) down during the Night of Measurement. The Night of Measurement is better than a thousand months. The messenger-spirits and the (great) spirit (i.e., Gabriel) come down therein by the order of their Lord with all the commandments. There is Peace — it lasts till the rise of the morn" (97:1-5).

The intuitive faculties of the fasters become so keen owing to the thirty-day fast that they easily find out the hidden but blessed, *Lailat al-Qadr*.

Fasting incomplete without *Zakat*

Fasting is not perfect unless it is accompanied by *Zakat*, or alms-giving. *Zakat* must be distinguished from "charity"; for while the latter is bestowed in accordance to the wishes of the giver, the former gives to the poor a right to a share of the wealth of the rich. No question of superiority or inferiority arises in *Zakat*, which consequently prevents the concentration of wealth into the hands of the few. And thus human equality, one of the basic tenets of Islam, retains its essence. In the month of Ramadhan, however, Muslims are particularly directed to distribute alms, to the fullest extent of their capacity. Creation of new sympathies in their hearts urge them to be most generous in almsgiving.

So the concluding day of Ramadhan marks the victorious end of the month-long fasting exercise. The appearance of the *'Id* crescent on the western horizon brings untold delight to the person who has given his all in supplication to the will of God and has borne all the hardships of hunger and thirst for no other reason than to seek the favour of his Creator. The *'Id al-Fitr* — a day of celebrating the victory — is the most fitting climax to the rigid fasting for thirty consecutive days. The real *'Id* will be his who emerges triumphant through the severe, though loftiest, legislation (of fasting) ever imposed on humanity. Ramadhan proves instrumental in fanning the flaccid flame of love and affinity towards the downtrodden and ushers in this opportune moment of unbounded jubilation. The expression of universal exhilaration on the *'Id* day is a clear evidence of the spiritual strength acquired during the fast. Hence the fasting in Ramadhan serves a double purpose; it is an expression of gratitude on the moral side and a realization of human frailties and shortcomings on the material side, indicating thereby that Islam provides a golden link between the Here and the Hereafter.

Blesséd Ramadhan — an austere and onerous practice outwardly — is thus a combination of multifarious blessings, accessible to all and sundry, prince or pauper. Our physical, moral and spiritual health receive refreshing vitality through fasting. By becoming conversant with lessons of self-restraint and self-discipline, we achieve an invincible strength which may stand us in good stead in any position and against any opposition.

In conclusion, I should like to wish my fellow Muslims, on the occasion of the *'Id al-Fitr*, the most auspicious day of rejoicing over the successful completion of their fasting. Let this day of unique festival see the Muslims of the world take determined steps to bring to the world the much-needed peace and amity, by curing it of all broils and bickerings, feuds and ferments. In this tempest-tossed world of today, when humanity stands on the crossroads of a threatened catastrophe, let every good Muslim give his best to make the ideal of the *'Id* a living reality. May we not hope that Muslims will resolve on this propitious day to hold aloft the torch of freedom and faith, hope and goodwill, and to carry the light of wisdom and peace to dark and dismal doors? If we make ourselves strong enough to implement this sacred resolution, there is no reason to believe why triumph, glory and greatness may not kiss our feet.

The Essential and Fundamental Values of Islam and their Practice in the Present time and Circumstances

By The Late MAULAVI AFTABUD DIN AHMAD

In Islam Belief in God is the basis of human social life

Islam is pre-eminently a theistic creed. It postulates a belief in God as the basis of human social life. The Qur'án says:

> "O mankind, be careful of (your duty to) your Lord, Who created you from a single being and created its mate of the same (kind) and spread from these two many men and women; and be careful of (your duty to) God, with reference to whom you demand one of another (your rights), and (to) the ties of relationship; surely God ever watches over you" (4:1).

Thus the Book very aptly points out that rights and obligations derive their sanctity from a common faith in God. In other words, if we take away the idea of God from the code of human relationship, all our social ties become horribly insecure. All mutual obligations, in that case, are reduced to matters of convenience and caprice. As it happens, we are living at this moment in a world surcharged with this kind of insecurity and consequent despair in our social outlook, which no materialistic philosophy, dialectic or any other, can alleviate.

It is true that all religions agree with this view of Muslims but none of them is so emphatic and explicit as Islam.

Islam presents not only an idea of God as the foundation of social life but one that carries to perfection all the social implications of this conception. For example, it stands for an international and universal God, a God who has never been partial to any race or nation in the distribution of His physical and spiritual gifts and Who has been equally accessible to all individuals of all nations by the road of humble and submissive prayer. According to this conception He has also revealed Himself from age to age to the leading spiritual geniuses of every nation, big or small, and has spoken to them in their own respective languages.

This takes us to another feature of the conception of God in Islam. God is not a nebulous thing, not a vague philosophical concept, not a hypothesis attempting to explain the cosmos. He is the most living being, immensely more living than man himself. He is the most real of all realities. He can be known as one man knows another, by speaking to him and being spoken to by him. The God of Islam is a self-revealing, speaking God. Millions of men and women in history, men and women of unimpeachable character and soundness of mind, have testified to such knowledge of God and such witnesses are forthcoming even today as at any previous age in history. And it is these evidences that sustain us in our socio-moral life even in this the stormiest period of our social history.

The need for revelation

The question of revelation, I realize, is fraught with some intellectual difficulties. Rational thinking has often been persecuted by so-called custodians of revealed knowledge and it has been done on the plea that reason is the work of the devil and as such is in eternal conflict with revealed truth. Such is, however, not the view of the Qur'án. This Book seeks support in its contentions, as its readers know so well, from the reasoning faculty of man. Far from reason being antagonistic to revealed truths it is an aid to their discovery. In Islam revelation comes only to perfect, supplement and to impart certainty to what is incompletely and vaguely comprehended by reason. Revelation is to the reason of man what the telescope or the microscope is to his physical eye. The dim light of reason cannot carry the vision of man to those distant ultimate realities of life, the ascertainment of which is essential for the realization of the object of our existence. But the truths obtained through revelation are not only to be not against the findings of reason but should also receive its cheerful approval. Reason is, of course, strong enough to comprehend the laws of physical nature, but in the matter of the laws governing human relationships and the course of man's higher destiny, it finds itself at sea. Man is an emotional being and the working of his mind is such a complex affair that to discover its laws is far beyond his own intelligence. That is why from the very beginning of his history he has felt the need of revealed rules for his own guidance and he has always got them. Moses' hurrying to the hills immediately after the Exodus for revealed social guidance was in reality a step prompted by human wisdom. The wisest man in his nation, he still felt that the formulation of the fundamental laws of human social life was beyond the power even of the wisest man in the world. Even today, after thousands of years of historical experience, simple minor enactments affecting human relationships tax the highest legislative intelligence of the most advanced sections of humanity. Even such a small matter as the prohibition of intoxicating liquors finds the highest legislative opinion of our day sharply divided. It is an obvious fact that these drinks, clouding, as they do, the brain of man, adversely affect his behaviour towards other people; and yet the legislators of the most advanced civilized nations have not been able to come to any decision in this regard. Human life is indeed too precious to be left to the mercy of such vague speculations on questions that so vitally affect its well-being. A clear-cut, consistent and systematized revealed code of life is, therefore, an essential need of our social existence today as at any time in history. It will in no way block the path of human speculation or research but will make their path smooth by giving them a sure footing.

Science and scientific researches need be in no fear either. If it is God who made this world of ours and if it is the same God who sends the revealed Book, His word, they should be in complete accord with one another. As a matter of fact, the correct test of true revelation should be its conformity with the laws of nature as they are actually at work.

I say "actually" advisedly, because there is also such a thing as the speculation of the scientists, their theorizing, we may call it, on the basis of certain facts discovered. Most unfortunately these speculations more often than not pass for science itself, and they are at times arrayed against the truly religious view of life and the universal laws regulating this view. The actual discoveries of science can never come into conflict with the truly revealed words of God such as are to be found in the Qur'án, the scripture the Muslims have got as a heritage from the Prophet Muhammad.

God in Islam, moreover, is a God Who rules by moral laws. The Qur'án presents the course of history in proving this fact. The God of Islamic conception pulls down by His silent but irresistible laws indulgent, oppressive social systems and raises up dutiful, conscientious and justice-loving societies of people. More than the doctrinal beliefs, He has an eye upon the actions of men prompted by good motives and the spirit of service. After ages of philosophical thinking it has just dawned upon man that God rules by certain laws ; but it still remains for him to realize that these laws are not merely political and economic but immensely more moral.

The unification of mankind not possible without the international conception of God as preached by the Qur'án

Reverting to the international conception of God, it should be noted that while the physical conditions of the world are forcing upon the nations of the world the necessity of acting as one social unit, emotionally their minds are not at all prepared for this unification. Thus the Secretary-General of the United Nations complained on 11th June 1955 at Stanford, California: "A world organization is needed, but the time is far from ripe for world government. Indeed, even modest attempts at regional integration have met with considerable difficulties."

At the root of this paradox, it must be realized, lies a principle for which Islam specifically stands. Islam believes in a progressive revealed guidance, in the interest of the expanding social consciousness of man. The medium of this guidance, the Prophet as we call him, brings a light which illuminates not only our intellect and morals but also our social emotions. Thus the social emotions activized by a Prophet in the national age of humanity cannot be the same as those called forth by an international teacher such as the Prophet Muhammad was. Thus the dreams of the United Nations Organization can come true only when the social emotion of the member nations are enlightened by the spiritual light brought to the world by the Prophet Muhammad.

I anticipate the objection: "What purpose will it serve others seeking inspiration from the Prophet Muhammad when his traditional followers are so riddled with racial and national feeling at this moment? " My reply is that Muslims are in a bad way today only because they have lost direct touch with the Qur'án and the Prophet and are to a great extent de-Islamized in their social outlook through a long process of an alien cultural infiltration. And yet their disease is definitely a functional one and is not organic. Their spiritual allegiance to Muhammad together with a growing critical view of Western culture will, I have no doubt, bring them back to their own ideals without much difficulty and before very long. Their sore is a self-inflicted one, and that also only skin deep.

Islam bases our social life on belief in the after life

Connected with the idea of God is the idea of the after life. More than any other religion Islam upholds this belief. The wealth of details with which its account of that life is accompanied has evoked the criticism of the enemies of Islam. I do not see any sense in these criticisms. I consider it a prophet's duty to describe the other life in all its details. If that life is really immensely more perfect and more abiding than the present one, we can never know enough about it. And how is the Prophet to describe those realities to us but with reference to our human experience? And why should we consider the things of this life so ungodly as to be despised even as a reference for an understanding of the state of the life to come?

Islam is extremely anxious to base our social life on this belief, so much so that our socio-moral conduct and anxiety for the after life are almost interchangeable terms. The after life has been termed the time for meeting the Lord. But one may ask: Why this insistence on belief in the after life? The reason is that the question of death is even more important to a thinking mind in determining its attitude towards life itself than is the question of life. If death is the end of life to a reasoning mind, it is not worth living. Suicide will be the most logical act in that case. Our administrative law may call it an unsound mind that drives a man to commit suicide, but when a man really loses his faith in God and the after life and has no spiritual light left in him, logically he is the soundest in mind if he puts an end to his own life. Today intellectual humanity, fast losing its faith in the life after death, is almost on the verge of committing collective suicide. Short of this, man becomes grossly sensual and callous, one to whom words like "idealism", "service" and "sacrifice" lose all meaning. Indeed, if the world and its pleasures are all that we have we can never have enough of them. Such a mood is fast becoming the order of the day. It is high time we realized this fact and the resultant miseries that have invaded our life. Thus belief in the after life is an essential social need.

Now the principle of an after life leads us to the consideration of a very important social question of our time. If the soul of man survives death and appears individually to account for its conduct here, if we are to be prepared for a day in which, as the Qur'án says, "No soul will be of any use to another soul nor any friendship nor any intercession", then life is essentially individualistic.

No God-realization in Islam without co-operation with and service of fellow human beings

And here I must touch upon another principle of Islam to avoid any misunderstanding. Islam is pre-eminently a religion of synthesis, of balance and of measure. It effects a balance between opposite urges and tendencies of the human mind and determines the measure in which their actions benefit man. The Qur'án says: "God made the measure, that you may not be inordinate in respect of the measure. So keep up the balance with equity and do not leave the measure deficient" (55:79).

But while like all spiritual creeds Islam makes man's destiny individualistic, it, at the same time, regards collective life essential for the fulfilment of his destiny. There is no God-realization in Islam without co-operation with and service of fellow human beings. Even its prayers have to be said in congregation. There is an aspect of these congregational prayers which is highly interesting. The prayers are worded in the manner of a collective petition. The words of the *Fatihah*, for instance, when it comes to the actual prayer, are in the first person plural number. But when the congregation goes into *Ruku'*, the prayer is worded in the first person singular number *Subhana Rabbi al-'Azim*, and so is the prayer in prostration, *Subhana Rabbi al-A'la*, meaning "Glory to *my* lord, the greatest, Glory to *my* lord, the Highest". This sums up the whole attitude of Islam towards the conflicting theories of individualism and collectivism. Religious faith and performance of good deeds are inseparably connected in Islam. The path of spirituality lies across

the field of social obligations. "Monasticism is no part of Islam," warns the Prophet.

"It is no act of virtue that you turn your faces," says the Qur'án, "towards the East and the West, but virtue consists of one's belief in God and the last day and the angels and the Book and the Prophets and of giving away wealth out of love for Him to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarers and the beggars and for (the emancipation of) the captives and of keeping up prayer and paying the poor-rate and of performing their promise when they make a promise and remaining patient in distress and affliction and at the time of conflict" (2:177).

So, active social life and a heroic struggle to better it is a necessary stage in the path of man's spiritual evolution. But with all this, ultimately each individual soul stands by itself before the mercy seat of God. Its collective life is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The end is the fulfilment of its own personal destiny.

The place of private property and private capital is Islam

This idea of life in Islam has received a socio-economic expression in the principle of private property and private capital. As a rule and under normal circumstances Islam stands for private enterprise in production. And yet it is opposed to concentration of wealth in a few hands. Speaking of national wealth the Qur'án emphatically announces that "It is to be so distributed that it may not be a thing circulating only among the rich" (59:7).

It has its own measures and checks for this purpose that are effective enough. It has an equally effective method of picking up the man who has met with any accident in the race of economic life. And yet it is totally opposed to all measures of overall socialistic economy. Admirers of the Communistic system of economy in the ranks of Islam would do well to remember that even in those critical days of Islam in the City-State of Medina during which the battles of Badr and Uhud and Ahzab had to be fought, the Prophet never went beyond a moral and religious appeal for voluntary contributions to the war fund. This clearly shows that the Prophet Muhammad had great regard for the sanctity of the individual man's rights to his own earnings. And there is a deep reason behind this policy of the Prophet. His prophetical vision did not fail to see that the backbone of political life is economics, that all talk of individual freedom becomes empty in the absence of the individual man's essential freedom to earn his living and his essential freedom to spend the fruits of his earnings. There must be limits to this freedom, of course, but with all necessary checks and limits, the freedom has to be there. As the truest champion of democracy Islam thus considers this controlled individualism in economics as the very natural foundation of emancipated political life, one that is the only safeguard against the absolutism of State powers, whether these be in the hands of one man or of a group of men. It knows that the basic economic freedom of the individual is the only real guarantee of his political freedom.

Islamic State is deeply socialistic

And yet Islam is deeply socialistic. A Muslim with a proper grasp of the rules of Islamic life will find in Karl Marx a just protest, but nothing more than a protest, against an order of society in which economic life was considered profane and its regulation as no function of the State or religion, and in which the State would remain supremely indifferent even if thousands died of starvation and went naked. A Muslim knows that such a conception of a State is absolutely foreign to his religion. The Prophet in a memorable statement has said: "Whoever leaves any wealth at death it is for his heirs, and whoever leaves behind any dependents it is for us." In another version: "Whoever leaves any dependents or children it is for me."

The Prophet represented the State in his lifetime. So what he speaks of himself is only a function of the State. For this reason Muslims had never any difficulty in defining the duty of the State in relation to the economic well-being of the individual man and woman living under it. The Prophet's announcement sums up the whole attitude of Islam towards national economy. Apparently following the *laissez-faire* policy he considers it to be a duty of the State to put its foot down whenever there is an injustice or any abnormality. Considering what the Qur'án says of the Egyptian national economy in the hands of the Prophet Joseph, it would appear that national planning in anticipation of abnormal times ahead is also among the functions of the State. But with all this supervision and directive of the State the individual man should be left entirely free to use his own gifts of economic production in the manner he thinks fit, provided only that his methods are lawful and moral.

Islam thus makes a happy blend of individualism and collectivism in economics, although individualism maintains a position of precedence. To touch lightly upon some specific aspects of the socialistic functions of the State, it should be noted that health services and education in Islam have never been the close privileges of the rich; they have been equally available to the poor in their best and highest forms.

Islam is totally opposed to interest in all its forms

Continuing the theme and to touch upon another socialistic principle of Islam, this religion is totally opposed to interest in all its forms. It is most disappointing to find that people advocating an extreme form of socialistic economy and plunging the world in a sea of blood in its name, still cling to this root cause of capital accumulating in a few hands to the deprivation of all the rest. One cannot imagine a more dangerous form of unearned income. I myself am not an expert in banking. But I know of advanced economic thinkers, even in the West, agreeing with us that even modern trade and allied transactions can very well be carried on without the help of interest and this to the greater good of humanity. Dr. Hamidullah's article, "An Interest-Free Islamic Monetary Fund" in *The Islamic Review* for June 1955 should be read by all interested in this subject. We should also remember that Muslims have not always been the inactive people and passive spectators that they are today, playing second fiddle in the field of world economics. Nor has Islam been the religion of backward and underdeveloped peoples all these centuries since its birth. Muslims were in the van of civilization for nearly one thousand years. They controlled world trade during all that time and this without any recourse to interest. I admit the complexion of industry, trade and commerce has since changed, but I am not prepared to admit that there has been any fundamental change in its nature and requirements. I am confident even now there are economists in the Muslim world who, given an authority and opportunity, can evolve a banking system without any pollution of interest in it. Our only difficulty is perhaps that we have to deal with people who do not believe in our economic principles, who are at present very much

more powerful than ourselves in their economic resources, and who, for that reason, have a direct or indirect control over our economy. And yet I do not think, given faith in our own ideals, the question is so difficult of solution as at first sight it appears. I am sure with the disappearance of interest from all industrial and business concerns and from other economic relationships, our economy will cease altogether to tend towards what is called capitalism, the principal danger apprehended from individualism in the field of economics.

Islam is the first religion to announce that humanity is one community

To pass on to another aspect of our subject, Islam is the first religion to announce that humanity is one community and so powerful is its determination and spiritual energy in this regard that it is the only movement that has successfully welded divergent races and nations into a very real and compact brotherhood. Its international outlook must be very dynamic. And yet it would not allow any weakening of the basic social unity — the family life. The rights of kinship, the duties to parents and near relations, are as inviolable as in the patriarchal age. Like a gigantic tree, the international social fabric of humanity, according to Islam, is to sustain itself on its delicate roots of family ties. The logic of Islam seems to be that one who cannot be aroused to noble deeds and selfless services for his blood relations cannot be expected to be really solicitous of the welfare of the people of other races and nationalities. It seems to believe in the maxim " charity begins at home " in a very high and broad sense. Here is another instance of how Islam has successfully effected a happy combination of two apparently irreconcilable emotions. It can maintain a whole array of social emotions — family affections, national patriotism, racial self-respect as well as univeral human sympathies, at one and the same time. In Islam a man can be an ardent Turk or an ardent Pakistani as well as an ardent international Muslim and a champion of universal human rights and lover of the whole human race at one and the same time, thanks to the adequate teachings and inspiration of the Prophet Muhammad.

Much has been said about a classless society as an ideal state of human social existence. But it is extremely doubtful if such a society, apart from its being possible, will at all be a natural one. Gradation is the rule of nature everywhere and in every department of life. This gradation is the basis of any system, one grade placed above another and guiding it. It is to be found in administration, in education, in the army and every other department of life. Talents and gifts of nature everywhere rise in a gradual scale upwards. Why it should not be so in economic production passes our understanding. The Qur'án is no respecter of fancies. It makes a clear pronouncement on the subject: " We distribute among them their livelihood in the life of this world, and We have exalted some of them above others in degrees, that some of them may hold others in subordination " (43 : 42).

