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JUNE 1956

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Abdul 'Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, Roshni, Srinagar, Kashmir.
Aden, last imperialist outpost in the Arabian peninsula

Recent events in the town of Aden and in the so-called Aden Protectorates have shown that Arab nationalism is equally alive in this part of the world as it is in Bahrain (where there is also a considerable Iranian nationalism element).

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for British Colonies, Lord Lloyd, recently received a hostile reception in Aden comparable with a similar demonstration which greeted his namesake, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Britain's Foreign Minister, when he paid a flying visit to Bahrain earlier in the year. The arrest of 119 Aden subjects when they entered the "Protectorate Territory" from the north with Sa'udi Arabian lorry drivers on 20th May 1956 was the subject of comment in the House of Lords.

Lord Munster, speaking on 31st May 1956, stated that 119 Aden Protectorate subjects who had abstained themselves from the Protectorate without authority returned from a northerly direction carrying arms and were apprehended in the Aden area by the Royal Air Force and the Hadrami Bedouin Legion. He said that the lorries appeared to be of Sa'udi civilian ownership with Sa'udi drivers and cleaners. Lord Munster claimed that both lorries and drivers were released and allowed to return to Sa'udi territory, and that the drivers were warned that they should only travel in an authorized area.

Another incident described from British sources relates to the firing on sixty "hostile tribesmen" by twelve Venom jet fighters. It appears that the Serar tribesmen of Qua'it were "contained" by the Bedouin Legion at Al-Abr. They refused to disarm and according to British Government sources they were attacked by only two jet planes and after their two flights, they were induced to ask for a truce and duly surrendered. Lord Strabolgi very pertinently wanted to know if the strafing of the people of the Aden Protectorate would not make them even more susceptible to anti-British propaganda from Egypt and Sa'udi Arabia.

On 25th May 1956 the Sa'udi Arabian Legation in Paris published a very different version of this affair. It stated that the lorries had been destroyed and "families were in mourning", that they were merely carrying back the Aden people and that the Sa'udi Government disclaimed any desire or intention of carrying out a policy of territorial expansion in the southern territories of the Aden Peninsula.

On 26th May 1956 The Times correspondent in Cairo wrote an alarmist dispatch in which he alleged that the "Yemenis maintain constant piqued pressure against British authority in Aden". Further, he stated that the Jeddah meeting of the Egyptian, Sa'udi Arabian and Yemen officials was "concerned largely with co-ordinating action against British rule in Aden, the latest Western entrenchment in the Middle East". The Egyptian Arabic daily, al-Gumhuriyya, Cairo, for 23rd May 1956, described Britain's position in Aden as "helpless and hopeless, forsaken and forlorn." The Times, London, alleged that Sa'udi Arabia was providing money and arms to encourage hostile action to Britain in the Aden area.

On 19th May 1956, The Times castigated the British Government policy in the Aden Protectorate. It stated that the onus of deciding the form of federation had been "trust on the sheikhs", that "the future was far from clear", and that there seemed the likelihood of the formation of an Arab federation with a treaty relationship with Britain. The Times also referred to the "chaotic state in regard to trade unions and the machinery for settling industrial disputes".

Lord Lloyd, during his visit to Aden, poured cold water on the aspirations of the rapidly growing Arab nationalist movement, whose leaders were arrested during his visit to Aden. He stated on 20th May 1956 that there was "no question of any further radical change in the Constitution". Referring to the elected council, he stated bluntly that a considerable degree of internal self-government was the limit of concession to be obtained in the "foreseeable future". He contended that any measure which sought to take Aden outside the British Commonwealth would be disastrous to the commercial prosperity of Aden and its community.

In view of the reactionary and retrograde nature of Lord Lloyd's remarks, it is not to be wondered at that when Lord Lloyd left the airport he was protected by police, to quote once more The Times, "with rifles, batons and shields", and "several hundred Arabs shouted anti-British slogans and shook their fists at Lord Lloyd's car".
Clearly there is a great deal of opposition to the continuance of British rule; and Britain or any other outside power is incapable of indefinitely damming up the all-absorbing tide of Arab nationalism which is sweeping the French out of North Africa and the British out of Aden. The united activities of Egypt, Sa'udi Arabia and the Yemen are useful examples of the progressive and dynamic action of Arab nationalism, which is the true sentiment of the Arab masses and is only opposed by Quislings and foreign subsidised plutocrats.

Writing in the *Manchester Guardian* for 2nd June 1956, Mr. Ibrahim 'Osman, the Press Attaché of the Yemen Legation in Great Britain, claimed that the sultanes of the Western protectorates had not separated from the Yemen before the advent of the British in 1839 and that they were merely temporarily cut off owing to the exigencies of the Yemen-Ottoman War. The sultanes, he wrote, “... were an inseparable part of the Yemen and could not exist if separated from the motherland.” Mr. Ibrahim 'Osman further showed that the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the Yemen in 1934 stated clearly that “both sides should enter into negotiations during the treaty to solve the question of the Southern frontiers and that is what Yemen has been seeking. Unfortunately the British Government is attempting to limit the dispute to defining the borders.... Yemen regards any attempt to separate Aden from the protectorates or the Eastern or Western Protectorates from Yemen as plain violation of the treaty.”

By her outdated imperialist policy Britain, far from protecting the £50 million oil refinery in Aden, and her commercial and strategic interests there, is hastening her own downfall in this area and spurning the hand of friendship offered recently by Lt.-Colonel 'Abd al-Nasir to the British Ambassador in Cairo.

In conclusion, certain facts and figures about Aden and the so-called protectorates may be of interest: the Aden colony occupies an area of 75 square miles excluding Perim and the Kuria Muria Islands. Its population in 1952 was estimated at 130,000. But in 1946 there were, according to British estimates, 58,000 Arabs, 7,000 Jews, 4,000 Somalis, 10,000 Indians and others and 366 Europeans. 71,000 of the above population live in Aden and 25,000 in Shaikh 'Osman. The Turks captured Aden in 1538 C.E. and were driven out by the Yemenis in 1638. Annexed by the East India Company in 1839, Aden became a British colony in 1937. Aden is administered by a Governor who is also responsible for the protectorate. Aden has a Legislative Council inaugurated in 1947 of which the Governor is President. The Council has four official and four ex-officio members and eight unofficial nominated members. With regard to local government the municipality includes three elected members.

The “Aden Protectorate” occupies an area of 112,000 square miles. The population of the Aden Protectorate in 1952 was estimated at 650,000, the Western Protectorate at 350,000 and the Eastern Protectorate at 300,000. There are eighteen Western States, of which the chief is Lahej, and five Eastern States, including Mukalla. The Federation scheme was first mooted in 1954. The States, which are nominally under their own rulers, are controlled by British agents and political officers with the aid of 540 Government Guards in the West and 360 East Hadrami Bedouin Legionnaires in the East. The Quaiti State in the East maintains the Mukalla Army comprising 350 officers and men.

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**FLOWERS FROM THE GARDEN**

(III)

**Perfection is Possible**

It had been said Perfection was some dizzy height supreme, Aloft, invincible, unscaleable, unattainable; Some virgin snow peak dazzling — Himalayan, some dream That none but fools ran after, not makeable Mid this world's imperfections unforsakeable.

How can this be the truth? How can it be That man should find himself placed in a vipers' den Of imperfections quite unconquerable? Who made this world? Who doth control The lesser than the atom of its being? His handiwork is perfect, doubt it not: His laws are perfect, doubt it not: And thou mayst move amidst perfection (doubt not this at all), If, lowly with submissive heart, Clothed in the garments of His grace, Thou still dost strive, with joy in striving, run thy race, Seeking His love and pleasure, not thyself at all. Seeing at length all things with the Beloved's vision bless'd, Thou shalt attain The end of pain And mid perfections multiple thy soul shall move at rest.

William Bashyr Pickard.
THE MESSAGE OF MUSLIM THOUGHT

The reasons for the failure of almost all Western Writers on Muslim Philosophy to understand the Originality, Characteristics and Trends of Islam

By Dr. ‘OSMAN AMIN

"Muslim thought seems to have a definite message to communicate, not only to Muslims but to humanity in general; to urge man to seek solution to the enigmas of the universe and to deepen his knowledge of himself, by letting his conscience direct his conduct; to give man confidence in God and in himself so that with this double confidence he may be able to exercise fully his free will and to go through this life steadily and without fear.

1. Definition of “Muslim Thought”

By “Muslim thought” I mean such general doctrines about God, man and the universe as were held by purely classical Muslim philosophers of the tenth to the twelfth centuries, such as al-Farabi, Avicenna and Averroes, and by modern philosophers such as Muhammad ‘Abduh in Egypt and Muhammad Iqbal in Pakistan.

But classical Muslim philosophy has been the object of furious controversies since the appearance of Orientalist studies. Its detractors have gone as far as to dispute both its name and its existence.

For some the terms “Islamic” or “Muslim”, applied to that philosophy, are not quite adequate designations. They say that it should rather be called “Arabian” philosophy, because the works of its representatives are written in Arabic, the language which was used throughout the educated Muslim world of the Middle Ages. For others, on the contrary, this philosophy is not Arabian, because most of these philosophers are not of Arab origin. They claim that it should therefore be called “Islamic” philosophy, because Islam has an incontestable influence upon it, and because it has itself developed principally in Islamic territory and under the protection of Islam.

The disagreement is not limited to the choice of an adequate name for this philosophy. Certain Orientalists dispute the fact that Islamic philosophy has had an independent existence; according to them, it is a sort of amalgamation of old doctrines from many and varied sources. Others claim that the Muslim philosophers have drawn from Greek philosophy, which was diffused among the Christians of Syria and the pagans of Harran, and that they added to it Hindu and Persian elements.

Others again have passed on Muslim philosophy a summary judgment, according to which it is only a deformed commentary on the systems of Aristotle and the Neoplatonists.

To me, however, it is not at all surprising that this question has raised so many controversies. The originality of the Christian philosophy was also the subject of dispute, which is still far from being settled. Y’a-t-il une philosophie chrétienne? (Is there such a thing as Christian philosophy?) was the theme discussed in the session of the French Philosophical Society in 1932, a session which I personally attended. And I observed that the whole Christian school of philosophical thought was divided into two groups. For instance, Professor Bréhier held that there was no such thing as Christian philosophy, whereas Professor Gilson maintained in his works on medieval philosophy that there existed a definite and distinct system of Christian philosophy in the Middle Ages.

Back to Islamic philosophy, and a crucial point to be kept in mind: that almost all Western writers on Muslim
philosophy have failed to understand its originality, characteristics and trends.

On the one hand, the Orientalists, though they could read Arabic, which is the principal language in which it is written, failed to achieve a clear grasp of this philosophy; and that is due to their lack of philosophical background.

On the other hand, Western historians of philosophy, in spite of their competence in the philosophical field, proved to be helpless when confronted with Islamic philosophy; and that is due to their ignorance of the Arabic language.

Under these deplorable and paradoxical circumstances, it is only fair that nothing should be taken for granted from either schools of Western scholars before it has been competently checked by scholars who possess a full knowledge of both philosophy and the Arabic language. For it is they alone who are able to go to the original sources of Islamic philosophy and culture. And it is high time that Muslim scholars of this particular type corrected such mistakes and shortcomings as we so often see in the accounts given by non-Muslims on Islamic beliefs and doctrines.

Unfortunately even Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938) in his early book on *The Developments of Metaphysics in Persia*, echoed the views of Western Orientalists and denied Muslim philosophy the credit of originality. As has been rightly pointed out, there is no doubt that if Iqbal were to rewrite this work today he would have differently assessed their philosophical efforts.

**Muslim philosophy and Greek philosophy**

Now as for the various assumptions concerning the lack of originality of Muslim philosophy, I shall not discuss them here. It appears to me that this antagonistic attitude of Western scholars is due partly to ignorance, partly to prejudice and sometimes to both. Since there is scarcely anything properly philosophical in what they have said except their claim that Muslim philosophy is a merely deformed commentary on the doctrine of Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists, I would like to treat this point in some detail.

To be just we must recognize that Muslim philosophy contains important elements of Greek philosophy; that Greek philosophy is very necessary to understand the Muslim philosophy. Even more, Muslim philosophy, as well as Christian or Jewish philosophy, cannot be conceived of without Greek philosophy. It is an incontestable fact that Aristotle, Plato, the Stoics and Plotinus were the real masters of human thought for many centuries. Every discovery of one of their works and every translation of one of their writings in the Middle Ages was, in the eyes of the Muslims, the Christians and the Jews, like the discovery of a new world. Moussa Ibn Maimoun (Maimonides) applied Aristotelian philosophy to Judaism as Thomas Aquinas applied it to Christianity. Since these applications of the Jews and the Christians were taken as philosophical achievements I am at a loss to understand why the Muslim is denied credit in this respect.

I thus willingly recognize that Islamic philosophy first assumes the assimilation of Greek philosophy. Nevertheless, I affirm that Muslim philosophy is one thing and the simple assimilation of Greek philosophy is another. Here it is the case with Islamic philosophy as with the Western philosophies; the great philosophical systems of modern centuries are influenced to a great extent by Greek philosophy. The influence exercised by this Greek philosophy is shown in the doctrines of Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz and Hegel. But who thinks of denying the originality of the doctrines of these philosophers? Now if we examine the philosophies of al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd, we shall find just as much originality as in the Western philosophers that I have mentioned.

As Amer Ali said, the great object of the Muslim philosophers is "to furnish the world with a complete theory of the unity of the Cosmos which would satisfy not the mind only, but also the religious sense. And accordingly they endeavoured to reconcile the ethical and spiritual with the philosophical side of science".

**An appraisal of the original contribution of the Muslim philosophers**

(a) *Tawhid and Tanzih.*

The first important and original contribution of the Muslim philosophers is their doctrine of al-Tawhid (the oneness of God) and that of al-Tanzih (the transcendence of God over His creatures). In its essence Islam is the recognition of a single God who is sole master of the universe. This religion only knows two states of being above man: that of divinity in which God is, and that of prophecy which He has conferred on those He chose. Except for these two states, the degrees of perfection are within the power of man; he attains them according to his capacity, hindered by no obstacle other than the insufficiency of his works or the weakness of his vision. According to true Islam, men can have, as the object of their adoration, God alone. In the same manner they cannot ask help from anyone other than God; for this would then be to commit the sin of al-Shirku billah, that is, the polytheistic heresy consisting in associating with God another natural or supernatural agent, and thus returning to the paganism which reigned before Islam. Needless to say, this doctrine, maintained by all Muslim philosophers from al-Farabi to Muhammad 'Abduh, is inspired by the Qur'an and the Hadith (the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad).

(b) *The Theory of Creation.*

Clearly this has had a great influence on their theory of creation, which they developed in a different way from that of Aristotle or the Neo-Platonic pantheism. The problem is particularly illustrated by the well-known theory of al-Farabi on the ten intellects (al-'Uqiil); how the one (al-Wahid) creates the many (al-Muta'addid)? There is only one way out of the difficulty. The Supreme Being — God — created only one thing, which led to the creation of another. God being one and pure intelligence, only one intelligence can come from him. This process is similar to the radiation emanating from the sun. From God comes the first intellect; from this comes the second intellect, and so on until the tenth intellect or "active intellect" (al-'Aql al-fa'adil). The active intellect is the last of the ten intellects; it directs the earthly world; it is the bridge which connects the visible to the invisible world. Human reason or the reasonable mind is a "passive" faculty, that is capable of receiving every sort of perfection; this possible reason in man can, by meditation, by study and by purification of the soul, become fit to unite with the active intellect. Once arrived at this perfection, the human soul attains true bliss and happiness, whatever the religion adopted and whatever the way followed in the worship of God.

(c) *Religion and Philosophy.*

The second contribution of Muslim philosophers is their attempt to reconcile religion and philosophy. For they generally believed that in all fundamental matters religion and philosophy corroborated each other. Any opposition between them is not real but is the result of the misunderstanding of both of them. In his *Fasl al-Maqal* (The Con
cordance between Religion and Philosophy). Averroes shows at length that Islam encourages speculation and commands the study of philosophy: that the Qur'ān enjoins the quest of learning and search for truth. "Religion and philosophy," he says, "have one common object between them. Both direct human energy towards the attainment of perfection." The study of philosophy is essential for a right understanding of religion. A true religion cannot conflict with philosophy, as a genuine philosophy cannot contradict religion.

(d) THE THEORY OF PROPHECY.
One of the most original contributions to philosophical thought is the Islamic theory of prophecy. Al-Fārābī develops this theory in his Aṣl-Madīna al-fadīlih (The Beliefs of the Dwellers in the Virtuous City). His distinction between the "Prophet" and the "philosopher" is found some seven centuries later, and almost in the same terms, in the Tractatus theologico-policicus of the Jewish philosopher Spinoza. Men differ in their capacity and intellect. Some are intelligent enough to grasp the truth by themselves, others are not. As a matter of fact only a few specially gifted persons are expected to have a right understanding of the different problems of life and the universe by themselves. Hence for the guidance of the multitudes, the prophetic mission is necessary. The mission only seeks to remove the obstacles that stand in the way of the correct understanding of different problems and to spread the truths endorsed equally by philosophy and religion.

Such are the few famous questions on which the Muslim philosophers took an attitude different both from that of the Muslim theologians and those of the Greek philosophers.

