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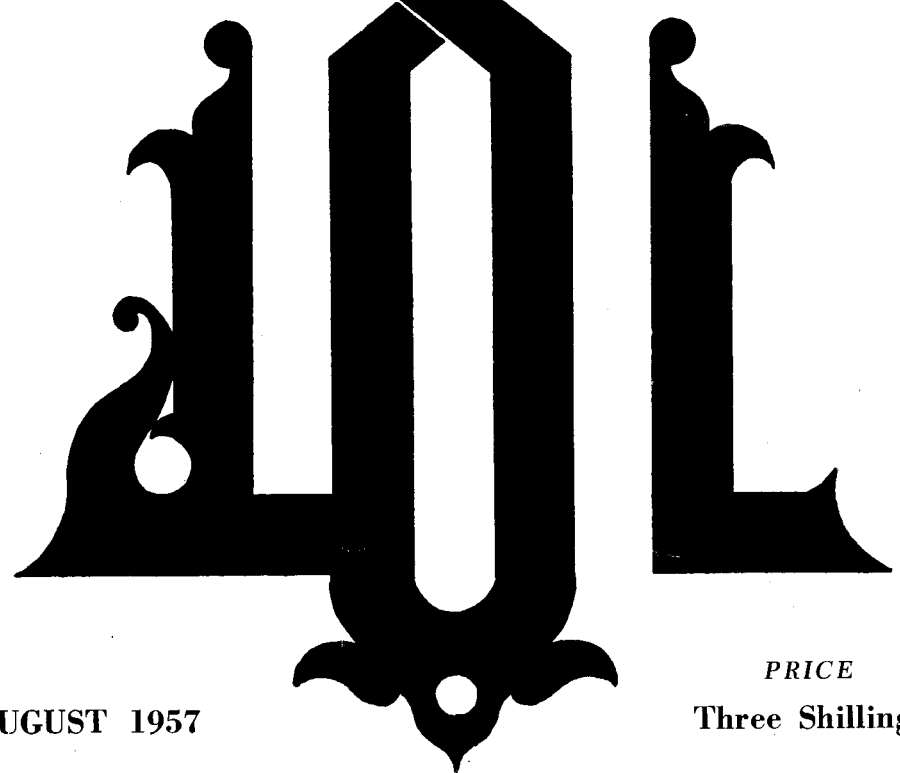
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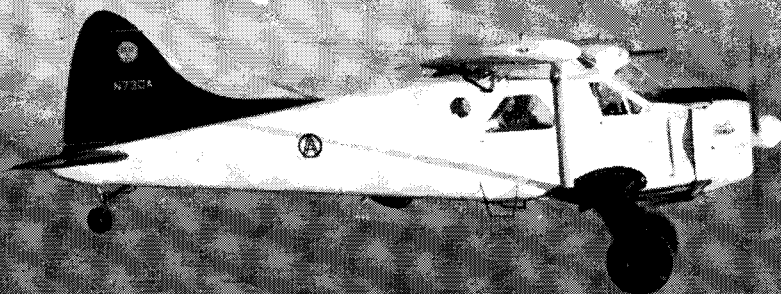
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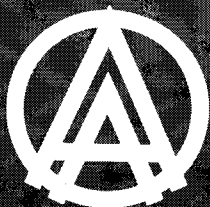
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Continued on page 2

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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The decorative design on the cover is the work of Mr. 'Abd al-Sattar, a young Egyptian of Pakistani extraction. The central theme is the famous Arabic sentence, *Allah jalla Jalala-hu* (God, whose might be illustrious), which is written in the Kufic characters into the design.

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The Islamic Review

AUGUST 1957

45th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

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نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

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

VOL. XLV No. 8

AUGUST 1957

Muharram-Safar, 1377 A.H.

PAKISTAN'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENCE

Lest we forget

August 14th has rightly become a red-letter day in the calendar of Pakistan, being celebrated throughout the country with great enthusiasm and *eclat*, as the birthday of the largest Muslim country in the world, and the deliverance of millions of Muslims of the sub-continent from a grim doom.

Public memory is, however, proverbially short, and in the midst of the annual jubilations on this great day the people too often forget the tremendous cost of human life, misery and humiliation at which the independence was bought, and, for that matter, the imperative need to keep burning the torch of the national spirit which made Pakistan possible. The measure of a nation's vitality and progressiveness is the measure of its loyalty and devotion to its spiritual heritage.

Pakistan ideology

Two things stand out predominantly in the whole of the freedom struggle which led to the creation of Pakistan in the face of formidable odds, determined to obstruct the Muslims' march towards their destiny — the Pakistan Ideology and the Qaid-i-A'zam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who symbolized that ideology. Already, however, with the passing of time, both of these are receding more and more to the background.

We are living in an age when a whispering campaign can play more havoc with a nation's stability than the H-bomb. Already one can scent the subtle propaganda infiltrations, sowing seeds of doubt and confusion in the people's minds as to the wisdom of partition, blacking out the fact that it was not of the Muslims' seeking, that it was forced on Muslims by the sheer obduracy of the sister community, refusing to listen to the voice of reason and fair play,

and determined to impose one-community domination on the sub-continent. It was this blind spot of the leadership of the sister community which left the Muslims no alternative but to demand a separate homeland of their own. In the Pakistan ideology, therefore, lay the deliverance of Muslims.

A dedicated leadership

The other great fact that cannot be over-emphasized is that but for one man, tall and lean but a man of iron will, there would have been no Pakistan. That was Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

If ever on the face of the globe there sprang up a whole new State which may truly be described as one man's show, it was undoubtedly Pakistan, and the one man who did it was Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Those of us who happened to be near the focus of the great events of the last forties, or had the privilege of sharing the thrills of the great struggle, can never forget how that tall, slim, stately man of slender frame, already in the twilight of his life, renounced a life of well-earned ease and comfort and plunged, body, mind and soul, into one of the most strenuous and unequal fights known to history, so that millions of his co-religionists might be saved from slavery. It will be a bare statement of fact to say that, during those exciting days, Jinnah was Pakistan, and Pakistan was Jinnah.

Unlike his opposite number in the rival camp, Mahatma Gandhi, who had at his back a well-knit organization of half-a-century standing, tradition, and "know-how" of political warfare, Jinnah had to build everything from scratch. His only equipment for this unequal fight was his own personal integrity, his own political acumen, and the righteousness of his cause.

First things first

Pakistan's first line of defence lies, even more than armaments and pacts, in keeping alive this twin heritage —

the justness of the Pakistan ideology and the consummate leadership and self-dedication of the late Qaid-i-A'zam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

THE JEWISH ARAB PROBLEM

Elsewhere we reproduce a letter addressed to the Editor of a local Jewish journal by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. The letter, we have little doubt, echoes the feelings of all Muslims — Arabs or non-Arabs — on the issue of Israel and the menace to world peace which stems from it. Whatever the sentimental aspect of the question to a Jewish mind, there can be no two opinions as to the unparalleled iniquity involved in making the indigenous population of Palestine homeless to provide a homeland for the Jews. To invoke scriptural authority for the misdeed is perhaps the greatest outrage on the good name of the Law-giver, the holy Founder of Judaism, who made it one of the bases of his religion not to covet the neighbour's house or possessions. The Imam rightly told a Jewish society in London that the creation of Israel was a violation of the Ten Commandments, and we have yet to come across a decent Jew who, with his hand on his heart, would deny the charge.

The question is : What to do now? The answer, again, is very simple. As the Imam told the London Jews: Win the goodwill of the Arabs among whom you have to live, rather than look up to Western Powers for arms and money. That will lead to an armament race which will know no end. The race has indeed already started, of which the recent flare-up was just the first stray spark. Worse things may yet be in store for that most explosive spot if the present tension is not eased in good time. Indeed, many eminent political thinkers are of the opinion that if a Third World War ever springs upon the world, Israel will be the place to touch off the spark.

It is complained that the iron of Jewish hatred has gone too deep into the Arab mind. Perhaps this is true. But who is to blame? You cannot rob your neighbour of his home, and yet expect him to kiss you on both cheeks. The cure now lies

along the path of repentance, rather than by stock-piling of arms and intimidation — the course misguidedly chosen by Tel-Aviv.

Islam stands for charity and goodwill for all men, the Jews not excluded. There is nothing inherent in the Muslim mind to make him "hate" the Jew, as some Jewish friends have come to feel from the present Arab-Israeli tension. They must look the truth squarely in the face, and start with a frank admission that the tension is entirely of their own creation. Real change of heart on their part alone can beget some change on the other side.

Islam has been very generous towards the Jews throughout history; when they were persecuted in medieval Europe, they found a warm welcome in Muslim Spain. But somehow it has become a national trait with them to abuse the hospitality of others. There lies the explanation of the mysterious "curse" that seems to dog the heel of the Jew wherever he goes. To repay Islam's generosity throughout history with the enormity of Israel is only typical of that national weakness.

To say that those rendered homeless by Fascist persecutions had to be provided with a homeland is to make the tragedy look all the more revolting. The victims of Nazi or Communist persecutions should have been the last people on earth to visit that fate on others. In fact, in doing so, the Jews only stepped into the shoes of Hitler.

And what about the Powers that aided and abetted that outrage on human conscience? They must go into sack-cloth and ashes if they would yet escape the dreadful clutches of Nemesis. In creating Israel at the cost of the blood and tears of millions of Arabs, they have planted a powder-keg which may any day blow up the whole civilization.

M.Y.K.

THE DIVINE DIVAN

By WILLIAM BASHYR PICKARD

13

Holy, holy, holy, Thou art the Belovéd Lord!
What matter in Thy praise the use of different word?
The heart of different race will sing in different manner.
Whether they cry, 'Alhamdulillah!', 'Hallelulia!' or
'Hosanna!'
Thou art the One, the Same.
Belovéd is Thy Name.

Where'er upon this Earth the roving eye may light,
A thousand mercies leap to sight,
Thy gifts for our delight.
The fruits, the corn, the coolness of the wand'ring breeze,
The shade protective of the leafy trees,
The music of the bees,
The songs of birds that please —
All these
With myriad voices do proclaim
Thy lovéd Name.
They sing, rejoicing : (would we only heed !)
"The Grace of God is great enough, is great enough indeed!"

اللَّهُ

نُورُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ

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

PRAYER IN ISLAM

A Spiritual Tonic—The Secret of Scientific Living

By MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PRAYER

Prayer is spiritual food

Prayer is as essential for the health and growth of man's spiritual life as food is for the body. It is spiritual nourishment.

The Prophet Muhammad likened prayer to taking a dip in a stream of crystal pure water. Just as a man who takes a dip in such water has all impurity washed off his body, a man who says his prayer emerges purer, cleaner and refreshed and recuperated in mind and soul.

The essence of prayer lies in contemplation on God, the Source of all life and the Fountainhead of all that is good, beautiful and benevolent — glorifying Him for His unbounded bounties, and seeking light and strength from Him.

This essence is clothed and packed up in certain bodily postures and chantings. The postures observed symbolise man's utter insignificance before God, his deep sense of gratitude to his Creator, Sustainer and Nourisher, and his complete self-surrender to His will. Since every bodily change leaves a corresponding imprint on the mind, the various postures of standing (with folded hands), bowing, and prostrating on the ground, gone through, and repeated over and over again, to the accompaniment of chanting of appropriate words to the same effect, cannot but induce the above frame of mind, thereby forging a link between man and God.

As this link grows stronger and stronger, man grows in spirituality, gets released from the low pulls of the flesh, breaks the shackles of all that is low and sordid, and breathes in the pure ethereal climate of Divine presence. For this reason the Prophet aptly described Prayer as the *Mī'rāj* (Godward ascension) of a Believer.

A means of release from fear and grief

At the higher altitudes of this spiritual ascension, the Pilgrim-towards God is so steeped in the colouring of the Divine, and so lost in the love of the Lord, that he finds the drop of his own identity virtually merged into the ocean of the Infinite.

It is at this stage that he basks in the delectable sunshine of the Divine beatitude, above the range of the clouds, hails and storms of earthly worries and cares, anguishes and agonies. That is the state of mind which has been the quest of seers and sages throughout the ages. The Quran thus describes this release:

"Verily, through the remembrance of the Lord comes peace of mind" (13:28).

"Of a certainty, it is those close to God on whom fear cometh not, nor do they grieve" (10:62).

No empty ritualism

Prayer devoid of this inner content fails to achieve its purpose. Obviously, the measure of God-realisation which is the main object of prayer will vary according to capacities of the spiritual "receiving-sets" within each one of us. The fact remains, however, that given the bare modicum of a feeling of Divine presence, and a sense of seeking God's help, none can fail to derive some benefit out of it. Even the mere mental preparedness in doing the ablutions and observing the various postures leave their imprint on the deep ocean of the subconscious that lies far down into the deepest depths of the mind in all of us.

Those who belittle the importance of these observances will do well to take note of the findings of the modern researches of the science of psycho-analysis, and the great wonders — hitherto unknown and unimagined — brought to light by them. This discovery of the subconscious in human mind has been aptly likened to the discovery of a new "continent", a new "Realm" altogether, hitherto uncharted by human experience. It is expected to revolutionise and reorientate the whole range of human knowledge. It is even considered to mark the dawn of a new epoch in the mental horizons of man, throwing the material values, hitherto considered all in all, in the background, bringing to the fore the spiritual values as constituting the greatest asset of humanity.

The institution of prayer is founded on the verities of this profound wisdom. The Prophetic mind had an intuitive glimpse of what science, after much groping and stumbling, only just discovered. Islam attaches so much importance to the role played by the subconscious in shaping human life that it enjoins saying

the *Ādhān* (Call to Prayer) even in the ears of a fresh-born babe.

While, however, the form of prayer is insisted upon, because shell is always essential for the preservation of the kernel, it has been made perfectly plain that the form, shorn of the kernel, is not much good. As I said before, the mental background, however vague and dim, must always be there. It is the heart that God looks at, and that really matters. However imperfect the expression and broken the language in which man pours out his heart before his Creator, it is worth while, so long as this inner process is there. The moment, however, this is missing, and prayer is said as a mere ritual or social convention or as a show of piety, it loses all meaning. The Quran even has a harsh word of reprimand for this kind of prayer, which does not lead to any change, however slight, for the better. It says :

"Hast thou seen him who belies religion?

"That is the one who drives away the orphan.

"And urges not the feeding of the poor.

"So woe unto such prayer-sayers who are mindful of their prayers" (107:1-5).

Prayer thus is supposed to be a means to an end, the end being to make us better men and women — kindly disposed towards fellow-men, showing tender affection for the orphan, and lending a helping hand to the poor.

While saying prayers, we face towards the Ka'aba in Mecca, the House built by the Patriarch Abraham for the worship of One God, and to this day standing as a symbol for that great Truth. This is part and parcel of the proper form of prayer. Nevertheless the Quran warns :

"It is not righteousness that you turn your faces towards the East or the West, but (truly) righteous is he who believes in God, the Last Day, the angels, the Prophets, and spends his money for love of Him, on the kindred and the orphans and the needy, the wayfarer, those who ask (for charity) and for (ransoming), (who) keep up Prayer, pay the Zakat, and fulfil their promise when they have made one" (2:172).

The underlying idea in the observance of outer religious formalities is to drive home the practical virtues which must flow from a truly religious attitude of mind. Devoid of that grain of good deeds in life, observances are mere chaff, carrying little food value.

Prayer : No tax

A common misconception about prayer is to regard it as something in the nature of an imposition from God — something irksome, a burdensome tax which one is supposed to owe to God, or a task imposed by a hard task-master. Nothing could be farther from the intention, purpose or true spirit of prayer.

God is Almighty, All-Perfect, Self-Sufficient. He stands in need of no adorations from man. The whole universe, according to the Quran, is engaged every minute in bearing mute witness to His grandeur, glory and majesty by submissively keeping to the laws and limits laid down for them. The sun, the moon and the myriads of the starry creation of which our solar system is but a small sector — every member of this unbounded Universe keeps to its own prescribed orbit, and dare not deviate from it by an hair-breadth. The same is true of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms. For this complete observance of God's will, the Quran speaks of the whole of Nature as following the religion of Islam (i.e., of submission to God's will). The purpose as well as the result of this submission is the smooth working, order and harmony with which this stupendous machinery of the Universe keeps running.

The same is the purpose underlying Prayer in the case of man. It is meant for man's own good, his own healthy and harmonious growth, his own well-being, purification, elevation, and peace. Prayer is to healthy, harmonious living on all planes — individual, home, social, economic and political — what a balanced diet is to the healthy growth and development of the physical body. As such it should be something as much welcome

and relishing as a dinner table loaded with the daintiest of dishes to a hungry man.

The purpose of all Islamic institutions is to work a healthy transformation in practical life, individual as well as social. This has been emphasised time and again in relation to every religious observance that has been enjoined. Prayer is the best of means towards the promotion of that end. It is a daily exercise in self-purification, with a view to inducing a sense of better citizenship, humanitarianism, dutifulness, conscientiousness, honesty of purpose, integrity, and uprightness in thought, word and deed. While entering the Mosque, a Muslim makes ablutions in order to present himself pure in body before God, and while coming out he must emerge purer, serener and nobler in mind.

Prayer in moments of distress

It is in the nature of man to turn for help to some quarter stronger than oneself, whenever he finds himself in difficulty or danger, in anguish or pain. A baby clings to the breast of its mother, and finds solace in her loving embrace. While in the mother's arms, it considers itself safe and immune from all dangers. Likewise in moments of dire distress, when all material sources of rescue seem cut off, a cry of anguish calling for help to the Unseen Presence goes up from the depths of one's mind. This is described by the Quran as an outpouring of the true nature of man. Even an atheist, in such moments, finds a cry for succour from the Higher Power rise from the very depths of his being. This is how the Quran depicts the spontaneous working of man's nature, when all earthly resources seem to fail him :

"He (God) it is who makes you travel by land and sea till, when you are in the ships and they sail with them with a fair breeze, and they are glad therein, a storm-wind overtakes them and the waves surge in on them from every side, and they deem that they are overwhelmed therein ; (then) they cry unto God, making their faith pure for Him only : (saying) if Thou deliver us from this, we truly will be of the thankful. Yet when He has delivered them, behold, they rebel in the earth wrongfully" (10:22-23).

This shows that seeking God's help is a natural state with man, and it is only when that state is disturbed by worldly ease and comfort that he turns away from God.

As a matter of fact, suffering or a calamity that befalls man is intended to take these worldly scales off his eyes, and make him see the spiritual realities of life. As such, the Quran describes loss or suffering as a blessing in disguise to those who take it in the right spirit as coming from God for their purification. "The day of tribulation," so goes a saying of the Prophet, "is the day of purification."

The great saintly lady of Basra, Rabi'a was once asked when she felt most worried. She replied : "When I have no worries". In plain language, God must be the only object of man's pursuit, and anything that puts his mind off that track, such as worldly ease and comfort and pleasures, should be the real cause of worry to him. For a man of God, every challenge from the vicissitudes of life forges a new link with God.

Prayers answered

There is a great deal of scepticism, especially among educated people, as to the acceptance of prayer by God. The law of causation, so goes the argument, has wrapped up all results with certain causes. Prayer, which is mere asking, therefore, does not come into the picture. This kind of logic ignores two facts — within the narrow limits of human comprehension, and that God, first, that the network of causation is too vast to be circumscribed as the ultimate Source of all Law, is all-knowing and all-powerful. If He wills a thing, He sets the appropriate chain of causation into motion to bring out a particular result.

The Quran cites a number of such events coming to pass, which were considered out of the usual chain of causation. When, for instance, Zacharias was given the tidings of the birth of a son, John, he was swayed by the same misgivings. How could that be? He had reached old age, and his wife was barren

(3 : 37-39). What was the reply he got : " So shall it be ! God does what He will." How was this made possible, despite Zacharias' doubt ? The mystery has been cleared up in 21 : 90, where it is said : " And We cured for him his wife".

Prayers not answered

Whether a prayer is answered or not is a matter that rests entirely with God. In order that God may answer our prayers, we must deserve that consideration by making ourselves worthy in His eyes, living a good, pure, clean life. Even those, however, who attain nearness to God, and a special position with Him have some of their prayers unanswered. What they may be asking for may not, in God's perfect wisdom, be to their good. A mother will not satisfy a child's cry for an object which she knows will hurt it. This should not, however, slacken our zeal for praying to God. The unanswered prayers of good people are compensated in some other and better ways. To feel dismayed at prayers going unanswered is to miss the whole spirit of religion, which lies in doing God's will, even if it goes against our wishes — not thrusting our own, the outcome of our little wisdom, on Him.