Islam's way of bringing about social harmony

Decades of blood-curdling suppression, repression and oppression have not succeeded in bringing about, in any part of the world, a uniform economic level for all members of society. There are grades of economic resources and amenities of life everywhere, now as at all times, in spite of divergent economic ideologies professed by different nations of the world. The subordination of one economic class to another is, for all we know, as marked in avowedly socialistic countries as in any other socio-economic structure. And we believe it not only as a religious principle but as a matter of common sense proposition, that this scale of subordination will never cease to exist so long as man continues to be what he is. As in music there is a gamut of tunes of all kinds, so in economic production there is a variety of aptitudes of all kinds. Social harmony can be maintained if we pay due regard to this order of the gradation of aptitudes. Every lower grade of aptitude must be subordinate to its higher grade. That is a natural order, the one best calculated to ensure efficient production. With all the vagaries of our economic thoughts we have not been able to go beyond what the Qur'án has laid down as a principle in this connection, namely, " To each according to his work " (*Laisa lil Insani illa ma sa'a*).

The conception of charity in Islam

This, to be sure, is the voice of nature itself. On the economic plane we can never go beyond this principle. So far as economics is concerned this is the highest standard of justice the human mind can touch. It will, indeed, be more than enough from the purely economic point of view if we can ensure this much of justice in the economic field, leaving no room for any artificial perpetuation of any part of national wealth in any hand. The other and the higher standard of social obligation, " to each according to his needs," is beyond the scope of economics. It can by no means be justified on economic grounds. It is a spiritual ideal that should be left for religion to accomplish as best as it can. The much-maligned conception of charity, in its original Christian sense, is the source of this ideal. The Qur'án has improved upon this conception by describing this virtue as resembling the feeling of " giving to the near of kin " (*ita'i dhil 'l-Qurba*), i.e., a feeling of identity with all in need, like the one that moves a man when he deals with his closest blood-relations. This is the highest peak of the socio-spiritual emotion in man. A great precaution has been taken by the Qur'án against any perversion of this conception when it says that it is the right of the needy upon those in a position to help and not any act of condescension on the part of the latter. In the words of the Qur'án: *wa fi amwalihim Haqqun le Sa'il wa 'l-Mahrum*, there is thus no obligation of any kind involved in receiving such help and as such no moral degradation apprehended. The *Sa'il*, i.e., one seeking help, has never, in this Islamic society, felt himself in any way degraded or humiliated as he does in a modern matter-ridden society. The religious ideal of social duty has always enabled him to demand such help as a matter of right and not as an act of begging in the generally understood sense of the term. The needy in Islam are even now not found to crawl and cringe when asking for any help. In Islam, at least, the idea of charity has never robbed the man helped of his human dignity. If any inferiority complex has entered the Muslim society anywhere it is of foreign importation. Even the professional beggars in Muslim countries exhibit a sense of dignity which does credit to the religion of Islam. The order " to each according to his needs " is thus possible only in a spiritual society such as the one called into being by the Prophet Muhammad. However short-lived that society might have been, its faint traces are still to be found in the degenerate Muslim community of our own day. This is therefore, the only social system that holds out to humanity any hope in respect of the fulfilment of this socio-economic

dream of man. It also incidentally suggests the correct line of approach to this question.

Islam's own tradition of looking at sex life

To speak of another specific value of Islam, it has its own tradition of looking at sex life. Islam has its own values of sexual purity and modesty. People of other faiths may debate the questions of nudism, veiled or open, of artificial insemination, of free love and allied problems of the day and argue about them by deductions and implications. But the ordinances of Islam on these questions are definite, categorical and unambiguous.

Islam has never despised sex and has never considered it incompatible with the spiritual development of man at any of its stages. But it has insisted on its own standard of purity in sex life. This standard constitutes one of the distinctions of its culture. And for this purpose Islam enjoins segregation of the sexes. I use the word " segregation " and not " seclusion ". Islam never intends shutting our womanhood from all outdoor life and interest. All it wants is segregation. I have given much thought to this question. I have also had the opportunity of living for a long time in the West. I find no difficulty in enforcing this segregation in any walk of modern life. I am not myself an industrialist, but I count among my friends some very big industrialists with religious tradition in their family. One of these friends has assured me that it is not at all difficult to maintain this segregation even in large factories employing female labour. To me this factory problem in relation to sex segregation is the knottiest and, thus solved, all other problems such as trade, transport, recreation, education and social functions become easy of solution. Muslims must remind themselves that they are not a primitive people starting on a new civilized existence without any history behind them. Their ancestors and ancestresses have both acted in their own times as teachers, soldiers and rulers with the proper observance of this segregation. They have only to resume that tradition in a world with considerable changes on the surface, no doubt, but without any change whatsoever in the essentials of human relationship. Does it really make much difference, I ask, if the horse is replaced by the motor car or aeroplane, or Arabic is replaced by English or old-time weapons of war are replaced by modern ones, or if we have hotels and restaurants instead of *Sara'is* and *Musafirkhanas*? The outlines of life activities are basically the same today as they were when we controlled and guided world civilization ; the only difference is — these activities are quicker and hastier today than before.

FLOWERS FROM THE GARDEN

(I)

Who is my Brother ?

The world is wide: a million people throng
This way and that ; and, as they go, among
A thousand nations ever we hear the cry,
" I am Chinese, am German, Russian or American.
I am a Native African, Australian or Italian.
My land is England, France, Spain or Arabia.
My blood is Persian, Swedish or from Icelandic snows ;
Or mighty India me bore, yea, India or Pakistan."

. . . . . .

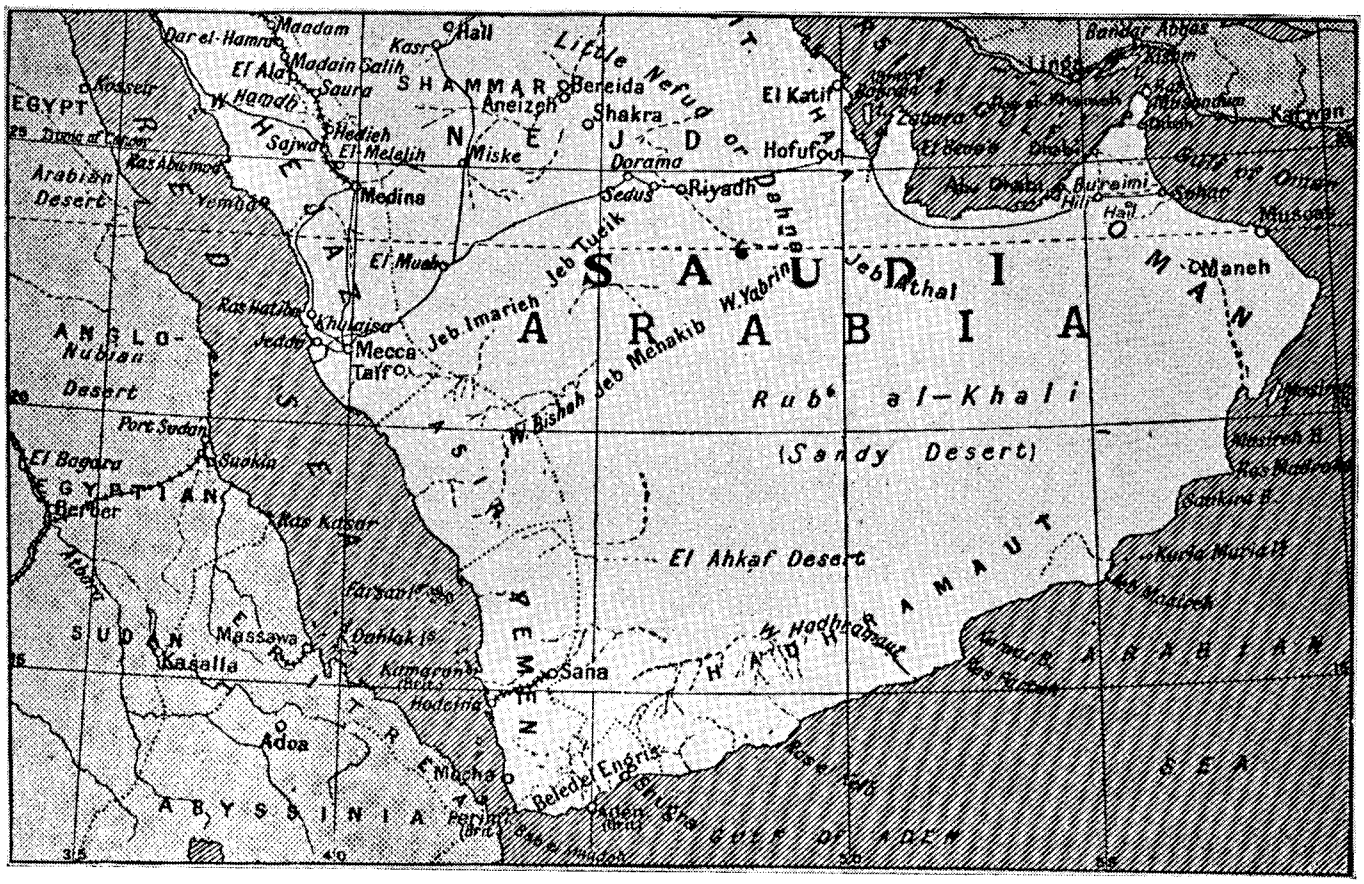
Amidst these cries, and countless others, has one never thought
The strands of God go interlacing — all are together caught.
There is One God. He made us all. Strands of religion twine
And interlace race unto race, nation to nation, man to man.
Of divers races Muslims are ; nor of one race are Christians found
Alone. Hindus or Roman Catholics, Buddhists or Protestants —
A myriad diversity is here, but in reality
Beneath, beneath,
Can we not see, can we not feel, can we not know:
There is One God. He made us all. We are one brotherhood.
Muslim can love not Muslim only but our human brotherhood:
Or Christian Catholic, or Buddhist, or Hindu, or those who make no vow,
Whose hearts feel not religion's sun, whose heads, too proud to bow.
Face with dismay this universe and cry: " Where? Why? and How? "

. . . . . .

Yet over all this multiplicity remember one thing true:
There is One God. He made us all. These are thy brothers, too.

William Bashyr Pickard.

William Bashyr Pickard



THE BURAIMI DISPUTE

The British Armed Aggression

By 'AZIZ S. SAHWELL

Historical background

Buraimi is an oasis consisting of nine towns and villages situated in the region of the Dhahirah, one of which also bears the name of "Buraimi". Lying slightly south of east from the Sheikhdom of Abu Dhabi on the Trucial Coast, the oasis is a focal point for many of the routes of travel in Eastern Arabia and occupies a pivotal position between the Trucial Coast, the great desert of the south, the coast of the Batinah with the mountains behind it, the Dhahirah, Inner Oman and the Sharqiyyah. The strategic value of Buraimi is attested to by the presence of a number of forts in the oasis and by the record of past wars and invasions. The site of Buraimi was used in the ninth century C.E. as a base for penetration into Oman by the Abbasid Caliphs. The same strategy was followed by the Persians and at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Wahhabites of the Nejd (Sa'udi Arabia) under the House of Sa'ud.

Following the submission of the local rulers of Oman and the coasts to the interpretation of Islam preached by the Wahhabites and the collection of *Zakat* (Muslim tax) from the tribes and settlements in the vicinity of Buraimi by the Amir of the Nejd through a local leader who took his residence at Buraimi, the Sa'udi position was considerably strengthened when in 1852 'Abd Allah Ibn Faisal, son of the Amir of the Nejd, appeared at Buraimi and the tribes of the vicinity offered their submission. In the following year the Thuwaini of Muscat agreed for the second time to pay an annual tribute to the ruler of the Nejd. Turki al-Sudairi was installed at Buraimi as the ruler then.

The sovereignty of the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud over Buraimi has always been effective during the past forty years or so. When the noted British explorer and political agent, Bertram Thomas, sought in the 1920s to proceed into the territory around Buraimi, he was informed by the Chief of Nu'aim that "these places are within the territory Ibn Jalwi collected *zakat* from the tribes of Buraimi and with news of the visit of a tax collector from Ibn Jalwi, Ibn Saud's Viceroy in the Hasa, and many of the Dhahirah were paying taxes". Furthermore, Captain Eccles, an officer of the Indian Army assigned for a period to the service of the Sultanate of Muscat, stated that in 1925, when the local tribe of "Nu'aim" was threatened by an invasion from the interior of Oman, they sent a request to 'Abd Allah Ibn Jalwi for assistance. Eccles also reported that 'Abd Allah Ibn Jalwi collected *zakat* from the tribes of Buraimi and the vicinity.

In 1933 another noted British explorer, H. St. J. B. Philby, wrote of a conversation he had had not long before with a member of the tribe of al-Murrah, saying: "I was interested to hear from him that Ibn Sa'ud's influence is felt today in all the Dhahirah country, as they call the tract westward of the Oman massif, including, of course, al-Buraimi, a Wahhabi centre of long standing, and apparently even 'Irbi. These tax-collecting expeditions scarcely, perhaps, do

more than pay expenses involved in equipping and sending them out, but they do tend to spread the Gospel of Wahhabi peace and Arabian unity. Slowly but surely the ripples of stable government broaden outwards from the centre, and the Manasir may be counted today as subjects of Ibn Sa'ud, who asks little of them but the acceptance of his sovereignty and the maintenance of the public peace."

Indeed, the vitality of Sa'udi influence and sovereignty over the area has always been strongly retained, and as late as May 1951 a deputation of leaders of two leading tribes of the district, Al Bu Shamis and Bani Ka'b, travelled to Riyadh and requested the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz, both orally and in writing, to defend actively this territory against the troublesome Sheikdoms on the Trucial Coast. It is therefore clear that the district falls under the historical authority of the Sa'udi Arabian Government.

The area in dispute

The Buraimi region covers about 100,000 square kilometres and may be divided into two zones, the Eastern Territory to the east of Sa'udi territory and Buraimi proper. Both are arid. Salt marsh covers most of the coastal area, while the interior is a sea of fine sand broken only by the Buraimi oasis and a few waterholes with their attendant date palms. Only in Buraimi and al-Jiwa is there anything that one can call agriculture. Moreover, and as is usual in Arabia, most of the water is salty and unpleasant to drink. The Eastern Territory was, until recently, completely unknown except to its inhabitants. It shared the isolation and inaccessibility of the *Rub' al-Khali* (The Empty Quarter), the immense emptiness which divides the Sa'udi Kingdom from the south coast of Arabia. It includes seven main sectors and is bound by Khaur al-'Udaid, at the base of Qatar; Majhud, below latitude 23° W.; al-Quraini, below 20° W.; Um al-Zumul, 22° 30′ S.; and by the Dhafrah district to the east. On the north the boundary runs roughly from Marfa' to the outskirts of the Buraimi zone.

Khaur al-'Udaid lies on a narrow inlet to a double bay at the base of Qatar. During the pearling and fishing seasons small boats frequent the bay, but because of the shallowness of its waters, the inlet is inaccessible to larger craft. The north-western corner of the coast of the Persian Gulf, known as the Majann, the "bewitched place", is a rough plateau covered with crystalline rocks. This plateau stretches to Sabkhat Matti, a large salt marsh extending from the coast southwards to the Rub' al-Khali.

Al-Taff forms the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, lying next to Sabkhat Matti. Bedouins divided it into three parts, the first two of which are Bainunah, a hilly plateau on the coast, and al-Taff, a sandy stretch within the western domain of Abu Dhabi, and within the concession of the Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast) Ltd., an affiliate of the Iraq Petroleum Company. During the prospection operations carried out in 1952, oil was found in the area. Operations ceased at this stage because of the boundary disputes which immediately followed. The third part, Taff Oman, lies outside the disputed area, and forms the north-eastern corner of al-Taff area.

The rest of the disputed area, lying inland and bound by the coastal zones mentioned above and the boundary set by Abu Dhabi in 1952, is an ocean of fine sand known as al-Dhafrah. The northern part of al-Dhafrah is covered by a series of marshes.

Buraimi, the most important zone of the disputed area, forms its north-eastern corner. It is enclosed by a circular boundary and includes nine villages gathered around the mother village of Buraimi, the centre of all caravan routes and hence the centre of trade. This fertile oasis contains several mountains and valleys, the most prominent of which is Jabal Hafit.

The economy of the area

The small market places of the oasis of Buraimi deal mainly in foodstuffs, cloth, and a few other essential items. Much of the trade of the district was once carried on with the coast of the Batinah to the east, but it is now chiefly with the Trucial Coast. The main business there, however, is not trade but agriculture. In 1902 Cox, the British authority on the Persian Gulf, estimated that the district had at least 60,000 date-palms, and spoke also of fruits and vegetables, grapes, melons, limes, figs, pomegranates, a few mangoes, wheat, barley and quantities of lucerne. The fruits and vegetables that Buraimi produces are exported in exchange for rice, coffee, sugar and cloth from the coast. Buraimi is thus not only the principal local trading centre, but it is also the market town for neighbouring Bedouins. The Buraimi village itself is the principal market, a smaller market being found at Hamsah.

The water which supports this relatively intensive agriculture is brought by a number of underground channels or aqueducts, which furnish a plentiful supply to the oasis, chiefly from springs in the mountains of the Hajar to the east. It is likely that these channels were introduced into the country by the Persians, as they are similar in construction to the qanats of Persia. Buraimi is further connected by roads with the neighbouring regions of eastern Arabia. No Western government has treaty relationships with any of the local leaders of Buraimi.

The tribes in the area

Buraimi is the most densely populated part of the area, and the oasis is mainly the centre for four tribes, the Na'im, al-Kanud, al-'Ifar and al-'Awamer, whose *dirahs* lie within the zone. (The *dirah* in Desert Arabia is the range of territory covered by a nomadic tribe in its seasonal wanderings (*rihla*) in more or less circular motion from the scarce summer water and through the lands newly springing with pasture after the welcome rains, and so back again.)

The British author, J. G. Lorrimer, states that the Na'im is one of the largest tribes along the Persian Gulf and the richest. It is divided into two main groups, one living in and around the village of Hamasa and the other in the mother village of Buraimi. The author considers them as supporters of Ibn Sa'ud, they having accepted the teachings of the Islamic religious reformer, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, whose conversion of Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud in 1742 laid the foundation for the present Sa'udi Arabian Kingdom. Al-Kanud, one of the smaller tribes, live in the zone east of Buraimi but have no outstanding features. Al-'Ifar share the *dirah* of the Na'im, and though small in number, they play an active part in the economic life of the zone. Al-'Awamer live in Buraimi in the summer season without their camels, which they leave behind in the custody of their shepherds in al-Dhafrah on the ranges which they share with the tribe of al-Manasir.

There are various other tribes that live in or frequent the area and are all bound to Sa'udi Arabia by a strong and ancient allegiance. Among these tribes, the Banu Ka'b have gained notice for their resentment against the British. This led to a punitive air raid on their *dirah*, east of Buraimi, in 1954. Following the raid, they reported many casualties, many of them fatal, and moved west to Buraimi. Their leader, the Sheikh 'Ubaid Ibn Jumu'a al-Ka'bi, then sought the protection of the Sa'udi Government.

The " parties " to the dispute

It is because of the said activities of the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Company, supported by the British political agents in these so-called protectorates, that the Buraimi dispute developed into a three-sided affair, to which there are now three claimants, the Amir of Abu Dhabi, the Sultan of Muscat and the Government of Sa'udi Arabia. Britain comes into the picture disguised as the " Protecting Power " under treaties signed during the last century. Britain herself has no treaty relationship with any of the leaders of Buraimi, and as far as is known, no Western company has a concession according it unchallenged rights to work there.

In the treaty signed with the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi in 1892, he agreed not to enter into any agreement or to correspond with any Power other than the British Government, the British Government in its turn promising to protect his independence against interference or aggression by any external power. He also agreed not to consent to the residence of any foreign agent in his territory without the assent of the British Government, and that he would " on no account cede, sell, mortgage or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government ".

The Sultan of Muscat's treaty is along similar lines, and it is by virtue of these treaties, which are perfect examples of nineteenth century naked colonialism, that Britain is now manoeuvring its designs on the territorial integrity of Sa'udi Arabia. The Buraimi dispute involves one section of an extensive frontier with this naked British imperialism in the Arabian peninsula. What is at stake in this Buraimi dispute is not a mere desert waste with possible black oil underneath, but a more serious factor than that is the security and territorial integrity of Sa'udi Arabia and its extensive boundaries.

Thus British oil interest has created a political problem affecting the territorial integrity and the proverbial peace and security that Sa'udi Arabia has beneficially maintained throughout the one-time turbulent and extensive boundaries of the great Arabian desert.

