

www.wokingmuslim.org

***The Islamic Review* archive**

Large magazine format series,
1949–1971

[Go to list of 1958 issues](#)

July-August 1958



THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

JULY—AUGUST 1958

PRICE FIVE SHILLINGS

THE SAHARA

List of Books on Islam and Allied Subjects

Customers are advised not to order books by Air Mail. Air Mail Postage is expensive. It costs approximately 16/- per lb

The Holy Qur'an

	£	s.	d.
The Holy Qur'an with Arabic text, Translation and Commentary. LXX+1256 pp.			
Leather bound — 1st Quality	3	0	0
Cloth bound — 2nd Quality	2	0	0
The Holy Qur'an. English Translation without Arabic text, with short notes and comments by Muhammad Ali			
The Holy Qur'an. Arabic text. 848 pp.	12	0	
The Holy Qur'an. Arabic text. Pocket size. 606 pp. 3½ in. x 2½ in.	1	0	0
The Holy Qur'an on one page. In beautiful decorative script and design, with magnifying glass. Post free	8	0	
The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an. English translation by Marmaduke Pickthall, an English Muslim scholar.	1	0	0
American Edition	4	6	
English Edition. 691 pp.	1	10	0
The Holy Qur'an. Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary by A. Yusuf Ali. 2 vols. 1862 pp.	4	10	0
The Koran Interpreted, by A. J. Arberry. Translation in English with an attempt to give an idea of the rhythm contained in the Qur'an. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth	2	2	0
<i>Panj Sura</i> (Five chapters of the Holy Qur'an). Arabic and English. 98 pp.	6	0	
A Running Commentary on the Holy Qur'an, by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. 141 pp.	6	0	
Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. 141 pp.	5	0	
Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an, by Muhammad Ali. 191 pp.	5	0	
Introduction to the Qur'an, by R. Bell. 8 vols. X+190 pp.	18	0	
The Qur'an as a Scripture, by A. Jeffery. Includes a lecture on the textual history of the Qur'an. 8 vols. 103 pp.	1	8	0
The Religion of the Koran, by A. N. Wallaston. Reprint. 8 vols. 88 pp.	6	0	
Philosophy of the Qur'an, by Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar. Cr. 8vo. XVI+254 pp.	6	0	
An Approach to the Study of the Qur'an, by Sir Nizamet Jung Bahadur. Demy 8vo. 76 pp.	3	0	
Qur'anic Laws, by Muhammad Valibhai Merchant. Laws of the Qur'an arranged under different heads. Demy 8vo. VIII+233 pp.	12	0	
Hints to the Study of the Holy Qur'an, by Khwaja Kamal ud-Din. Demy 8vo. 37 pp.	1	0	

Hadith, Fiqh, Jurisprudence, etc.

Sayings of Muhammad, by Allama Sir Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardy. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi	6	0	
The Orations of Muhammad. Compiled and translated by M. M. U. Akbar. 8vo. 110 pp.	9	0	

Sayings of Muhammad, by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. Cr. 8vo. 37 pp.	1	0	
Manual of Hadith, by Muhammad Ali. A practical handbook of genuine traditions arranged under separate headings. Arabic text with English translation. Demy 8vo.	1	0	0
Sahih of al-Bukhari. Urdu translation with notes by Muhammad Ali. 2 vols. 1612 pp.	2	10	0
Sahih of al-Bukhari. English translation of only 4 books, by Aftab ud-Din Ahmad. 244 pp.	12	6	
Sahih of al-Bukhari. Urdu translation	2	5	0
Sahih of al-Bukhari. Urdu translation by Mirza Hairat Dehlawi. 3 vols.	1	16	0
Outlines of Muhammadan Law, by A. A. A. Fyzee. 2nd ed. 445 pp.	1	8	0
Islamic Law in Africa, by J. D. N. Anderson. Survey of the application of Islamic Law in the British dependencies. 8vo. 409 pp.	2	10	0
Ijma' and the Gate of Ijtihad, by K. A. Faruki. 8vo. iv+42 pp.	6	0	
Islamic Constitution, by K. A. Faruki. An exposition of the Islamic Constitutional conditions necessary for the development of Islamic ideals. 8vo. xiii+278 pp.	3	3	0
Law in the Middle East, by M. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny. Contains articles on the Origins and Development of Islamic Law. Vol. I. 8vo.	3	0	0
Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, by J. Schacht	1	10	0

The Prophet Muhammad

The Ideal Prophet, by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. Demy 8vo, 274 pp.	5	0	
Muhammad the Prophet, by Muhammad Ali. Cr. 8vo, 320 pp.	13	0	
Living Thoughts of the Prophet Muhammad, by Muhammad Ali. Cr. 8vo, 142 pp.	5	0	
Muhammad and Christ, by Muhammad Ali. Cr. 8vo, 159 pp.	4	0	
The Prophet's Marriages, by Muhammad Ali. Cr. 8vo, 36 pp.	1	0	
Message of the Holy Prophet Muhammad to Europe, by Dr. H. Marcus. Royal 8vo, 33 pp.	2	0	
Life of Muhammad, by F. R. Hakeem. Cr. 8vo, 48 pp.	1	2	
Heroes and Hero-Worship, by Thomas Carlyle. Contains a beautiful article on the Prophet Muhammad	7	0	
In the Footsteps of the Prophet, by Rafiq M. Khan. 137 pp.	4	6	
Muhammad the Prophet, by S. Khuda Bakhsh. 36 pp. Glimpses from the Life of the Prophet Muhammad by Eminent Scholars. 186 pp.	2	0	
Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad, by Dr. M. Hamidullah. 48 pp.	3	0	
The Holy Prophet Through Different Lights, by M. A. al-Haj Salmin. xvi+324 pp.	1	0	0

Prices subject to change

Postage and Packing Extra

Can be obtained from—

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING, SURREY, ENGLAND
AZEEZ MANZIL, BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE, WEST PAKISTAN

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

The Islamic Review, the official organ of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, and of Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore, Pakistan, is published monthly. In conformity with the objects of its publishers *The Islamic Review* is a cultural, non-political journal which takes no stand on the political policies of the various Muslim countries. In publishing such articles as deal with the world of Islam, its sole aim is to acquaint the component parts of the Islamic world with those problems and difficulties. Its aim in presenting political issues is analytical and informative. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and not those of *The Islamic Review*, or its publishers.

The Editor will be glad to receive articles for publication. These will receive careful consideration and an honorarium arrived at by mutual arrangement will be paid for all manuscripts accepted for publication. All articles not accepted will be returned to their authors, but the Editor regrets he is unable to accept responsibility for their loss in transit.

Annual subscription £1 10s. 0d.; single copies 3s. post free or the equivalent of this amount unless otherwise mentioned. Subscribers who remit foreign currency from abroad should kindly add bank charges to the amount remitted.

Registration to all countries at the equivalent rate of 12s. per annum per parcel

The cost of sending 'The Islamic Review' by Air Mail varies with its destination, e.g. Egypt 3' -, Pakistan 4' - extra per copy

Orders for yearly subscriptions or single copies may be sent to :

Australia :

R. L. Priestley, Esq., 22a Trennery Street, West Richmond, S. Australia.

British Guiana :

H. B. Gajraj, Esq., 13, Water Street, Georgetown.

British West Indies :

Mohammed Ibrahim, 31, Sellier Street, Cunepe, Trinidad.

Burma :

Smart & Mookerdam, 221, Pagoda Road, Rangoon.

Ceylon :

Messrs. W. M. A. Wahid Bros., P.O. 195, 233, Main Street, Colombo.

Dutch Guiana (S. America) :

Alhadj-Abdr. B. Jaggoe, "Doekan," Saramacca Straat 115, P.O. Box 926, Paramaribo, Surinam.

Egypt :

H. H. Khan, Esq., P.O.B. 678, Cairo. £E.1.50 post free ; single copies P.T. 15.0.

England :

"The Islamic Review", The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey. £1 10s. 0d. post free ; single copies 3s.

Fiji :

The Desai Book Depot, Box No. 160, Suva.

France :

for name and address of the agent please apply to The Manager, "Islamic Review", as above. Annual Subscription, 1,500 francs post free ; single copies 150 francs.

Holland :

NV Boekhandel Antiquariaat en Mitgeverij, C.P.J. van der Peet, Nwe Spiegelstraat 33-35, Amsterdam C.

Hong Kong :

Sambo's Library, P.O. Box 448, Hong Kong.

Iraq :

Ibrahim Adem Sachwani, Esq., Merchant, Ashar, Basrah.

Kenya :

The City Bookshop, P.O. Box 1460, Fort Jesus Road, Mombasa.

Nigeria :

Messrs. Tika Tore Press Ltd., 77, Broad Street, Lagos.

Malaya :

Messrs. M. M. Ally & Co., P.O. Box 241, 103, Market Street, Kuala Lumpur.

Jubilee Book Store, 97, Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur.

N. Muhamed Ismail, P.O. Box 233, 13, Jalan Masjid, Ipoh, Perak.

A. Abdul Rahim, 31 Jalan Ibrahim, Johore Bahru.

South Africa :

Messrs. Union Printing Works, 91, Victoria Street, Durban, Natal.

Persian Gulf :

Messrs. Ashraf Bros., Import-Export, Bahrain.

Messrs. Ashraf Bros., Import-Export, Kuwait.

Tanganyika Territory :

Messrs. Janoowalla-Store, P.O. Box 210, Tanga.

The United States of America :

The International Muslim Society, Inc., P.O. Box 37, Manhattanville, Station J, New York, 27 N.Y. \$5.00 post free ; single copies 0.45c.

Western Germany :

Der Imam, Die Moschee, 7/8, Brienner Strasse, Berlin-D.M. 18.00 post free ; single copies D.M.1.00.

AGENTS IN INDIA

Sh. Mohammad In'aam-ul-Haque, House No. 100 — A Class, A'zampore, Malakpeth, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Messrs. Usmania Book Depot, 104, Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

S. Ziya Karim Rizvi, Bhagalpur.

Islamia Book Depot, Newspaper Agent, New Market, Tatarpur Chowk, Bhagalpur City (Bihar).

AGENTS IN PAKISTAN

"The Islamic Review," Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

Eastern Pakistan

Abdul Samad Jamali, B.A., East Pakistan Islam Mission, 28, Purana Mogul Tuli, Nawabpur Road, Dacca.

Majlis Bookstall, Bangla Bazaar, Dacca.

Shamim Book Agency, 1, Johnson Road, Dacca.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., 5/16, Takarhat Lane, Nawabpur Road, P.O. Box 178, Dacca.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Newsagents, Jessore Road, Khulna.

Messrs. News Front, 75, Jubilee Road, Chittagong.

Subscriptions may begin with any desired number.

Begum Noor Jehan, c/o Md. Wahed Bakhsh, Jinnah Road, P.O. Dist., Jessore.

Messrs. T. Ahmad & Co., P.O. Santahar, Dist. Bogra.

Muhammad Zahidul Huq, Esq., Station Road, P.O. Sonapur, Dist. Noakhali.

Pakistan Library ; Booksellers & Stationers, Magura, Jessore.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Court Road, Chittagong.

The Pakistan News Agency, Station Road, Saidpur, Dist. Rangpur.

Continued on page 2

Kindly quote your subscriber's number when corresponding.

Between Ourselves

THE COVER

Ripples on the sand — a photograph showing the vast expanse of the Sahara. It is rich in oil and mineral deposits. Because of its unlimited natural wealth the French are anxious to retain control over it.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir is the President of the United Arab Republic.

Rahim Bakhsh is a keen scholar of Islamic studies from Pakistan.

General Muhammad Ayub Khan is the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Armed Forces.

Dr. Zohrul Haque, M.B., B.S., is a Muslim contributor from East Pakistan.

Dr. Laura Vecchia Vaglieri is Professor of Arabic and History of Muslim Civilization at the University of Naples. Her present article was rendered into English by Dr. Aldo Caselli of Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

William Bashyr Pickard, B.A.(Cantab.), an English Muslim, is author of several books on Islam. He also writes fiction.

Afzal Iqbal is author of *The Life and Thought of Muhammad Jalal ud-Din Rumi*.

G. H. Neville-Bagot, an Irishman, is a journalist and keenly interested in Muslim world politics.

El-Sayyed Abdul Monem Moustafa is the Acting Secretary-General of the Arab League.

H. S. Lewin is an American from San Francisco who has recently joined the World Brotherhood of Islam.

Fayez A. Sayegh, Ph.D., is Counsellor, Arab States Delegation, New York.

Rafiq M. Khan is a Pakistani Muslim writer.

Jamal Mohammed Ahmed is Sudanese Ambassador to the Lebanon, Turkey and the U.A.R. He is a writer and critic whose pen-name, "Arif Said," is familiar to Arab readers. He spent several years at Oxford studying, then taught at Khartoum University. His present article appeared in the *Middle East Forum*, Beirut, July 1958.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Due to unavoidable circumstances we are again publishing a double issue of *The Islamic Review*. Henceforth our readers will be receiving copies of *The Islamic Review* regularly.

The Islamic Review

JULY—AUGUST 1958

46th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Contents

Editorials :

Republican Iraq gives new life to the Arab Unity Movement ...	3
Is World Government Possible ? ...	4
A Call to Muslims ...	5
Attitude of the Qur'an towards the veil ...	6
by Rahim Bakhsh	
Strategic Problems of Middle East ...	9
by General Muhammad Ayub Khan	
Family Planning in Islam ...	12
by Dr. Zohrul Haque, M.B., B.S.	
What They Think Of Us ...	15
by Dr. Laura Vecchia Vaglieri	
Divine Divan ...	21
by W. B. Pickard	
The Islamic Conquest ...	22
by Afzal Iqbal	
Triumph of Arab Nationalism in Iraq ...	28
Chronology of Pakistan — 1947-1957 ...	30
The Sahara — World's Biggest Desert ...	40
The Sahara is an Integral Part of Africa — it was never French ...	42
by G. H. Neville-Bagot	
The Tragedy of Palestine ...	46
by El-Sayyed Abdul Monem Moustafa	
Why I Joined Islam ...	47
by H. S. Lewin	
Arab Unity ...	48
by Fayez A. Sayegh, Ph.D.	
Hunayn Ibn Ishaq ...	57
by Rafiq M. Khan	
A Glance at the World of Islam ...	59
Ramadhan — The Month of Mercy ...	63
Federation of Malaya ...	64
Young Arab Writers Today ...	70
by Jamal Mohammed Ahmed	
Book Review ...	73
What Our Readers Say ...	78

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

AGENTS IN PAKISTAN (continued)

Shah Tabarak Hossain, Esq., Newspaper Agent, P.O. Alamnagar, Dist. Rangpur.

S. Masood Ahmad, Esq., Bookseller & Newsagent, P.O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.

Farooq Library, Booksellers, Rajshahi.

Sri Madhuzdan Bhattachari, Jee Newsagent, Zindabazar, P.O. Sylhet.

Messrs. M. Aslam Khan, Newspaper Agents, Khan Manzil, Chandpur, Dist. Tippera.

The Manager, The News Agency, Kushtia.

Kausar Ali, Esq., M.A., Professor Daulat-pur College, Daulatpur-Khulnia.

H. K. Roy, Esq., c/o Railway Bookstall, Dinajpur.

M. A. Majeed, B.A., Newspaper Agent, Kohinoor Library, Faridpur.

M. A. Siddiqi, Proprietor of Alam News Agency, Lalmonirhat Rangpur.

The Manager, Azmat News Agency, Chawk Bazaar, Barisal.

S. M. Hassan, Book House, Hashmia Restaurant, Station Road, Chittagong.

Western Pakistan

The Manager, Spring Works, 3, Temple View, Preedy Street, Karachi.

Victory Bookstores, Booksellers & Publishers, Rawalpindi.

The New Quetta Bookstall, Jinnah Road, Quetta.

AGENT IN KASHMIR

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free ; single copies Rs. 1/11

Abdul 'Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, *Roshni*, Srinagar, Kashmir.

The Islamic Review

Founded by THE LATE AL-HAJJ
KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

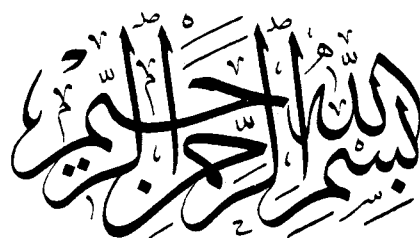
The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking, Surrey, England

Telephone: WOKING 679

Telegrams & Cables: MOSQUE, WOKING

London Office:

18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, London,
S.W.1. Telephone: VIC. 2591



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. XLVI Nos. 6-7

JULY-AUGUST, 1958

MUHARRAM-SAFFAR, 1378 A.H.

Republican Iraq Gives New Life To The Arab Unity Movement

The bolstering up of the out-dated Chamoun régime in the Lebanon by American marines and the return of British troops to Jordan, where King Hussain is completely isolated, will not for long counter the immense impact of Arab nationalism which has been swelled to bursting point by the popular Iraqi revolt.

In the Lebanon a Christian President has been prevented from standing unconstitutionally for a second term, and even the Maronite Patriarch has sided with the Muslim opposition. After weeks of civil war in which the Western-equipped army maintained the President in power, the army leader, General Fuad Shehab, has agreed to become the next President. American intervention came just at the time the matter was being settled internally. The Lebanon, a country in which roughly half the population is Muslim, has an artificial existence rather like the six counties in Ulster, and Muslims can have little sympathy with a State which could be profitably merged into Syria in the interests of Arab unity. Its Western contacts with America could be retained. The present compromise whereby the President of the Lebanon is always a Christian and the Premier a Muslim is proving untenable. The present revolt is not strictly speaking a revolt of Muslims against Christians, as both the ex-Premier Mr. Sami Solh and the Opposition leader Mr. Saeb Salem are Muslims. The ex-Christian President Mr. Beshira al-Khoury is reported to be a supporter of the opposition.

However, the real issue is Arab nationalism, and the question of a common Arab Middle East foreign policy towards the East and West, and the Iraqi revolt has given such an impetus that Jordan and the Lebanon cannot hold out on their own. The sooner they come to terms with the large neighbouring States of Syria and Iraq the better, and only then can the question of the partition of Palestine be settled. The Arab States must have a common army and a common diplomacy if they are to be ultimately victorious.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia has stated that American intervention in the Lebanon is not a colonialist venture. In Tunisia the proclamation of the Iraqi Republic was received with acclamation.

France has reached an agreement with Tunisia whereby the Edjele oil can be piped to a Tunisian port. This agree-

ment has been made without the prior approval of the Algerian nationalists, and in return General de Gaulle has withdrawn any objection he may have had to the limited supply of arms to the Tunisian army by America and Britain.

President Bourguiba achieved a major diplomatic victory when he got General de Gaulle to agree to the withdrawal of French troops from Remada in the south and the concentration of French troops on Bizerta, which is now recognized by France as being Tunisian territory. However, the French withdrawal may be suspended at any moment if the Algerian colonials gain the upper hand, and North African unity cannot be bartered for a possible billion francs of revenue per annum. De Gaulle must not be allowed to drive a wedge between Algeria and Tunisia. The Algerians are said by the French to have lost over 20,000 killed this year, and once they feel secure at home the French Army is bound to assume a vast offensive against the forces of the Liberation Front.

There is evidence to show that the Ruler of Kuwait may be drawing closer to Egypt, and it is to be hoped that the vast revenues of this artificial State may be used for the benefit of the Arab world as a whole. Su'udi Arabia is clearly once more drawing close to the Arab Union.

Sooner or later Britain will be forced to realize that Muscat and Aden and its Protectorates must merge with the other States of the Arab peninsula.

Israel threatens to occupy Jordan in the event of that State's merger with Republican Iraq of the Arab Union must be taken very seriously, and the merger must take place whatever the consequences. It is most unlikely that in the existing circumstances either the West or Russia would tolerate again an Israeli act of aggression. France is backing Israel to the hilt and re-arming her in an attempt to repeat the Suez aggression.

In the United Nations the Arab States under Egyptian and Syrian leadership have won an outstanding victory for Arab diplomacy, which is an indication of the progressive forces of the Arab Unity Movement. It is to be hoped that Egypt and the Sudan will work out a common irrigation policy for their mutual benefit.

The Arab League has been considerably strengthened by the admission of Morocco and Tunisia.

IS WORLD GOVERNMENT POSSIBLE?

Rehabitating Kingdom of God in the heart of man the only way

Paradoxically, the idea of a common humanity is in the process of taking birth out of unprecedented distrusts, discords and tensions that divide man from man, and the threat they pose to his very survival as a species. It is a repetition of the old adage of good coming out of evil.

There is now a large-scale awakening to this grim end to the whole drama of human civilization and we must take serious note of the fast-moving avalanche of events, and explore ways and means to arrest the drift. The most emphatic warning to this effect, which was listened to with respectful awe the world over, come from the foremost British thinker and humanist, Bertrand Russell.

In measured and solemn accents, 86-year-old Earl Russell recently told the House of Lords that unless something was done in good time to avert it, the end of the present century may be the end of mankind itself, and not a man may survive to tell the tragic tale of the doom that overtook this once mighty civilization. That something, according to him, was the creation of a World Government. Nothing short of this device could prevent the unleashing of the H-bomb demon with its terrific potentialities for wholesale destruction. No bans or tests, no controls, no inspections could minimize that danger. The very fact that some nations possess the nuclear weapons and others do not constitutes a standing threat against which there can be no foolproof safeguards. A World Government which would make nuclear energy a human, rather than a national, possession was the only way yet open to modern man to save the situation by diverting that energy to constructive purposes of peace.

With all the respect that the pronouncement of an eminent thinker like Bertrand Russell must command, the idea of a World Government before that of One Humanity looks like putting the cart before the horse. The root cause of the trouble lies much deeper. It lies in the materialistic interpretation of life, which distorted outlook alone is responsible for breeding a whole progeny of social and international evils. Self-seeking, greed, lust for power, cut-throat competition, colonialism, exploitation, international jealousies and hatreds — the whole host of evils which have cut man asunder from man, and nation from nation, are the offspring of that basic error in the very approach to the problem of life. The problem of international tension with its threat of another World War is at bottom an ideological problem, and must be tackled at that level.

To ignore that realistic basis of the present-day anxious world situation and attempt a solution at governmental level would be to court disaster. The fate of the two attempts to bring world statesmanship to a common platform — the defunct League of Nations and the ineffective United Nations — should suffice to dispel illusions as to the practicability of a World Government without the cohesive force of a corresponding ideology to serve the basis of and the sanction behind such a venture. The concept of the universal brotherhood of man, transcending all geographical, ethnic, colour or cultural bounds, must precede any move to unite men on a governmental level.

The recent one-unit experiment in Pakistan was a similar move, on a small scale, in the same direction. The idea, conceived with the best of motives and in the highest interests of the country, is already crumbling for lack of the psychological cohesive force but for which human hearts can never be welded together. Considering that in Pakistan the various ethnic groups united together had so many common links to bind them together — geographical, political, economic

and cultural — there should have been greater chances of success for the experiment. But racial and linguistic prejudices have proved too strong for the Islamic bond which was responsible for the birth of Pakistan. The difficulty of uniting a heterogeneous world population into a World Government may well be imagined. No solution imposed from above on a political level can stand the strain of the realities of life. The right end to make a beginning towards international unification must needs be psychological, ideological, or, to be more prosaic, religious.

Religion, with its basic concept of One God as the common Father of the whole of the human race, alone can provide a realistic basis for the gradual evolution of a World State. Any artificial unity induced by the stress of political exigencies may be good diplomacy, but no diplomacy can be a substitute for the genuine feeling of oneness which is born of the common Fatherhood of God. Islam, at its advent, worked the miracle of giving the warring tribes and clans a well-knit homogeneous State. But it did so by first giving them a sense of common humanity under the watchful eye of God, the Creator and Nourisher of all. The Qur'an proudly refers to that welding of the hearts as an achievement which no wealth nor human devices could accomplish.

Even today Islam, as a religious force, is the only world force which has to a very great extent successfully abolished racial, colour and linguistic prejudices, and made Muslims from the four corners of the globe pulsate with a common feeling of brotherhood. This is not to say that the world of Islam presents a perfect picture in this respect. Racism and nationalism are still going strong in Muslim countries, but that is in spite of, not because of, the Islamic ideology. Comparatively speaking, however, the world of Islam on the whole presents a more compact picture than any other group, so far as demolition of international barriers is concerned. The reason: the inner transformation of man it wrought, under the higher, superhuman sanction, the implanting of the kingdom of God in the heart of man.

That way lies the only answer to the challenge of the nuclear demon. But for a thorough reorientation of the modern man's whole outlook on life and revaluation of life's values, world peace is bound to remain a wild goose-chase. No man-made apparatus, economic or political, can stand the strains of the flesh within us, and, as amply borne out by one experiment after another, is bound to break down. Rediscovery of the spiritual substratum of life alone can induce the new outlook which alone can sustain any social structure. But for that impelling force from within, a World Government, even if achieved, will before long collapse like a house of cards.

The trouble with modern man is that under the glamour of the wonders of science and technology he has lost his grip on the really abiding values of life, including his own soul. The higher and higher reaches attained in the realm of science, however, have knocked the very bottom out of the materialistic conception of life, of which the present civilization with its warped materialistic outlook is but a by-product. While the disappearance of the materialistic origin of existence is a myth, the way has already been paved for giving a spiritual bias to the whole gamut of human life. World Government is a good idea. But the way to that great consummation lies along rehabilitating the kingdom of God in the heart of man. But for that firm foundation it would be building on foundations of sand.

A CALL TO MUSLIMS¹



"In the later decades of the sixth century C.E., and before the guidance of humanity by the light of Muhammad the Messenger (upon whom be peace!), the world had been suffering from a long period of reaction and obscurantism. East and west, north and south, had been subject to relentless injustice, living contrary to the teachings of benevolent Christianity. The bulk of mankind was addicted to the worship of idols, whereas there were some sections that worshipped fire or heavenly bodies.

"Entire communities were subjugated by a few despotic rulers who assumed the names of Caesars or Emperors. Many a country fell victim to the misleading practices of the so-called clergy, who used their religious influence as a shield to cover the multitude of heresies intended to blind the people and reduce them to virtual submission.

"His mission was by no means an easy or a safe one in face of the tempestuous events then shaking the world, and in view of the abject backwardness then afflicting humanity. But the Divine Messenger's character and his unfailing patience, his extraordinary talent for preparation and organization, his distinguished eloquence and his sound reasoning, had all combined to make his call take deep root, and his message sure of success. His call found ready response amongst millions of people who followed the new faith with unfailing and unfaltering conviction.

"The Prophet was able to bless the world with an ideal to be followed by all future generations, and a cause that could well be a guide to subsequent reformers. Crowning the previous series of prophets, and being the last of the messengers, he made his life an exemplary code for rulers, and an ideal to inspire every pattern of society. His life was straightforward and simple, an ideal combination of the humble and the sublime. He lived like a poor man, and continued to do so till his death.

"His life was one long chain of glorious sacrifices and feats of self-denial. He sacrificed his interests, and virtually his life, when he first advocated his mission. He emphasized his Divine message with unfailing determination despite his numerous enemies, and regardless of the limited material aid at his disposal. He exposed himself to great dangers on the

night of the *Hejira* (departure from Mecca for Medina) and for many a day thereafter. He exposed his life many a time throughout the campaigns in which he fought to defend the very existence of his followers and the faith he was to propagate.

"Wars were successively waged solely to satisfy the insatiable lust for conquest, dragging the world to the brink of catastrophe into which it would have fallen had it not been for the intervention of the Divine mercy which decreed the salvation of the world, and the guidance of humanity to right and peace. Hence the advent of Muhammad, the elect, the prophet, the orphan, the poor man of the desert, the Inspired Messenger of God destined to restore humanity to peace and security, to mutual sympathy and collaboration, to true convictions and faith.

"His mission was noble and mighty since it placed no bar between God and man, between the worshipped and the worshipper; declaring that God was nearer to man than his jugular vein; and thus an end was put to current heresies, ecclesiastical mediations and similar practices. The remarkable relationship between man and his Creator, as demonstrated by Islam, lay in the simplicity of the faith. Every Muslim can readily imbibe the spirit of Islam, respecting its commands, and responding to its precepts without undue hardship or strain.