Prayer and predestination

Another common difficulty in appreciating the role of Prayer is how to reconcile it with the idea of predestination. If everything that is going to happen has been decreed by God, it must come to pass, irrespective of any prayer on our part. This objection applies to every form of effort — not to Prayer alone. If, despite that, we do put in our best effort to get certain objectives, why not tap the factor of Prayer ? For instance, the hour of death is fixed for every individual, and when it arrives there can be no running away from it. Nevertheless, when we fall ill, we spare no effort or expense to get the best of medical aid. On the same analogy, we must bring into play the element of Prayer in the attainment of all our objectives. The fact that things will shape themselves according to a pre-planned course must not stand in the way of Prayer any more than that of other kinds of effort. We must, indeed, be active co-workers in shaping the course of events. Spiritually experienced men tell us that the very factor that we feel the urge to pray to God is an indication that God's decree lies in the same direction — and *vice versa*.

The doctrine of predestination has been very much misunderstood. It is not the kind of fatalism which paralyses all will-to-action. This is not the place to dilate upon the underlying significance of *taqdeer* (as predestination is known in Islam). Whatever the limitations it imposes on the range of human achievements, it in no way militates against man's complete freedom of will within that range. Of course, everything is subject to certain limitations, but within those limitations, man is left free to make or mar his own destiny. The idea of predestination should, therefore, serve as an impetus, rather than a damper, to our endeavour. What is true of endeavour in general is true of Prayer as well, which is but one form of endeavour, intended to tap, through Divine intervention, that segment of the chain of causation which lies outside the scope of our knowledge or effort.

Angels for help

Not unoften, in course of Islamic history, Prayer has changed the whole face of things even on a field of battle. A striking instance of this is met with in the life of the Prophet Muhammad. At the battle of Badr when 313 ill-equipped and ill-trained Muslims were pitched against three times their number with much superior skill and equipment, the Prophet retreated to his hut, while the battle was raging, and concentrated on praying to God for help. The historic Prayer has come down intact to us. " If this handful of Muslims perish today, O God," he said, " it will be the end of Thy worship on earth for all time." On emerging from the hut he cried : " Soon shall the hosts be routed, and they will turn their backs ". And lo, within a matter of

moments there came about an event which changed the whole face of the battlefield. There was a heavy downpour of rain. This neutralised the advantage which the enemy had over the Muslims in having possession of the drinking water, besides making their encampment on the higher slopes too untenable. Muslims, seeing this sudden turn of events in their favour felt their morale redoubled, with the result that they won the day. The Quran describes this Divine help as the coming of the angels to strengthen the hearts of Muslims, and strike terror into those of the enemy. The number of angels on this occasion is stated to be 1,000, corresponding to the figure of the enemy army. At the battle of Uhud, when the enemy numbered 3,000, Divine help is stated to have taken the form of 3,000 angels (3 : 123).

Divine help in all the vicissitudes of life is as much a hard reality, according to Islam, as the nail in our doors. Diseases declared by the best of medical opinion to be past cure have been known to disappear in response to the Prayers of Godly men. Likewise all suffering is amenable to the antidote of Prayer. The Quran is full of Prayers by men in distress, and how they were delivered — such as the Prayers of Noah, Jonah, Job and several other Prophets.

Dead-of-Night prayer

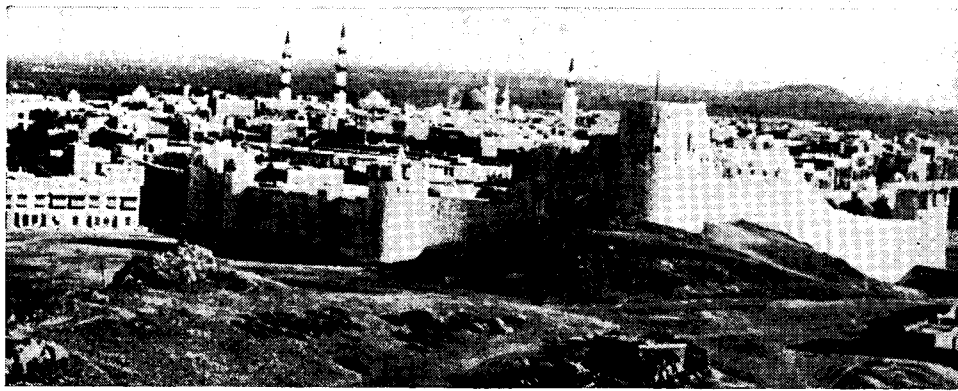
Prayer, in the prescribed form, is said five times a day, preferably in congregation in the Mosque. But the Quran attaches the greatest value to Prayer said during a break in sleep, about the latter part of the night. This is known as *Tahajjud* Prayer. In the calm and serenity, when the whole of Nature is lying still, Divine grace is brought closer to earth. In other words, psychologically, after rest and relaxation, one finds oneself in the most receptive and responsive frame of mind to the influences of the Spirit. The Prophet spent long hours at night in saying *Tahajjud* Prayers, till sometimes his legs were swollen.

Language of prayer

The prescribed Prayers must be said in Arabic text, which embodies God's own words, and is irreplaceable by any translation. The least a Muslim who puts any value on his Faith owes to himself is to memorise these few brief verses, and fully grasp the deep wisdom, light and inspiration underlying them. Any attempt to substitute rendering into local languages for the Arabic words would be to spoil half the charm of Islam. The fact that Muslims throughout the world say their daily Prayers in the same manner and the same language is a unique phenomenon, and the invisible bond it forges between Muslims and Muslims from the remotest ends of the world is an asset which no wealth, knowledge or skill can buy or produce. It will be a tragedy, should Muslims, under nationalistic influences, barter away this greatest heritage of Islam. The soul of modern humanity is crying for something that would rid it of the vicious circle into which narrow nationalism has landed it. It is already awakening to the hard fact that it must either learn to think in all-humanity terms or perish. In Islam, thanks to its universality, especially that cultivated through Prayer and other institutions, that objective is no longer a pious wish ; it has already become an attainment. To suggest introduction of Prayer in national languages (other than the common link of Arabic) will be to move the hands of the clock in the reverse direction. In this respect, nationalist-minded people would do well to take a leaf out of Turkey's experience, which great country had to revert to Arabic after the nationalisation experiment, which proved a wandering in the wilderness.

While the prescribed Prayer must be said in Arabic, there should still be left ample latitude for pouring out one's heart before God in one's own language. There is no bar to such extra prayers, which may be said over and above the prescribed form in one's own language.

TO BE CONTINUED



A view of the city of Medina with the Five Minarets of the Prophet's Mosque. In the background on the right-hand side can be seen the "Green Dome" of the Mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad which also contains the grave of the Caliph 'Umar, whose remains were laid to rest by the side of the Prophet Muhammad

THE STATE LETTERS* OF CALIPH 'UMAR (634-644 C.E.)

By Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq

XI

144, 145, 146. *To Mughirah Ibn Shu'bah.*

'Ammar Ibn Yaasir had to resign his post of the governorship of Kufah in 21 A.H. (641 C.E.) as a result of complaints against him by certain malcontents. He was replaced by the famous politician, Mughirah Ibn Shu'bah. Sh'abi tells that in order to discourage poetry, which often was employed for undesirable ends, and to make men Qur'an-minded, 'Umar wrote Mughirah the following letter :

"Call the poets of the capital (Kufah) and ask them to recite the poetry which they have composed in the Islamic and pre-Islamic times, and let me know how they react."

Among the poets who were called for reciting their poetry was the famous Mu'allaqah poet, Labid Ibn Rabi'ah, who had, on embracing Islam, renounced poetry altogether and become a devout Muslim. He said that since the time God had given him the chapters of the Qur'an "The Cow" and "The Family of Amran" (two long early chapters of the Qur'an), his interest in poetic composition had ceased. He was followed by another minstrel, Aghlab al-'Ijli by name. He asked the governor: "Would you like to hear verses from the *rajaz* or the *qasidah*? It is so easy for me to recite from both in abundance." The Caliph on learning about the divergent replies of the two poets wrote to Mughirah :

"Decrease five hundred dirhams from the annual grant ('ataa') of Aghlab and add them to that of Labid Ibn Rabi'ah."

Aghlab, who had, perhaps, expected some reward for his rich poetic talent, was much upset by the decree of the Caliph. He went down to Medina and remonstrated with him. 'Umar revised his decision and wrote to Mughirah :

"Restore the five hundred dirhams which you have deducted from the annual grant ('ataa') of Aghlab and retain them in that of Labid Ibn Rabi'ah" (Ibn Sa'd in Kanz, 2/176).

This anecdote is wanting in the Leyden edition of the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd, to which the author of *Kanz* obviously refers.

147. *To 'Utbah Ibn Farqad.*

Under the scheme of the general offensive in Persia, 'Umar sent two generals to subjugate Adharbijaan. One of them, 'Utbah Ibn Farqad, had instructions to enter it by way of Hulwaan, and the other one, Bukayr Ibn 'Abdullah, by the north-western route of Mausil. No major war took place and the two generals pushed forward in their allotted areas, making pacts with the local princes until the whole province came under Muslim sway. Bukayr sheered further north to the Caspian Sea provinces of Muqaan and Shirwaan, and the whole province of Adharbijaan was put under the charge of 'Utbah Ibn Farqad. Its conquest is placed by Sayf Ibn 'Umar in the year 18 A.H. (639 C.E.) and by Waqidi and Abu Ma'shar in 22 A.H. (642 C.E.). Abu 'Uthman Nahdi, a traditionist of Basrah, says that the following letter from 'Umar came while he was in Adharbijaan with 'Utbah :

"(O Muslims!) wear cloak (ridaa'), waist-wrapper (izaar) and shoes; discard trousers and leather socks; practice markmanship; get rid of stirrups; learn to ride the horse by jumping on its back; speak the Arabic language; habituate yourself to the simple and industrious life of Ma'add (Ibn 'Adnaan, the Arab ancestor of the northern branch); eat coarse food and wear coarse dress; live like brothers; avoid ease (and the dress of idolaters; expose yourself to the sun, which is the bath of the Arabs — Shu'ab al-Iman by Bayhaqi (MS); the Messenger of God has for-

* The tenth article in this series appeared in *The Islamic Review* for June 1957.

bidden the silken dress except that it be a piece of three to four fingers in width (except that it be like this and he (the narrator) made a sign in the air by the forefinger and the middle one' — *Shu'ab al-Imam* by Bayhaqi (MS) (Ansaab al-Ashaaf by Baladhuri; rotograph, *Jami'at al-Du'al al-Arabiyyah*, Cairo, 9/615-16, Kanz 8/58).

This letter has been cited in several books on the *Hadith* and *Sunan*. It comes from Abu 'Uthman Nahdi, a well-known traditionist and jurist of Basrah, whose death is placed by Ibn Sa'd (c.f. *Tabaqaat*) in the early days of Hajjaj's governorship of Basrah. It is interesting to note that one set of transmitters represents Abu 'Uthman as saying that the above directions (Letter No. 150) were couched in a letter, while another set of transmitters represents him as saying that 'Umar gave them orally (which seems more likely) to 'Utbah or a delegation from Adharbijaan sent by him. There is also a second and more serious difference, namely, that certain versions of the letter do not at all refer to the minimum of silk allowed by the Prophet in dress or sleeves (*Sunan* by Bayhaqi, 10/128, *Shu'ab al-Imam* by the same author, MS. No. 810, Vol. II (unpaged), Dar al-Kutub, Cairo; *Musnad* of Abu 'Awanah, MS. No. [420] 3281, p. 400; Maktabat al-Azhar, Cairo; also *Mukhtasar* of Abu 'Awanah, MS. No. 453, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo; the *Sahih* of Muslim (Navavi), Cairo, 14/46; it mentions part of the letter only; the *Sahih* of Bukhari, Cairo, 7/151 and the *Sunan* of Abu Da'ud, Cairo, 2/30, mention the portion relating to silk only; *Nasb al-Ra'ya li Ahaadith al-Hidayah* by Zayla'i, Cairo, 4/226. Two difficult words of the letter have been explained by Ibn Sulaam in his *Gharib al-Hadith* (MS. No. [1496], 16575), Maktabat al-Azhar, Cairo, p. 44).

The author of the commentary on *Nahj al-Balaaghah* (Ibn Abu al-Hadid) remarks that the letter formed part of a directive addressed by 'Umar to the provincial governors. The letter given by him contains the following words in excess of those found in other versions: "*Train your sons in archery and swimming*" (*Sharh Nahj al-Balaaghah*, Cairo, 3/119).

148. To 'Utbah Ibn Farqad.

'Utbah, the governor of Adharbijaan, sent 'Umar a present of two baskets of a delicious sweetmeat, known as *Khabis*. When his envoy met the Caliph at Medina, the latter thought the baskets contained gold and silver for the treasury. On learning that it was *Khabis* and not gold, he got the baskets unpacked. Tasting the sweetmeat and relishing it, he asked: "Ahe all Muslims (in Adharbijaan) provided with it?" The envoy replied in the negative. 'Umar refused to take the *Khabis* and write this censorious letter to 'Utbah:

"O 'Utbah Ibn Farqad! (in some books only). You have got the *Khabis* neither by virtue of your toil nor that of your father and mother (but through the sacrifices of the Muslims). You must feed the Muslims who are with you the same food as you eat yourself at home". (Do not eat any food except the one which other Muslims get to eat in their dwellings (the *Ansaab*; *Sunan* by Bayhaqi, 10/128; *Shu'ab al-Imam* (MS) by the same author; the *Sahih* of Muslim (Navavi), 14/46; the *Musnad* of Abu 'Awanah (MS), p. 400; the *Mukhtasar* of Abu 'Awanah (MS), Vol. I (unpaged); *Ansaab al-Ashraf* (rotograph), 9/493 and 12/1198-99; *Futuh al-Buldan*, Cairo, p. 336, with variations both in the context and text).

Sayf Ibn 'Umar in Tabari states that 'Utbah himself had brought the *Khabis* when he came to perform the pilgrimage, and a reference to the 'Umar-'Utbah conversation about *Khabis* is also made by the traditionist Qays in Daraqutni.

This evidence supports some of the anecdotes maintaining that the rebuke of 'Umar to 'Utbah and his observations regarding dress, etc., were, if at all, oral and not written documents. It is interesting to note that the conversation between 'Umar and 'Utbah about *Khabis* as recorded by Daraqutni contains no rebuke at all. "When I," says 'Utbah, "placed the baskets (here in plural) before 'Umar, he asked me whether all Muslims were fed with it." 'Utbah replied: "This is a delicacy which is offered to great men only." 'Umar said: "*Take it away, I don't need it*" (Daraqutni, Delhi (India), p. 535).

149. To 'Utbah Ibn Farqad.

This letter is prefaced by a brief context the meaning of which is not quite clear owing probably to a textual mistake. It appears that some Bedouin tribes amongst whom 'Utbah happened to be saw the crescent of 'Id al-Fitr in the afternoon, and taking it to be of the previous evening, broke their fast. This matter was brought to the notice of the Caliph perhaps by 'Utbah himself, who regarded the action of the Bedouin Arabs thoroughly unwarranted.

"If you see the crescent in the early part of the day, then break your fast; as this suggests that the crescent appeared in the last night. But if you see it at the end of the day, you should complete the fast as this suggests that the crescent belongs to the coming night."

(The context of the letter is from the *Musannaf* of Ibn Abi Shaybah, MS. No. 802, 2/40, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo; its text from *Kanz*, 4/325. There exists a marked verbal difference between the texts of the letter recorded in the two books.)

149a. The Basri traditionist, Abu Waa'il, cites the following letter (which he says was received by the Muslim armies at Khaaniqin), laying down another principle for deciding the end of Ramadhan.

"Some new moons are bigger than others. So if you see the new moon in the day, do not break your fast, unless two Muslims bear witness that they had seen it last evening" (the *Musannaf* of Ibn Abi Shaybah (MS) 2/420; the *Sunan* of Daraqutni, p. 232; *Kanz*, 4/325).

150. To the Muslim armies in Adharbijaan.

This letter is mentioned by Ibn Sa'd in his *Tabaqat* on the authority of Zayd Ibn Wahb, another traditionist of Basrah. Zayd says that the following letter from 'Umar came while he was in Adharbijaan with the Muslim armies:

"I understand that you are in a country where flesh of dead animals forms part of food and their hide (or fur) forms part of dress. I forbid you to eat the flesh or wear the hide (or fur) of animals that are not slaughtered" (Ibn Sa'd, 6/67, Leyden).

151. To Ahnaf Ibn Qays.

Under the scheme of a general offensive in Persia, the great Tamimi leader, Ahnaf Ibn Qays, who had himself introduced this scheme to 'Umar a few years ago, was charged with the conquest of Khurasan, the vital northern province of the kingdom of Persia through which passed the military and commercial highway linking Arabia, Syria and Iraq with Khawarizm, Transoxiana and China. After having retreated from Jalulaa' and Hulwaan, the emperor Yazdajird had established himself at Mari-Shahjahan, from where he had executed, in the last five years, a number of military operations against the Muslims, besides encouraging revolts in territories lost to him. When he learned that the Muslim armies under Ahnaf were on the borders of

1 To indicate the minimum of the silk allowed in a dress.

Khurasan, he felt compelled to seek the help of the Turkish princes across the Oxus, and also sent an embassy to the emperor of China to invoke his assistance. But before he could get any foreign help, he was pressed hard by the Muslims. He fled from Marv-Shahjahan to Marv-Rudh, and from there to Balkh, the most easterly district of the province, bordering the great river. In a battle here, he was defeated and forced to abandon his domains and seek refuge with the Turkish princes across the Oxus. Though Ahnaf urgently felt the need of pursuing the king, he did not cross the river as he had no authority to do so. He applied to the Caliph for permission but the latter disfavoured any further advance.

"You must not cross the river (Oxus) and confine yourself to the victories you have won on its left side. O Muslims! You are aware of the qualities of character which have enabled you to conquer Khurasan. If you persevere in those qualities, success will always be yours. Do not cross the river (for I fear) this may break up your strength" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/263-64).

Sayf relegates the conquest of Khurasan to the year 22 A.H. (642 C.E.), but other historians differ and say that it was conquered in 30 A.H. (650 C.E.) by a lieutenant-commander of Ibn 'Aamir, the governor of Basrah, who had personally launched an expedition to pacify the revolted districts of Faris. As for the expedition of Ahnaf in 'Umar's caliphate, we learn from Madaa'ini that it was planned but did not materialize while the Caliph was alive. According to him, 'Umar asked Abu Musa in 23 A.H. (643 C.E.) to send Ahnaf at the head of 5,000 cavalry to conquer Khurasan, but before Abu Musa could carry out the order, 'Umar fell to the dagger of Abu Lu'lu (*Ansaab al-Ashraaf* (rotograph), H/987).

152. Letters to Abu Musa Ash'ari. Introduction of Abu Musa.

Described by the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd as a thin and short-statured man, Abu Musa Ash'ari seems to have been a tradesman in the pre-Islamic days. Travels both on the land and the Red Sea had brought him into contact with new ways of life and broadened his mental horizon. In 10 A.H. (631 C.E.) the Prophet, taking note of his varied experience, appointed him as governor of the Yemeni district of Ma'rib, or as is stated by Baladhuri in *Ansaab al-Ashraaf*, of a bigger area comprising Zabid, 'Adan (Aden), Rima' and the coast. Teaching of the Qur'an and the collection of the poor-tax (*Zakat*) were his primary duties. Both as a doctor of religion and an administrator, Abu Musa was one of the most conspicuous personages of the first century of Islam. Sha'bi ranks him among the six Companions who were mainly responsible for the radiation of Islamic teaching — 'Umar, 'Ali, Ubayy Ibn Ka'b, Ibn Mas'ud and himself. He is also counted among the four judges *par excellence* in the large galaxy of the Companions, the other three being 'Umar, 'Ali and Zayd Ibn Thabit.

He served Islam for more than twenty years as an administrator, teacher and conqueror, and his services in every field were distinguished. Appointed by 'Umar as governor of Basrah in 17 A.H. (638 C.E.), he achieved a number of notable victories in Ahwaaz, Faris and Kirman. He was a popular ruler and more successful than either Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas or 'Ammar Ibn Yaasir, both of whom fell victims, as is well known, to the grudges of the malcontents of Kufah. When feelings were high against the governors of 'Uthman at Kufah, the whole population insisted on his appointment as their governor.

He greatly disliked the movement against the third Caliph as it was based on personal grudges, passions and

violence, and threatened the unity of Islam. He took no part in any war of 'Ali as neither wisdom nor Islam allowed bloodshed among the Muslims. When the clouds of civil war were gathering thick in 36 A.H. (656 C.E.) on the assumption of the Caliphate by 'Ali and one embassy after another from the Caliph visited Kufah to enlist its citizens' support against the triple alliance of Talhah, Zubayr and 'A'ishah, it were the remonstrances and appeals of Abu Musa that held them in check. Every time an embassy came, he got up in the pulpit and exhorted the people with all the earnestness at his command to abstain from going to war, quoting the Qur'an and the Prophet against disunity and civil war. He had to pay dearly for his anti-war endeavour. He had to lose his post. Enthusiasts of the civil war insulted him and even looted his official residence. His sacrifice, however, was not in vain, for he was able to keep back, temporarily, no doubt, most of the Kufis from the war of the *Jamal* (the War of the Camels), 36 A.H. (656 C.E.).