Both Abu Dhabi and Muscat, now involved in the Buraimi Affair, had no territorial dispute with Sa'udi Arabia until the British authorities, for the convenience of the vested interest of its oil companies, chose to instigate them to create a troublesome and dangerous situation in this vital section of the extensive Sa'udi Arabian boundaries, as well as in the Sa'udi Arabian territory proper.

Nature of claims

THE SHEIKHDOM OF ABU DHABI

Abu Dhabi is the westernmost of the small Trucial Coast sheikhdoms under British protection, and its only town — much smaller than its neighbours Dubai and Sharjah — is the fishing and pearling village which gives the principality its name. Despite Abu Dhabi's essentially modest and maritime nature, Britain is now claiming for it vast areas of desert grazing grounds inhabited by Sa'udi Arabian tribes and several oasis settlements in the interior, whose inhabitants are overwhelmingly Sa'udi. These claims stretch westward along several hundred kilometres of coast to the peninsula of Qatar and more than 200 kilometres inland.

THE SULTANATE OF MUSCAT

Most of the domains of this Sultanate lie along the south-eastern seaboard of the Arabian peninsula, yet it is claiming villages in Buraimi which have no ties whatsoever with Muscat, and which are geographically cut off from Muscat by the great mountain range of al-Hajar, which area has been under effective Sa'udi Arabian authority.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SA'UDI ARABIA

The Sa'udi rights in the disputed areas are based not only on their character as part of the historic dominions of the House of Sa'ud, but also on the exercise in those areas of effective authority. Both these points are relevant to the determination of sovereignty under established principles of international law. It was in 1795 that the first Sa'udi Governor took up residence in Buraimi in response to the people's wish to join the great reform movement initiated by the Sheikh Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab some fifty years earlier. Since that time the people of the Buraimi region have been under the authority either of formally designated Sa'udi Amirs or of tribal chiefs responsible to the central government. In recent years as in times past, this authority has been repeatedly evidenced through activities to uphold law and order, from the execution of a murderer in Buraimi town to the restoration of stolen camels at points throughout the disputed areas. It has also been evidenced in the collection of the Islamic tax known as the *zakat*, one of the five pillars of the Islamic faith. As leaders of a State expressly founded on the original principles of Islam, the Sa'udi Imams have always been scrupulous in collecting the tax prescribed and in honouring their corollary duty to protect and succour those who have thus acknowledged their sovereignty. The Buraimi region was never under the rule of Abu Dhabi or Muscat. Neither of these sea-faring communities was in fact strong enough to establish any authority more than a few kilometres inland from its walls.

The motivating factors

The interest in these areas dawned only in recent years with the discovery of petroleum deposits in eastern Arabia. For the first time the British began to take substantial interest in the interior regions which might be brought within their sphere of control. The device selected was to attempt to attach to the coastal communities of Abu Dhabi and Muscat vast inland areas, and to furnish their rulers with the necessary means to make the assertions a reality. It was the assertion of these claims, and the effort to implement them by increasingly forcible measures, which ultimately led in 1952 to the dispatch of a Sa'udi Amir to Buraimi in response to the appeal of local leaders who felt that their normal system of tribal administration was inadequate to oppose their foreign intrusions.

It is in relation to this recent British interest in these regions that the possible presence of oil is relevant to the present dispute. Were it not for that possibility, Sa'udi Arabia thinks it likely that the British would be content to confine their commitment, as they did in the past, to the traditional narrow limits of the coastal sheikhdoms, and to leave the great regions of the interior to their traditional Sa'udi allegiance. That, unfortunately, is not the case, and the present dispute has accordingly resulted. The British effort from time to time to paint Sa'udi Arabia as imperialistic and greedy for oil riches is answered by the charge that this is an easily recognized propaganda device to divert attention from the fact that the British themselves are in precisely that embarrassing position. The truth of the matter is that Sa'udi Arabia has consistently prohibited oil operations from its side in the disputed areas, on the ground that these might aggravate the difficulties of settlement, whereas the British have constantly insisted that the operations of their companies should continue. In the view of Sa'udi Arabia, the presence or absence of oil in no way affects its historical and legal rights in these areas ; while the possibility of oil merely makes a precise boundary settlement in accordance with those rights more urgent than it might otherwise have been,

Sa'udi Arabia is not motivated by any material ambitions or territorial gains. It feels in duty bound to protect the tribes in its own lands that owe their allegiance to the House of Sa'ud. It cannot abandon its subjects to encroachment or foreign domination. Its interest is mainly moral.

Developments of the Buraimi dispute

For some twenty years the Sa'udi Arabian Government has been seeking to resolve through normal diplomatic channels the questions relating to its south-eastern boundaries. In 1935 it made a most generous compromise proposal, noting at the time that this was much less than the area to which Sa'udi Arabia's rights extended in fact, but the offer was rejected by the British Government. In view of the subsequent intransigence of that Government having blocked all later efforts to find a mutually agreeable solution, Sa'udi Arabia resolved in 1949 that it had no alternative but to take up its stand once more on its full legal and historical rights. The precise boundary claims stated in that year were based accordingly on these rights.

As early as October 1952, before any British proposal to submit to arbitration had been received, Sa'udi Arabia proposed that a plebiscite be held in the Buraimi region under impartial international auspices in order to determine the desires of the inhabitants. An indication of the measure of British confidence in the popular support in Buraimi for Abu Dhabi and Muscat was eventually forthcoming when the proposal was rejected by London as not being "appropriate". Thereupon, Sa'udi Arabia, in all sincerity to arrive at a peaceful and amicable solution to the problem and to demonstrate its peaceful intentions and good faith, agreed on the 30th July 1954 to a settlement by arbitration, provided that the arbitrators should have independent powers of their own to make inquiries among the peoples and should not be limited to the allegations of the disputing authorities alone.

How the Arbitration Tribunal was wrecked by the British member of the Tribunal

In September 1955 an Arbitration Tribunal of five members sat in Geneva to determine the location of the common frontier between Sa'udi Arabia and the British of the protected sheikhdom of Abu Dhabi and the sovereignty over the Buraimi oasis.

These arbitration proceedings were, however, suspended owing to the resignation of Sir Reader Bullard, the British member of the Tribunal. Sir Reader claimed that the membership of the Sheikh Yussuf Yasin, Sa'udi Arabian Deputy Foreign Minister, in the Tribunal had compromised the position of the Sheikh as an impartial judge. This resignation forced a suspension of the proceedings just at the moment the Tribunal was about to take a decision on the various complaints which had been raised before it by each side against the other. The Tribunal was frustrated in expressing its views on these charges. The Sheikh Yussuf was always a good friend of Sir Reader Bullard since the latter came to Jeddah as British Minister in 1937 and there was certainly nothing new to him in his position as Deputy Foreign Minister.

It may also be interposed here that throughout the history of the present boundary dispute the Sheikh Yussuf has been in charge of negotiations on behalf of his Government, and when arbitration was agreed upon Sir Reader and the Sheikh Yussuf selected their three distinguished neutral colleagues. The entire Tribunal was always aware that in addition to his duties as a member, the Sheikh Yussuf continued to discharge his responsibilities as Deputy Foreign Minister and head of the Political Department of the Royal Court, and consequently dealt regularly with the British Government on problems relating to Buraimi. His position was never a cause of objection on the part of the neutral members, although the Tribunal had been in existence for nine months and had by then held two full sessions.

While the Sa'udi Arabian Government questioned the logic and good intent of the British Government in interfering with the work of this International Tribunal, where membership was decreed by an official mutual agreement between the two parties concerned, yet it reiterated the hope that the British Government would assign a new British member to the Tribunal and thus make it possible to resume at an early date the progress toward a peaceful settlement of the dispute and to build anew the links of friendship between Great Britain and the Kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia. The Sheikh Yussuf's record on the Tribunal is without blemish and only the Chairman of the Tribunal had the jurisdiction to question his continued membership in this International Tribunal.

The British Broadcasting Corporation, however, on Tuesday 22nd September 1955, stated that the British Government would probably refrain from assigning a new British member to the Tribunal as long as the Sheikh Yussuf Yasin retained his membership on it. This unfortunate position taken by the British Government was devoid of any logical or legal justification and detrimental not only regarding the desert oasis of Buraimi, but to the whole series of complicated problems affecting the extensive Sa'udi Arabian international boundaries. The British Government is free to inspire its representative on the Tribunal in whatever manner she desires, but under no circumstances has it a right to interfere in the status and responsibilities of the Sa'udi Arabian representative. The Sa'udi Arabian Government was, therefore, justified in considering the Tribunal and its proceedings still in effect and in demanding the enforcement of all the commitments specified in the mutual agreement that created the Tribunal.

On 4th October 1955 the British Foreign Office made a statement which is, in effect, mainly a distorted repetition of previous unjustified accusations, not befitting the British Government and already presented before the Tribunal in Geneva last September, and emphatically denied by Sa'udi Arabia. This statement can in no way be considered a public spirited effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of the dispute. It came in spite of the fact that the sessions of the Tribunal were secret and the earnest request of the Court that both parties should refrain from giving out any information regarding the proceedings either to the Press or to the public.

Nevertheless, the Sa'udi Arabian Government considered itself still bound by that promise of secrecy and was therefore handicapped in answering the accusations of the British Foreign Office in detail. It is understood, however, that the proceedings of the Tribunal have been recorded on tape, the which fact would make it possible in the near future to reveal the truth regarding the testimony in chief and cross-examination before the Tribunal.

The truth of the matter is that the resignation of the British member at the last moment served to delay the announcement of the Tribunal's decision (which had already been reached by the three neutral members) regarding these fantastic accusations. Had the British Government been honestly convinced of the truth of its accusations, it would have prevailed upon its representative to remain another half-hour, so that the Tribunal could pronounce its decision. The dual office of the Sheikh Yussuf Yasin was utilized at the last moment to justify the resignation of the British member, thus preventing the public announcement of the Tribunal's decisions.

British armed aggression

At the time when the Sa'udi Arabian Government was willing to continue with the arbitration originally suggested by the British Government as a means of solving the dispute, and to meet the British Government half way, should the latter relinquish its policy of open accusation, put an end to all acts of intimidation and terrorism which it had been following in the disputed areas and substitute a policy of sincere co-operation, acts of armed aggression by forces active under the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom took place during the night of 26th/27th October 1955. These acts of aggression effected a forcible military occupation of large territories in eastern Arabia, brought about the wounding of two Sa'udi Arabian officials in Buraimi and the capture and detention of a number of others, including fifteen policemen. They constitute a flagrant violation of a valid and subsisting agreement between the two governments to arbitrate the dispute which was entered into on 30th July 1954, and were in defiance of the reaffirmed intention of the Government of the United Kingdom to carry on with arbitration, the which intention it passed to the Government of Sa'udi Arabia. The Sa'udi Arabian Government was indeed awaiting notification of the new British member at the very time when the acts of armed aggression took place.

Aggression brought to the attention of the Security Council

On 28th October 1955 the Permanent Representative of Sa'udi Arabia at the United Nations brought to the attention of the Security Council under Article 35 (1) of the United Nations Charter the grave situation in the Buraimi oasis and adjacent areas resulting from the said British acts of armed aggression. The attention of the Security Council was also drawn to the gravity of the situation which was further heightened by the fact that the aggression referred to was carried out in defiance of a valid and subsisting agreement to arbitrate the dispute which was entered into by the Governments of both parties, that the Tribunal constituted under the said agreement, which met in Geneva in September 1955, was prevented from proceeding with its task by the resignation of the United Kingdom member, and that subsequent to that event, the Government of the United Kingdom reaffirmed its intention to carry on with the arbitration, and so informed the Government of Sa'udi Arabia.

The Government of Sa'udi Arabia, through its Permanent Representative, further expressed the opinion to the Security Council that the foregoing situation was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, despite its continuing efforts to find a peaceful solution. The Sa'udi Arabian Government, therefore, reserved its right, under the said Article 35 (1) of the Charter, to request the President of the Security Council to call a meeting of the Council to consider this matter and to take any necessary measures.

The present attitude of the Sa'udi Arabian Government

On 1st November 1955 the Prime Minister of Sa'udi Arabia, His Royal Highness Prince Faisal, issued the following statement:

"Buraimi is a Sa'udi territory, and the Sa'udi Arabian Government is doubtful whether it can now proceed with its policy of peaceful solution to this dispute, in view of Britain's violation of the Arbitration Agreement and the initiative it took to force the issue into armed conflict. This British armed aggression also constitutes a violation of Article 37 of the United Nations Charter.

"The Government of Sa'udi Arabia has, therefore, no alternative but to review its position on this dispute and take the necessary measures to safeguard the legitimate rights of its citizens, irrespective of whether Britain or those whom she 'protects' are the aggressors. Buraimi shall remain an Arab territory in defiance of the intrigues of the colonial imperialists.

"The possibility of calling the United Nations Security Council to be seized with the Buraimi question is being carefully weighed by the Sa'udi Arabian Government."

Warning to any protective concessionaire

Also on 1st November 1955 the following declaration was issued by the Sa'udi Arabian Government regarding the serious development in the Buraimi situation:

"As a result of the British armed aggression and forcible occupation of the Buraimi region, and in view of the fact that the British Government justifies this armed aggression on the basis of its agreements with the Sultan of Muscat and the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, His Majesty's Government in Sa'udi Arabia reasserts its full rights in that region, and refuses to recognize any concessions that have been, might be, or shall be granted in the Buraimi region for any purpose to anybody, be it an individual, a company, or a government, without the consent of the Sa'udi Arabian Government.

"The Sa'udi Arabian Government declares that it is not responsible for any damage or danger that might befall, as to life or property, those who violate this declaration."

His Majejsty the King of Sa'udi Arabia with the Prime Minister of the Republic of Egypt, Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir (right), and the President of the Republic of Syria, His Excellency Shukri al-Kuwatli, at one of the meetings of the "Summit Conference" of the three Arab States at Cairo which ended on Monday 12th March 1956 with a joint announcement of an "all-conclusive plan to co-ordinate Arab defence in order to face any act of violence to which Israel might resort"

ISLAM IN THE U.S.S.R.

As seen by The Editor of *The New York Times*

We give below some excerpts from the despatches of Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, written from Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand, which appeared in The New York Times *for 4th, 7th and 9th January 1956 respectively.—Ed.,* I.R.

Tashkent, 3rd January 1956

". . . The ancient Mufti of the Central Asian tribes, Ishan Babahan Ibn Abdul Mejid Khan, sits in his modest house fingering a toothless jaw. Ninety-five years ago, when he was born, this was still part of the Emirate of Kokand, an independent principality. The Mufti is too old to help his flock. Now his son, al-Hafiz Ghazi Zia-ud-Din Babahanoff, officiates over the shrinking Moslem population of this region.

"Less than twenty pilgrims from the U.S.S.R. go to Mecca every year, says Babahanoff. 'Mecca is hard to get to. The trip is expensive. Mecca is far, far away.' Forty years ago there were three hundred mosques in Tashkent. Now there are eighteen. Fewer and fewer people make the customary five daily prayers. 'Some of the younger generation still go to mosque occasionally,' says the acting Mufti, 'but many not at all.' Sadly he consoles himself that this is not only because of atheism's spread. 'For,' says he, 'it is not obligatory to attend the mosque if a man still worships Allah in his heart'. . . ."

Bukhara, 6th January 1956

"When bolshevism assumed control of the former emirates of Central Asia it brought with it the Communist's unabashed prejudice against religion. Lenin had called this a people's opiate. Therefore, although early manifestos assured Moslems, 'Henceforth your faith and customs are proclaimed free and inviolable,' the vigour of Islam has been waning ever since.

"The young generation has largely abandoned mosques, fasts, prayer schedules and alms-giving habits of the past. Only a devout handful can make the holy pilgrimage to Mecca. Most of the mosques and medressehs (religious seminaries) that once dominated Central Asia have now vanished. Famous Islamic cities like Bukhara, Tashkent and Samarkand are now entirely secular. Few dilapidated shrines remain—more for museum than ritual purposes.

"It is doubtful today if anyone can say precisely how many Moslems worship in the U.S.S.R. Cairo's *Economic and Political Review* claims there are 20,660,525. But this is merely a tabulation of the last available census figures for this land's traditionally Moslem minorities. The acting Mufti of Central Asia estimates 30,000,000. That is gross exaggeration.

"Dozens of Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Persians from the old Bukhara Emirate and Kirghiz from the steppes were questioned by this writer and admitted disbelief or disinterest in Islam. Said one: 'I am an atheist. I drink. I don't worship old rituals.' Said another: 'Now not even my parents attend mosque.' And a Tadzhik added: 'The young are encouraged to play games or go to theatres — not to mosques.'

"This region was renowned for centuries for its fanaticism and Koranic learning. Before the revolution Tashkent had 300 mosques. Now there are eighteen. It had dozens of medressehs. Now there are none. Samarkand boasted over 100 mosques. Today there are said to be seventeen; but a search during prayer hour found but one functioning. Samarkand had twenty-five medressehs. One is closed for repairs. The rest are gone.

"Not four decades ago Bukhara, almost as remote and famed as Mecca, contained 360 mosques and 103 medressehs where young Moslems studied for the priesthood. Today there is but one combined mosque and medresseh in this crumbling town. Its seminary is the only operative medresseh in all Soviet Central Asia.

"Hundreds of mosques have disappeared or been assigned new functions. Koranic texts have been replaced by exhortatory slogans: 'If you get drunk you cannot fulfil your norm.' Mosques are used for sweet shops, barbering establishments and rooming houses. Below the famous Kalan Minaret . . . is the Mir Arab Medresseh. Here 105 youth are studying to be mullahs — the last in Central Asia training to be Islamic priests. There is far more bustle and activity across the street at Agitpunkt No. 7, a Communist propaganda centre.

"The hammer and sickle has superseded the crescent as emblem for the Republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan, Kirghizstan and Turkmenia — an area larger than the entire subcontinent of India. The red Soviet flag has ousted the green banner of the Prophet even though Islam retains a skeleton organization. There are four chief muftis in the U.S.S.R. But monthly their parishioners diminish.

"Between 1927 and 1932, when militant atheism was at its height. Islam's priestly hierarchy disintegrated. Simultaneously the traditional Arabic script of the Koranic world was replaced — first by Latin letters as in Turkey, then by Russia's Cyrillic alphabet. New editions of the Koran ceased.

"No longer are there overland pilgrimages to Mecca across Afghanistan or Iran. Only a driblet of holy men, equipped by Moscow with permits and foreign exchange, is allowed to fly to sacred Middle Eastern shrines. The ritual of five daily prayers has all but vanished; labourers in factory or field take no time off. Friday, Islam's Sabbath, is a regular working day.

"The monthly fast of Ramadan, each dawn to dusk, is scarcely a memory. According to the Mufti of Tashkent, they are allowed to eat. The *zakat,* or fixed alms-giving, has lapsed. And only a tiny fraction of the mullahs who once led Central Asia's prayers now function. Hassim Zadeh, vice-director of Bukhara's lone medresseh, says there are 105 students there — all the youth of Central Asia preparing for the Moslem priesthood. And the course is nine years long. Only three Soviet Moslems study religion abroad — at Cairo's Al Azhar Theological Seminary.

"Hassim Zadeh is not himself a mullah. And he enunciates a new creed for Islam — that 'One can be both a good Moslem and also a party member; we don't divide people by religion; all are brothers.' Yet communism preaches atheism openly and proudly. And communism, in Central Asia, rules."

Samarkand, 8th January 1956

"More than five centuries ago Samarkand, the capital of Tamerlane, was one of the world's great power centres. In the bazaars merchants from India, Russia and China exchanged spices, silks and porcelain with agents for the Hanseatic League and Italy's trading republics.

"Central Asia, governed from Samarkand, was an effective bridge between marginal civilizations. The city itself, venerated by its Tartar overlords, developed into a metropolis filled with fine mosques, universities and centres of research.

"It is interesting that Arnold Toynbee, English historian, should see in Central Asia potentially again a geographical focal point. In this air age, he reasons, a gravitational centre may again develop here, equidistant from the principal population poles.

"Certainly the peoples of this obscure, often forgotten region retain strong ties with nations and movements far off on the map. . . ."

"Despite their isolated position these peoples have not lost touch with the outer world. The Mufti of Central Asia speaks of the 'very warm' relationship of Soviet Uzbeks with their cousins in Afghanistan. Saida Khalikova, Vice President of Soviet Tadzhikistan, comes from the new city of Stalinabad near the Afghan border. She says: 'We feel close to the Tadzhiks in Afghanistan; they are our brothers.'