"The call for unity and collaboration is one of the most striking features of the Islamic faith. A Muslim is to a Muslim, and a believer to a believer, as is a brother to a brother, however far and wherever they may be. Disunity is weakness, and dissension is virtually the same as acting against the community.

"The call of Islam is verily full of lessons, and contains many a moral discipline. Why then should we not seek in it our guidance and inspiration? What reason can there be for enmity and discord? Why should we be divergent in policy, in aim, or in ideals? And when we go astray, or are in doubt of the right path, why not appeal to Islam for guidance towards the sound course? Why war against one another, and why have recourse to anything but a life of brotherhood and unity and collective effort for the common good? Is it not enough to have suffered heavily these past centuries which have virtually reduced us to a wreck? Had not disunity proved an advantage to our enemies? Have we not suffered indignity and humiliation although, at one time, we had been the masters of all, honoured and respected by all?

"Arabs and Muslims throughout the world! Obey God and the Prophet; unite as one front against whomsoever be your enemy, and give your aid to whomsoever be your friend. Never disagree or weaken, for if you are truly guided by the spirit and ideals of Islam, you will be eminent, and 'you will have the upper hand'. These are not vague or empty words: they are the expression of my true and genuine feeling. These are words that spring from my heart — a heart that believes firmly and deeply in Islam and its call, the call of power and peace.

"Will you then put your hand in mine? Will you respond to this warm call from a staunch believer in Islam and the Arab cause? It is not enough for me to have delivered the message — and God is my witness that I have delivered it! But as long as I live I will seek with all my might and determination, and with unfailing will, to turn these words into an indisputable reality. To this God be my witness!"

JAMAL 'ABD AL-NASIR.

¹ From the preface to *The Islamic Call* by Mohamed M. Atta, Cairo, Egypt (year of publication not given).

THE ATTITUDE OF THE QUR'AN TOWARDS THE CUSTOMARY VEIL IN MUSLIM SOCIETY

In Early Muslim Society Women Attended Public Meetings

By RAHIM BAKHSH

The *purdah*¹ (the veil) is perhaps one of the most controversial subjects in Islamic theology. Much has been written for and against it in the light of different interpretations of the Qur'anic injunctions and the *Sunnah*, and the pros and cons of the question have been so thoroughly examined as to leave little scope for further clarification. In theory the matter has been discussed at great lengths as to the limitations and pattern of the *purdah*; in practice the system varies from place to place, from country to country and from nationality to nationality. It is a delicate and at the same time a difficult topic to deal with — delicate because it touches the most tender feelings and cherished sentiments of the fair sex; difficult because of the prevalence of established Muslim social customs and conventions which it is well-nigh impossible to change or eradicate under the force of a formula or a principle. Thus the theory and practice of the *purdah* have never gone hand in hand, and the system is generally left to adjust itself to suit the occasion or convenience of the individual or society. The orthodox view declaims the lifting of the *purdah* strongly on grounds of moral integrity of the social fabric, while the opposite view has been vehement in its total abolition in the cause of feminine freedom and upliftment. To advocate or even express the view either way is, therefore, to call for criticism and to stir up a wave of controversy which eventually has no ending.

To the Western mind, the *purdah* is an inexplicable institution. It conjures up fantastic associations and spectacular visions of harems and houris, of voluptuous sultans and sordid seraglios. In the eyes of the West, the ways of the East are inscrutable and it is beyond its conception how the mysterious female of the Orient is either confined within the four walls of the house, or if she goes out, she is screened from public gaze behind curtains or covered from head to foot to appear like a sack in motion along the streets and bazaars of the town. It is for the Western mind unimaginable that the "dulcet and harmonious" form of the better half of humanity should remain hidden from general view. Nevertheless, the extremists who favour the *purdah* are undoubtedly responsible in a great measure for creating the ludicrous impression with which the Westerner beholds the *burqa*² (the veil). I am, however, not concerned in this article with the merits of the various forms the *purdah* has adopted either in the shape of the overall *burqa* that envelops the whole body, or the peep-eye *niqab*³ which covers the face with the exception of the eyes, or the tantalizing veil which half conceals and half reveals the face. My purpose in this article is to discuss what the relationship should be between the two sexes and what the Islamic *purdah* signifies.

A comparison of the views of a Western lady doctor on the relationship between the two sexes and the injunctions of the Qur'an on the subject

That the *purdah* has established itself in Muslim countries is solely because Islam does not want promiscuous

intermingling of the sexes. In their efforts to enforce this spirit of the teachings of the Qur'an, they confused promiscuity and the veil. Let us, therefore, elucidate what is exactly meant by "promiscuity" here. The dictionary meaning of the word "promiscuity" is clear enough, but to explain its use in the context of the subject, I cannot do better than to quote at length excerpts from an article which appeared in the *Reader's Digest* for June 1957 under the heading "What Women Don't Know About Being Female", by Dr. Marian Hilliard. I would commend this interesting article to the reader for a full perusal, but will confine myself to the following quotations:

"Creation has gone to considerable trouble to grant woman certain glands and desires, and aura to enhance her in the eyes of the males. And then she is full of innocent surprise and wonderment when these attributes work. Some women seem to have the impression that being female is a bundle of tricks, such as squealing at mice or being poor at arithmetic. Femaleness, as any doctor will tell you, is savage. Woman is equipped with a reproductive system which dominates her fibre. It has vicious power that can leap out of control without the slightest warning, when a man and a woman merely share a companionable chuckle or happen to touch hands. Involuntarily the woman is twisted inside with an anguish and longing. . . .

"I believed then, as most women do, that a woman controlled her relationship with a man. It became intimate because she deliberately chose to let it. I am wiser now, and I know this isn't true. There can come a moment between a man and a woman when control and judgment are impossible. . . . The belief that any woman can coolly halt love-making at some point before she is wholly committed is a tiger trap. For this reason women have to safeguard themselves with a *standard of conduct that may seem quaint and archaic*. The freedom a modern girl allows herself is a delusion — it gives her no freedom of choice. . . . Human passion is no toy to be used when a couple is bored. It frightens me that films, songs and television portray only the passion side of love, giving adolescents the false impression that this is love in its entirety. Nothing could be more wrong. Real love is affection, the enduring element in any man-woman association; and it can last a lifetime. Married women, too, can be shattered if they fail to respect the power of their biology. Wives, trusting sure that 'nothing can happen' because they are with a good friend or neighbour, sometimes seek to nourish their eyes with easy kisses and embraces. They can set in motion a violence beyond control. . . . As a doctor,

1 A Persian word.

2 An Arabic word.

3 An Arabic word.

I don't believe there is such a thing as a platonic relationship between a man and a woman who are alone together a good deal. . . . The human needs that a woman cannot do without don't include physical love at all. They are affection, a sense of achievement, status and security. These four are the permanent necessities ; the need for sex is a transient longing. . . . Female biology can illuminate or desolate — but it can never be underestimated."

This is the testimony of a doctor, of a female of the species and of one brought up under the Western civilization. To me this sums up the essence of the Islamic sense of the *pardah*, and it cuts at the root of all those modern social institutions and conventions which place the woman and man in close contact and afford opportunities to excite sexual passions. What have the advocates of "dancing" to say to this who earnestly assert that no erotic feelings are aroused while a man and a woman are holding themselves almost in an embrace in a atmosphere replete with enchanting lights and perfume of the dance-hall and the entralling music played by the orchestra? The dance-hall, in addition, provides alcoves and curtained balconies to which the couples can repair, if so inclined, to converse freely on love ; and the entertainment is ultimately followed by visits to either party's apartments in complete seclusion. The freedom allowed to young persons of opposite sexes to meet in privacy under the Western system of "dating" during courtship even before any engagement has been announced more often leads to pre-marital relations resulting in the increasing number of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children. Does the West look with complacency on these conditions of society? While the saner elements of the West have realized the follies and frolics of their society, and are denouncing these tendencies, the Eastern "backward" countries are keen to follow the lead of the West in this direction.

What an irony of modern thought ; while Islamic teachings inculcate extreme purity and strict standards of morality and lay down the highest status for man, Islam is branded for degrading the position of woman and debasing her for debauchery and sexuality ! The injunctions of the Qur'an in no way lay down any untenable and unnatural barriers between the two sexes to lead a normal life of purity and virtue, but such directions, undoubtedly, tend to mitigate all chances of free mixing of the sexes under such conditions as to excite or arouse erotic feelings of a clandestine nature. The real sense of the Islamic *pardah* lies in its ban on promiscuity. I will quote the well-known verse of the Holy Qur'an which throws abundant light on the subject :

"Say to the believing men that they lower their gaze and restrain their sexual passions. That is purer for them. Surely God is Aware of what they do. And Say to the believing women that they lower their gaze and be modest (in their deportment) and do not display their adornment except what appears thereof (i.e., except that which is customary and natural to keep uncovered). And let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms. And they should not display their adornment except to their husbands or (here are enumerated members of the intimate family circle). . . . And let them not stamp their feet so as to reveal the adornment which is concealed (under clothes)" (24 : 30-31).

Mark in the first place that the lowering of gaze is enjoined equally on both sexes. Now if the woman is entirely covered from head to foot while moving outside in society the question of lowering the gaze on the part of men and

women does not arise at all, and the injunction would thus be not only incongruous but superfluous. Again, if under the strictest sense of *pardah*, the face has to be covered, then what does the *exception* (in the verse) relate to. Is it not natural and in fact essential from a health point of view to keep the face exposed while walking or going about on business outside the house? What is, therefore, expressly prohibited is the display of her charms by woman in the way of what is now generally known as sex-appeal, and to make assignments and fix rendezvous in order to give free play to their amorous feelings and erotic desires.

It will thus be seen that the injunctions of the Holy Qur'an relating to the *pardah* question are clear and are directed towards nothing more than regulating the social conduct of both sexes by laying down certain restrictions as preventive measures against free and intimate intermingling of the adolescents of both sexes outside the lawful bond of matrimony. Such regulations, as observed by Dr. Hilliard, may sound "quaint and archaic" to the modern outlook, but that the need of such checks is there is evident from the reactions of the high intellectuals of the same society to these trends. There exists a persistent note of pessimism and frustration in the writings of the famous authors of the English language of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The greatest exponent of this tendency was Thomas Hardy, who depicted his characters, in almost all his works, as toys and playthings of the circumstances, tossed about in the stormy seas of their unhappy destinies. A sad fatalism, as it were, runs through his stories. "Where are thy guardian angels?" bewails Hardy, when the chastity of Tess is defiled, and he leaves a question mark at the end of his book. Why is "Tess" left unprotected to struggle helplessly against a cruel fate that awaits her at every turn of her life? The works of the atheist H. G. Wells echo a similar strain of thought. Why does the ordeal of Richard Feverel end in a tragic failure of a well-motivated life? While these writers have rightly laid their fingers on the malady from which their special fabric is suffering, they have, due perhaps to their deep-seated prejudices, failed to detect the real source of the evil pervading the world, and with their biased minds find themselves at a loss to avail of the solution of the vexed problem as offered by Islam. Such thinkers have thus lost their faith in human nature, and have fallen a prey to scepticism and agnosticism.

The Qur'an does not believe that man is a mere helpless victim of the evil forces that surround him. Islam has prescribed a code of social conduct not only to combat such evils but to curb the mischief at the very source. Truly speaking, the *pardah* regulations neither provide segregation of the sexes nor the seclusion of women, but aim at engendering conditions of safeguarding the purity and chastity of woman and a due observance of the teachings of Islam in this respect ensures a healthy functioning of the society unhampered by any unnatural barriers between the sexes.

Relationship between the two sexes must be maintained in accordance with the precepts of the Qur'an by any human society that wishes a stable, healthy and peaceful existence. Western Society is ruining its foundations.

These Qur'anic precepts are not merely theoretical assertions but were demonstrated in practical life by the Prophet and his faithful followers. Did not the Muslim ladies take an active part in the operations of war during the lifetime of the Prophet and the period of the first four Caliphs by accompanying the soldiers to the field of battle and ministering to nursing needs of the wounded? Did not the women attend

the same mosques as visited by men to join the congregational prayers? Were not the inmates of the houses allowed to go about freely to bazaars or other places of business to attend to their daily routine? The chronicles of the Caliphate reveal that women attended meetings and conferences where matters of State and social interests were discussed. One may recall the well-known episode of 'Umar the Great's speech delivered at a big gathering. He had stood up in the capacity of a Caliph and a king to address the meeting on an important issue on which he felt keenly perturbed. With the expansion of conquests, wealth had begun to pour into the hands of the Muslims. They had naturally started spending lavishly and were conferring big dowries on their wives. 'Umar, who intensely desired the Muslims to stick to their original simple and abstemious ways, spoke to the congregation denouncing indulgence in such luxuries of life. It is recorded that an old woman rose from among the audience to challenge the statement of the great Caliph. Addressing him openly in the vast assembly by his mere name, she said, "Who are you to deprive us of our due rights which God has conferred on us?" And then she recited the verse from the Holy Qur'an in support of her claim, "And if you have given to any one of them (the woman you are divorcing) a heap of gold, take nothing from it" (4: 20). The inference drawn from this verse, to the effect that there is no limit to the amount of dowry that can be bestowed by the husband on his wife, was readily accepted by the great Caliph without demur, who declared at the same time that the women of Medina had a better understanding of the Qur'an than himself! How could a woman so admirably advocate the cause of her sex if women were not allowed to sit in the same assembly with men? And yet the standard of the purity of morals attained by the society of that period has admittedly remained unique and unprecedented.

Islam has, while allowing complete freedom of movement to woman, laid the greatest stress on the modesty of her deportment and demeanour (which essentially includes the

style of dress and the manner of address in public). Lack, or rather total absence, of this virtue has led the Western civilization to the sorry plight whence it cannot retrace its steps. Consequently, people flaunt their indecency without let or hindrance. Modesty, the gem of woman's beauty and the safeguard of her chastity, is no more. From the modes of dancing halls and club parties, the Western society has advanced to bathing costumes and beauty contests, cabarets and strip-tease cult of nudity, and the latest craze of Rock 'n' Roll.

How wonderfully comprehensive are the Qur'anic injunctions when viewed in the light of these modern trends. Says the Holy Qur'an; "Say: Who has forbidden the adornment of God (i.e., the beauty of this life) which He has brought forth for His servants, and the good things (of this life)? Say: These are for the believers in the life of this world, purely (theirs) on the Resurrection day. Thus do We make the messages clear for a people who know. Say: My Lord forbids only indecencies such of them as are apparent and such as are concealed, and sin and unjust rebellion, and that you associate with God that for which He has sent down no authority; and that you say of God what you know not" (7: 32-33).

Obviously God has not prohibited man from the enjoyment of the beauty and niceties of life, provided the manners and modes of social systems are designed within the limits of decency and moral rectitude. Whatever be the relative meaning attributed to the term "decency", it will essentially embrace modesty, the finest quality of womanhood, which the modern civilization is out to annihilate and wipe out in its march for physical enjoyment through unrestricted promiscuity. And nothing can halt this fatal march but the force of Islamic teachings properly appreciated and truly presented to the Western world. Let the followers of Islam then take the lead in theory and practice to maintain the sanctity and abolish the absurdity of *purdah*.

THE Egyptian Economic & Political Review

AUTHORITATIVE OPINIONS ON EGYPTIAN AND MIDDLE EAST BUSINESS

*Analysis of Political
and Economic Issues*

Documentation on:
ECONOMICS • INDUSTRY • COMMERCE
NEW LAWS • STATISTICS

Yearly Subscription : £1 9s. plus postage

Published by:

The Egyptian Economic and Political Review
33 SH. ABDEL KHALEK SARWAT • CAIRO • EGYPT

STRATEGIC PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Talk given before the Pakistan Society
prior to the Declaration of the Republic in Iraq

By GENERAL MUHAMMAD AYUB KHAN

The Middle East during the last couple of years has become a trouble spot of the world, and as a result a lot of people who are interested in the security of the Middle East, like the British people here and like we are in Pakistan, we are very concerned about it, and as such I think it would be a good thing to know what are the causes of this upset and upheaval and creation of a dangerous situation in that region before we can think of devising ways and means of curing the situation, as ways and means we must find to cure it if we want to lead an honourable and independent existence.

Russian interest in the Middle East

Now the facts that I am going to narrate to you are not new, they are probably already well known to you, but maybe the deductions I draw may have something in them. They certainly are the deductions of a man on the other side of the hill, as we are in Pakistan, right at the far end of the Middle East. So to that extent what I will say later on may be of some interest. Now I suggest that there are two major causes for the state of affairs in the Middle East. First of all general social, political and military weakness within the area, and secondly the sharp clash of East and West interests in that area. I shall deal with the second first — that is to say sharp clash of East and West interests. The Russian interest in the Middle East is a long one; it started a long, long time ago some 350 years ago. They have always been wanting to come to the warm waters of the Persian Gulf and the warm waters of the Mediterranean. As for the past I think it is true that they regard themselves as rather land-locked and a big power cannot really rise up to its full dimension unless it has sea communication with the rest of the world; can trade with it, sell things to it, and so on. So that urge is nothing new. The only difference is this: the language used today is different. The language is that of Communist equal social status for everybody. But behind that real meaning is the meaning of imperialism — the desire to expand, the desire to occupy those territories in order to expand their influence and expand their domain. Now this desire is accentuated by the discovery of an enormous amount of oil in the Middle East. It's curious that desert, to look at, really looks like nothing on earth when you fly over it or walk over it or ride over it; yet it's floating on oil. It is a curious phenomenon of nature. I believe that nature gives a piece of land either something on top of it or something below it, and as there is nothing on top of that desert nature has given it something below which is more valuable than even gold. Now the Russian desire to come to the Middle East is accentuated by the discovery of that enormous treasure, and as that treasure happens to be the chief vehicle of the prosperity and means of movement of Western industry, it therefore is a much more, shall we say, coveted target. If the West can be denied that oil, or the access to that oil, or the use of that oil, the Western industry and standard of living can be brought to nought in no time. That shouldn't require any great emphasis. Only recently when the Suez was blocked the effect was felt not only in our part of the world but all over Europe. And even

the Americans, who thought that if such a thing were to arise they would provide the whole of Western Europe from their oil reserves, very soon found that if they were to do that — they had the means to do that, they had the liquid to send across — but they very soon found that Western Europe will not be able to pay for it in dollars, and that if they wanted the Western industries to continue they would have to pay for it from their own pockets. So if the Russians can deny that oil to the West a lot of desire to fight would probably disappear; the job would be done much more easily without firing a shot.

Russia in relation to China

Now these factors have been accentuated by another realization in Russia, which is causing them acute concern. That realization is this: that the way China is developing, if she goes on developing for another forty, fifty, or a hundred years, and after all, forty, fifty or a hundred years is nothing in the life of the people, China will be a mighty power, and if it grows that way what will be the status of Russia in relation to China? The status of Russia would obviously become that of a satellite. That realization is dominant in the minds of thinking Russians. The problem is how that situation can be averted? Could they cut off their support to China today to ensure that China does not grow up to that stature? If they do that obviously China will fall into the laps of the West and Russia will be isolated in any case. That would be a dangerous situation, wouldn't it? The other remedy is to go on supporting China but at the same time making sure that Russia has a similar balance in manpower and resources to China, and that even though China may progress at the rate she is she will never become a point of danger to Russia. And I believe that from that reasoning there has emerged a desire in the minds of the Russians that they have got to produce a counter-balance in territory and resources and manpower to China, and in order to get that balance there is this power drive into the Middle East and later on, perhaps, to Africa. I believe they have come to that conclusion; that if they can get hold of the Middle East and Africa they will counter-balance China.

But the point is, how are they going to get these territories without provoking the powerful Western countries? There are two things that are stopping them from doing so. One is the existence of NATO. If they were to march south into the Middle East and later on to Africa, NATO will undoubtedly be activated. How can they neutralize NATO? Now NATO can only be neutralized if the American influence can be eradicated from the West, and also if the American influence can be eradicated from Asia. Therefore, whatever they do, the main target is America, so that the free countries in Asia as well as in the West lose the support of America. Once that happens, once the Americans are removed from these regions, then the task becomes much easier. These are the Russian moves, in short.

Now in this desire to come to this part of the world there are certain factors that are of assistance. First of all

there is the acute Arab rivalry against Israel, rivalry and hatred almost to the point of murder. I have been round the Middle East and I have spoken to some very sensible people, and you can see that they are quite irrational when they talk about this business. And from Israel that hatred ricochets off to the West, and the target mainly is, No. 1 France, and unfortunately now Britain. Now that situation helps Russia; she can use that situation from time to time to her advantage. Under the guise of assistance to local nationalism Russia can exploit any situation that may arise from time to time. Little Oman troubles, Suez, this, that and the other, and so on. I am not going into the rights and wrongs of these problems, I am not justifying or decrying them, but the point is the Russian is now in a position to exploit these situations, getting to the hearts and minds of the people in the Middle East, as such. Pose as saviours, pose as friends, get nearer.

But the situation is further bedevilled by the gospel of neutralism, which really, to us, is a shadow of Communism. And neutralism is also co-operating with Communism to keep the people in the Middle East ineffective. I wouldn't be a bit surprised if the neutralism too was after these territories in due course of time. Neutralism also doesn't want to see coherence and strength and getting together anywhere. Arabs are also misled by that. The vehicle of propaganda is the language of nationalism. The appeal is through local nationalism. But the real object is to ensure that they remain divided, they remain weak and an easy target. Then again there is a clash of Arab interests amongst themselves. They talk about the Arab League, they talk about the Arab cause, but there are an immense amount of rivalries and getting together among themselves, as you know full well how difficult it is. They have paper pacts, they have paper alliances, but they come to nothing as soon as the ink dries on them. That comes out of their acute suspicion of each other. But above all, the thing that helps the Russians enormously is the factor that Arabs, and for that matter, the South Asian people, do not know Russian imperialism. They have no experience of it. Now, for instance, the Russians could not sell their gospel or their will to people in Eastern Europe for the simple reason that they have had a taste of the Russian imperialism, whereas the Russians in the Middle East can pose as friends and this, that and the other, in order to get the people in the wrong position and make use of them. Those are the factors that are assisting the Russian advance into those regions.

Causes of weakness in the region

Now I go on to talk about the general social, political and military state of weakness within the region. How has that emerged. How has that happened? That has happened in this fashion. That has not only happened in the Middle East because of the emergence of a certain phenomenon but has happened in many other places as well, and that is to say that whenever an empire breaks up in any region, you see in its place small countries emerging who are mutually antagonistic, bitterly opposed, weak politically, militarily and in every conceivable way. Such places become the plague sport of the world, such places become the area of clash of interests of the major powers, and that is what has happened in the Middle East too. As a result of the break-up of the Turkish Empire at the end of the First World War these small countries emerged, but you will notice that the situation you have today, the position of weakness that exists in the Middle East today, didn't emerge till after, and the reason was simple, which was that those regions were covered by

British military power, and as soon as that military power was withdrawn the situation assumed its normal course. Now this state of affairs which you see today should have happened, would have happened, in fact, soon after the First World War, but it didn't happen because of that British power I am talking about. As soon as this influence was withdrawn all those things that I am talking about emerged. Therefore there is no strength in that region to be able to resist any aggressive moves by anybody. Such places become power vacuums. Look at the Balkans, for instance, as the result of the break-up of the Austrian Empire. Balkan countries emerged as small, petty little countries, and they have been the trouble spot of the world. They still are. They will go on being like that. On a higher level, when you think of the world problem today, I believe that such a problem, in such an acute form, would not have emerged if it wasn't for the fact that there wasn't a powerful enough Germany to hold the balance between the East and West. Now because there is no counter-balance of power in the middle of Europe you have a direct clash of Eastern and Western interests. The old basis on which the British ran their relationship, if I may be permitted to say so, within Europe and outside, that is the keeping of balance of power, had a lot of virtue. That is really the basis of the struggle today, to bring about a balance of power whereby you can co-exist with each other, for unless a balance of power is produced, co-existence is impossible, and sometimes it takes a long, long time to produce a state of balance of power. Look at what happened in history in the past. Look at the clashes between the Muslims and Christians in the Middle East. The Crusades alone lasted some 400 years, until one side or the other felt itself weakened and reconciled itself to living with the other. When people talk about co-existence with Russia today I maintain that co-existence is not possible because the circumstances on which co-existence is based do not exist today.

Now this is a gloomy picture, isn't it? The point is, what is to be done? Do we do nothing? Just wait for the world to get swallowed up? We in Pakistan cannot really reconcile ourselves to that state of attitude of mind, for the simple reason that, Heaven forbid! if Communism was to prevail in our part of the world we should have the status of a satellite. You will notice that the Russians have different treatment for different countries. If the bulk of the country is large, like China, for instance, it is treated as an equal, because there is no other way you can treat them. Maybe if India were to become Communist they would be treated as equal because of their bulk, but we would be just ground away, and I think it is a point we must all realize and a thing we must all avoid with all the power at our disposal.

The Basis of the Baghdad Pact

How can we rectify this state of affairs in the Middle East? I believe this state of affairs can be put right if certain things are done. How was it that peace was maintained in the past, not only in the Middle East, but in the whole of the Far East for that matter? I believe that this peace was maintained by two things. It was maintained by the British sea power, whose spearhead were the local armies created by the British in different regions. The most notable example of that was the Indian Army. It was that Army which, I submit, did most of the policing work, most of the fighting of that nature from Peking to God knows where — in France and so on and so forth. And it was the British Navy that gave it the flexibility and mobility to move from one place to another. Is it not, therefore, the answer to create a similar force in those regions, which, when backed up by modern

type of sea power and air power, could do the same task in the same fashion? And that is the basis of the Baghdad Pact, the basis on which we fought for it and worked for it and brought it about. If the Baghdad Pact is properly understood and the type of force I am talking about re-created, and backed up by modern air and sea power, I maintain that a lot of situations can be handled and controlled.

Now how can such a force be created? We, most of the Arab world, the Turks, people who live in that part of the world, are materially weak, but some of us have got the will to fight and we have proven and trusted manpower that can do the fighting, but that manpower by itself, unless married up with the necessary equipment, modern equipment, is really not much use, and the only country that equipment can come from is America. I wish you were in a position to give it; we would have been very happy. I wish we did not have to go to anybody for such a thing. I wish even today we could find a gold mine or something like that so that we don't have to go to anybody. But that has not been found yet. You can't assist us. The only country that can do so is America, because if the Middle East goes under, believe me the next direct attack will be on America. They would not be doing us any great favour really, it would not be just kindness, it would be in their self-interest and self-preservation. And if those two things can be married up I believe a position of strength can be created.

We in the Middle East are now busy planning, from a military angle, within the orbit of the Baghdad Pact. We are reaching a stage where we can say: What is the extent of forces we require to hold that situation? And it will be very interesting to see when we reach that stage — and I believe we will reach that stage within the next few months — what is the reaction of our powerful allies. Are they or are they not going to give us the necessary materials, the necessary means, to be able to hold that situation? If they do that, and may God give them the vision to do that, I believe that a lot of good things can follow.

There is another way of thinking, and that is this: When you come to think of what are the countries that are dangerous to the world today? Dangerous to world peace. I think it would be no exaggeration to say that it is either Russia or China, and there may well be another country which I won't name just yet. The point is: how are you going to control them? Remember that with human beings remote controls don't function. You have got to have somebody sitting next door who can handle the situation, and I maintain that a strong Japan could control China; a strong Pakistan could save a lot of situations in that part of the world. A strong Turkey will be an asset, a strong Germany backed up by Western support I maintain will one day contain Russia. And that is the basis on which positions of strength should in future be created.