The Muslim theologians wished to prove by the logical arguments of the philosophers that the world and matter are created and not eternal: they were interested in demonstrating the existence of a creative God, unique and incorporeal. In general the Muslim theologians strove to defend religious beliefs by means of weapons supplied by the philosophers.

Equally clear is the difference between the Muslim philosophers and the Greek philosophers. The question which most preoccupied the Muslim philosophers — whatever their attitude towards Islam — was the dualism issuing from the doctrine of Aristotle, a dualism in which God and eternal matter were opposed. They could not accept this dualism, without deviating from the community of Muslims. Every time the Muslim philosophers noticed that Aristotle had left certain points obscure or incomplete they increased their efforts to clarify them and fill in the gaps, always taking care to preserve their doctrine of divine oneness, of the transcendence of God over matter, while avoiding falling into a pantheism which eliminates all distinction between God and the world.

Philosophy in Islamic world is confined neither to the system of Aristotle nor to single Greek doctrines
It is thus an exaggeration to say that Muslim philosophy is only a commentary on the philosophy of Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists. In reality, if in their search for truth the Muslim philosophers have occasionally followed Aristotle, they have sometimes turned away from him to accompany other philosophers, such as Plato, Plotinus and the Stoics. The Muslims were not content with adopting Greek philosophy such as it is; they have stamped it with a certain character; they have infused it with their spirit and they have enabled it to respond to the demands of their time.

Thus we can safely say that philosophy in the Islamic world is confined neither to the system of Aristotle nor to single Greek doctrines. It has forged for itself a vast body of doctrine which does not lack originality. As an unbiased Orientalist has rightly said, "It has passed through nearly all the stages of philosophy in the Western world. And the more we investigate the work of the Muslim philosophers the more we feel that it was not a work of commentary or explanation, but, by its aim and its results, a work which represents a fundamental stage and one of the most conclusive on the path of the search for truth."

The present world needs the Muslim philosopher
Thus Muslim philosophers were concerned with this fundamental question: to be a man, or not to be a man, that is to say, whether we should strive to attain an ideal of perfection, or whether we should lead merely an existence on the plane of animals. But they rightly thought that it was a question to which no adequate reply can be given by human intellect only. Whatever development we may achieve in knowledge and intellectual power, in every moment of our life we have to choose. For as Descartes later observed, "La vie ne souffre pas de retard (Life will not allow post-pone); and sometimes we must put our whole existence at stake.

Muslim philosophers sincerely believed, just as Pascal believed after them, that everything, even in science and technology, is essentially determined by the human "attitude"; in other words, everything is dependent upon the purity of the heart and the goodness of the intention. Without these essential conditions we might see our materialistic civilization falling into barbarism, for as a classical writer said, "Science without conscience is the ruin of the soul."

The ideal pursued by Muslim thought seems to be the realization of what I may call the "maturity of man". By maturity I mean that spiritual evolution, practised every day by men of pure hearts and minds. At that high level of their life, they would feel themselves in full solidarity, not only with their countrymen, but with all the individuals who constitute humanity, without any consideration as to differences of language, religion, race and land. Muslim philosophers thought with the Greek Stoics, that all men of virtue are citizens of one world, or as al-Fārābī expressed it, are members of the virtuous city.

And without doubt, our present world badly needs the guidance of those thinkers who attained such spiritual maturity so as to be, in feeling the action, completely emancipated from the fetters of time and space.

To sum up, Muslim thought seems to have a definite message to communicate, not only to Muslims but to humanity in general; to urge man to seek the solution to the enigmas of the universe and to deepen his knowledge of himself, by letting his conscience direct his conduct; to give man confidence in God and in himself, so that with this double confidence he may be able to exercise fully his free-will and to go through this life steadily and without fear.

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JUNE 1956
Further Evidence in Support of the Presence of Jesus and His Twin Brother, St. Thomas Judas at Taxila, Pakistan, in 48-49 C.E.

Examination of the Stucco Statue in a “Group in front of Cell 29” of the Archaeological excavations of Taxila

By AL-HAJJ KHWAJA NAZIR AHMAD

In my book, Jesus in Heaven on Earth (chapter: St. Judas Thomas) I wrote that St. Judas was the twin brother of Jesus, and for this reason he had been called in the first three Gospels as Thomas (the twin), while in the fourth Gospel of John he was spoken of as Didymus — a Greek rendering of twin. I also referred to two very ancient Arabic books, Ikmal al-Din and ‘Ain al-Hayat, in both of which a companion of Jesus at his death in Srinagar had been described as Babad, which, by changing ba into da, in Arabic, becomes Badad, a twin. On these and other authorities, Acta Thoma in particular, which I have cited in my book, I stated that St. Judas Thomas had built a palace at Taxila for King Gondaphares, that Jesus had joined him there and in 48-49 C.E. both the brothers had taken part in the marriage feast of Abdagases, a nephew of Gondaphares. I also mentioned that ultimately St. Judas Thomas had left Kashmir and gone to Southern India by sea, where he had converted Queen Tertia and was consequently killed near Madras by the local Brahmins at the instigation of King Mazdai.

At the time of writing this chapter I had not known that any material in support of any of these facts could be gathered from the archaeological excavations at Taxila. Mrs. Pat Groves of Vancouver, Canada, has drawn my attention to a stucco statue in a “Group in front of Cell 29”, which was excavated at Julian site at Taxila in 1913. Sir John Marshall, late Director-General, Archaeological Department of India, describing this statue, says that “the dress and bearded head of a peculiarly distinctive type clearly prove him to be a foreigner”. I then read the two works of Sir John Marshall, A Guide to Taxila and Taxila. I also read Five Thousand Years of Pakistan by Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, late Director, Archaeological Department of India, and later for some time Archaeological Adviser to the Government of Pakistan. All


Left — The bust of a statue from Taxila.

The figure on the left is of a “foreign” bearded man and, according to the researches and conclusions of the Archaeological Departments of India and Pakistan, it dates back to the beginning of the second century of the Christian era. This person, it is obvious, must have come to Taxila before this period. The photograph of a Kashmiri butcher on the right was taken in Srinagar in September 1947. It appeared in the first edition of my book, Jesus in Heaven on Earth, Woking and Lahore, 1952, p. 334. My object then was to show the peculiarly-shaped chopper used by butchers of Kashmir and Palestine of old. Little did I know then that it would become of great significance in ten years time. The two men look exactly alike to almost the minutest details. These photographs will baffle the ethnologists. They can now “trace back” the features and appearance of a man in Srinagar in 1947 C.E. to those of another man who came to Taxila from Palestine about two thousand years ago. There is no explanation; I can see none, except that they belong to the one and same Semitic stock and both are the Children of Israel.

Above — A Kashmiri butcher.
these books have made a reference to the visit of St. Judas Thomas, the Apostle, to the Court of King Gondaphares at Taxila in 40 C.E. It is also given in some detail by Professor E. J. Rapson in his History of India and by R. B. Whitehead in his Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum at Lahore. 

It is worth noting that almost all the statues so far excavated in India, and Taxila, and elsewhere are generally without any beard. But when I looked at the photographs of this unique figure as given in the first-mentioned two books (Plates XXIII and 139, Sculptures 181 and 181a) I was so surprised by its resemblance and similarity — the broad cheeks, the beard, the moustaches and other facial peculiarities — to the conventional likeness of Jesus as drawn by Holman Hunt and other famous Western artists, that I could not help thinking that I had after all struck on the missing proof. To assure myself further I went to Taxila to see the actual figure, which I found in a group in the Archaeological Museum at that place. All the figures (said to be twelve in number) are shown barefooted, except that the central large figure (without head) appears to be with sandals and this particular bearded figure had boots, rather of uncommon shape, with laces or latches. The peaked cap is definitely of a Syrian shepherd or a nomadic traveller. It is probably made of white woollen cloth with soft wool or fur at the rolled end. The tunic to the knees is in fact a short uniform often worn by Roman soldiers of those days in Syria. The trousers with buttons in place of lacings, the ornamental belt, also clearly indicate that the figure is neither of an Indian nor of a Parthian, but rather of a Syrian. All these clothes show a peculiar combination of East and West which could only have taken place in the Middle East under the Roman influence, and Syria was within the Roman Empire in those days. It may be a mixture of Syrian and Kusian types, whose trade in the Mediterranean, in the time of Augustus, brought with it Greek and Roman influence. But all these considerations must be brushed aside, as we are here dealing with a man of Semitic origin. The peculiarly pointed beard, trimmed at the sides (the Jews were ordained: Ye shall not . . . mar the corners of thy beard 4), shows that the man was a Jew. Besides, the figure has a definite and distinctive cast of Jewish features.

The statue in front of the group reads: "The man with the peaked cap is the donor of the group." It must mean that the man was prominent enough to have been able to pay for the entire group. It may be that he had been handsomely paid for building the palace and he could afford to do so. In any case this man, a Jew, must have been very holy and important and accepted and respected to have been placed next to Buddha (as some archaeologists think) or King Gondaphares. It may be that this group had been set up to commemorate the building of a palace by St. Judas Thomas for King Gondaphares. A "Mahal" site has been partly excavated at Sirkap, Taxila, and Wheeler, referring to this "Mahal," says that "here, it may be, the Parthian King Gondaphares received the Church evangelist St. Thomas." Further excavations may perhaps throw some light on this subject.

It is hardly open to doubt that this figure is that of Jesus or St. Judas Thomas, the Apostle, because we likewise know that one of them was often mistaken for the other. Acta Thomae was written in the second century of the Christian era. It was condemned as heretical by a decree of Pope Gelasius in 495 C.E., but it is read even today in the Assyrian Churches. In it we are told: "Thomas after the ceremonies left the palace. The bridgroom (Abdagesh) lifted the curtain which separated him from his bride. He saw Thomas, as he supposed, conversing with her. Then he asked in surprise, 4 How canst thou be found here? Did I not see thee go out before all?" And the Lord answered: "I am not Thomas, but his brother" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. XX, p. 46). This proves conclusively the presence of Jesus and St. Judas Thomas at Taxila at this historical marriage in 49 C.E.

The fact that this figure was found in Julian monastery, Taxila, can be of no effect because statues of persons other than Buddhists have also been excavated from such monasteries. The builder of a palace or any other important person could have been shown in a monastery, particularly if he was the donor of the group. On such an occasion he would be accompanied by one or more members of the royal family. The period of Julian monastery is traced back to the beginning of the second century of the Christian era. The "foreigner" in the group must have been in existence before this period. The visit of Jesus and St. Judas Thomas to the Court of King Gondaphares at Taxila was in fact before this period, i.e., during 48-50 C.E.

The central figure is not that of Buddha

The central figure, as already mentioned, is without a head, and the two arms and hands are also missing. They had been, it is said, removed or broken up during the Hun invasion. It stands in a group of stucco sculptures which is no doubt very unique both in its realistic modelling and composition as well as in the peculiarities of the persons assembled in the group. I have already described the "foreigner". The central figure is in a flowing dress. Above it on both the corners are said to be figures of Abalokitesvarā and Buddhissattva Maitreyā. But the usual nectar jar in the left hand is missing. They may be the angels or devas only. On the right hand below is a monk dressed in Sanghī with one shoulder bare, and he may be the steward of the monastery. In between the central figure and the "foreigner" is a smaller figure with similar clothes except for a Mukhat and some other ornaments. It may be, as surmised by some archaeologists, that the figure is that of the wife of the "foreigner", but the figure may be that of a prince or princess who had, as was usual in those days, accompanied a respected guest or the builder of the palace to a Buddhist Vihāra.

But this large figure has some peculiarities. From the shoulders, falling to the sides, it has a toga, like the aba (sleeveless gown or a mantle) of the Arabs, which was used from very ancient times by royalty in particular and the nobility in general. It also has undergarments and sandals. Some archaeologists think that this large figure is of Buddha, and they base their opinion only on the dress of this statue. These conjectures, I venture to think, are unjustified. This figure is without any ornaments, and they are therefore correct in asserting that it is not that of Buddhissattva Maitreyā. To agree with them in this matter one has only to look at a statue of this personage in Peshawar Museum, Sculpture No. 1866 (Plate V) in A Guide to the Peshawar Museum by M. A. Shakhur, or at Sculpture No. 2354 in the Gandhara Hall of Lahore Museum. But this large figure, I venture to suggest, is not even of Buddha, because its dress is not of a hermit, and Buddha was always dressed as a hermit and is so portrayed in all his statues available to us. The large figure, it is true, has a very large halo behind its head. But it is almost cut in half and is not in the centre, but rather more on the right side, which seems unnatural.

6 Leviticus, 19: 27.
It is too large to be of any significance, and in any case it appears to be a later addition and is perhaps the result of a defective moulding.

The Mahavata, the Great Vehicle, of the Buddhists, we must not forget, were keen and anxious to exhibit Buddha in the best possible manner. Whenever Buddha was made to appear in a group, all persons surrounding him were depicted as adoring or worshiping him. The angels or the devas, the Aryan gods — Brahma, Indra and Vishnu — and even the kings and queens, were one and all shown as worshipping or paying homage and respect to him. Buddha was also made the pivot of all the mythical fables which were prevalent in or preceding their times. Thus the mother of Buddha, admittedly a married woman, was shown as giving birth to Buddha from her ribs, as she was somehow believed to be a virgin, and all those present in the group were shown as adoring and receiving him. Similarly, the resurrection of Buddha from the dead was pictured, and he was shown as coming out of a coffin, although coffins were unknown to India in his time, and the idea had been borrowed from the Indo-Greeks or the Scythians of a later period in Indian history.

The only statue of Buddha in a standing position, with the “crystal urna”, and in which he is dressed somewhat like that of the large statue in question, is to be found in Peshawar Museum (Sculpture No. 1420). There is another similar statue, Sculpture No. 2, in the Gandhara Hall of Lahore Museum. The heads in both these statues are present, but neither of them is wearing a toga, nor the undergarments nor the sandals. The ornaments and the sandals, as far as I am aware, were worn by Buddha. The statue alleged to be of Buddha by Sir John Marshall in Plate 106 in the third volume of Taxila (op. cit) certainly appears to be with a toga, but here again the head is missing and we cannot be definite about it.

It may be that, in this case also, history is repeating itself. It is not unknown that prominent archaeologists of India wrongly asserted, for a considerable time, that certain types of statues were of a very early period. But then Dr. W. W. Tarn had, in his Greeks in Bactria and India, demonstrated and proved that those statues in fact belonged to a much later period. His views were not, however, accepted without a good deal of hesitation and controversy. In the case of this large statue also a superficial view of the dress based on certain preconceived ideas has been taken as sufficient to convert those who are already convinced that the statue is that of Buddha himself. The missing head has unfortunately complicated matters and provided them with scope for their conjectural speculations about the dress. The
WHAT IS ALGERIA?

I. THE BACKGROUND

Algeria, occupying as it does the central part of North Africa, forms an uncontested national entity, as is demonstrated by geographical, ethnical and historical facts. Bounded on the west by Morocco and on the east by Tunisia, Algeria has an area of 847,500 square miles and a Mediterranean climate.

Today the population numbers 11,000,000, including a foreign minority of 850,000. The latter consists of persons of French, Italian and Spanish origin. The annual increase of the Algerian population is 2.5 per cent. There are some 500,000 Algerians living in France, the majority of whom have been forced to emigrate there on account of the desperate economic conditions prevailing in Algeria itself. By race, religion, culture and history the Algerians are very closely linked with the peoples of Morocco, Tunisia and Libya and form a part of the Arab world. The original inhabitants of Algeria were Berbers who had lived in North Africa since prehistoric times, and even today there are vestiges of Berber customs, dialects and folk-lore to be found throughout the country. Throughout the course of history the northern part of Algeria was invaded by Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals and Byzantines. All these incursions were fiercely resisted and none left any permanent imprint on the population. Then in the seventh century the Arabs swept across North Africa from the east. This was the most important event in the history of Algeria and of all North Africa, for after an initial period of resistance the Berbers became assimilated with the Arabs and adopted Arab culture and the Muslim religion as their own.

Economic factors

The present economy of the country is essentially an agricultural one: 3,000,000 hectares are under cereals and 400,000 under vines. All Mediterranean fruit and vegetable crops thrive in Algeria and there is extensive cultivation of olives. The important vegetable product, alfalfa, yields an export of over 2,000,000 quintals. Stock-breeding occupies an important place in the country's economy. One million sheep are exported annually. Algeria reveals the typical characteristics of a colonial economy dependent on France. Industrialization could be rapid as iron, zinc, manganese, phosphates, coal and petroleum are to be found in the country.

Political factors

For many centuries Algeria shared the chequered history of North Africa. By the end of the eighteenth century, like most of the Arab world, Algeria was nominally a part of the Ottoman Empire, but in fact existed as an independent State enjoying diplomatic relations with many countries including France and the United States of America. The country's climate, resources and proximity to Europe had, however,
excited the attention of France, and on 14th June 1830 French troops landed in Algeria and waged a ruthless campaign which ended in the entire annexation of the country by France. The systematic campaign of military conquest continued until 1910 on the Sahara borders and was met with the heroic resistance of the Algerian people under the leadership of men such as 'Abd al-Qadir, Mokrani and Bouamama, and women such as Lala Fatima. The period of armed resistance under 'Abd al-Qadir (1832-1847) was followed by the period of national insurrection notably in the Kabylie (1850-1871) and in the South Oran (1901).