"Often we tend to think of the U.S.S.R. as a Slavic state. But it also has immense importance in the Turkic, Iranic, Moslem, Middle Eastern worlds. And only in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus has Soviet influence so far failed to advance beyond the limits of old Czarist Russia.

"Nevertheless a position of great potential political strength is being established on the bounds of the former Kokand and Bukhara emirates, where British diplomacy once contested Russia. Britain's imperialism has been ousted from the Indian subcontinent. But bolshevism dominates down to the Oxus border. And advancing Soviet rule undoubtedly brings slowly into Central Asia the techniques of Europe and higher rather than lower living standards.

"On both sides of this frontier among Turanian and Iranian peoples, are the germs of relationships like those between Western and Russian Slavs. Already, by diplomatic vigour, the impact of Soviet influence has reached into Afghanistan. That country, isolated by a Pakistani blockade from both India and the ocean, is turning increasingly to the U.S.S.R. for commerce and assistance. Like the old state of Bukhara its economy is adjusting to its Russian neighbour's.

"Clearly, like Toynbee, Moscow's planners see the future importance of Central Asia. Already the area provides many raw materials for European Russia. Its agriculture is gradually developing along massive canal systems in Fergana, Bukhara, Turkmenia, Karakum and the upper Oxus. Plans — so gigantic they may never be realized — have been discussed to reroute the Arctic-flowing rivers Ob and Yenisei toward the Caspian and Aral Seas.

"This region of the enormous Soviet Eurasian empire is still backward and remote. But its role must inevitably increase. The impact of bolshevism upon a feudal civilization where women wore the veil and squalor rivalled illiteracy has only begun to spread its shock. Even sordid cities like Bukhara contrast favourably with Afghanistan. And the Tashkent radio, beamed all over Asia, daily carries communism's gospel.

"No longer does the Soviet Government seem concerned about Central Asia as a political soft underbelly subject to inroads of Pan-Islam or Pan-Turanianism. Bolshevism, more mature and confident since World War II, has submerged the Koran and is expanding outward. Its dynamic message is not that carried by the singing battalions of Russian infantry that swing nightly through the streets of garrison towns like Tashkent. Instead it is a message of ferment, of political change in the East, advancing toward India."

IN MEMORIAM

THE LATE MAULAVI AFTABUD DIN AHMAD

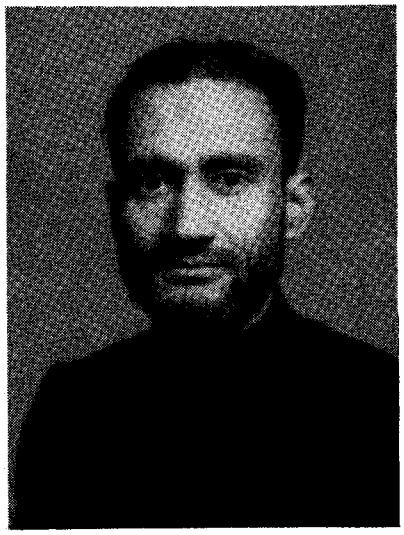
It is with deep regret that we record the loss by death of the late Maulavi Aftabud Din Ahmad, which took place at Lahore, West Pakistan, on 13th January 1956. The Maulavi Aftabud Din Ahmad was closely associated with the work and progress of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Woking, England, from 1931 till he breathed his last.

Born in January 1901 in the village of Tola, Burdwan, India, he received his early education in the home town of Burdwan. After getting his Bachelor of Arts with distinction in 1923 from the Presidency College, Calcutta, he grew more and more conscious of the fallen condition of the Muslims of India with whose political life he had come into contact as a result of his working voluntarily for the Khilafat Movement for about four years. This awakened in him the desire to have a first-hand knowledge of Islam. He joined the famous religious seminary of Deoband, near Delhi, where he studied under such renowned scholars as the late Shabbir Ahmad 'Uthmani for one-and-a-half years. In his search for a more up-to-date interpretation of Islam he now turned himself to the late Muhammad 'Ali, the first Indian Muslim translator of the Holy Qur'án into English. He soon made up his mind to go to Lahore for a study of comparative religion under the guidance of eminent scholars like the late Muhammad 'Ali and others who had joined the band of the workers of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, Lahore, now in Pakistan. During his stay at Lahore he joined the editorial staff of the fortnightly *The Light,* headed by the Maulavi Yaqub Khan, now Editor of the English daily, the *Civil and Military Gazette,* Lahore.

His zeal for carrying the message of Islam to the world soon caught the eye of his friends, including Muhammad 'Ali, who asked him to start an Islamic missionary movement at Shillong, Assam, India, among the most advanced of hill tribes — the Khasis, under the aegis of the Maulavi 'Abdul Karim Khan Islamic Mission Trust of Calcutta.

While in charge of the Islamic Mission at Shillong he wrote several books and brochures on Islam in the Khasi language and built up for the Mission a strong support of the local leading Muslims, such as the late Sir Sa'dullah. His lectures and books brought many new adherents to Islam from the Khasi tribe.

His successful career as a Muslim exponent of Islam attracted the attention of the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, who asked him to join the Woking Muslim Mission staff. Mr. Ahmad, who was equally anxious to broaden his experiences about Islam in the West, agreed to join the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Woking. He came to England in 1931 and acted as Assistant Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, for two years, when his health broke down to such an extent that he was compelled to return to his homeland. Later he took up the editorial responsibilities of *The Islamic Review,* which used to be edited and printed at Lahore in those days. Once again, after having recuperated his health, he returned to England, this time to act as Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England.



Aftabud Din Ahmad

Just before World War II he returned to India, in 1939, and once again took up the Editorship of *The Islamic Review* and the revision work of the books of the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. In 1948 he was appointed Secretary of the Woking Muslim Mission. In 1950 he became Editor of the English weekly, *The Light.* Simultaneously he started the translation of the *Sahih* of Bukhari into English. He had only completed the translation of the first thirteen "Books" when his untimely death occurred. Among his notable writings are those on Communism and an English translation of the Arabic work of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani, *Futuh al-Ghaib.*

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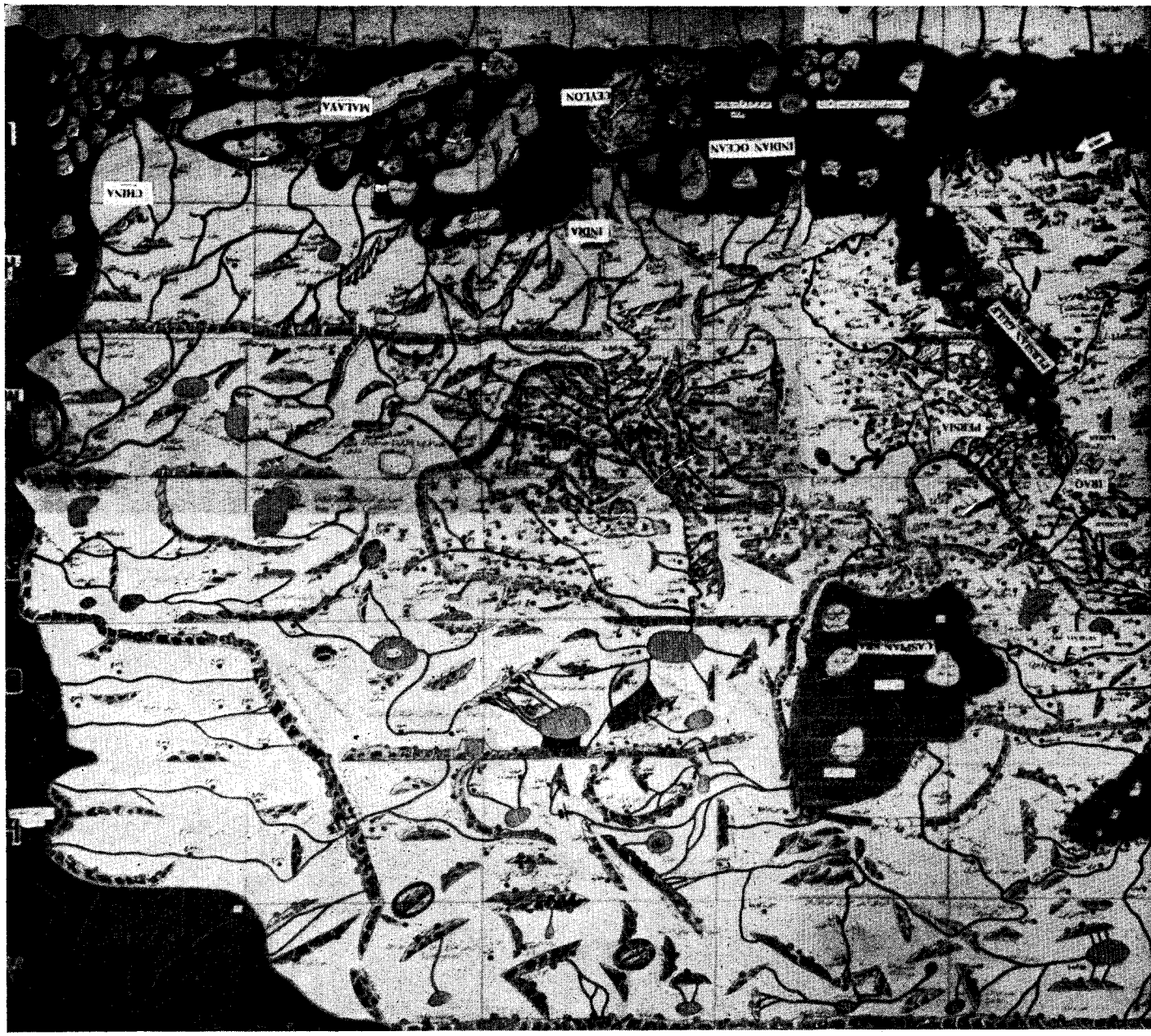
Al-Idrisi's MAP of the



The Map

This map is a reproduction of a coloured map printed by the Iraqi Society of Sciences, Baghdad, Iraq. It will be noticed that according to modern cartographical conventions al-Idrisi's map is upside down, i.e., the South is at the top. The convention of putting North at the top is of recent growth. The Romans used to place East at the top, the Greeks North, and the Arabs South. With the use of Ptolemaic maps in Europe the placing of North at the top became popular in the fifeenth century C.E. But even down to the beginning of the seventeenth century it is more often than not the whim of the cartographer that determined the direction orientation.

The above map is prepared from a collation of the seventy maps which cover an area of 5 square metres based on the MSS. preserved in the libraries of Oxford, Paris, Leningrad, Istanbul and Cairo. These maps contain 2,558 geographical names and are illustrated in colour. Al-Idrisi also indicated on his maps the degrees of latitude. This shows that not only are his maps better in description and exactness, they do not follow in the footsteps of Ptolemy. Besides, al-Idrisi's maps are the only maps of the eleventh century that we possess of European countries. Their importance becomes apparent when we take into consideration the limited sources of knowledge of those days. Al-Idrisi's map was used as a wall map in Europe and the Muslim world for a long time.

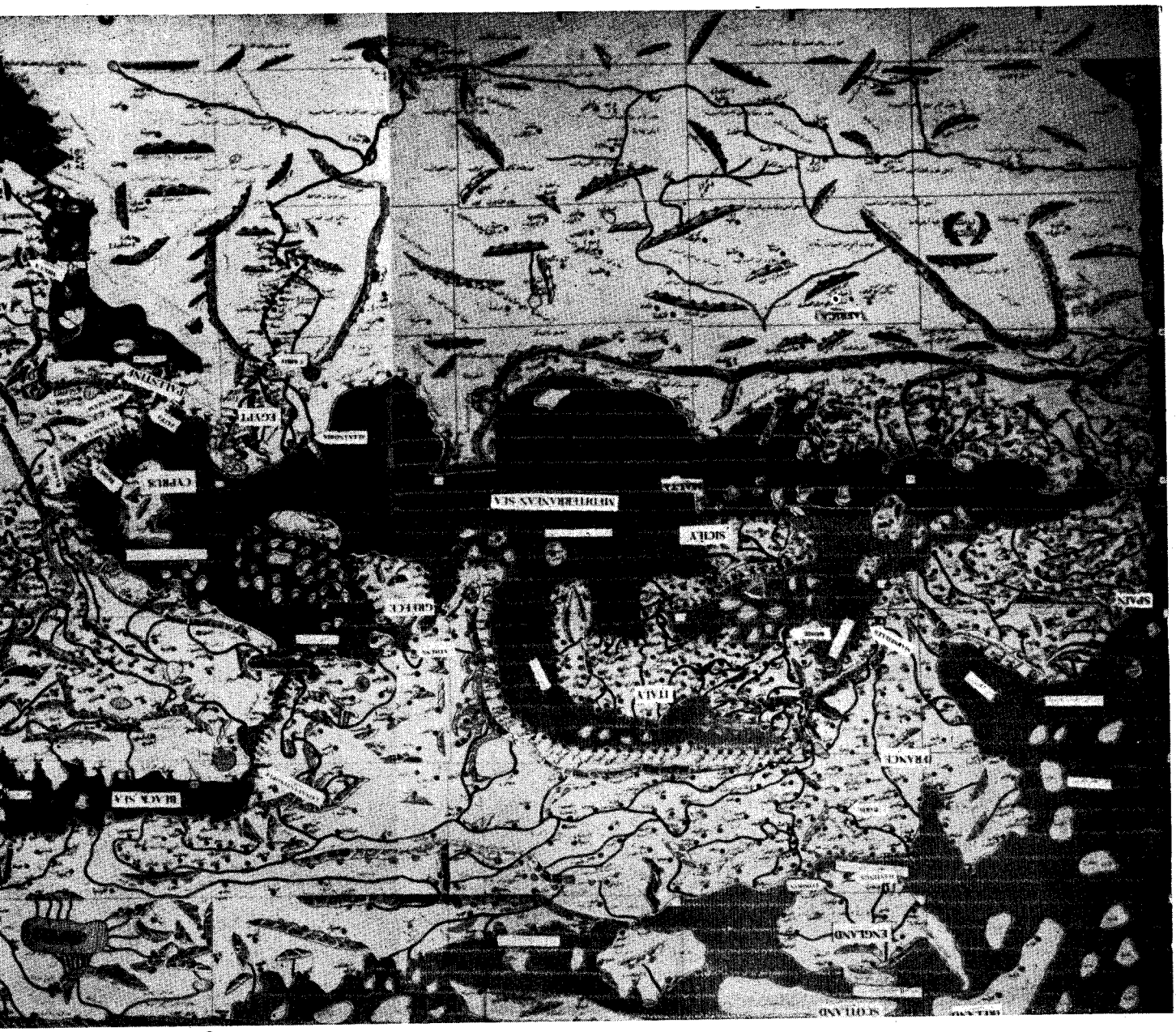
Al-Idrisi

Al-Idrisi, born of Spanish-Arab parents at Ceuta, Spain, in 1100 C.E., studied in Cordova. At the very early age of seventeen he had travelled widely. His knowledge of the then known world had attracted the attention of King Roger II of Sicily, who persuaded

ON TO GEOGRAPHY

ab Muslim Geographer and Cartographer, al-Idrisi (d. 1164 C.E.)

ORLD made in 1154 C.E.



al-Idrisi to settle down at his court at Palermo in 1138 C.E. King Roger, who was famous for patronizing scholars, asked al-Idrisi to prepare for him a map of the world. Al-Idrisi travelled to various countries in search of factual knowledge and also got his patron to send out scholars to collect geographical data. On the basis of the knowledge thus gained, al-Idrisi took fifteen years to prepare maps and a book entitled al-Kitab al-Rujari. *The text of this book, along with its seventy maps, sums up his own knowledge acquired by travels in the then known parts of the world, and also of his predecessors like Mas'udi and Ptolemy.*

In his critical collection of material, al-Idrisi shows a remarkable breadth of view and a grasp of such essential facts as the spherecity of the earth. In his book he says, "the earth is like a sphere". Besides his monumental book, al-Idrisi constructed for King Roger II a celestial sphere and a disc-shaped map of the world, both in silver.

Why the Muslims rejected the theory that the earth was flat

It was the many-sided contacts between the lands of Islam and Christian Europe, manifested in trading and commercial activity, transmission of social habits and cultural attributes that started Europe on the path of Renaissance. In this connection it is worth remarking that Muslims rejected the theory regnant in Christian Europe as a result of the teaching of the Bible that the earth was flat, because the Qur'án had taught them that the earth has many easts and wests — "the Lord of the easts and the wests" (70 : 40). The Muslims argued that many easts and wests could be possible not only if the earth was round but also if it rotated on its axis. This led them to believe in the spherecity of the earth.

What They Think Of Us . . .

The Impact of Islam on Christianity[1]

An Appreciation and Appeal to the West

By KENNETH H. CRANDALL

" Actually, the Muslims are people who have something distinctive and positive to offer to the world community, and they are demanding from the West a just response to their world citizenship on the basis of equality. Potentially, Islam offers religious convictions regarding the nature of God and men, which are complementary to Christian understanding and are of great potential assistance in the reorganization of world politics which the Christian world must carry through if it is to be true to its ideals. Islam challenges Christianity to plumb the depths of its Christian heritage to bring forth ethical and spiritual resources which will enable it to live and work with Muslims not merely as fellow-men but as brothers under the one God. This is Christianity's own basis for international order if it will accept it . . . The primary impediment to be overcome in both camps is ignorance of the other's real aims and worth, and the automatic distrust and hatred based on past mistakes and false stereotypes. This mutual hostility and distrust is still real, and the only forces which can overcome it are the creative powers of the Islamic and Christian religions, which see through present conditions to God "

" When Muhammad Musaddiq[2] was chosen by Time *magazine as the " Man of the Year* 1951 *", many astonished eyebrows went up in the West. How could this premier from a small, industrially backward, powerless country of the Middle East be the most influential figure in a year filled with the power struggle between the giants of the Communistic* bloc *and the Western* bloc? *Yet the influence and the impact are there ; and the West is being challenged by Musaddiq, by his nation, Iran, and by other Islamic lands not only to recognize a potent bargaining force in world politics, but also to rethink its own spiritual and moral position in dealing with the religions and peoples of the world.*

" This is not the first time the impact of Islam has sent Christianity searching back to the roots of its own heritage, nor is it the first time Islamic lands have made positive cultural and spiritual offerings to the West.

" While Christianity was still groping through the Dark Ages, Islam carved out an empire reaching from the frontiers of China to the Pyrenees. Along with its territorial acquisitions, Islam inherited Greek philosophy through the medium of Persian and Syrian scholars, and accepted many cultural forms from these areas. Contributions also poured in from India and China, and from Arabia's own indigenous culture. All of these Islamic civilization preserved, commented on, and contributed to during its flowering in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. It was this heritage which Islam made available to the West, at the blossoming of the high Middle Ages, which gave way in time to the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

" During the golden age of Islam, excellent schools were established both in the Middle East and in Moorish Spain and Portugal. Libraries were filled with the writings of Hellenic philosophers, scientists and poets ; and these centres attracted students from all over Christendom as well as from the Islamic world. Among those who studied at the School of Toledo were Michael Scot, Daniel Morley, Adelard of Bath and Robertus Anglicus, the first translator of the Qur'án (J. B. Trend in The Legacy of Islam, *p.* 28).

" Hospitals were established for healing and teaching. Wards were organized for patients suffering from particular diseases. Each hospital had its dispensary and library. The chief physicians and surgeons lectured to the students and graduates, examined them, and issued diplomas or licences to practice (E. M. Burns, Western Civilizations, Their History and Their Culture, *p.* 302).

" Leading names in Islamic medical developments are Ibn Sina (Avicenna) *and al-Razi. Ibn Sina discovered the contagious nature of tuberculosis, described pleurisy and several varieties of nervous ailments, and pointed out that disease can spread through contamination of water and soil.*

"Al-Razi, the leading clinical physician of the Middle Ages, wrote many tracts, the most celebrated of which is On Small-Pox and Measles, *in which he quite accurately describes the symptoms and nature of the disease. His* al-Hawi (" *Comprehensive Book* ") *brings together from Greek, Syriac and early Arabic the totality of the medical knowledge of his time. This twenty volume work was authoritative in the universities of Europe until the seventeenth century. Al-Razi also knew about vaccination, located the seat of vision in the retina of the eye, urged that chemistry should be brought into the service of medicine, and knew how to produce artificial ice (W. Görlitz,* Wächter der Gläubigen, *pp.* 42*ff, quoted in Bethmann,* Bridge to Islam, p. 100).