The task of the United States of America

You might say, how can America go on doing these things? How can they provide the necessary means to do all this. They are getting tired, they have been very generous. As a matter of fact what they are doing to the rest of the world is something which is unique in the history of mankind, a unique example of generosity and large-heartedness, but in this there is also an element of self-preservation, self-interest, which is the desire to gain friends who can be of assistance in time of need. They know that they will save a lot of their resources and save a lot of their blood in time of trouble. And in any case, when you come to think of it, the extent of foreign aid in the total budget of, approximately,

71 billion dollars, is 3.7 billion. That is not an enormous sum really to have such a large number of good friends. But there is a real way of going on with this business of creation of strength over different areas of the world for a long, long time, and I maintain that this trouble is going to last for a long, long time. It is like this. This is a struggle between two religions in the world. However Godless Communism may be, it is a religion. And therefore this struggle is not going to finish in a day. I would be very surprised if it finished within a century. Even if it is half a century, even if it is twenty-five years, how is it that the free world can go on with this struggle, not become bankrupt and break its own back, and yet be ready to meet any awkward situation?

The British example

Militarily, I think it is a good thing to study past history and try and see whether there is an example of such a kind from which one can take a lesson or two, and I maintain that the way you people, the British people, ran your Empire is a very good example. As I said before, militarily you produced a first-class Navy in order to cover your sea communications and to give your forces flexibility, strategic flexibility. Then you used local forces, locally raised forces, to clear awkward situations in different parts of the world, and by that method you saved your manpower, you used it for your industries and other things, until the last two wars, when, unfortunately, through force of circumstances, you had to have big armies and you suffered very heavily. You departed from your normal principles. But, by and large, I think it is an extraordinarily good example of how a far-flung empire could be controlled cheaply, sensibly and without really getting exhausted or tired. I maintain that the Americans can do the same thing today. They can do the same thing in this fashion: they can produce a first-class Navy — and when I talk about a Navy I mean a modern Navy with atomic capability — plus a first-class Air Force, and rely on their friends for ground forces, friends like the Japanese, like us, like the Turks and so on. I believe that is the way in which they will go on for a long time, and we shall all of us be in a position to meet any awkward situation when it arises. There is a school of thought which says this is out of fashion, old-fashioned, out-dated, no good talking about ground forces nowadays, and so on, with all these nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons war can be finished in no time, and there is no necessity to have armies at all. That, I believe, is not true; it can't be true. I think it would be a great fallacy if we relied on that theory. I don't underrate the value, the deterrent value, of the thermo-nuclear weapons, but to say that they will solve all military problems is highly dangerous. After all, when you come to think of it, most of you have had more experience than I have; I was only a child when, before the last war, for instance, there were a lot of people who said that air power will provide the solution, will finish the war in no time, yet it didn't do that, and I don't think that all these weapons alone are going to solve that problem this time either. After all, what is the aim of any conflict between human beings? It is to occupy space and impose your will on your opponent; that really means actual physical occupation by manpower.

Conclusion

There is another way of arguing this business of necessity of having ground forces. I think it is a good thing to study very carefully how a possible aggressor is organizing his forces. Let us see what Russia is doing today. She is going ahead with the development of all thermo-nuclear and nuclear

weapons and so on ; at the same time she has got an army of 175 Divisions, mostly mechanized and armoured. Satellites have got 75 to 80 Divisions. Why are they there? Why are they keeping them? Is it because they haven't got the brains to think about these things? Are they wasting their resources? Have they got that number of resources they can waste away? No, the answer is that there is use for them. So I believe that in the free world people will be very ill-advised if they think they can do away with ground forces, and if the ground forces are necessary to you people and the Americans and so on, I suggest that if we are prepared to do the fighting on the ground against the enemy for our common good, then let's start on a business of lend-lease — we provide the manpower and you provide us with the means to do the fighting. I suggest that this business is not something that we ought to be thinking about in some very dim, distant future ; we ought to be thinking about it today, right now ; we should have been doing something about it a long time ago, because the probable enemy is tough and strong, he's persistent, and he only respects the language of strength. He thrives on weakness, so preparation in time should be the keynote.

Finally, I should like to talk about the Baghdad Pact. There has been a certain amount of doubt, not criticism, expressed about the Baghdad Pact. Of what value is it to anybody? Well, I think people who express these doubts probably expect a lot from the Baghdad Pact. They expected that by the emergence of the Baghdad Pact all the conflicts between Israel and the Arabs, between you and the Arabs,

between the Arabs amongst each other, would disappear. How could anyone argue that the getting together of so many countries little further up north would solve these problems. In any case, these problems are not of our creation. Why should we be blamed for them? We never guaranteed that these problems would be solved merely because we are getting together. I maintain that the Baghdad Pact is serving a very useful purpose : say for a moment there was no Baghdad Pact ; say for a moment there was a weak government in Iran — the enemy would have taken advantage of it. He would have gone psychologically through that country ; he would have connected up with Egypt and the whole of the Middle East would have gone, without a shot being fired. This cannot happen as long as the Baghdad Pact is there, for the simple reason that we are getting to know each other ; we are providing correctives to each other ; if any one of us takes a wrong step we get very angry, and we are re-educating each other into realism and facing facts fairly and squarely without any emotionalism. The value of the Baghdad Pact will depend on the amount of support it gets from the West, the amount of material support it gets from the West. There is an enormous amount of manpower there that could be built up, utilized to produce strength, but it's no use blaming us that we haven't been able to do so. When we came into it we made it quite clear what our resources were and what our difficulties were. We kept nothing hidden at all. And so I suggest to you that the Baghdad Pact is doing very useful work indeed, and will continue to do so. Without it I have no doubt in my mind that the Middle East would have been lost by now.

FAMILY PLANNING AND ISLAM

Family Planning is not un-Islamic if it is done for promoting Health

By DR. ZOHRUL HAQUE, M.B.B.S.

The family planning programme is being taken up in almost every country of the world, and everywhere it is becoming a burning topic of discussion. The programme is being implemented because the countries are faced with two main problems — to adjust the natural resources with the needs of the people, and to regulate the number of people to suit the resources. Experts think that the rate of increase in population is not keeping pace with food production even on the implementation of scientific methods to increase agricultural yield. And so the politicians intend to drive a programme to check the tremendous rate of increase in population, and thus save the world from the threatened catastrophe out of starvation.

Here arises the controversy between the politicians and men of religion, as the former intend to apply a break to the accelerated childbirth because of food problems.

To observe birth control for fear of increasing population is not a sound argument

The reasons put forward by the experts to decrease population due to insufficiency of food production are hard to grasp. In fact people have been facing food problems from time immemorial, when the world population was far less than it is at present. They had been struggling hard for

existence and have survived, nay, have even increased in multitude and prospered. Science is making unthinkable progress in all spheres, revealing new vistas so long hidden to us. We are seeing day by day that by adoption of manifold devices in agriculture and by bringing more land under cultivation, countries which were deficient in food yesterday are becoming self-sufficient or even surplus areas despite the increased population of today. We are looking forward to tomorrow with the eye we have today. Who knows tomorrow we might be able to produce still more than we can foresee today with our present resources? Only one-third of the world is covered by land, and out of this again only a portion of it is being occupied today. The rest of the land, in deserts, mountains and in polar regions, has as yet not been properly explored for our utilization. The vast seas and oceans covering two-thirds of the world are lying not in vain ; they store immense resources yet to be utilized. If due to poverty one is unable to feed two mouths, it does not mean that one mouth will have to be wiped off to feed the other.

God is *Rabb* — the Nourisher unto perfection (1:1). He gives provisions beyond measure (3:26). He makes provision for us as well as for our children (6:152, 17:31), only that we are to strive hard and our striving will be rewarded fully (53:39-41).

A nation consists of a series of family units. Health and prosperity of a nation necessarily commence at the family level. A judicious adjustment of the family size and spacing of children to suit the health, present economic and other resources seem to be not unjustified.

Family planning actually aims at bringing health and happiness to a family by planning the parenthood. It includes the following services:

- (1) Birth Control: Birth control is not the be-all and end-all of the family planning programme. It is only a part of it. Too many births at frequent intervals injure the health of the mother, and produce uncared-for children. It does not mean complete stoppage of births, but only spacing of the births of children, so that between two births the mother gets sufficient time to recoup her health and the child becomes sufficiently grown-up to manage by itself. Ordinarily an interval of about 4 or 5 years between two births is ideal.
- (2) Treatment of Sterility Cases: Absence of children in a family also brings unhappiness, and extinguishes a generation. Sterile husbands and wives need proper treatment so that they may have children.
- (3) Sex Education: Sex education needs to be given to the couple so that they may know the physiological and psychological changes that occur at different periods of life, particularly with the wife month by month, and thus they adjust their conjugal relations in a way to live a happy and healthy life.

So far as the main principles are concerned, there lies no objectionable points with Islam.

As the politicians pay more stress on the first point, i.e., birth control, and there arises some controversy with the men of religion and the general population, I would like to discuss it a little more fully.

Marriage in Islam is a sacred contract which under ordinary circumstances every Muslim must enter into. The Holy Qur'an says:

"And marry those among you who are single, and those who are fit from among your male slaves and female slaves. If they are needy God will make them free from want out of His grace. And God is Ample-giving, Knowing" (24:32).

The Prophet Muhammad said:

"He who is able to marry should marry. For it keeps the gaze low and guards chastity; and he who cannot should take to fasting (occasionally), for it will have a castrating effect on him" (*The Bukhari*, 30:10).

Thus the religion of Islam is against celibacy, and considers parenthood to be the duty of every human being.

In the biological point of view there are two great instincts in nature: (1) preservation of self, and (2) preservation of species. To fulfil these instincts there are two hungers: the first instinct is the food hunger, and the second instinct is the sex hunger. The married state provides the provision for the sex hunger and fulfils the second instinct; therefore multiplication of the human race is the primary end in view for entering into matrimonial relations.

Marriage is an obligatory institution in Islam, but there is a pre-condition to marriage. The Holy Qur'an says:

"And let those who cannot find the means to marry keep chaste, until God grants them the (financial) means out of His grace" (24:33).

The Prophet Muhammad said:

"O assembly of young people! Whoever of you has the means to support a wife, he should get married, for this is the best means of keeping the looks cast down and guarding the chastity; and he who has not the means, let him keep fast, for this will act as castration" (*The Bukhari*, 67:2).

Thus upon the obligatory institution of marriage in Islam there is an excuse only for those who have not got sufficient financial means to enter into the responsibilities for maintaining the family and upbringing the children.

Islam is a rational religion. In all matters it adopts the middle course, which we may call the golden mean. In matters of procreation also there appears to be no objection in Islam to adopt the middle course without going into the extremes of unrestricted multiplication of children or nullification of procreation. The spacing of childbirth as mentioned under birth control in the family planning programme appears to be quite justified and according to the spirit of Islam.

The economic point raised in support of birth control does not appear to be un-Islamic, because Islam makes it a condition for marriage itself. When, according to Islam, a man is to consider his economic capabilities to justify his entering into the marriage contract, how can there be something un-Islamic in adjusting childbirth to one's means of maintenance, or in adjusting childbirth to a country's agricultural yield? It is further observed that in poor families the procreation goes on at full speed, and in many a case the disproportionately large families ruin their health and happiness and bring economic chaos, creating a vicious cycle of miserable life. But the plea for adopting birth control for economic incapability or agricultural insufficiency should be genuine.

A study of birth control measures in the light of the verses of the Qur'an

Now, let us discuss some of the measures usually adopted in birth control and see how they suit the Islamic teachings.

The Holy Qur'an says:

"And kill not your children for fear of poverty — We make provision for them and for you too. Surely the killing of them is a great wrong" (17:31).

And again:

"Say, Come! I will recite what your Lord has forbidden to you: Associate naught with Him and do good to parents, and kill not your children for (fear of) poverty — We make provision for you and for them too . . ." (6:152).

The verses say that God has undertaken to make provision for all people — children as well as adults. Therefore poverty should not be a plea for killing the children, as

it used to be done in pre-Islamic "Arab days". In the light of this let us discuss the measures of birth control.

(a) *Abortion or Miscarriage.* The expulsion of the product of conception before 6 months of conception is called abortion, and after that is called miscarriage. An aborted baby cannot survive, while a birth after 7 months is viable, though it has more risk of dying. The chances of survival increase as the baby becomes more mature.

God has forbidden killing of children, and the word "killing" applies to something living. As such, if a miscarriage is done on a viable child, and for premature birth the baby dies, then this amounts to killing the child. An aborted child has no chance of surviving, therefore, strictly speaking, the word killing does not apply to abortion. But there is less justification to taking such a restricted meaning of the word killings. Because once conception occurs a human life comes into being in the womb of the mother, no matter whether it can live individually outside the womb or not. Therefore even abortion falls under the killing of life in this broader sense of its meaning.

Causing of abortion or miscarriage under medical ethics, is a crime unless it is done (1) to save the life of the mother, or (2) to save the health of the mother. It is not allowed for economic or other reasons. And so it is under the existing laws of most countries. It is equally so under the Islamic principles as discussed above. Therefore, though causing abortion or miscarriage is a measure of birth control, yet it is not an accepted measure, and not allowed by any law.

(b) *Contraception.* This means prevention of conception, i.e., prevention of the fertilization of the female ovum by the male sperm. This may be done as a permanent measure by sterilization, or temporarily by adoption of measures like (1) diaphragm and jelly, (2) jelly alone, (3) foam tablets, or (4) condom.

Sterilization is a permanent measure, and so it is not done unless it is found that further childbirth will risk the life or the health of the mother. The adoption of temporary contraceptive devices only reduces the chances of procreation during the period they are adopted.

By resorting to the measures of contraception the fertilization of the female ovum by the male sperm is prevented. As such no human life forms there, and therefore the killing does not arise in contraception.

There may still be some objection from some quarters saying that while maintaining the conjugal relations the prevention of fertilization by producing a mechanical barrier between the ovum and the sperm also amounts to killing of children, as there is prospective human life, supported by the disallowance of the practice of 'Azl (extravulval emission) by the Prophet (*The Bukhari*, 67:97). 'Azl, or coitus interruptus, is however not recommended as a conception-control device because of the psychological complications they may lead to.

There is, however, another device known as the rhythm period, i.e., the restriction of intercourse to the non-fertile period of the menstrual cycle. Ovulation usually occurs between the 14th and 16th day before the onset of the next menstruation, and the ovum and the sperm can remain alive for fertilization for about two days. Taking these in view, conception usually occurs due to intercourse between the

12th and 18th days before the onset of the next menstruation. As it is difficult to presume the exact date of the onset of the next menstruation if the cycle is not regular, by the observance of abstinence from the 10th day after the onset of menstruation till the 8th day, the chances of conception can be reduced by over 75 per cent, and vice versa.

Those who consider that the production of a mechanical barrier to the sperm and ovum or the use of spermicidal jellies or tablets amount to killing of human life even though no human life has yet formed, abstinence from intercourse for a week or ten days in a menstrual cycle may solve the problem.

Family planning is a scientific measure to ensure the happiness of a family and hence cannot be un-Islamic

The family planning programme is a scientific measure for the health and happiness of the family, and is not un-Islamic, provided the birth control part of it is meant for promoting the health, and not for controlling the threatened over-population and insufficiency of food. I give an example: if each house-fly lives the average span of its life, the progeny of a single house-fly will number more than 500,000 in a month; or in one hot season, if no flies ever died, the progeny of one house-fly will cover the entire surface of the world to a depth of 47 ft. But this does not occur as nature does not allow it, nor do the house-flies resort to birth control, fearing their over-population and shortage of food.

The family planning programme as a promotional health service cannot be un-Islamic provided it does not spoil its original spirit and go to the extremes. Muslims may think over it as one of the most controversial issues arising the world over.

In my opinion, to be on the safe side while following the programme, we may cautiously adopt the birth control part of it as follows:

- (a) In normal cases — observance of the rhythm method for about three years after each childbirth to lessen the chances of conception in order to allow the mother time to recoup her health, and the child to grow up a little;
- (b) In run-down cases — adoption of contraceptive devices with or without the rhythm method until the mother becomes a normal healthy case, in order to minimize the chances of conception during the period of her ill-health.
- (c) Cases unfit for procreation due to disease or infirmity — adoption of strict contraceptive devices or even sterilization to stop conception.
- (d) Cases risking their life or permanent injury to health because of pregnancy — conduction of premature delivery or even abortion to save her from bearing the brunt of pregnancy.

There is no reason why we should or should not follow some new ideas without proper thinking over it. We should not straight away accept it or reject it because of the origin and spread of birth control in the West. The subject under discussion is not birth control but family planning — to plan the parenthood for ensuring health and happiness to a family.

...

WHAT THEY THINK OF US . . .

The Rapid Spread Of Islam

by DR. LAURA VECIA VAGLIERI

"Islam, like a spring of pure and refined water, developed among barbarian people in a desolate and arid land far from the cross-roads of civilization and human thought. So abundant was its volume that the spring fast became a creek, then a river, and finally overflowed and broke into thousands of channels, spilling out over the country. In those places where the miraculous water was sampled, people who had become divided were brought together again and disagreements were settled; and in place of the blood feud which was the supreme law and which served to keep together tribes of the same origin, a new sentiment began to make itself felt: a sentiment of brotherhood among men bound together by common ideals of morality and religion. As soon as this spring began an irresistible river, its pure and vigorous stream encircled mighty kingdoms representing old civilizations, and, before their peoples could realize the true import of the event, it overtook them, levelling countries, demolishing barriers, waking slumbering minds with its noise and making a united community out of the widest variety of nations.

"Such a phenomenon had never before been witnessed in history. It is difficult to appreciate the speed with which Islam accomplished its conquests and changed from the religion of a few enthusiasts to that of millions of men. It is still a puzzle to the human mind to discover what were the secret forces which enabled rough warriors to triumph over people so far their superiors in civilization, wealth, experience and ability to wage war. It is surprising how these people could occupy so much territory and then consolidate their conquests in such a way that even centuries of warfare did not succeed in dislodging them; how they could inspire the souls of their followers with so much zeal for their ideals, preserve a pulsating vitality unknown to other religions, even ten centuries after the death of Muhammad; and infuse into the minds of their followers, although of an age and culture quite different from that of the first Muslims, a burning faith capable of any sacrifice.

"Islam, which during the Meccan period of Muhammad's ministry had been exclusively concerned with making an earnest appeal on behalf of monotheism, became, after the emigration of the Prophet and his followers to Medina, a powerful political force. Muhammad, the patient victim of the sarcasm and persecution of the Quraysh, having been invested by God with the mission of defending himself from his enemies, was compelled to take up the sword and was thenceforth granted no respite by his enemies which could permit him to put it down.

"Not even two years had elapsed from that memorable day when God granted the sorely persecuted Muslims permission to oppose force by force, which marks the beginning of the ascendancy of Islam and of a real social and political revolution, when the followers of Muhammad won their first battle over the people of Mecca. From that day, except for a few, perhaps inevitable checks, Islam witnessed an unbroken series of encounters, battles and conquests in the religious as well as in the political fields. In the eighth year these culminated in an event of surpassing importance, namely, the conquest of Mecca itself.²

"Arab warriors left their deserts and moved across the boundaries into Palestine and further north into Syria. A great expedition against Syria, from where the next attack was apprehended, was about to be prepared when the voice of the Prophet, which had caused such intense excitement in so many human hearts, and which was soon to make such a strong appeal to more distant peoples, was stilled forever in death in the eleventh year of the Hegira.

"Arabia was now unified. The disruptive activities of the Bedouins, who tried to revive the anarchy of the pre-Islamic period, did not achieve their objective, being defeated and overcome by the government at Medina. This may well be claimed the first miracle of the new religion: a country which for centuries had been the field of continuous and fratricidal battles, at last knew security and peace!

"The passage in the Qur'an which refers to the universality of Islam as the religion sent by God to his Prophet as 'a mercy for all peoples'³ is a direct appeal to the worlds.⁴ This is definite proof that the Prophet felt with an absolute certainty that his mission was to go beyond the limits of the Arab nation and that he was to convey the new Word to people of different races and languages. Evidence of the same consciousness is also found in the tradition which mentions that it was a custom of Muhammad's to address himself to 'the red and to the black ones', or to employ other similar expressions. Further evidence is furnished by the mention of future conquests beyond the boundaries of Arabia, and finally in the contacts which Muhammad himself began to make with foreign countries.

"The Caliphs who succeeded Muhammad as Heads of the Islamic State, being the faithful interpreters of his thinking, followed the road which he had opened, and carried the flag of Islam to the centre of Asia on the East and to the Atlantic Ocean on the West.

"Sixteen years had elapsed since the Hegira⁵ when the Persian Empire, which for centuries had fought against the Byzantine Empire without either one destroying the other, broke up beyond recovery at the Battle of Qadisiyya. The fleeing king went from province to province, up to the extreme boundaries of the empire, and died in the thirty-first year of the Hegira. The Persian Empire became Arab territory.

"In the meantime, the occupation of Palestine and Syria was completed. These countries could be considered definitely in Arab hands by the Islamic year 19. In the year 21, the victorious army pushed itself up to Mosul, in the centre of Armenia. A fleet was built and an annual expedition set sail from the harbour of Syria in Asia-Minor to carry the war to the very capital of the Byzantine Empire. In the year 18, the first Arab army appeared in Egypt, and in the year 21 Alexandria capitulated: in the year 23 Tripoli was conquered, and in 27 the first important expedition was undertaken against South Tunisia. But why go on listing these dates? The army moved fast, battles followed each other, success seemed to give wings to the feet of the conquerors: the Caliphates of Abu Bekr (13 a.h.), of Omar (23 a.h.), of Othman (35 a.h.) resounded with the joyful news of wonderful victories. These were followed by the organization and

consolidation of the conquered territories, which was an achievement not less marvellous than the conquests themselves.

"Two civilizations and two religions having been demolished, a new stream of intense life began to flow in the veins of these exhausted peoples. There unfolded before the eyes of an astonished world a new religion, a simple, easy, one which speaks to the heart and to the brain; a new form of government, far superior in its moral principles and qualities to those existing at that time, was established; gold that had been hidden in the safes of plutocrats began changing hands and going to the poor, starting a system of healthy circulation once again; educated, capable, intelligent men under the guidance of a government ruled by honest, democratic ideals found encouragement in the new order and were able to rise to the highest public offices. It is safe to say that after a few inevitable excesses by soldiers during the invasions, a new era of prosperity and wealth was ushered in, a richness which Asia had not witnessed for centuries. The life of the conquered peoples, their civil rights and wealth received a degree of protection approximating to that enjoyed by the Muslims themselves.

"Disturbed by such a profound political and religious transformation, men asked themselves what had brought it about? But many of them were blind or purposely closed their eyes, wandering long and hopelessly in a labyrinth of wrong conjectures. They could not realize that only a holy force could have supplied the first impulse for such a vast movement. They did not want to believe that the wisdom of God alone was responsible for the mission of Muhammad, the last of the great law-bearing prophets, the one who forever concluded their series. Such a mission had to be a universal mission for all mankind without distinction of nationality, country or race. They were either blind or did not want to see. These people went on spreading the word that the essence of Islam was violent aggression. They claimed it was a religion imposed by the sword; they charged it with intolerance. They accused Muhammad himself of lying, of cruelty and of lust. They tried to demolish his admirable work of social and religious reform. They tried to make the devotion of his companions and followers appear as selfish interest, and represented them as people animated only by a desire for wealth and worldly prosperity.

"We must first of all consider this charge of the 'aggressive spirit of Islam'. If by it is meant that Muhammad, as distinct from the founders of other religions, used his sword and organized military expeditions, looking to further distant successes and conquests, and that his example was imitated by his followers, then we must say that this is true; but we must also search with an equally open mind why this had to be. If the charge is that a destructive war was the necessary way to impose the faith, and that the need of conquests was an essential part of the very nature of the Islamic religion, then we must reject the accusation, for we can prove, using as evidence the Qur'an and the actions of Muhammad himself, that this is entirely false.

"The Prophet, as one inspired, used to speak to the people of Mecca and tell them of his celestial visions, which demanded of him the patient bearing of injuries and aroused the distrust of the Quraysh. When he made the difficult decision to migrate to Medina and thus became the centre of a political struggle, he had to choose between dying ignominiously, which would have been against the wishes of God, and fighting to save himself and his small community from ruin. The struggle was between anarchy, the materialism of barbarian pagans, and the disagreements and falsehoods of the highly civilized but intolerant Jews on the one hand,

and a high ideal of religious and social regeneration on the other.

"This was the ideal which Muhammad desired at any cost to achieve and he fought as only a meek one could fight against arrogance, as one who has little will to fight is compelled to fight against those who are bent upon his destruction by force. This he did with very little help, but with the certainty that he was opening the way for carrying the truth to many lives, and that he was charged to indicate the right road in the midst of darkness. Arriving in Medina, he had first of all lent his friendly hand to the Jews, who in this city represented a rich and flourishing group. He invited them to loyal co-operation in political and social unity. But when he realized that they were utterly hostile to him and that they were bent upon the pursuit of a false and traitorous course, he had to fight and punish them. War against external enemies was a necessity of the times; no Arab of the desert could adapt himself to a condition of permanent peace, having been accustomed for centuries to wage war as a normal pursuit. Consequently, once Muhammad had settled internal conflicts, he had to face the hostility of the Quraysh and of those tribes which were not yet in treaty relations with him. But war with its risks and military triumphs helped to cement the new community. It furnished the necessary means of survival for the companions who had migrated with the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. It satisfied the natural propensities of the Bedouins; and in a barbarian milieu which was rendered attractive by dangers, boldness and adventures, it represented a means of safeguarding life and of facilitating the fulfilment of the Prophet's mission. War was always a means of safeguarding and exalting the true faith and not an end in itself; it was a necessary defence, not an unjust offence.

"The Qur'an clearly expressed this idea:

'And fight in the cause of Allah against those who fight against you, but do not transgress. Surely, Allah loves not the transgressors.'⁶

'And fight them until there is no persecution, and religion is freely professed for Allah. But if they desist, then remember that no hostility is allowed except against the aggressors.'⁷

"To deny that the Muslims pushed their conquests by a certain spirit of aggression would certainly be to exhibit an extreme ignorance of human nature. But is it really right to blame this on their religion? Once they had discovered their strength and the weakness of their opponents, what power on earth could have stopped their impetuosity and kept them within the limits of the law? Nevertheless even at the peak of their power and triumph, the victorious Arabs were always ready to tell their enemies: 'Give up the fighting, pay a modest tax, and we will grant you full protection; or accept Islam, become a member of our community, and you will have the same rights as we have ourselves'.

"If we look into the prophecies of Muhammad or at the first Muslim conquests, it is easy to see how false was the accusation that Islam was imposed by the sword and that only by such means could its rapid and wide diffusion be accounted for. The Qur'an says:

'There should be no compulsion in Religion. Surely, right has become distinct from wrong; so whosoever refuses to be led by those who transgress, and believes in Allah, has surely grasped a strong handle which knows no breaking. And Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.'⁸

'And say, "It is the truth from your Lord; wherefore let him who will, believe, and let him who will, disbelieve".'⁹

"Muhammad, always following these divine principles, was very tolerant, particularly towards the followers of monotheistic religions. He knew how to show patience with the pagans, always waiting in the belief that time would complete his work of conversion. He was satisfied with what he would call a purely formal conversion of the Bedouins, because he knew that these sons of the desert were impatient by nature of checks of any kind. He well knew that God would finally enter into the human heart.

" 'Why do you want to push men to believe when faith can only come from God?' he said one day to one of his followers. At the time when the verses which deal with tolerance were revealed, he was not a dreamer followed by a small group of dreamers like him, nor a philosopher by his awareness of a diversity of forces, but rather a man in the fullness of his strength at the head of a highly organized state, commanding good, obedient soldiers whom he could always have used against anyone.

"The history of the first decades of Islam provides us with several examples of the religious tolerance shown by the first Caliphs towards followers of monotheistic religions. Just as the Prophet himself gave guarantees to the Christians of Nejrán that their Christian institutions would be preserved and gave orders to the head of an expedition to Yemen that no Jews be molested in his Judaism, so the Caliphs gave similar instructions to their generals on the conduct of their armies in war. These triumphant generals followed Muhammad's example in making agreements with the conquered peoples. By virtue of these agreements, the conquered were granted the freedom of following the old religion and traditions, provided that those who did not accept Islam would pay the government a fair tax, *jizya*. This tax was lighter than the taxes which the Muslims were liable to pay to their own government. In return these subjects (called *Dhimmi*) were granted protection not different from that enjoyed by the Muslim community itself. Consequently, as the practices followed by the Prophet and by the first orthodox Caliphs became law itself for later Muslims, it is no exaggeration to insist that Islam was not satisfied with preaching religious tolerance, but that it made tolerance a part of its religious law.