The Algerian national movement has been constantly submitted to the most brutal type of police and political repression. Tens of thousands of Algerians have passed through prisons or been put on trial and condemned — particularly in the years 1937, 1939, 1945, 1948, 1950 and 1952. Only by the formation of a disciplined national organization have the Algerians been able to withstand these repressions. Gradually the movement has adapted its means of action to the circumstances created by French imperialism. The events which since 1st November 1954 have created a state of insecurity throughout Algeria are a spontaneous explosion of anger of the Algerian people against colonial rule which seeks to prevent any political action and employs brute force as an instrument of exploitation and oppression.

These events led to the creation of an "Army of National Liberation" and a "Front of National Liberation". Today these two national movements are leading the resistance against French rule. They are independent of the old political parties and are mainly composed of workers of the MTLD and constitute a militant mass movement.

The events of 1st November 1954 united into one great Front the active political forces, supported by the entire Algerian nation. It is a national movement, stronger than ever, that is resisting the military and police repression of an uncontrolled colonialism.

II. THE ALGERIAN PROBLEM

Algeria is the case of a country annexed by a colonial power after a military conquest characterized by all aspects of classical imperialism. These aspects can be summed up as a policy of social depersonalization, exploitation and oppression of the Algerian masses for the sole benefit of the colonizing power and European settlers.

Cultural repression

Colonialism has attacked the cultural and religious heritage of the Algerian nation, intent on depersonalizing the masses so as to exploit them further and to implement the policy of "assimilation".

Al-Hajj Massali Hajj, the leader of the leading political party, M.T.L.D. (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties), is being removed by a French policeman to a place of detention in France. Mr. Massali Hajj is detained in France and is not allowed to return to his homeland, Algeria.
The national language of the Algerian people is Arabic. Colonialism has sought to stamp out the Arabic language. The results of this policy are characterized until now by the refusal to allow the teaching of Arabic in Government schools and by the many hindrances to free education. Only in the Higher Institute of Islamic studies, and three Madersas (secondary schools), attended by less than 500 students, are Arabic studies pursued. In the French secondary schools, Arabic is taught as a foreign language. The opening of free primary schools is openly hampered by the authorities, who frequently close them down and arrest the teachers. One teacher (the Sheikh Zerrouki) has been condemned to four years' imprisonment for teaching Algerian history.

Even education in French is very limited. The percentage of illiteracy is 90 per cent and today 2,000,000 school-age children are deprived of any education. Two Algerian children out of 100 inhabitants go to school, while the proportion for the Europeans in Algeria is 16 students for 100 inhabitants.

As for secondary education standards, there is one Algerian student for ten Europeans. At the higher level, the proportion is one Algerian for twelve Europeans. French education in Algeria aims at depersonalizing the Algerians, who are taught "your ancestors were the Gauls".

Interference with religion and religious institutions

French colonial rule tries to undermine the Muslim religion. Muslim religious observances, jurisdiction and Waqf (or Habous, the word by which Waqf property is known in Algeria) are interfered with and discouraged. Out of the 106 mosques of Algiers existing in 1830, only eight remain; the beautiful mosques of Algiers and Constantine have been transformed into cathedrals. The "Muftis" and "Imams" are appointed and directed by the French authorities. Muslim jurisdiction is deprived of its substance, has no penal competence and the civil decisions are subject to appeal in French law courts. The Qadis (judges) are integrated into the lists of French judicial officials, appointed and controlled by the French authorities. The Habous properties are integrated into the French State domain, which arbitrarily controls their transferability. Many facilities are provided to French evangelizing missions, the most important being the Order of the White Fathers. The French have always adopted a communal attitude towards the Algerian people. This is proved by the fact that the French do not refer to the Algerian masses as "Algerians" or "Arabs" but as "Muslims".

Economic exploitation

Algerian economy is typically colonial, the country being considered a source of raw material, and a market for French manufactured goods. This entails the development of the country's resources to the benefit of the French settlers and the systematic exclusion of Algerians from the economic leadership of their country. Colonization has brought about the creation of an agrarian feudalism built on a policy of massive expropriation. 11,600,000 hectares of land belong to French settlers and the French State. Out of 2,400,000 hectares of land belonging to 25,795 French settlers, 1,700,000 originate from official colonization; 73.47 per cent of the French settlers own large domains. It is significant that it is European farmers who produce most of the exports and get the prices from exports. Out of 9,200,000 hectares belonging to Algerians 60 per cent are apportioned in small holdings and only 0.2 per cent are large estates, the remainder being middle-sized property. The Algerian peasant, impoverished and neglected by the authorities, has no important role in the economy of the country. He is existing mainly at a subsistence level with scarcely anything left over with which to buy necessities.

The present wretched condition of the Algerian proletariat is the direct consequence of agrarian feudalism. The rural proletariat alone numbers 1,600,000 people. It is deprived of social security and earns starvation wages. Unemployment reaches such proportions that every year thousands are forced to emigrate to France in search of a livelihood.

Industry is practically non-existent, the only exception being mining, which is well developed. Certain attempts, however, at strategic industrialization are nowadays made, without taking the interests of inhabitants into consideration. At present France is trying to organize a joint industrial exploitation of Southern Algeria with the co-operation of Western Germany and Italy.

Much is made in French propaganda abroad of French achievements in Algeria. It is to be pointed out that the phenomenon of the creation of means of communication, housing and health facilities, especially in the areas of European concentration, are the concomitants of any colonial exploitation. They are primarily installed to ensure a more intensive exploitation of the country and its manpower, or on the other hand, have been wrenched out of the French authorities by the fighting spirit of the masses.

But the fact that French Governors unceasingly point to the existence of a grave economic and social problem in Algeria is by itself the most striking condemnation of the colonialist regime.

Absence of civil liberties

This policy of cultural repression and economic exploitation is accompanied by a policy of political oppression, aiming at stifling the voice of the Algerian people. Freedom of expression does not exist. The nationalist press is frequently suspended and persecuted by the condemnation of the editors to heavy jail sentences and exorbitant fines. Freedom of assembly is hindered. The political and social organizations are subject to frequent administrative and judicial interference and forced into underground activities. The elections, based on a racial system, are openly "cooked". The nationalist candidates arrested and agents of the French authorities elected. The prefabricated "Algerian elections", a fact admitted without discussion by the French authorities, provoked mass abstentions among the Algerian electoral body. Any expression of nationalist opinion is subject to judicial action and jails are now crammed with patriots sued under article 80 of the French Penal Code, establishing their offence as a menace to the external security of the State. The arrested men and women are submitted to the most degrading and cruel tortures and imprisoned under inhuman conditions. The rights of man are non-existent. The massacres of May 1945, which caused the death of 45,000 Algerians, were followed by frequent punitive expeditions, as in 1947, 1948 and 1952. It is to be noted that it was in the regions of Aures and Kabylie, scenes of the most repressive expeditions, that the recent military resistance to French colonialism since the 1st November 1954 has been most intense.

The French accompanied this colonial policy with propaganda aimed at concealing the truth. For the French colonial, Algeria is the "prolongation" of Metropolitan France and constitutes "3 French departments" (provinces) under "French sovereignty". The fiction of a "French Algeria" is not based on any valid argument and French legislation bears in itself a contradiction of these assertions.
Legal aspects

The colonial fallacy of “French Algeria” or “Algeria, three French Departments”, is based on various texts concocted by the French Parliament. That is, they are the expression of a unilateral decision of the French Legislative body. The Algerian people have never been associated either directly or indirectly with the drawing up of these texts, and have never ceded their sovereignty.

The French Ordinance of 22nd July 1834, when the conquest was in its early stages, proclaimed Algeria an “integral part of France”, and a decree dated 23rd October 1870 declared Algeria “three French departments”.

Up to the Second World War, French settlers in Algeria governed on an occupation basis, the victors legislating for the vanquished, who were only “French citizens”, not “citizens”. The French texts are officially proclaimed as “special texts”. The Ordinance dated 7th March 1944, abrogating laws of exception and automatically granting citizenship to a small category of Algerians, marked the dawn of a new period. The “Lamine-Gueys” law of 7th May 1946 was enacted, granting French citizenship to all nationals of Algerian territories, thereby including Algeria. This was followed by the French Constitution of 27th October 1946, which laid it down that their citizenship did not conflict with the retention of their religious status by the Algerians.

The French Constitution made provision for a common legislative body for France and Algeria but declared that there might be some special clauses. On 29th September 1947 the French Parliament adopted “The Statute of Algeria”, which is the present basis for French legislation in the country. This statute constitutes a fundamental exception.

The Algerians have been represented in the French Parliament only since 1946. The law of 5th October 1946 maintains the system of a double electoral body in Algeria with equal representation in the French National Assembly and in the Council of the Republic.

The first electoral body includes European voters and a very small minority of Algerians (degree holders, notables, war veterans, etc.). The second electoral body includes the great mass of the Algerian voters. The first electoral body is almost entirely European.

According to the 1954 official statistics 65,661, i.e., 12 per cent out of 546,789, registered in the first electoral body are Algerians. The total number of voters for both electoral bodies is 1,930,199, which gives 1,383,410 for the second electoral body, i.e., 70 per cent. The 30 per cent registered in the first electoral body are very far from representing the percentage of population (850,000 Europeans and over 10,000,000 Algerians). This can be explained by the fact that while French women have the right to vote, Algerian women are denied it. Each body elects 15 Deputies and 7 Senators. As there are more than 600 Deputies and 319 Senators in the French Parliament, one can realize the fraudulent character of the Algerian “representation” in the French Legislature (the population of France is 42,000,000 and of Algeria 11,000,000). In addition to the undemocratic character of the electoral organization in Algeria, the elections to the second body are falsified by the French authorities.

The system of representation of Algeria within French constitutional organisms has no democratic basis and constitutes a flagrant contradiction of the French claims that “Algeria is an integral part of France”. It is also an instance of racial discrimination.

The participation of the Algerian nationalists in the 1946 elections to the French Parliament had a tactical aim: the denunciation of the colonial régime. Five nationalist deputies were elected in 1946, and their action chiefly resulted in the abstention of all the representatives of the second Algerian electoral body to the vote of 20th September 1947 on the law relating to the organic statute of Algeria which is based the present French legislation in Algeria.

Article I of the Statute of Algeria stipulates that: “Algeria constitutes a group of departments that have been granted a civic personality and financial autonomy and endowed with a particular organization defined by the articles of the present law”.

The Algerian leader of the political party “The Manifesto”, known as U.D.M.A. (the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto), Mr. Farhaat ’Abbas, who until recently believed in co-operation with France. Having realized that France would never allow Algeria to develop her personality, he has now left Algeria to join the Algerian Delegation at Cairo, Egypt, working for the independence of Algeria.

The Algerian Assembly is composed of 120 delegates (60 for each electoral body). Its function is to administer Algerian interests and in so doing enjoys fairly wide powers under the control of the Governor-General and of the French Government. It votes Algeria's budget. The decision of the Algerian Assembly must be ratified by governmental decree. It constitutes a timid adaptation to the realities of Algerian political sentiment but the system is completely invalidated by the undemocratic character of the elections and by the
injustices of giving equal representation for populations differing in the proportions of 1 to 10.

All the supreme powers are held by the Governor-General, who is directly responsible to the French Government. The draft of the Algerian budget is drawn up by him.

The departmental organization is characterized by the existence of a General Council in addition to the "Prefet" (Governor), which is under the direct authority of the Governor-General.

In the General Council the Algerian electoral body is represented by half of the elected members. The principle of equal representation of the two electoral bodies in the General Council is applied only since April 1955. Until then the Algerian electoral body was represented by only two-fifths of the elected members.

In the communes where there are French settlers there are Municipal Councils in which three-fifths of the members are elected by the first electoral body (Europeans) and the other two-fifths elected by the second electoral body (Algerians). In areas where the Europeans are scattered in small groups there are "Mixed Communes" which are administered by French civil servants.

Another characteristic of the administrative organization is the so-called "Southern Territories", which comprise the largest part of Algeria and is under military rule.

The new and new terminologies which from 1946 replaced the words "colony" and "empire" have not changed the Algerian reality. The French legislator proclaims that "Algeria is an integral part of France", but he is contradicted by reality and by his own texts.

A double electoral body based on racial discrimination, the special régime of the "Mixed Communes" and Southern Territories, financial autonomy since 1900 to the benefit of the French settlers, a bank authorized to issue notes, different from those in France (Bank of Algeria), and Customs between France and Algeria, direct control of the Muslim religious bodies by the French authorities, are many facts that clearly contradict the colonialists' contentions.

In the modern civilized world, the right of self-determination has become the basis for the people's right and for national and international legislation. The people are the only source of permanent law. Without the recognition of this right, there would be no respect for the fundamental rights of man.

In view of French claims to Algeria, it is apposite to recall that Czechoslovakia, proclaimed independent in 1918, had been wiped off the map, as a nation, for three centuries, and considered as a province of Austria. Such was also the case with Poland, dismembered in 1939, yet regaining its entire sovereignty in 1919. These examples are cited deliberately because France in those two instances headed the Powers which clamoured for the liberty of these two long-oppressed nations!

III. THE LATEST EVENTS IN ALGERIA

On the night of 31st October and 1st November 1954, between 1 and 2 a.m., armed action broke out at many points throughout Algeria. This action, which took the French authorities completely by surprise, consisted for the most part of attacks on military and police posts, armour depots and destruction of vital strategic and economic objectives such as bridges, radio stations, railways, telephonic communications, factories and petrol stores.

After the first attacks the Algerian resisters withdrew into the mountainous regions of the Aurès and Kabyle, about 50 miles from Algiers. In these regions, where armed patriots are strongly supported by the population, the revolt has become very widespread, and it is in these regions that the French are engaged in very wide-scale military operations involving tens of thousands of French troops in an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge Algerian patriots who are now practising guerrilla tactics. The French Government is using air forces, artillery and armoured cars in operations against the guerrilla fighters, and has mentioned the necessity of reinforcements of more than 50,000 soldiers brought from Indo-China and Germany — the latter with the concurrence of the NATO High Command. There are about 400,000 French soldiers now engaged in Algeria. The French Minister of War is spending a great deal of his time in Algeria in order personally to direct the movement of the French troops.

French troops use planes and artillery for ruthless actions against the civilians in order to create a climate of terror. Hundreds of unarmed civilians, including women and children, were shot down by the French forces in the region of Aures and in the Constantine province. Many examples of this were given by French deputies in the French Parliament debates of 28th and 29th July 1955.

In the other regions of Algeria there are almost daily incidents, clashes between nationalists and French troops, and acts of sabotage.

The Algerians are equipped with small arms seized from the French, especially during the first attacks. They are organized in the Army of National Liberation, whose proclamation on 1st November 1954 appealed to the Algerians to raise their heads to achieve liberty even at the cost of their blood.

At the political level a ferocious police repression has been launched on a vast scale against the nationalists. All nationalistic political and social organizations have been dissolved, the press has been banned and thousands of Algerians are now in prison after being arrested and submitted to the most disgusting and inhuman tortures. The action of the police has aroused even certain sections of French public opinion to protest strongly on the grounds of human decency. A state of emergency has been proclaimed in Algeria.

The Algerian population has responded with enthusiasm to the call for national unity and organized action against the French forces. Foreign observers have described the solidarity shown by the masses to the Algerian fighters and the strength and pressure this mass support is exerting even on Algerians who were in French service.

Today the fighting continues in Algeria. The French forces have failed to dislodge the resistance fighters or to intimidate the population despite the barbarity and cruelty displayed. The resistance will continue, for the people are determined to end their intolerable conditions of life and the humiliations imposed on them.

It is clear today that the situation is gradually worsening and even the French press does not hesitate to predict "a new Indo-China war" if French settlers continue dictating Algerian policy for the Government.

The French Government has tried to explain away the events in Algeria as a result of foreign intervention. The French Government has attacked the Arab League and Egypt and suggested that the proof of this lies in the broadcasts made by the "Voice of the Arabs". This "official" explanation has two aims: (1) to deny the very existence of the Algerian problem, and (2) to present events in Algeria as the passing result of a foreign demagogic political campaign.

The truth of the matter is that events in Algeria represent a political problem resulting from the internal situation created by colonial rule.
Nationalist organizations which reject the French theory of annexation have suffered from constant persecution and their leaders are frequently on trial, in jail or in enforced exile. Despite all that France had claimed regarding French citizenship for Algerians, the conditions of life of the Algerian masses have remained those of a colonial people subjected to foreign French rule reinforced by the presence in the country of a privileged class of French settlers.

Some weeks before the outbreak of the events of 1st November 1954 in Algeria, Mr. François Mitterand, French Minister of the Interior, made a tour of the country. On this occasion he refused to see any delegation from the nationalist movement and proclaimed in violent and provocative language his opposition to any policy aiming at national independence for Algeria.

The ending of the terrible armed conflict in Indo-China brought relief to the suffering people of that country and the North African people welcomed it. But the withdrawal of troops from that part of the world has enabled France to concentrate much of her military strength against the national movements in North Africa. The one problem is linked with the other: the need for the solution in Algeria is now as urgent as it was in Indo-China.