" Other Muslim physicians discovered the value of cauterization, diagnosed cancer of the stomach, prescribed antidotes for cases of poisoning, and made notable progress in treatment of diseases of the eye. In addition, they recognized the highly infectious character of the plague, pointing out that it could be transmitted by garments, eating utensils and cups, as well as by personal contact (Burns, Western Civilizations, *p.* 302). *Much of this development was accomplished by observation and study which anticipated the scientific method to be formulated many years later in Europe.*

" The greatest scientific advances of the Muslims were made in the field of optics. Al-Kindi's treatise on Optics *(which still survives in Latin) was used by Roger Bacon in his work on this subject. The work of al-Haytham, or Alhazen, was even more advanced. He opposed Euclid, Ptolemy and other ancients who believed that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision. To him it is the form of the perceived object that passes into the eye and is transmitted by its ' transparent body ', i.e., the lens. He came near to the theoretical exposition of magnifying glasses and made*

1 Courtesy, the author and the publishers, American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., New York.

2 The spelling of Mohammed Mossadegh has been changed to Muhammad Musaddiq as being in conformity to *The Islamic Review* style and nearer the original Arabic.

advances in explaining refraction and reflection. In his fundamental study On the Burning Sphere *he makes real scientific progress on focusing, magnifying, inversion of the image, formation of rings and colours by experiments, and makes first mention of the* camera obscura. *Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci and Kepler give evidence of his influence (T. C. Young in* The Moslem World, *v.* 35, *p.* 102).

In other realms of science, Jabir Ibn Hayyan of Kufa, the father of alchemy, was associated with improved methods of evaporation, filtration, sublimation, melting, distillation and crystallization; and scientific descriptions of calcination and reduction are attributed to him. He is said to have prepared many chemical substances: sulphide of mercury, arsenious oxide, aqua regia, *nearly pure vitriols, alums, alkalis and saltpetre. From the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries his works were the most influential in this science in both Europe and Asia.*

Al-Razi excelled Jabir in his exact identification of substances and his clear descriptions of chemical processes and apparatus. His works were known to the West and were quoted by Bacon. Al-Biruni, by using the method of Archimedes' bath, achieved the exact specific weight of eighteen precious stones and metals. He is famous as historian, geographer and mathematician (T. C. Young in The Moslem World, *v.* 35, *pp.* 101-2).

"In mathematics the Arabs taught the use of ciphers (although they did not invent them) and thus became the founders of the arithmetic of everyday life. They made algebra an exact science and developed it considerably. They laid the foundations of analytical geometry. They were the founders of plane and spherical trigonometry which, properly speaking, did not exist among the Greeks.

"In astronomy they made a number of valuable observations, and preserved for us in their translations a number of Greek works, the originals of which have been lost. It was Islamic astronomer-geographers who kept alive in the Dark Ages the ancient doctrine of the sphericity of the earth.

"The astrolabe, a Greek invention, improved by Ptolemy, was perfected by the Muslims, who took it to Europe some time in the tenth century (A. H. Christie in The Legacy of Islam, *p.* 115).

"Important for the history of geology is Ibn Sina's treatise on the formation of mountains, stones and minerals, in which he discusses the influence of earthquake, wind, water, temperature, sedimentation, desiccation and other causes of solidification.

"Ibn Khaldun of Tunis was probably the world's first pragmatic sociologist. He was the first to formulate laws of national progress and decay; to give climate and geography and such physical factors their due, along with moral and spiritual forces; and to understand that everything from pins and poems to kings and queens makes up the science of history (T. C. Young in The Moslem World, *v.* 35, *p.* 106).

"Ibn Hazm is important for his contribution in the eleventh century to comparative religion. Nicholson has called him 'the most original genius of Moslem Spain', and Gibb, 'the founder of the science of comparative religion'. Guillaume calls him the composer of 'the first systematic higher critical study of the Old and New Testaments' (J. C. Archer in The Moslem World, *v.* 29, *p.* 263).

"Contact with Islamic culture brought the influence of the Arabic and Persian languages and literatures into Christian lands. Many place names and the names of common objects in Spain and Portugal are derived from Arabic terms brought into use during the period of Islamic control of these countries. Such words as caravan, dragoman, jar, syrup, tariff, admiral, arsenal, alcove, mattress, sofa, alcohol, cipher, zero, algebra and muslin are but a few of these words which represent the Islamic element in our linguistic heritage.

"The influence of Arabic poetry is evident in the songs of the Spanish troubadours. Spanish-Arabic lyrics, and before them the verses of al-'Abbas Ibn al-Ahnaf, show nuances of the sensuous, earthly love poetry and court romances which were passed from Islamic poets to the Spanish troubadours, Provençal poets and German minnesingers. The Provençal poets, such as William of Poitiers, also adopted many of the complicated metrical terms of the Spanish Muslims, just as an unknown French prose writer took over the prosimetric form of the Arab narrator in the composition of Aucassin et Nicolette. *Episodes from Eastern stories, particularly those of the* Thousand and One Nights, *are found in the popular writings of Germany, France, Italy and England. Boccacio's* Decameron *and Chaucer's* Squire's Tale *are both indebted to this source, as are probably* Robinson Crusoe *and* Gulliver's Travels (*H. A. R. Gibb in* The Legacy of Islam, *p.* 201). *This influence also extends to Goethe, Schiller and the Continental romanticists.*

"Dante combined classical Christian mysticism with some of the richest and most spiritual features of the Islamic religious experience in his Divina Comedia. *He was undoubtedly influenced by such Muslim visionaries as Ibn al-'Arabi of Murcia, and his work contains elements of Muslim cosmogony and legends of the ascent of Muhammad (H. A. R. Gibb in* The Legacy of Islam, *p.* 198).

"The Arabic Book of Sinbad, *deprived from the Sanscrit by devious means, appears in Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Latin and English. The* Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers, *the first book to be printed in English, came through French, Latin and Spanish from an Arabic original.*

"Gibb points out that Arabic literature's most potent influence was as a leaven on the spirit of writing. It liberated the European imagination from a narrow and oppressive traditional discipline, and breached the wall of literary convention. It called into action creative impulses which were hitherto dormant or impotent (H. A. R. Gibb in The Legacy of Islam, *p.* 208).

"The West is indebted to Islam for bringing several musical terms and instruments to Europe; among these are the lute, guitar and rebeck or ribible. The Arabs contributed the use of frets, measured music, and the 'gloss' or adornment of melody, long before the theorists took cognizance of them. This adornment of melody, or discant, is said to have been the genesis of harmony.

"In art and craft work, the early Muslims excelled in gold and silver work, repousse and inlay. Their coffered ceilings are without parallel in Europe, and their influence extends into Christian churches. They were also famous for their coloured glazes, ceramics, lustered pottery, vases, drug jars, glass and crystal. Spanish-Moorish silks were in heavy demand, and were particularly treasured in Christian churches. Some of their little silk bags were found as far away as Canterbury Cathedral. The Muslims transmitted the art of paper-making from China to Europe, and they excelled in bookbinding and leather craft. They were even responsible for introducing the game of chess from India into Europe.

"Among the principal elements of the Islamic architecture of Spain and Portugal which appeared in medieval Gothic buildings are cusped arches, traceried windows, the pointed arch, the use of script and arabesques as decorative devices, and possibly ribbed vaulting. The design of late medieval castles is traceable to the fortresses of Syria.

"In the field of law, Islamic scholars were limited by authoritarian principles of their religious heritage, but despite

this limitation they were able to make some contributions. Santillana credits to them certain legal institutions such as limited partnership and certain technicalities of commercial law, but in general, there is no doubt that the high ethical standards of certain parts of Arab law have had a positive influence upon the development of our modern concepts (Dide Santillana in The Legacy of Islam, *p.* 310). *In commerce, Islam pioneered in the establishment of trade associations and joint stock companies and in the use of checks, letters of credit, receipts and bills of lading.*

" One of the greatest contributions of Muslim culture to European thought was the work of its philosophers. The Arabic philosophers rediscovered Greek philosophy, and, above all, the works of Aristotle. Through their translations and studies they introduced Aristotle and Neo-Platonism to the West centuries before the revival of Greek scholarship in the Renaissance. As late as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the University of Paris admitted Aristotle only as explained by Ibn Rushd's (Averroes) *commentary.*

" Al-Kindi, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd all acted not only as preservers and transmitters of classical philosophy, but also as commentators and contributors to it. The works of al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd were particuluarly influential for Christian philosopher-theologians.

" Foremost among Christian thinkers touched by the influence of al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd was Thomas Aquinas. Al-Ghazali's works reached Thomas through the Pugio Fidei *of Raymund Martin of the Toledo School, who incorporated much of al-Ghazali's works into his writing. Some of the more important questions on which St. Thomas and al-Ghazali agree are ' The value of human reason in explaining or demonstrating the truth about divine things ; the ideas of contingency and necessity as demonstrating the existence of God ; the unity of God implied in His perfection ; the possibility of the beautific vision ; the divine knowledge and the divine simplicity ; God's speech a* verbum mentis ; *the names of God ; miracles a testimony to the truth of the prophet's utterances ; the dogma of the resurrection from the dead ' (A. Guillaume in* The Legacy of Islam, *p.* 274). *These conclusions reveal the creative thinking of both of these philosopher-theologians, and suggest an influence of the former on the latter.*

" St. Thomas was also stimulated by the works of Ibn Rushd and of his followers, who taught that faith and reason are mutually contradictory, and that matter from revelation must be rejected in the face of opposing reason. St. Thomas set out to prove that faith and reason are not incompatible ; that they work together ; but that in some instances faith goes beyond the limits of mere reason in revealed matters. He established reason as a handmaiden of faith, and kept theology and philosophy as important conjunctive disciplines.

" Guillaume shows that Ibn Rushd actually taught the harmony of faith and reason just as Thomas did. Both gave reason its proper place, made use of the philosophy of the ancients and at the same time submitted their conclusions to the criticism which the reflection of subsequent centuries demands. Both held the reasonableness of a middle course between a sceptical mysticism and a rationalism which is divorced altogether from belief in the possibility of a revealed religion.

" It should also be noted that much of Aquinas' Summa Contra Gentiles *was written to refute the ' false teachings ' of Muslim theologians. He particularly attacks their beliefs that ' all things are the result of God's simple will without any reason ', and that ' the ordering of causes proceeds from divine providence by way of necessity '* (Summa Contra Gentiles, *iii, p.* 97). *Islamic doctrines here stimulated Christians to examine and clarify their own position. And Muslim scholarship aided the Christians in their recovery of the original writings of the Church Fathers. St. Thomas sought confimation in Augustine for his disputes with the Muslim theorists, and others followed suit.*

" But all relations between Christians and Muslims were not as productive as this philosophical exchange. For every Thomas who studied Islamic writers and met their claims with reasoned replies there were hundreds of Churchmen who saw the Muslims only as menacing infidels and reacted with uninstructed and impassioned hatred. And before Thomas could garner the fruits of Islamic scholarship without fear of compromising his own faith, centuries of tactical encounter between Christians and Muslims had taken place.

" As Christians first discovered that Islam was more than a Christian heresy, they reacted with two forms of defence. One was an intensifying of the Christian polemic against the religion of Islam ; the other was actual physical attack against the people of Islam. These two courses of action contributed to the growth of both understanding and misunderstanding between the two religions.

" Christian polemic at first employed all manner of invented fables about the Prophet and Islam. But slander and invective did not effect the conversion of Muslims from their faith ; and the travesty of history did not convince the Islamic and Christian scholars to whom it was addressed.

" It was found that to refute the enemy one must know him and his books. Influential Christians set out to do this. Ricoldus of Santa Cruce, a Dominican, visited Baghdad toward the end of the thirteenth century and included some first-hand information in his polemical material.

" The most positive step toward understanding Islam was taken by Peter of Cluny, under whose influence the first translation of the Qur'án was made in 1141. *However, the struggle for intellectual understanding was a long one. A few centuries later Martin Luther still had to exert the full weight of his personal influence to persuade the town council of Basel to permit the publication of Theodore Bibliander's Latin translation of the Qur'án. The council was more minded to imprison Bibliander for his devilish work ; but Luther welcomed any step which would help Christianity overcome its ignorance of and indifference to Islam (G. Simon in* The Moslem World, *v.* 21, *p.* 259).

" With the increased knowledge which came with acquaintance with the Qur'án, invective was tempered by some degree of understanding of the real nature and positive contributions of the Islamic faith. Luther, who knew of the works of Muhammad, Ibn Sina, al-Franganus and Ibn Rushd, could say of Islam : ' Their religious zeal is exemplary, as well as their good government, their laws and their sincerity. They let people believe what they like and force no one to deny Christ ' (G. Simon in The Moslem World, *v.* 21, *p.* 260). *Later he modified this high praise because he understood that the Turks were not allowed to preach Christ in public or to say anything against Muhammad. He deplored the war against the Turks being fought on a religious basis and preached that the only Christian way to meet the challenge of the Turks was to repent and turn to God. Luther's studies of both Islam and Christianity had convinced him that the Islamic menace was actually a positive instrument of God in judgment on the corrupt practices of the Christians ; and that corrupt Christians and Muslims alike would have to advance to a higher way of life under God.*

" Another constructive consequence of this growing scholarly interest in Islam in medieval times was the found-

ing of colleges in Christian lands for regular Oriental studies. At the urging of the distinguished missionary to the Muslims, Raymon Lull, the Council of Vienne, France, decided to found five colleges to teach Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean in Rome, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Salamanca. The negative intention of merely refuting a rival religion bore positive fruit in the construction of places of learning, and in better understanding of the people and religion of Islam.

"Contemporaneous with these developments was the waging of the Crusades — the actual physical contact between Christian and Islamic peoples. Here again both destructive and constructive effects emerge. These two hundred years of warfare deepened the chasm and sharpened the hostility between the two faiths. After the Crusades the masses of Islam and Christianity looked upon each other with continual distrust, sought every opportunity to crush each other, and relentlessly exploited every opportunity to do this. Yet for many individuals involved in these contacts there was an incidental accrual of positive gains.

"We note the many techniques of warfare which the Christians learned from their Muslim opponents: the use of the double-walled fort or castle, the siege tactics of sapping and mining, the employment of artillery, mangonels and battering rams, fires and combustibles, the crossbow, the wearing of cotton pads under the armour, the use of carrier pigeons.

"But the Christians learned something more important than techniques of war. As they lived in Muslim lands they saw among the peoples there a kind of religious and social tolerance rare in medieval Europe, and they carried some of the seeds of equality back with them into Europe. The meeting of Christian soldiers with living Muslim people also broke down some of the abstract barriers between 'the faithful' and 'the infidel'. The infidel was found to be a man of parts, and many of the fruits of his land and culture could be observed and appreciated. Undoubtedly the receptivity to new thought and discovery which came to Europe in scholasticism was augmented by the breadth of view which had come to these travellers to the Islamic lands.

"Some of the Churchmen who accompanied the Crusaders also developed a new appreciation of the Muslims. They still strove to convert the Muslims, but they changed their approach from swords to scholarship and the missionary sermon. Ignatius Loyola, Francis of Assisi and Raymon Lull were all stimulated by contact with the Muslims to earnest scholarship and constructive religious work among the Muslims in place of destructive warfare.

"The West now had the facilities and the motivation for study of the religion and people of Islam, even though hostility from the Crusades remained a seriously limiting factor. But the West's own development led it away from the East rather than toward it. With the aid of Islamic teachers the West had recovered its own heritage of classical religious traditions, and its schools and scholars had come of age so that they no longer needed to rely on Islamic sources. The West was developing its own renaissance; and Europe's explorers and commerce found a way around Africa to the East without dealing directly with the Islamic world. As the West reached for its own stature, it neglected its contacts with Islam; and Islam was content to let the West go by.

"Islam did not care for the new forms of Western life which developed with the commercial and industrial revolutions in Europe. It closed its doors to the West as long as possible; but the West, spearheaded by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, began to force open the doors. It threw the products of its industries on the markets of the East, paralyzing and often destroying the old crafts. It cut the Suez Canal through Islamic territory to connect its own points of interest. Westerners laid railways and air lines across these countries as if these lands were part of their own natural domain, and at the same time often gave the impression of believing that their civilization was the highest ever attained (*E. W. Bethmann,* Bridge to Islam, *p.* 114).

"The Islamic world is now flexing its muscles in reaction to this world which has been forced upon it. Islamic peoples are consolidating their causes around racial, national, religious and secular loyalties. They demand that they be given the same self-governing status and authority which is claimed by the nations who wish to deal with them. And Islam has a strong bargaining position from which to enforce its demands. It holds nearly half the oil reserves of the world, and is, geographically, the strategic bridge between East and West. The West is forced to deal with Islam for its own security.

"But the real power of the Islamic impact in contemporary world politics lies in the fact that Islam is challenging the West to re-establish its own moral and spiritual foundations, to meet world problems with responsible moral decision rather than with political and economic expediencies. Unless the West is to betray its Christian position, it must deal with the peoples of Islam as persons who are sons of the same God, and members of the same world for whose development we are all responsible.

"Yet this is not a situation in which the West has everything to give and nothing to receive; Western man's attempt to play the master has already caused immeasurable friction. An awareness of our cultural debt to Islam alters our judgment of our own self-sufficiency and our conception of Islam's 'backwardness'. Islam offers many positive contributions toward meeting the problems of our world community.

"The Muslim's deep apprehension of the transcendence of God and of His supremacy in His world as judge and arbiter of human destiny, together with his awareness of man's creatureliness, is a salutary corrective for contemporary concern for the consolidation of our human power to organize the world after our own plans. The conception of the essential unity of life, as found in Islam at its best, is more true and healthful than the Western fragmentation of life and society. 'Islam' or surrender to God for His wisdom can be a constructive point of departure for a dynamic common approach to the problems which face Christian and Muslim

"Muslims may also show us some commendable personality traits. 'Many a pushing, irascible, determined "Christian" of the West can learn much from a quiet, courteous, contented Muslim of the East. . . . Our brusque manners, which indicate slavery to a clock and efficiency, are not only boorish to them, but resented as an affront to human personality' (*T. C. Young in* The Moslem World, *v.* 35, *p.* 109).

"Islamic lands can demonstrate practical achievements in racial tolerance. And Muslims have an exemplary spiritual democracy within their faith — though many of their lands have yet to achieve full political democracy.

"The primary danger to Christianity and Islam today comes not from each other, but from secular materialism which denies the values and spiritual insights held by both faiths. When either Christian or Muslim depreciates the other, he uses arguments and attitudes which the secularist in turn employs to undermine the positions of both faiths. Christians and Muslims at their best have such positive power in common that both can best serve their own cause and the welfare of the world by mutual assistance.

"In the process of co-operation, Islam will probably find

that it cannot have the isolation which it wants; and Christianity will find that it cannot remake Islam in its own image. But only in working together can both give creative expression to their faith in God and their belief in men.

"Islam, from its beginning, has been a challenger and a contributor to Christianity. Christian learning, arts, medicine, science, religion and commerce all received contributions from Islam in the high Middle Ages. The fact that these two groups still exist in one world means that they will have an actual and potential impact upon each other.

"Actually, the Muslims are people who have something distinctive and positive to offer to the world community, and they are demanding from the West a just response to their world citizenship on the basis of equality. Potentially, Islam offers religious convictions regarding the nature of God and men, which are complementary to Christian understanding and are of great potential assistance in the reorganization of world politics which the Christian world must carry through if it is to be true to its ideals. Islam challenges Christianity to plumb the depths of its Christian heritage to bring forth ethical and spiritual resources which will enable it to live and work with Muslims not merely as fellow-men but as brothers under the one God. This is Christianity's own basis for international order if it will accept it.

"The primary impediment to be overcome in both camps is ignorance of the other's real aims and worth, and the automatic distrust and hatred based on past mistakes and false stereotypes. This mutual hostility and distrust is still real, and the only forces which can overcome it are the creative powers of the Islamic and Christian religions, which see through present conditions to God.

"In any world, and particularly in a world torn between those who believe in God and those who profess materialistic atheism, Islam and Christianity have much to offer each other; for they spring from the same basic roots and are grounded in the same basic belief in God. Eventually they stand or fall together. Both are challenged today to penetrate the secular forces of their own cultures, to augment the spiritual power of the other, and to work together as members of one living body serving the one God of all the world."

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33 SH. ABDEL KHALEK SARWAT · CAIRO · EGYPT

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF EGYPT

The Fellah, the backbone of Egypt's economy.
For the first time after thousands of years of uninterrupted alien rule, the Egyptian fellah is governing his country himself. The new Constitution designed by the Council of the Revolution, under the dynamic leadership of Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, will enable him to come into his own.