Next year a war between 'Ali and Mu'awayah took place at Siffin, taking a very heavy toll of the Muslims, the Arab nobility in particular suffering grievous losses. After several months of frantic war, the opposite camps proposed to appoint a two-man committee to decide the dispute between 'Ali and Mu'awayah in the light of the Qur'an. The leaders of Kufah insisted on 'Ali nominating Abu Musa, the champion of peace and unity, as his representative on the committee. Though 'Ali did not favour Abu Musa's nomination for his anti-war policy, he had to yield to their pressure. The committee met at Dumah in 38 A.H. (658 C.E.). Abu Musa thoroughly discussed the issue of the Caliphate with 'Amr Ibn 'As, the other member of the committee representing Mu'awiyah, and came to a momentous decision, a decision which did not take into account either personalities, however formidable, or personal interests, a decision which was inspired mainly by the high ideal of peace and unity of the Muslims. Ascending the pulpit under which a large crowd of the partisans of both 'Ali and Mu'awayah had gathered, he announced: "Gentlemen! We have considered how best God could restore unity to this nation and bring prosperity to them. We are of the opinion that nothing could bring about peace and unity except the deposition of these two men, 'Ali and Mu'awayah, and the holding of an election so that people may choose any person whom they deem fit for the Caliphate. I hereby depose both 'Ali and Mu'awayah. You should consider afresh the matter of the Caliphate and appoint as your Caliph anyone you like" (*Akhbar al-Tiwaal* by Dinawari, Cairo, p. 203).

Though Abu Musa's decision was not honoured, he had, nevertheless, made a noble effort. After it, he detached himself altogether from public or political affairs and lived in retirement till his death, which is differently placed in 42 and 52 A.H. (662 and 672 C.E.) (*Ansaab al-Ashraaf* (rotograph), 2/255; Ibn Sa'd, 4/169 and 4/78; *Isti'ab* margin of *Istaabah*, Cairo, 2/373-74; *Tadhkirat al-Huffaz* by Dhahabi, Hyderabad (India), pp. 21-22; see Tabari, 5/187-190, for Abu Musa's anti-war speeches, also the *Sunan* of Ibn Majah (MS) No. 241, Daru al-Kutub, Cairo, 4/126-28; *Kitab al-Diyaat* by Shaybani, Cairo, 1323 A.H. (1905 C.E.), pp. 22-23, for the Traditions of the Prophet which Abu Musa quoted in his speech; Ibn Khaldun, *History*).

Of the available letters of 'Umar, those addressed to Abu Musa exceed those addressed to other officials. This does not mean that Abu Musa in fact received more letters than any other official of 'Umar; it means, on the other hand, that letters written to him survived in greater number than those written to other governors. Two reasons seem to be responsible for this survival: (1) the importance of the letters

themselves insofar as many of them related to vital themes such as law, prayers, the *Zakat*, and principles of conduct for rulers; and (2) preservation. It is said that Abu Musa had collected all letters of 'Umar addressed to him and given them, before his death, to his son, Abu Burdah, for preservation. The collection remained in the family as a guide and legacy. Sometimes traditionists would be allowed to copy from the collection such letters as interested them (*History of 'Umar*, by Ibn Jauzi, Cairo, p. 133).

153. *To Abu Musa Ash'ari.*

This letter has been cited by Hasan Basri (d. 728 C.E.).
"Appoint a day in the year when not a single dirham is left in the Bayt al-Mal (Treasury) and its floor is swept clean, so that God may know that I have paid up the due of every claimant" (*Ansaab* (rotograph), Ibn Sa'd, 3/128, Ibn 'Asakir in *Kanz*, 2/317).

154. *To Abu Musa Ash'ari.*

Khudayraa', the wife of Mujaashi Ibn Mas'ud Sulami, an Arab dignitary of Basrah, hung curtains on the walls of her house. Some people criticized this act, perhaps because it smacked of emulation of the Ka'bah, the walls of which were screened with curtains. The matter was reported to 'Umar, who, taking a serious view of it, wrote:

"It has been brought to my notice that one of the women of Basrah has hung curtains on the walls of her house as is done in the Ka'bah. I direct you to send someone, as soon

as you read my letter, to remove the curtains" (*Ansaab* (rotograph), 9/624).

155. *To Mujashi Ibn Mas'ud Sulami.*

Some traditionists say that the letter regarding the curtains was addressed not to Abu Musa but to Mujashi, the husband of Khudayraa', and that it so struck him with terror that his face turned pale and he at once carried out the order despite remonstrances from his wife. The letter read:

"It has been brought to my notice that Khudayraa' has hung curtains on the walls of her house as is done in the Ka'bah. I adjure you to tear them into pieces as soon as you get my letter" (*Shu'ab al-Imam* by Bayhaqi (MS) No. 810, Vol. II (unpaged), Dar al-Kutub, Cairo; the *Musannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzaq and *Shu'ab al-Imam* of Bayhaqi in *Kanz*, 7/147, with some variation).

156. *To Abu Musa Ash'ari.*

It appears from the above letters that the Caliph disapproved of imitation or emulation of the Ka'bah, but the following letter coming from Hasan Basri suggests that the Caliph's action was directed against decoration as it ill accorded with the ideals of simplicity so dear to him:

"I learn that Khudayraa' has decorated her house with curtains. On getting my letter tear off all its curtains, may God disgrace it (house)" (*Shu'ab al-Imam* (MS), Vol. II; Ibn 'Asakir in *Kanz*, 7/147).

(To be continued)

Labour and Social Legislation in the World of Islam as Reflected in The International Labour Organization at Geneva

Before proceeding to discuss the specific subject as indicated in the title of this article, it appears desirable briefly to make some general observations.

The political, social and economic framework of countries and nations, namely, their "social order", is shaped by a great number of factors, ranging from spiritual, historical and political trends to climatic, economic, technical and other conditions. Islam is a classical example demonstrating the overwhelming influence of a religious doctrine on a large section of mankind. French and English philosophical theories of the eighteenth century paved the way for the French Revolution and its far-reaching change from religious to secular thinking in the Western world during the past 150 years. A purely materialistic "way of life" is proclaimed by the Soviet social order of the past forty years.

A profound upheaval was produced by the "Industrial Revolution", the age of machinery, in the Western world some 150 years ago, and nowadays most parts of the area peopled by Muslims are beginning to face the effects of the "First Industrial Revolution". Simultaneously, the economically most advanced peoples of the Western world have arrived on the eve of the "Second Industrial Revolution", i.e., the era of automation, in which the number of workers required for the operation of machinery will continue to be reduced in ever-decreasing numbers.

The "First Industrial Revolution" which is gradually affecting the Muslim area is the starting point of the following observations.

The International Labour Organization at Geneva

Changing labour and social conditions are yardsticks of the changing social structures. A recent visit to the headquarters of the International Labour Office in Geneva gave an opportunity to study the share of the 14 Muslim members (out of a total of 78 members) in the work of that world-wide institution. The list of the Muslim members includes Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, the Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Pakistan, the Sudan, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey.

A few introductory remarks are necessary so as to appreciate the functions of the International Labour Organization, which was founded immediately after World War I (1914-18) and simultaneously with the League of Nations, both having their headquarters at Geneva. Both institutions were called upon to secure world peace and world-wide social justice. Whereas the League of Nations failed to attain its goal and was succeeded in 1945 by the United Nations Organization (with headquarters in New York and a European office at Geneva), the International Labour Office has successfully survived the Second World War. According to its charter of 1919, the International Labour Organization is an association of nations, financed by the governments of

the various member States, and democratically controlled by representatives of governments, of management and of labour organizations. Its purpose is to promote social justice in all the countries of the world. It collects facts about labour and social conditions, formulates minimum international standards and supervises their national application.

The machinery of this organization consists of (a) the International Labour Office (acting as the permanent Secretariat); (b) the Governing Body; and (c) the International Labour Conference. The Governing Body consists of 40 members and is composed of 20 Government representatives, 10 representatives of the employers and 10 representatives of the workers. It acts as the executive council of the Organization. The International Labour Conference is a world parliament for labour and social questions. Each national delegation to the annual meetings comprises four delegates (two representing the government, one the employers and one the workers); each of these three sections speaks and votes independently. The Conference adopts minimum international standards in the form of conventions or recommendations. A two-thirds majority is required for the adoption; the decisions are not automatically binding as governments must submit the conventions to their national legislatures.

Some fundamental Labour Codes adopted

The long list of international labour conventions covers both fundamental subjects and regulations of secondary importance.

In my opinion, the most important conventions hitherto ratified by the Muslim members of the International Labour Office are the following:

No. 1 (1919) limits the hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week. Pakistan is the only Muslim country which has accepted this convention.

The protection of female workers is regulated in a number of conventions: No. 4 (1919), No. 41 (1934), No. 45 (1935) and No. 89 (1948) deal with the employment of women during the night, starting with the principle that women shall not be employed during the night in any private or public undertaking other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed. No. 45 prohibits the underground employment of women at any mine. It is not surprising to learn from the chart that the protection of working women has attracted a number of Muslim member States, when the peculiar position of women in Muslim Islamic society today is borne in mind.

The protection of young persons (under 18) is dealt with in No. 6 (1919), which prohibits the employment of such persons in mines, quarries and shipbuilding; No. 90 (1948) regulates the night work of young persons in industry. The medical examination of young people employed in agriculture and industry is dealt with in the conventions No. 10 (1921), No. 16 (1921) and No. 77 (1939).

No. 11 (1921), No. 87 and No. 98 (1949) concern the rights of association in agriculture and in industry and the right of collective bargaining in industry. Although only three Muslim States (Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey) have ratified these props and pillars of modern trade unionism, the national legislations of most Muslim countries (with the exception of Afghanistan, Su'udi Arabia and the Yemen) have legally recognized the working of trade unions.

Muslim States' co-operation

The Chart of Ratifications of the 104 international conventions adopted since 1919 truly reflects the share of Muslim participation in the International Labour Organization.

None of these conventions has hitherto (1st January 1957) been ratified by Iran, Jordan, the Lebanon, Libya and the Sudan. This does not mean that these five States have not introduced labour and social codes on Western models. The Lebanon and Iran have adopted general labour codes; Iran regulated labour conditions in the carpet industry some thirty years ago. Trade unions are legally recognized in the Lebanon, in Libya and in the Sudan. The constitutions of Pakistan and Egypt enacted in 1956 have provisions for the establishment of modern Welfare States.

The following is an extract from the "Chart of Ratifications" of the International Labour Conventions concerning the Muslim member States as on 1st January 1957:

No. of the Convention	Afghanistan	Egypt	Indonesia	Iraq	Morocco	Pakistan	Syria	Tunisia	Turkey
1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
4	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
10	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
13	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
14	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
15	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
19	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
27	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
29	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
41	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
45	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1
52	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
53	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
63	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
81	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
87	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
88	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
89	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
96	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
98	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
101	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	5	14	4	9	13	23	1	2	10

Conventions of minor importance

The other international conventions ratified by Muslim States are :

No. 2 (1919) prevents or provides against unemployment.

Nos. 12, 18 and 42 (1921, 1925 and 1934) deal with workmen's compensation (occupational diseases).

No. 17 (1925) concerns itself with workmen's compensation (accidents).

No. 19 (1925) deals with the equality of treatment of national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.

No. 21 (1926) deals with the inspection of emigrants.

No. 22 (1926) deals with seamen's articles of agreement.

No. 27 (1929) deals with marking of weight (packages transported by vessels).

No. 29 (1930) deals with forced labour.

No. 32 (1932) deals with the protection against accidents (dockers).

No. 34 (1933) and No. 96 (1949) deal with fee-charging employment agencies.

No. 52 (1936) deals with holidays with pay.

No. 53 (1936) deals with officers' competency certificates.

No. 58 (1936) deals with minimum age (seamen).

No. 59 (1937) deals with minimum age (industry).

No. 63 (1938) deals with statistics, wages, hours of work.

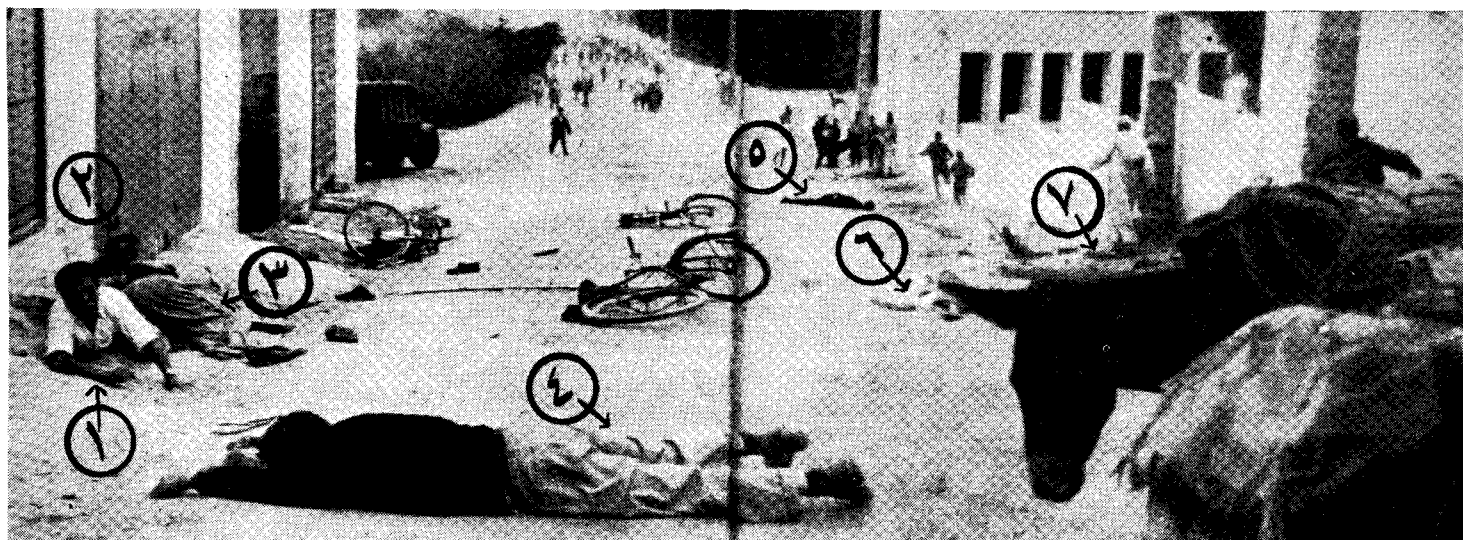
No. 80 (1946) deals with final articles of the constitution.

The revised No. 81 (1947) deals with labour inspection in work places.

No. 88 (1948) deals with employment service.

No. 94 (1949) deals with labour clauses in public contracts ; and

No. 101 (1952) deals with holidays with pay in agriculture.



The picture shows victims of French aggression in North Africa. This is a typical example of French ruthlessness. The North Africans are determined to free themselves from this tyrant rule.

WHAT IS ALGERIA ?

A land where Muslims are bitterly fighting for independence

"Tens of thousands of Algerians have passed through prisons or been put on trial and condemned. . . . Only by the foundation of a disciplined national organization have the Algerians been able to withstand these repression. Gradually the movement has adapted its means of action to the circumstances created by French imperialism"

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 sq. miles and a Mediterranean climate.

Today the population numbers 12 millions, 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 immigrate there because of the desperate

economic and political 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 part of the Arab world. The original inhabitants of Algeria were Berbers, who have lived in North Africa since pre-historic 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 has been invaded by Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals and Byzantines. All these invasions 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 Arabic 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 sown to cereals and 400,000 hectares to vines. All Mediterranean fruit and vegetable crops thrive in Algeria and there is extensive cultivation of olives. The important vegetable product, alfa grass, 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 colonial economy complement of 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 heroic resistance by the Algerian people under the leadership of such men and women as 'Abd al-Qadir, Mokrani, Bouamama and Lalla Fatimah. The period of armed resistance under 'Abd al-Qadir (1832-1847) was followed by a period of national insurrection, notably in the Kabylie (1850-1871) and in South Oran (1901).

Development of the movement for Algerian independence

The national resistance has been continued by the struggle of the Algerian national movement, which is deeply rooted in the masses. In recent times the struggle has been marked by bloody and continuous repression. In 1945, 45,000 Algerians were killed by French troops in the Constantine region. In 1946, S. Pinkney Tuck, United States Minister in Cairo, told 'Azzam Pasha, the then Secretary-General of the Arab League, that State Department records counted the dead at a much higher figure than the 40,000 mentioned in the French Parliament. In 1947, the French carried out punitive expeditions in the Kabylie, in 1949 in Sidi Ali Bounab and in 1952 in the Aures. Algerians were shot down at Deschmya and Champain in 1948 ; at Orleansville and Philippeville in 1952 and in France itself during the Algerian demonstrations of 1952-53. (Six Algerian Nationalist workers were shot down in Paris on Bastille Day, 1953.)

Since 1st November 1954 more than 200,000 Algerian civilians have been murdered by the French.

The organized national movement began in 1925 with the creation of the North African Star, an association demanding the independence of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. This organization was dissolved by France and was replaced by the Algerian People's Party in 1937. This organization was also dissolved by the French in 1939, but it carried on the Algerian people's resistance until 1947. In that year the M.T.L.D. (Movement for the Triumph of

Democratic Liberties) was created and rapidly grew in strength and influence throughout the country. This movement was dissolved by the French Government a few days after the events of 1st November 1954.

The Algerian national movement has been continually 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 and 1950. 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 spontaneous explosions of the 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" (A.L.N.) and a "Front of National Liberation" (F.L.N.). 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 M.T.L.D. and constitute a mass militant movement.

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

The Algerian problem

Algeria is the case of a country annexed by a colonial power after a military conquest, characterized by all the 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".

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 at present 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 *Madrasahs* (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. A teacher (the Shaikh 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 all 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 to 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 as it is known in Algeria, *Habous*) property are interfered with and discouraged. Out of the 106 mosques of Algiers existing in 1930, 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 *Kadis* (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 restores their transferability. Many facilities are provided to French evangelizing missions, the most important being the Order of the White Fathers, as well as to Anglo-Saxon and Swiss missions. 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 for 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. Out of 2,400,000 hectares of land belonging to 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 smallholdings and only 0.2 per cent are large estates, the remainder being middle-sized properties. The Algerian peasant, impoverished and neglected by the authorities, has no important role in the economy of the country. He exists mainly at a subsistence level with scarcely anything left over with which to buy other necessities.

The present wretched condition of the Algerian working class is the direct consequence of agrarian feudalism. The rural working group alone numbers one million people. It is deprived of social security and earns starvation wages. Unemployment reaches such proportions that every year thousands are forced to migrate to France in search of 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 interest of the 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. In this connection it may 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 complements to 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 from the French authorities by the fighting spirit of the masses.

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

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 suspended and persecuted by the condemnation of the editors to heavy jail sentences and exorbitant fees. 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 "rigged", the nationalist candidates arrested and agents of the French authorities elected. The prefabricated "Algerian elections", a fact admitted without question 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 in 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 should be noted that it was in the regions of Aures and Kabylie, scenes of the most repressive expeditions, that the military resistance to French colonialism since 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 to 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 consulted, neither directly nor indirectly, in 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 World War II, French settlers in Algeria governed on an occupation basis, the victors legislating for the vanquished, who were only "French subjects" 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-Gueye" law of 7th May 1946 was enacted, granting French citizenship to all nationals of the Overseas Territories, thereby including Algeria. This was followed by the French Constitution of 27th October 1946,

proclaimed that this citizenship did not conflict with the retention of the religious status of the Algerians.

This 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 12,000,000 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 12,000,000). 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 resulted chiefly in the abstention of all the representatives of the second Algerian electoral body to the vote of the 20th September 1947, on the law relating to the organic statute of Algeria on which is based the present French legislation in Algeria.

Article 1 of the Statute of Algeria stipulates that: "Algeria constitutes a group of departments which 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 Assembly is composed of 120 delegates (60 for each electoral body). Its function is to administer Algerian interests and, in so doing, it 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 injustice of giving equal representation for populations differing in the proportion of 1 to 12.

All the supreme powers are held by the Governor-General, who is directly responsible to the French Govern-

ment. The draft of the Algerian budget is drawn 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. Two-fifths of the members of the General Council are elected by the Algerians (second electoral body) and the other three-fifths are elected by the Europeans (first electoral body).¹

There are two categories of *Communes* in Algeria. 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 are under military rule.

The legal fictions 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 a racial discrimination, the special regime 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), tariffs between France and Algeria and direct control of the Muslim religious bodies by the French authorities, are many facts that flatly contradict the colonialist's 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 the 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 also was the case of Poland, dismembered in 1795, yet regaining her 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!

(Note.—This, in brief, was the legal aspect of the situation up to April 1955. At present, the Algerian Assembly is dissolved following the refusal of the Algerians to participate in any French-imposed political bodies.)