IV. THE SOLUTION

The Algerian problem is essentially a colonial one, and so long as the colonial régime continues to exist there can be no permanent solution and no permanent peace in Algeria, for it is in the nature of colonialism that it contains within itself the germs of continual conflicts and constitutes the greatest threat to peace. The Algerian people are deeply peace-loving. If there is any bloodshed in Algeria it is because the French Government have flatly rejected any peaceful solution of the problem.

The movement towards the independence of colonial peoples is gathering momentum and is becoming irresistible. Nevertheless despite the changes which have occurred in Asia and in parts of Africa, in North Africa and particularly in Algeria, the French have persistently resisted any alteration in the status quo. In November 1954, Mr. Mitterand, French Minister of the Interior, not only reaffirmed both inside the French Parliament and elsewhere that Algeria is a part of France and that “no interference by other countries in the Algerian question will be tolerated,” but he also stated, “For Algeria the only negotiation is war.”

The fact remains, however, that the Algerian problem exists and can no longer be ignored. The military operations are continuing and the French now talk of an “impasse” and of the necessity of sending more and more reinforcements. French manoeuvres to suppress this problem, to hide it from the outside world, are, as in the case of Tunisia and Morocco, doomed to failure. From the legal point of view Tunisia and Morocco were “protectorates” while Algeria is considered “a part of France.” In reality the problems of the three countries are the same and the fictions invented by France to confuse the issue have been rudely destroyed by the latest events in Algeria. The political aims of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria are the same. The people look towards the establishment of an independent State; their destiny is linked with their neighbours’ in the future as it was in the past.

Therefore, the basic solution of the Algerian problem lies firstly in the recognition of the fundamental fact that there is a single problem and that attempts to appease one part of North Africa in order to be able to crush another more effectively are doomed to failure.

The French have to realize that the use of military repression against the force of nationalism cannot succeed. Sooner or later the French will have to recognize Algerian aspirations and come to terms with the nationalists’ demands. The continuance of forced repression in Algeria will only cause increased bloodshed and bitterness between the Algerian and French peoples.

Algerian demands

The political demands of the Algerians today, as since the end of the last world war, remain the establishment of

Mr. Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani, Secretary-General of the National Front of Algeria.

Mr. al-Madani has, like other political leaders, made his way to Cairo, Egypt, to work from there for the independence of his country.

a Sovereign Constituent Algerian Assembly elected by universal direct suffrage without distinction of race or religion. Such an assembly will enable the Algerian people to give expression to their aspirations through a genuinely representative body which will then undertake negotiations with France to define future Franco-Algerian relations. The prior conditions for such elections would be the abolition of the present police state government, the release of all political prisoners, the ending of police and military repression and the restoration of all civil liberties.

The Algerian nationalists are for the establishment of a social and democratic republic in Algeria.

An international problem

Today the Algerian problem is not the concern of France alone but of the whole world — and particularly of those peoples who stand for abolition of colonialism everywhere.
The twenty-nine countries which met at Bandung from 18th to 24th April 1955 specifically considered the situation in Algeria. The Conference declared its unanimous support of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination in the following terms:

"In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of the rights of self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support for the rights of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issues without delay." (Chapter D; paragraph 2).

In addition, the Conference recognized that the basic right of the Algerian people to study their own language and culture had been suppressed, and condemned this denial of fundamental rights as an impediment to cultural advancement and to cultural co-operation on the wider international plane.

In a letter dated 26th July 1955 addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the representatives of the Asian-African countries requested the "Question of Algeria" to be included in the agenda of the tenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. They declared in their explanatory memorandum:

"The right of self-determination occupies a position of decisive importance in the structure of the United Nations. In the first Article of the Charter itself, it is specifically enumerated among the Purposes and Principles of the Organization; it is cited again in Article 55 as the basis of international economic and social co-operation; and it is affirmed in resolution 637 (VII), adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, as a pre-requisite to the full enjoyment of all other fundamental human rights. The emergence into independence of the peoples of many nations previously dependent is among the most encouraging features of the first decade of the United Nations history. On the other hand, the denial of the right of self-determination to other dependent peoples or undue delay in its implementation is a potential source of international friction and of concern to the international community.

"It is against this background that the United Nations should consider the deteriorating situation in Algeria, which has become a cause for growing concern. The position in Algeria is the direct result of colonial conquest, and the people of Algeria cannot be said to have exercised their right to self-determination as envisaged in the United Nations Charter. Delay in the exercise of this vital right can only frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people, embitter relations between them and the French authorities, and lead, as it is in fact doing, to the suppression of other fundamental rights, the retardation of cultural development and the imposition of order by force alone."

The French Government, for its part, has been quick to appeal to the Atlantic Pact Powers to support its attitudes towards Algeria and has already succeeded in obtaining permission from NATO High Command to withdraw French forces from Western Germany for use in Algeria. France is making every effort to put pressure on her friends and allies in case of the "internationalisation" of the problem.

The Algerian people are today being harried by the forces of repression ranged against them. They know that their struggle for independence has entered a new and critical phase and that the sacrifices demanded of them are very great. They have accepted this and they have pledged themselves to stand united until final victory is achieved throughout North Africa. They know that in this struggle they are not alone, that millions throughout the world are watching their efforts with sympathy.

The Algerian people call upon the democratic forces in the world to take up the cause of Algerian freedom. The Algerians firmly believe that those who have so valiantly championed the cause of freedom in Morocco, Tunisia and other parts of the world will not fail in their response to the people of Algeria. For Algeria is a part of the great struggle of peoples against the curse of colonialism, still powerful but yielding step by step to the irresistible forces of freedom.

The late Shaikh ‘Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis (d. 1949), the founder of the Jami’at al-Ulama of Algeria.

The present struggle for freedom in Algeria owes much to his organization, which has established schools all over the country to fight illiteracy and to rouse Algeria to self-realization.
European writers on Islam, mainly as a result of their heritage of misrepresentation and suspicion of Islam over a period of centuries, the which state of affairs, let it be said in fairness to them, did not improve owing to the supercilious apathy of the Muslims towards Christian Europe in their days of ascendance and of late their solicitude about conserving what they still possessed from the rapacity of European colonialism are now more than so even in the days of the Crusades, prone to view the renaissance of modern Islam with apprehension. They, as yester-

"Give tidings, O Mohammed, of painful doom to those who disbelieve... Slay the idolaters wherever ye find them... And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for Allah."
—The Koran.

"Five times each day, when the muezzin chants his call, 350 million Moslems throughout the world turn their faces toward Mecca and kneel in prayer. The slender minarets of mosques point gracefully skyward from Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean to Indonesia in the Far East.

"There are Moslem masses scattered in Europe (Albania and Yugoslavia), the Soviet Union, Communist China, Hindu India, Negro Africa. But the main world of Islam is a belt stretching nearly halfway round the globe. In the Middle East it holds 80 per cent of the free world's oil reserves. Some of its countries form the 'northern tier' of defence against Soviet expansion southward. At the eastern end, it controls the passageway from Asia to Australia.

"Today, the world of Islam, seething with a new spirit of nationalism, has risen against the remnants of foreign domination. Of the fifteen independent Moslem states, eight have shaken off colonialism only in the past ten years: Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Sudan, and Morocco — which last week celebrated the return of Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef from Paris with an agreement ending the 44-year-old French protectorate. Egypt has overthrown its monarchy. Malaya expects full independence within the British Commonwealth by August 1957; Somalia, under Italian trusteeship, has been promised freedom by 1960; Tunisia, granted home rule by France, is demanding total independence. Besides Egypt, only Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia,
Yemen, and Afghanistan enjoyed any measure of sovereignty before the second world war.

"Tailor-Made for Communists: The sudden awakening inevitably brought the Moslem world into conflict with the European colonial powers. Because the United States was their ally (and because it supported the creation of Israel), it, too, became the target of Moslem resentment. The opportunity was tailor-made for the Communists. They moved in with an all-out effort first to neutralize and then to win over the Moslems to their side. The Egyptian arms deal last fall was their first score. Even so staunchly pro-Western a country as Pakistan has been lured into agreeing to send a trade mission to Moscow. Last week the Soviets tied up little Yemen with a deal to swap Russian machinery for coffee, cotton, and dried fruit. And, in Indonesia, results of the country’s first election gave the Communists enough strength in a four-way split to command a voice in the new coalition government. President Sukarno promptly dismissed Indonesia’s pro-Western caretaker Cabinet, and designated as Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo, head of the anti-Western Nationalists and advocate of a ‘proletarian front’.

"The West was on the defensive throughout the Moslem world. For too long Western leaders had cherished the complacent attitude that Islam considers Communism a heresy and is therefore violently opposed to its principles. It was time to take a clearer look.

"Youngest of the world’s great religions, Islam springs from the same Middle Eastern matrix that brought forth Judaism and Christianity. It recognizes the Biblical prophets from Abraham to Christ. But it holds that Mohammed is the one true Prophet; Allah, the one and only God.

1 Courtesy, the Editor, Newsweek, London, for 19th March 1956.
"The doctrine laid down in the Koran, compiled from notes after Mohammed's death in A.D. 632, is at once austere and aggressive. To Moslems, the Christian Trinity smacks of polytheism. There is no priesthood, no distinction between church and state. A Moslem (literally, 'one who submits') renounces all, accepts the will of God and out his salvation directly with his deity. To the devout, a jihād (holy war) will never cease until the entire world has been converted.

"High-Water Mark: In practice, this simple doctrine carried Islam on a wave of conquest that spread from the Atlantic to India in less than a century after the Prophet's death. The Moslems' high-water mark in Europe was 732 when Charles Martel at the Battle of Tours defeated them.

"Almost from the first, Islam was divided by rivalries over the succession to Moslem leadership. The two great surviving factions are the Sunni, who compose about 90 percent of present-day Islam and whose predecessors followed a caliph chosen from Mohammed's tribe, and the Shi'i, who chose an imam from the descendants of Mohammed's daughter, Fatima. Shi'i sects have included the medieval Assassins who drooped themselves with hashish before committing murder; the terrorists of the Mullah Keshari, who made himself the effective ruler of Iran in Mohammed Mossadegh's days; and the followers of the eminently respectable Agh Khan.

"Rivalries still riddle Islam. Afghanistan and Pakistan have been at loggerheads over the wild North-West Frontier territory inhabited by Pashtoon tribesmen. The dynastic squabble between the Hashemite rulers of Iraq and the Saudi family of Saudi Arabia cropped up in 1949. Even though Iraq demands a slice of what it lost with the West in the Baghdad pact, Saudi Arabia retaliated by joining Egypt in neutralism, in hopes of undercutting Iraq.

"The Moslem world today presents a complex pattern. Its people are often divided and at one; the dynamic emergence is in some confusion from three and one half centuries of Dutch rule, have problems far removed from those of Saudi Arabia, with its tribal system, or Turkey, with its powerful attempts at industrialization and resulting economic crisis. The isolation of Yemen has left it far behind the more politically mature Pakistan, which three weeks ago, in spite of its 9.8 million Hindu minority, proclaimed itself an Islamic Republic.

"Brothers' Bond: Yet one doctrine of the Koran unites these diverse peoples: the teaching that all Moslems, regardless of colour or nationality, are brothers and equal. It is a bond stronger than any among Christians. The plights of a Nigerian Moslem is felt keenly by an Indonesian, and the North African struggle against France is closely followed by Pakistan's 3,000 miles away.

"To many Moslems, the colonial rule of Western powers is a continuation of the Crusades, the struggle against foreign domination, a continuation of the jihād. One of Egypt's foremost writers, Mohammed Taher, recently wrote: "Do you believe the Western Christian powers would have remained silent at French atrocities in Algeria and Morocco if the inhabitants of these countries were Christian and not Moslem?"

"This is the frame of mind of a rising new generation of Moslems who are convinced that Islam's greatest enemy is the so-called imperialist world, that Islamic nationalism and atheistic Communism can cooperate against a common enemy. Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt has set the pattern for Arab nations. Those who know Nasser say he realizes that Communism is another type of imperialism, but he finds it politically expedient to do business with the Reds.

"The danger is that Nasser and those who imitate him may be unable to extricate themselves from the Soviet web. One Moslem who learned the hard way is a bearded Turkish-born newspaperman named Amed Humbaraci. Last week in a Beirut hotel room he told of his work for a Soviet Middle Eastern spy net, and of his reasons for defecting. One was the strengthening of Soviet-Saudi Arabian relations; this marriage of the country of Communism with the most bizarre and despotic feudal rulers on earth is "proves that international Communism exists only to serve the selfish interests of Russia." But he insisted: "I am still a leftist."

"Humbaraci's confusion is typical of many Moslem intellectuals. Ironically, the wealth and education resulting from the West's activities have given Communism some of its most fervent supporters. The sight of huge oil fortunes, for example, squandered by men who only a few years before had modest incomes has created a disenchanted group of have-nots. And often these have-nots form the small but growing educated middle class which swes its existence to the West.

"No Strings: The Russians have exploited this discontent along with resurgent nationalism. They have paved the streets of Kabul and shipped tractors to Lebanon. Their aid offers have had no strings, and their bids for contracts in Egypt and Syria have been cheaper than those of the West. Most important of all, they have championed every nationalist cause in the Moslem world, throwing their votes behind the North Africans in the United Nations, siding with the Arabs against Israel.

"Not missing a bet, both Russia and Red China have invited Moslem delegations on conducted tours to see how their co-religionists live behind the Iron Curtain. Each summer a few selected Soviet Moslems make the pilgrimage to Mecca, there to spread their propaganda among pilgrims from the length and breadth of Islam.

"These tactics have not fooled everyone. The Communists are still not strong enough to take over any single Moslem country. But they have been staggering successful with their immediate goal — spreading neutralist and anti-Western feeling. As one Moslem who has not been hoodwinked, Sheikh Ahmed Hassan el Bakoury, the Egyptian Minister of Waafs (Moslem Charities), recently confessed: "I am sorry to say that when Moslems have to choose between the materialist camp which does not recognize religion, and the other camp which recognizes it, they see that the camp of the church still occupies Moslem lands and treats Moslems as slaves.'

"Paving the Streets: If the West is to counter the Soviet appeal in time, it must come up with a new and far more dramatic formula for Islam's problems. Differences among the Western Big Three need to be ironed out and a common approach found. The most urgent problem demanding settlement is the question of Arab-Israeli relations. But along with this is needed a sustained program of economic aid and technical assistance to help the underdeveloped nations help themselves. The Russians knew what they were doing when they poured in dollars to Kabul. While the West, too, has to find a way of showing immediate results, without ignoring long-range progress.

"The Moslem world is primarily agricultural. One thousand more experts from the West could in a year or less show tens of thousands of farmers how to increase crops. Millions would benefit — many to the extent of avoiding starvation.

"But dollars alone are not enough. A fresh approach toward Moslem political aspirations is needed, too. Only thus can Islam be brought to realize that its best hopes lie with the West, not with Communism and tyranny."
CHARLES
RICHARD CRANE
An American Philanthropist of the Middle East

"It was Crane who financed the first geological survey of mineral potential of Arabia"

By C. B. SQUIRE

Courtesy, the Editor, al-Kulliyah, Beirut, the Lebanon, for October-November 1955.)

"The King-Crane Commission’s Report opposed the carving up of the Middle East between Great Britain and France after the First World War"

"I see old Crane walking in, his head and goatee forward, his protruding blue eyes twinkling and his legs shaky so he totters as he comes forward and says "Salaam, salaam."

Here was one rich man who believed in democracy and in decent government and who was willing to contribute generously to a good cause even if he knew it was a losing one."

These are two recollections of the same man — one the reminiscence of a friend, the other an evaluation in the context of public life. Both recollections refer to Charles Richard Crane, whose philosophy and philanthropy were felt in many parts of the globe, but whose life and works have a special meaning to the Arab Middle East.

Crane’s importance in the economic growth of the area is realized by a mere handful of scholars. For most of us remember him only as an author of the King-Crane Commission report, that heartbreaking maybe-have-been. But in fact, he is perhaps the most important American ever to become interested in this part of the world — if the impact of his interest is taken into account.

The famous Commission of Inquiry in Palestine and Syria — better known as "The King-Crane Commission" — has been described as the "only commission appointed by the Paris Peace Conference which really carried out both the principle and the method of President Wilson, of inquiring into the real wishes of populations whose destinies were being decided."

Though the recommendations of the King-Crane Commission were ignored and suppressed, their blunt truth provides as clear a warning of the dangers of imperial design in the Middle East as has ever been put down in print by an American.

Crane is the father of the Arabian oil development

This is why Charles Crane is recalled chiefly for his part in the King-Crane Commission’s investigation and report. But now it appears that it was by no means his chief, nor most enduring, contribution to the Arab Middle East. He has received no credit from posterity for it, but he was in fact the father of Arabian oil development.

True, it was the technical skill of professional petroleum geologists and engineers that found the oil of Arabia and brought it out of the ground. But it was Crane who financed the first geological survey of Arabia’s mineral potential — a survey that led, straight as an arrow, to the oil wealth of today, and to the transformation of a trial federation into a developing kingdom.

Crane’s chief accomplishments in the Middle East were thus twofold: the father of recommendations which, if

1 Letter to author from Mrs. George Antonius, 5th August 1953.
followed, would have blocked the imperial designs of France and Britain in carving up the Arab nation after World War I; and contributor of funds that led to the startling growth in economic importance of Middle East oil.