The new Constitution is democratic in the true sense of the word

The new Constitution is derived from the life and circumstances of the Egyptian people. It does not emulate foreign constitutions, as was the case in that of 1923, which was taken from the Belgian Constitution.

The Constitution is of a socialistic nature, in which every Egyptian characteristic is clearly manifested. It introduces new principles, the most important of which are solidarity, and social and economic justice.

The Constitution not only defines the freedoms and rights of the Egyptians, but also their duties. It considers a national duty their participation in public life and indicates the ways in which this participation may be carried out, either by addressing the authorities, or by expressing opinion through a plebiscite on matters of importance which concern the vital interests of the country; also by collaborating with the National Union to achieve the aims of the Revolution and to reconstruct the political, social and economic life of the nation.

The new Constitution is democratic in the true sense of the term. It does not confine itself to the meaning of the term as it is generally used in constitutional régimes, but achieves a form of direct and practical democracy without losing its essence, which is the actual participation of the citizens in running the affairs of their country.

The Constitution has basically accepted the Presidential system and has invested the legislative powers in one Assembly, the nation's Assembly.

An analysis of the Constitution

1. THE EGYPTIAN STATE

The Constitution may be divided into six parts:

The first concerns the Egyptian State. It stipulates that Egypt is an Arab country and that the Egyptians are of the Arab nation. This is to affirm the strength and unity of the Arabs as a power worthy of consideration in the international sphere, and is a reflection of the strong bonds which exist between Egypt and the Arab States.

The régime of the State is Republican and Democratic. This is the régime accepted and upheld by the people.

The sovereignty is the nation's and it is invested in her. The religion of the State is Islam and Arabic is the official language.

2. EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

The second concerns the fundamental issues of Egyptian society. Here, the principal functions of the State are defined to direct and guide the various authorities of the State. Of these foundations, on which Egyptian society is built, solidarity, social justice, public freedom and security, and equality of opportunity for all Egyptians are guaranteed.

This part stipulates the establishment of the national economy on sound bases to ensure harmony between general and private economic activities, and to preserve the sanctity of private property. The Constitution has, however, put a maximum limit to land ownership.

The Constitution stipulates the encouragement of co-operation and the support of co-operative institutions to ensure the fundamental principle of social solidarity.

It also defines the role of the State in raising the standard of living by providing all citizens with an adequate standard of living, and it guards the family system and motherhood and childhood. It also protects the young from exploitation and neglect, provides assistance to the old, the sick and the

disabled and provides medical care by establishing sanatoria and hospitals.

It stresses the woman's role in society and in the family and assures a reconciliation between her duties in these two fields.

It also states that public service is an obligation.

One of the aims of the Revolution is the abolition of social distinction. The creation of civil titles, therefore, has been prohibited.

3. RIGHTS AND DUTIES

The third concerns general rights and duties.

An Egyptian cannot be deprived of his Egyptian nationality nor can he change it. It cannot be withdrawn from those who have acquired it. Egyptians are equal before the law, they are equal in their rights and their public duties regardless of their race, origin, language or faith.

Liberties of the individual regarding his person, life, residence, abode, faith and religious practices are guaranteed. The Constitution guarantees freedom of opinion and scientific research, and the person's right to express his free opinion and publish it in every way. It also stresses the freedom of the Press, and of its publication and distribution in accordance with the legitimate rights of the people as a whole.

The Constitution also stipulates in this section the general public rights such as the right of assembly, the right of creating societies and unions, the right to do work — which the State endeavours to provide — and the right to be fairly treated in one's work. The Constitution prohibits the wholesale confiscation of property. Specific confiscation is subject to a court sentence. The Constitution specifies political rights, the most important of which is the right to vote, which has been made not only a right but also an obligation.

As for the duties of citizens, the Constitution defines these as being the duty to defend the country, military service, the payment of taxes and respect of public order and of the moral code.

4. THE AUTHORITIES IN THE EGYPTIAN STATE

The fourth section deals with the authorities in the State.

Legislative authority is vested in one body, the Nation's Assembly. The Assembly has the usual powers of legislation and the supervision over the executive authority. The rules regulating the methods of electing the members of the Assembly are left to be stated by a special law to be issued at a later date, to assure a measure of elasticity and adaptability. The term of the Assembly is five years.

The Constitution stipulates the right of members to question and interpellate the Ministers, also their right to submit any general subject to discussion to obtain clarification of Government policy, and their right to express their wishes and suggestions to the Government on any affair of public interest.

The Constitution prohibits the member's cumulation of the membership of the Assembly and a public office or the membership of a Board of Directors of a company for the duration of their membership.

Members of the Assembly cannot receive orders and decorations of the State. Since some State matters do not necessitate the promulgation of a special law as they, by their nature, lie wholly within the executive domain — such as the budget, and the transfer of an appropriation from one section to the other in the budget — the Constitution stipulates that such matters are to be approved only by the Assembly.

The Constitution guarantees for Assembly members every possible immunity to enable them to carry out their duties. They are immune from arrest or the instituting of any penal procedure against them without the Assembly's permission, except in the case of *flagrant delict*. They are also immune from censure for opinions or ideas uttered in the course of their work in the Assembly or in one of its committees. Members may not be deprived of their membership unless this is approved by a two-thirds majority.

The President of the Republic

Limitations are set on the right of the President to dissolve the Assembly. The Assembly cannot be dissolved twice for the same reason, and the Presidential resolution for dissolution should contain the call for new elections.

The Executive Authority: The Constitution adopts the Presidential system.

It stipulates that the President is the Head of State and the Chief Executive.

The President must be an Egyptian of Egyptian parents, enjoying his civil and political rights, not less than thirty-five years of age, and not related to the ex-royal family that reigned in Egypt.

The procedure to elect the President is as follows:

The Nation's Assembly nominates a candidate for public referendum. The Constitution is thus on this point a combination of the Parliamentary and the Presidential systems, avoiding the same time the defects in each.

The Presidential term is six years. If the Presidency becomes vacant through decease or resignation, the President of the Assembly takes over the functions of the President for a period not exceeding sixty days until the new President is elected.

In accordance with the Presidential system it is stipulated that the President formulates in collaboration with the Ministers the general policy of the Government. The Head of State is given the functions accorded him in the various constitutions, such as the right of proposing laws and the power of veto, as well as promulgating the two. Also the right to pass emergency measures during periods of the Assembly's recess and during the periods of its dissolution, provided that such resolutions be submitted to the Assembly within fifteen days of the date of their issue if the Assembly is in session or at its first meeting if it was dissolved at the time of their issue.

The President is also empowered to pass emergency resolutions which shall have the power of law in cases of emergency and by the Assembly's delegation provided that the Assembly's delegation to the President in this specifies the subject of the emergency resolutions and the duration of this delegated power.

It is clear that the President of the Republic is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and that he has the authority to declare war, with the approval of the Nation's Assembly, and to conclude treaties and to communicate them to the Assembly for ratification; and that he has the authority to declare a State of Emergency, under the provision that the case will be submitted for decision to the Assembly within fifteen days. He nominates and discharges officials, and he has the right to pardon or commute penalties.

Among the most important matters included in the draft is the investing in the President of the Republic of the power, after consulting the Nation's Assembly, of referring through a plebiscite to the people the vital problems bearing on the country's higher interests.

The Constitution thus realizes democracy in its most definite form by increasing the participation of the people in government as a practical, direct and continued way, avoiding in the meantime the more serious drawbacks generally attached to parliamentary systems which do not bring the people into participation in government except on widely separate occasions.

The President is assisted by Ministers whom he appoints and discharges. These services are terminated at the end of his term. Each Minister controls his Ministry and runs it along the lines of the Government's general policy.

It is also possible to appoint Deputy Ministers who are subject to the stipulations regarding Ministers.

The Constitution realizes a definite form of co-operation between the legislative and executive authorities through the warrant to Ministers and Deputy Ministers to be members of the Nation's Assembly. It also allows the appointment among members of the Assembly of Under-Secretaries of State for the affairs of the Nation's Assembly.

The Constitution states the basis of local government in Egypt. It stipulates that the Egyptian Republic is divided into administrative units, each of which is qualified to realize its juristic personality. Each of these units which has its own juristic personality is represented by a Council whose members are elected by suffrage. The presence in these Councils of nominated members is allowed with a view to ensuring the representation of all therein. These representative Councils in the administrative units will be concerned with all the interests of the units and will be authorized to establish and manage public utilities, economic, social, cultural and health services within the boundaries of the units. The State provides these units with their requirements in the technical, managerial and financial spheres.

The Constitution emphasizes the importance of National Defence by stipulating the formation of a Higher Council of National Defence, under the Chairmanship of the President of the Republic, which handles matters pertaining to the country's security.

It clearly states that the Armed Forces belong to the people and that their duty is to defend the country's sovereignty and the security and peace of its territory. The State alone will constitute those forces. Consequently, no group or organization will be authorized to form any military or quasi-military force. The State alone will ensure the military training of the youth and the organization of the National Guard.

The Judicial Authority: The Constitution stresses the independence of the juridical authority and its officers.

Judges are not liable to dismissal. They are independent and are under no authority in their functions except that of the law.

Interference with lawsuits or the affairs of justice is prohibited to any authority. Court sessions will be public unless the Court decides to hold them *in camera* for reasons relating to public order or morality. Judgments are issued and enforced in the name of the nation.

The law prescribes the terms and conditions for the nomination of prosecuting magistrates and their dismissal. It regulates the functions of the office of the public prosecutors, its competence and its relation to the juridical corps. The law will regulate the constitution of military courts, their competence and the requirements to be met by those who act as judges in them.

5 AND 6. GENERAL

The fifth section includes general provisions regarding the capital of the Republic, the national flag and its emblem. It also includes the stipulation that laws will be effective only after their promulgation. It also includes the dates of the publication of laws in the Official Journal and the dates of their effectiveness. This part also defines the procedure for the amendment of the Constitution and the referring of the matter finally to the will of the people through a plebiscite.

The Constitution, in order to ensure and guarantee the continuation of laws, decree orders, regulations and decisions issued prior to its promulgation, stipulates the continuance of their effectiveness and excludes the possibility of their cancellation or modification except under the general rules stipulated by the Constitution.

The sixth section includes transitory rules assumed by the act of transition from the present system to the new system. Most important among these is the congregation of the citizens in a national union to strive for the achievement of the objectives sought by the Revolution, and to erect a sound structure of the nation in the political, social and economic spheres.

23rd June 1956 has been fixed for a universal plebiscite on two counts:

(1) The election of the President of the Republic;

(2) The voting for or against this Constitution, which will start its validity as from the date of the announcement of its approval by the people in the plebiscite.

Until that date, the Constitutional announcement of 10th February 1953 will remain in force.

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Praying together in the great mosque of Bandung.
Our picture shows the heads of the Lebanese, Sa'udi Arabian, Indonesian and Egyptian delegations. From left to right are seated the Prime Minister of the Lebanon, Mr. Sami Sulh, the Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Mr. 'Ali Sastroamidjojo, and Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Prime Minister of Egypt.

THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE IN RETROSPECT

Reflections on the First Anniversary

Muslims' share in its Deliberations

By DR. J. HANS

(The author of this article is an Austrian economist, who is also a political commentator and an Arabist. Dr. Hans is not a newcomer to the modern problems facing the Muslim world. When in Egypt in 1937, *he wrote his book (in German),* The Financial World of Islam. *Contemporary reviews considered this book as the very first of its kind. It dealt with the monetary and financial problems which Muslim countries had to tackle some twenty years ago. His book* Homo Oeconomicus Islamicus (1952, *Vienna), reviews the economic aspect of the Muslim countries with special regard to the Islamic doctrine on the social article is the condensed contents of a chapter of Dr. Hans's next book,* Dynamics and Dogmatism in Islam, *which is likely to be published (in German) by the end of* 1956.—*Ed.,* I.R.)

The Importance of the Bandung Conference

Nowadays it is a commonplace to state that the meeting of twenty-nine nations of Asia and Africa was an historic event; for the two continents, which for some two centuries until the first decade of the twentieth century lay dormant under the strong waves of Western technical, scientific and economic superiority, have changed from their passive and receptive attitude to an active and dynamic role.

The very fact that no less than twenty-nine sovereign States were represented at Bandung was impressive; for it must not be overlooked that some forty years ago the list of sovereign Asian and African States would have included only the following eight States: Japan, China, Siam, Nepal, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Ethiopia.

On the eve of the opening of the Bandung Conference the well-known London weekly *The Economist* for 16th April 1955 said: "Indeed, in sheer geographical scope the gathering at Bandung makes all the congresses that Europe has held over the centuries look like a neighbourly chat over garden fences."

Indeed, this was a comparison which hit the nail on the head.

Any congress of European nations or any bi-continental gathering of Europe and America (outside the Iron Curtain) is based on the common Christian faith. Any bi-continental gathering of the Soviet *bloc* countries is based on a hard-and-fast common political ideology. A number of pan-Islamic congresses held during the first post-war years were bi-continental also and based on the Islamic renaissance as their common denominator.

The Asian-African Conference, however lacked any existing positive common purpose. And yet it became a

success. Five days of frank discussions were sufficient to produce a final *communiqué*, comprising some 4,000 words, and covering many burning international and inter-continental problems;[1] and, what is more, this *communiqué* was unanimously adopted.

The final *communiqué* was headed by the following introduction: "The Conference considered the position of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their peoples could achieve the fullest economic, cultural and political co-operation."

The Muslim share in Bandung

The following table indicates the Muslim share in the Bandung Conference:

	Number of countries	Number of members of the United Nations	Represented population (in millions)	Muslim countries: Number	Muslim countries: Population (in millions)
Asia ...	23	13	1,360	11	230
Africa ...	6	3	60	3	30
Total ...	29	16	1,420	14	260

The Conference was held on a religiously neutral basis. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the fourteen Muslim countries[2] represented the biggest ideologically "closed" group of countries. Seven countries[3] were united by the Buddist ideology.

Democratic principles

Though India and China, with their population of some 370 and 580 millions respectively, far outnumbered the other twenty-seven participating countries, each of these two giants had just the same voting power as any of the smaller participating States; for instance, the Lebanon, with only 1.3 million. As no veto was given to the great nations, the machinery of the Bandung Conference was more democratic than that of the United Nations.

Even the personal prestige enjoyed by the "big two" did not induce the Conference to depart from its strictly democratic principles. Nehru was overridden when he sought to prevent public declarations by the heads of the delegations. Nehru and Chou-En-Lai did not succeed in getting the adoption by the Conference of the famous "five principles of peaceful co-existence". It will be remembered that the two Prime Ministers had first adopted the five principles in order to settle the controversy about Tibet. In July 1954, at the meeting of Nehru and Chou in Delhi, this doctrine was proclaimed as the basis of the foreign policy of India and China. Nevertheless, the Bandung Conference, strongly supported by the Muslim group of participants, adopted a political programme of ten points and replaced the term "co-existence" by the word "co-operation".

1 It contains seven sections: (a) Economic Co-operation; (b) Cultural Co-operation; (c) Human Rights and Self-determination; (d) Problems of Dependent Peoples; (e) Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation; (f) Declaration of the Problems of Dependent Peoples; (g) Declaration of the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation.

2 Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, the Lebanon (half Muslim and half Christian), Libya, Pakistan, Sa'udi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria and the Yemen.

3 Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon (with two-thirds of Buddhists and the balance consisting of Muslim, Hindu and Christian minorities), Laos, Thailand, North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

One of the main reasons why, contrary to widespread anticipation, India and China failed to give a decisive lead to the Asian and Chinese peoples gathered at Bandung is certainly rooted in the internal conditions of these two States. Those among the participants who probably expected some magic formula about a new *Pax Asiatica* to be proclaimed by the "big two" did not bear in mind the recent history of India and China. Soon after 1945 both nations embarked on national, social and economic reform schemes reminiscent of the reforms the Turkish Republic introduced after 1920 in order to establish real "secular" States. The time-honoured social and political structures both in India and China are being replaced by modern systems. India borrowed her model, as was done by Turkey, from the Western world; China followed the Soviet pattern; evolutionary is the pace in India and revolutionary in China. The only real common denominator of the present stage of India's and China's evolution is that both countries are passing through a period of transition involving experiments.

The experimental stage did not attract followers. It will be recalled that even Turkey's modernization and her political renaissance as a decisive factor in the Middle East did not induce any of the Muslim countries to adopt the "Kemalist" system. On the contrary, as was also discernible in Bandung, Turkey is now gradually approaching the other Muslim and Arab countries.

Muslims as guardians of United Nations principles

Owing to lack of a convincing leadership of the "big two" the proceedings and results of the Bandung Conference got their special feature: the frequent reference to the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations. This was by no means a self-explanatory event in a conference where only sixteen out of the twenty-nine participants were also members of the United Nations. The list of the thirteen outsiders included such large nations as China and Japan. In the months preceding the opening of the Conference there was more than one pessimistic voice predicting the birth of some Afro-Asian "Monroe" Doctrine, and consequently the possible secession of a number of States from the United Nations. What, however, really happened was that the Conference abstained from framing its separate "Oriental" principles. The discussions and the final resolutions revealed that more than lip-service was paid to the United Nations Charter, even by the thirteen non-members of the Conference.

While the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, was fully appreciative of the results of Bandung, for they strengthened the authority of the United Nations, there were other comments in the Western world which blamed the Conference for its contradictory attitude regarding French North African interests. It was brought out in a statement in the section of "Cultural Co-operation" which said that "in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed". Western and chiefly French critics considered the afore-quoted sentence as incompatible with Point 10 of the "Declaration of Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation" of the Conference; for Point 10 requires "the respect for justice and international obligations". It will be remembered that the United Nations dealt with this controversy in October and November 1955. Those who interpreted the Charter of the United Nations from a strictly formal point of view came to the conclusion that the three North African Muslim countries represented an "essentially internal" French jurisdiction (Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter). But the deep emo-

tional movement among the Arab world, however, places the problem in the international sphere of interest.

If it is borne in mind that the ten out of the sixteen "Bandung" States which are also members of the United Nations belong to the Muslim group of countries, it may be safely stated that the Muslims were among the chief guardians of the principles of the United Nations. There can hardly be a more convincing argument in this respect than the resolution on the "existing tension in the Middle East caused by the situation in Palestine". The twenty-nine participants of the Bandung Conference declared their support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implemention of the Arab nations' resolutions on Palestine and of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question. As all the resolutions in Bandung were adopted unanimously, it follows that the Arab States also voted for the afore-quoted resolution on Palestine. The chronicler of the history of the United Nations will have to take note of the change that took place then in the attitude of the Arab countries that voted against the Resolution in 1947. (On 30th November 1947 the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the partition of Palestine by 33 votes to 13 ; 11 countries did not vote. The Arab and Muslim States voted against it.) But now the Arabs do not stand alone ; for now they have been supported by a group of Asiatic members of the United Nations. Thus in 1955 the Arab and other Muslim and non-Muslim countries have recognized the binding force of a United Nations resolution which they opposed in 1947.

In this connection a few words ought to be said about a modern interpretation of the role of Islam in intercontinental and international relations. Bandung demonstrated that international influence is not dependent on the figures of populations. If a non-Muslim observer be allowed to express his personal view, the present writer (who has devoted much time and thought to Islamic problems for the past forty-five years or so) thinks that the secular manifestations of Islam in the field of international relations suggest a revision of the doctrine of *Dar al-Islam*. If this term comprises the whole world of Islam as opposed to the non-Muslim world (*Dar al-Harb*, or *Dar al-Kufr*), its realization in our time would assume a shape rather different from the monolithic caliphatedom of the early Islamic history. Translated in terms of the twentieth century, *Dar al-Islam* would mean a very loose "Commonwealth of Muslim States".

Colonialism

Turning to the general political and national problems dealt with at the Bandung Conference, the most impressive item was the declaration that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end". The original wording of this resolution simply condemned "colonialism" ; the closer circumscription by the words "in all its manifestations" was added chiefly at the request of Muslim delegations. The latter certainly remembered that some 100 million Muslims were living as minorities in India, China and in other Asiatic republics of the Soviet Union.