The latest events in Algeria

On the night of 31st October—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 the 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 resistants withdrew

¹ The French Parliament adopted in 1955 the principle of equal representation of the two electoral bodies in the general councils. That decision has not yet been applied and in any case has ceased to have any significance as the Algerians have refused to participate.

into the mountainous regions of the Aures on the frontier of Tunisia and to the Kabylie 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 the Algerian patriots, who are now using guerrilla tactics. 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 Algerians to raise their heads to achieve liberty even at the cost of their blood. The French Government uses air force, 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 North Atlantic Treaty Organization High Command. By June 1956, French forces operating in Algeria numbered 600,000. Later, the French Government was obliged to call up young national service men who had completed their military service less than six months previously. With the intensification of the Algerian people's armed resistance, even this was found insufficient and the French were forced to increase their forces in Algeria by calling up all 20 year-olds; these were sent into battle against the Algerian Resistance after only three months' military training. The French Minister of War is spending a great deal of his time in Algeria in order to personally direct the movement of the French troops.

Moreover, the French in recent months have waged an intensive propaganda campaign of falsehood intending to prove that the Algerian National Liberation Movement is under Communist influence. This is completely false. The French have always tried to throw discredit on the genuine national movement of North Africa — in Tunisia, in Morocco, as in Algeria — by such unfounded accusations, but world public opinion is now awake to such tactics, which should be treated with the contempt they deserve. As the National Liberation Front has made clear on numerous occasions, there is not now and there never has been any collusion between the Front and the Communists.

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

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

It is clear today that the situation is gradually worsening and even the French press does not hesitate in predicting "a new Indo-China war", if French settlers continue dictating the Algerian policy of their 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". They have even invented stories of arms being parachuted to the National Liberation Army. 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 the events in Algeria represent a political problem resulting from the internal situation created by colonial rule.

Nationalist organizations, who reject the French theory of annexation, have suffered from constant persecution and leaders are frequently on trial, in jail or in enforced exile. Despite all that France has claimed regarding French citizenship for Algerians, the conditions of life of the Algerian masses have remained those of a colonial people subjected to French foreign rule, reinforced by the presence of a privileged class of French settlers.

About twelve days before the outbreak of the recent events in Algeria, Mr. François Mitterrand, 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.

After two years of struggle

AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL

The Algerian Resistance has just entered its third year of armed resistance. The Algerian people have unanimously rallied behind the National Liberation Army and its political counterpart, the National Liberation Front, united in their unyielding determination to achieve Algeria's national independence and the establishment of a democratic republic. The U.G.T.A. (Algerian Trade Union Federation, an affiliate of the I.C.F.T.U.), whose leaders are now in jail, the U.G.E.M.A. (Algerian Union of Muslim Students), whose members have been on strike since last May and many of whom are now fighting in the ranks of the Liberation Army, the U.G.C.A. (General Union of Algerian Businessmen, many of whose members also are in prison today), the religious leaders — Ulemas, Muftis, Imams, etc., and even the former puppet deputies appointed by the French — all sections of the Algerian people recognize the National Liberation Front as their only genuinely representative national organization. The Algerian people — through their representatives in the F.L.N. — demand from the French Government the opening of negotiations in order to restore peace on the only basis acceptable — recognition by France of Algeria's right to self-determination.

The F.L.N. today possesses its own underground press, consisting of a newspaper, *Resistance Algerienne*, published in Arabic and French, and a review *al-Mudjahid* in Arabic and French. As occasion demands, pamphlets are published in Arabic, French, English and Spanish for world distribution. Abroad, the F.L.N. has established information offices in the most important world centres such as New York, Cairo, Djakarta, New Delhi, Helsinki, Damascus, etc., and is in contact with national freedom movements throughout the world.

AT THE MILITARY LEVEL

With regard to the purely military aspect, the National Liberation Army has successfully stood up to an army of 600,000 French colonial troops — that is to say, an army three times as large as that which operated in Indo-China. Despite the criminal bombardment of the coastal regions, especially around Bone, Bougie, Djidjilli, Collo and Nemours

by the French fleet (including the cruisers Duguay Trouin, Georges Leygues and Montcalm) ; despite the strafing by the French Air Force of unarmed civilian populations ; despite the use of napalm in the Guer gour and of poison gas at Ain-Sefra ; despite the deliberate firing of entire forests — the National Liberation Army has extended its area of operations throughout the entire country. The A.L.N. has inflicted heavy defeats on the French forces ; at Djeurf, for example, in April 1956, where French losses numbered 374 dead, many wounded, and where Algerian anti-aircraft units shot down six Sikorsky helicopters and damaged a Piper Cub and a Thunderbolt, and at Bel Ghafer in May 1956, where the French lost 600 men and an enormous quantity of equipment.

Today, the A.L.N. is a highly organized fighting body with its intelligence, supply, medical aid communications services operating on a war basis. Its headquarters, situated somewhere in Algeria, co-ordinates the activities of the various units. French generals have stated that it is now impossible to destroy the Algerian Resistance organization by military operations.

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 conflict and thereby 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 has flatly rejected any peaceful solution of the problem.

The movement towards the independence of colonial peoples is gathering momentum and is becoming irrepressible. 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 also stated that "for Algeria, the only negotiation is war".

The fact remains, however, that the Algerian problem exists and can no longer be ignored. 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, and their people look to the establishment of independent States ; their destinies are linked together in the future as they have been in the past.

Algerian demands

Therefore, the basic solution for the North African problem lies primarily in 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 destined to failure.

The political demands of the Algerians today, as since the end of the last World War, remain the restoration of national independence by :

- (a) recognition by France of a sovereign, democratic Algerian State ;
- (b) respect for all human rights and basic freedoms without distinction of race or creed.

With regard to the French residents in Algeria :

- (1) French cultural and economic interests, honestly acquired, will be respected, as will also their persons and families.
- (2) All French nationals wishing to remain in Algeria will have the choice of retaining their original nationality — and as such will be regarded as foreigners before the law — or of opting Algerian nationality and will be considered for such in relation to their rights and duties.
- (3) The relations between France and Algeria will be defined and made the object of an agreement entered into by the two powers on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

The French must 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 forceful repression in Algeria will only cause increased bloodshed and bitterness between the Algerian and French peoples.

An international problem

Today, the Algerian problem is the concern not of France alone, but of the whole world — and particularly of those peoples who stand for the abolition of colonialism everywhere. The gravity of the situation in Algeria caused the Su'udi Arabian Government to bring the matter to the attention of the Security Council on 5th January 1955, and 26th June 1956.

Despite violent opposition on the part of France, the United Nations General Assembly voted for the inscription of the Algerian question on the United Nations Agenda on 30th September 1955, and thus recognized the international character of the Algerian problem and confirmed the opinion expressed by the 29 Asian and African countries in the course of their conference at Bandung in April 1955. At the 11th Session of the United Nations General Assembly which opened in November 1956, France did not even dare to oppose the inscription of this question.

This war of extermination now waged by France in Algeria presents a serious threat to world peace. It was with the object of annihilating the Algerian Resistance (which the French blindly believe to be supported by President Nasir) that France launched her attack on Egypt, at the same time dragging Great Britain into the affair despite the opposition of the British people. This venture brought the world to the very verge of an atomic war and has resulted in a serious petrol shortage affecting all Europe.

The French Government has constantly asserted that it is impossible to open negotiations with the Algerian people because the latter have no responsible spokesmen. Yet the Government knows well that the only valid spokesmen for the Algerian nation today are those of the National Liberation Front and that there can be no cessation of hostilities without the approval of the National Liberation Army. For that reason the French Government on 22nd October 1956 — in defiance of all accepted principles of international law — intercepted a Moroccan plane carrying five leading members of the Algerian Front and Liberation Army. This act, which deeply shocked the whole civilized world, has seriously compromised France's international position and her relations with both Tunisia and Morocco.

The French Government, for its part, has been quick to appeal to the Atlantic Pact Powers for support of its policies towards Algeria and has already succeeded in obtaining permission from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization High Command to withdraw French forces from Western Germany for use in Algeria.

The Algerian people are today being hard pressed 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 have pledged themselves to stand united until final victory is achieved through-

out 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 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, which is still powerful but is yielding step by step to the irresistible forces of freedom.

The Agha Khan

The death of His Highness the Agha Khan has deprived the world of Islam of sober, enlightened and constructive leadership which occupied for about half a century quite a big place on the socio-political stage of the Muslim world. The fact that death came at the good old age of 79 makes the loss none the less great. Agha Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah — that was the deceased's full name — was the head of a small Muslim sect, Ismailiya, but his outlook and sympathies knew no sectarianism. It was, indeed, something inscrutable to many that a man of his intellectual calibre and cultural eminence should have at all donned the robe of a sectarian leadership, and submitted to the rituals associated with it.

The Agha Khan made a great contribution towards the educational and political advancement of Muslims in general, and his own Ismaili community in particular. The general high level of economic prosperity among his followers was also due to his solicitude and his organizing ability. The almost God-like awe in which his followers held him seemed to some somewhat out of date, and incongruous with the spirit of the times. But it only adds to his credit that he used that absolute sway over the minds of his people for the good and advancement of his followers. This gives him perhaps a unique position among the religious leaders of the day, who, by and large, exploit their followers' credulity for self-advancement. We wish and pray that his successor, as he grows in years, may also grow in wisdom, enlightenment and Islamic sympathies, of which his grandfather set such a high example, so that, in the fullness of years, the mantle may justly fit his shoulders.





Muar Mosque, Johore.



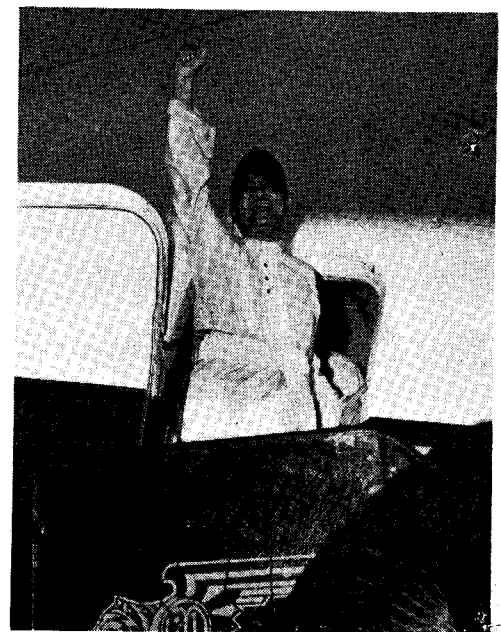
THE CAPITAL

The seat of the Government of the State, Johore Bahru, which is situated on the top of the capital of the State, Johore Bahru, of the Straits of Johore, to Singapore.

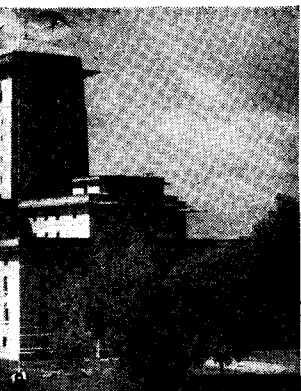
BELOW. Top left: The Sultan of Selangor, His Highness Sultan Sir Hisamuddin Alam Shah, b. 1898, enthroned 1938. Top right: The Sultan of Trengganu, His Highness Sultan Sir Ismail Nasiruddin Shah, b. 1907. Bottom left: The Sultan of Kelantan, His Highness Tengku, Sir Ibrahim, b. 1897, enthroned 1944. Bottom right: The Sultan of Kedah, His Highness Timku Sir Badlishah, b. 1894, enthroned 1943.



MALAYA S into INDEPENDENT



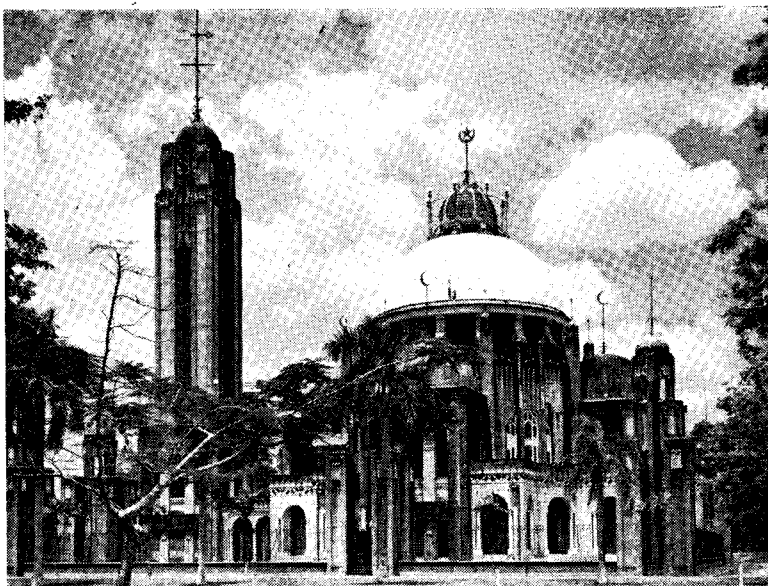
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*Klang Mosque in the State of
Selangor.*

CAPITAL

ment of the State of Johore,
top of a hill, overlooking the
e Bahru, and over the waters
e, to the nearby island of
gapore.



BELOW. Centre : His Highness the Sultan of Johore, Sultan Sir Ibrahim, b. 1873, enthroned 1895. Top left : The Ruler of Negri Sembilan, His Highness Tunku Sir Abdul Rahman, b. 1895, enthroned 1933. Top right : The Sultan of Pahang, His Highness Sultan Sir Abu Bakar Ri'ayatin'd-Din al-Mukzan Shah, b. —, enthroned 1932. Bottom left : The Sultan of Perak, His Highness Paduka Sir Sultan Sir Yussuf Izzuddin Shah, b. —, enthroned 1948. Bottom right : The Raja of Perlis, His Highness Syed Jutra, b. 1920, enthroned 1945.

STRIDES

to

NDENCE

*Left: Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister
of Malaya.*

*Below: Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil, the
Federation of Malaya's first High Com-
missioner to the United Kingdom.*

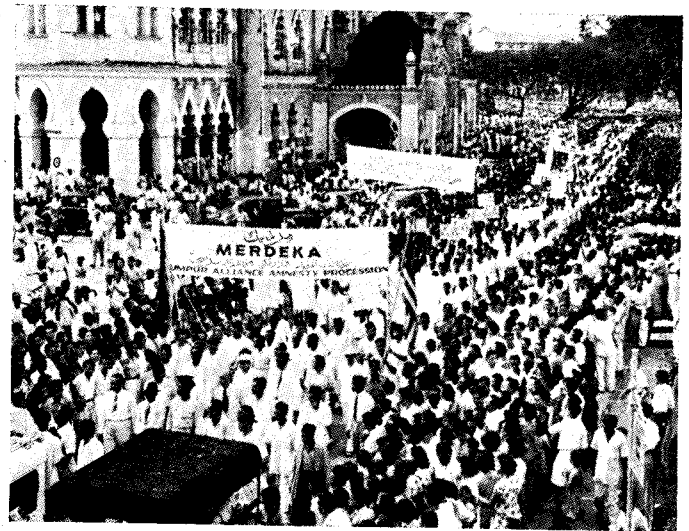


MALAYA

Another Muslim country gets Independence this month

Merdeka

A public demonstration in support of the Government's policy of offering amnesty to the Communist terrorists.



Merdeka

On the lips of every Malay you will hear the word *Merdeka*. It means "Independence". Malays are enthusiastically preparing to celebrate this day of great rejoicing, which will fall on the 31st August. This is the day when the Federation of Malaya will become the tenth sovereign nation of the British Commonwealth and a happy addition to the comity of independent Muslim nations. To Muslims all over the world, the emergence of Malaya as an independent Muslim State is a cause of great pleasure.

In January 1956 Tunku Abdul Rahman led a "Merdeka Mission" to London, where agreement was reached that Independence would be achieved on 31st August 1957. After *Merdeka*, Malaya will have a paramount ruler, elected by the nine sultans from one of themselves. The Chief Minister will become the Prime Minister and there will be a two-house legislature. The British Crown's sovereignty over Penang and Malacca will be withdrawn, the Settlements becoming States of the Federation.

At the tail end of Malaya the Crown Colony of Singapore, with its million people, mainly Chinese, is a problem to the Federation at the moment. In the natural order of things Singapore should be the Federation's big town and chief port, yet after 31st August the Federation will be independent and Singapore — for a time at least — less independent. The Federation can exist without Singapore, but Malaya's rubber and tin are vital to Singapore, and an eventual political reshuffle leaving them both in the same country will surely come in time.

Despite continuing jungle fighting Malaya is a happy land whose political, economic and social future promises well. "My dream," declared the Chief Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, "is to see Malaya a happy and prosperous country, to make it a centre of trade and commerce in South-East Asia and to have all the peoples here living in peace and harmony."

The people and the geography of the country

A word at this point to elucidate some terms which baffle the world at large. "Malay" means people of Malay stock as distinct from other ethnic groups. "Malayan" is a political term for a citizen of Malaya, irrespective of race. (There is no such thing as a Malayan race.) "Malaysian"

means people of the common stock to which Malays and Indonesians belong.

No country in the world has a multi-racial pattern comparable with Malaya's. The population is some 3,000,000 Malays, 2,500,000 Chinese, 75,000 Indians and Pakistanis, and nearly 100,000 other people—Europeans (mainly British), Eurasians, Ceylonese (Sinhalese and Jaffna Tamils), Siamese and Indonesians, not to mention several different types of aborigines.

The Malays have by far the longest recorded association with the country, the jungle-dwelling aborigines excepted; but the first immigration of Chinese was at least four hundred years ago, while Indian traders were in Malaya many centuries before that. Indian immigration in large numbers, however, is much more recent. As a Tower of Babel, Malaya has few equals. "Bazaar Malay" is the *lingua franca*, the Indians speak Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Urdu, while at least six different dialects of Chinese are in common use. Not one Malayan in ten thousand could read every shop sign in a Malayan street.

Politically, Malaya is a Federation of nine Malay States — Johore, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis and Perak — and the two British Settlements of Malacca and the Penang Island (the latter includes the Province Wellesley, a strip on the mainland). As each State and Settlement has its own government, and as there is a central government in Kuala Lumpur, the Federal capital, Malaya is the world's most-governed territory, for it is no larger than Florida, or England without Wales.

Since the States were federated in 1948 the political record has been one of steady constitutional advance through democratic elections from local to Federal level. The first General Election in 1955 was an overwhelming triumph for the United Malays National Organization, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress, who sank their communal differences to gain 51 out of 52 elected seats. The leader of the Alliance, Tunku (Prince) Abdul Rahman, became Chief Minister of the new government.

Progress towards self-government and independence has not been greatly delayed by the nine-year-old war against the Communists. In 1948 the Communists made a bid to seize the country by armed force, and since then a state of emergency has existed. Ten thousand strong then, the Com-

munists are now reduced to some 2,000 men skulking mainly in deep jungle. The mountainous jungle terrain makes this a slow, guerilla-type war, and the complete elimination of the Communists may take some time yet. They are no longer a threat to the country but still a considerable nuisance, costing much in manpower and money.

Malaya is situated between India and Indo-China and touches the tip of the Kra peninsula. It is tropical, rich, varied and polyglot. In short it is a land of contrasts. The climate alone is invariable, winter and summer, glittering sunshine making every day a high summer day. Four-fifths of the country is still virgin, and most of the economic development is west of the central mountain range.

The early records of Malaya reveal little beyond a confused story of intrigue, bloodshed and violence. The Portuguese seizure of Malacca in 1511 C.E. brought a European element into Malaya's history; but it was not until 1786, when the East India Company took possession of Penang as the result of an agreement with the Malay Sultan of Kedah, that modern history really began.

The modernization of the country may be said to date from 1874 C.E., when the Perak Sultan invited the British to establish law and order. A system was evolved whereby in time each Malay State had a British Resident whose advice the Sultan agreed to abide by on all matters other than Islam and the Malay customs.

Never at any time has Malaya been a British colony. But as a British-protected territory, its development on modern lines is largely the result of administration, trading and technological advance on the British model. Today the Federation of Malaya is by far the most advanced territory in South-East Asia, and its standard of living is appreciably high.

Malaya's economy

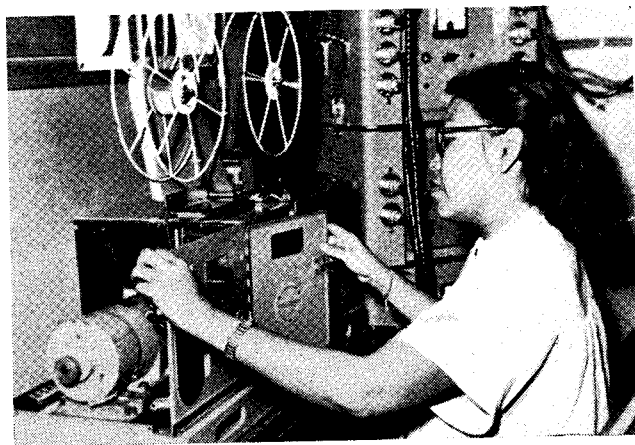
Fundamental to Malaya's economy are the two feast-or-famine industries of rubber and tin. Rubber is the Federation's major export and the industry is the chief employer of labour. Yet the foundations of these vast industries were laid



The sea front showing the Railway Station in Penang.