Enough for one lifetime? Not for Crane, who is remembered for many other contributions to the public welfare in all parts of the world, including Russia, America and China. Not the least of his talents was the fathering of a remarkable group of children, about whom more later.

Essentially, Crane’s contributions were the result of his practical application of his private wealth to the development of his ideals. It is doubtful, however, if any other man could have bridged the sizeable gap between the sale of bathroom fixtures and the foundation of Czechoslovakian democracy. So credit must be given, too, to a remarkable personality that could pursue such widely assorted aims with such success.

**Crane and American Politics**

Crane was born on 5th August 1858 into a wealthy Chicago family. His father, Richard Teller Crane, had founded the bathroom-fixture firm of Crane and Camp, now third largest plumbing equipment firm in the world. The firm’s prosperity is even now increasing; it is America’s No. 1 producer of valves and pipe fittings, and is leading user of titanium for industrial uses.

Richard Crane was opposed to colleges, and sent his sons only to the Chicago public schools. But Charles Crane was more clearly under the influence of his uncle, Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of the Oriental Studies Department at Yale. It was from Williams that Crane derived his affection for Oriental people and art that led him to travel widely and to amass a notable Chicago art collection as well as a large group of superb Oriental rugs and carpets.

Charles Crane alone was left behind by his brother from his role as Vice-President of the family firm, as an active member of the Chicago Municipal League. The loss of two nieces in the Iroquois Theatre fire in the late 1880s brought about a typical Crane reaction. Vowing that such tragedies should never happen again (the Iroquois Theatre had no emergency exits), he located the best-known fire prevention expert in the United States to carry out a study of fire safety in theatres. The expert, John R. Freeman, produced with Crane’s financial help “Safeguarding of Life in Theatres”, still the basis of fire safety codes for theatres all around the globe, including the Middle East.

In the early 1900s, Crane gave his assistance to the growing Progressive Republican movement, headed by Wisconsin’s Robert M. LaFollette. He is recorded as helping in 1909 to finance LaFollette’s magazine and, two years later, as accepting the post of Treasurer of LaFollette’s National Progressive Republican League. Before he sailed for Europe that year, Crane pledged $25,000 to LaFollette if the latter ran for the United States Presidency.

While others were drawn away from LaFollette by the magnetism of Theodore Roosevelt, Crane stuck by the Wisconsin Progressive until LaFollette himself had withdrawn from the political arena. LaFollette wrote: “He (Crane) is a man of few words, but with great constancy of purpose.”

Crane’s constancy of purpose was somewhat detailed, however, by his experience with the administration of President William Howard Taft. Though long identified with progressivism in American politics, Crane was led to support Taft by virtue of Taft’s personal acquaintance with the Orient — an area Crane felt qualified to speak on himself, and an area where, he felt, America needed specialized knowledge such as that held by Taft.

For his support of Taft, Crane received, early in 1909, the appointment as United States Minister to China. But as he waited for his ship to sail from San Francisco, Crane was suddenly recalled and the appointment cancelled — the only time a major American diplomat has been recalled by his government before leaving for his post.

This severed any links Crane might have had with the conservatism of Taft and solidified his participation in the progressivism first of LaFollette and later of Woodrow Wilson.

The story behind the cancellation of Crane’s appointment as Minister to China is interesting. Taft’s nomination of Crane was confirmed by the Senate and Crane resigned from the Crane Company, of which he was by then President. The message of recall which he received in San Francisco was from Secretary of State Philander C. Knox, who ordered him to return at once to Washington.

It is believed that the Japanese Government had protested to Washington about Crane’s appointment as United States envoy to China — a protest based on a speech of Crane’s to the Asiatic Society of New York in which he prophetically foresaw an eventual war between America and an ambitious Japan.

Two other explanations were offered: one that the Japanese Government had also objected to Crane’s selection of a Secretary, Thomas F. Millard, owner of an anti-Japanese English-language newspaper in China; and Crane’s friendship with George Marvin, a member of the House of Morgan banking firm who held violent anti-Japanese views.

At any rate, Philander Knox presented his objections to Taft in such a way that Taft was forced to choose — at the very outset of his administration — between his Secretary of State and his Minister to China.

**Crane as a Supporter of President Wilson**

An indication of the feeling ranking within Crane against Taftist conservatism is found in the ferocity with which Crane adopted the Wilsonian cause a short three years later. In Wilson’s first bid for the American Presidency in 1912, Crane is listed as the largest single contributor of campaign funds — $40,000.

Crane also served as Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Party Finance Committee, the group that raised money to finance Wilson’s successful campaign. “All that he did was so quiet and unostentatious that, except those intimately concerned, few knew of his generous spirit,” reported Harold Ickes, himself an early Wilson supporter.

Before the nomination of Wilson, Crane is reported to have said that his interest was in supporting a real progressive for President; “that if the Democrats nominated Wilson and the Progressives nominated LaFollette, he would not care much who was elected, but if the Democratic Party nominated Wilson and the Progressive Party did not nominate LaFollette, he would support Wilson.” At any rate, it was clear that Crane would support neither the conservative Republicans headed by Taft nor the progressive Republicans headed by Theodore Roosevelt. When the Democrats nominated Wilson and LaFollette failed of nomination, Crane’s choice was clear. From then until, in later years, he quarrelled with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Crane was unequivocally a Democrat.

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4 See *Time Magazine* for 17th August 1953, p. 48, for article on present activities of the Crane Corporation.
7 Ibid., p. 386.
8 See *New York Times* for 15th February 1939.
9 Ickes, p. 582.
Crane's enthusiasm for Wilson had its political reward eight years later when, on 19th February 1920, Wilson named Crane to the post of United States Minister to China. The sweet taste of such an appointment, before given and as quickly taken away by Taft, must have brought deep satisfaction to Crane. He must have been happy that he did not accept Wilson's offer of the post of United States Minister to Russia, offered to him immediately after the 1912 election.

Crane as a member of the American Mission to Russia in 1917

Russia figured largely in Crane's life between the first election of Wilson in 1912 and the King-Crane mission following the war. In his travels for the Crane Company in the early part of the pre-war decades, Crane had become an acknowledged expert on Russian affairs, particularly from the economic point of view. It was logical, therefore, that he should become Wilson's "Russian expert".

During the first half of World War I, Imperial Russia was allied with Britain, France and Italy against Imperial Germany. During the first Russian revolution, that of 1916, the Allies were naturally concerned about whether the new government of Russia would conclude a separate peace with Germany. Russian troops, when they heard of the victory of the revolutionary forces over those of the Czar, deserted on the German front by the thousand, and the situation, politically and militarily, was precarious for the Allies.

Like Crane himself, Wilson was a master of the direct approach. He decided to send an American diplomatic mission, headed by Elihu Root, to visit and talk with the revolutionary government of Russia. He named Crane as a member of the mission. In a Cabinet meeting on 23rd March 1917, Wilson said that Crane knew well the leading spirits of the revolution and was convinced they were men of ability who had the confidence of the Russian people. However, it is not clear whether Crane meant Milisukov or Kerensky or the Soviets.

The United States had already recognized the Milisukov government, though men close to Wilson had vague doubts whether anyone running counter to the Soviets could accomplish the revolution. There was also a lack of unanimity among Wilson's Cabinet as to the wisdom of Elihu Root's selection to head the mission.

Crane and Lincoln Steffens sailed for Russia in 1917 — Crane was leaving America a bit later than other members of the Root mission. A passenger on the same ship was Leon Trotsky, who was removed from the ship in Halifax. Steffens recalls this of their survival in Russia: "Getting to the scene so soon after the beginning, we had . . . the opportunity I craved to find out exactly how a revolution is made . . . Crane had seen the world. We were not to be distracted by the outrages, the inefficiency, the confusion of such a crisis. Crane had old friends to see. . . (The) moment we were settled, we set forth in those menacing, empty, apparently frightened streets to call with Crane on his old friend Milisukov, who was head of the 'provisional government', and to see other friends of Crane's." This was when Milisukov's government had been recognized by the United States. It was later succeeded by the Kerensky government but, as Steffens notes, "the real power was with the Soviets".

An idea of Crane's real influence among members of the Root mission is gained from this recollection, again from Steffens: "I quit Russia to carry a verbal message from Kerensky to Wilson. Charles R. Crane asked me to. He and the American Ambassador had cabled, as Kerensky had, in vain. They could not make the President (Wilson) understand that public opinion reigned in Russia and that the new government had no power to do what the Allies wished (i.e., to continue the war against Germany). . . . One day when we were in the palace, Crane turned from the orator (Kerensky) to me to say that he and Kerensky and the Ambassador wished that I would go to Washington and tell the President just how it was and what Kerensky thought Wilson might do. It was a good deal to ask of me. . . ."

The members of the Root Mission voiced, upon their return, a feeling that the Kerensky régime would prevail. Only one disagreed — Crane. "When the Root Mission returned, they were all — with the exception of Charles R. Crane, who knew Russia better than the others — most optimistic as to the power of the Kerensky government to restore order and to keep the Russian armies in the field. But not long after their return, Kerensky was overthrown and the Bolsheviks seized the government at Petrograd." This was how Robert Lansing viewed the mission and Crane's part in it.

From then until the end of World War I, Crane was fully occupied as Treasurer of the American Armenian-Syrian Relief Committee, and most probably one of its heaviest contributors. It was this activity, partly at least, that led Crane into an interest in the Turkish territories of the Arab Middle East — an interest manifested later in his participation in the Peace Conference.

Crane comes to Europe as President Wilson's adviser at the Peace Conference in 1919

The story of the Versailles Peace Conference has been told many times. The fate of the conference itself is to be seen in the fate of one of its small segments, the King-Crane Commission, and the resulting struggle for mandatory power by France and Britain that led ultimately to so many forms of strife.

It is logical that Crane should have been in Paris as an adviser to Wilson not only on Russian and Chinese affairs but also as an expert on the freed Turkish territories in the Arab world.

Crane was close to Wilson during the sessions in Paris when Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George discussed the fate of the Ottoman Empire. First came the revelation to their surprised ears of the Sykes-Picot agreement (which Wilson said reminded him of a brand of tea) in which Britain and France agreed to hack up the Arab world for themselves.

The disgruntled Wilson described the Sykes-Picot agreement as "a fine example of the old diplomacy," but the American leader might have saved his wrath. For secondly, the British suddenly revealed the details of their agreement with the Sherif of Mecca, King Husain of the Hedjas. It then became all too clear that double-dealing had taken place among the Allies, and between the Allies and the Arabs, during the fighting of the war.

Ray S. Baker makes the claim that Wilson did not know of the Sykes-Picot agreement until it was revealed by Clemenceau at the peace table at Versailles, and that the French were unaware of the McMahon-Husain agreement before it was announced at the same table by Lloyd George. Baker makes it clear, however, that the Husain agreement pre-dated the Sykes-Picot deal.

13 Steffens, p. 764.
President Wilson's suggestion of sending a Commission of Inquiry to Palestine and Syria

Speaking to Clemenceau and Lloyd George, Wilson said (according to Baker's transcript of the conference) that the United States was indifferent to the claims both of Great Britain and of France over peoples unless those peoples wanted them. One of the fundamental principles to which the United States adhered (Wilson continued) was the consent of the governed. This was ingrained in the thought of the United States of America. Hence the United States wanted to know whether the French would be an agreeable mandatory power to the Syrians, and the British to the Mesopotamians. Wilson suggested that the only way to deal with this problem was to discover the desires of the populations of these regions.  

Wilson proposed a Commission of Inquiry in Palestine and Syria to determine "the state of opinion and the soil to be worked on by any mandatory." The proposal was for equal French, British, Italian and United States representation on the commission. Clemenceau agreed "in principle" if the commission would include British claims as well as French. Lloyd George also agreed "in principle" but was lukewarm.

After a time it became clear to Wilson that France and Britain were unlikely to expand their agreements "in principle" to include actual appointment of commissioners. So he appointed two American delegates to the commission. These two delegates turned out to be the only ones appointed. They were Crane and Dr. Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College. Both were in Paris at the time.

Crane spends forty days in the Middle East as a member of the Inquiry Commission

Crane and King, accompanied by a group of advisers, left Paris on 25th May 1920 and arrived in Jaffa on 10th June. The advisers were Dr. Albert Lybyer, Dr. George R. Montgomery and Captain William Yale; Captain Donald M. Brodie went along as Secretary.

The King-Crane Commission spent forty days in Syria and Palestine, visiting thirty-six cities and towns and talking with hundreds of Arab leaders and laymen. The commission's report, consisting of more than 40,000 words, was in three parts. The first was a statement of the work of the commission and the conditions encountered. The second was made up of recommendations to the Peace Conference. These two parts have been published only twice: once in Editor and Publisher in 1922, and once again in George Antonius' The Arab Awakening. (For a discussion of the report, plus a reproduction of the first two sections of it, the reader is referred to Antonius.)

The third part of the report, marked "Confidential — for the use of Americans only" — was never published, and presumably lies deep in the files of the United States State Department.

Recommendations of the commission to the Peace Conference were that the peoples interviewed wanted, first and foremost, an independent Arab government. In this regard, the report coincided with the views being presented to the Peace Conference, when he was permitted to speak, by the Emir Faisal, son of King Husain of the Hedjaz.

If it was not possible for the Allies to permit Arab independence, the report said, the peoples of Syria would view with favour an American mandate. Next in preference would be a British mandate, and last on the list was a French mandate, unacceptable in the extreme to all those interviewed.

Bearing in mind that the Commission of Inquiry was boycotted by Britain and France, was the burial of the report the result of Anglo-French pressure? Or was the American delegation unwilling to have its recommendations revealed if America was not able to accept the mandate over Syria and Palestine? The result is known: the area was carved up in a way closely resembling the onerous Sykes-Picot plan. America — whether by its own choice or by design of its allies — took no further part in the subjugation of Syria and Palestine to the European powers.

Crane's interest in European affairs

Another one of Crane's many sides was his influence — hardly mentioned in accounts of the time — in the formation of the Czechoslovakian republic. During World War I a young man from Central Europe, Jan Masaryk, journeyed to Bridgeport, Connecticut, where he got a job in the plant which the Crane Company of Chicago operated there. Whether it was this that led to Crane's financial and moral support of the founding of the Czechoslovakian State is not known. But two seemingly pertinent things happened in the years thereafter: first of all, Crane's son, Richard Teller Crane II, was the first American envoy to Czechoslovakia after the republic was established; and Crane's daughter Frances was married to Jan Masaryk.

Crane's children and grandchildren were a remarkable group. In addition to Richard and Frances, Crane's children were John, who married into a noble Italian family, and Josephine, who married a college professor, Dr. Harold T. Bradley, of the University of Wisconsin and Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory. The latter alliance was the result of yet another of Crane's involvements. Even before World War I, Crane has become interested in the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts. Along with John D. Rockefeller, he supported the laboratory financially. At Woods Hole he also built an imposing wooden mansion called Juniper Point, which remained in the Crane family until fairly recently.

In the field of marine biology extremely important discoveries have emanated from the laboratory at Wood's Hole which Crane, with John D. Rockefeller, set up and financed. It would be foolish for a non-scientist to attempt an evaluation of these discoveries, but we can at least recognize the leading position of Wood's Hole in the field.

One of the Bradleys' sons, David Bradley, became a pioneer atomic physicist and author of the best-seller No Place to Hide, a story of the effects of atomic attack on the residents of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Before her marriage to Jan Masaryk, Frances Crane was married to Charles Leatherbee. They had three sons, Charles Crane Leatherbee and Robert and Richard Crane (the latter two sons changed their surname to Crane after their mother's divorce from Leatherbee). The eldest, Charles Leatherbee, was a pioneer of the American summer theatre movement.

With a group of friends — including James Stewart, Margaret Sullivan, Henry Fonda, Joshua Logan, Bretagne Windust and others — Leatherbee founded the University Players at Falmouth, Massachusetts. This group not only established summer theatre as a mainstay of the American drama but firmly established its members as stars of stage and screen. A tragic sidelight was Leatherbee's sudden death, just a year after he had married Joshua Logan's sister, Mary Lee Logan, in 1933. Charles Crane, of course, was...

16 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
instrumental in aiding his grandson financially to start the University Players.

Young Richard Crane in more recent years was in Sa‘udi Arabia to represent Trans-World Airlines in negotiations for landing rights with King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ibn Sa‘ud.

One of Crane’s most valuable contacts in his work on the King-Crane Commission was Dr. Faris Nimir Pasha, the Egyptian leader, whose Secretary (and later son-in-law) was George Antonius. The friendship of the King-Crane days ripened through the years; Crane was a frequent visitor during the 1920s and 1930s to the Antonius home in Jerusalem.

**Crane’s Institute of Current World Affairs**

In his foreword to *The Arab Awakening*, Antonius acknowledged the help he received from Crane, in the form of a grant from Crane’s Institute of Current World Affairs, in writing the book. (In the writer’s opinion, financing the writing of *The Arab Awakening* should rank very high on the list of Crane’s help to the Arab world.)

Using Jerusalem as a centre of operations, Crane spent many months travelling through the Arab world in the two decades before his death. His paunch figure, red cheeks and piercing blue eyes combined to make Crane’s appearance noted in many corners of the area.