"Once agreements with the defeated peoples were made, the Muslims left them freedom of religion and did not use violence to compel conversion. The Muslim armies were not followed by a troop of insistent and unwanted preachers, nor did they place preachers in specially favoured positions to expound or defend their creed. On the contrary, at one period they imposed a practice on the Muslim neophytes which certainly did not help to facilitate the spread of Islam, namely, the requirement to present themselves before the *quadi* and to declare that their conversion was not the result of any pressure and that it had no worldly gain as its object. During the time of the Omayyad Caliphs, there was even an attempt to stop the stream of conversions, which was somewhat embarrassing from the economic point of view since the loss of the *jizya* was causing a diminution in revenue from taxes. Not only were Jews and Christians left to live in peace without any questioning of their religious beliefs, but they were named to offices in the government when their personal qualifications were of such a nature as to attract the notice of the rulers. Certain restrictions imposed on Christians and Jews in the matter of freedom of religion, certain rules requiring the carrying of visible signs designed to mark them out as Jews or Christians, prohibitions against the building of new churches or the repairing of old ones — these are incidents of later periods which were more marked by

fanaticism, when nations other than the Arabs imported a certain tendency towards bigotry into Islam.

"Of course, it cannot be denied that even Muslims, like the followers of all other religions, exhibited some of those flames of passion which kindle hate and spread blood. But we must realize that these had their first cause in facts external to the religion of Islam itself and that Islam had the effect of quieting them down in order to make room for mildness and benevolence. It must also be admitted that Islam was not spared its share of conflict among the various Islamic sects, a conflict which carried in its wake inevitable persecutions; but for this as well, the main explanation is to be found in political or dynastic rivalries. Islam itself furnishes no justification or warrant for them.

"Blinded by hate, the most powerful enemies of Islam have sought to smear the Prophet of God with calumnious charges. They forget that Muhammad before he began his mission was highly esteemed by his own countrymen for integrity of conscience and purity of life. Nor do these people stop to ask themselves how could it be that Muhammad could have threatened liars and hypocrites with the eternal fire in the burning words of the *Qur'an* if he himself had been a liar. How could he have dared to preach, in spite of the insults of his countrymen, if he, a man of simple nature, had not been continuously urged on by inner forces? How could he have started a struggle which looked hopeless? How could he have carried it on for over ten years at Mecca with very little success and countless sorrows, if he had not the very deep conviction of the truth of his mission? How could so many noble and intelligent Muslims have believed in him and thrown in their lot with him, joined the new faith and consequently associated themselves with a society made up for the most part of slaves, freedmen and indigent people if they had not felt in his word the sincerity of the Truth? We do not need to say more, for even among Occidentals the truth is well accepted that the sincerity of Muhammad was deep and true.

"Against the accusation of cruelty the answer is easy. Muhammad, Head of a State, defender of the life and freedom of his people, in the exercise of justice punished severely individuals guilty of crimes, and this attitude of his has to be considered in the light of his times and also in the light of the wild and barbarian society in which he lived. Muhammad, as a preacher of the religion of God, was gentle and merciful even towards his personal enemies. In him were blended justice and mercy, two of the noblest qualities which the human mind can conceive. It is not difficult to support this with many examples that are to be found in his biographies. One of his biographers says, 'War, this horrible necessity of human life, was in practice made less cruel by him'. Another reports that he was accustomed to give this order to his soldiers: 'Spare the aged, the women, and the children; refrain from demolishing the homes of those who do not resist you; do not destroy their means of subsistence; do not destroy fruit-bearing trees; do not touch palm trees.'

"In another chapter we shall deal with the accusation of licentiousness, as well as show how noble and sublime the work of this reformer really was, this reformer who, within the span of a few years, transformed a welter of idolatrous and barbarous people into a united monotheistic community, which was animated by the highest moral sentiments. The facts will also refute the point of view of those who see in the greater number of Muhammad's followers only egotistical speculators and greedy robbers, pushed towards his party by a desire for spoils and conquest. It would occupy us far too long to cite instances which testify to the brilliant ardour,

the unbounded piety, the devoted zeal of the majority of his followers. Suffice it to say that there are certain kinds of conflicts which cannot be won unless there is present a very powerful moral factor, an abiding faith in the justice of the

"Having dealt briefly with the accusations which are most commonly advanced against Islam, let us face the question: How can it be explained that in spite of the great freedom of religion granted in the Islamic nations to non-Muslim citizens, and in the absence of any real missionary organization, Islam continues to make progress in Asia and Africa in the face of the widespread decline of religion in

recent years? Today, it cannot be said that the sword of the conqueror paves the way — on the contrary, in regions which once were Muslim States, new governments of other religions are in power and strong missionary organizations have been working among the Muslims over long periods — and yet they have not succeeded in removing Islam from the life of the Muslim peoples.

"What miraculous strength is hidden in this religion? What inner power of persuasion is blended in it? From what depths of the human soul does its appeal evoke a stirring response?

THE SIMPLICITY OF ISLAMIC DOGMA

"Islam approaches the individual with a two-fold invitation; to believe that there is only one God and that Muhammad is sent by God.

"The Arabic prophet, with a voice which was inspired by a deep communion with his Master, preached the purest monotheism to the worshippers of fetich and the followers of a corrupt Christianity and Judaism. He put himself in open conflict with those regressive tendencies of mankind which lead to the association of other beings with the Creator.

Say, 'He is Allah, the One;

'Allah, the Independent and Besought of all.

'He begets not, nor is He begotten;

'And there is none like unto him.'¹⁰

"In order to lead men to a belief in one God, he did not delude them with tales of happenings which deviate from the normal course of nature — the so-called miracles; nor did he compel them to keep quiet by using celestial threats which only undermine man's ability to think. Rather, he simply invited them, without asking them to leave the realm of reality, to consider the universe and its laws. Being confident of the resultant belief in the one and indispensable God, he simply let men read in the book of life. Muhammad Abduh and Ameer Ali both state that Muhammad was content to appeal to the intimate conscience of the individual and to the intuitive judgment of man.

'And your God is One God; there is no God but He, the Gracious, the Merciful.

'Verily, in the creation of the heavens and the earth and in the alternation of night and day, and in the ships which sail in the sea with that which profits men, and in the water which Allah sends down from the sky and quickens therewith the earth after its death and scatters therein all kinds of beasts, and in the change of the winds, and the clouds pressed into service between the heaven and the earth — are indeed Signs for the people who understand.

'And there are some among men who take for themselves objects of worship other than Allah, loving them as they should love Allah.'¹¹

"There is more than one passage in the Qur'an which invites the reader to take into consideration the testimony offered by nature. I shall quote only some verses from the chapter known as 'The Merciful'.

'And He has set the earth for His creatures;

'Therein are all kinds of fruit and palm-trees with sheaths,

'And grain with its husk and fragrant plants.

'Which, then, of the favours of your Lord will you twain deny, O men and Jinn?

'He created man from dry ringing clay which is like baked pottery.

'And the Jinn He created from the flame of fire.

'Which, then, of the favours of your Lord will you twain deny?

'The Lord of the two Easts and the Lord of the two Wests!

'Which, then, of the favours of your Lord will you twain deny?

'He has made the two bodies of water flow. They will one day meet.

'Between them is now a barrier; they encroach not one upon the other.

'Which, then, of the favours of your Lord will you twain deny?

'Which, then, of the favours of your Lord will you twain deny?

'There come out from them pearls and coral.

'Which, then, of the favours of your Lord will you twain deny?

'And His are the lofty ships reared aloft on the sea like mountains.

'Which, then, of the favours of your Lord will you twain deny?'¹²

"Thanks to Islam, paganism in its various forms was defeated. The concept of the universe, the practices of religion, and the customs of social life were each liberated from all the monstrosities which had degraded them, and human minds were made free of prejudice. Man finally realized his dignity. He humbled himself before the Creator, the Master of all mankind; he not only could say, but as a matter of fact had to say, with Abraham:

'I have turned my face toward Him who created the Heavens and the Earth, being ever inclined to God, and I am not one of those who associate gods with God.'¹³

And with Muhammad:

'My prayers and my sacrifice and my life and my death are all for Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.

'He has no partner. And so am I commanded, and I am the first of those who submit.'¹⁴

"The spirit was liberated from prejudice, man's will was set free from the ties which had kept it bound to the will of other men, or other so-called hidden powers. Priests, false guardians of mysteries, brokers of salvation, all those who pretended to be mediators between God and man and consequently believed they had authority over other people's wills, fell from their pedestals. Man became the servant of God alone and towards other men he had only the obligations of one free man towards other free men. While previously men had suffered from the injustices of social differences, Islam proclaimed equality among human beings. Each Muslim was distinguished from other Muslims not by

reason of birth or any other factor not connected with his personality, but only by his fear of God, his good deeds, his moral and intellectual qualities.

"The Qur'an states:

'O mankind, We have created you from a male and a female; and We have divided you into tribes and sub-tribes that you may recognize one of another. Verily, the most honourable among you, in the sight of Allah, is he who is the most righteous among you.'¹⁵

"A tradition says:

'With Islam, God has caused the disappearance of pride, which was a characteristic of pagans, and of their habit of talking about their fathers: because man was born of Adam, and Adam of dust. According to God, the noblest of men is the one who is most fearful of Him.'

"Islam swept away the secrecy with which others had shrouded the study of sacred scriptures, reproaching those who were only able to recite the words and comparing those who claimed to be the repositories of the Pentateuch to a donkey loaded with books. It invited any man of religious sentiments to acquire the knowledge that was necessary for understanding God's word. Among the Muslims, there was no duly authorized exegesis of the holy book on which they were required to base their belief. Nor were there councils or synods which, after discussion, presumed to lay down the precise formula which was to be considered as the living symbol of orthodoxy. Islam did not grant to any one of its followers the right to pass judgment on the faith of another brother.

"The Qur'an had said:

'O ye who believe! let not one people deride another people, who may be better than they.'¹⁶

"And tradition has fully established the idea that the acceptance of a believer's faith and deeds is God's privilege denying to any servant of God the right to pass judgment on another servant's piety by his approval or disapproval. Later on, when theological studies degenerated into subtle scholarly discussions, followers of different schools accused each other of misbelief and attempted to persuade the civil government to determine the penalties to be imposed on orthodoxy. In the fifth century of the Islamic era, thanks to a great thinker of Islam, Al-Ghazali, a doctrine was proclaimed that agreement on the principal dogmas of faith was the only basis for recognizing men as believers, and that differences in respect of dogmatic or ritual details could not provide any basis for exclusion. 'You must stop condemning those people who, in their prayers, face towards Mecca.' This was the rule laid down by the philosopher. It at once rendered valueless any dogmatic speciousness, any formulae which pretended to be the only one through which salvation could be achieved; and Islamic society was restored to that open-minded spirit of tolerance which had been an essential characteristic of the early Muslims and which, because of a false interpretation of the spirit of religion, was in danger of disappearing.

"The God of Islam, One in His essence, in His attributes, and in His acts, is an all-mighty God, Judge of the Universe and Master of the day of judgment. He will call to Him all those who have not treated His call with sarcasm or contempt, and who were able to rise from the materiality of their personalities and their earthly belongings, to the sentiment of utter dependence upon the Creator. In the earliest Surahs of the Qur'an, God's inspiration is expressed in eschatological representations. Woe to those who do not repent and do not submit themselves to God. Terrible punish-

ments, very painful indeed, await them. Woe to those who dare to resist or despise the guidance of Prophets sent to them. God will exterminate them. He is the one who knows everything, sees everything, hears everything. He is the Creator of Heaven and earth, of life and death. He is the Master of the Throne. His knowledge is perfect. His will is absolute; His power irresistible. All these qualities are revealed by His own works. While everything needs Him, He depends only upon things originated by Him. He does not resemble any one of His creatures; His only connection with them is that He created them; they belong to Him and they will come back to Him. But this very powerful God is also a just God. An unjust God cannot be conceived. He knows about the most insignificant good deed done by any one of His creatures and He will not allow it to be lost; He will not do the smallest injustice to anyone, not even as small as the fibre which goes to make up the stone of the date.¹⁷

"Muslim and Christian theologians have often asked themselves how to answer the problem of man's free will. Different solutions have been offered, according to the sect to which the theologian belonged, but all answers hinge on the preceding axiom of divine justice and on other statements found in the Qur'an, to the effect that man's actions, whether good or bad, are the result of his complete freedom. Muhammad Abduh states that fairly early in Islam such a feeling of dependence in all fields of human consciousness began to develop that a favourable climate was created for the triumph of the negation of the free will; virtues and vices, crimes and punishments were all regarded as due solely to God's will, man's will had dropped out of consideration. Today, on the contrary, the majority of Muslims, apart from a few relatively unimportant groups, have reverted to the idea of laying responsibility for action back upon a man's own conscience.

"God does not bar His road to anyone, not even to the wrongdoers; He bestows upon all the power and the capacity to perform good deeds. Those expressions in the Qur'an which could be construed as contradicting this idea, can be explained when we fully understand their true import. Man in his relation to God can be compared to the traveller who makes a mistake in the desert while searching for the correct road to take him to his final destination. The one who, thanks to his faith and good deeds, is deserving of God's mercy and benevolence, will be rewarded by God with guidance while God will leave alone the one who does not occupy himself with good deeds; God will not stretch His arm towards him, but at the same time He will not be the one who puts him on the evil road.

"This omnipotent God, ready to punish, is also the Merciful, the Guardian of His servants, the Defender of the orphan, the Guide of the sinner, the Liberator from pain, the Friend of the poor, the generous and ready-to-forgive Master. He listens; He grants favours because well-being is in His hands.

"God's mercy is one of the most frequent themes of the Qur'an; the attributes, Ar-Rahman, Ar-Rahim — 'the Merciful,' 'the Clement,' with which each chapter begins, virtually represent the basic themes of the entire text.

"God's blessing is assured to the sinner who repents; even the wrongdoer may hope for it, for, although God can overtake with His punishment anyone He wishes, His mercy 'encompasses everything', and because He himself has commanded that mercy shall be an unbreakable law.¹⁸

"This accords perfectly with what tradition brings to us: 'When God had perfected the creation, He wrote in

the book which He kept near Him: "My mercy triumphs over my anger".

'God divided mercy into one hundred parts: He kept ninety-nine of them for Himself and released one for the world; from that alone comes all the grace which mankind enjoys.'

"Among the divine attributes we find that of Love. The Qur'an says:

"If ye love Allah, follow me: then will Allah love you and forgive you your faults. And Allah is Most Forgiving, Merciful."

"But this is not enough. In a collection of the forty most important traditional sayings, we find this revelation of God to Muhammad: 'By means of freely supporting charitable institutions, My servant will more and more approach Me so that I will love him, and when I love him, I am his eye, his ear, his tongue, his hand; thanks to Me he will see, hear, speak, walk.'

"We doubt if this concept of God, composed of all the most perfect qualities, and purified from all the imperfect ones, would appear as noble and elevated to everyone. Certainly it would be said that it is not original, that it is too much like the Jewish and the Christian concepts, and that no new element has been introduced by Islam to illustrate the relationship between man and God. But what value would such criticism have if we realize that Muhammad himself did not claim to bring new ideas but explicitly declared that he had been sent by God to restore the religion of Abraham, corrupted by those who came after, and to reconfirm what God had already revealed to preceding prophets like Moses, Isaiah, Jesus Christ? He was but the last of the lawbearing prophets.

"Islam came at a time when people were divided into religious sects, when they were fighting and cursing each other, each sect believing itself to be the sole repository of the word of God — at a time when fighting and fanaticism were considered a necessary part of religious life. Islam came and proclaimed that religion had at all times, and by the mouths of all the prophets, been simply one — that in essence it had taught always the same things; to hold God alone in His sovereignty, to submit to His will, and to obey His commandments, practising good and keeping away from evil. Furthermore, Islam insisted that the variety of forms and rituals which different religions presented, proceeded from the mercy of God, Who gave to each people in each particular time a religion suited to its needs and susceptible of development along with the progress of the human mind; but it insisted that at last, when mankind had been prepared by events and had reached a state of maturity and were in a position to comprehend a divine Teaching, which appealed not only to the emotions but also to the intellect, Muhammad had appeared to reconcile all these teachings for the benefit of humanity, to settle the differences between the 'people of the book', which means Christians and Jews, and to guide men towards the attainment of happiness both in this life and in the one beyond.

"All Muslims agree that faith in God comes from faith in the Prophets. We could not have faith in the Prophets or in the words of a revealed book, if these had not been preceded by the certainty in the human soul of the existence of God and by the probability that He might send Prophets bearing His guidance. Consequently, the first duty of man is to consider the phenomena of nature and to meditate upon

them in order to arrive at the certainty of the existence of God. Starting from this fundamental, there is then developed faith in the Prophets and in the revealed books. In its revealed book Islam has something of the miraculous.

"The miracle of Islam par excellence is the Qur'an, through which a constant and unbroken tradition transmits to us news of an absolute certainty. This is a book which cannot be imitated. Each of its expressions is a comprehensive one, and yet it is of proper size, neither too long nor too short. Its style is original. There is no model for this style in Arab literature of the times preceding it. The effect which it produces on the human soul is obtained without any adventitious aid through its own inherent excellences. The verses are equally eloquent all through the text, even when they deal with topics, such as commandments and prohibitions, which must necessarily affect its tone. Stories of Prophets, descriptions of the beginning and the end of the world, enumerations and expositions of the divine attributes are repeated but repeated in a way which is so impressive that they do not weaken the effect. The text proceeds from one topic to another without losing its power. Depth and sweetness, qualities which generally do not go together, are found together here, where each rhetoric figure finds a perfect application. How could this marvellous book be the work of Muhammad, an illiterate Arab who in all his life composed only two or three verses, none of which reveals the least poetic quality, e.g., 'I am the Prophet and do not lie. I am the son of Abd al-Muttalib'?

"Although the opponents of Islam were invited by Muhammad to compose a book similar to his own, or, at least, a chapter ('And if you are in doubt as to what We have sent down to Our servant, then produce a chapter like it'),²⁰ and although those who had the ability to express themselves with great eloquence were plentiful among the Arabs, yet nobody was able to produce anything which could stand comparison with the Qur'an; they fought the Prophet with arms but failed to match the excellence of the Qur'an.

"For the book, besides its perfection in form and method, proved itself beyond imitation even in its substance. In it, among other things, we read a forecast of future events, and a description of events which had taken place centuries before but were generally ignored. There are frequent references to the laws of nature, to various sciences, both religious and secular. We find there vast stores of knowledge which are beyond the capacity of the most intelligent of men, the greatest of philosophers and the ablest of politicians. For all these reasons the Qur'an could not be the work of an uneducated man, who had spent all his life in the midst of an unrefined society far away from men of learning and religion, a man who always insisted that he was but a man just like any others, and, as such, unable to perform miracles unless he had the help of Almighty God. The Qur'an could have its source only in Him Whose knowledge comprehends everything in heaven and earth.

"We have still another proof of the divine origin of the Qur'an in the fact that its text has remained pure and unaltered through the centuries from the day of its delivery until today, and will remain so, God willing, as long as the universe continues to exist. Read over and over again all through the Muslim world, this work does not induce in the believer any sense of weariness. On the contrary, through repeated reading it endears itself more and more each day. It arouses a deep sense of reverence and awe in one who reads or hears it. It can be readily learned by heart, so that today, in spite of the low ebb of faith, thousands of people can

repeat it by heart. In Egypt alone there are more huffaz²¹ than there are people in all Europe who can recite the Gospels by heart.

"Apart from the two fundamental dogmas already mentioned, the unity of God and the mission of Muhammad, all other dogmas in which the Muslims believe and which are accepted by the Islamic community after centuries of study and debate, are not of such a nature as in any way to obstruct modern science or to raise opposition to philosophical truths. Concerning the Creation, the Qur'an, though it refers to the primordial state and to the origin of the world ('Do not the disbelievers see that the heavens and the earth were a closed-up mass, then we opened them out? And we made from water every living thing'),²² does not put any limitations whatever upon the powers of the human mind, but leaves it free to go its own way. Concerning natural laws, it limits itself to stating that God has promulgated certain laws which rule the Creation and which do not change.

"While all other religions prescribe for their followers a heavy load of doctrines which are hard both to carry and to understand, Islam is a religion of marvellous easiness and of crystal-clear simplicity. This was also another cause of its speedy diffusion at the time of the early conquests among people who had fallen into deep spiritual confusion on account of the uncertainty of some of their religious dogmas. It is also the cause of its continuous diffusion today among uncivilized peoples in Asia and Africa, for Islam can reach

their souls without recourse to long explanations or involved sermons."

NOTES

- 1 *An Interpretation of Islam* by Laura Veccia Vaglieri. Translated from Italian by Dr. Aldo Caselli, Haverford College, Pennsylvania.
- 2 The custom of making *razzias* has been considered as a legitimate form of warfare in Arabia since the most remote times, and is not to be judged by concepts prevailing in modern European society.
- 3 21:108.
- 4 See 12:105, 38:88, 68:53, 81:28, where the word "worlds" is construed as meaning humanity in the larger sense.
- 5 Literally "migration". It indicates the departure on 20th June 622 of Muhammad from Mecca. The Muslim era starts with that event.
- 6 2:191.
- 7 2:194.
- 8 2:257.
- 9 18:30.
- 10 112:2-5.
- 11 2:164-166.
- 12 55:11-26.
- 13 6:80.
- 14 6:163-164.
- 15 49:14.
- 16 49:12.
- 17 4:50.
- 18 7:157.
- 19 3:32.
- 20 2:24.
- 21 Plural of *Hafiz* (lit. Guardian), i.e., one who has the Qur'an by heart.
- 22 21:31.

THE DIVINE DIVAN

50

Come now, cast aside thy sorrows !
 Enter now the path of joy !
 This day and for future morrows
 Bathe in bliss without alloy !
 How can this be ? Let me tell thee :
 Ever with thee goes the Guide :
 Close at hand, the Instant-Helper
 Travels ever at thy side.
 Hast thou doubt or hast thou worry ?
 Hast thou difficulty ? hast thou dread ?
 Then, come haste thee ! then, come hurry !
 Lay it bare, nor hide one shred
 From thy Lord, the Ever-Present.
 Let this instantly be done !
 He will help thee (Mighty-Helper).
 He will tell thee (Mighty-Knower).
 He will bless thee (Merciful and Mighty).
 He will guard thee (Slumberless and Mighty).

51

Happiness, happiness uncomprehended,
 Uncomprehended, until it be tasted !
 Come, then, and taste it !
 Taste it ! delay not !
 Happiness, happiness uncomprehended !
 This shall be thine !

William Bashyr Pickard.

THE ISLAMIC CONQUEST AND THE CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES

by AFZAL IQBAL

On the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Islam was still within the boundaries of the Arabian peninsula. Soon after his death, however, the conquests came in quick succession. First came Iraq. Its population, besides the original inhabitants of the country, comprised people from the tribes of Mudar and Rabi'a and a mixed population of Persians, among whom were Mazdeans and Zoroastrians. The Arabs were responsible for building Basra and Kufa under orders of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab. These cities served as a camp. Basra was built in 15 C.E. and Kufa in 17 C.E.

Next came Persia. It was inhabited by Persians in addition to some Romans who had been conquered by the Persians in numerous wars. Syria was then brought under the sway of Islam. This country was a centre of some of the oldest civilizations. Before it felt the impact of Islam it had come into contact with the Phoenecians, the Amorites, the Kananites, the Egyptian Pharaohs, the Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs of Ghassan. When Syria was conquered by the Muslims it was a Roman province saturated with Roman culture and Christianity was the State religion. It was inhabited, besides the original occupants, by the Armenians, the Jews, the Romans and a few tribes from Arabia. The most important among these tribes were Ghassan, Lakhm, Judam, Kalb, Quda'a and a branch of Taghlib. These Arab tribes lived mostly in the southern parts of Syria because there they felt more at home on account of the neighbourhood of the Arabian peninsula. They spoke a language which was a mixture of Aramaic and Arabic. They considered themselves as Syrians and had no relationship with the Arabs of Hijaz except in commerce. During the Roman war against the Muslims they supported the Romans against the forces of Islam.¹

The next country which fell to the Muslims was Egypt. It was a cradle of ancient cultures and was heir to the civilizations of Egypt, Greece and Rome. Alexandria was a centre of intellectual activity, and it was here that the old schools of philosophy and religion were founded, for it acted as an ideal meeting-place of ideas from the West and the East. The country was inhabited by the Egyptians and a mixture of other nations like the Jews and the Romans.

The Muslim conquest covered the Near East and brought in its fold all countries between Cyrenaica, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco to the straits of Gibraltar. This stretch of land was at that time in the possession of the Romans. These conquests expanded further in the time of the fifth Omayyad Caliph, al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The empire further covered Sind, Bokhara, Samarkand, Khwarzam and Kashgar. Spain was also conquered, although the effect of this conquest was not felt in the early period of Islam with which we are dealing in this chapter.

The Arab who was confined for centuries to the solitude of his own tribe in the desert was now securely on his way to becoming the master of the world. In the days of ignorance he was incapable of even comprehending the implications of the world, for to him his own surroundings were the only world which he knew. That state of isolation had broken and now the bedouin, who was but a short while ago steeped in ignorance, was not only shaking off his ignorance but had become a leader of a great cultural movement. The conquests

opened up to him new vistas of thought and brought him into contact with old civilizations. There was an inevitable mixing of blood with the mixing of peoples in wars and this had a corresponding effect on the habits, values and the religious beliefs of both the conquering and the conquered nations. There was a constant interplay of a variety of factors. The old world, which was decadent, corrupt and inherently weak, was tottering before the onslaught of a new world which was being given birth by the resurgent spirit of Islam. From the cruel persecution in Mecca to the glorious advent of Islam in nearly half the known civilized world was an achievement which remains remarkable for the historians even to this day. We are, however, not concerned with the conquests as such, for our object is to analyse the impact of these conquests on the cultural life of the Arab. The world witnessed a great and a grand operation which brought together all the important contemporary civilizations. On the debris of these tottering cultures was raised the edifice of a new one which was known as Islam. The majority of the people in the conquered countries accepted the principles of Islam, but it will be difficult, in our opinion, to analyse or attempt an assessment of the fusion of cultures brought about by this operation unless we clearly understand the theory of Islam regarding conquests.

The theory of war

Islam is a religion of peace. But it waged a number of wars. Is this, then, a contradiction in terms? Those with a superficial knowledge of the subject are likely to jump to conclusions. But let us pause and ponder.

The creed came into existence in Mecca with the cardinal principle that "there ought to be no compulsion in religion". Then followed a period of persecution. We do not propose to dilate on the atrocities perpetrated on the Muslims in Mecca. For more than a decade Islam remained non-violent in the face of provocations which were enough to tax the patience of the bravest of men. Notwithstanding the growing number of Muslims, the persecution persisted. Some of them migrated to Abyssinia. Later the whole community decided to migrate to Medina. But the situation remained unchanged. The Quraysh followed them to their new sanctuary and threatened their extinction. There was no alternative left to the Muslims except to fight for their freedom or perish in non-violence. Islam chose to fight for its existence.