¹ The facts about Islam in Malaya have been taken from Richard Winstedt's book, *The Malays*, London 1950.

Malay women in the modern age.



Malay women have emerged from the Purdah to take part in service to the nation. Above, a woman sound operator "stands by" to record a sequence on a magnetic tape recorder at the Government's Malayan Film Unit at Kuala Lumpur.

only some seventy years ago, largely by the work and foresight of a former botanist of London's Kew Gardens, the late H. N. Ridley. Tin has been mined for centuries, but modern technology has greatly increased the output, and annually Malaya produces some 40 per cent of the world's tin. The Kinta Valley in Perak is the chief tin mining centre.

Other main industries include palm oil, pineapples, coconuts, fishing and rice. There is little heavy industry, but light industries are increasing rapidly in number and variety.

Islam in Malaya¹

In Malaya all the Malays have been Muslims for several centuries. Marco Polo in 1292 C.E. found Islam established by "Saracen" traders at Perlak, a little port on the north coast of Sumatra. Neighbouring districts like Samudra and Pasai also accepted this new faith imported by Indians, whose cosmopolitan novelty, apparent affluence and pharmacopoea of herbs and amulets had for the Indonesian the attraction that escapist tales of travel, spiritualism and science have had for Europe in recent times. A daughter of the ruler of Perlak married the first Muslim Sultan of Pasai, Malik al-Salih, who died in 1297 C.E. And by the middle of the fourteenth century of the Christian era Islam had reached the north of Malaya, as proved by the Trengganu stele with the first known Perso-Arabic script in the Malay world.

How Islam came to Malacca is set forth in the *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires, a Portuguese accountant, who wrote his book in Malacca and India in 1512-1515. It appears that in the time of Megat Iskandar Shah, the first ruler of Malacca, Javanese trade was largely diverted there from Pasai. "And some rich Moorish merchants moved from Pasai to Malacca, Parsis as well as Bengalis and Arabian Moors, for at that time there were a large number of merchants belonging to these three nations, and they were rich, with large businesses and fortunes . . . and they brought with them mollahs and priests learned in the sect of Muhammad. . . . Iskandar Shah was pleased with the said Moorish merchants and did them honour, giving them places to live in and a place for their mosques. . . . Trade began to grow greatly — chiefly because the said Moors were rich — and Iskandar Shah derived great profit and satisfaction from it and gave them jurisdiction over themselves. . . . And there were many Moors and many

mollahs who were trying hard to make the king turn Moor, and the king of Pasai greatly desired it. . . . At last, when he was seventy-two years old, the said King Iskandar Shah turned Moor, with all his house, and married the King of Pasai's daughter. And not only did he himself turn Moor, but also in the course of time made all his people do the same." Within half a century Malacca became a centre of Islamic studies, converted Pahang and the south of Malaya, saw Kedah embrace Islam and the rulers of Kampar, Indragiri and Siak in Sumatra, and despatched missionaries to Java and down to the Malay archipelago along every trade route.

The early missionaries of Islam found Hinduised courts, officials administering a system of Hindu and customary law, medicine-men looking to shaman *seance* and Hindu magic and astrology for the cure of disease and for their client's success in love and war. "Both men and women of Malacca," writes Tomes Pires, "are fond of mimes after the fashion in Java," revelling in the shadow-play with its repertoires from those favourite Hindu epics, the Mahabarta and Ramayana. This was the society which the Muslim missionaries had to confront and adopt methods to give the Malayan society an Islamic colouring. Hindu incantations were made unobjectionable by the introduction of the new confession of faith, acknowledging One God and Muhammad as His last prophet. The following is a typical example:

It is not I get rid of the evils of black magic,
It is Bataru Guru; it is the gods of the Hindu heaven,
It is seven deities of supernatural power.
Son of Batara Kala, grandson of Ganesa!
Descend and dispel all hazard and ill-luck,
Dispel them from the home of all the sons of Adam!
The sword of Vishnu is before my face.

If you enter, I will curse you with the words of the Prophet Solomon;

I will curse you with the creed, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet."

Malay women

Among the Malays women can hardly be described as an inferior sex, although immemorial superstition makes it rare for the unsophisticated to feed with their male folk. Even in a matter like the abolition of slavery, Raja Idris, afterwards Sultan of Perak, released the slaves who were his own personal property, but apologized for his inability to free slaves who were the personal property of his wife. The income, too, of a Muslim woman from her own property or settlements is independent of control by her husband. One of the features of peasant life in Kelantan that struck Dr. Raymond Firth when he was making his valuable study of the fish community there was "the freedom of the women, especially in economic matters. Not only do they exercise an important influence on the control of the family finances, commonly acting as bankers for their husbands, but they also engage in independent enterprises, which increase the family supply of cash".

Literature

Conversion to Islam brought a flood of Malay translations of works on Muslim jurisprudence, dogma and mysticism. One of the earliest books of morality is an unidiomatic rendering from Persian, done in 1603 C.E., and entitled *Taj al-Salatin*. An interesting work on Islam of the Middle Ages is *Kitab Sa-ribu Masa'alah*, or "Book of the Thousand

Questions", of which one copy has been printed at Mecca and another at Singapore by Malay editors from Trengganu and Kelantan. The existence in Malay of the fullest version of the first Arabic account of Islam that Europe got to know brings home to us vividly that Malay was one of the languages of Muslim culture. The work was written in Arabic as early as 963 C.E. and was translated into Latin at Toledo after 1085 C.E., when the Moors lost Spain for ever.

The twentieth century has been notable for the continued production of school books and for the development of Malay

Education



Students of the Women Teachers' Training College in Malacca in their college uniform on their way to attend a class in religious instruction.

journalism and of works of fiction, some of them original, most of them translations. Contact with European influences has not so far inspired the Malay as contact with the Hindu, Javanese in medieval Malacca, or Arab and Egyptian literature has inspired him.

Education—the key to progress

Malaya's rapid political progress towards independence has been accompanied by great eagerness for education. Not only has there been a demand for places in schools for children, but the Adult Education Movement has achieved great success in its campaign against illiteracy as well as in community development leadership courses. Under colonial rule more than half of Malaya's children could not be admitted to school. Since it came to power, the elected Alliance Government has implemented a national education policy, and beginning this year places have been provided for all children of school-going age, starting with the first year. Women and girls get equal opportunity for education — an important factor in the future progress of the nation.

Freedom of religion

With every one of the 3,000,000 Malays being Muslims, and the many other Muslims among the Indians, Pakistanis, Ceylonese, Arabs and Chinese, more than half of the Federation of Malaya's population are Muslims. Thus the new constitution of the independent Malaya has provided that Islam is the religion of the Federation of Malaya. This, however,

does not prevent the country being administered as a secular State. The freedom to propagate and practice all religions is also guaranteed in the constitution as a fundamental right. Churches and temples exist side by side with the thousands of mosques throughout the country.

The future

Malaya has a strong link with the Muslim world, especially through the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Every year thousands of Muslims from Malaya perform the Pilgrimage. In 1955 no less than 3,500 Muslims from Malaya met other Muslims from all over the world in Mecca. It is difficult to say at the moment what the actual shape of circumstances will be, but the Muslims offer their felicitations on the eve of Malaya's independence and sincerely pray for the prosperity of this new country.

Handicraft

Two Malay girls show their skill at the local handicraft of sarong weaving.



THE ORIGIN OF ISLAMIC POLITY

The Qur'an is a Mine of Precepts on the Organization of Human Society

By PROFESSOR HAROON KHAN SHERWANI

"And here we come to the great principle of toleration so well enunciated in the Qur'an. We must remember that this was still the seventh century of the Christian era, and the principle of toleration of religious belief was utterly unknown to the world, which was still to pass through the Crusades, the storm and stress of the wars in Germany and elsewhere, the Inquisitions in Spain, the forced conversions in Saxony . . . the Protestant and Catholic persecutions in England, centuries afterwards, while as we have already seen, the two great empires of Constantinople and Persia were just then doing all they could to enforce the homogeneity of religious belief. It was, therefore, something novel and startling in the history of political principles that the Qur'an should take variety of religious beliefs in a State almost for granted, and building from these premises, lays down for all time the magnificent ideal that there is to be 'no compulsion in religion'."

The magnitude of the task of the origin of Islamic polity is immense for a number of reasons. First, with a society like that of the ancient Arabs and a book like the Qur'an, it is very difficult to divorce the political concepts from others which went to make Arabia for a time the foremost country in the world. For after all, these nice distinctions between "political" and "non-political" factors are very modern and were quite unknown to those who lived centuries ago. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that although organization and discipline, which are the only means of attaining whatever liberty is possible, and which in ordinary parlance are called "Politics", go a long way towards the betterment of a society, still, after all, if this is removed from other factors in the life of a people, it is not enough to cover the background, and the picture produced thereby would be unread and mutilated. In view of the vastness of the subject, I shall confine myself, after enumerating the antecedents, to enunciating the Qur'anic doctrine of politics, and postpone a review of the Hadith literature on the subject to some future occasion.

Political system in Persia in the sixth century

Without trying to suggest any connection between the Qur'anic State and the political organization of the States which bordered on the peninsula of Arabia at the time of the prophetic mission of Muhammad, it will simplify understanding if we know something about them as well as about the political conditions of the Arabs themselves some time about the sixth century C.E. Arabia was then bordered on the north by two mighty empires, Persia and *Nova Roma*, or Byzantium. Persia had deeply affected the civilization of Western and Central Asia, while the Empire of Byzantium, or as it is sometimes called, the Eastern Roman Empire, was the direct descendant of ancient Greece and Rome. It will be interesting to know something of the organization of these empires and of that of Arabia, if only that we may grasp the similarities and dissimilarities which would not otherwise be easily discerned.

Persia has had a connected history dating back to hundreds of years before the dawn of the known history of

Greece and Rome, and from the very beginning it has given an example of great unity and centralization which seems so difficult of accomplishment in those far-off days. Here it will be sufficient to deal only with the condition of the country towards the end of the sixth century C.E. — say about the time of Khusru Anushirwan (531-579 C.E.). As was the case with nearly all primitive Aryan peoples, the Persians were divided among four absolutely distinct castes, the upper three being definitely separated from the fourth and lowest caste. The three highest castes consisted of priests and judges recruited exclusively from the tribe of the Magi, and were therefore called Magipets or Mobeds, the warriors and officials, while the fourth was composed of craftsmen and farmers. The outward symbol of political unity and organization was the *Shahinshah*, so called because he was the overlord not only of the provincial governors but also of such vassal princes as ruled the distant parts of the empire, such as Hira in Arabia. Among the highest aristocracy were the *Marzbans*, or the Wardens of the Marches, and the *Pahlavis*, who claimed the pure blood of the Arcasides and held the honorific offices of *Iran-spah-pad*, or the Generalissimo, and *Spah-pad*, or Commander of the Horse, with large fiefs, the usufruct of which went directly into their pockets without any definite duty being attached.¹ This formed the aristocracy of birth. The aristocracy of office was no less exacting. The so-called people consisted of free townsmen and serfs bound to the soil, who had to serve in the fields or in the army without pay or reward. These were entirely isolated and could never hope to be ranked even as *Dihqans* or townsmen, who enjoyed the use of their fiefs and from whom they were separated by impassable barriers. Above the headmen came the four great *Padgosphans*, or Viceroyes, who were probably in charge both of the civil and military administration of the four great divisions of the empire, corresponding to the four cardinal points. Above all this hierarchy, was the Imperial Cabinet, consisting, among others, of the *Hazarapet* (Grand Vizier), the *Mobidan-mobid* (Pontifex maximus), *Harbad* (Guardian of the Fire), *Dabirpad* (Chief Secretary), and the actual *Spah-pad* (Commander-in-Chief).

The *Shahinshah* formed the pivot of the administration. He was at once the embodiment of the people, the centre of the realm and the source from which all honour flowed. It was on very rare occasions that he showed himself in public and, whenever he did so, it was with great pomp and ceremony, magnificently dressed, a heavy crown suspended above his head from the roof by a golden chain, sitting on the golden throne, the imperial princes in charge of the great embroidered curtain which hid him from view till the time when the audience had the privilege of seeing him.

In early societies, conscious legislation is rare, and Persia was no exception; what little law-making was done had to be passed by the College of the Mobeds, the repositories of the old Mazdean religion, who were recruited from the ancient tribe of the Magi. To them also belonged the duty — perhaps the privilege — of imparting education, and it was they who fined those who transgressed the law. Crimes of apostasy and treason were punished with death, and frequent recourse was had to blinding, crucifixion, stoning and starvation. After the rise of Christianity, the votaries of the Cross were regarded as being specially marked for State vengeance, as they were more and more closely connected with the neighbouring and hostile State of Byzantium.

The taxes levied in Persia just before the advent of Islam have their counterpart in the early Caliphate. The principal tax was the land tax called the *Kharaj*, so much per measure of land, assessed on each canton according to the harvest,

and the amount to be levied divided equally among the population of the canton. This tax came to one-sixth to one-third of the gross produce. The other important tax was the *Gezit* (Arabic, *Jiziyah*), which was a fixed annual tax levied on the people in such a way that the highest classes paid most, and its burden fell heavily on those who did not or could not own landed property, such as the Jews and the Christians, and those of the rest of the population who were between twenty and fifty years of age. Apart from these two main taxes, it was customary to offer sums of money to the sovereign, especially on the occasion of the two equinoctial festivals.

It is remarkable that just before the birth of the Prophet in 570 C.E., the thrones of the two empires were occupied by men who have made a mark on the history of the world, i.e., by Khusru Anushirwan in Persia and Justinian (528-565 C.E.) in Constantinople.

Conditions in the Eastern Roman Empire at the time of the advent of Islam

Justinian had been dead five years after a reign of thirty-eight years at the time of the birth of the Prophet, and during the last forty years of the latter's life, the throne of Constantinople was occupied successively by Justin II (565-578 C.E.), Tiberius II (578-582 C.E.), Maurice (582-602 C.E.) and Phocas (602-610 C.E.), while Heraclius (610-621 C.E.) reigned all through the Medina period (622-632 C.E.).

It is surprising how all that was truly Roman had been swept away by that very class which chose to call itself Roman. Instead of the administration being in the hands of the "People" or their Senate, it was now composed of one solitary order dependant upon the will of the Emperor, and entirely distinct from the people. The people were themselves divided into a number of sub-castes, namely, (1) the Curule caste, consisting of landed proprietors, who could neither become soldiers nor traders; (2) the Tributary caste, which, like its prototype in Persia, consisted of those freemen who were not landed proprietors and who paid the capitation tax, and members of various guilds, the membership of which descended from father to son; and (3) the Military caste. But all these classes fell prey to the terrible policy of taxation, which proved to be the bane of the empire. As a writer of the subject says: "The cultivators of the soil were nothing but the instruments for feeding and clothing the Imperial court and army."² Not content with levying legal taxes, the Emperor often had recourse to presents which, at first voluntary, were later made regular sources of revenue.

The actual administration had become the household affair of the Emperor, and although nominally the Senate had been suffered to exist for some time and was not finally suppressed till the reign of Justinian, still, even before his time it had become an entirely effete and worthless body. At last Justinian, true to his barbarian origin, finally effaced all traces of the ancient political system and so organized the government that it was possible to mulct everything for the sake of the ornamentation of the Court. It is extraordinary that a large number of black deeds were committed by this man who is so well known as the codifier of the ancient law of Rome, and it is a historical fact that never in the annals of ancient Europe were the people more miserable than in the days of the lawgiver. "Freemen were sold, and in order to escape taxation, vineyards were rooted out and buildings were destroyed."³ It was a recurrent practice to confiscate

¹ This perhaps corresponds to the Mansabdars of the later Mughal Empire.

² Julian, *Orabb*, II, 92, quoted in Finlay: *History of Greece*, 1, 1281.

³ Finlay, *op. cit.*, I, 3, sect. 4.

the property of the wealthiest citizens in insolvent districts until they were utterly ruined. The great Justinian did not stop at that; in his time there was an open sale of offices, and orders were issued that payments were to be made either to the Emperor himself or to his wife, the Empress Theodora.

So far as toleration was concerned, there was none. Before the adoption of Christianity, it was the Christians who were persecuted, but after Christianity had become the faith of the Emperor, no stone was left unturned to root out classical learning, the Jewish faith and all that had a tinge of heresy against the personal religion of the Emperor. In 529 C.E., Justinian finally closed the schools of rhetoric and philosophy and confiscated all the property endowed for their support, shutting the doors of the Academy of Plato, the Lyceum of Aristotle and the Stoa of Zeno for ever. Theodosius, surnamed "the Great",⁴ had already abolished the Olympian Games, which had endured for a millennium, and by his time "thought was so much enslaved at Athens that no opinions were allowed to be taught except such as were allowed by a licence on behalf of the Imperial authorities". As an instance of the religious persecution in the Eastern Empire, I may mention the case of the patrician Phocas who poisoned himself in order to escape being converted to Christianity by force. A few years afterwards, another Phocas, the Emperor, ordered all the Jews of the Empire to be baptised, while his successor, Heraclius, although he ordered Phocas's hands and feet to be cut off before his final decapitation, was no friend of the Jews, for he banished them from Jerusalem and ordered them not to come within three thousand feet of the Holy City. The morals of the Empire were so decadent that the new Emperor's marriage with his own niece was celebrated by no less a person than the patriarch of Constantinople himself.

Such was the political condition of Persia and Eastern Rome about the third quarter of the sixth century, and a great historian of the Middle East, himself an outstanding upholder of the Greek tradition, thus summarizes the state of affairs: "There is perhaps no period of history in which society was so universally in a state of demoralization nor in which all the nations known to the Greeks and the Romans were so utterly destitute of energy and virtue as during the period which elapsed from the death of Justinian to the death of Mahomet".⁵ The Nemesis was bound to come, and "events which no human sagacity could foresee, against which no political wisdom could contend, and which the philosopher can only explain by attributing them to the dispensation of the Providence who exhibits in the history of the world the education of the whole human species, at last put an end to the existence of the Roman domination in the East".⁶

Political structure of the Arabian States at the time of the birth of Islam

We now turn to the land of Arabia, which was to serve as the cradle of the Islamic faith, and note its political condition at the time of the birth and ministry of the Prophet of Islam. The Arabs divided themselves into three main divisions: (1) the 'Arab al-Ba'idah, or the Hamitic colonies of the north; (2) the 'Arab al-'Aribah, or the Semitic descendants of Qahtan or Yaqtan, who very early superimposed themselves on the 'Arab al-'Aribah; and (3) the

'Arab al-Musta'rabah, the descendants of Abraham, who originally came from the north, settling down among the former. The 'Arab al-Ba'idah had long ceased to exist as a separate entity, and the peninsula had come to be divided among the other two sections of the population. The homeland of the Qahtanis was Yaman, in the south, while, as has been noted above, the Abrahamites came from the north. The Qahtanis, migrating northwards, occupied the Hijaz and Yemamah along with Yathrib, and moving further north, settled in Syria, founding the kingdom of Ghassan near Damascus about the beginning of the Christian era. This kingdom was soon dominated by the Eastern Roman Empire, its ruler becoming a Christian, and persisted till the time of the Caliph 'Umar (636 C.E.). Another branch of the Qahtanis went further north-east, settling near the ancient Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, founding the kingdom of Hira about 195 C.E. Like the sister State of Ghassan, this kingdom also could not remain independent for long, soon coming under the influence and suzerainty of Persia, and we actually read of a king of Hira, Mundhir by name (c. 418-462 C.E.), who received the high title of "Mihisht" or "Greatest" from the *Shahinshah*. About forty years before the birth of Muhammad, Abu Qabus Nu'man of Hira tried to become independent but failed, and at last the kingdom was absorbed in the Persian Empire by Khusru II in 610 C.E.⁷

It will thus be seen that these two monarchies of Ghassan and Hira were too insignificant and subservient to make a mark on the administrative history of the country. Eastern Central Arabia fared no better, for its Yamanites also passed under Persian suzerainty, though, being distant from the centre of Persian culture, they could exercise greater autonomy. The far south, the homeland of the Qahtanis, was in the throes of a war of independence with its neighbour, the Negus of Abyssinia, a quarrel which arose out of the religious animosity of the Christian Abyssinians and the Jewish kin of the Yaman, Yusuf dhu Nawas, about 529 C.E. Fortune wavered between the two parties, the Abyssinians annexing the land with Byzantine help, then Persia helping the Yamani, Seyf Ibn dhi Hazan Humairi, in driving them out. After Seyf's death, his son, Ma'di Karab, succeeded him, again with Persian help, and it is interesting to note that one of the envoys sent from different parts of Arabia to congratulate the new king on his accession was 'Abd al-Muttalib of the Meccan Republic, the grandfather of the Prophet of Islam.