During this period there is evidence that Crane spent a great deal of money on his direct approach to charity and philanthropy, though no records were kept and memories are dim. One example of Crane’s largesse was to guarantee the daily bread bill of the Russian Orthodox Convent in Jerusalem—a bill paid by Crane’s office in New York until the time of his death. Jerusalem residents maintain that for many years the Russian Orthodox sisters had little else to live on.

It is also known that Crane arranged for the education of many young Arabs at institutions both within and outside the Arab world. Here again, there are no records and nothing even approaching a guess as to the amount of money represented in this veiled philanthropy.

Byzantine art owes a debt to Crane also. It was Crane who financed the work of John Whittome in restoring the St. Sophia mosque in Istanbul and other work still under way in Turkey. His interests in Turkey included strong financial support of Robert College.

Though at least one newspaper report claimed that Crane’s knowledge of Arabic was “fluent”, we have the word of a number of Arabs that he spoke nothing of the language except the word, repeated once, at the beginning of this article. In his Middle East travels, he generally took George Antonius with him to translate.

Another frequent companion on Middle East jaunts was a German physician, first name disremembered, generally called Dr. “Hunger” Meyer by Crane’s friends owing to his formula for good health—starvation. Under Meyer’s ministrations, Crane ate no evening meal except laban.

**Crane’s meeting with the late King Ibn Sa‘ud**

H. St. J. B. Philby places the first meeting of Crane and King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ibn Sa‘ud at 25th February 1931, and adds modestly that Crane was invited to meet the King by Philby himself. This was by no means Crane’s first contact with Arabia: he had already financed mineral exploration in the Yemen by Karl S. Twitchell. “He,(Crane) undertook to place at the disposal of Ibn Sa‘ud’s government, free of charge, the services of an expert mining engineer, who had worked for him in Abyssinia, the Yemen and elsewhere, for a period of six months. It was thus that... Twitchell first came to Sa‘udi Arabia to find the buried treasure, at whose existence I had hinted at the darkest moment of the country’s economic depression.”

As the world now knows, the “buried treasure” was not the gold of Solomon’s ancient mines, but the oil beneath the sands of eastern Arabia. As a result of Twitchell’s discovery the Standard Oil Company of California in the summer of 1933 inquired about the possibility of oil concessions from the Sa‘udi Arabian Government. Soon afterwards the Iraq Petroleum Company sent a representative, Stephen Longrigg, to compete for the concession. Twitchell had been signed up by Standard Oil as their technical adviser, according to Philby. The concession was won by the American group, and production started in 1938.

Although professional oil-men would maintain that the discovery of the oilfields could not long remain hidden from modern science, it is certainly true that Crane’s financing of Twitchell’s exploration directly resulted in Sa‘udi Arabia’s present position as a leading world oil producer.

**Crane’s last days**

By the time the production of oil began in Sa‘udi Arabia Crane was already in his seventies, nearing the end of a remarkably varied life. His travelling became much more limited—winters in a Park Avenue apartment in New York, summers at his well-loved home in Wood’s Hole. He sailed in a yacht which he owned and skippered for thirty-seven years. His children, grandchildren, nephews and nieces gathered at Juniper Point on 7th August 1938 to help Crane mark his eightieth birthday. He died at his winter home at Palm Springs, California, early the next year, on 15th February — after a lifetime the fullness of which is rarely given to any man.

Before his death, Crane turned a large share of his fortune over to a foundation, the Institute of Current World Affairs. The Institute’s purpose, according to Walter S. Rogers, its director, is to use “the income from its endowment to make it financially possible for a few young Americans to have opportunity to become broadly knowledgeable at first hand in regard to one or more areas foreign to the United States”. It is known that the Institute has been instrumental in training several Americans in contemporary Russian affairs—Americans who have since been called upon by their government to fill important Intelligence posts. Thus one of Crane’s interests continues unabated.

The Institute’s field of interest has not been limited to Russia, of course. Neither has it been especially focused on the Middle East — although an Institute scholar, Richard S. Nolte, spends study time in the area. As previously noted, the writing of George Antonius’ *The Arab Awakening* was financed by the Institute, and a suitable credit for the Institute’s help appears in the foreword of the book.

Curiously, Crane’s influence on Middle East affairs— as great as that of any American — was the influence of a man who was in no sense exclusively interested in the Middle East. It was the superb benignity of a selfless humanitarian who could recognize needs wherever he was — and took decisive action to fill them.

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19 Ibid.
20 Henry Churchill King (1858-1934) was a prominent Congregational clergyman and author, in 1907, of *Theology and the Social Consciousness*, a pioneer work in the shift of emphasis in United States Protestantism to a social gospel.
22 Ibid., p. 178.
THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY AND COMMUNISM

Is Modern Islam a guarantee against the spread of Communism in Muslim Countries?

By DR. NABIH FARIS

“It should be remembered that the stubborn resistance to Communism in the West is rooted in a specific philosophy based on an absolute belief from which all other beliefs and values emanate, namely the belief in the dignity and freedom of man. No such philosophy is discernible in the writings of modern Muslim writers yet. Furthermore, the confidence of the average Muslim in Western democracy which revolves around the individual, his worth, dignity and freedom, has been seriously impaired as a result of Islam’s unfortunate political experience with the West. It is not likely, therefore, that the average Muslim would defend democracy with the same zeal with which its Western devotees have been defending it. Nor is the average Muslim likely to resist the spread of Communism in any earnest or effective manner.”

Why I am writing this article

Is Islam, because of its hostility to materialist atheistic beliefs, a guarantee against the spread of Communism among Muslims? The question has recently acquired more than academic interest and urgency. The world has been divided into two conflicting ideologies each trying with all the means available to it to gain control over the minds of men everywhere. A large number of spokesmen, however, both in the West and among Muslims, have been reiterating that in this struggle Islam stands as a barrier against the onslaught of Communism. On the surface, this position seems assured, but on closer investigation it loses all the talismanic charms with which its advocates endue it. In this study, the entire problem is examined in the light of traditional Muslim orthodoxy and current practical Islam. Needless to say, the writer has no desire whatsoever to criticize either Islam or Communism. As a matter of fact, this article would never have been written were it not specifically requested.

In reviewing a recently published book on the history of the Arabs, I concluded the review with the following observation:

“Another myth which seems to be as ubiquitous as flying saucers, and as unreal, is the claim that among the factors which stand a barrier against the spread of Communism in the Arab world is Islam’s ‘hostility to a materialist atheistic creed and way of life’. The reviewer is inclined to believe that Islam, in spite of its hostility to materialist atheistic creeds, is no guarantee against the spread of Communism in all, but perhaps a preparation for it. The final answer might come from wholly unexpected places — from Egypt, Iraq and Indonesia, all predominantly Muslim.”

A few weeks later, I received a gracious letter from Mr. *Abdul Majid, Editor of The Islamic Review, London, and Woking, in which he expressed his interest in and agreement with the review, “especially the observations in the concluding sentences”. The letter goes on to say: “The smug comfort and sense of complicity from which leaders of the Muslim world suffer in the belief that their religion is proof against the encroachment of Communism is a theory which must be destroyed if we really wish the Middle Eastern countries to be free from the disaster that might overtake them otherwise.” Would I, therefore, he asked, though not belonging to the Muslim faith, be willing to share with readers the reasons which have led me to the conclusion that Islam, in spite of its hostility to materialist atheistic creeds,

Although on purely doctrinal grounds Islam and Communism are irreconcilable, yet there are striking similarities in the two systems. It must be said at the outset, and quite emphatically, that on purely doctrinal grounds it is perhaps impossible to reconcile Islam with Communism. The central theme of Islam and indeed its raison d’être is God and belief in God as the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe. As a system, Islam measures all things in terms of its all-inclusive divine code, even to the recognition of the institution of private property, and the regulation of its possession, disposal, and inheritance.

There are, however, similarities and parallels in the two systems which make transition from Islam to Communism easy and natural. The moment emphasis is lifted from the spiritual to the temporal. Since Communism recognizes nothing spiritual, the reverse process, transition from Communism to Islam, is not likely unless it is brought about by a conversion as thoroughgoing as that of Paul or al-Ghazzali.

What are these similarities and parallels which expose Islam to the danger of being swallowed up by Communism?

The authoritarian character of both systems

The first is the authoritarian character of both systems. Though theoretically subject to the shari’ah, the Caliph, from earliest times, has been, the fountainhead of all authority. Obedience to him was obedience to God; disobedience to him carried, besides the most extreme penalty the State could mete out to offenders, the penalty of hell-fire in the hereafter. A classic expression of this is to be found in the certificate of appointment issued by the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir (1180-1225) to Muhammad Ibn Barz al-Qummi when the latter was named vizir:

“Muhammad Ibn Barz al-Qummi is our representative throughout the land and amongst (our) subjects. Therefore he who obeys him obeys us; and he who disobeys us obeys God, and him will God cause to enter Paradise. On the other hand, he who disobeys our representative, disobeys us; and he who disobeys us disobeys God, and God shall cause him to enter hell-fire.”

2 Ibn al-Tiqtiqa, al-Fakhri fi ‘l-Adab al-sultanyyah, Cairo 1339, p. 108.
It is true that the Caliphate as an institution is no more, but the shari'ah, in the name of which modern Muslim Governments rule and the ordinances of which they enforce, remains subject to no limitation or amendment. Furthermore, piety and virtue lie in obedience and conformity (ittiba') while nothing is more repugnant than change and innovation (itiida'). In spite of the fact that most Muslim countries have adopted, side by side with the shari'ah, constitutions and codes derived from European counterparts rather than from the Qur'an and the Sunnah exclusively, sanction for such practices is read into the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and the prevailing atmosphere remains one of conformity.

Similarly, most of the so-called religious reform movements in Islam today, and certainly the most articulate, such as the Muslim Brethren in Egypt and Syria, the Hizb al-Tahrir (the so-called Nabhaniyah movement) in Jordan, the Jama'at-i-Islami in India and Pakistan, and the Fida'iyan Islam in Persia, view any Government not based on their conception of Islam as satanic, constituting kafir.4

This raises the problem of freedom itself, both on the metaphysical and the practical levels. The individual in Muslim society is twice compelled, by predestination on the metaphysical plane, and by the social and political system built upon the shari'ah on the practical.

The advocates of free-will and of predestination have from the beginning sought and found equally convincing support for their respective positions in the Qur'an. The position was championed by al-Ash'ari who attempted to reconcile the predestination dogmas with the requirements of justice by building on certain Qur'anic texts his doctrine of kash. But in the overall picture the balance has continued to be tipped in favour of jibr. This is also the position of al-Ghazzali and the majority of Muslim thinkers after him. It finds its classic support in the Qur'anic verse, "Moreover, had they been desirous to take the field, they would have got ready for that purpose the munitions of war. But God was averse to their marching forth, and made them laggards." As to the general public, the broad limits of qada al-lah wala-qadardh rule their lives and actions.

The basic principle of Islamic politics is that both individually and collectively human beings should waive all right of legislation and all power to give commands to others. No one should be allowed to pass orders or issue decrees in his own right and no one ought to accept the obligation to carry out such decrees and obey such orders. None is entitled to make laws on his own authority and none is obliged to abide by them. The right vests in Allah alone. According to this theory, sovereignty belongs to God alone, and no person, group, or even the entire population of a State as a whole can lay claim to sovereignty. All legislative power, too, vests in God. The believers cannot frame any law for themselves nor can they modify any law which God has laid down, even if the desire for such change in it is unanimous. The Islamic State, at all events, must be founded upon the law laid down by God through His Prophet. The Government which runs this State shall be entitled to obedience in its capacity as a political agency set up to enforce the laws of God and only in so far as it acts in that capacity.5

Objection may be raised that Maudoodi does not represent Muslim thought at its best. Be that as it may, Maudoodi's position is not basically different from that of al-Ash'ari, the father of Muslim orthodoxy, who denied any right of popular rebellion against the State, even if it were evil.6 Nor is it different from that of the Ikhwun al-Muslimun as stated by their founder, the late Hasan al-Banna, and by his first and latest successor Hasan Isma'il al-Hudaybi. Both have reiterated that the establishment of the Islamic State was at the head of their programme. They were not content that the constitution should stipulate, as does the Egyptian constitution, that the religion of the State is Islam, but insisted that legislation in its entirety should be first of all Islamic, and further that practical and applied legislation should also be Islamic.7 While there is a sharp cleavage among Muslim thinkers, it would seem that the position of al-Ash'ari and of al-Maudoodi, al-Banna and al-Hudaybi, is more representative of the majority than any of the positions of its more liberal opponents. For in the final analysis what the theologians of old sought and the thinkers of today are seeking, is the welfare of the jama'ah and its solidarity rather than freedom for the individual; both the jama'ah and the individual are in this world for the enforcement of the Divine Law.

In view of all these, therefore, it would seem justifiable to conclude that on the metaphysical and practical planes the tendency is to negate freedom, or at least limit and restrict it to a point where it would seem non-existent. And when the metaphysical is not constantly underscored and borne in mind, predestination can, for all practical purposes, be equated with historical determinism.

The Supra-national character of both systems
Another similarity is the supra-national character of both systems. Both Islam and Communism claim universality and cleave across nationalities to bring them all within the faith. Recent Muslim writers have reiterated this idea and called for an Islamic State which transcends national boundaries and linguistic divisions to embrace all Muslims and to unite them in the Muslim Fatherland.8

The conception of evil
Still another basic belief in Islam which finds a striking parallel in Communist thinking is that of the nature of evil. "Everyone who is born is born with a sound nature; it is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian, or a Magian."11 Islam does not believe in original sin. Man goes astray because of the effect of external factors. Modern Muslim writers have reiterated that the evils in human society are actually a matter of unbalance in certain forces in that society. "Insensitiveness on the part of man is no part of his general nature but the outcome of undue certain balances.

3 Though suppressed in Egypt in 1954, the movement is still active in other Muslim lands, and its idea and ideals continue to represent the innermost aspirations of Muslims from Morocco to Indonesia.


7 Maudoodi, Political Theory of Islam, pp. 29-30.

8 Al-Ash'ari, al-Ibna'a 'an Usul al-Diyana, Cairo 1348, p. 12.


11 Al-Bukhari, the Sahih, Jana'iz, 80, 93; al-Tirmidhi, the Sahih, Qudar, 5. See also al-Ghazzali, al-Munqidh min al-Dalal, Dar al-Ma'mun, Cairo 1936, Vol. III, p. 97.
...This degradation can be checked and stopped by proper action. Each irregularity committed by human beings is the product of some external force that tends to direct consciously: this force can and must be resisted and nullified ere it subjugates the human self."

All social injustices and ills afflicting this world would be rectified and a sort of Utopia would prevail when the external factors which throw society out of balance are done away with and balance is restored by the establishment of the Muslim State. In other words, "perfect society can be hoped for by the establishment of the external order within which, apart from human inward change, it can be actualized."13

The Communists, too, believe that the proletarian Utopia is attainable once a set of external factors replace another set, once Communism replaces Capitalism. Society would ultimately become so perfect that the restraining hand of Government would become superfluous. The only difference between Islam and Communism in this respect are the means with which their respective Utopias are to be brought about. Essentially they are very similar in their denial of original sin. "Everyone who is born is born with a sound nature; it is his parents (or his environment, his society, the system under which he lives, etc.) who make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian (or anything evil)."

In all these there exists a striking similarity between the two systems. This does not necessarily mean that they are identical. Indeed, under certain conditions, Islam need not be wary of the inroads of Communism at all, or fear that it could ever be a preparation for it. Unless Muslims place their emphasis on the spiritual mission of Islam, unless they bear in mind that the raison d'être of their faith is belief in and worship of God, the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, the danger of sliding into Communism is real and imminent.

Islam, as all know and agree, does not draw a clear line between the two realms — the spiritual and the temporal. There is in Islam no such thing as "render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." For in Islam everything is God's. The most accurate statement of this view came from the pen of the late Hasan al-Banna when he stated:

"You are able to say, and no one will censure you, that the Muslim Brethren is a Salafite movement, a Sunnite way, a Sufi truth, a political organization, an athletic club, a cultural and a scientific society, an economic company, and a social doctrine."14

The struggle for independence, therefore, is no less a part of Islam than is fasting, and the boycott of Israel is as much a part of the faith as is almsgiving.

Because the spiritual and the temporal in Islam are not kept distinctly separate, the common man in Islam is exposed to the danger of obliterating the spiritual when the temporal is overemphasized.

Most heresies in the history of religion have been the result of groups or individuals taking one religious truth or doctrine out of its context and placing emphasis on it to the near or total exclusion of the remaining truth or doctrines. With the realm of the spiritual and the temporal in Islam not kept distinctly separate, as they are in reformed Christianity, for example, it has become extremely difficult, especially for the common people, not to obliterate the one when they overemphasize the other. Herein lies the danger, and this is exactly what is happening throughout the Muslim world today, as Muslim thinkers and masses face the inroads of conflicting ideologies competing for the minds of the rising generations everywhere. The newest and the most ominous of these is Communism. Its threats confront both Christianity and Islam. In the Christian West the only determined emphasis on freedom by most thinkers and the equally determined insistence on belief in God by the Church have been able to stop the onslaught of Communism in its tracks. Wherever these slackened their vigilance, Communism has gained; wherever they kept the initiative, Communism either withdrew or stood still.