Islam respects human life and its intrinsic values. But when human life is threatened with extinction, the forces of tyranny and oppression are to be resisted till the dignity and freedom of life is restored. In this context killing for a cause becomes a virtue. Faltering would be a fault, for failure to fight would not only wipe out your life but that of the entire human race. On the contrary, if one kills for a personal end one is not only responsible for the murder of an individual but is charged with the murder of humanity as such because with the murder of a man is also killed the universal principle of the dignity and freedom of life. The Qur'an is clear and emphatic on this point: "Whoever kills a man, without this man having killed another man or without this man having spread disorder and tyrannical confusion in the land, he has,

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article "Sham".

as it were, destroyed the whole of humanity, and whoever saves an innocent life, he has acted as if he had put life into the whole of humanity.”²

War is, therefore, to be waged not for territorial gains, nor for personal power or glory, and certainly not for the propagation of faith, but only to prevent persecution and to create conditions which will not permit a reign of terror, a state of disruption and disorder, a state in which it is possible for man to deny all liberty of conscience, a state in which it is possible for the ruler to persecute, exile or kill the subjects who do not agree with him. The theory that Islam was spread at the point of the sword has long since been exploded. The Prophet had a Christian slave in his house while Islam spread throughout the Arabian peninsula. A great Caliph like ‘Umar, who saw Islam at its summit, was helpless against a Christian slave in his own house who stuck to his faith despite ‘Umar’s occasional preachings. Would a man like him undertake to wage wars on peoples and nations to convert them to Islam when he would not tolerate the slightest compulsion in the case of his own Christian slave? The Prophet and his immediate successors allowed themselves to be engaged in war because in the circumstances then existing, their failure to do so would have resulted in a perpetual state of insecurity for Islam and a corresponding security and freedom for those who stood for persecution, intolerance, inequality and tyranny in the world. “Fight,” ordains the Qur’ān, “till persecution and tyranny cease”. It is significant that in sanctioning war, the Qur’ān mentions the protection of other religions even before the protection of Islam. “If God had not repelled some people through others, then the cloisters and churches and temples and mosques where the name of God is oft-repeated would have been demolished.”³ The mosque is mentioned last. The idea is not to fight for any particular religion or creed; the idea is indeed to fight for religious liberty, the freedom of conscience, the freedom of worship, the basic freedom from which follow several liberties which make the life of man worth living — and worth fighting for. You must fight to defend the essential human liberties or else there will be chaos in the world, which will relapse into the law of the jungle, the state in which the Prophet found Arabia.

This being the theory of war in a broad outline, it will be impossible for Muslims to wage any wars of aggression to persecute people, to annex territories or even to spread Islam. They can fight, in fact they must fight, if they are not allowed freely to profess their religion, if they are driven out of their homes, as the early converts to Islam were, only for committing the crime of believing in one God and proclaiming their adherence to Him. Failure to fight for the faith with your own life and all the resources at your command will only result in your life and your resources being wiped out by your enemies. Instances are legend in history when men have tamely submitted to be driven out from their homes. They suffered persecution in stoic silence, with the result that neither their life nor their property was spared and they met with ignominious death. It is better, therefore, to die valiantly for a cause than to live meekly in submission and constant fear. Islam indeed eliminated all fear of death from the minds of Muslims who believe that death is not the end of life but is only the beginning of a new and more glorious one. If one lives virtuously and dies for a cause he has before him unlimited possibilities of growth and development in the life to come, but if one lives selfishly and panders to one’s

own comforts and pleasures, there is no possibility of growth either in this life or in the life hereafter. This was one of the factors which made the Muslim soldier one of the most invincible who has ever fought on a battlefield. If he emerged victorious and alive he was a hero, but if he made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of Islam he was a martyr, entitled not only to respect by the whole community in this world but also to an eternal reward in the life to come.

After a careful consideration of all the laws of the Qur’ān regarding war, whenever it was eventually decided to march on a country the action was never precipitated. In the first instance an invitation was sent out to the people concerned to accept the universal faith and to desist from persecuting humanity. A fair chance was given and in the event of a sympathetic response the question of war did not arise. In cases, however, where the invitation was declined and willingness was expressed to pay a nominal tax, no further action was taken against that people or country. This tax, called *Jazya*, has been much maligned by interested quarters. The usual rate of tax payable by the adult non-Muslim population of a country submitting to the sovereignty of Islam was one dinar per head per year. This was to be paid either in cash or in kind. In return for this nominal payment of the tax the non-Muslim population of a country thus submitting to Islam was offered complete protection. The Muslim population of the country, on the contrary, had to pay a compulsory annual tax of 2½ per cent on their wealth and holdings. Not only that. Even though they paid much higher taxes than the non-Muslims, the Muslims were liable to be conscripted in the event of war while the non-Muslims had no liability whatever in this regard. We have digressed a little from our subject, but we wish to take this occasion to point out that the criticism directed against this nominal tax is intended more to malign Islam than to make an effort at presenting history with any measure of objectivity. The non-Muslims were accorded all the rights and obligations of a citizen and were given the additional privilege, not permissible to Muslims, of being immune from conscription and military duty. In case, however, they were employed on military duty, even the nominal tax paid by them was not due from them to the treasury. These citizens were called *Ahl Dimma*, i.e., those for whose protection the State was responsible. Women, widows, children and disabled or old men did not have to pay any tax to the State. Not only that. The State was responsible for their maintenance and they were supported out of the proceeds collected from *Zakat*, which was obligatory on Muslims.

If these conditions were turned down by a people or a country then the only alternative left to Muslims was to kill their enemies or those who helped them. They could not, however, kill women, children, old men or the disabled unless of course they were actively engaged in spying or some such activities dangerous to a successful prosecution of the war. Readers will recall the only instance in which the Prophet ordered *Durayd Ibn al-Simma* to be killed even though he was a blind old man. During any stage of war if the enemy inclines towards peace it is the bounden duty of Muslims to stop and not to prosecute the war any further, although they may be certain that they can bring it to a successful conclusion to their own advantage: “But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in God: for He is the One that heareth and knoweth (all things).”⁴ The conditions of the armistice can then be negotiated and in doing so Muslims are commanded to be fair and lenient. They have to faithfully carry out all their covenants and obligations even though they may discover they are to their disadvantage. If, however, the enemy shows

² Raku 5.

³ Al-Hajj 6.

⁴ Holy Qur’ān, 8 : 60-63.

no inclination towards peace then the only alternative is to prosecute the war to a clear conclusion. In the event of victory on the battlefield Muslims are entitled to booty and prisoners of war. "At length when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind a bond firmly on them; thereafter is the time for either generosity or ransom."⁵

Prisoners of war have been treated in different ways by the Prophet. There have been occasions when he released them unconditionally; there have been occasions when they were released on payment of ransom; there has also been an occasion when a prisoner of war was killed. The instance in question was that of 'Uqba Ibn Abi Mu'ayt, who was brought as a prisoner of war after the battle of Badr. In the case of the civilian population, the conqueror had a right in theory to enslave them, but this was never done and they were offered protection as full-fledged citizens of the State in lieu of the payment of a nominal tax. 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, who was an undisputed authority in such cases, for it was in his time that Islam reached its summit by way of conquests, did not enslave the civil population of Iraq. He, however, imposed a tax of 40 dirhams and 24 dirhams on the wealthy adults according to their income. The lands which technically became the property of the conquering nation were not distributed among the Muslims, but the original tillers of the soil were made proprietors of the land they cultivated. This was a unique contribution at a time when it was the established practice for the conquerors to arrogate to themselves the ownership of land as soon as they conquered a country. The Muslims were not only not given any land but they were also deprived of the right to purchase it in conquered countries. All these wars, paradoxically enough, resulted in a large number of slaves collecting in Medina, for after every expedition booty was divided according to the prescribed rate, and among other things the booty comprised slaves captured during a war.

Slavery

Here a word about slavery becomes necessary. Slavery has existed among nations since antiquity. "The simple wish," says the author of *Ancient Law*, "to use bodily powers of another person as a means of ministering to one's own ease or pleasures, is doubtless the foundation of slavery, and is as old as human nature."⁶ The institution was recognized and practised by the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans and the ancient Germans. The Jews discriminated in favour of the Israelite slave, who became free after six years of service, but the alien slave remained in constant bondage. Christianity raised no protest against the institution, which had taken deep roots long before the appearance of Christ. Except a general moral advice to masters to be fair to the slaves, and to the slaves to avoid disobedience to the masters, Christianity did not formulate any clear laws on the subject. It made no effort to mitigate the baneful character of the institution or to take any steps to bring about its gradual abolition. Under European kings professing Christianity, marriages between slaves were illegal, and marriages between the slave and the free were prohibited. This meant unrestrained concubinage — an institution which was not only recognized but was also practised even by the clergy. Moreover, the white Christian had no power to legitimize the issue of his illicit connection with his Negro slave woman. The mother of his illegitimate children could be sold by his legitimate white issue. It was more a question of black and white than of conscience, which by implication existed only among the white races, who were at liberty to deny human rights to the black.

Islam dealt a severe blow to the institution of slavery with all its attendant associations. It declared all men equal

irrespective of their social status in life, which was but a mere accident. This was not a pious theory. It was brought into practice with all the moral and legal force at the command of the Prophet and his successors. It is significant that among the early converts were some distinguished black slaves who suffered untold persecution. But in accepting Islam they clearly saw the emancipation of all slaves. Bilal, the first Mu'addin of Islam, was a Negro slave. His freedom was bought by Abu Bakr, who used to address him as "our lord" and "our leader". He it was who discharged the mission of suspending the famous general Khalid Ibn Walid from his office. He it was who had a right of precedence over distinguished Quraysh leaders like Abu Sufyan, who had to wait for an audience with Caliph 'Umar, whereas Bilal had the liberty to walk in unannounced! The Prophet had the unique distinction in that age of not owning a single slave. The number of slaves owned by a man determined his social status. It was incredible that the head of a State should live in a humble abode without a slave. Khusro Pervez, the King of Persia, had ten thousand slaves and three thousand women slaves in his palace. And this was perfectly normal and moral. The head of the new State of Islam refused to have a single slave. He bought them from others and immediately conferred freedom on them. Not only that. He adopted one of them as his son and married him to his first cousin. This lucky slave was Zayd. His son Usama became the Commander-in-Chief of Abu Bakr's army, which comprised noble and proud leaders of the Quraysh. While Usama was going out in command of his army on an expedition the Caliph walked on foot while the slave rode on a horse! 'Ammar Ibn Yasir, one of the freed slaves, was appointed a judge in Kufa. He was also a deputy of the Caliph and commanded an army. Salman al-Farsi, another slave on whom freedom had been conferred by Islam, was given the privilege of leading prayers; and men like 'Abu Bakr and 'Umar accepted him as their leader. So great indeed was the respect and reverence in which he was held that at the time of his death the Caliph 'Umar thought of Salman and said that if only he had been alive he would have nominated him his successor. Abu Bakr purchased all the slaves and slave women who had embraced Islam and enfranchised them. In all it is estimated the Companions of the Prophet enfranchised 39,259 slaves. 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf alone was responsible for freeing thousands of slaves. To 'Umar goes the credit for enfranchising millions of them, for in theory all the people who came under his sway during his conquests technically became slaves. He chose, however, not to exercise his prerogative, and enfranchised all of them, thereby conferring on them the dignity of equality with the other citizens of the State. He had issued general instructions against enslaving people, and if ever those instructions were disobeyed, either in the letter or spirit, a man like 'Umar was quite capable of giving exemplary punishment. According to al-Baladuri and al-Qadi Yousuf, some slaves were brought from Egypt to Medina. 'Umar had them returned to 'Amr Ibn al-'As, the Governor of Egypt, with instructions that they should be immediately freed and their properties restored to them. He sternly told his Governor in Egypt that he or anybody else had no right to enslave men who had been born free.⁷ Islam sought to abolish unnatural distinctions between man and man based on colour, race and social status. People like Bilal and Salman al-Farsi, who were slaves, were not only accorded

7 *Tahzib-o-Tamadun-e-Islami*, Vol. I, p. 378, by Rashid Akhtar Nadvi.

5 Holy Qur'an, 4:

6 Maitre, *Ancient Law*, p. 104.

the respect due to eminent Muslims in theory but were recognized in practice as leaders of the Muslim community for which they had done so much.

It must be admitted that Islam did not legislate for the abolition of slavery. It is abundantly clear, however, both from the preachings and the precepts of the Prophet and his Companions, that it was their clear and firm intention to abolish slavery by stages. A revolution is not possible in the case of deep-rooted social evils, and the Prophet, therefore, took a realistic view of the situation. He sought to abolish the institution by his own example and by promulgating laws which tended to raise the dignity of the slave, encourage his enfranchisement and eventually make it impossible for new slaves to be added to Muslim society. Slavery by purchase, for example, was forbidden. Permanent chattelism was made impossible. It was obligatory on Muslims to be kind to slaves and manumission was encouraged to the greatest extent. The manumission of slaves was laid down as a penalty for certain sins of omission. The masters were exhorted to allow their slaves to earn their freedom. They were forbidden to take more work than was just. They were ordered never to address their slaves by the degrading appellation. It was enjoined that the slave should be clothed and fed exactly as his master and mistress. It was ordered that no mother should be separated from her child, no brother from his brother, nor father from his son, nor husband from wife, nor one relative from another. Only one kind of slavery was recognized and this related to the captives in *bona fide* lawful warfare. These slaves were to be held in bond until they were ransomed or they bought their liberty by the wages of their service. Even here unconditional freedom was often conferred. We have given instances where the Prophet accepted neither ransom nor wages of service. It will be relevant to point out here that captives in war, according to the laws prevailing at that time, would have been killed by another enemy. But Islam, in order to save human life, decided to accept the lesser evil with the proviso that slaves captured in *bona fide* warfare should be freed with ransom or in lieu of services rendered after their captivity. This was, therefore, a guarantee for the safety and preservation of the captives. We have hundreds of instances in Muslim history to show that during captivity these slaves were looked after so well that in almost all cases they volunteered not to return to their original lands but settled down in the new one as useful members of Muslim society. The mutilation of the human body was all too common before Islam. The reason is simple. The body of the slave was not considered a human body and all the cruelties directed against it evoked not only the applause of the people but also gave sadistic satisfaction to the rulers. This institution, which flourished in the Persian and the Byzantium empires, was denounced in severe terms.

With the growing conquests of Islam we see in Medina a growing number of alien slaves who had been brought in as captives and who had been distributed among the soldiers participating in different campaigns. According to al-Mas'udi, al-Zubayr Ibn al-Awwam had a thousand male slaves and an equal number of female slaves. According to the accepted theory governing the disposal of captured slaves they can be either retained by the master or be presented as a gift to anyone he likes. In the case of a woman slave, the master cannot present her to anybody after a child is born to her nor can he sell her or dispose of her in any other way. After the birth of a baby the woman automatically becomes

free when the husband dies. In theory there is no limit to the number of slaves a man can possess. The celebrated author of *The Spirit of Islam* has categorically stated⁸ that the Prophet prohibited sensual use of a master's power over the slave with the promise of Divine mercy to the wronged. We have not been able, however, to place the authority on which the learned author has based his statement. The working of this institution both in the lifetime of the Prophet and his Companions tends to prove that the assertion made so categorically by Syed Ameer Ali is not wholly justified. Even the Prophet accepted a slave girl, Maria al-Qibtiyya, and there is no evidence on record to prove that he married her. There is no doubt, however, that an overwhelming emphasis was placed by Islam on the virtue of freeing slaves. Every conceivable opportunity was availed of to enfranchise them, and in the case of interpretation of covenants and other legal suits the benefit of doubt was always given to the slave. Even after his freedom the slave, however, retained an association with his erstwhile master. For example, Zayd Ibn Haritha, who was purchased by the Prophet Muhammad and was freed by him, was always referred to as Zayd Ibn Haritha, the Mawla⁹ of the Prophet..

In the case of the association of the freed slave with the tribe of the erstwhile master, the slave was referred to as the Mawla of the particular tribe. In case the master of such a freed slave died without leaving any progeny the slave lawfully inherited the property of his master. In a broader sense, in the books of jurisprudence, the word Mawla is used for conquered nations which embraced Islam. The implication is, however, the same. The Persians were called Mawli because technically they had become slaves of Muslims after the conquest. They were, however, vouchsafed their freedom and thus they automatically became the Mawli of Muslims. The word "wala", from which Mawli is derived, however, had an entirely different signification in the pre-Islamic period. It meant allies or inheritors like first cousins, brothers and other direct relations. During the Muslim period the non-Arabs, or those who had no blood relationship with the Arabs, came to be referred to as Wawli for the first time. In due course this word came to be used only for the freed slaves. After a slave was freed no stigma was attached to him. On the contrary, as we have pointed out already, he was given all the respect due to a citizen of the State and everything possible was done to make his enfranchisement effective, both in letter and in spirit. So quickly was their status raised that the proud Arabs made a grievance of it. During the Omayyad period the reaction against this noticeable improvement set in to the disadvantage of the slaves. We have an interesting instance in the history of al-Tabari. The notables of Kufa decided to raise the banner of revolt against al-Mukhtai. "By God," they said, "this man has cheated us without our knowledge. He has raised the status of the Mawali; he has allowed them to ride horses and eat from the product of our lands. Our slaves now disobey us and he has deprived our orphans and widows of their services." The proud nobles of Kufa sent a representative to al-Mukhtai to tell him that he had deprived them of the slaves who, in their words, were God's own gift to them. "We had freed them in the hope that we may receive the heavenly reward and that the slaves may acknowledge this gesture with gratitude." Al-Mukhtai was charged with ignoring the spirit behind the freedom of the slaves, as the Arab nobles understood it, and he was maligned for having made slaves the partners of the nobility in their lands, etc. This is an eloquent commentary, both on the attitude of Islam towards the slave and also that of the ignorant Arab nobility.

⁸ *Spirit of Islam*, by Syed Ameer Ali, p. 263.

⁹ Mawla means faithful and the plural is Mawali.

In *Al-Iqd al-Farid*,¹⁰ Mu'awiya, the Omayyad Caliph, is quoted as having said: "I see these Persian and Roman slaves growing in numbers. I can see them pouncing on the Arabs and their kingdom. I have decided, therefore, to kill some of them and use others in building roads and managing markets." Fortunately, however, he changed his mind. It is quite clear that consequent on the conquests a large number of captives were brought in as slaves, as part of war booty. Almost every soldier had both male and female slaves in his house. The Arabian home, which was a closed preserve of the Arab for centuries, had now been thrown open to alien elements: the Persian, the Roman, the Syrian, the Egyptian and the Berber had all intruded on the isolated privacy of the Arab home. Except for the head of the family, who remained an Arab, the rest were aliens. The female slaves gave birth to children. There was a free mixing of blood. Among them were some of the noblest non-Arab families. During the régime of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, we know of three daughters of Yazdjird, the King of Persia. They were brought to Medina as captured slaves. One of them went to the son of Caliph 'Umar, 'Abd Allah, and gave birth to Salim; another was given to the son of Caliph 'Ali, Husayn, and she gave birth to Zayn al-'Abidin; and the third was given to Muhammad, son of Caliph Abu Bakr, and gave birth to al-Qasim. These three boys, who had an enviable reputation for piety and learning, were all, therefore, cousins, and were born of mothers who were the daughters of the King of Persia. Some scholars doubt the veracity of the statement, but there is no doubt that the three girls came from one of the highest aristocratic families of Persia. We have it on the authority of al-Kamil of al-Mubarrid that the people of Medina did not look favourably upon the idea of producing children from female slaves. However, after the three boys, al-Qasim, son of Muhammad,¹¹ Zayn al-'Abidin, son of Husayn,¹² and Salim, son of 'Abd Allah,¹³ created for themselves a distinguished position in the society of Medina on their own merit as men of piety and learning, the resistance of the general public towards having children from slaves was considerably reduced as they saw that men of unimpeachable integrity, learning and piety came from mothers who were slaves, and no stigma could, therefore, be attached to such a relationship. In the second generation of Islam, we see among the Tabi'in¹⁴ a large number of leading Muslims who were born of slave mothers. They had a significant contribution to make to the cultural life of Islam. This is, however, a subject with which we will deal elsewhere.

The role of the non-Arabs

The majority of people coming under the sway of Islam accepted the new religion in this exciting drama of expansion and growth. The non-Arabs who came to embrace Islam had a significant role to play. There were some who accepted the new faith because its simplicity genuinely appealed to them; there were others who took the way of least resistance and accepted the faith in order to claim equality of status with the new rulers. It is a paradox that the Muslim rulers were not very happy at mass conversions to Islam! The reason was simple. They lost a percentage of their revenues which came by way of a tax from non-Muslims. Yusuf Ibn Hajjaj, the provincial satrap of Iraq, was thoroughly annoyed when he received advices from his district governors about the increasing conversion of people to Islam. In a fit of rage he issued orders that irrespective of their conversion they must continue to pay the tax imposed on them before they embraced Islam. This order aroused indignation among Muslims at large, and the Ulema of Basra registered a most emphatic protest.¹⁵ It must be admitted that the Arabs, who

fanned out in all directions as rulers of newly-acquired territories, looked upon themselves as the rightful heirs of Islam, which was born in Arabia. They had a tendency, therefore, to look down on non-Arabs who embraced Islam during or after the conquests. Some of the Muslim governors were apt to ignore basic tenets of their own faith and non-Arab converts to Islam were made to feel that they could not claim unqualified equality in all spheres of life with the Arabs, who were after all the first converts to Islam. This was nothing but a transformation of the clannish outlook before the dawn of Islam.

Whether they liked it or not, the Arabs and non-Arabs were thrown together in a new society which was completely different from the one in which Arabs had lived all their lives. In Kufa, for example, half the population was non-Arab. The Persians, who were skilled workers, had completely monopolized industry, commerce and handicraft trades of the town. In all the countries which had come under the sway of Islam this mixing was inevitable. Medina, the capital of the empire, was no longer Arab in its character. To it flocked all the captives from the countries conquered by Muslims. A motley crowd of Persians, Copts, Romans and Egyptians could be seen working side by side. The town and its suburbs were full of non-Arab elements. The plot which culminated in the assassination of Caliph 'Umar was hatched in these foreign quarters. In addition to the influx of captives, administrators and visitors from the conquered countries, one saw thousands of pilgrims from all over the Muslim world flocking to Mecca and Medina. The peninsula was, therefore, no longer an island. It had been thrown open to the world. Although the majority of the population still remained Arab, the minority represented by the Persians, the Egyptians and the Romans was nevertheless exercising a visible influence on the cultural life of the country, which was fast undergoing an intellectual change. There was a constant interplay of different civilizations on the rustic mind of the Arab. The traditions of Persia and Rome made an incursion on those of Arabia. The laws of Persia and Rome influenced the laws of Arabia and Islam. The Persian and Roman provinces were assimilated into Arabic. The Persian and Roman systems of government did not go unnoticed and a number of their leading features were absorbed in the new system. In short, in all spheres of life — religious, political, social, economic and cultural — the island of Arabia, "Jazirat al-'Arab," was no longer an island in the cultural sense of the word.

The civilizations which came into contact with Arabia were ancient civilizations. The conqueror of a country is not always a conqueror in every sense of the word, for while he conquers he also gets conquered. We know it for a fact that the Muslims did not make any radical changes in the local customs or usages except when they were diametrically opposed to the laws of Islam. The routine was, therefore, carried on more or less as it was handled before Muslim conquest. The rational life was not disturbed and even the official language of the conquered countries was not interfered with until the reign of the fourth Omayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. The mixing of peoples and the coming together of civilizations on such a grand scale was bound to have its effect.

10 Vol. II, p. 90.

11 Son of Abu Bakr.

12 Son of 'Ali.

13 Son of 'Umar.

14 Those who accompanied the Companions.

15 Ibn al-Atir, Vol. IV, p. 179.

The conquered nations who had embraced Islam had their own traditions. They had their poetry and literature. They had their proverbs and parables. Some of them were intellectually much advanced and had cultivated the sciences. All their knowledge was brought to bear on the new faith that they had accepted. Even the theory of Islam did not escape this influence. It is not possible to believe that when a Persian, a Syrian, a Christian, a Roman or a Copt embraced Islam he completely shed his traditional beliefs inherited from his forefathers and put on an absolutely new look. No ideological convictions, no ideas, no faith, can spring suddenly from nowhere. It must be deeply rooted in the minds of men and it must inevitably find its roots in the past. The different nations which came to embrace Islam were bound to interpret and practise it in their own individual way. A compromise was, therefore, bound to emerge. The influence of new nations which had entered the fold of Islam came to be felt in the first century of the Hijra with the appearance of different sects and schools of thought. Islam no longer remained the simple religion that it was. It was perhaps the fear of this eventuality which made Caliph 'Umar utter his prayer : " O God, I ask for your help from the sins of the women captives of Jalula ! " It will be recalled that after the battle of Jalula unprecedented booty and a large number of captives, among whom were daughters of noble Persians, came into Medina, and 'Umar was very apprehensive of the effects of the lavish wealth on the simple life of the Arabs. He was not far wrong in his apprehension. In fact his fears proved true. Not long after his death we see the effect in the battle of Siffin, a battle fought between 'Ali and Mu'awiya, in which the new Muslim converts had a significant role to play. Historians have devoted a lot of space to the many battles fought and won. They had no time, however, to devote to the war which was continuously being waged in the minds of men. The unity of Muslim society was being challenged. The Arabs had their own traditions, their own outlook on life. The non-Arab Muslims had their own traditions and their own outlook on life. Between the two there was constant war, perennial struggle and permanent

tension. On the one side was the system of thought and life represented by the ancient civilizations of Rome and Persia, on the other was the simple structure raised by Islam. The non-Arabs accepted the outline but did much to colour the simple picture which emerged from Arabia. The physical campaigns ended after Caliph 'Uthman, but the Islamic Empire remained a vast theatre in which the cultural conflicts continued for a long time to come. There was conflict between the social systems, there was conflict between the languages. In fact the strife was so intense and all-persuasive that it is really not possible to assess the results in all their details. The Islamic nation was no more an Arab nation, with a unity of language, unity of thought, a unity of outlook on life as it prevailed in the days of the Prophet. The empire was now a combination of heterogeneous elements comprising different nations, different languages, different social systems and different traditions. The simple homogeneity of Muslim society had disappeared. The Arabic language spread throughout the empire. It became the language of politics and literature ; the religion of Islam was also universally accepted in the empire, which was Muslim with a few individual exceptions. In the case of the political and social systems, however, the conquered countries had much to contribute to the conception of the conqueror. In fields of science and philosophy they gave a lead to their leaders from Arabia. Inroads were also made on religion, and the mythical purity of the Arabic language could no longer be maintained.

We have an interesting incident in al-'Iqd al-Farid.¹⁶ Since the non-Arabs started learning Arabic, which was the language of the rulers, they naturally made many mistakes, particularly in grammar, which in any case is very difficult. An Arab saw some non-Arabs studying grammar. He made a significant remark which is representative of the Arab resentment at the foreigners' incursion into their language. He said : " There's no use correcting the language now *after* you have spoiled it ! " Foreign words, phrases and expressions entered the Arabic language and the same could be said about Islam as a religion. It was no longer safe from the intellectual influences of the conquered nations, which as is well known were instrumental in setting up different sects and schools. The Persian and the Roman civilizations in particular exercised a deep influence on the growth of Islam.

THE MUSLIM CALENDAR

This Muslim Year is a lunar year of 354 days. It begins roughly 11 days earlier than each solar year. Consequently the Muslim months rotate through all the seasons of a solar year. A day in a Muslim Calendar is reckoned from Sunrise to Sunset. This complicates the work of converting Muslim years into solar years. The actual flight of the Prophet Muhammad took place on the night of 20th June, 622 C.E. But the Muslim Calendar which is in vogue today commenced at Sunset, Thursday, 15th July, 622 C.E. The present Calendar was established by the Caliph 'Umar.

Formula for converting Hijrah years into years of the Christian Era

To find the year of the Christian Era corresponding to any years of the Hijrah, deduct 3 per cent from the Hijrah year, and add 621.54 to the result.

Example:—To find the equivalent of 1318 A.H.:
 3 per cent of 1318 is..... 39.54
 Result after deducting 39.54 from 1318..... 1278.46
 Result after adding 621.54..... 1900.00
 Thus 1318 A.H. is the exact equivalent of 1900 C.E.

TRIUMPH OF ARAB NATIONALISM IN IRAQ

The rapid overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in Iraq and its perennial pro-British Premier General Nuri al-Said astonished the Western world.