Semitic tribes in general, and the Arabs in particular, have had a strong sense of individuality almost from times immemorial, and with them it is not the family but the individual and the tribe itself which counts. The social structure of the Arabs was founded on blood-relationship and, as in ancient Greece, each family had its own god, so the members of each Arab tribe were united by the worship of a common divinity. With them genealogy rather than the national sense were all-important, so that each clan and tribe had its own patronym, a common ancestor, from whom all the male and female members were supposed to have descended. This society might be said to be patriarchal in that here descent was counted only through males, and that the head of the tribe was the Shaikh (literally, the Elder), who was perhaps regarded as the wisest man of the tribe, but we must also remember that this Shaikh was not originally a hereditary officer but was chosen spontaneously on the death of his predecessor in office, although in the course of time the dignity tended to become hereditary. He was by no means the prototype of the Roman *paterfamilias* and had no such authority as the Roman *patria potestas*, but was, on the other hand, more a mediator and a peacemaker, so that "he could

⁴ Finlay, *op. cit.*, 3, sect. 11.

⁵ Finlay, 4, sect. 2.

⁶ Finlay, 4, sect. 1.

⁷ Khusru II reigned 590-628 C.E. A fairly connected account of Ghassan and Hira is given in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, London, 1858, Vol. I, ch. 3.

only negotiate and apply moral pressure”⁸ on the recalitrants. He had, no doubt, a very great authority, but supreme power he had none, and in the absence of a definite system of law, much was left to the caprice of the individual. What political relations there were between tribe and tribe were based only on the sense of morality of the parties, and as the Arabs had a very strong sense of honour there was a never-ending series of inter-tribal feuds. Like the ancient Greeks, the Arabs also had country fairs, such as those at Dumat al-Jandal, Hajar, ‘Amman, Hadramaut, Sana’a and Akad (near Mecca), but far from creating any feeling of oneness, they actually accentuated the political differences between the various groups. It is significant that not one of the Arab States enumerated above was independent, being under the suzerainty of Persia, the Byzantine Empire or Abyssinia, and it was not in them but in the multifarious tribes mainly of Western Arabia that the Arab independence was to be seen. “It is well to bear this in mind, and so estimate, *quantae molis erat romanam condere gentem*, what amount of labour

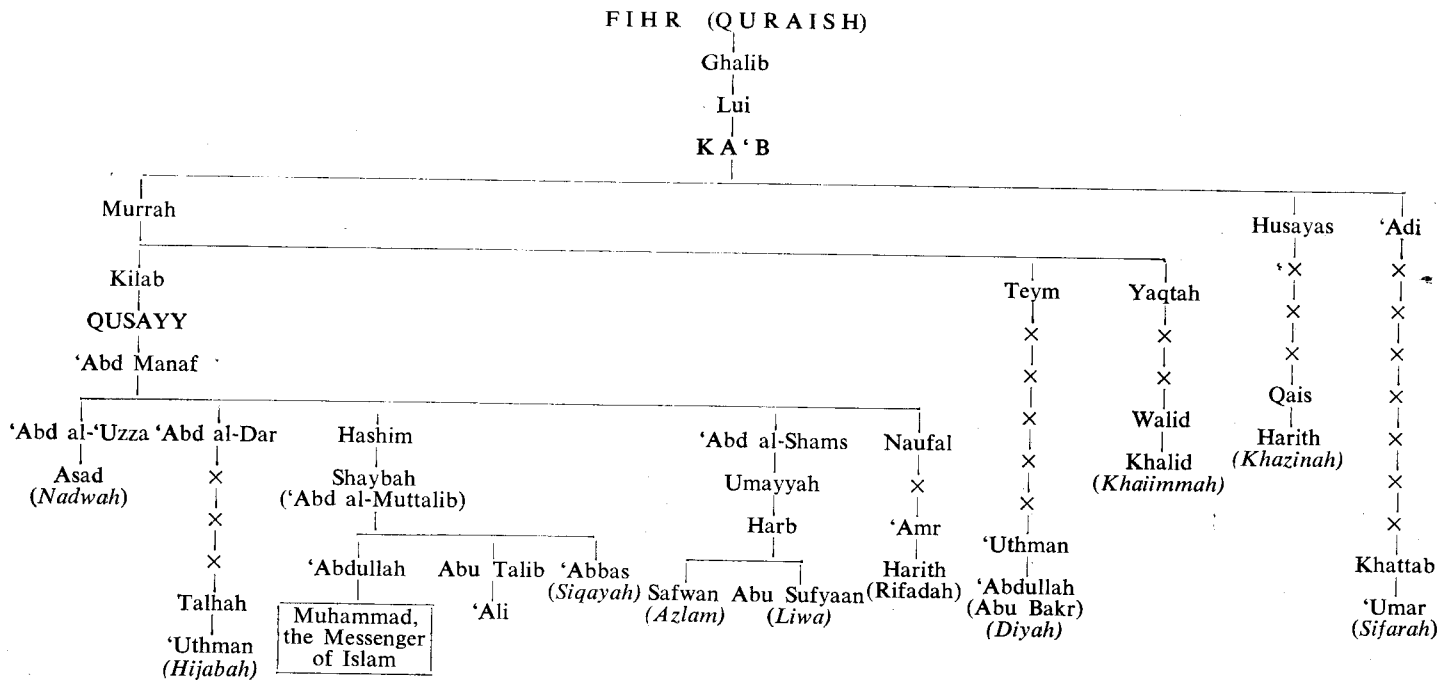
poor pilgrims at the time of the annual congregation at Mina, a short distance from Mecca ;

(4) The *Siqayah*, or administration of the wells, so important to the people of Arabia ; and,

(5) The *Hijabah*, or the custody of the keys of the Ka’bah, emblematic of the trusteeship of the ancient temple and the supervision of ancient worship.

After the death of Qusayy, about 480 C.E., there was a protracted squabble for the division of these important functions among his descendants, entailing constant transfers, till, about the beginning of the seventh century C.E., these stood redivided and redistributed among the descendants of Ka’b, who was fourth in descent from Quraysh.¹⁰ I give an account of this distribution, because the names of some of the office-bearers are writ large in the annals of Islam itself :

(1) ‘Umar Ibn Khattab, of the line of ‘Adi, had charge of the *Sifarāt* or representation of Quraysh with other tribes or States.



was required to create a stable system of law independent of the individual”.⁹

Mecca had been the appanage of the Yamani family of the Jurhumites, who held sway there till the third century C.E. They were succeeded by the Qahtani Banu Khuza’ah, who became masters of Mecca and Southern Hijaz. These were in turn driven out by Qusayy, who was descended in the fourth generation from Fihr, surnamed Quraish, the progenitor of the famous tribe of that name. Qusayy administered Mecca in a very scientific manner, dividing the government into five departments, namely :

(1) The *Daru al-Nadwah*, where sat the Nadwah, or Senate, the consultative assembly to which members of the ruling family and citizens over forty years of age were admitted ;

(2) The *Liwa*, or banner, emblem of the ruler’s military prowess ; this was given by him to commanders of the army in time of war ;

(3) The *Rifadah*, a poor-rate levied chiefly for feeding

(2) Harith Ibn Qais, of the line of Husays, had charge of the *Khazinah* or public treasury and finance.

(3) The remaining eight functions were divided among the descendants of the second son of Ka’b, named Murrah, as follows :

(a) *Khaimmah*, or the guardianship of the Council Chamber and the right of convening the Council and calling the people to arms ; this belonged to Khalid Ibn Walid ;

(b) The *Diyat*, or Magistracy, belonged to ‘Abdullah Ibn ‘Uthman, later known as Abu Bakr ; and

(c) All the other functions belonged to the descendants of Qusayy, Murrah’s grandson and the liberator of Mecca from Banu Khuza’ah. His own grandson, Asad Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzza, was the President of the

⁸ J. Wellhausen in *History of the World*, ch. 8, p. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Distribution of governmental functions about the time of Muhammad.

Nadwah and the fountainhead of government, 'Uthman Ibn Talhah was in charge of the Hijabah and thus guardian of the keys of the Ka'bah, 'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib was in charge of the *Siqayah* or superintendence of the water supply, the *Rifadah* or poor-rate was supervised by Harith Ibn 'Umar of the line of Naufal, while the last of the two dignitaries, i.e., the *Liwa* or the right to command the Quraysh troops, and the *Azlam* or the charge of the divining arrows, were held by the two brothers Abu Sufyan and Safwan, the grandsons of Umayyah.

It was the established custom that the most aged of these magistrates was called Ra'is, but after 'Abd al-Muttalib's death there was really no one who could be regarded as having any kind of supremacy over all others.

Muhammad, who was to revolutionize human ideals, was born of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib and his wife Aminah a few weeks after the unsuccessful attack on Mecca by Abraham al-Ashram; his father died before his birth and not long afterwards he was deprived of his worldly protectors by the death of his mother and his grandfather. After 'Abd al-Muttalib's death, the political affairs of Mecca became very serious, and the acute rivalry between the different branches of the house of Ka'b resulted in constant strife between the magistrates and a state of utter lawlessness in the streets, which increased as years passed by. It was not really till 'Abd al-Muttalib's grandson had grown to manhood that the leaders of the Quraysh were persuaded, at his instance, to enter into an agreement so that the lives and property of the people might be safe. This was the famous *Hilf al-Fudul*,¹¹ a league formed in 595 C.E. for the protection of the inhabitants of Mecca, native and foreign, from their oppressors. A few years afterwards we again hear of him checking the machinations of the Byzantines who had bribed an Arab, 'Uthman Ibn Huweyrih, to try and conquer Mecca. The last fact worth alluding to here, which shows the great foresight and tact of the man who had thus kept the Meccan society together after his venerable grandfather's death, occurred at the time of the rebuilding of the Ka'bah, and the well-known episode¹² shows the great influence and the decisive voice which he had already acquired before the earliest revelation of the Qur'an came to him at the age of forty.

A brief sketch of the political life of the Prophet Muhammad

We have come to a point where it will be possible to deal with the essence of the Qur'anic polity and, without actual comparisons, we shall now be able to appreciate the development of world-politics as evinced in the Qur'an. As already stated, I must leave undiscussed the tremendous amount of Hadith literature at our disposal. The Qur'an

itself contains precepts and orders, sometimes detailed, sometimes terse, always full of historical allusions. I propose to deal mainly with the political aspect of the Book, and at the same time, where there is an historical allusion, to explain the text with reference to some other dependable authority.

As a prelude to this a very brief sketch of the political life of the Prophet from the time of the first revelation to his death twenty-three years later seems necessary. He was already forty when that remarkable verse, the one in which he, an illiterate man, was asked to "read", and in which man's low origin and the importance of learning, the source of human exaltation, is so well depicted,¹³ was revealed in a desert cave two miles from Mecca. Knowledge of things with the exposition of the principles of nature was to be the keynote of the Qur'an, the burden of all its precepts being that by them are "revealed" to man the inner secrets of the eternal law of the universe, and it is perhaps with this thesis in view that the way of life as depicted in the Qur'an is said to be both "ancient" and "immutable".¹⁴

The underlying principles of the Islamic State can be discerned in the famous pledges of 'Aqabah in 620 and 622 C.E. One is amazed to find that the first of these important pledges was taken by a handful of men, just twelve in number, who paid homage to the Prophet in a lonely place outside the walls of Mecca — a friendless man, sitting under a thorn-tree, the small group placing their hands in his and taking a vow that they would follow the path of universal Immutable Law, that they would worship no deity except God, they would not steal nor commit adultery, nor kill their offspring, nor calumniate and slander anyone, and would be loyal in happiness and in sorrow.¹⁵

Herein is couched the germ of the personal purification, social reform and strong legal action which were to follow in full force; and in the second pledge two years later there is definite promise to obey and, if need be, to defend the Prophet in everything, he, on his part, declaring that their interests and his were identical.¹⁶ The same year, harassed and tormented by the Meccans, the small body of Muslims, with their Teacher, moved to Yathrib, henceforward called the City of the Prophet, or shortly, the City, *al-Madinah*, there to lay the foundation of that great brotherhood of Islam which knows no racial, linguistic or geographical distinctions, by the masterly institution of the *Mu'akhaat*, under which each immigrant from Mecca (*Muhajir*) was to be *in locum fraternalis* — like a brother — to one of the Helpers (*Ansar*) of Medina.¹⁷

In Medina the Muslims had to deal with the native Jews; the infant State had not only to take account of them but to protect them as well as the Muslims of the city; and the great foresight and political acumen of the Prophet is to be seen in the Charter he granted to the Jews in which, among other things, it was declared that they were to be as much citizens of the new State as the Muslims, that the two branches of the men of Yathrib would form one composite nation, that the guilty would be punished whatever their faith, that both would be called upon to defend the State when need arose and that "all future disputes would be decided by the Messenger of God".¹⁸

(TO BE CONTINUED)

11 *Vide*, Ibn Hisham, Vol. I. Part 1, Wustenfeld edit., Goettingen, 1858, p. 85.

12 This refers to the quarrel over the lifting of the famous "Black Stone" and the arbitration of the young man who was destined to be the Messenger of God.

13 The Qur'an, 96: 1, *et seq.*: "Read in the name of thy Lord who creates — creates man from a clot. Read and thy Lord is most generous. Who taught by pen, taught man what he knew not."

14 The Qur'an, 30: 30: "So set thy face for religion, being upright, the nature made by God in which He has created men. There is no altering God's creation. That is the right religion."

15 Ibn Hisham.

16 Ibn Hisham, p. 293.

17 Ibn Hisham, p. 344.

18 Ibn Hisham, p. 341.

STRIFE IN THE HOLY LAND

The essence of the problem

The essence of the problem, which overshadows and underlies every one of its manifestations, is the change which has overtaken the status of Palestine.

Until the end of the First World War, Palestine was an indistinguishable part of the surrounding Arab World. It was — and had been for hundreds of years — thoroughly Arab. Over 90 per cent of its population was Arab. There were less than 60,000 Jews in Palestine, who owned less than 3 per cent of the land. In language and dialect, in culture and customs, in aspirations and hopes, the overwhelming majority of the people of Palestine was indistinguishable from the peoples of the neighbouring Arab lands.

Thirty years later, however, the situation had changed beyond recognition.

By the end of 1948, the State of Israel had come into being in Palestine. It had come to occupy more than 80 per cent of the territory of the Holy Land. In the process of coming into being, the State of Israel squeezed out of Palestine, and forcibly expelled from their homes, a million Arabs, who have since then been refugees living outside the area occupied by Israel and barred by Israel from returning to their ancestral homeland. In their place, about 1,000,000 aliens — Jews from seventy different countries — were induced to come into Israel. The private and public property of the Palestinian Arabs was promptly confiscated — without compensation of any kind — and handed over to the newcomers. The Arabs who remained in Israeli-occupied territory, a tiny fraction of the original Arab population, were turned overnight into a persecuted and voiceless minority.

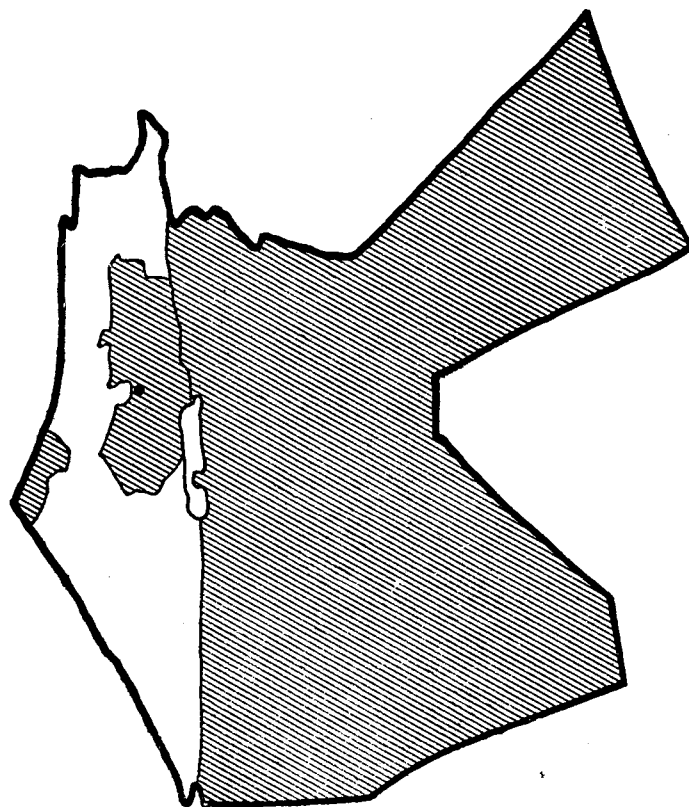
Thus, by the end of the third decade after the Palestine Problem was brought into being, a total displacement of the Arab people of Palestine had occurred. This is the Arab-Israeli Conflict, the very essence of the Palestine Problem : the disposition of an entire people, and the radical change of status of a whole country.

How did it all come about?

How did this change in the status and population of Palestine come about ?

It did not take place with the consent of the rightful inhabitants of the country, but forcibly and against their will.

Nor did it take place peacefully — by purchase of land and voluntary evacuation of population. From the end of the First World War, when the problem started, until 1948, when Israel confiscated the property of the expelled Arabs, the Zionist Jews had purchased less than 4 per cent of the land of Palestine : according to the figures reported by the British Mandatory Government of Palestine to the United



The map on this page (in the shaded areas) shows the additional territories which Zionism and Israel covet as compared with those already occupied by Israel.

Nations, Zionist Jews purchased since 1920 only 938,365 out of the 26,320,000 dunums which comprised the total land area of Palestine.

The radical change in the status of Palestine was the result of a forceful, determined effort of a world-wide movement, the *Zionist Internationale*, which manipulated the wills of governments, exploited the humanitarian sentiments of peoples, and utilized a wide range of legal and illegal means to occupy the Holy Land.

The process of occupying Palestine by Zionism passed through two major stages :

First Stage: Piecemeal Invasion

From the beginning of the British occupation of Palestine during the First World War, an organized movement of Zionist immigration into the Holy Land was set in motion.

On the basis of a wartime promise given to Zionism by the British Government (which was one of three conflicting and incompatible promises made by that Government during the war, and which was made without the consent or the knowledge of the inhabitants of Palestine), Zionist bodies organized an "immigration and settlement programme" for the vanguard of the Zionist State. While they managed to buy but a tiny fraction of the land—less than 4 per cent—they succeeded in bringing into Palestine close to half a million immigrants. At first the British Government had maintained an "open-door policy", permitting all applying immigrants to come in ; but, when the immigration had reached such large proportions, and the fears and opposition of the Arabs had become more articulate and vehement, the British sought to limit the flow of Zionist immigration.

Towards the end of the British Mandate, more immigrants were entering Palestine *illegally* than *legally*.

The rapidly-expanding Zionist community in Palestine segregated itself within the country, boycotted the Arab community enveloping it, and turned itself into what the British Government termed "*a State within a State*." It had its own schools and system of education, its own trade unions, its own economic institutions, its own central and local political structure, and its own *clandestine military and para-military forces*.

By the early forties, their beach-head in Palestine had become so entrenched and secure that the Zionists were emboldened to clamour for a State of their own in the country. In the face of British opposition and Arab rejection, the Zionists staged their revolt of 1945-46. A "reign of terror" ensued.

In April 1947, Britain, thus faced with Zionist insurrection and continued Arab hostility in Palestine, decided to turn the Palestine Problem over to the fledgling United Nations. Since that time, the United Nations has been—and still is—seized with this Problem; and the advent of the United Nations into the Palestinian scene heralded the second phase of the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

Second Stage: Military Invasion

The United Nations, lacking precedent and devoid of experience at that early stage in its history, decided to follow the easier course of trying to satisfy everybody. A plan to partition Palestine into an Arab State, a State of Israel, and an International State around Jerusalem, was adopted by the General Assembly—with the added provisions that the Arab inhabitants of the area awarded to Israel should be permitted to continue to live in their homes and to enjoy their fundamental rights and basic liberties; that the three States should be linked together by an Economic Union; and that these new political entities should come into being two months after the withdrawal of the British forces from Palestine, which was scheduled to be completed by 15th May 1948.

This plan was declared to be an indivisible and final settlement for the Palestine Problem.

On the first two votes, the plan failed to receive the endorsement of two-thirds of the voting members; but it was adopted on the third ballot.

The Arabs of Palestine viewed it as a high-handed and unjust infringement upon their inalienable right to self-determination.

The Arab States, members of the United Nations, declared that the General Assembly was exceeding its legal rights and powers, under the Charter, in deciding to create a State for one people on another people's land; and they voted against it.

The Zionists, while professing to accept the decision, complained loudly that it fell far short of their wishes.

In Palestine itself, the announcement of the United Nations' decision only served to add fuel to an already inflammable situation. The discord of thirty years became more intense and violent. Bloodshed and strife, which had characterized the Palestinian scene for three decades, flared up anew with added vehemence.

While the United Nations was moved by these events to reappraise its earlier wishful opinions that its "solution" would be implemented peacefully, and, under the leadership of the United States, began to re-examine the Palestine Problem afresh, the Zionist community in Palestine decided to take matters into its own hands, and to face the United Nations with an irreversible, accomplished fact.