Unfortunately, this is not so in the case of Islam. Muslim leadership has not till now, to quote the words of 'Abdul Majid, faced the problem. Most are hardly aware of it. Instead, one finds a race between modern Muslim writers and Communists, aimed at showing which system offers more of the fruits of this temporal world, which can better bring about social justice, security and solidarity. These writers are more concerned with solidarity than with freedom, with the welfare of the jamā'ah than with that of the individual. By placing most of their emphasis on the temporal, modern Muslim writers15 have in effect reduced Islam to a social programme. The result of this transformation, irrespective of all good intentions, is twofold. It first undermines the raison d'être of Islam itself: belief in God as the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe. Once this is done in toto or in part, the second result becomes inevitable. Muslims would find that social programme in a more attractive form and buttressed with an apparently perfect and comprehensive philosophy in Communism. They would find in Communism all the temporal blessings of Islam, improved, refined, and embellished by technology and freed from all metaphysical difficulties.

It should be remembered that the stubborn resistance to Communism in the West is rooted in a specific philosophy based on an absolute belief from which all other beliefs and values emanate, namely the belief in the dignity and freedom of man. No such philosophy is discernible in the writings of modern Muslim writers yet. Furthermore, the confidence of the average Muslim in Western democracy which revolves around the individual, his worth, dignity and freedom, has been seriously impaired as a result of Islam's unfortunate political experience with the West. It is not likely, therefore, that the average Muslim would defend democracy with the same zeal with which its Western devotees have been defending it. Nor is the average Muslim likely to resist the spread of Communism in any earnest or effective manner.

Resistance of Islam to Communism is unlikely because of the place of reason in Islam and the unfriendly relations between the West and Islam.

Two other factors, one basic and the other secondary, tend to render such resistance unlikely. The first stems from the place of reason in Islam. Its function is "to bear witness to the trustworthiness of prophecy and to confess its own

12 Q. Ahmed-ur-Rahman 'Alavi, "Notes on Islamic Law," in The Islamic Literature (Lahore), March 1951, pp. 139-140. See also Kenneth Cragg, "The Intellectual Impact of Communism upon Contemporary Islam," in The Middle East Journal (Washington, D.C.), Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 1954), pp. 127-138. I am greatly indebted to this excellent article by Mr. Cragg and believe that it deserves serious study by all interested persons.
13 Ibid., p. 134.
14 Al-ikhwan al-Muslimun, p. 79.
inability.” Furthermore, “it does not point the way to that which is useful or (warn against) that which is harmful in words, works, ethics and doctrines. It does not distinguish between the propitious and the baneful... When it is, however, told, it comprehends and believes.” This is what al-Ghazzali asserted, and what has become the accepted function of reason in Islam. It is the handmaiden of religion, and rarely has a Muslim writer in recent times made another use of it. Reason which doubts, investigates, and rejects, if need be, authority, is equally negated by Islam and Communism. Both use it to justify authority.

In making this statement, I am not oblivious of the various attempts within Islam to give reason its rightful place in human history. The very fact that such attempts were made would indicate that in the continuous struggle of 'aql with naql, of reason with authority, a final victory for reason is not impossible. However, all previous attempts have ended with defeat and have left little influence on the collective mind of Islam.

Noteworthy among these attempts are those made by the Mu'tazilites, by Averroes (d. 1199 C.E.) and by Ibn Khalidun (d. 1406 C.E.). The influence of the first on Islamic thought has been in giving Ash'arite theology the weapons with which to fight rationalism. The influence of the second, while enormous in the West, is less than negligible in Islam. The influence of the third is, to all practical purposes, non-existent.18

The other factor stems from the long and unfriendly history of the relations of Islam and Christianity and their respective followers. The struggle of the rising Muslim Empire with the Byzantine determined not only their temporal relations but also their attitude towards their respective faiths. This was further complicated and embittered by their struggles during the period of the Crusades, whose legacy of ill-will still rankles in the hearts of both peoples, during the period of the early Ottomans, when a resurgent Muslim power menaced the Christian citadel of Europe, and during the century and a half of one-damn-thing-after-another Muslim experience with the colonialism of the so-called Christian West. Rightly or wrongly, the average Muslim came to view the West as his mortal foe. Every action taken by the West was interpreted as a direct attack upon Muslims, their homeland, institutions, society, culture and religion. Muslims, therefore, became understandably jubilant at the ills of the West, their hearts often bursting with gratification when the West faltered or suffered a setback. This has softened Muslim resistance to Communism and has already made many of them, particularly among the intellectuals, what might be described as fellow travellers and spite Communists. And when these intellectuals, with the tradiion of transcendentalsm behind them, shift their emphasis to the temporal in response to the crying needs of their fellow Muslims who suffer from poverty, ignorance and tyranny, the danger of Communism becomes more and more imminent.

True Islam, as stated before, cannot on doctrinal grounds be reconciled with Communism. Only when the emphasis is shifted from the spiritual to the temporal would transition from it to Communism become easy and natural. The grievances most of the Muslim world has against the West, the conditions under which Muslims live, and the legitimate urge felt by them to break the spell of Western hegemony tempt the faithful to make league even with the devil, especially when the devil has donned a turban and has partly concealed his hammer and sickle under his newly-acquired robe so as to make it look more like a crescent, and finally has started to quote the Qur'an.

17 Al-Ghazzali, al-Iqtiqad fi 'I-Fiqad, Cairo 1327, pp. 80-81.
18 Ibn-Kaldun's remarkable contribution to social thought has been discovered by the West and only boasted of in current Islam.
The Expansion of Islam under the First Four Caliphs

By C. F. Beckingham

"At one time it used to be said that tribes had poured out of the Arabian peninsula in irresistible fanaticism, confronting the peoples of the Fertile Crescent with the choice between Islam and death. I need hardly say that no scholar believes this now. There are even indications that religion was not a factor of great importance in the conquests."

What I mean by Expansion of Islam

This is an immense subject, and one of great importance for historians, since it was during that period Islam and the new Arab Empire impinged on the world outside Arabia. I shall not attempt to deal with all the questions that suggest themselves to the student of these fascinating events. They are too numerous, too varied. I intend in this article to offer merely a few tentative remarks concerning the expansion of Islam.

Now two things are meant by this expression, the expansion of Islam, and confusion has been caused when they have not been distinguished. There was the expansion of Islam as a religion, the conversion of members of other faiths to Islam, and there was also the expansion of Muslim rule, which was not necessarily accompanied by widespread conversion. I should like to begin by considering the second kind of expansion, about which we are better informed than about the first.

The growth of the new State was truly astonishing by any standards of comparison. When the Prophet Muhammad died in the year 11 of the Hijra there were three great empires in the world, the Chinese, the Byzantine, ruled from Constantinople and comprising all the countries round the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Persian, with its capital at al-Mada'in in Iraq, and including not only what we know as Persia, but Iraq, and parts of what are now Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Twelve years later when the Caliph 'Umar was stabbed to death in the mosque at Medina there were still three great empires, but they were not the same three. Persia as a great power had disappeared. Her place had been taken by the new Islamic Empire, to which the Byzantines had lost the rich provinces of Syria and Egypt. That this should have happened in the space of twelve years is remarkable, all the more so when we remember that the Arabs did not play off the Byzantines and the Persians against each other, but undertook a war against them both at the same time. Neither empire was unwarlike. They both had large and well-trained armies, experienced generals and resources far greater than those of the Arabian peninsula. Some of the Byzantine manuals of military science have survived. We know that they studied fortification, tactics and logistics seriously. Moreover, these two empires were not recent or unstable organizations. The Sasanian dynasty of Persia had been ruling over its vast and wealthy dominions for about four centuries, and its power was supported by a national religion with a highly organized priesthood. Byzantium was the heir to the ancient and unique authority of Rome, the eternal city. Syria and Egypt had been under Greek or Roman rule for almost a thousand years, ever since the conquests of Alexander the Great. They were not countries the Emperor would willingly abandon, the more so as Syria included the holy places of Christendom and the country in which the whole life of Jesus had been passed. The regimes which the Arabs overthrew must have seemed to contemporaries to be as firmly established as the national States of Western Europe do to us.

Historians have tried to explain the rapidity of the Arab conquests. At one time it used to be said that tribes had poured out of the peninsula in irresistible fanaticism, confronting the peoples of the Fertile Crescent with the choice between Islam and death. I need hardly say that no scholar believes this now. There are even indications that religion was not a factor of great importance in the conquests. Iraq was conquered with the help of sections of the Banu Tamim which had remained Christian. We find that many men like 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, Talha and al-Zubair, who had had experience of war and were to fight again in the civil wars that followed the death of 'Uthman, nonetheless took no active part in the wars of conquest. Whatever the motive for the invasion of Syria, Egypt and Iraq may have been, it was not fanaticism.

Why the conquests of Muslims have been so lasting

This leads me to another consideration. I think that the dramatic interest of the conquests has tended to distract the attention of historians from what is really their most remarkable feature, their permanence. The fact is, of course, that conquests have often been rapid; they have much less often been lasting. Alexander the Great, Chingiz Khan, Timur, Nadir Shah, Napoleon and Hitler, to name a few, all acquired huge empires as quickly as the Arabs did, and the last two lived to see theirs vanish even more rapidly than they had been won. Since the time when the Fertile Crescent and Egypt were first overrun by the Muslims, the predominance of Islam in those countries has been challenged only rarely and sustained only locally and temporarily, as in the short-lived Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem. We may remark in passing that in this respect Islam has been more successful than the other two great missionary religions, Buddhism and Christianity, both of which have receded from the countries in which they were founded. Buddhism has for long been extinct in the Ganges valley, where it began. Christians are now a small minority in Palestine.

Moral and Spiritual Appeal of Islam

As I have said, we are much less well informed about the progress of Islam as a faith than we are about its expansion as an empire. There is, however, one relevant factor about which I should like to say a little... I feel that European historians have not seen the moral and spiritual appeal of Islam to sincerely religious people who were conscious of certain defects, one might almost say diseases, of contemporary Byzantine Christianity. The State Church of the Empire, the Orthodox Church, possesses a ritual and liturgy of great beauty; it has inspired great poetry and great art and architecture, but at the time of which we are writing there were three weaknesses of that Church for which Islam offered drastic but effective remedies. First, Christendom was afflicted by the avarice and the intrigues of many of the clergy. I do not of course mean to suggest that all the...
Byzantine priests were corrupt or ambitious of power, but too many of them were. It has been said that in Eastern Christianity, though not every politician is a Churchman, every Churchman is a politician. In the Persian Empire, too, the Zoroastrian priests were a large, powerful and highly privileged class. No doubt many Byzantines and Persians felt that there was much to be said for a religion that had no priests at all, in which no man could come between the believer and God.

The second defect on which I wish to comment was respect for asceticism taken to a point at which it became preposterous. This tendency was condemned by many of the best minds in contemporary Christianity. I should like to quote one example, admittedly an extreme example, of the reverence that was sometimes shown for extreme asceticism of the kind which we now associate with Hinduism rather than with any other of the great religions. When Theodore of Sykeon was a young man he retired to a cave in his native country of Galatia, in the heart of what is now Turkey, and there he remained, alone, for three years. When he emerged a bishop was present. We read that "when the bishop saw the purifying from the sores on Theodore's body, when he saw the inscrutable number of worms in his matted hair, when he experienced the intolerable stench which made Theodore unapproachable, the bishop was so convinced of Theodore's holiness that on the spot he ordained him deacon, sub-deacon, deacon and priest". As I said, that is an extreme example. I am sure that nowadays the great majority of Christians would feel very much as a Muslim would about such an incident. Certainly no one who wished to be ordained would succeed by imitating Theodore! But in his own time—he was perhaps an older contemporary of Muhammad—it was widely believed by the superstitious that frenzied austerity automatically gave the ascetic supernatural powers, a belief that is still common in some parts of the world. Byzantium, however, was the scene of Rome and all her public and private baths. I find it hard to believe that there were not some Byzantines who thought Theodore's conduct disgusting and the bishop's ludicrous. For them the same frugality of Muslim precept was obviously attractive.

Obsession with theological subtleties in Christendom of the seventh century

The third weakness to which I want to refer was an obsession with theological subtleties, which was carried to lengths which seem hardly credible today. It has been said that at one time no one could buy a loaf of bread in Constantinople without becoming involved in theological controversy. Disputes, mostly about the Trinity and about the nature of Jesus Christ, led to riots, persecutions and local civil wars. The points at issue were certainly not understood by all those who fought for them so passionately. Indeed, as I see it, they are not intelligible to anyone who does not understand the system of philosophy which was then accepted by most educated men, the Neo-Platonic system. It was because most of the educated men who became Christians believed in the teaching of Plotinus on the nature of God and the world, on matter, soul and spirit, that these Christological controversies arose. I should not wish to be understood to be holding them to ridicule. If the philosophical assumptions of the Neo-Platonists are remembered, we can see that the issues were real and important, but we may be sure that the man who threw stones in support of the bishop's views was not interested in those issues. Local patriotism, private jealousies, mere hooliganism and other factors all had their share. A large part of the empire was convulsed and the bulk of the population in Syria and Egypt found itself at variance with the imperial government. Muhammad's contemporary, the Emperor Heraclius, tried to devise a compromise formula and succeeded only in causing a further dispute. Now these acrimonious quarrels arose from the interpretation of two Christian doctrines which most people, whatever their beliefs, will admit are not easy to understand, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Was there not something to be said for a religion which rejected them both and substituted the simple teaching of the 112th chapter of the Qur'an, which reads:

"In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
Say: He, God, is One.
God is He on whom all depend.
He begets not, nor is He begotten.
And no one is like Him"?

It would be odd if some bewildered Christians did not think so.

The success of the Islamic Empire lies in knowing how to govern plural societies

Yet it was a long while before the majority of the population in these countries was converted to Islam. We have to consider not only why some people were favourably disposed to Islam as a religion, but why those who were not, and they were certainly in a majority at first, were so willing to accept Muslim government that we read of very few efforts on their part to re-establish the old regime in Syria and Egypt. In Iraq we should hardly expect them. The population was predominantly Christian and would not be likely to try to restore a Zoroastrian dynasty.

The explanation lies, I suspect, in the failure of Byzantium, and the success of the Islamic Empire in governing plural societies of the kind which were then found in these provinces. By a plural society is meant one in which people different in race, language, religion and custom live together, trading with each other and entering each other's employment. Alexandria was an example of such a society in ancient times; Singapore is a notable instance now. The Byzantine emperors had not been successful at governing such societies. They had made frequent attempts to force all Christians to agree to certain formulations of the principal dogmas of Christianity. The emperors were not always bigoted in their personal attitude, but the unity of the Church was an essential feature of the Christian empire as they understood it. So it came about that a great many Syrians and Egyptians were liable to some degree of coercion and persecution. Had Iraq been a Byzantine province, Iraqis would have been equally liable, for many of them were heretics from the Emperor's point of view. It is evident that all Christians who disagreed with the theological opinions of the court might hope to gain something by a change of government, for to the Muslim one Christian sect was as much entitled to toleration as another. It is not necessary for me to describe to the readers of The Islamic Review the principles which determined the conduct of a devout Muslim ruler to his Christian and Jewish subjects. The system by which each religious community was allowed to administer its own private law in its own ecclesiastical courts was not new. Something similar existed in Egypt under the Ptolemies, but the Muslims applied and developed it to such an extent that in the Ottoman Empire each millet came to have something of the character of an autonomous State. The head of the Orthodox Christian millet, the Patriarch of Constantinople, corresponded directly with foreign governments on the concerns of their Orthodox subjects, and his own dealings with the Ottoman Sultan were transacted through the Reis Efendi, the imperial Foreign Minister. The status

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of the Christian and Jewish communities was, of course, not the equality which the twentieth century State grants to all religions indifferently so long as they do not threaten its own power. The dhimmi’s position was subordinate, but not always disadvantageous. He paid higher taxes than the Muslim but he was exempt from military service. The trader who could keep his shop open was more likely to prosper than one who had to close his and join the army. That is one of the reasons why so much of the commerce of the Ottoman Empire came to be controlled by Jews, Armenians and Greeks. Above all, the rights of the dhimmi were sanctioned by law. Tyrannical rulers or excited mobs might on occasion ignore that law. They could not abrogate it. For some twelve centuries the great empires of Islam dealt efficiently with the difficulties that arise from the existence of plural societies. When in the nineteenth century the system began to break down it was because the spread of nationalist and secularist ideas had made many people think that the distinctions between the communities were without meaning, and their religious freedom without value.