The Bandung Conference attempted to frame a number of principles for an effective bi-continental economic co-operation. This, however, was a task bristling with difficulties. Shaping an economic solidarity of the two continents was indeed an attempt without parallel in history. The resolution contained a number of recommendations which partly are self-explanatory, such as the diversification of the export trade, the formulation of a common oil policy, or the peaceful uses of atomic energy. There are, however, only a few hints to the problems of industrialization, though it is evident that both continents have not yet entered the era of the "industrial revolution". Trade unionism is not mentioned at all. In the field of monetary co-operation the two Bretton Woods institutions (International Monetary Fund and World Bank) are completely omitted, though the majority of the participating countries are also members of these two institutions, created in 1944 for a world-wide international monetary co-operation. This striking omission was probably due to China's role as an outsider. The only indirect reference to the monetary problems is contained in paragraph 5 of the section on economic co-operation, which runs as follows: "that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilizing international prices of, and demand for, primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements".

Communist ideology stronger in the formulation of the final *communiqué*

It was indeed surprising that the final *communiqué* thereby suggested the return to the primitive barter trade system without mentioning the world-wide recognized goal of the international convertibility of the currencies. It is doubtful if the aforementioned arrangements as to the prices would replace the already existing monetary co-operation among Asian and African countries through the channels of the International Monetary Fund. Besides, the activity of the World Bank has become a decisive factor in the modernization of the economic systems of the two continents. The most recent example is the construction of the new Aswan dam in Egypt, requiring foreign funds to the amount of $200 million. It is reported that the World Bank is ready to undertake the financing of this scheme. In a period when Western and Communist competition in Asia and Africa has become an accomplished fact, it is evident that the different kinds of monetary thinking of the two competitors are also reflected in the economic recommendations of the Bandung Conference. The silence on the already existing channels in the monetary co-operation indicates that the Communist ideology was the stronger one in the formulation of the economic policy in the final *communiqué*. It is for this reason that I would like to refer my readers to an article of mine on the "Islamic Law and Western Monetary Thinking" which appeared in *The Islamic Review* for December 1949. It was pointed out by me that the mechanism of the International Monetary Fund reflects some essential features of the Islamic law of contracts. Most Muslim countries have joined the Fund ; one of the most recent members was Afghanistan, who joined in July 1955.

The missing formulation of any bi-continental monetary policy was not the only omission in the economic and social recommendations of the Bandung Conference. It is a commonplace today to recognize the pressure of the rising populations in many Asian and African countries as a problem of utmost urgency. Algeria, Egypt, West Pakistan, Java and Japan are threatened by the fact that the rising production of foodstuffs does not keep pace with the mounting wave of the population. Industrialization and migrations on a large scale seem to be the only remedies in the long run. It is a pity that the framers of the Bandung resolutions neglected these questions.

What is the lesson from these retrospective comments on the Bandung Conference and the events that followed it? In the opinion of the writer Bandung has once more demonstrated that it is much easier to formulate principles on the political and national "juxtaposition" (in order to avoid the meaningless "co-existence") than to elaborate an economic and social programme to bridge different systems.

Chinese Muslim scholars. Muslim children may study in special schools. The People's Government has helped Muslims set up schools, many of them in areas where there is a large Muslim population.

HOW MUSLIMS LIVE IN CHINA OF TODAY

By MUHAMMAD MAKIEN

" In short, side by side with political equality and economic improvement, the restoration and growth of culture and education among the Muslims of China has put an end to all phases of their enforced backwardness. Nothing remains to stand in the way of their becoming a mighty force in the building of a new life for themselves and all China

The Chinese Government's policy of tolerance towards the Muslim minority

Chinese believers in Islam, who number about ten million, are at last free from persecution, discrimination and every semblance of inequality. Their character of liberties is the Common Programme of the People's Republic of China. Because most Chinese Muslims are also members of national minorities, it is especially important to them that the Common Programme does not limit itself to guaranteeing freedom for all religions, but also secures to every nationality the right to develop its language or dialect and to preserve or reform its traditions, customs and religious beliefs in accordance with the wishes of its members.

These policies have been put into practice by both central and local authorities. In respect of religion, all mosques, as well as the places of worship of other faiths, are exempt from real estate taxes, while those of historic value have been repaired at Government expense. On 6th December 1950, the Central People's Government issued a special order remitting the slaughter tax on cows and sheep killed by Muslims in connected with the celebration of the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, and the festivals of *Shakar Bairam* ('Id al-Fitr) and *Qurban Bairam* ('Id al-Adha).

During these festivals, State-owned and co-operative trading agencies give special discounts on such articles as beef, mutton, rice, flour, tea, sugar and cloth. Moreover, the Government has ordered that no Muslim student, worker or State employee should be required to work on the religious holidays of Islam. In Peking and elsewhere, meeting places are provided for large gatherings of Muslims on special religious occasions. At every State banquet and representative assembly there are special tables with food and refreshments which conform to Muslim dietary laws. Such food is also regularly provided at many railway stations.

In 1952, Chinese Muslims sent a *hajj* mission to Mecca. Although the pilgrims were unable to proceed all the way to their destination as a result of external hindrances, they met with co-religionists in Singapore and Pakistan, where they stopped for some time. Their journey made it clear to all Muslims that Chinese Muslims have not only freedom of belief but also freedom of contact with their brothers elsewhere in the world. Delegates from the various Islamic countries to the recent Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific regions visited mosques in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hangchow, Wusih and Canton, and took part in services in some of them.

Muslims of China under the Kuomintang

Chinese Muslims are particularly happy over all these advances because of the bitter memories still fresh in their minds. For many centuries, as well as very recently in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China of the Kuomintang, Muslims were placed under all kinds of restraints in the practice of their faith. Mosques were often seized as billets for mercenary troops who had not the slightest respect for the rules of Islam and drank wine, gambled, sang indecent songs and ate pork on the premises — even amusing themselves by forcing *Akhuns* to taste food prohibited by Islam. Kuomintang vandalism in pulling down the mosques outside Chao Yang Men, Peking and at Mu Chia Chung Tse, Tientsin (both incidents occurred in 1948), is something that Chinese Muslims will never forget. Nor will it be forgotten that, under the Kuomintang, Muslim communities became so poverty-stricken that hardly anyone could afford to kill an animal on *Qurban Bairam* according to the dictates of the Qur'án. In those days, Chinese Muslims called the *Shakar Bairam* " The Festival of Tears " and the *Qurban Bairam* " The Festival of Humiliation ".

The Kuomintang also shed rivers of Muslim blood. Between 1941 and 1943, Sheng Shih-tsai, Kuomintang governor of Sinkiang, put to death over 100,000 revolutionary

young people in that Province, most of them the sons and daughters of Muslim nationalities. In 1928, the Hui Hui[1] people at Hochow (now Linhsia county), Kansu Province, started an armed revolt against the misrule of the Chiang Kai-shek gangsters. In the resulting suppression, more than 10,000 of the Hui Hui folk were massacred, numberless buildings were burned down and the whole city was pillaged, leaving the surviving Hui Hui in the pitiable position of homeless vagrants. Between 1939 and 1941, thousands of others were slain for standing up for their rights in Haiyuan and Kuyuan counties, also in Kansu. It is a heartbreaking thing to record that the warlords of the Ma clan, themselves of Hui Hui origin, betrayed their own people for Kuomintang tribes and participated in the slaughter of both Hui Huis and Tunghsiangs, another Muslim nationality in the north-west.

The fruits of liberation

By contrast with the dark past, when they did not enjoy any security of life, much less other rights, the liberation of China has brought the Muslims an opportunity for rapid political, economic and cultural development.

Muslim divines and laymen participated in the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference which found the People's Republic of China and adopted the Common Programme, as well as in all subsequent sessions of the CPPCC.

Many sit on local people's representative assemblies and hold posts in the Central People's Government, in governments of the provincial, municipal, county and district levels, and in public services of all types. Two Muslims, Saifuddin and Liu Ke-ping, are members of the Central People's Government Council.

Saifuddin is a member of the Committee for Drafting the Constitution of the People's Republic of China as announced on 13th January 1953. Burkhan is Chairman of the Sinkiang provincial government.

In the armed forces, all ranks are open to Muslims — and special arrangements are made for their food and religious observances.

Besides this respect for their beliefs, the people of various Islamic nationalities enjoy the right of national autonomy. National autonomous governments have already been set up in many places, among the Tunghsiang people in Kansu Province, the Hui Hui people of Suiyuan Province, and others. Wherever the Muslim nationalities have a distinct language, it is used, on a par with Chinese, in court proceedings and all types of official business.

In Sinkiang, home of the all-Muslim Uighur people, who constitute a majority of the inhabitants, the currency issued by the People's Bank bears inscriptions in Uighur. These notes are not local currency, but are legal tender all over the country.

As is the case with the Chinese people of all nationalities the majority of Muslims in China are peasants. They have therefore benefited fully from the land reform wherever it has been carried out.

In one small autonomous district of the Tunghsiang people in Kansu, 53,000 poor peasants and hired labourers, as well as a number of middle peasants (owner-cultivators), were allotted land, houses, draught animals, farm tools and foodstuffs. The 62-year-old poor peasant Ma I-ko, for example, never owned a square foot of land in his whole life until he received a farm and a three-room house in the reform.

In the village of Changkuanchen, Shantung Province, agrarian reform raised the *per capita* land-holdings of the Hui Hui people threefold.

At present the land reform is being carried out in Sinkiang Province, where the overwhelming majority of the population is Muslim by faith.

Muslims living a pastoral life, of whom there are many, have made similar gains as a result of the fair trading policy of the People's Government. In Tihua (or Urumchi, the capital city of Sinkiang), a shepherd before liberation had to sell 442 lb. of wool to get a bolt of cotton cloth. Now it takes only 47 lb. of wool to get the same amount. As a result, every Muslim around Tihua can now afford to kill a fat sheep on the *Qurban Bairam,* as the Qur'án teaches.

The agriculture of many areas inhabited by Muslims depends on irrigation. In the past two years, the People's Government has initiated irrigation projects and other large-scale construction work in these regions. As a result, Sinkiang in 1952 had 24 per cent more land under cultivation than in 1949. The cotton crop of the Province went up nearly 29 per cent and the output of all crops together was 34 per cent higher. People's Liberation Army units stationed in Sinkiang have helped the local nationalities to restore fifteen major irrigation projects and build eight new ones. At the same time, the peasants have themselves extended the network of small-scale irrigation works, with the result that the irrigation area has increased to 110,000 acres.

Cultural advance

In the field of culture, the People's Government has helped the Muslims of various areas to set up a very large number of schools. In Shantung Province, there was a considerable area, inhabited by Hui Hui people, where not a single person knew how to read and write. Now, in the same area, there is at least one primary school in each village and half the total of children is already enrolled. A college exclusively for Hui Hui students, established in Peking, now has more than a thousand students. Hui Hui primary schools in Ninghsia Province have increased in number from 14 to 22, and in enrolment from 1,288 to 8,863. Sinkiang has its own Academy of Nationalities for higher education. In the same Province there are 5,500 Muslim students in 30 middle schools and over 259,000 Muslim children in 1,950 primary schools, instruction being given in the language of the pupils. Seventeen primary schools and a middle school in the Anshan district, for example, teach in the Kazakh tongue.

The Kuomintang rulers trampled the cultures of all nationalities underfoot, compelling them to learn the Han language if they wanted to study at all. The People's Government, on the other hand, not only respects but helps them to develop their cultures. Sinkiang has eight daily papers and three periodicals in the Uighur language and five newspapers in Kazakh.

In short, side by side with political equality and economic improvement, the restoration and growth of culture and education among the Muslims of China has put an end to all phases of their enforced backwardness. Nothing remains to stand in the way of their becoming a mighty force in the building of a new life for themselves and all China.

1 The name by which the Muslims are known in some parts of China.

INDONESIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Resistance, both armed and spiritual, was always waged by the Indonesian people against colonialism, although it was not until the beginning of the present century that they began to form political parties as a means of attaining their aims regarding the structure of society and the State.

The history of the development of political parties in Indonesia may be divided into three stages. The first covered the period from 1908 until 1942 and saw the gradual blossoming of democratic Indonesian organizations until they became effective instruments in the struggle for independence. The second covered the period of the Japanese occupation and the final one commenced with the proclamation of independence.

Although the development of the party system has been in the direction of a multi-party structure with parties based on nationalism, religion or Marxism, each pursuing its ends by different means, nevertheless they have always had one aim in common — the independence of their country.

Partai Nasional Indonesia **(Indonesian National Party—PNI)**

The *Partai Nasional Indonesia* was founded in January 1946, with the merger of several local parties based on nationalism. It is generally regarded as the successor of the party founded by President Sukarno in 1927, which became a casualty of colonial repression and may be classified as a left-centre organization.

During the revolution the new party concentrated its efforts on the attainment of complete independence and to this end collaborated with various political organizations, including the Mashumi. With the latter it took part in most governments preceding the transfer of sovereignty and effected co-operation with other parties through the *Benteng Republik Indonesia* (Fortress of the Republic of Indonesia) and the *Front Kemerdekaan Nasional* (National Independence Front). Since the transfer of sovereignty it has been represented in four out of the six governments.

The policy of the party is based on its underlying philosophy of marhaenism, which it believes to be the type of socialism particularly adapted to the Indonesian community and spirit. It seeks the establishment of a marhaenist society rooted in democratic government and the maintenance of the fundamental human rights, opposing capitalism, imperialism and dictatorship in whatever form they may appear. It is profoundly aware of the respective functions of man and society and their interaction. It believes that its particular brand of socialism will encourage and invigorate all sections of the community.

To achieve its aims, the party believes that it should concentrate on four sections of the community — peasants, labourers, youth and women. Stress should be laid on the importance of the peasant farmers as they constitute the major part of the population and thus their support is necessary before any change can be effected in the social order. Every peasant should have his own plot of land, a policy which can be helped to function by means of large-scale transmigration. The marhaenist believes that it is possible to transform a fedual and communal society, as prevails at present in Indonesia, into one of a socialist nature without passing through a transitional period of capitalism, always bearing in mind that the essential Indonesian character of that society must not be jeopardized.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Sukarno

The policy with regard to youth is to liberate it from ultra-conservative, outmoded traditions, which stifle the free development of the mind, and imbue them with boundless enthusiasm and the ability to create a new society. The party believes that as the women of Indonesia have many barriers of tradition to overcome before they can take their proper place in society, it must support and guarantee the development of women's movements, so that they may be free to become a determining factor in the creation of a marhaenist society.

The party employs two methods of tackling the tasks before it. On one hand it seeks the abolition of feudal institutions, giant foreign enterprises and widespread ignorance that still exist in Indonesia, while on the positive side it seeks to bring the people to a true understanding of the belief in democracy, political, economic and social.

The party's Central Council is made up of the following members:

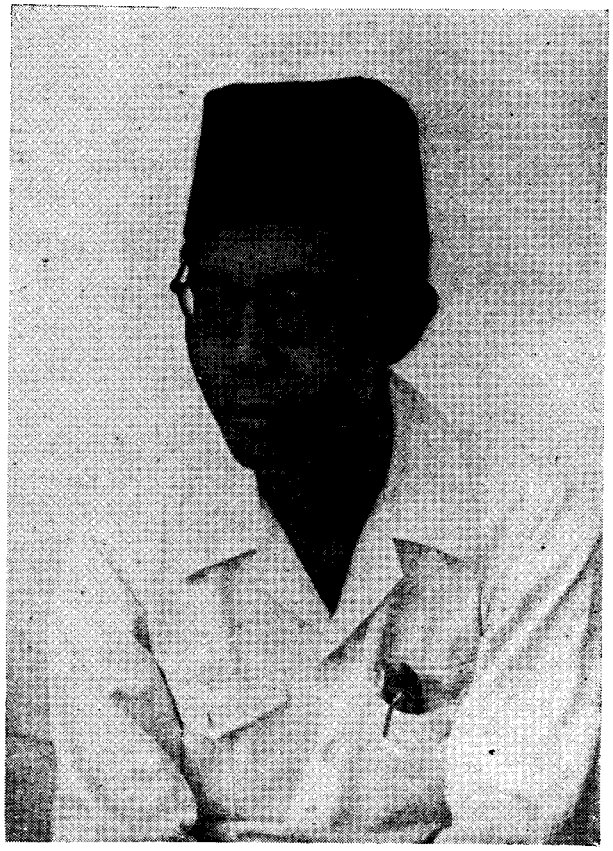
Suwirjo (First Deputy Chairman and a former Vice-Premier), S. Mangunsarkoro (Second Deputy Chairman), Sutojo Martodimuljo (Secretary-General), Rh. Kusnan, Manai Sophiaan, S. Hadikusumo, Sabilal Rashad, Mr. Subagio Reksodipuro, Mrs. L. Sutrasno, Mr. Wilopo (a former Premier), Dr. A. K. Gani (a former Vice-Premier), Mr.

Sujono Hadinoto, I. B. P. Manuaba, T. Wen. There are fifty-seven members of the PNI in the present Parliament.

The party symbol in the recent General Election was a bull's head inside a triangle, with the inscription *Front Marhaenis* underneath.

Mashumi — **abbreviated form of the full style of** *Majlis Shura Muslimin Indonesia* **(Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations)**

Founded on 7th November 1945, this important Muslim political party is made up of Muslim organizations of various shades of opinion, which had previously been embodied in a religious federation of non-political Islamic organizations



The President of the Mashumi, *Mr. Muhammad Nasir*

known as MIAI. One of its constituent members is the *Muhammadiyyah,* a powerful social and educational organization, while until 1952 the *Nahdhatul-'Ulama* (the Orthodox Muslim Party), now a separate political party, was also incorporated in it.

From 1945 until 1949 the Mashumi participated in most governments, largely based on parliamentary co-operation with the PNI. This collaboration was achieved through the medium of two successive political coalitions, *Benteng Republic Indonesia* (Fortress of the Republic of Indonesia) and the *Front Kemerdekaan Nasional* (National Independence Front). Since the transfer of sovereignty, Mashumi has participated in five governments.

In August 1952 a conference of the party adopted a policy for action. This reaffirmed that the Indonesian Republic should be based on Islamic teachings, which fully guarantee the spiritual and material security of all citizens. The party believed that there should be complete freedom of religion. The chief executive power should be vested in the President, who should be responsible to the House of Representatives, and a Senate representative of the administrative regions was advocated.

There should be rapid industrialization to relieve Indonesia of dependence on imports of foreign manufactures and ensure full employment. The country's economy must be a guided one, the production and distribution of goods being aimed at the welfare of the people in the widest sense. Private monopoly detrimental to the public interest should not be allowed. Because of the lack of sufficient foreign capital, an opportunity would be given for foreign investment on a basis of mutual profit. There should be nationalization of essential industries and services, e.g., the central bank, basic communications, public welfare enterprises and mines.

The price and wage structure must be fixed according to the country's general economic situation at a particular time. Supplementary wages should be paid to workers to ensure a reasonable living standard to a man, his wife and two children ; a wage scale based on the total number of children was considered to be " unfair to management ". The national economy should be strengthened by the setting up of co-operatives with the assistance of the Government.

Foreign domination in any form was declared to be contrary to Islamic principles. Indonesian foreign policy should be aimed at the preservation of world peace and the cultivation of friendly relations with all countries, especially those which believed in God and democracy. Foreign aid was acceptable as long as it did not involve military or political commitments or otherwise impair Indonesian sovereignty. West Irian (West New Guinea) must be restored to Indonesia.

The party chairman, Muhammad Nasir, declared at a later date the Mashumi would support any countries fighting for national independence.

The party's organization is widespread in the country, and there is a women's section known as *Muslimat* (The Muslim Women).

The party has 57 members in the present Parliament.

The party's Central Council comprises fourteen members as follows: Muhammad Nasir (Chairman), Dr. Sukiman (Deputy Chairman), Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo (Vice-Chairman), Taufqurrahman (Secretary-General), Mr. Muhammad Rum, Mr. Sharfuddin Prawiranepara, Mr. Yusuf Wibisono, Dr. Abu Hanifah, Mr. Burhanuddin Harahap, Prawoto Mangkusasmito, Muhammad Sardjan, K. H. Faqih 'Usman, Mrs. Sunarjo Mangunpuspito, and Mrs. Abu Hanifah. Mr. Harahap was Prime Minister in the outgoing government, while Muhammad Nasir and Dr. Sukiman are former Premiers. Sharfuddin Prawiranegara was emergency Premier, based on Sumatra, during the second Dutch military action, subsequently becoming Vice-Premier in the Hatta cabinet that followed. Prawoto Mangkusasmito was Vice-Premier in the Wilopo cabinet. The party now has forty-four members of the provisional Parliament. The party symbol in the General Election was a white star and crescent on black background.