In March and April of 1948, while British forces were still in Palestine, the Zionist forces launched an aggressive campaign on Arab cities and towns — occupying them and forcing their population out. Wholesale massacres of the Arab inhabitants of some villages — such as Dair Yaseen, Salahaddin, Saffouriya, Ain-az-Zeitoun and others — took place in April, causing the mass flight of hundreds of thousands of Arabs.

Some of the cities and towns attacked and occupied by the Zionist forces at this time—such as Jaffa and Acre—fell in the portion of Palestine which had been earmarked by the United Nations for the Arab State; others in the area allotted to Israel.

The Arabs of Palestine, in the meantime, were appealing to the Governments of the neighbouring Arab States for help and protection. The Arab Governments, however, did not intervene while internal security in Palestine was still the responsibility of the British Government. They did not send their armies into Palestine for the protection of the lives and property of their fellow-Arabs until the British forces completed their withdrawal and left the country without any recognized authority responsible for, or capable of, maintaining internal security. This was in mid-May 1948.

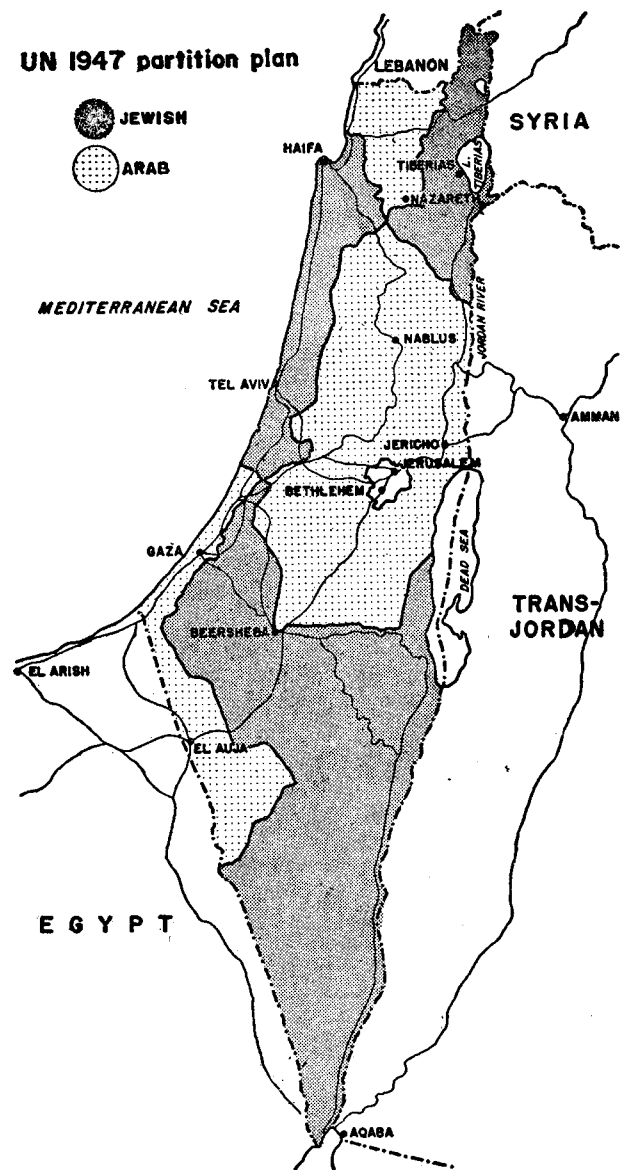
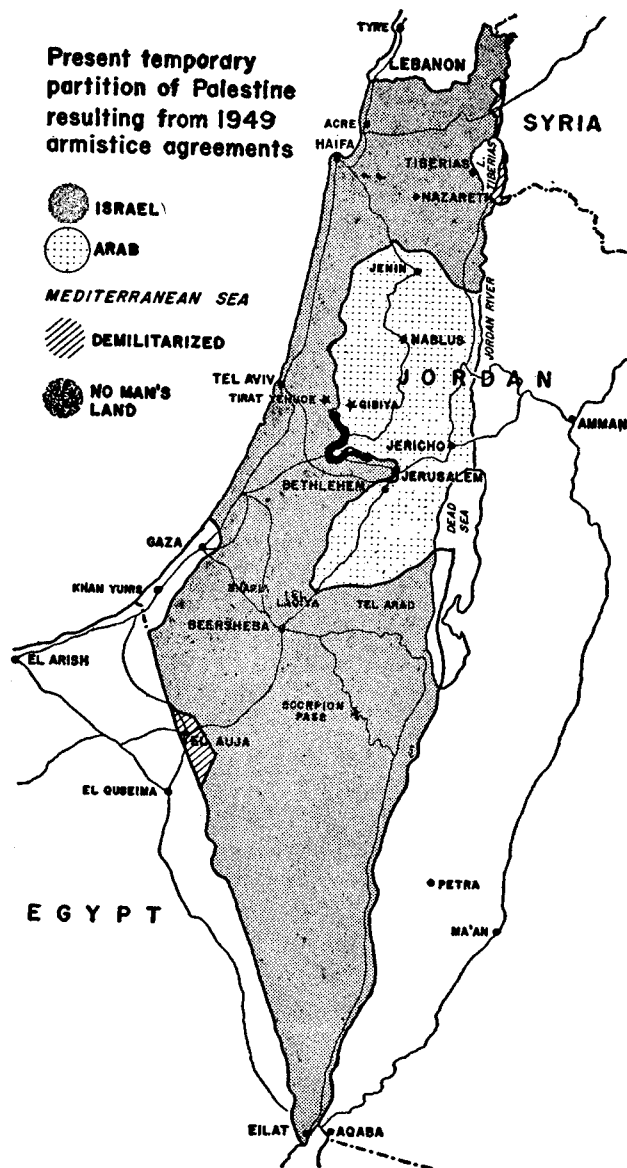
On the same day, the Zionist community proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel—two months ahead of the schedule fixed by the United Nations.

At this juncture, the war which Palestinian Zionists had waged on the cities and towns of Palestinian Arabs entered a new phase. The Zionist forces, re-inforced by "volunteers" from 55 different countries, were now fighting under the flag of the new State against the forces sent into Palestine by the neighbouring Arab Governments.

Within a week, the Security Council issued an order for a truce. This was followed by another order a week later. The fighting was three weeks old when the truce went into effect. When fighting was resumed after the expiration of the cease-fire period, an indefinite cease-fire was ordered by the Security Council. This remained in effect until mid-1949, when Israel and the Arab States signed Armistice Agreements. But, during the second half of 1948, the cease-fire was broken several times, only to be restored each time by a new order from the Security Council and after the annexation by Israel of new territories, in defiance of the terms of the ten cease-fire orders, which provided that no party shall gain military or political advantage during the cease-fire through a breach of truce.

The Armistice Agreements halted actual warfare and drew up provisional demarcation lines separating the opposing armies; but they did not settle, nor did they purport to settle, any of the political issues. Such political settlement was left to the parties to work out, through the good offices of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, which was established for that purpose. Under the auspices of the Commission, discussions were held in April and May of 1949 — and they resulted in an agreement which was signed by the Arab States as well as Israel on 12th May 1949. In this agreement, known as the Protocol of Lausanne, the Arab States and Israel announced their acceptance of the boundaries set by the United Nations in the Partition Resolution of 29th November 1947, the internationalization of Jerusalem, and the return of the Arab refugees to their homes.

Progress towards this agreement paved the way or the admission of Israel into the United Nations. But, as soon as it was admitted to membership of the World Organization, Israel repudiated the terms of the Protocol of Lausanne, and came to insist — as it had been insisting since then — that the final settlement of the problem be based on the status



quo, not on the United Nations formula. Hence the political deadlock in Palestine since mid-1949.

Blueprint vs. Reality

As it emerged in mid-1949, Israel differed sharply from the image of Israel which the United Nations had in mind when it decided to establish that State.

Its area exceeded by more than 40 per cent the area of the part of Palestine allotted for Israel by the United Nations.

The part reserved for the Arab State was truncated and mutilated to such an extent that only two isolated pockets remained under Arab authority; and thus the Arab State was prevented from coming into being in what was left of Palestine, for the areas remaining outside Israel's reach were lacking in contiguity as well as devoid of viability.

Jerusalem, designed to be internationalized and

administered directly by the United Nations under the Trusteeship System, has been defiantly "Israelized" — occupied by the Israeli forces and declared the capital of the State.

The former Arab inhabitants of the Israeli-occupied areas, having been forcibly expelled from their homes and barred from re-entry, are now idle refugees.

And the Arabs who remained under Israeli jurisdiction have been subjected to multiform discrimination, persecution and indignity and reduced to "second class citizens".

Thus, in every respect and from the standpoint of every essential element of statehood — boundaries and territory, capital, population, and policy towards its minorities — the State of Israel as it exists today is radically at variance with its own "birth-certificate", and sharply dissimilar to the image of Israel envisaged by the United

Nations. Indeed, it is a continuous violation, rather than a product, of the very Partition Resolution which brought it into being.

A million Arabs rendered homeless

One million Palestinian Arabs — men, women and children, Muslims and Christians — live today outside the areas occupied by Israel, outside their homes and property, outside their ancestral land.

They were terrorized and forcibly expelled from their towns and villages in the turbulent early months of 1948, when Zionist forces launched their undeclared war against the Arab community of Palestine, and during the Arab-Israeli hostilities and the subsequent cease-fire.

At its first session after their expulsion, the U.N. General Assembly called upon Israel — on 11th December 1948 — to permit the repatriation of these refugees “at the earliest practicable date”, and to compensate those refugees who might choose not to return to their homes for their property. It has re-affirmed this injunction at every session it has held since 1948, in nine successive resolutions.¹

Notwithstanding these unequivocal decisions of the United Nations, Israel has continued to prevent the repatriation of the refugees and has as yet failed to make any plans for compensating them.

In the meantime, they have been living on international charity — administered to them by a United Nations Agency at the rate of 7 cents per day per person.

The Agency has reported to the General Assembly, every year since it was established, that the “overwhelming majority” of the refugees insist on exercising their inalienable right to return to their homes, and that they therefore refuse to accept any plan for resettlement, whether provisional or permanent.

While it has released a portion of the bank accounts and deposits which the refugees had left in Palestinian banks now under Israeli authority, the Government of Israel has enacted legislation empowering itself to confiscate, seize, control, register in its own name, and sell, lease or otherwise dispose of the property of the Arab refugees — which the United Nations estimated at about 80 per cent of the territory under Israeli jurisdiction.

Arab “ghettoes” in the “Jewish” State

A relatively small number of Palestinian Arabs remained in their homes when the Arab majority was squeezed out.

They enjoy no equality with Jewish Israelis before the law. Alone in the State, they live under a burdensome military law, which abridges their civil rights and curtails their freedom. Under this martial law, their property is subject to confiscation by sheer administrative fiat.

They are not permitted to travel from town to town, or from village to village, without a special permit issued by the Military Governor of the area in which they live. The Nationality Law of Israel denies them citizenship on an equal footing with other residents — *even newcomers*. Whereas

Israeli citizenship is conferred automatically upon Jews, many special qualifications are required of “others” before they are considered eligible to obtain citizenship.

Although they are represented in Parliament, they have less than half of their proper share in the seats of the legislature. They have only six deputies in the 120-man Parliament (i.e., 5 per cent of the seats), while they constitute more than 11 per cent of the population.

Their children have no equal access to schools and educational facilities. According to official Israeli statistics, only 6.5 per cent of the student-body of Israel are Arabs, although the Arab residents of Israel compose more than 11 per cent of its population. The higher the level of education, the more apparent this disparity becomes. At the university level there are only 72 Arab students, as compared with 4,500 Jewish students.

Arabs in Israel are subject to arbitrary deportation. In the early years of the Armistice régime, about 10,000 of these Arabs were summarily deported from the Demilitarized Zones; and, in October and November 1956 over 700 more were deported into Syria.

Arabs are set apart from the Jewish residents of Israel by a degrading symbol of discrimination: the letter “B” stamped on their identity cards singles them out as “second class” citizens.

And finally, several pogroms have been perpetrated among them by the Israeli Army and Police Force. The most notable instances were the Kfar Qassim massacre (where, according to a statement made before Parliament by Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion, 48 Arabs were mowed down by police officers on 29th October 1956), and the massacres in Khan Yunis and Fafah on 3rd and 12th November 1956 respectively (where 386 Arabs were killed by the Israeli Army after the Gaza Strip was occupied by Israeli forces).

Jerusalem: for all mankind or only for Israel?

The revered city of Jerusalem has been a subject of international concern for centuries. In the Partition Resolution of the General Assembly, to which Israel owes its existence, Jerusalem was set aside and given a separate international status of its own, in order that it might be outside the sovereignty of Israel as well as of the proposed Palestinian Arab State. But Israeli forces entered and occupied the greater part of it during the cease-fire, and in violation of the truce.

At the first session it held after the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, the General Assembly reaffirmed its earlier decision to internationalize the Holy City.

The Assembly went back to the question of Jerusalem a year later. In view of Israel's continued non-compliance with the two preceding decisions, the Assembly issued a third call for the international control and administration of the Holy City. Noting that Israel had started to move some of its ministries from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the Assembly also warned that such “accomplished facts” would not swerve the world body from its determination to administer the International City.

Four days later, Israel moved its parliament to Jerusalem. This move immediately prompted the United Nations Trusteeship Council — then drafting an International Statute for Jerusalem — to censure Israel for its calculated defiance of the decisions of its mother-organization.

Israel's reply came thirty-four days later. It proclaimed Jerusalem its capital. And it announced that this status would

¹ There are thus on the books of the United Nations ten resolutions calling for immediate repatriation of all refugees choosing to return to their homes in Israeli-held territory, and for compensation. These are the resolutions of 11th December 1948 (para. 11); 8th December 1949 (para. 1 of Preamble and para. 5); 2nd December 1950 (para. 4); 14th December 1950 (para. 1 of Preamble and para. 2); 26th January 1952 (para. 2); 6th November 1952 (paras. 1 and 4 of Preamble); 27th November 1953 (para. 1 of Preamble and para. 1); 4th December 1954 (paras. 1 and 3 of Preamble and paras. 1 and 2); 3rd December 1955 (paras. 1 and 4 of Preamble and para. 2); and 28th February 1951 (para. 5 of Preamble and paras. 3, 4 and 5).

apply to Jerusalem retrospectively — i.e., as of 15th May 1948.²

Bulging boundaries

The area of the portion of Palestine that the United Nations gave over to Israel was approximately 5,600 square miles. The area of the territories occupied by Israel today is 8,048 square miles. Thus, the area of the territories held by Israel today exceeds by about 40 per cent the area of the territories given to Israel by the United Nations.

This territory was annexed in three stages :

- (1) Some parts were annexed before the withdrawal of the British forces and the establishment of Israel as a State, in mid-May 1948. Zionist forces grabbed these parts from their Arab inhabitants, whom they expelled at the same time. The armies of the Arab governments had not yet entered Palestine when this happened. Ben Gurion once spoke of how, on 14th May 1948, when the State of Israel was established, it had already been “made larger and Jewish” by its armed forces.
- (2) The remainder — including Jerusalem — was seized during the cease-fire and before the Armistice, through successive breaches of the truce and thrusts into Arab territory.
- (3) Under the Armistice — since mid-1949 — Israel seized, remilitarized and controlled the Demilitarized Zones, which were established in the Armistice Agreements as no-man’s-land.

Far from acquiescing in Israel’s territorial aggrandizement, the United Nations has opposed it in different forms on some two dozen occasions :

- (1) The occupation of new territories during the cease-fire was declared by the Security Council to be devoid of juridical validity, before as well as after it took place, in the ten cease-fire orders made by the Council — on 22nd and 29th May, 7th and 15th July, 19th August, 19th October, 4th and 16th November and 29th December 1948, and 11th August 1949.
- (2) In five resolutions, various bodies of the United Nations opposed, and denied juridical validity to, Israel’s seizure of Jerusalem — as we saw on a preceding page.
- (3) Similarly, the Israeli seizure, re-militarization and administration of the Demilitarized Zones was censured three times by the Mixed Armistice Commissions concerned (20th March 1950, 2nd October 1953 and 12th October 1954), and once by the Security Council (18th May 1951).
- (4) The more recent invasion of the Gaza Strip by Israeli forces, and the annexation thereof for over four months, occasioned six withdrawal orders, which the General Assembly passed with unprecedented majorities on 2nd, 4th, 7th and 24th November 1956, and 19th January and 2nd February 1957.

At the outset, Israel gave some indications that its occupation of the excess territories — apart from Jerusalem — was to be temporary and provisional.

The “Demarcation Lines” established by the Armistice Agreements were proclaimed in the texts of the Agreements to be military lines and not political boundaries, and were declared provisional, not final.

In the Protocol of Lausanne, Israel endorsed the principle that the Partition boundaries were the basis of Arab-Israeli settlement.

And, in its own legislation, between 1948 and 1951, Israel constantly distinguished between “the area of the State”, on the one hand, and other areas of Palestine “held” by the Israeli Army, on the other.

In subsequent official policy statements, however, Israel has abandoned this position. It now considers the excess territories it holds — Jerusalem, the territory reserved by the United Nations for the Palestinian Arab State but now held by Israel, and the Demilitarized Zones — to be integral parts of the State.

War under the protective umbrella of the Armistice

Incursions across the demarcation lines have continued unabated since the signing of the Armistice Agreements. In many cases, they have been accompanied by bloodshed.

Neutral military observers belonging to the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization — including observers from the United States, Canada, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, etc. — are stationed in the area and entrusted with the task of investigating all complaints and reporting on incidents. The United Nations has recently compiled a list of casualties, based on the reports of these neutral observers. According to the latest United Nations statistics (released on 18th October 1956 in document S/3685), Israel suffered 121 casualties at the hands of Arab infiltrators, while the Arab States suffered 496 casualties at the hands of Israeli infiltrators, between 1st January 1955 and 30th September 1956.

According to a report published by the Israeli Government on 11th February 1957, Israel has suffered 443 casualties during the eight years which have elapsed since the signing of the Armistice Agreement with Egypt. These are Israel’s claims over a period of eight years. Thus, Arab casualties, as verified by neutral United Nations observers — 496 — exceeded, in twenty months, the casualties which Israel claims to have suffered in eight years !

Zionist and Israeli claims that lives of Israelis have been at the mercy of “murderous Arab infiltrators” since the Armistice was signed, and that Israel has been the victim of “one-sided belligerency”, are thus belied by United Nations’ verified findings, and show authoritatively to be but propaganda smoke-screens !

In an effort to stem the incursions from either side across the demarcation lines into the other side, the Egyptian Government proposed in March 1955 that buffer zones, patrolled by United Nations observers, be set up all along the demarcation lines. Israel rejected this proposal.

On 2nd February 1957 the General Assembly asked that the United Nations Emergency Forces be stationed along the demarcation lines, in an effort to prevent incursions and clashes between civilians, or between military or para-military forces. Egypt has consented to the stationing of United Nations forces on its side of the lines, and they are stationed there now. Israel, on the other hand, has refused to permit the international forces into its side of the lines.

These are strange attitudes for a country which wants the world to believe that it is the victim of incursions !

Strange also is Israel’s non-co-operation, first with the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, and later on with the United Nations Secretary-General, in their patient efforts, under a special mandate from

² Israel’s continued occupation and administration of Jerusalem are in violation of the following five United Nations resolutions : The General Assembly resolutions of 29th November 1947 ; 11th December 1948 ; and 9th December 1949 ; the Security Council resolution of 19th August 1948 ; and the Trusteeship Council resolution of 20th December 1949.

the Security Council, to devise practical ways and means to reduce tensions along the demarcation lines.³

Military aggression

In addition to crossings of the demarcation lines by individuals, there have been instances of organized military attacks launched by regular armed forces.

The Mixed Armistice Commissions have on their records 21 condemnations for such organized military attacks. All are condemnations of Israel for sending its army across the lines into the territories of the neighbouring Arab States.

Not one Arab State has been condemned by the Mixed Armistice Commission for a crossing of the demarcation lines by its Armed Forces.

In addition to the 21 condemnations of Israel by the Mixed Armistice Commissions, there have been four condemnations of Israel by the Security Council for military raids into Arab territory. The Council has never had occasion to condemn, and has never condemned, an Arab State for an attack on Israel.⁴

Israel's invasion

As a sequel to this record of aggression, we must make separate mention of the full-fledged Israeli invasions of Egypt and the Gaza Strip on 29th October 1956, which, coupled with the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, threatened to engulf the whole world in a global war. The resoluteness of the General Assembly in the face of this tripartite aggression — which was the first instance of a war waged by members of the United Nations against another member — was displayed in the unprecedented majorities with which the six successive orders for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressors from the invaded territory were passed.

Israel has paralysed the Armistice machinery

During the eight years which have elapsed since the being of the Armistice system in Palestine, Israel has made signing of the Armistice Agreements and the coming into sustained efforts to paralyze the Armistice machinery, to render ineffective the systems of guarantees and supervision laboriously established in the Agreements, and to emancipate itself from all obligations accruing from being a party to those Agreements.