(Continued from page 12)

large figure does not show any of the usually known positions or poses of Buddha. This figure is neither in the Shiksha Mudra (the blessing pose) nor the Abhaya Mudra (the defensive pose) nor the Dharma Chakra Mudra (the reasoning or preaching pose). It cannot be in the Dhayana — sometimes known as the Smadhi-Mudra (the meditation — sitting with clasped hands pose). The hands also are unfortunately missing. So the well-known positions or poses of Buddha can be of little or no help in identifying this large figure with that of Buddha. They also ignore another important factor. No one in this group, including the two angels or devas, is worshipping, adoring or paying homage or respect to this large figure. The “wife” of the “foreigner” is also not doing so. The folded hands may be a sign of respect to the “foreigner”. The angels, or devas, shown on the top on either side, are neither showering flowers nor are they blessing it. The figure itself is with a toga, which should not be confused with the clothes next to the skin, usually worn by Buddha. The presence of the undergarments and the sandals are also not without significance. All these peculiarities should be satisfactorily explained on a rational basis, or it must be conceded that the large figure is of someone else, at the most in the dress of Buddha, but not of Buddha himself. The existence of sandals may be challenged, but the strap more prominently visible on the left foot cannot be ignored and will need some further explanation.

It should not, however, be overlooked that in Buddhist times it was not uncommon, nay, it was considered to be virtuous and meritorious, for kings and people of high rank to appear in dresses like that of Buddha and to act and to do things which Buddha was supposed to have done. This was done with a view to please or appease a vast majority of the population which was Buddhist.

There is another aspect. No one can deny, or for that matter assert, that Gondaphares was not a Buddhist himself, or that he did not have any inclination towards Buddhism. He may have, for reasons already explained, adopted, for ceremonial occasions, the dress of Buddha and retained with it the toga, the undergarments and the sandals. The dress of the large figure can befit the theory of the archaeologists on this basis only, because the dress is more kingly than that of a hermit. In fact, it is not unlike some of the dresses on the Parthian coins which are preserved in the museums of West Pakistan. I may for purposes of comparison refer to The Historical Results8 by H. T. Prinsep, in which a coin of 100 C.E. of Kanaka, “the King of Kings,” is shown in a toga (Coin 14 in Plate XX). Similarly, illustrations of coins of the relevant period are given by Dr. Percy Gardner in his Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum; and are also given by Chas. J. Rodgerston in his Catalogue of Coins.9 R. B. Whitehead also illustrates these coins in his Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum at Lahore.10 They show some similarities in the dresses of the period with the dress of the large figure.

In view of all these facts it can be said with a limited amount of certainty that the large figure is that of King Gondaphares in the dress of Buddha, standing with Jesus or St. Judas Thomas. But for my purpose it is really immaterial whether the large figure is of Buddha or someone else in the dress of Buddha so long as it can be established that Jesus and St. Judas Thomas were at Taxila during the reign of King Gondaphares, and which is really proved by Acta Thomae itself and this statue of a “foreign” bearded Jew.

I earnestly hope that someone interested in the matter will have more time and leisure to probe further and give us new facts in support of the visit of the two brothers to Taxila, and I also hope that the Archaeological Department of Pakistan will excavate the remaining portions of the “Mahal” which still lie buried at Taxila and which may throw further light on the subject.

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8 Published by Longman Green & Co., London, 1886.
10 Published by Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914.

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34 THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN'S SPEECH ON THE REPUBLIC DAY ON 23rd MARCH, 1956

WHAT ISLAM EXPECTS OF THE MUSLIMS OF PAKISTAN

"Non-Muslim brethren have the same rights and privileges as the Muslims"

"It was exactly sixteen years ago that the Muslims of this sub-continent, under the leadership of the Qaid-i-Azam, demanded a separate homeland for themselves. The date was 23rd March 1940. Ten years earlier a great Muslim thinker and poet, Iqbal, had conceived the idea and given the concept as a goal to the nation. Later, under the dynamic leadership of the Qaid-i-Azam, the Muslims of this sub-continent marched forward towards their goal and after innumerable hardships and sacrifices succeeded in establishing for themselves a separate free Islamic homeland — Pakistan.

"Today, on the inauguration of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, we have, by the grace of God, seen the final fulfillment of our pledge. The freedom which we have attached today after sixteen long years of struggle is our most valuable treasure. Nothing can be a greater boon to mankind than freedom. It alone opens to man the great highways of life and progress. We have before us now vast open spaces of endeavour and the nation can go forward endlessly. God, in His boundless mercy, has granted us all this, and we cannot find adequate words to express our gratefulness to Him.

"Our first and foremost duty today and always is to ensure the continued exercise of full and unrestricted freedom. We saw today the armed forces parade in which units of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force took part. It was for me, and I am sure for all of you, an edifying, heart-warming spectacle. The determination of the young men who participated in the parade to serve the nation to the last drop of their blood was written on their faces, and seemed to reverberate through the air as they marched past. These brave sons of Pakistan who serve in our defence services hold themselves in readiness, night and day, to lay down their lives in defence of our borders and our territory. They have the honour to serve as the uttermost bastion of our defence and we are proud of them. But that is not enough. I want every single Pakistani to be ready and prepared to die for Pakistan with the same selflessness and zeal of fervour.

"Islam stands for peace. Indeed, peace is inherent in the policy of Islam. But at the same time, Islam ordains that those who stand for peace should equip themselves with the strength to maintain it. Peace without the power to maintain it is, according to Islam, a contradiction in terms.

"Let us all join together and pray to Almighty God to show us the right path. Let us all tread in the right path and act in accordance with what we have professed and promised, so that we may preserve our newly-won freedom and that our nation and country may grow from strength to strength. I look forward to the day when we shall be able to eradicate poverty and illiteracy from our society. This is one wish which I cherish to see fulfilled during my lifetime.

"Before I conclude I would like to make an announcement. In commemoration of this historic day the Government has decided to build three public halls at a cost of Rs. one crore. One of these halls will be located in Karachi, the second in Dacca and the third in Lahore. These halls will become centres of our social and civic activities, so that we may be able to meet in large numbers and think of ways and means of enhancing the prestige of our country, chalking out plans for ameliorating the lot of the masses.

The Honourable Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

"May God Almighty shower His choicest blessings on this Islamic nation, and may God Almighty lead us to the path of virtue and righteousness.

"Islam enjoins tolerance and goodwill to others on all its followers. Our non-Muslim brethren have the same rights and privileges as the Muslims. They are equal citizens of the State. Their lives, property and honour are as much a sacred trust in our hands as that of the Muslims. It is our duty, and Islam enjoins upon us to carry out this duty loyally and faithfully, that in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan the non-Muslims should not only be treated on terms of equality but with liberality. Thus alone will the world see and understand and appreciate the Islamic principles of democracy. Thus alone will the world realize that when Islamic principles are put into practice they shower light and lustre on the world. I may warn you here that nothing is so displeasing to God Almighty as a broken promise. We must learn to do what we profess and promise to do.

"I have full faith in my people. I am sure that by the grace of God this young and courageous nation, which has today proclaimed itself an Islamic Republic, will honour its pledged word. We shall, I am confident, be able to evolve a society in which justice and brotherhood will prevail. We shall see that the powerful ones cannot do injustice to and
wrong those who are weak. We shall see that the powerful ones do not, by virtue of their power, inflict any harm on the under-privileged, and we shall break the hand which does so. By evolving such a society, Pakistan's glory will enhance day by day. We shall strive to achieve a position in the comity of nations so that we may be an asset to those who are engaged in the service of making and preserving the peace.

"Therefore, we should make ourselves strong and use our strength for the services of the world, a society in which peace prevails and which should be strong enough to maintain peace. This is the principle for the attainment of which the Islamic Republic of Pakistan will have to dedicate itself. This objective can only be achieved when the nation is united as ordained in the Qur'an, namely, "Like a wall built of molten lead'. Thus alone shall we be able to adhere to the motto of 'Unity, faith and discipline' taught by the Qā'id-i-a'zam. Thus alone, with constant struggle day and night, shall we be able to march ahead in this world. We are all constantly subjected to tests and trials. In fact, every individual and every nation is subjected to and passes through trials and tribulations. This is more so particularly in the case of free nations, for freedom is, indeed, the greatest worldly boon, and therefore imposes grave obligations.

"We have proclaimed ourselves to day as an Islamic Republic — this is a great responsibility. Are we prepared to mould our lives in accordance with the dictates of Islam? We cannot treat this undertaking lightly. We have to strain every nerve and, by our deeds and actions, show that we are a true Islamic State."

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**What our Readers say...**

**THE ISLAMIC CALENDAR**
Hyderabad-Deccan, India.
12th May 1956.

Dear Sir,

The article entitled "Must Hajj Rotate Throughout the Seasons?" in The Islamic Review for March 1956 gives the reader a fund for thought whether one agrees with the author, Dr. Hashim Amir ‘Ali, or not. The first thing for a seeker after truth is to probe into the meanings of the names of the Arabic months. Arabic is a language which is rich in its vocabulary and is extraordinarily capable of bringing in new concepts as well as a change in the meaning of words by means of set "forms" both in nouns and verbs. As is well known, Muharram is so called because it has acquired a certain sacredness by long tradition, while Dhul-Hijjah is the month of the Hajj or Pilgrimage. The ideas underlying the other ten months are not so self-evident, and I would here indicate the meanings attached to their names as given by Lane in his great work, The Arabic/English Dictionary, which as based on some of the most authentic classical Arabic dictionaries:

Safar — the month when the granaries became empty and people used to procure corn from places where it was stored; this was in the winter season.

Rabi' I and II — the two months when the earth produced herbiage, or the Arabian spring.

Jumada I and II — the word is derived from jumad, or anything which does not grow or increase. Hence the season when rain has not fallen; this was about the month of March to about the month of May.

Sha'ban — the word is derived from shab, the root word meaning "to disperse"; it was the month when people dispersed in search of water and was timed about June or July.

Ramadhan — the month of burning heat.

Shawwal — the word originally meant the upturned tail of a scorpion; the month was so named because the she-camels turned up their tails after they had been pregnant for eight or nine months, after being mated in winter.

Dhu 'l-Qa'dah — the month when people stayed at home to store their corn.

It is evident that these months strictly coincided with the divisions of the solar year and the seasons. While it is known that the Arabian months were lunar, the year was made to accord with the solar discipline by intercalating a month in the third, sixth and the eighth year in every eight years' cycle, and this was called the nass'. They had no idea of the exact difference between the lunar and the solar year, and besides, as they were a most unprincipled race, they simply added or shifted one of the four months in which war was forbidden by long-established custom (viz., Muharram, Rajab, Dhul-Qa'dah and Dhul-Hijjah) according to their convenience and without regard to any systematic intercalation. In effect they postponed the sacredness of a month to another month at random even when the year of the intercalation had not yet arrived.

Now the Qur'an (9:36) simply says "postponement (of a sacred month) is only an excess of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled" (cf. M. Pickthall's The Meaning of the Glorious Koran). It is clear that this implies only an arbitrary postponement as was practised by the non-Muslims in the days of ignorance. The most extraordinary result of this arbitrary intercalation is that it is not certain whether the hijrah or the migration of the Prophet Muhammad to Medina took place in April, July or September of 622 C.E. We have to note that Lane does not take into account the principle of intercalation when he says that as the Arabs wanted that "their return after pilgrimage should always be at one season of the year", they postponed it every year by eleven days, or in other words, they attempted to co-ordinate the twelve lunar months with the solar year by the addition of eleven days. It is evident that even if this were done regularly there would have been a mistake of many days in the long run, but it was worse when they shifted one or two
sacred months entirely at random. It is this which is objected to in the Qur'an. Baidhawi's Commentary is absolutely clear that nasi' simply means "the postponement of the sacredness (hurmah) of a month to another month", and this makes the context absolutely clear.

It is, however, difficult to agree with the learned author of the article when he says that the verses 9, 36, 37 "commended the purely solar calendar observed by the Christians".

Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai in his great work, The Indian Ephemeris, which is spread over seven large volumes, does not take into account the original luni-solar aspect of the hijri calendar at all. He is precise when he says that the "Muhammadan calendar is not luni-solar like the Indian calendar but is strictly lunar". He further says that the length of the hijri month is 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, "The months are alternately 29 and 30 days long, which, again, if carried out uniformly, would result in an error of 44 minutes per month, which, in 30 lunar years would amount to 11 days... These 11 days are accordingly added to the last month in the year in 11 out of every 30 years." This results in the phenomenon that sometimes we have two consecutive months of 30 days instead of 29 days alternating with 30. Thus according to Mr. Pillai 30 years form a cycle in the hijri calendar (Indian Ephemeris, I, 69). Of course these 11 days should not be mixed up with the 11 days which the ancient Arabs sought to add by way of intercalation in order that the pilgrimage might fall in the same season.

This is as far as the theory of intercalation goes. Dr. Amir `Ali says that by the middle of `Umar's caliphate "the record of the Prophet's life had become a confused muddle." This is hardly vouchsafed by history, and surely the lapse of just a few years could not have obliterated the life history of one of the most remarkable personalities of all ages when a whole generation was living which had seen, taken advice from and talked to the Prophet Muhammad. By `Umar's caliphate only the very old men and women had passed away. The reason which made `Umar legislate on such a wide scale was the great extension of the Islamic commonwealth and the need for a reorientation and reinterpretation of the principles which held ground in the Prophet's time.

And it is an historical fact that the Caliph invariably consulted his shura or Advisory Committee before passing any order. It is necessary to bear this in mind, as Dr. Amir `Ali seems to suggest that the replacement of the luni-solar calendar was arbitrarily done and was uncalled for. There is no doubt that a far-seeing statesman of `Umar's calibre must have noted the futility of reverting to the old calendar when intercalation was being done unscientifically and according to the caprices of individuals. We must also remember that even if there was a method whereby regular intercalation could be effected, there would have been a mistake of at least 5 hours, 48 minutes and nearly 48 seconds per year as up to the time of `Umar the correct calculation of the solar year had not been made. It must have been these considerations which led the Caliph to decide upon the lunar system once for all in spite of the inconvenience which it must have caused.

From the purely utilitarian point of view we have to take count of one or two considerations. There is no doubt that a change in the hijri calendar from the lunar to the solar or luni-solar system would produce a rift among the Muslims which would put many schisms in Islam into shade. The institution of the Fasti san in North India, the Shuhur san in South India and the Jalali calendar in Western Asia were attempts to put the hijri calendar on a solar footing, but these reforms were limited only to secular usage and the religious festivals were not touched for fear of this rift. The Qur'an abhors conflict among the Muslims, and the disorders which would result if the purist doctrines of Dr. Amir `Ali were put in force would probably be unequalled in history. Apart from this there is one other consideration why we should keep the purely lunar calendar for the purposes of our religious festivals. Nothing seems to be plainer than the utility of a shifting Ramadhan for the purpose of the equalization of hardship in all seasons in a period of nearly thirty-six years, which would conduce to moral self-control in all conditions which underlies the great institution of fasting. Shifting of the month by about ten days every year means that a Muslim has to be habituated to physical hardship and moral abstinence right round the year, and yet the increase and decrease in the length of the day from year to year is almost imperceptible, and so gradual that it is felt only over long periods. There is no doubt that it was due to this convenience as well as to its sociological value that the Islamic religious festivals were finally related to the lunar in preference to the solar year, and it would be a pity if an attempt is made to forsake the lunar counting for the sake of supposed purism. One feels that it is a reform which was well planned, and unless there is a definite reason why we should shift to a different practice it may well be adhered to.

Yours sincerely,
H. K. SHERWANI,
Formerly Head of the Department of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, and ex-Principal, Nizam College, Hyderabad-Deccan.

* * * *

ISLAM IN GERMANY

Sabzevar,
Iran.
1st April 1956.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

I am glad to inform you that a missionary has been deputed by His Eminence Aqa`e Brujjirdi to Hamburg. His name is the Shaikh Muhammad Mohaghgh. It will interest you to know that he has formed a society under the title of Islamische Gemeinschaft in Hamburg. P.O. Box No. 12, Hamburg 36, Germany, and also established a library. Moreover, a plot of land has been acquired for a mosque and necessary funds have been collected for its construction. The construction work is expected to start very soon.

The members of the Managing Committee of the Society are:

1. Hajj Mirza 'Ali Naghi Kashani, a prominent Iranian merchant (President);
2. Hasan Valade, a Persian merchant (Vice-President);
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4. 'Ali Emari, a Persian student (Secretary).

With best regards.

Yours fraternally,
I. NIKAN.

JUNE 1956
AN APPEAL
TO THE FRIENDS OF
The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking, England

The Council of the Woking Mosque Trust Ltd., The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, regret to bring it to the notice of the friends of the Shah Jehan Mosque, built in 1889 through the munificence of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, that it is unfortunately in need of urgent repairs. The roof and dome of the Mosque are of wood covered with zinc sheeting. Dry rot and wood worm have extensively attacked all the woodwork. The damage was suspected last year, and, in fact, some £600 was collected from His Highness the Amir of Bahawalpur, His Highness the Khan of Kalat and His Highness the Aga Khan for repairs. However, recently it was decided that before any repairs were undertaken, a thorough survey should be made with the help of competent engineers. As a result of this it has been found that the damage is very extensive and will not be arrested by partial treatment. It has also been found that the stone and the cement work need extensive repairs and renovations. The building contractors estimate that the total repair bill will exceed £2,000. The Trust has only £600 for this purpose and its annual income from donations and from investments hardly suffices to meet the urgent current expenditure.

The Council of the Woking Mosque Trust Ltd. have, therefore, decided to appeal to all the friends and well-wishers of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, to make their generous contributions to this noble cause of preserving the oldest mosque in England.

All contributions, however small, will be gratefully acknowledged and may be sent to any of the following addresses:
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The Manager, The Islamic Review, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

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