Nahdhatul-'Ulama **(Orthodox Muslim Party)**

The *Nahdhatul-'Ulama* was founded in 1926 and since then has played a notable role in the Islamic education of the Indonesian people. The main aims of the organization are based on the Islamic principles according to one of the four *madzhabs* (schools of Muslim law).

Although at the time of its formation, the organization did not claim to be of a political nature, it did not confine its activities to religion in a narrow sense ; it also concerned itself with problems relating to the life of the people, especially the Muslims among them.

During the Japanese occupation, the *Nahdhatul-'Ulama,* like all such parties and organizations, was proscribed for a while, but was later allowed to function in a limited sphere.

The revolution caused the party to adopt a more political character, and in 1946 it decided to become a constituent group with Mashumi in order to intensify the activities of the Muslim community. In 1952, however, due to internal frictions and its inherently conservative outlook in religious matters, it broke away from Mashumi and became an independent political party with separate representation in Parliament. Not long after it joined with the United Muslim Party (PSII) and PERTI (an Islamic party deriving its main support from Central Sumatra) to form the *Liga Muslimin* (Muslim League), the aim of which was to support the activities of the Arab-Asian group in the United Nations. Since its breakaway from Mashumi the party has been represented in two Governments, while various of its leaders had formerly served as Mashumi Minister. It held the portfolios of Religious Affairs and Home Affairs in the last government and had seven members of the provisional Parliament, but in the newly-elected Parliament it is represented by forty-five members.

The party's Central Council comprises eight members: Kjai Hadji Mashur (Chairman), H. Idham Khalid (Secretary), K. H. M. Dahlan, Zainul 'Arifin, A. S. Backmid, K. R. H. 'Abdulwahhab Khasbullah, K. H. Muhammad Ilhas and H. A. Fatah Yasin. Mr. Mashkur was Minister of Religious Affairs in the 'Al Sastroamidjoj Government, while Zainul 'Arifin was Deputy-Premier.

The party's election symbol consisted of the globe, surrounded by nine stars, with the party name in Arabic characters running through it and the Roman letters N.U. beneath.

Partai Komunis Indonesia **(Indonesian Communist Party, PKI)**

The formal inception of the Indonesian Communist Party took place on 23rd May 1920, although for the previous six years it had, under the name of the Indies Social Democratic Organization, been actively engaged in trying to popularize Marxist principles among the Indonesian people. For a time it succeeded in exerting no small influence on the local branches of the *Sarikat Islam,* which in that period was the first mass party in the country. At a congress in December 1920, the Communist Party decided to join the Communist International, while in the following year the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, Semaun and Darsono respectively, went on a visit to Moscow.

A rebellion instigated by the party in 1926 was put down by the Colonial Government and about 4,500 people were exiled to Boven Digul in West Irian, while the party itself was outlawed. It was, however, reconstituted secretly in 1935 and pursued its activities both before and during the Japanese occupation as an undercover organization. In November 1945 the party came into the open once more and joined two coalitions of socialist parties, the *Sayap Kiri* (Left Wing) and its reorganized successor, the *Front Demokrasi Rakjat* (People's Democratic Front), which was formed in February 1948, and merged with PKI six months later.

In September the united party staged the armed coup at Madiun, which was successfully quelled by the Government and which led to the execution of eleven of its leaders. The party has never been outlawed by the Indonesian Governments.

At present the party aims at the establishment of a democratic republic based on socialism and ultimately a Communist society.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the PKI comprises: D. N. Aidit (Secretary-General), M. H. Lukman (First Deputy Secretary-General), Nyoto (Second Deputy Secretary-General), Sudisman and Sakirman. The party had seventeen members in the provisional Parliament and has taken part in two of the fifteen cabinets since the Proclamation of Independence. It has in the present Parliament four members. The party lost heavily in strength in the general elections.

In the General Election it used the hammer and sickle as its symbol.

The present Government and its programme

The first Indonesian Government after the results of the country's initial general elections were announced on 1st March 1955 came into being on 20th March 1955, when President Sukarno signified his approval of its composition; the Prime Minister is Dr. 'Ali Sastroamidjojo of the PNI (Nationalist Party).

It was on 8th March that the President entrusted the new Premier with the task of forming a cabinet based on the widest possible support in the new Parliament.

The main party differences have evaporated, as shown by the participation in the Government of the three strongest parties, the PNI, the Mashumi (*Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations*) and the Nahdhatul-'Ulama (*Religious Teachers' Party*). A number of smaller but influential parties based on Islam, Christianity and ex-Servicemen's interests are also represented, thus ensuring the widest national basis.

The new Government's programme, which was formulated by Dr. Sastroamidjojo, contains the following points:

(1) The carrying out of the unilateral abrogation of the Indonesian-Dutch Union and the Round Table Conference Agreements, both in form and substance, and the taking of the steps necessary to meet the consequences.

(2) The furtherance of the struggle for the reincorporation of West Irian into the Republic of Indonesia, based on the strength of the people and the establishment of a Province of West Irian.

(3) The restoration of internal security and the perfecting of the co-ordination between the various instruments of State, especially in taking steps to restore security.

(4) Economics and Finance: to embark on long-term development in accordance with the five-year plan, to work for the transformation of the colonial-type economy into one of a national nature and to intensify the development of co-operatives; to improve the country's financial position; to give priority to the increasing of the country's financial resources; to tighten control over the country's expenditure and over credits from the Government; to promote the establishment of and to protect national industries; to raise the standard of living of the peasantry by increasing agricultural production, particularly with regard to foodstuffs; to strengthen the growth of peasant co-operatives and banks, to improve the health and education of the peasants and to carry out transmigration schemes; to increase the yield from livestock and fisheries; to expand the means of transport in areas of large-scale production; to promote and control national navigation; to renew agrarian legislation based on the interests of the peasantry.

A supplement to this section includes:

(a) The accepting of foreign technical and/or economic aid to promote the country's reconstruction and development. This aid should be given on a commercial foundation free from any political and military commitments, on the basis of international mutual assistance and humanity or in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

(b) Foreign investment should be regulated by law.

(5) The establishment of autonomous areas in three stages at the maximum; to determine by legislation the financial balance between the central and local authorities; to hold local elections as soon as possible; to fashion an efficient Government apparatus; to eliminate corruption on an impartial basis.

(6) The speeding up of the stabilization of the authority of the State; to introduce national service for all Indonesian subjects; to improve the standard of the spiritual and physical training of the Indonesian armed forces.

(7) The promotion of the efforts of the Government to improve the lot and the legal status of the labouring masses; to complement the legislation relating to labourers and other employees; to regulate the settlement of labour disputes; to assist the development of sound labour organizations.

(8) The extension and raising of the quality of the nation's spiritual and physical education; to prepare for the putting into effect of compulsory education within a specific period; to put the finishing touches to the legislation on national education; to carry out efforts to develop national culture.

(9) The harnessing of the potentials of ex-Servicemen for productive purposes.

(10) The pursuance of an active, independent foreign policy based on the interests of the people and aiming at world peace; the implementing of the resolutions of the first Asian-African Conference in Bandung.

(11) The bringing in of legislation on education in religious schools.

(12) The introduction of legislation on marriage as soon as possible.

The number of seats held by the Government parties is 189 out of 260 elected seats, 58 more than the number required to secure the minimum absolute majority.

TWO NATIONS AND KASHMIR, by Lord Birdwood; Robert Hale, London, 1956. Price 21/-.

"My Government authorizes me to state I will have full support if I order Indian troops to remain in present positions and to cease fire."

So wrote General Bucher in a telegram to General Gracey on 30th September 1948, and the cease-fire came into effect on 1st January 1949. That was more than seven years ago, but the Kashmir dispute still remains unresolved. In *Two Nations and Kashmir* Lord Birdwood has traced the circumstances that have contributed to the existing indecision in Kashmir. Lord Birdwood's is a penetrating study, which, above all, is impartial; he has gone into the matter with meticulous thoroughness. He has probed the past history of Kashmir, and has made a determined effort to give the chaotic last nine years some definition and meaning.

To the Muslim world, however, the important question is what is going to become of the 3,101,247 Muslims in a population of 4,021,616 of Jammu and Kashmir State. (Figures cited from Lord Birdwood's index on population statistics based on the Government of India Census Report of 1941.) The answer, of course, is to let them make their own choice, whether they wish their State to accede to Pakistan or to India. In other words, let there be a plebiscite in Kashmir as recommended by the United Nations Commission. But India's policy does not seem compatible with the democratic proposal for a settlement as put forward by the United Nations Commission.

What is India's policy on Kashmir? India has, no doubt, after making certain reservations, accepted the plebiscite in principle. Mr. Nehru has consistently reminded the world that India will not forget her obligation, that she will hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. But, as Lord Birdwood has pointed out, it seems that India considers it an obligation to the free world, to the United Nations, to Pakistan, but hardly to the Kashmiri — "the man who matters". And it is the man who matters and who must have all the consideration. India's policy, therefore, would seem as one of gaining time. (This is the reviewer's interpretation of the facts as chronicled in *Two Nations and Kashmir*, and are not to be implicated from Lord Birdwood's, who has done his best to be impartial.) For it is difficult otherwise to account for India's continual disapproval of the several proposals for demilitarization advanced by the United Nations. In the meantime, so it seems, India hopes to indoctrinate the Kashmiri into believing that he has already been culturally integrated in the traditions of India. Ostensibly spending a holiday in Kashmir, the Indian President and the Prime Minister do their utmost to show their concern for the Kashmiris and take the opportunity to inculcate in them the values of Indian culture. (It will be remembered that when, just before the partition of India in 1947, Mr. Jinnah requested the Kashmir Government to give him permission to take a holiday in Kashmir, his request was refused.) The erection of a statue of the Mahatma Gandhi and articles by Yuvraj Karan Singh, the head of the State, on Hindu shrines in Kashmir all seem to be part of the same plan. India is undoubtedly doing her best to "educate" public opinion.

There is also the more important economic aspect. India is pouring money into Kashmir; but if the Indian leaders have the slightest suspicion that Kashmir might one day accede to Pakistan, then we would either consider their subsidising Kashmir as a great act of philanthropy or we would think them insane. But today we can only guess at their motive for investing money in Kashmir. Perhaps they think that an improverished country like Pakistan, herself dependent on foreign aid, will find it impossible to reconcile Kashmir's economy to her own. Accession to Pakistan would also mean a break in the continuity of Kashmir's economy, with deleterious consequences. Indian financial aid is also calculated to have a profound effect on the mind of the Kashmiri. Again, the Indians might have the simple, business man-like notion of obtaining quick returns for their investment while they still have Kashmir. This could imply irrational exploitation which is likely to lead to economic distress. The sooner Pakistan realizes the motives behind India's money in Kashmir, the better. India's economic policy in Kashmir reminds me of the villain Quzhin in

Dostoyevesky's *Crime and Punishment*: he offers money to a young girl from a destitute family, outwardly to relieve the family of straitened circumstances, but inwardly hoping to win the young girl later on for himself. This parallel with Kashmir is shockingly close. Lord Birdwood, however, has a solution to this aspect of the problem which should receive some publicity. He suggests international finance for the intervening period so that the continuity of Kashmir's economy is ensured. The added advantage of this would be that the Kashmiri will not be swayed by economic considerations when the plebiscite takes place.

Over Kashmir, Mr. Nehru is inconsistent with his own democratic ideas. He is committed to a plebiscite, but his idea of a plebiscite is distorted with qualifications. The Kashmiris are mostly illiterate, he says; they know nothing of the democratic process, and therefore a representative body of "enlightened" people will have to make a choice for them. (Is this the beginning of the "dictatorship of the intellectuals"?) That, however, is Mr. Nehru's interpretation of the United Nations resolution of 13th August 1948, which says:

> "The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people. . . ."

If Mr. Nehru can repudiate this right in Kashmir, we might ask on what grounds he does allow universal adult suffrage in his own country, where the percentage of illiteracy is about the same. His own régime is based on the will of mostly illiterate people. I am afraid this kind of argument, to which the Indian Prime Minister is resorting, is futile and self-contradictory and only leads to procrastination.

And what of Kashmir today? Here are some of the facts from Lord Birdwood's book: Europeans are obliged to renew their permits frequently, which is tedious. Citizens who are suspected of being "critical of the Indian association with the State" are trailed; Americans and Pakistanis are also shadowed. In this atmosphere of suspicion two elements play a vital part: the Indian Army and Indian propaganda, which combine to have a deep psychological effect on the mind of the Kashmiri because the Indian Army, as Lord Birdwood says, is *an army of occupation*. The bayonets of this army are buttressing the unrepresentative Bakshi Government.

Mr. D. P. Dhar, a member of Bakshi's Government, has said: "Supposing that a plebiscite was to go against India? What would be the Indian reaction? Indians would say that in Kashmir's hour of need you turned to us and we came to your rescue. Having saved you we built you up and poured our money and talent into your country. The reward of our friendship is your association to Pakistan." This argument can easily be refuted; Mr. Dhar should know that it was not Kashmir that turned to India, but that it was the Dogra ruler. If you play the game according to the rules, the *Kashmiris have turned to no one as yet*. But this is one of the most significant of quotations from *Two Nations and Kashmir*, and its implications should be considered; I have only succeeded in hinting at the consequences of India's economic policy in Kashmir. There is a great deal in India's actions which is obfuscated. Is India trying to create a moral bond between herself and the Kashmiris? Mr. Dhar's words suggest so.

Lord Birdwood presents both the history of events and also a critical appraisal of the over-complicated situation. *Two Nations and Kashmir* is a work of great merit; it is well produced, with a charming frontispiece. The several appendices and the appropriate maps show the trouble Lord Birdwood has taken over his very valuable work. But what is to become of the 3,101,247 Muslims in Kashmir? The Muslim world is anxious that they should express their will.

ZULFIKAR AHMED.

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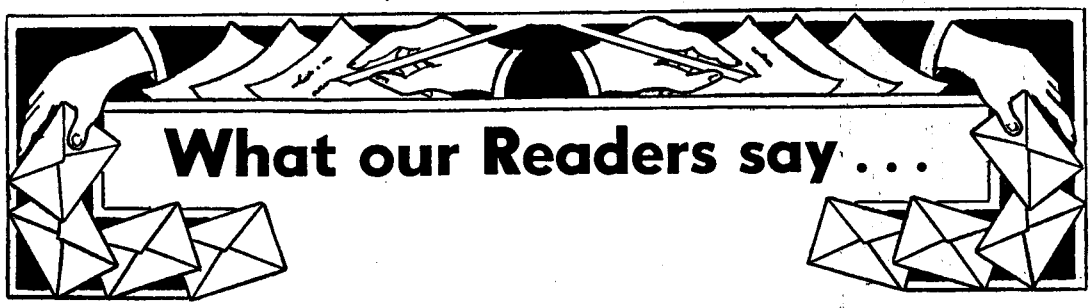

THE QUERY OF A READER

Production Office,
Jamalpur, Monghyr,
India.
31st January 1956.

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much for enrolling me as a subscriber to your magazine. I have learned a great many things about the Muslim world since I started reading your magazine. I wonder whether you can suggest to me any book on Islamic economics showing the advantages of such a system over the Communist or Socialist economies. I also do not understand why the acceptance of Karl Marx's Socialist economy is not in keeping with the teachings of the Holy Qur'án, where this system assures the widest possible distribution of profits derived from the means of production, which certainly is quite in conformity with our religious principles. Of course, we do not have to accept Karl Marx's theory of evolution to apply his economic principles in our countries. I will be grateful to you if you can suggest to me some books to enlighten me on these points.

I think it will help us a lot in understanding the pace of progress of different Muslim countries if you publish articles with illustrations on the development schemes of all Muslim countries.

Yours sincerely, M. ZAMAN.

THE PLIGHT OF MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Washington, D.C.
26th January 1956.

Dear Sir,

I have collected some information on the subject of Soviet efforts to destroy the Muslims in Central Asia. I enclose it herewith. As you will notice there are two separate articles. One, by Justice Douglas, a well-known traveller, appeared in *Look* for 13th December 1955, and the other is a series of three articles published in *The New York Times* for 4th, 5th and 6th January 1956 by its editor.[1] He is a Jew, and a very well-known person.

Both the articles reveal the systematic manner in which Russia is destroying Islamic influence in her "colonies" (although she condemns other powers for being colonialists). Today Soviet Russia is the biggest colonial power in the world with 23-30,000,000 Muslims under her domination who are completely cut off from the rest of the world.

It is time that Muslims outside Russia took some interest in their brothers who are suffering under the Soviet rule. We take a great interest in North Africa, but we should not fail to do something for a country which has some of the most sacred and famous cities of Islam, like Bokhara, Tashkend and Samarkand.

Yours sincerely, H. D.

* * * *

"SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES"

H.M.S. Vigo,
c/o G.P.O.,
London.
19th March 1956.

Dear Sir,

The article "Social Revolution in the Arab Countries" in *The Islamic Review* for February 1956 has somehow left me with some uncomfortable feelings. Our women were represented as deserving the most pity.

There were also some other views to which I am the least inclined to subscribe. There may be some more people sharing my views. I know too many grumbles make everybody sick. Nevertheless I crave the indulgence of your columns for some of my thoughts about us Muslims and the task ahead.

A national movement for achieving independence grows out of a conviction that one can look after one's things better than someone else under given circumstances. This is natural — a feeling common to all peoples, provided they have the courage and confidence in themselves that they can do something. They also must have discipline to bind them as a nation.

The impact of the West on the East has robbed the East of its courage, shattered its confidence, and has not made any substantial contribution to the cause of dicipline. The Easterner has become a scarecrow to himself and is ashamed of revealing his true self.

It is a mistake to think that European political philosophy and ideologies of the nineteenth century are the inspirations of the national movements of the Middle East or any East for that matter. What they, however, have done is to drive home to the Easterner the very old but very important lesson that nobody can bring any harm to him unless he himself does it.

The Muslims of today have forgotten that wherever they went, they took their baggage with them never to return to their homelands. They developed the greatest centres of learning and culture in their new countries. Their rule was that of a sovereign who belonged to the country. They were not there to safeguard the economic interests of any foreign power. They brought dignity to the countries they ruled. This goes some length to explain why the Muslim rule sustained for long periods in various countries. Such circumstances foster the growth of a nation.

Our women have so far played a very substantial part in our family life. As far as the greater units, such as the community and the country are concerned, the vast mass of the people — both men and women — took only a small part in framing and running them. That this is so is not of their fault when we come to consider the fact that we are mostly illiterate and pre-occupied with the struggle of making both ends meet. The few educated, with few exceptions, of course, were not always honest.

The present feminist movement in the Muslim countries is not a solitary movement but a part of the bigger one aiming at preparing the people to make a better contribution to the prosperity of the individual and the country, to take away the social privileges from those who proved unfit to have them. It is not a punitive movement but a corrective one. It is a revolution primarily to raise the standard of living of the masses rather than slash down the few. In this movement everybody is on the march — the women side by side with the men.

How far we have moved is not to be measured by the length of our shirt and coat, nor the plunge in the necklines and the number of legs on the dance floor. Rather is it to be measured by the contribution we make to the wellbeing of the individual and the community; the happiness of ourselves and that of the humanity at large. The correct dress of a man is the one most adaptable to the battledress and yet most peaceful in outlook. The dress of a woman must show that she is a lady and graceful one at that.

We must at all times bear in mind that we, one and all, are trying to make a happy and harmonious society of ourselves. To achieve this we do the best and the right thing. Our recent history bears out the fact that we have not known what is best and right; we must turn to the Qur'án and find out the right and best.

Emancipation is freedom of thought and going in the right direction. We must achieve this for our men as well as women; so that our efforts become multiplied and development speeded up. By just fitting an outlet to an empty tank we achieve nothing; we must have water as well. When we have enough water, only then the outlet becomes of some use. We can also be sure that some of the water will spill over.

Our social life must be built around our schools and factories. If we are trying the other way, we are most likely wasting our time and efforts.

In our search for family harmony and happiness and good social structure we must walk in some other direction other than towards the West. A goodly part of social structure, I know, is determined by the economic circumstances. But the Book of God and the practices of the Prophet (may the peace and blessings of God be on him!) can guide us in this search of ours. The happiness in a family does not entirely depend on the relations within the family but without as well. It is a bad thing to bring two wires of opposite potential together and expect no current or sparking between them if proper precautions are not taken. The responsibility for taking the precautions rest on each and every one of us. We are all liable to cross the line; so let us keep to the middle and not approach the edge.

Yours sincerely,

NURUN NABI.

1 Excerpts from these articles elsewhere in this issue.