It has entered, occupied, re-militarized and administered the Demilitarized Zones, and expelled thousands of Arabs living in them.

It has obstructed the investigation of United Nations observers, and denied these observers the freedom of movement and travel which is a prerequisite to the discharging of their tasks.

Having assassinated the United Nations Mediator and his aide, Israelis have also fired at United Nations

observers, occupied the office of the Mixed Armistice Commission in no-man's-land, detained some United Nations observers, and threatened others.

Israel has also walked out of several meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission; and, for the last few years, Israel has completely boycotted the Commission.

And, in November 1956, Israel repudiated the Armistice Agreement with Egypt and declared it "null and void".⁵

Beach-head for further expansion

The various aspects of Arab-Israeli relations examined so far explain the climate of hate which has come to characterize the area since the establishment of Israel. But hate is not the only emotion which the Palestine problem has generated. Closely related to it is the fear which casts its shadow over the region.

Israel is on record as harbouring designs for further territorial aggrandizement. The posture of Israel is that of a State ever ready to expand *at the opportune moment*.

To innumerable Israelis of all walks of life, Israel is not an end in itself; nor is it the complete embodiment of the Zionist vision. Israel is merely a phase in the process of self-realization of the Zionist movement — a station along the road, not a terminus.

The ultimate Zionist vision is of a State in the entire area known in Zionist terminology as "Eretz Israel". This is an area eight times as large as the portion of Palestine given over to Israel by the United Nations, and five times as large as the territories under Israeli control today.

Three political parties in Israel openly proclaim their expansionist designs. According to its official programme, the *Herut Party* calls for "the territorial integrity of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel) in its historic boundaries on both sides of the Jordan"; the *Adhut Haavoda Party* struggles for the creation of a "socialist State of Israel in the entire homeland"; and the *General Zionists Party* proclaims that "the State of Israel does not exist for its own sake, but as an instrument for the implementation of the Zionist ideal".

These three parties, together, occupy 38 of the 120 seats of the Israeli Parliament. When we recall that elections in Israel are conducted on the basis of "proportional representation", we realize that nearly one-third of the Israeli electorate has expressed itself, in the last elections, as being in favour of an "activist" programme of territorial expansion.

Nor is this candid avowal of expansionist aims confined to so-called "extremists". Premier Ben Gurion has asserted that the State "has been resurrected in the western part of the land" of Israel, and that independence has been reached in only "a part of our small country".

Apart from what its political parties or its national leader proclaim, the State of Israel as a State is officially on record as committed to this expansionist programme. In the *Government Yearbook for 1955*, the Government of Israel asserts that "the creation of the new State by no means derogates from the scope of historic Eretz Israel".

Unlimited immigration

While Israel has adamantly refused to permit the one million Palestinian Arab refugees to return to their homes, despite the ten resolutions of the General Assembly to this effect, and has justified its refusal by claiming that there is "no room" for the refugees in the territories it occupies — it has at the same time opened its doors to one million Jewish immigrants from seventy countries. Israel continues

³ The six relevant United Nations resolutions concerning the mandate of the United Nations Chief of Staff and the Secretary-General, as well as concerning the stationing of the United Nations Emergency Forces, are: Security Council resolutions of 30th March and 8th September 1955, 19th January, 4th April and 4th June 1956; and General Assembly resolution of 2nd February 1957.

The relevant reports of the Secretary-General on his mandate are his three reports of 2nd and 9th May and 27th September 1956.

⁴ The four Security Council condemnations of Israel were made in the resolutions of 18th May 1951, 24th November 1953, 29th March 1955 and 19th January 1956.

⁵ The United Nations reaction to these acts of Israel is embodied in the following seven resolutions: Security Council resolutions of 19th October 1948, 17th November 1950 and 18th May 1951, and resolutions of the Mixed Armistice Commissions dated 20th March 1950, 30th May 1951, 2nd October 1953 and 3rd September 1954.

to use every means at its disposal, and at the disposal of the Zionist Internationale, to induce more Jews to immigrate.

Unlimited immigration is the goal of Israel and one of its primary objectives. In its Proclamation of Independence, the following announcement was made: "The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion". In the Law of the Return, Israel has proclaimed that "every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh*", that is to say, "for settlement". In a speech he made before Parliament, Prime Minister Ben Gurion said: "It was for this that the State was established, and it is by virtue of this alone that it will stand". In his Independence Day Speech in May 1957, Ben Gurion said: "Immigration is the primary and supreme goal of the State of Israel and the guarantee of its future and security. . . . The ingathering of Israel's exiled and scattered sons is the common task of all sections of the Jewish people wherever they may live. Everything that has been created in this country is the common possession of Jews of all lands".

This policy of unlimited immigration enhances not only the *hate* for Israel in the hearts of the dispossessed Arab refugees, but also Arab *fears* of Israeli expansionism. For the crowding of Israeli-occupied territory with multitudes of immigrants will sooner or later serve as a handy pretext for territorial aggrandizement by a country which already proclaims its expansionist intent.

Towards an enduring settlement

When the United Nations set in motion the process of establishing the truce in Palestine and transforming it into a stable military armistice, it proceeded to enjoin the Arab States and Israel to discuss through the Palestine Conciliation Commission the bases for an enduring political settlement.

Those discussions, which took place in April and May 1949, produced the Protocol of Lausanne, which both parties, as well as the Commission, signed on 12th May. It was progress towards this agreement that made the atmosphere at Lake Success conducive to the admission of Israel into the United Nations.

In the Protocol of Lausanne, all parties freely consented to consider the standing Assembly resolutions — pertaining to the fixing of boundaries, the internationalization of Jerusalem, and the repatriation of the refugees — as the basis for final settlement of the Palestine Problem.

Since that time, however, Israel has repudiated these three bases. While it continues to speak of peace and to call

for "direct negotiations", it constantly stipulates that the negotiations shall not deal with any of these three problems, and declares in advance that it shall not consent to the implementation of those resolutions. The Prime Minister of Israel has solemnly pronounced: "These resolutions no longer live, nor will they rise again". On another occasion, he told Parliament that "all the United Nations resolutions on Palestine" are "null and void" and added, "They cannot be brought back to life".

The Arab States, on the other hand, have officially adhered to the policy proclaimed at Lausanne. Their spokesmen have repeatedly reaffirmed that policy in statements made at the United Nations and in countless other statements. Representatives of nine Arab States unanimously sponsored, and voted for, the *communiqué* issued at the Bandung Conference by the 29 participating Asian-African States on 24th April 1955, which called for "the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the peaceful settlement of the Palestine Problem".

The United Nations, in the meantime, has not only reaffirmed its existing resolutions on every occasion, but it has also adopted scores of new decisions complementing or extending the provisions of the Partition Resolution. It has rejected and voted down two proposals to call for a settlement of the Palestine Problem in a manner which ignores or bypasses the existing resolutions. (The first of these attempts was made by Israel at the General Assembly in December 1952; the second was made at the Security Council in May 1956.)

The United Nations, therefore, has, by its enactments as well as by its rejections, conclusively affirmed the obvious thesis that the settlement of the Palestine Problem can come about only within the framework of the cumulative jurisprudence of the world organization concerning Palestine, and on the basis of the resolutions adopted over the past decade, beginning with the very resolution which brought Israel into being.

Peace in the Holy Land can come about, and can be real, only when the disputes and conflicts of the area are resolved and settled. And this settlement can be enduring and final only when it safeguards the basic rights of the various parties; when it ensures justice; and when it manifests respect for law and order in the relations of peoples, and compliance with the legitimate verdicts of the international community.

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ISLAM IN HOLLAND

By S. M. TUFAIL

The West has lost its powerful position. Christianity to many is the religion of dislodged rulers. The growth of Asiatic self-consciousness has changed the defence into an offence"

There are certain aspects of Islam about which misunderstanding prevails on a large scale in European countries. One of these is *Jihad*, commonly known in the West as Holy War against non-Muslims to convert them to Islam. During question hour in the meetings of the Friends of Islam this subject has always been raised for discussion. Mr. S. M. Tufail gave a talk on the Conception of *Jihad* in Islam on 18th December 1956 at the Café Moderne, Amsterdam, and explained that this term was not synonymous with war or holy war. Another such subject which draws the special attention of the European audience is the position of women in Islam. Miss J. B. Fatima van de Grijn was requested to take up this problem for discussion at another meeting of the Friends on 8th January 1957. A Hindu gentleman from Surinam (Dutch Guiana) spoke at the same meeting on the marriage laws of Judaism. The proceedings of the meeting were briefly reported in the Arabic news section of the Holland Radio.

On the 30th January 1957 we had as our speaker Mr. Ing. H. Stam, who spoke on "The Nile Feeds Egypt". This interesting lecture was illustrated by colour slides which were prepared by the speaker himself during his visit to Egypt last year.

In a series of lectures arranged by the World Congress of Faiths (Dutch Branch) on the Cultural Aspects of Religion, Mr. S. M. Tufail spoke from the Islamic point of view on 23rd February 1957 at the Café Moderne, Amsterdam.

A lecture with colour slides was given to the Friends of Islam on 26th February 1957 by Mr. H. L. Mellema, Lit. Ind. Drs., the subject of his talk being "Some Fundamental Aspects of Islam", with special reference to the attitude of the Prophet towards Jews at Medina. The slides shown were mostly of the mosques and famous buildings of Pakistan. This talk was fully reported in the daily *Algemeen Handelsblad*, Amsterdam.

"The Meaning of Submission and Suffering in Islam" was the subject of a talk in Dutch given by Mr. S. M. Tufail on 3rd April 1959 for the Free Protestant Radio (V.P.R.O.—*Vrijzinnig Protestante Radio Omroep*), Hilversum, Holland. On other evenings on the same subject Buddhist, Jew and Christian speakers also presented their points of view. The Congress of Ideals (*Congres der Idealen*), founded in Amsterdam in 1956, had for its second annual conference the following topic for discussion: "Freedom, Trust and Responsibility" (*Vrijheid, Vertrouwen en Verantwoordelijkheid*). There were about twenty-eight speakers, representing various religious, social and idealistic organizations. They were allotted fifteen minutes each to discuss the problem. Mr. Tufail threw light on the subject from the Muslim point of view.

A few interesting lectures were given by Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Bashir at our meetings. On 19th March 1957 at Amsterdam he spoke on "Prophecies about the Prophet Muhammad in the Bible". On 15th May he discussed the teachings of Islam and their influence on human behaviour. On the same subject he gave a talk on 28th May at Groot-handelsgebouw, Rotterdam, where Mr. J. A. Arief Vredenberg, a Dutch Muslim from Indonesia, also spoke on

"Muslim Belief", and later took part in the discussion which generally follow such lectures. The attendance at this meeting was very discouraging, but the notice about this gathering attracted the attention of Mr. H. L. J. Huberts, Secretary of the Roman Catholic Students' Association, Wageningen, who requested the Secretary of the Friends of Islam to arrange a similar lecture for their society. On 4th July Mr. G. A. Bashir, accompanied by Mr. S. M. Tufail, went to Wageningen to address the young group of Catholic students. The lecture was a great success and Mr. Bashir has been requested to again address their association in the coming winter session.

Mr. Sh. Fazl-i-Ahmad, Honorary General Secretary of the Sh. Mian Muhammad Trust, Lyallpur, Pakistan, who was returning to Pakistan from the United States of America after attending the Rotary Governors' Conference, was also present at a meeting of the Friends of Islam held on 7th June 1957 at Hotel Polen, Rokin 14, Amsterdam. The main speaker was Mr. R. L. Mellema. Mr. Soedéwo was in the chair and he also gave a short talk on some of the misunderstandings prevalent in the West about Islam.

Mr. Soedéwo was in Holland in connection with the printing of the Javanese translation of the Holy Qur'an, which will probably be out by the end of this year. This is actually a translation of the Commentary of the Qur'an by the late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali of Lahore. The Indonesian version of this commentary is also ready to go to press at Jakarta. It will not be out of place here to mention that Mr. Soedéwo rendered the commentary of the Qur'an by Muhammad 'Ali in Dutch many years ago. And this is the only translation in Dutch which contains the Arabic text and the commentary. The layout is exactly the same as that of the English edition. Efforts of the members of the Ahmadiyya Movement (Lahore) in Indonesia deserve great praise for their services in the cause of the Qur'an. *The Religion of Islam, Muhammad the Prophet*, and several other books by Muhammad 'Ali, have also been translated into Dutch.

Prayers for the 'Id al-Fitr and 'Id al-Adha were said at the Hotel Polen, Amsterdam, on 1st May and 8th July respectively.

Islamic literature in Dutch has been widely distributed during the last quarter of this year. This inspired a front page one-column article in the daily *Leeuwarden Courant*, Leeuwarden (N. Holland), for Saturday 1st June 1957. This article ends with the following lines:

"The West has lost its powerful position. Christianity for many is the religion of the dislodged rulers. The growth of the Asiatic self-consciousness has changed the defence into an offence. This development is a natural historical process. We should not deplore the fact that our Protestant and Catholic missionaries (often involuntarily) have lost their political support. More and more it leads to the great encounter, the decisive confrontation. He who leads a real evangelic life should not be afraid of being thrown into this spiritual melting pot. Only he who is true and real shall survive."

(The full text appears overleaf.)

(Translation of an article published in the *Leeuwarden Courant*, Leeuwarden, Holland, dated 1st June 1957, p. 1).

If one wanted to read the holy scripture of Muslims in Dutch a few years ago, one had to content oneself with a century-old translation. But suddenly the situation has changed. The life work of the late Professor J. H. Kramers of Leiden (d. 1951), which has been printed in a beautiful form, appeared to be a Dutch translation of the *Qur'ân*. A few years before this there was also published, in a none-the-less magnificent edition, the translation of the *Qur'ân* in Dutch by the Ahmadiyya Movement (at the Hague). It gave both the Dutch as well as the Arabic text, with an apologetic introduction in which the Islamic belief is defended against other religions.

This remarkable phenomenon does not confine itself to the Netherlands. The same movement has brought out a good German translation. And not long ago another modern translation appeared in the "American Mentor Book" series. If there had not been a certain interest so many of these difficult translations would not have been made. Many of them clearly serve the purpose of helping the propagation of Islam. In the above-mentioned Ahmadiyya translation the *Qur'anic* teachings have been put against the doctrines of the Bible for the purpose of refuting the Biblical teachings. The reader must be convinced that the tenets of the *Qur'ân* are the only truth.

It is, however, known that the real orthodox followers of Islam have always seriously objected to the translation of the *Qur'ân*. They claimed that their holy book should be read in its original language. This fixed rule is more and more put aside. Modern Islamites clearly say: "We come with a message for the world". Our *Qur'ân*, they say, is the final and highest revelation of God, a continuation of all previous religions, a religion wherein the holy scriptures and the teachings of the world religions find their crowning and completion. The *Qur'ân* of the Ahmadiyya movement takes such a stand for the universality of Islam.

The work is not left to the publication of a few translations of the *Qur'ân*. In this way only a few thousand people could be reached. In many places and in many ways Islam has recently moved from the defensive into an offensive position. The Ahmadiyya Organization, founded in India during the last century, is one of the "missionary societies".

There are, however, other organizations, groups or sects, some of which seem to have considerable financial help. How would it be otherwise possible to distribute their expensive propaganda material so freely?

The mail brings us, without having been asked for and without any obligation on our part, three nice books, one about Islam the religion of humanity, one with a popular life of the Prophet Muhammad and one containing eight good essays of missionary character. These Dutch translations are being spread by the Sheikh Mian Mohammed Trust, an organization from Pakistan which has established its branch in Amsterdam recently. The striking object of this literature is that it not only deals with the religious side of Islam, but due attention has also been paid to the social and economic aspects of Islam. And where this latter is concerned, the Westerner belonging to the Christian belief may many a time feel his cheeks getting hot with shame.

One may think that the consciousness of being guilty to the centuries of Western colonialism and imperialism is exaggerated and dangerous, but there is no denying the facts and their effects.

On the other hand it is unnecessary to refuse the criticism of Islam by asking what this religion has actually achieved and whether it has not committed infamies and serious mistakes as well.

The best thing to do is to open one's eyes to reality. Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus are these days no more the victims of Christian missionaries and missions; on the contrary, they have turned the tide. Many of them have been to the West, received their training there and have come into contact with the irreligiousness of the multitude with their ever-increasing, all-devouring materialism.

The West has lost its powerful position. Christianity for many is the religion of the dislodged rulers. The growth of Asiatic self-consciousness has changed the defence into offence.

This development is a natural historical process. We should not deplore the fact that our Protestant and Catholic missionaries (often involuntarily) have lost their political support. More and more it leads to the great encounter, the decisive confrontation. He who really leads an evangelic life should not be afraid of being thrown into this spiritual melting pot. Only he who is true and real shall survive.

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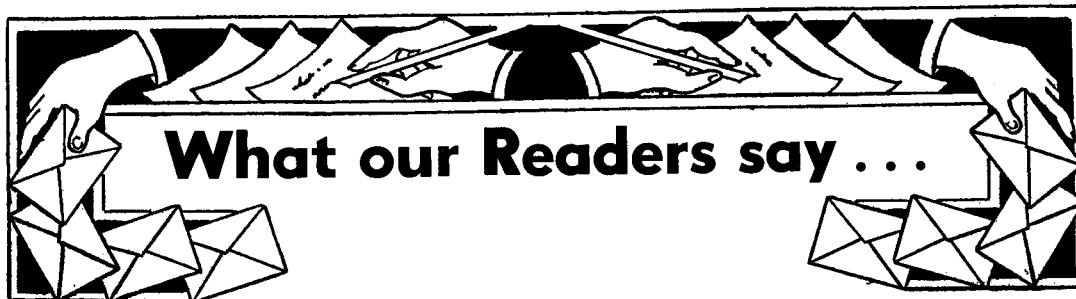
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WANTED — MORE INFORMATION

120 Whittington Road,
Hutton,

Brentwood,
Essex.

16th May 1957.

Dear Sir,

I would like to take the opportunity to thank Dr. Hasan Abu al-Su'ud for his excellent article, "A Study of Land Reform in Egypt," in the April issue of *The Islamic Review*, and suggest that he or others give us more information of the achievements since the Revolution.

We in this country are particularly ignorant of the progress in the fields of education, health, etc., and as to what plans are in operation for reclaiming waste and desert lands.

Yours faithfully,

P. J. CRABB.

* * *

ISRAEL — A VIOLATION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

The Editor,
The Jewish Chronicle,
London.

The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking.

30th July 1957.

Sir,

It has been brought to my notice that in its issue of 22nd February 1957, the *Jewish Chronicle* carries a report of a meeting at a Zionist society in London which is not a fair representation of what I said at that meeting.

In the first place, it was not a meeting to advance Zionist objectives, as your report suggests. It was as a Pakistani that I was requested by the Jewish society concerned to address them on the "Problem of Kashmir" on 14th February. The request said that since the preceding Thursday (7th February) an Indian gentleman, Mr. Valenkar, had addressed the society on Kashmir, and they wanted to have the Pakistani side of the picture, so as to get a balanced view of the affair.

I accepted the invitation, and addressed the society for about an hour, giving the whole of the background story of Hindu-Muslim relationships, culminating in the partition of the sub-continent, leading up to the Kashmir dispute, and the relative standpoints of India and Pakistan about it.

There was not one word in the whole of my address about Israel. In the question time, no doubt, one of the questions put to me was what I thought of Israel. I bluntly told them that Israel was a violation of one of the Ten Commandments which enjoined:

"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house:
neither shalt thou desire his wife, nor his servant, nor his handmaid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his."

In reply to another question on how the Middle East tension could be eased, I told them that the only way out was for the Jews to win the goodwill of their neighbours, the

Arab countries in whose midst they had to live, rather than allow themselves to be made the spearhead of Western interests.

A letter from an official of the Society, Mr. Michael S. Cohen, dated 15th February, sent me the society's thanks, adding:

"We found your talk most interesting, and particularly appreciated your frank answers to our questions. You have given us an opportunity of forming a balanced picture of the current issues in Kashmir, the sub-continent and the Middle East, and for this we are truly grateful."

I am afraid, by omitting these vital things, your reporter has given a very distorted picture of the whole thing. May I expect that you will be good enough to publish this clarification in your esteemed journal.

Yours truly,

MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN,
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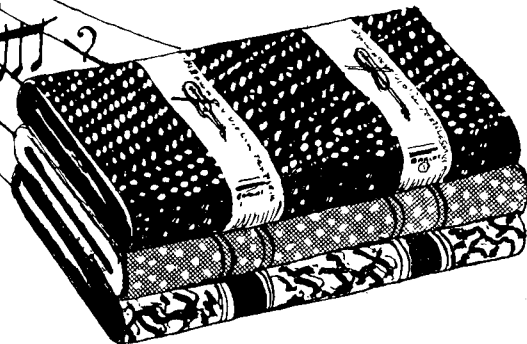


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