Hypocritically enough, the West concentrated on the lurid details of highly-coloured accounts of the deaths of the ex-King Faisal, the ex-Regent Prince Adul Illah and the dictatorial ex-Premier General al-Said. No mention was made of the fate of countless Iraqi patriots who had been tortured and in some cases liquidated in Iraqi prisons. Equally the Western politicians ignored countless warnings that the suppression of democratic liberties in Iraq and the pursuance of an anti-Pan-Arab policy in this State would one day lead to an explosion of popular opinion far more violent than the revolts of 1941, 1948 and 1952.

In *The Islamic Review* for November 1951 we mentioned the fact that: "The question of developing what the Iraqis call 'real independence', the formation of a real democratically elected Parliament and the fair distribution of wealth remains unsolved. . . . The ambitious and able politicians such as Shenshal of the Istiqlal Party, who recently advocated a Socialist policy as opposed to Bolshevism, Mr. Mahdi Kubba, Faik Samarraï and Chadirchi have no opportunity of showing their true values. Real democracy will lead to real friendship with the West. The question of British bases and their possible use in the event of trouble in Iran will be deplored in all the Muslim world."

It is significant that of the Iraqi politicians mentioned above, Mr. Saddiq Shenshal and Mr. Madhi Kubba of the Istiqlal Party are prominent members of the new Iraqi Republican Régime, as is the brilliant business man and economist Mr. Muhammad Hadid, the Vice-President of the National Democratic Party, of which Mr. Kamil Chadirchi (who was imprisoned for his outspoken criticisms of the Hashemites) is President.

The Iraqi nationalist revolt can thus be seen not as a mere expression of ambitious militarists but as the spearhead of all the democratic and truly nationalist forces which were disgusted with the attempts made by the Iraqi Premier to sabotage Arab unity and to bolster up the pro-Western régimes in Jordan and the Lebanon.

The unitarian principle of the Baath Party of Syria met with great support amongst the Iraqi republicans, who realized that effective unity with Syria in 1948, 1949 and 1950-51 had been prevented by the Hashemite rulers and their pro-Western policies in Iraq and Jordan. It was also realized that "Nasserism" in its international sense was the centuries-old expression of all the Arab world for unity, a unity which had been sabotaged by the French, British and Israeli imperialists in the Middle East.

After the First World War, Iraqi patriots quickly became disillusioned with the British, who foisted King Faisal, the son of the Sharif Hussain, on them and deported the powerful Basra politician Talib. The British allowed Faisal to be driven out of Syria and compensated Faisal by making him King of Iraq, while his brother Abdullah, who had been promised this kingdom, was sent off to Transjordan.

After Faisal's death in 1933 the nationalist elements and the Left Wing Ahali group supported the military *coup d'état* of General Bequir Sidqi in 1935 as an expression of opposition to the pro-British policy of the Iraq Government. The new monarch, King Ghazi, was, however, far more of a nationalist than his son Faisal who met his death in 1958.

The Iraqis have at no time desired a monarchy, but they ardently desire the unity of Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq, but the British and French split these areas up artificially and later separated off the Lebanon. The Iraqis had already revolted in 1920.

During the last war the Chamberlain Government attempted to negotiate with the Iraqis and to appease Arab national opinion by limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine, but the Churchill Government abruptly terminated this policy.

In 1941 a group of patriotic officers known as "The Golden Square" induced the Premier, Mr. Rashid Ali al-Qilani, to revolt against the British and the Hashemite monarchy. The boy King, the Regent Abdullah and General Nuri al-Said, in exile, were forcibly restored by power by the British Army and the Jordan Arab Legion led by General Glubb. Executions were carried out and the patriotic army was smashed. Rashid Ali fled to Su'udi Arabia and is only recently reported to have returned to Iraq. Mr. Shenshal was Propaganda Minister in the Rashid Ali Government, which was the best expression of genuine Iraqi nationalists up to that time.

The repression that followed was deeply resented, and the deaths of the King, the Regent and of General Nuri al-Said must be largely attributed to the actions of the Regent and General Nuri in 1941 backed up by British bayonets.

All effusion of blood is regrettable, and the recent killings were almost certainly carried out unintentionally or intentionally in the heat of the moment, but it is sheer hypocrisy on the part of Western observers who countenanced the execution and imprisonment of Iraqi patriots in 1941 and up till 1958 to condemn the Iraqi republicans as regicides, for they very quickly established order and are now giving about 108 collaborationists with the former régime a fair trial.

In 1948 another revolt took place in Iraq against the Anglo-British Treaty of Porstmouth. The Iraqis had seen that the British had sacrificed the Arab League and Arab unity to Zionism. Iraq, which had cut off its oil supplies to the Jewish-occupied Haifa refinery, was on the verge of starvation and Dr. Fadhel Jamali and Salah Jabr resigned.

Under the pro-British régime the reconstituted Iraqi army was prevented from effectively participating in the Palestine war although the Iraqis were violently anti-Zionist.

General Nuri al-Said managed to be repeatedly appointed Premier by a Parliament of illiterate feudal sheiks from which all but a few genuine nationalists were excluded.

In 1952, 32 out of 141 deputies advocated the nationalisation of the oil industry. The leading opponents of the régime were the Istiqlal leaders, Sadiq Shenshal, Muhammad Madhi Kubba and Faik Samirrai, with their paper, *Liwa al-Istiqlal*, and Kamil Chadirchi, Muhammad Hadid and Hussain Jemil of the National Democratic (Hizb al-Watani al-Dimucraati) Party. At that time there were 2,000 political prisoners in Iraq, many of whom were interned in the notorious Nugrat Salman internment camp.

British diplomats foolishly branded the Iraqi opposition as fellow-travellers, and the growth of pro-Soviet feeling amongst the Iraqi students was due to the complete absence of democratic liberties and disgust with the West for supporting the unpatriotic policy of the Hashemites and their premiers. Had Britain supported the Iraqi democrats in

1946 she would have enjoyed an unassailable position in the Middle East, but even the Labour Foreign Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin, a bitter opponent of Zionism, allowed himself to be deluded that the Hashemite régime must be preserved.

In 1952 another outburst of popular disgust shook the régime, but the army sided with the régime and the nationalist leaders were arrested. The Iraqi Government gave no help to Dr. Mossadeq in his fight against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company; in fact they negotiated a new oil agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company and cashed in on the shortage of oil, showing a complete disregard for any expression of Muslim solidarity. It is true that 70 per cent of the resulting greatly increased revenue was allocated to a development scheme which inaugurated an industrial revolution in Iraq, but Government supporters were favoured as much as possible so that the rich could get richer. At the same time, the rise of a new class of technicians and the increase in the number of students and of the industrial proletariat paved the way for the nationalist revolution.

The Franco-British-Israeli aggression against Egypt finally disillusioned the people of Iraq in any hopes they may have entertained in the West, and the cutting of the pipelines through Syria temporarily held up the flow of oil.

The Hashemite union with Jordan appeared in the eyes of Iraq an insincere attempt to emulate the Egyptian-Syrian Union and as an effort to curb the spread of the genuine Arab Unity movement.

The Iraq Government's support of President Chamoun in the Lebanon and a final effort to draft Iraqi troops into Jordan to bolster up the unpopular King Hussain played into the hands of the patriotic Iraqi officers, who completely caught the over-confident Premier Nuri al-Said off his guard and provided a cover for the movement of the patriotic troops on Baghdad. The actual extent of the participation of the opposition politicians in the revolt is still unknown; possibly they were only told after the successful termination of the revolt, which had to be carried out in the utmost secrecy.

It is significant that the new Premier, Abdul Karim, is the son of a general who took part in the Rashid Ali popular revolt in 1941. The rapid recognition of the new republican régime by the United Kingdom and the United States shows that there is now chance of a reversion of the rotten feudal régime of the Hashemites and of Nuri al-Said. In view of the

importance of Iraqi oil, Britain's cynical materialistic attitude is understandable, but it will take a long time for the Iraqi people to have any confidence in Britain, and she will naturally lean towards the Egyptian-Syrian union.

The British Conservative press seems already to be writing off King Hussain in Jordan, but the threat of Israeli intervention in Jordan is being used in order to discourage a change in the Jordanian régime.

Iraq's new attitude towards the Baghdad Pact remains to be seen, but Iraq will presumably favour a form of neutralism along the lines adopted by Colonel Nasser and Marshal Tito. At the same time it would appear that Pakistan, Turkey and Iran are seeking to maintain good relations with the new Iraqi régime.

A new Iraqi Constitution is being drawn up, and this will be approved after a plebiscite. In the meantime, a provisional Constitution recognizes Islam as the State religion and equal rights to Arabs and Kurds, and religious and ideological equality for all. A Land Reform Bill, in which big land-owners will be compensated, is under preparation. Arrangements are being made for the repatriation of 250 political refugees who fled to Syria under the old régime.

The new Minister of Development, Mr. Fuad al-Rikabi, a 30-year-old member of the Baath Socialist Party, and an engineer who worked for four years on the Development Board, was detained for three months in the Nukrat Salman concentration camp in 1956 during the Suez invasion.

Mr. al-Rikabi has stated that the Development Plan concentrated too much on the building of spectacular roads and that a third of the plan was devoted to construction and only 5 per cent to agricultural aid. New projects would, he said, be devoted towards raising the standard of living of the masses, and the rent of agricultural land would be controlled.

At present the Development Board is being run without the assistance of foreign nominees by the Deputy Premier together with the assistance of the Ministers of Finance, Agriculture, Social Affairs and Economics.

The New Iraq Government will lead to the strengthening of the Arab United Front against Israel. The fate of neighbouring Kuwait will now be watched with renewed interest. Kuwait's oil revenue is badly needed to help develop the neighbouring Arab countries.

The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad

By Dr. M. Hamidullah, Ph.D.(Bonn), D.Litt.(Paris)

11 in. x 9 in.

48 Pages

Price 3/-

Illustrated with photographs and charts of the battlefields

**INVALUABLE TO ALL STUDENTS OF MILITARY HISTORY AND OF GREAT
INTEREST TO ALL MUSLIMS, GIVING A FULL ACCOUNT OF THIS PART OF THE PROPHET'S LIFE**

CHRONOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

FROM 1947-1957

1947

June

- 3 The seven Muslim League, Congress and Sikh leaders meet Lord Mountbatten at 10 a.m. and formally communicate their acceptance of the plan on the partition of the sub-continent into "Pakistan" and "India".
- 19 The Muslim League High Command selects the port-city of Karachi to be the capital of the Pakistan Government.
- 20 Bengal Assembly members decide that the Province should be partitioned.
- 23 The Punjab Assembly decides upon the partition of the Punjab.
- 26 The Bengal Separation Council meets to deliberate upon the partition of Bengal. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Khwaja Nazimuddin represented the Muslim League, and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and Mr. Dhirendranarayan Mukherjee the Congress.
- 29 Baluchistan decides to join Pakistan.

July

- 10 *Quaid-i-Azam* Muhammad Ali Jinnah recommended as the first Governor-General of Pakistan by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee.
- 13 Sylhet decides by vote to join Pakistan.
- 15 The first special train carrying a number of Pakistan Government officials and a unit of the C.P.W.D. leaves New Delhi for Karachi.
- 20 The North-West Frontier Province decides by vote to join Pakistan.
- 26 Pakistan Constituent Assembly formed.

August

- 10-12 Over 5,000 Muslim refugees pour into Lahore from East Punjab, particularly from the disturbed areas in Amritsar District.
- 14 Lord Louis Mountbatten addresses, in the morning, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in Karachi. Fourteen hours later (at midnight) Pakistan comes into being as an independent sovereign State with Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as its first Governor-General.
- 15 The *Quaid-i-Azam* is sworn in as Governor-General. The first Pakistan Cabinet is sworn in. The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir enters into a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan.
- 18 Pakistan becomes a member of the United Nations by a unanimous vote of the Security Council. The Awards of the Boundary Commissions, determining the frontiers of the two parts of the Punjab and Bengal, and demarcating the areas of Sylhet allotted to East Bengal, are announced simultaneously in the capitals of Pakistan and India. The award in the Punjab divides the Muslim-majority Gurdaspur and Lahore Districts between the two new Dominions. In the case of Gurdaspur District, the Shakargarh Tehsil, which lies west of the Ravi river, becomes part of Pakistan, while Pathankot, the Muslim-majority Tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala Tehsils which lie east of the Ravi, become part of the Indian Union, thus providing an artificial contiguity between India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir which led to the creation of the "Kashmir Problem". The Ajnala Tehsil of Amritsar District, contiguous to the District of Lahore, with a 60 per cent Muslim majority, goes to India, while the Tehsils of

Zira and Ferozepur with a clear Muslim majority contiguous to West Punjab have been dismissed with the talk of "disruption of communications". Mention is not made of the Tehsils of Jullundur and Nakodar, which are handed over to East Punjab.

The award causes bitter resentment in Pakistan.

- 19 First working day of Pakistan Government Offices.
- 28 Pakistan's application for membership of the Food and Agricultural Organization has been accepted.
- 29 The number of Muslim refugees entering West Punjab is estimated to have touched the 400,000 figure. The influx continues at an increased pace.

September

- 1 Twenty aircraft of B.O.A.C. chartered for the evacuation of 7,000 Pakistan Government personnel. The services of Orient Airways have also been requisitioned by the Pakistan Government for this purpose. The first batch of 80 passengers flies to Karachi.
- 8 Over 50,000 Muslim refugees reported to be arriving daily from East Punjab into West Punjab. About 250,000 Muslim refugees collect in the Kasur refugee camp for evacuation to West Punjab. A caravan of 7,500 refugees moves to Montgomery on foot under military escort.
- 12 Secret negotiations reported between the Kashmir Government and Congress leaders of India to join the Indian Union.
- 15 The "Operation Pakistan" conducted by B.O.A.C. to evacuate personnel of the Pakistan Government and their families from Delhi and other places comes to an end at midnight, having made 482 flights. The "Operation Pakistan" was the largest movement of civilians in air history; 8,500 passengers were carried over 330,000 miles. Junagadh accedes to Pakistan.
- 24 Manavadar State in Kathiawar accedes to Pakistan.
- 26 Over one million Muslim refugees are settled in West Punjab: 450,000 in Montgomery District, 350,000 in Lyallpur District, 150,000 in Sheikhupura District and 220,000 in the Sialkot District.
- 28 Unprecedented floods in the Punjab: Ravi, Sutlej and Beas in spate. About 1,000 persons reported drowned. More than 50 villages submerged in the Kasur Tehsil.

October

- 22 Indian troops enter Manavadar and take over management of the State by forcibly removing its ruler to Rajkot.
- 26 Wireless link with East Pakistan is established.
- 27 Indian air troops land in Kashmir. The Maharaja of Kashmir declares accession of Kashmir to India. This is accepted by Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, subject to a free and impartial plebiscite by a reference to the people of the State. Sheikh Abdullah is to form an interim Government under the Maharaja's Prime Minister.
- 30 The Government of Pakistan refuses to recognize Kashmir's accession to India.
- 31 Gilgit Province of Kashmir State revolts against the Dogra régime.

November

- 1 Kashmir question discussed by the *Qaid-i-Azam* and Lord Mountbatten at Lahore.

- 3 Pakistan protests against the "illegal and unconstitutional" entry of the Indian troops in the Manavadar State, which had acceded to Pakistan on 24th September. The Asian Regional Conference of I.L.O. welcomes Pakistan as a full member of I.L.O.
- 8 Azad Kashmir troops, who had penetrated into the precincts of Srinagar, are forced to retreat due to recapture of Baramula by Indian troops. The rulers of Chitral and Dir sign the Instrument of Accession with Pakistan.
- 10 The Pakistan Government lodges a strong protest against the *coup d'état* of the Government of India in Junagadh.
- 16 A delegation of Egyptian journalists arrives in Karachi.
- 19 Azad Kashmir forces capture Rajori.
- 20 Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan opens the Palestine Debate in the United Nations on the partition plan presented by the Palestine Sub-Committee and challenges the validity of United Nations Palestine map.
- 26 Mirpur falls to Azad forces.
- 27 The All-Pakistan Educational Conference opens in Karachi.
- 28 High-level tripartite talks on Kashmir begin in New Delhi among Pakistan, India and the Kashmir Premier for a solution of the Kashmir question.
- 20 *The United Nations Security Council adopts a Resolution on the Kashmir dispute, setting up a Commission composed of three members, one each to be selected by India and Pakistan and the third to be designated by the two members so selected. The Resolution instructs the Commission to proceed to the sub-continent "as quickly as possible", and to act under the authority of the Security Council and in accordance with its directions, and to keep the Security Council currently informed of its activities and of developments of the situation; and to report to the Security Council regularly submitting its conclusions and proposals. The Commission is empowered first to inquire into the situation in the Jammu and Kashmir State set out in a letter addressed by India, and secondly, to inquire into other situations set out in a letter from the Pakistan Foreign Minister, when the Security Council so directs. The Resolution invests the Commission with a dual function:*
 - (1) to investigate the facts pursuant to Article 34 of the Charter; and,
 - (2) to exercise any mediatory influence likely to smooth away difficulties.
- 30 Mr. Gandhi is assassinated in Delhi. His assassination casts a gloom over Pakistan.

December

- 3 A New Delhi report says that four million Muslims have so far been evacuated from the East Punjab and Delhi areas to West Punjab.
- 4 Akhnoor, last strategic gateway to Jammu, is captured by Azad Kashmir forces.
- 6 The Indo-Pakistan Inter-Dominion Conference is held in Lahore. It is decided that the work of rescuing abducted women and children and converts should be carried on in earnest with the help of "Evacuation Parties" of non-official political workers in co-operation with the police and military evacuation organizations of the Dominion in which they would operate.
- 10 It is reported that 4,680,000 Muslim refugees have so far arrived in West Punjab; of these, 3,920,000 were moved by the Pakistan Military Evacuee Organization, the rest had moved before 28th August, when the M.E.O. was set up.
- 15 The 41-year-old All-India Muslim League, meeting in Karachi, resolves to split itself into two separate organizations for Pakistan and India.
- 27 Azad Kashmir forces occupy Jhangar.
- 29 The Pakistan Girl Guides' Association is formed in Karachi under the patronage of Miss Fatima Jinnah.
- 31 India refers the Kashmir dispute to the United Nations. Pakistan welcomes United Nations intervention in the Kashmir dispute.
- February
 - 13 An Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan is set up in Karachi by the Government of Pakistan to advise and assist the Government in the planning of a national system of education.
 - 21 The *Quaid-i-Azam*, in his address to the Pakistani Muslim League Council, says that now Pakistan is established, the Pakistan Muslim League will function more or less as a political party.
 - 23 The financial discussions between Pakistan and the United Kingdom delegations relating to Pakistan's sterling balances are concluded and the financial agreement of 14th August 1947 is to 30th June 1948. Under this agreement Pakistan will get £16 million by transfer to the new account.
 - 23 *The first session of the Pakistan Parliament begins in the Constituent Assembly Hall; the Quaid-i-Azam presides. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan is elected Deputy President of Parliament. The Quaid-i-Azam is the first to take the oath of allegiance. The House mourns the death of Mr. Gandhi. The Quaid-i-Azam associates himself with the tributes paid to Mr. Gandhi.*

March

- 4 Yahya Kemal Bayatli, greatest living poet of Turkey, presents his credentials as the first Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan.
- 18 Dr. Tsiang presents a 12-point Resolution on Kashmir. India and Pakistan have been asked to submit amendments in writing to Dr. Tsiang.
- 21 The Royal Pakistan Air Force stages its first air display at the R.P.A.F. Aerodrome, Karachi.
- 24 Addressing the annual convocation of the Dacca University, the *Quaid-i-Azam* says: "There could be only one *lingua-franca* for Pakistan and that language should be Urdu."
- 27 The State of Kalat accedes to Pakistan.

April

- 1 Pakistan's first coins and currency notes come into circulation.

1948

January

- 1 India declines to pay the agreed share of Rs. 550 million in cash balances to Pakistan and stops even the military stores in respect of Pakistan's share.
- 10 The Nizam's Government transfers to the Pakistan Government the undivided Government of India securities of the value of Rs. 200 million which it was holding.
- 12 Mr. Gandhi declares at his prayer-meeting that he is undertaking a fast from tomorrow for an indefinite period to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity.

- 21 The Security Council adopts a revised draft resolution presented jointly by Belgium, Canada, China, Columbia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In this resolution, the Security Council enlarges the membership of the Commission to five. It recommends to the Governments of India and Pakistan measures which it considers appropriate to bring about a cessation of the fighting and to create proper conditions for holding a free and impartial plebiscite. The resolution recommends the withdrawal of forces and other fighting elements; the setting up of a coalition Government composed of elements in favour of and against accession to Pakistan and a free and impartial plebiscite under the control of the United Nations through a Plebiscite Administrator.
- Mr. Ayyangar, the Indian delegate to the United Nations, in a letter to the President of the Security Council, expresses India's inability to accept the proposal for a coalition Government in Kashmir and to surrender complete control of the State's military, police and magistracy to the Plebiscite Administrator.

June

- 1 Negotiations begin in Karachi for an Air Agreement between Pakistan and the United Kingdom.
- 15 U.N.C.I.P. holds its first meeting at Geneva.
- 23 An Air Transport Agreement is signed at Karachi between the Governments of Pakistan and India.

July

- 1 The *Quaid-i-Azam* formally declares open the State Bank of Pakistan. "It symbolizes our financial sovereignty," he says.
- Oil is reported to have been discovered in Tippera in East Pakistan.
- 23 The Pakistan Government takes over the administration of Karachi from the Sind Government.

August

- 14 U.N.C.I.P. presents a proposal for cease-fire in the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Governments of India and Pakistan.
- World greets Pakistan on the first anniversary of her independence. "I have faith in my people," says the *Quaid-i-Azam* in his Independence Day message congratulating the nation for the past year's effort.
- 27 The Governor-General declares a "state of emergency" in Pakistan.

September

- 11 *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, dies at Karachi at 10.25 p.m.*
- Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, in a message, appeals to Pakistanis not to yield to grief but to rededicate themselves to the cause and service of Pakistan.*
- 12 The *Quaid-i-Azam* is laid to rest at Karachi with full military honours amid scenes of deep sorrow.
- 13 Hyderabad State (Deccan) is invaded by Indian troops from three directions at 4 a.m.
- 14 Khwaja Nazimuddin, Premier of East Bengal, is appointed Governor-General of Pakistan.
- 18 The *Quaid-i-Azam* Memorial Fund is launched for national institutions to be founded in the *Quaid-i-Azam's* memory.

October

- 1 Currency notes of the denominations of Rs. 5, Rs. 10 and Rs. 100 are issued by the State Bank of Pakistan.

November

- 25 The Governor-General of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, inaugurates the Pakistan Military Academy at Kabul.

1949

January

- 1 U.N. "Cease Fire" orders to operate in Kashmir from one minute before midnight.
- 5 A Resolution is adopted at a meeting of U.N.C.I.P. under which the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through a free and impartial plebiscite which will be held when it shall be found by the Commission that the cease-fire and truce arrangements set forth in Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of the 13th August 1948 have been carried out, and arrangements for the plebiscite have been completed. The resolution also asks the United Nations Secretary-General to nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who shall derive for the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organizing and conducting the plebiscite.

February

- 22 Begum Liaquat Ali Khan inaugurates the All-Pakistan Women's Conference in Karachi. The conference decides to form an All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) to work for the general welfare and cultural development of the women of Pakistan and for the international goodwill and brotherhood of mankind.

March

- 11 Governor-General Khwaja Nazimuddin lays the foundation stone of the Pakistan Security Printing Corporation.
- 12 The Constituent Assembly passes the Objectives Resolution moved by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

April

- 28 U.N.C.I.P. presents final truce terms to Pakistan and India with the request that they should be accepted unreservedly.

May

- 2 Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan opposes Israel's application for United Nations membership.
- 9 Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan arrives in Cairo.
- 12 Pakistan's Foreign Minister speaks in support of the Libyan unity; he also declares Pakistan's opposition to Italy's rule over these colonies.
- 19 Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan proposes a special committee to report on Libya.

July

- 4 The Burma Oil Company Pakistan (Concessions) Ltd. finds oil at the Balkassar test-well in West Pakistan.
- 7 The Pakistan History Board finalizes the pattern of history teaching in the country.
- 26 India and Pakistan agree on a cease-fire Line for the whole of the 800 mile front in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at a conference between U.N.C.I.P. and the military representatives of the two Dominions.

September

- 6 Pakistan decides to accept U.N.C.I.P.'s latest Truce Proposals in view of the letters from President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee.

- 9 Pakistan accepts U.N.C.I.P.'s proposal that Admiral Chester Nimitz should arbitrate in her dispute with India over Kashmir.
- 20 The Pakistan Government decides not to devalue its rupee. The new monetary ratio between the Pakistani rupee and the Indian rupee is fixed at Rs. 100 to 144.

November

- 25 The first international Islamic Economic Conference opens in Karachi.

December

- 1 The International Islamic Economic Conference representing eighteen Muslim nations, unanimously agrees to form an International Federation of Islamic Chambers of Commerce and Industry.
- 27 The Government of Pakistan recognizes the Republic of Indonesia on the first day of her independence.

1950

January

- 4 The Government of Pakistan recognizes the People's Republic of China.

February

- 4 The Aga Khan announces a donation of Rs. 350,000 for an Economic Research Centre for Muslim countries.
- 7 *The Security Council receives from General McNaughton of Canada the report on the task entrusted to him of finding a solution to the Kashmir deadlock. General McNaughton agrees with U.N.C.I.P. that administrative control over the Northern Areas of Kashmir should remain with the existing local authorities.*
- 12 Governor-General Khwaja Nazimuddin lays the foundation stone of the Kotri Barrage — Sub-Centre of the Lower-Sind Project.
- 18 Pakistan and Iran sign a Treaty of Friendship at Teheran.
- 26 Pakistan-Iraq Treaty of Friendship is signed in Baghdad.

March

- 1 His Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, arrives in Karachi.
- 14 *The Security Council adopts a resolution appointing a Mediator for the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan declares that Pakistan accepts the joint resolution and will do all in its power to co-operate with the United Nations Representative in the letter and spirit of the Resolution. The Security Council reaffirms U.N.C.I.P.'s resolution of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949, and expresses the opinion that "the resolution of the outstanding shall be based upon the substantial measure of agreement on fundamental principles already reached, and that steps should be taken forthwith for the demilitarization of the State and for the expeditious determination of its future in accordance with the freely expressed will of the inhabitants".*

April

- 12 The Security Council appoints the Australian jurist, Sir Owen Dixon, as Mediator in the Kashmir dispute. The Government of Pakistan accepts the nomination of Sir Owen Dixon. Pakistan Constituent Assembly decides that the Federal Court of Pakistan should be the Supreme Judicial

Tribunal in the country, and abolishes the entire appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council from May 1950.

- 17 The National Museum at Frere Hall, Karachi, is declared open.

- 19 Begum and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan leave Karachi on a tour of the U.S.A. on a personal invitation from President Truman.

- 26 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, arrives in Karachi to discuss various Inter-Dominion problems with Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan.

May

- 18 The Peshawar University comes into being.

July

- 11 Pakistan joins the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

August

- 22 *Sir Owen Dixon announces his failure to bring India and Pakistan together to solve the Kashmir dispute. According to The Times, London, "the starting point of Sir Owen Dixon's mission was the agreement of the United Nations, India and Pakistan that the future of Kashmir should be settled by a plebiscite. For this, to be fair, troops would have to be withdrawn by both sides. But to India, demilitarization meant the withdrawal of Pakistani forces, disarming of the 'Free Kashmir' régime and the extension of Sheikh Abdullah's authority over the whole country. To Pakistan, these arrangements would make any plebiscite a farce, particularly if substantial Indian forces stayed behind in support of Sheikh Abdullah. Pakistan wanted the withdrawal of regular troops on both sides and full authority from both Sheikh Abdullah and the 'Free Kashmir' régime for the United Nations Administrator, Admiral Nimitz, to conduct the plebiscite under fair conditions."*
- 29 A Treaty of Friendship between Pakistan and the Syrian Republic is signed in Karachi.

September

- 7 Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan opens the Pakistan International Industries Fair in Karachi.
- 9 The Government of Pakistan decides to open near Chalna (East Pakistan) an inland port to handle the outgoing jute and tea and incoming coal.
- 14 Pakistan is elected to the Board of Executive Directors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- 15 *Sir Owen Dixon submits his report on Kashmir to the Security Council. After three months of discussion and deliberations he came to the conclusion that India did not co-operate because of her refusal to create conditions which would make a plebiscite by demilitarization of the State possible. Sir Owen Dixon, under the circumstances, found that the Government of India, by refusing to accept what he regards as fair conditions for demilitarization in preparation for an overall plebiscite, committed a breach of the commitments formally undertaken by them in the resolutions of 13th August 1948 and of 5th January 1949 of the U.N.C.I.P. These two resolutions were accepted by both sides — by India as well as by Pakistan — and they were accepted by India at a time when all the factors in the situation had become perfectly clear. Pakistan is elected to the Fund and Bank Procedure Committees of the I.M.F. and the World Bank.*

- 21 R.P.A.F. drops food over stranded villages in the Punjab where the flood situation is serious.
- 22 Pakistan signs the Fullbright Agreement which provides for educational exchange between the U.S.A. and Pakistan.

October

- 2 Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of the Punjab, performs the opening ceremony of the Asian Training Centre of E.C.A.F.E., at Lahore.
Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Finance Minister, in his presidential address at the second annual session of the International Islamic Conference held in Teheran, stresses the need for a scheme of joint industrial planning on a zonal basis.
- 4 Pakistan is elected a member of the United Nations Korean Commission.
- 10 The overseas radio-telephone service between Pakistan and Switzerland is extended to Poland.
- 12 Mr. Ghulam Muhammad is unanimously elected President of the International Islamic Economic Conference for the next three years at the closing session of the Conference held in Teheran.
- 30 The special envoy of the Motamer-i-Alam-i-Islami leaves for Lake Success with a million-signature scroll demanding justice for the people of Kashmir, to be delivered to the United Nations Secretary-General.

November

- 6 Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, switches on the extension of the Malakand hydro-electric line to Shabkadar.
- 23 Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan performs the opening ceremony of the Malakand hydro-electric link to Knot Najibullah.

December

- 3 The Governor of the Punjab opens a boat-bridge across the Indus River at Mithankot, which is claimed to be the longest boat bridge in the world.
- 15 The Governor of the Punjab opens Radio Pakistan's first teleprinter service between Lahore and Karachi.

1951

February

- 21 *The Anglo-American Resolution on the Kashmir question is presented to the Security Council. The Resolution recommends the appointment of another United Nations representative for India and Pakistan to supervise the task of demilitarizing the State of Jammu and Kashmir prior to a plebiscite. The new elements introduced in the resolution are: (1) possibility that, although the future accession of the State should be decided by majority of votes cast in a State-wide plebiscite, this should not preclude subsequent boundary adjustments in areas contiguous to the frontiers of India and Pakistan, and (2) the utilization of forces locally recruited or drawn from other members of the United Nations for the purpose of keeping law and order during the plebiscite period.*
- 25 India accepts the par value of the Pakistani rupee and an Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement is signed in Karachi which resolves the 17-month-old trade deadlock between the two countries.

March

- 9 Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan reveals in Lahore that a conspiracy to create commotion in the country by

violent means and to subvert the loyalty of Pakistan defence forces has been unearthed, leading to the arrest of certain Army officers and civilians.

- 10 A Goodwill Mission of the Pakistan Army leaves Karachi for Teheran.
- 13 The Governor of East Pakistan performs the opening ceremony of the first oil prospecting operations in the Patharia Forest area started by Pakistan Petroleum Ltd.
- 19 A Turkish military Goodwill Mission arrives in Karachi.
- 29 Mr. Fazlur Rahman moves a Bill in Parliament for the establishment of an Iqbal Academy to perpetuate the memory of the philosopher-poet of Pakistan.
- 30 The Anglo-American Resolution on Kashmir is approved by the Security Council. The Resolution proposes that a new United Nations Representative be appointed to go to Kashmir.
The Governor-General inaugurates the Pakistan History Conference in Karachi.
- 31 Pakistan and Iraq sign a Trade Agreement in Karachi.

April

- 2 Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan conveys to the Security Council Pakistan's acceptance of the Anglo-American Resolution passed by the Council on 30th March.
Pandit Nehru tells a meeting of the National Conference workers at Srinagar that India has rejected the Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir.
- 30 The Security Council appoints Dr. Frank P. Graham to the post of United Nations Representative to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

May

- 30 The Security Council takes action on Pakistan's complaint and empowers the President to cable India and Pakistan drawing attention to the "apprehension" of Council members regarding the proposed holding of the "Constituent Assembly" in Kashmir.

June

- 2 Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan in a statement supports the Iranian Government's decision to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and says that no one can question their right to nationalize their industry.
- 17 A Parliamentary Mission from Indonesia arrives in Karachi.

July

- 15 *In reply to questions at a Press Conference in Karachi, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan says that he has instructed Pakistan's Representative at the United Nations to bring the fact of the massing of Indian troops on Pakistan's borders to the notice of the Security Council. All Commonwealth and friendly countries have also been informed of the situation, adds Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.*
- 26 Pakistan and Turkey sign a Treaty of Friendship.

August

- 28 Pakistan and Egypt sign a Treaty of Friendship in Cairo.

September

- 7 The Pakistan delegate to the San Francisco Peace Conference, Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, says that Pakistan will subscribe to the Japanese Peace Treaty and expresses the hope that the Asian nations attending the Conference will sign the Treaty.
- 16 *Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan is assassinated at Rawalpindi. While addressing a public meeting he is*

twice fired at from close range by an assailant, Sa'id Akbar, who is done to death by the mob.

Dr. Graham reports to the Security Council that there is still a chance of getting an agreement between Pakistan and India on the question of Kashmir. Dr. Graham's main conclusions and recommendations are: (1) the difficulties should not be underestimated; the possibility of arriving at a basis of agreement should "not be excluded"; (2) the Security Council should call India and Pakistan to take immediate measures to improve relations between them and to avoid warlike statements; (3) the Security Council should consider making a renewed effort to get agreement on a demilitarization plan for Kashmir; (4) the Council might consider instructing a United Nations representative to continue negotiations with the two States and report back to the Council within six weeks.

- 17 Mr. Liaqat's body is brought to Karachi where it is buried by the side of the *Quaid-i-Azam*. The funeral is attended by 700,000 people.
The Governor-General, Khwaja Nazimuddin, assumes charge as Prime Minister. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Minister of Finance, is appointed Governor-General.
- 19 Mr. Ghulam Muhammad is sworn-in as Governor-General of Pakistan.
- 24 Khwaja Nazimuddin's new Cabinet is sworn in.
The Government of Pakistan announces the appointment of a Commission, with Mr. Justice Munis as President, to inquire into the circumstances of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's assassination.
- 30 The new Standard Time for East and West Pakistan comes into force.

November

- 2 Pakistan XI beats M.C.C. by four wickets in Karachi.

1952

January

- 17 Pakistan promises to support Tunisia in her request that the Security Council intervene in her dispute with France.
- 21 The Neo Destour Party of Tunisia appeals to the Pakistan Prime Minister to intervene in the crisis between Tunisia and France.

February

- 2 *Pakistan and the United States Governments sign an Agreement providing for 10 million dollar United States' aid to Pakistan during the six months ending 30th June 1952.*
- 4 Deposits of more than 40 million tons of lignite coal are discovered in East Pakistan.
- 9 Pakistan decides to sponsor the case of Tunisia in the Security Council.
- 21 Prime Minister Nazimuddin inaugurates the construction work of the first Naval Dry Dock in Karachi.

March

- 14 Dr. Fazil Jamali, former Foreign Minister of Iraq, arrives in Karachi on a mission connected with the formation of an inter-Islamic Consultative Body which was discussed during the recent visit of the Pakistan Foreign Minister to the Middle East countries.
- 22 The fourth All-Pakistan Science Conference meets in Peshawar.
- 29 The Conference of women from all over the Muslim world sponsored by A.P.W.A. opens in Lahore.

April

- 10 The Governor-General opens the Security Printing Press at Karachi.

May

- 6 The direct radio-telegraphic link between Pakistan and the U.S.S.R. is completed, and begins operation.

June

- 21 *Twenty-million dollar aid to Pakistan under expanded Point-Four Programme, during the year ending 30th June 1953, is announced.*

August

- 22 A 24-hour telegraph-telephone service is established between Karachi and Dacca.

December

- 11 Large iron ore deposits are discovered in the Mianwali area in the Punjab.
- 22 The Basic Principles Committee Report is presented to the Constituent Assembly by Khwaja Nazimuddin. The Report envisages a democratic Federal State with a popularly elected Parliament. Parity is accorded to East and West Pakistan in both Houses of Parliament; and weightage to the smaller provinces in West Pakistan. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar presents to the Constituent Assembly the final report on Fundamental Rights and on matters relating to minorities.
- 31 The Governor-General performs the inauguration ceremony of the first Pakistan National Scouts Jamboree in Karachi.

1953

January

- 5 Judgment in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case is delivered. Eleven officers of the Pakistan Armed Forces, including ex-Major-General Akbar Khan, are found guilty by the Special Tribunal. Of the four civilians, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sajjad Zahir and Muhammad Ata are also convicted. The fourth civilian, Mrs. Nasim Akbar, is acquitted.

February

- 16 Prime Minister Nazimuddin inaugurates the Pakistan Academy of Sciences at Lahore.
- 25 The Egyptian Military Mission leaves for Cairo. An Egyptian Press Delegation arrives in Karachi.
- 27 The Pakistan History Conference opens in Dacca.

March

- 1 Several arrests are made in Lahore in connection with the anti-Ahmadiyya agitation.
- 2 The Direct Action demonstrations in Lahore take the form of law-breaking. The situation takes an alarming turn.
- 6 Martial law is promulgated in Lahore because of the anti-Ahmadiyya agitation.
- 24 Air Transport Agreement between Syria and Pakistan is signed.

April

- 17 *The Governor-General dismisses the Nazimuddin Cabinet and asks Mr. Muhammad Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador in the U.S.A., to form a new Cabinet. The Governor-General, in his announcement, says that he has been "driven to the conclusion that the Cabinet of Khwaja Nazimuddin has proved entirely inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country".*
- 20 An Iraqi Military Mission, led by the Commander-in-Chief of the Iraqi Air Force, arrives in Karachi.

May

- 7 Abdus Sattar Niazi, who was tried by a Military Court in Lahore in connection with the recent Punjab disturbances, is found guilty and sentenced to death.
- 11 Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi, who was tried by a Martial Law Court, is found guilty and sentenced to death.
- 14 Martial Law ends in Lahore.
- 24 Prime Minister Muhammad Ali leaves for London to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

June

- 24 *United States Wheat Aid Bill, granting a gift of one million tons of wheat to Pakistan, is passed.*
- 28 Pakistan concludes a Cultural Agreement with Turkey.

July

- 9 The Governments of Pakistan and India agree in principle to the re-opening of railway traffic between the two countries, especially on the Lahore-Amritsar route.
- 14 Wazir Mansion, Karachi, the house in which the *Quaid-i-Azam* was born, is declared a protected monument.
- 30 His Royal Highness Prince Ali Reza, brother of the Shahinshah of Iran, arrives in Karachi from Teheran on a fortnight's visit to Pakistan.

August

- 4 Chenab and Ravi in spate again.
- 6 Ravi in spate and nearing the danger point.
- 9 *Indian Army units in the streets of Srinagar shoot and kill pro-Pakistani demonstrators following Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal and arrest.*

September

- 14 Pakistan's Labour Minister, Dr. A. M. Malik, opens the Third Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organization in Tokyo.
- 18 The French Delegation at the United Nations General Assembly walks out during attack made by Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrull Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, on French policy in Indo-China and North Africa.
- 21 His Holiness Pope Pius XII donates 10,000 dollars for the building of homes for refugees and the homeless in Pakistan.

October

- 6 Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan, visits important Egyptian and Middle East personages in Cairo.
- 22 The Muslim League Assembly Party decides that the Head of the State of Pakistan will be a Muslim.
- 23 The Muslim League Party in the Constituent Assembly decides that the nomenclature of Pakistan in the Constitution should be "The Islamic Republic of Pakistan".
- 30 The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan lays down that no legislature will legislate any law repugnant to the Holy Qur'an and *Sunnah*.

November

- 2 Parliament passes the Martial Law Indemnity Bill which indemnifies the action taken by the Martial Law authorities in Lahore.
- 3 Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrullah Khan sharply criticizes the United Nations General Assembly for its rejection of the resolution on Morocco.
- 22 Allama Sayed Sulaiman Nadvi, well-known Pakistani scholar and historian, expires at Karachi after three months' illness.
- 28 Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Governor-General of Pakistan, calls on President Celal Bayar at Ankara.

December

- 17 Prime Minister Muhammad Ali declares in a Press Conference in Karachi that no lease of bases to the United States is involved in the negotiations going on between Pakistan and the United States for military aid.
- 20 Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, arrives at Teheran on an official visit to Iran.
- 26 The First All-Pakistan Economic Conference opens in Karachi.
- 30 A 10-man Egyptian Trade Mission headed by Mr. Hussein Fehmy, Chairman of the National Production Committee, arrives in Karachi from Bombay.

1954

January

- 18 Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad inaugurates the Sixth Pakistan Science Conference at Karachi.
- 31 The Aga Khan arrives from Cairo by B.O.A.C. for his Platinum Jubilee celebrations.

February

- 5 Government of Pakistan with the help of American experts begins construction at Karachi of the most modern fishing harbour in South-East Asia.
- 24 Dr. Fadil Jamali, the Iraqi Prime Minister, declares that Iraq will rely on the West for military aid and will consider joining Pakistan and Turkey in their proposed Defence Pact.
- 25 *President Eisenhower announces from Washington that he will grant military aid to Pakistan to help secure "stability and strength" in the Middle East.*
- 26 A surprise thirty-minute meeting between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India takes place at 9.15 a.m. at Palam Airport, Delhi.

March

- 6 Prime Minister Muhammad Ali declares at Dacca that the possibility of Pakistan forging alliances with certain Arab countries might be explored during the forthcoming visit of the Kings of Iraq, Su'udi Arabia and Jordan.
- 8 Hashim Khan of Pakistan retains his British Professional Squash Rackets Championship by defeating his brother, Azam Khan, in the finals at the Lansdown Club, London.
- 13 Replying to an address of welcome by the Mayor at Frere Hall, Karachi, His Majesty King Feisal II of Iraq declares "that the future will be a witness to cordial relations between our two nations — Iraq and Pakistan".
- 16 The University of Peshawar confers the degrees of Doctor of Laws on His Majesty King Feisal II of Iraq and on the Crown Prince Emir Abdul Illah, at a special convocation.
- 17 The Fifth Commonwealth Relations Conference opens at Lahore and is inaugurated by the Foreign Minister, Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan.

April

- 2 The Pakistan-Turkey Treaty for collaboration in cultural, economic and political fields is signed between the two countries in Karachi. Prime Minister Muhammad Ali inaugurates the Karachi-Dacca Radio Teleprinter Service of the Associated Press of Pakistan.
- 10 The report of the Punjab Disturbances Court of Enquiry dealing with the anti-Qadiani riots in the Punjab is submitted to the Punjab Government.
- 14 His Majesty the King of Su'udi Arabia arrives at Karachi Airport.

His Majesty King Su'ud Ibn Abdul Aziz of Su'udi Arabia switches on the Dargai Hydel Works, the second biggest Hydel project of Pakistan.

The Muslim League Party in the Constituent Assembly decides that both Urdu and Bengali should be the State languages of Pakistan.

- 21 The report of the Punjab Disturbances Court of Enquiry is released to the Press. The report submitted by Mr. Justice M. Munir, President, and Mr. Justice M. R. Kayani, member of the Court of Inquiry constituted under the Punjab Disturbances (Public Inquiry) Act, 1953, is critical of the indecisiveness of the Central Government which "had its repercussions in the Provinces". The Court of Inquiry found that "responsibility for the disturbances must primarily rest on the members of the All-Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention, Karachi, and the All-Muslim Parties Convention, Lahore, and the numerous religious organizations which were represented at the conventions by the members of these organizations".

May

- 2 Pakistan's Abdul Khaliq sets up a new Asian record in the 100 metre sprint when he wins his trial in 10.6 secs. on the second day of the Asian Games at Manila.
- 17 Bulbul Choudhry, the reputed Pakistani dancer, dies in hospital in Calcutta.
Pakistan and the United States sign a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement in Karachi. Simultaneously with the signing of the agreement the two Governments issue identical declarations categorically announcing :
(1) *The agreement does not establish a military (offensive and/or defensive) alliance between the two countries ;*
(2) *It does not involve any obligation on the part of Pakistan to provide military bases for the use of the United States.*
- 30 Major-General Iskander Mirza is appointed Governor of East Pakistan.

June

- 9 Prime Minister Muhammad Ali leaves for Ankara to "develop and finalize" the proposed Pakistan-Turkey Military Alliance.
- 11 The Turkish National Assembly unanimously passes the Bill ratifying the Turko-Pakistan Pact.
- 16 Prime Minister Muhammad Ali tells pressmen at Damascus that the Turko-Pakistan Pact is open to all Middle Eastern countries except Israel.

July

- 10 Pakistan launches a strong protest with the Indian Government against the opening of the Bhakra Canal "in clear violation of international commitments". A similar protest note is sent to the World Bank by the Government of Pakistan.
- 31 *K-2, the world's second highest mountain, is conquered by the Italian expedition led by Professor Desio.*

August

- 16 The Government of Pakistan approves the National Anthem composed by Ahmed Chagla and Hafiz Jullundhari.

September

- 7 *The SEATO Pact is signed by eight nations, including Pakistan, at Manila, as a bulwark against aggression and subversion in South-East Asia.*

October

- 7 Foreign Minister Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan is officially elected to the International Court of Justice by both the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.
- 24 *The Constituent Assembly is dissolved by the Governor-General and the following proclamation is issued by the Government and published in the Gazette Extraordinary: "The Governor-General having considered the political crisis with which the country is faced has with deep regret come to the conclusion that the Constitutional machinery has broken down. He, therefore, has decided to declare a State of Emergency throughout Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly as at present constituted has lost the confidence of the people and can no longer function. . . ."*
Following the proclamation issued by the Governor-General an eight-member Cabinet with Mr. Muhammad Ali as Prime Minister is sworn in at the Governor-General's House.

November

- 6 H.R.H. Prince Sardar Muhammad Naim Khan, visiting Afghan Foreign Minister, meets Prime Minister Muhammad Ali.

December

- 9 The World Bank announces that Pakistan and India have resumed discussions in Washington to try to end their dispute over the division of the waters of the six rivers of the Indus River basin.

1955

January

- 3 The Pakistan Foreign Office announces that the second SEATO Conference will be held at Bangkok on 23rd February.

February

- 8 The Government of Sind abolishes *jagirdai* in the Province. The 1,100,000 acres of land thus acquired will be distributed among the landlords and *Haris*. The decision is unanimously taken by the Provincial Government.
- 12 Ruins of the second century B.C. are discovered around Torlundi village in the Swabi Tehsil of Mardan.
- 18 President Celal Bayar of Turkey arrives at Karachi on board the Turkish State yacht *Savarona*.
- 21 The Conference on the "Status of Women" begins in Karachi under the auspices of the All-Pakistan Women's Association.

March

- 3 The Chief Court of Sind grants interim stay order against the operation of a Sind Government order abolishing *Jagirdari* in the Province of Sind.
- 5 Their Majesties King Hussain of Jordan and the Queen Mother arrive at Karachi Airport.

April

- 9 His Excellency Lt.-Col. Gamal Abd al-Nassir, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Egypt, arrives in Karachi on a three-day official visit to Pakistan.
- 10 Important talks between Pakistan and Egypt take place in Karachi when Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad and Prime Minister Muhammad Ali confer for over two hours with Lt.-Col. Gamal Abd al-Nassir and the Egyptian Minister for National Guidance, Major-General Saleh Salem.

- 24 The Asian-African Conference at Bandung concludes amidst scenes of enthusiasm and on the note of complete unanimity. Pakistan's seven pillars of peace are accepted by the Political Committee to be incorporated in the ten points unanimously agreed as the Charter of co-existence.

May

- 5 The Prime Minister of the Sudan, Mr. Sayed Ismail El-Azhari, arrives in Karachi on a ten-day visit.
 5 His Royal Highness Crown Prince Feisal of Su'udi Arabia arrives in Karachi on a four-day visit.
 16 His Royal Highness Prince Musaid Bin Abdur Rehman, special envoy of the Su'udi Arabian King, who had been deputed to resolve the tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan, begins his talks in Karachi.
 17 The Bulbul Academy of Fine Arts is inaugurated at Dacca.

June

- 1 Prime Minister Muhammad Ali, in his first-of-the-month broadcast, announces the Government's decision to set up a commission to examine existing marriage and family laws in order to ascertain the extent to which "abuses are prevalent and to devise ways and means to afford protection to the rights of women in accordance with the tenets of Islam".
 6 The Egyptian Minister, Col. Anwar Sadaat, arrives at Karachi and tells reporters on his arrival that he has come in response to a request by the King of Su'udi Arabia "to join with Prince Musaid in settling the Pakistan-Afghanistan dispute".
 25 The U'ren report on the assassination of Quaid-i-Millat, Liaquat Ali Khan, is released. It declares that "whatever political differences may have existed amongst Pakistan's leading men, there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that any one of them was in the remotest way interested in the murder of their Prime Minister".

August

- 6 An official press note is issued announcing the appointment of Major-General Iskandar Mirza as Acting-Governor-General in place of Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, who has taken two months' leave on grounds of ill-health.
 9 The flood situation further deteriorates both in Dacca and Mymensingh districts, registering a rise in the water level exceeding last year's peak level.
 11 A nine-man Muslim League United Front coalition Government is sworn in with Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, leader of the Muslim League Party, as Prime Minister.

September

- 13 The Pakistan flag is rehoisted over the Embassy in Kabul with full ceremonial honours by the Afghan Foreign Minister, Sardar Muhammad Na'im Khan.
 19 Major-General Iskandar Mirza is appointed permanent Governor-General of Pakistan with effect from 6th October 1955.
 23 Pakistan formally accedes to the Baghdad Pact. The instrument of accession is deposited at Baghdad by the Pakistan Ambassador, Mr. Sho'aib Qureshi, bringing the total number of signatories of the Pact to four — the other three being Iraq, Turkey and the United Kingdom.
 30 The Constituent Assembly, after three weeks' discussions, passes the Establishment of West Pakistan Bill in an amended form by 36 vote to 13. The Bill empowers the Governor-General to integrate West Pakistan.

The flow of sui gas for industrial consumption begins in Karachi.

November

- 2 A bilateral Airline Transport Agreement is signed between the Pakistan Government and the Republic of Turkey. The agreement provides for the exercise of traffic rights by the airlines of each country in the territory of the other on a reciprocal basis.

December

- 29 Soviet Premier Bulganin in Moscow affirms that his Government "completely shared India's viewpoint on Kashmir".

1956

January

- 21 The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan decides that Pakistan shall be a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

March

- 8 His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran, accompanied by Queen Soraya, arrives in Karachi on a one-day official visit.
 18 The Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr. Adnan Menderes, arrives in Karachi on a seven-day official visit to Pakistan.
 23 The Dominion of Pakistan is proclaimed the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Immediately after the proclamation, Major-General Iskandar Mirza is sworn in as the first President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

May

- 26 Governor's rule is imposed in East Pakistan by the President.

September

- 8 Chaudhri Muhammad Ali resigns the Prime Ministership and from membership of the Muslim League. The Muslim League United Front Government falls.
 12 Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy is appointed Prime Minister and a nine-man Republican-Awami League Coalition Cabinet headed by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy is sworn in.

October

- 26 A sixteen-man Parliamentary delegation from Syria arrives in Karachi on a two-day visit.

November

- 1 President Iskander Mirza, addressing the Iranian Majlis, condemns aggression in the Middle East. Prime Minister Suhrawardy tells Big Three envoys that foreign troops must quit Egypt.
 5 Egyptian envoy thanks Prime Minister Suhrawardy for his support of the Egyptian cause.
 6 Prime Minister Suhrawardy leaves for Teheran to participate in the Four-Power talks on the Middle East.
 8 The Prime Ministers of Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Iraq call on Britain and France to withdraw from Egypt.
 10 President Iskander Mirza and Prime Minister Suhrawardy return from Teheran. An eleven-man Turkish Parliamentary delegation arrives in Karachi from Istanbul.

- 15 Indonesian Prime Minister, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, arrives in Karachi for talks with Prime Minister Suhrawardy.
- 17 President Iskandar Mirza and Prime Minister Suhrawardy leave on a six-day visit to Iran, Turkey and Su'udi Arabia.
- 24 Afghan Premier, Sardar Daud Khan, arrives in Karachi on an eight-day visit to Pakistan.
- 27 Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, father of Urdu journalism, dies at the age of 86.

December

- 24 The Prime Ministers of China and Pakistan in a joint statement reiterate that there is no real conflict of interests between the two countries.
- 29 The Urdu Academy for the advancement of Urdu language and translation of text-books of science and technical terminology is inaugurated in Lahore.

1957

January

- 7 Syrian President H.E. El-Syed Shukri Kouwatly arrives in Karachi on a ten-day official visit to Pakistan.

- 19 The Prime Ministers of Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Iraq start discussions in Ankara on matters of common interest.

- 24 *The Security Council adopts a Five-Power resolution calling for a freeze of the situation in Kashmir until the fate of the State is decided by impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices.*

- 25 Premier Adnan Menderes tells Pakistan journalists that Turkey fully supports Pakistan in the Kashmir dispute.

February

- 20 An eleven-man Su'udi Arabian Trade Delegation arrives in Karachi.

May

- 10 The Centenary Week of the War of Independence of 1857 is celebrated in Pakistan.

- 15 Prime Minister Suhrawardy performs the keel-laying ceremony of the first vessel to be constructed by the P.I.D.C. in its Karachi shipyard.

June

- 1 The Turkish and Iraqi Prime Ministers, Mr. Adnan Menderes and General Nuri al-Sa'id, accompanied by members of their national delegation, arrive in Karachi.

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF MUHAMMAD JALAL-UD-DIN RUMI

By AFZAL IQBAL

Pp. XI+181

Price 7s. 6d.

"I recommend this book warmly; it is a pleasure to read and it holds the key to further delight for those many who will be encouraged to study further the immortal poetry of Rumi".

(Professor A. J. Arberry of Pembroke College, Cambridge, England)

**NOW OFFERED
AT THE REDUCED PRICE OF 5'9d.**

Instead of 12'6d.

THE IDEAL PROPHET

Demy Octavo, pp. 274

by KHWAJA KAMAL AL-DIN

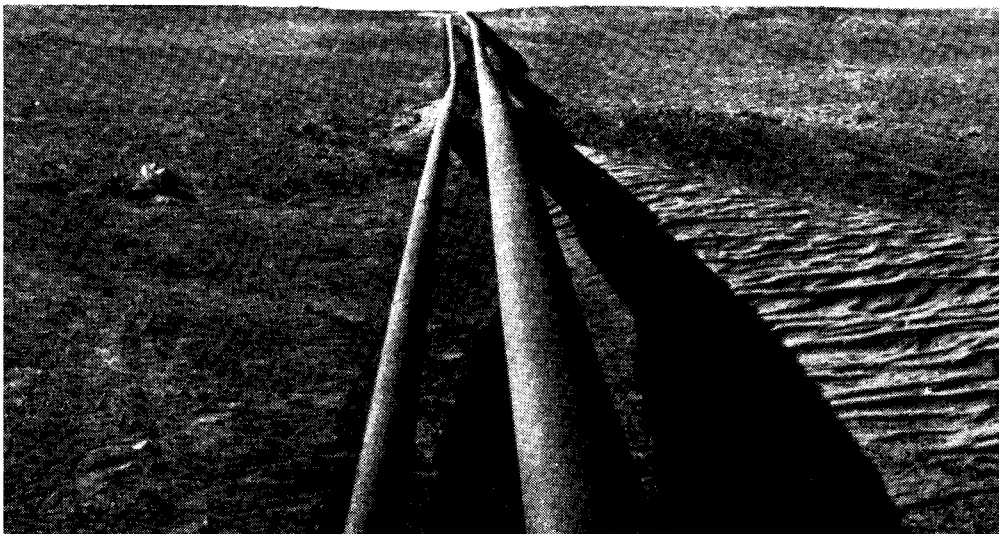
This book is an excellent exposition of the moral aspect of the life of the Prophet Muhammad

THE SAHARA—WORLD

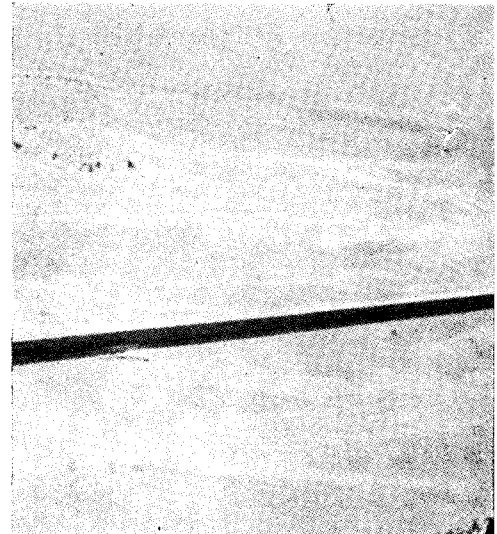


The Sahara—near TAMAN RASSET

Pipelines in the desert conveying oil and water from HASSI MESSAOUD (Algeria)



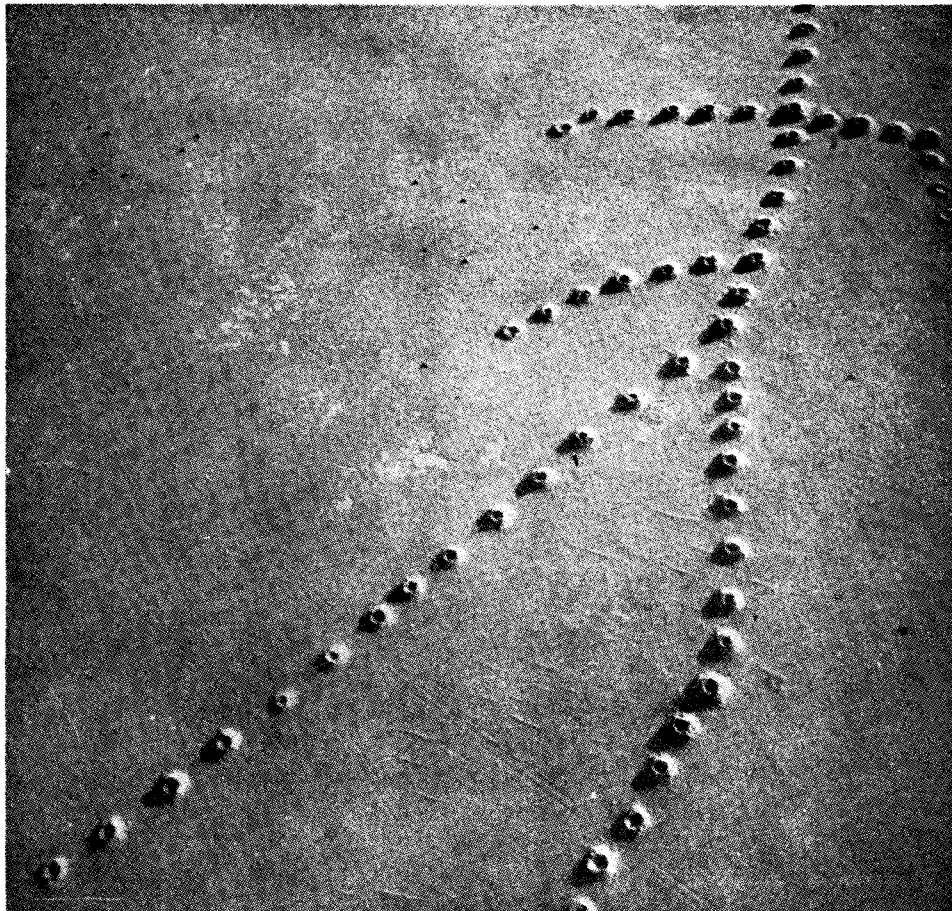
The 215 mile long Macadamised road linking



LD'S BIGGEST DESERT

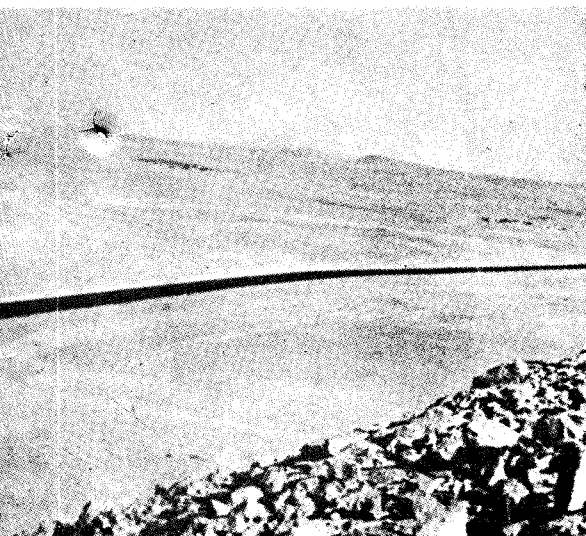
IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT THE SAHARA

1. Area 2,500,000 square miles.
2. Total population of the Sahara 1,900,000.
3. Oil fields in the Sahara contain 120,000,000 tons of oil with another possible 330,000,000 tons or much more.
4. The French want to retain control over the Sahara because of its rich mineral resources.



WATER HOLES drilled in the desert to trap the subterranean water supplies

ad linking GHAR DAIA with EL GOLEA (Algeria)



The first oil well in production in the Sahara desert



THE SAHARA IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF AFRICA—IT WAS NEVER FRENCH

By G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

The discovery of considerable reserves of oil in the Sahara has once more focused opinion on this part of the Muslim world. The French efforts to nationalize the Sahara and to perpetuate its domination by making it an integral part of French-controlled Algeria are prominently featured in the world press after years of publicity in France.

The early history of the Sahara

The Sahara, which covers an area of 2,500,000 square miles, stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Nile Valley, from the Atlas Mountains to the River Niger. It is the world's biggest desert and its expanses which are today covered with sand dunes and rocks were once fertile, as is shown by the remains such as the fossilised trees near In Salah, which are considered to be at least 500,000 years old. Prehistoric paintings dating back thirty centuries found in the territory of Tassili of the Ajjers tribesmen, show that during the period called the "Garamantes civilization" they indulged in hunting rhinoceros, giraffes, elephants and hippopotami.

Gradually, through erosion, the desert advanced and the rivers dried up, and the only animals which remained were the camel and the gazelle.

The people who had been hunters (and later on the pastoral population) became warlike and took part in *razzias*. However, in the first century C.E. the Roman legions led by Cornelius Balbus were able to advance as far as Lake Chad, as there was still sufficient water supplies. The Roman-imported camel became as important as the tank in the last war in facilitating the transport of the raiders, in this case nomadic tribesmen.

The French claim that the one million population living on the fringe of the desert was engaged in perpetual fights between the so-called Black and White races.

The French have always tried to link up the North African Berbers with the White races, but from contemporaneous evidence it would appear that if one really has to define the colour of the inhabitants, then their skins were far more likely to have been light or dark brown rather than white. The people concerned in this case were the Haratins, of Ethiopian stock, the descendants of the Garamantes, living in the southern part of Libya, the Fezzan and Tibesti Tubus, and the Twuregs, who were of Berber origin, renowned for their impressive stature and their camels.

Of the Sahara population, over one-third now lives in the oases on the borders of Algeria, and the other two-thirds are distributed in the area stretching from the Atlantic region which was called Rio de Oro to Senegal, and also the northern extremes of the Sudanese bushland.

It would appear that the Moroccan Government was discouraged by the state of the desert from making any claim on this territory, for on 18th March 1845 in the Treaty of Lalla Marnia, Article 6, it was stipulated: "With regard to the country of the Ksours (Palm-Grove villages) of the two Governments, it is superfluous to fix boundaries, for as there is no water there, it is uninhabitable, a desert in the strictest sense of the word." The centre of the desert was called "al-Khela" (The Void) by the Arabs, who had named the desert "Sahara" (or "tawny coloured" in order to denote

its lack of vegetation. (See *The Sahara*, Editions S.EBOM 56 rue Saint-Lazarre, Paris 9 e December 1957, with excellent photographs and maps from the Collections Musée de l'homme viollet and the Compagnie Francaise des Petrolesect.)

In 1828 Rene Caillé travelled in a caravan over nearly 3,000 miles of Saharan territory from Senegal, and in 1860 Mr. Henri Duveyrier, the 19-year-old geologist, reached al-Golea. In 1901 another geologist, Mr. Flamand, raised the French flag over the Kasbah of In Salah, and in the Franco-Moroccan Convention of 20th July 1901 the following stipulation was made in Article I: "The French Government establishes its authority and peace in the Sahara region, and the Moroccan Government, its neighbour, will aid it with all its power."

It is significant that the leading imperialist Resident-General, Marshal Lyautey, was in charge of French military operations on the Saharan-Moroccan border about this time; the French Government had usurped the power of the Algerian Bey in 1830, but even then the maintenance of peace in the Saharan regions was a very different thing from the occupation of Morocco by the French in the years 1908-1934.

It has now been established that a huge layer of fresh water now known as the "Albian Sea" lies only 1,312 feet beneath the surface east of Gharoafia and al-Golea in Algeria, covering an area as large as France. This water, which is due to the infiltration of rain-water from the foothills of the Atlas and the High Plateau, can now be pumped out after wells have been drilled with power obtained from natural gas and the oil recently discovered in the Sahara.

In 1957 plans were made for the irrigation of 100 square miles of desert with a flow of water at the rate of 883 cubic feet per second. In 1951 the Wadi al-Albion Dam irrigated 200,000 palm-trees of the oases of Biskra, and a new dam at Wadi Guir near Colomb-Bechar is destined to provide irrigation facilities for 40 square miles of land. In the far south water is often pumped by wind-driven pumps.

Five large highways supplied with water points were constructed across the desert. Of these, the Colomb-Bechar-Gao road is 826 miles long, another important road links Biskra with Touggourt 207 miles away, and a 160-mile road to be completed in 1960 will connect In Salah with al-Golea. The Ghardaia In Salah road is being macadamised.

Another important road is the Gharda-Ouarghassia Messaoud-Fort Flatters highway. Air-strips are also under construction linking Colomb-Bechar with Ghardaia al-Golea, Timimun, Adrar, Aoulef, In Salah Tamanrasset, Ourgla. Much of the air development scheme is in connection with the oil-extracting industry and geological surveys, but the military factor must not be ruled out, as there have been several engagements in the desert between the FLN (Algerian Front of National Liberation) and the French troops.

In 1952 iron deposits were found at Gara Djebilet. It was decided to extract 200 million tons of ore with a 25 per cent iron content.

In Mauretania,¹ which is claimed by Morocco, the iron ore deposits of Fort Gouraud are exceptionally valuable, the content being 64-66 per cent. The ore is obtained from open-cast workings. It is claimed that the ore is equal to that



Prehistoric painting. Fresco of bulls from Jabbareu

found in Sweden. The main obstacle to its export is distance : Gara Djebilet is between 250 and 440 miles from the coast and Fort Gouraud between 300 and 500 miles.

France is herself a large producer of iron ore, and she has associated Germany, Belgium, Italy and Luxemburg, as well as her own steel experts, in the Gara Djebilet development scheme. The Miferma Company interested in the Fort Gouraud deposits is controlled by French interests, which hold 51 per cent of the shares, but British, Italian and German companies are also interested in this venture, in which they have provided the remaining capital. Needless to say, all this has been without full consultation with the Muslim population, Algerian or Moroccan-Mauretanian.

The discovery of oil in the Sahara

Natural gas was discovered in the Sahara at In Salah and Laghouat between 1954 and 1956. The Hassi R'mel deposit 250 miles from Algiers is estimated to contain 170 million cubic yards of gas which can be condensed into petrol. In 1957 the requirement of the industrialization plan of Algeria called for a yearly output of 1,300,000 cubic yards, but an output of 2,600 million cubic yards per annum is necessary to cover the cost of development.

In Mauretania the copper deposits of Akjoujt, estimated at 500,000 tons, are being opened up by the Micuma Company at the rate of 20,000 tons per annum. The manganese deposits of Guettara in the Colomb-Bechar region are also considerable.

The Ejele oil-field contains 20 million tons, with a possible 30 million more. The oil is found at a depth of only 1,476 feet. Production is planned at the rate of 2 to 3 million tons per annum. The De Gaulle Government is aiming at splitting the North Maghrebian unity movement by the promise of about £1 million per annum to the Tunisian Government, the development of a new Tunisian port and possibly eventually even the building of a refinery.

The Hassi Messaoud oil, which is at present piped to Touggourt and then taken by train to the port of Phillipville, lies at a depth of 10,800 feet, but it is far more extensive than the Ejele oil-field. The reserves have been proved to be at least 100 million tons, and possibly there are an additional 300 tons. The export of this oil by pipe-line requires 370-470 miles of pipe-line. It can never be entirely safe from sabotage as long as the FLN is active in Algeria. The estimated production of Hassi Messaoud for 1958 is 400,000 tons, which is being piped 110 miles to Touggourt and then shipped by rail to the port of Philippeville. The pipe-line will be terminated at the port of Bougie by 1960 according to the existing plans.

The Algerian Liberation Front monthly, *el-Moudjahid*, which was recently seized by the Tunisian police following its outspoken remarks on the Sjele Franco-Tunisian Oil Agreement, published in its August number an interesting and comprehensive study of the oil interests internationally involved in Algeria.

El-Moudjahid No. 26 shows that since 1945 three French companies, the Bureau de Recherche des Pétroles, the Regie

Autonome des Pétroles and the Compagnie Française du Pétrole, have been searching for oil in the Algerian Sahara between the Hoggar and the Atlas Mountain ranges. Of these companies, the first two carried out their search for oil in the northern area, and the third in the south.

Since 1958 the French Government, while still considering the Sahara as "French State Property", has allowed predominantly privately-owned companies, known by their initials as the CEP, S.A.F.R.E.P., P.R.E.P., PETROREP and FRANCAREP to participate in the research work.

The Royal Dutch Shell has a controlling interest in the Compagnie des Pétroles d'Algérie, which is working in the Central Sahara region, and it is also interested in the CREPS.

A refinery will be built near Algiers with a capacity of 2 million tons per annum from Hassi Messaoud, to be completed by 1961. The cost has not been stated, but it may well be in the neighbourhood of £15 million.

44.8 per cent of the capital of the Société Algérienne de Raffinage will come from French sources, the Compagnie Française de Pétroles will provide 37.8 per cent, and the Beryl Algerian Compagnie, affiliate of the St. Gobain company, 7 per cent.

The other foreign companies concerned are:

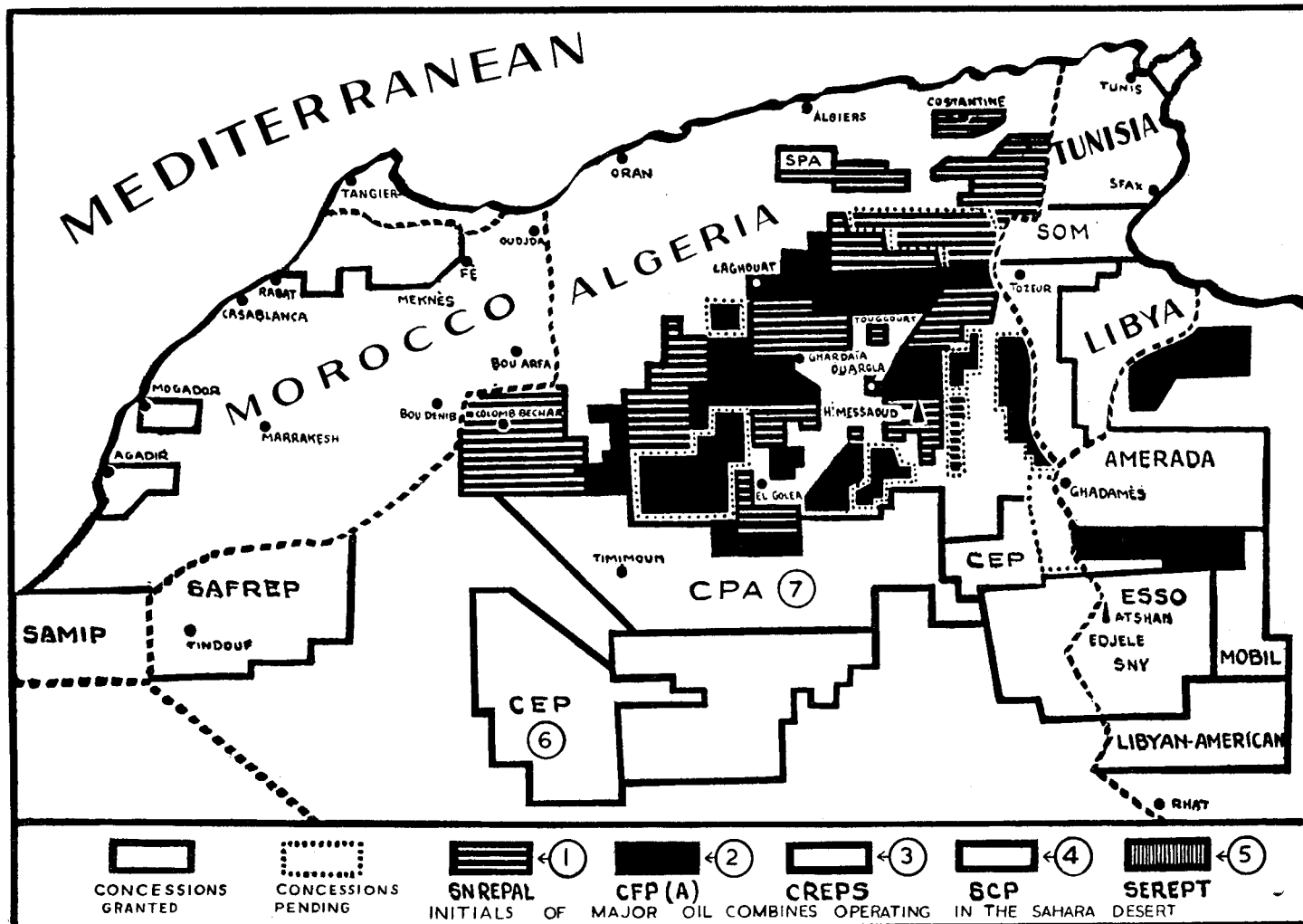
Shell Algérie (Royal Dutch Shell)	-	16.2 per cent
Standard Oil of New Jersey (ESSO)	-	21.0 per cent
British Petroleum	-	12.0 per cent
Mobil Oil (Socony Vacuum)	-	6.0 per cent

It is interesting to note that the majority of the shares of British Petroleum are owned by the British Government, which now becomes actively engaged in the development of Algeria under French rule. French capital is also involved in the SEREPT company in Tunisia, in which the Tunisian State owns 30.1 per cent of the shares, and in the Société Cherifienne des Pétroles in Morocco and La Compagnie Française des Pétroles in Libya.

The Conorada Petroleum Corporation and the S.O.M. Rimrock, another American Company, are prospecting in Tunisia, and the Standard Oil Company of Jersey, the Socony Mobil Oil Company and the Libyan-American Company in Libya.

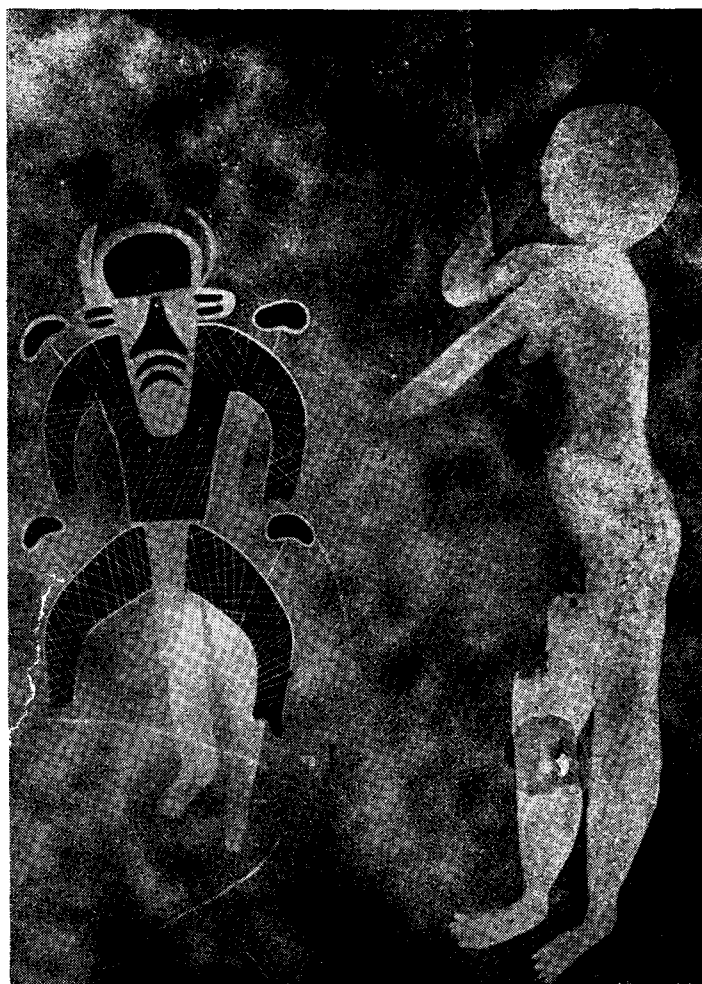
In Morocco the Société Anonyme Maroc-Italienne des Pétroles is jointly owned by the Moroccan Government and the AGIP Mineraria, an affiliate of the Ente Nazionale Idro Carburi of Italy, whose Managing Director, Signor Mattei, negotiated the so-called 75 per cent profits agreement with Iran, in return for which the Iranian Government will participate in the cost of running the company. The usual agreement is for the country in which oil is found to take half the profits, leaving all the costs to the account of the prospecting company.

The FLN recognizes the fact that the Magrebian countries are not yet in a position to exploit their oil resources unaided, but it states categorically: "The FLN and the ALN (Algerian Liberation Army) have undertaken the struggle for the restoration of Algerian National



sovereignty over the whole length and breadth of Algerian territory, including the Sahara. The resources found in the soil and the sub-soil underground in Algeria belong to the Algerian people, and must be used in the best way for their interests. The mineral resources of the Sahara can and should guarantee the economic development of the united Maghreb on the morrow after the achievement of Algerian independence.

"The Algerian people are fighting for these principles. Iran, Iraq and Egypt were engaged in a similar struggle before the final phase in their struggle for national independence. But no option can be taken up on the Sahara before the achievement of Algerian independence, only the Maghreb can chose and make decisions. That is why a common policy with regard to petrol must be worked out urgently."



Prehistoric painting. A Negro mask and a white woman with a round head, from Aounhet

The recent large-scale acts of sabotage carried out in France on petrol refineries by the FLN may be taken as a warning to Anglo-American, Italian and French investors, and their governments, that the extraction of oil from the Sahara can only be safely assured after the declaration of Algerian independence. The Algerians are also afraid that the countries interested may increase their help for the armed forces.

Equally, the FLN wish Tunisia to revoke her new agree-

ment with France for the piping of the Ejele oil to the Tunisian coast. Mr. Ferhat Abbas, the Algerian Premier, has recently stated that the Tunisian Government has assumed that no oil will flow froh Ejele through Tunisia before the termination of the Algerian war of national liberation.

Solar energy in the Sahara

Experiments are being carried out at Bouzareah in Algeria in the utilization of solar energy ; the Sahara is considered to possibly be the greatest reservoir of solar source in the world. France is asking other Western European countries to invest with her part of a total of 1,250 million dollars. Of this sum, 250 million will be spent at Tinduf, 187.5 million on increasing the road froms from 1,875 miles to 3,125 miles, 125 million on the construction of 10 air-strips, 25 million at Fort Gouraud, 100 million at Akjujt, 100 million on the wells and pipe-lines for Ejele, 120 million for the wells and pipe-lines of Hassi Messaoud.

1 France obtained Mauretania in 1814 at the Treaty of Paris, but the R'Guebat tribesmen of Mauretania have been Muslims since about 681 C.E., the time of the conquest of Morocco by 'Uqbah Ibn Nafi. The peoples of these territories, whether Arab, Berber or Sudanese African, were bound together by Morocco and by Islam, and it is inevitable that now Morocco is independent, Mauretania and the other territories should break away from the French Union.

Deposits of copper and other precious metals have been found in these areas, notably in the region of Akjoujt. It is said that the tribesmen are even very uneasy at the discovery of these deposits, which have no doubt motivated France's attempt to nationalize the Sahara and to detach the potentially rich parts of Mauretania. Besides, France's record in "Black Africa" has been far from complimentary. For instance, France has never allowed Arabic to be taught in Senegal, and has never encouraged the progress of Islam to be permitted harmoniously in conjunction with the inherent genius of the Africans. She has discouraged Africans wishing to go and study Arabic in Cairo. France does not show any signs of learning a lesson from the Algerian war, which has not only intoxicated North Africa but threatens to produce a similar effect in "Black Africa". It can be said that French colonialism is digging the grave of "legitimate" French influence : France's survival in these areas depends on her ability to liquidate its outdated colonial system.

Had the French followed intelligent and progressive ideas in her colonies, the free countries of Muslim North and West Africa would have a totally different attitude towards France. But as it is, the longer the war goes on in Algeria, the sooner West Africa will break away from France and follow the footsteps of Morocco and Nigeria and the Gold Coast. That Algeria is not part of France is now recognized by the world except the French Government. The French do not seem to realize that the Muslims in North Africa who are on the march and the Muslim world will be hard put to it to allow the Sahara to be nationalized by France. The actual territorial confines of the North African and West African States are the internal affairs of these States, as has been stated by Mr. 'Allal al-Fasi, but these matters can only be decided once France has accepted the concept of Algerian independence. In 1951 the population of West Africa under French rule was 17,361,800, and the area covered by these territories was 4,742,500 square kilometres. The population of Mauretania was 546,400, of whom 465,000 were Moroccans or "Moors". Mauretania's Governor is under the Governor of Senegal territory, with its capital at Dakar. There is a council consisting of 8 Europeans or Africans enjoying European status and 16 Africans. The population of the Eastern Sudan was 3,44,900, that of Senegal 2,092,800 and the Niger territory 2,165,000. There were 62,236 French colonials. The population of Equatorial Africa in 1951 was 4,469,900 in an area of 2,510,000 square knlometres. This area comprises the Gabon, Middle Congo, Ubanga Shari and Chad territories. The Chad is on the Saharan borders of Libya. It is evident that the Chad is vitally concerned with North Africa and any project to change the status of the Sahara will affect the North African countries. It will be recalled that the Free French occupied the Fezzan, Libya, from the Chad territory in 1941, and any French machination here could prove to be a menace to the Fezzan, from which the French have not long been ejected after nearly fifteen years of pressure.

THE TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE

By EL-SAYYED ABDUL MONEM MOUSTAFA

The Outcome of Injustice, Treachery and Aggression and the Source of Instability in the Middle East

Whenever the tragedy of Palestine is mentioned it is always associated with treachery and injustice. It shows how an Arab people living peacefully in a land dear to themselves and to their grandfathers before them for thousands of years and full of their eternal material and spiritual achievements, has been subjected to cruel oppression, the destructive plots of world Zionism and to the raids of terrorists and oppressors against all principles of justice and humanity.

We have only to look back forty years to comprehend the nature of the wicked conspiracy of both imperialists and Zionists in its last stage.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was an award to Weizemann for his invention of a chemical that aided the war effort. It implied a false pledge given in violation of the right of every citizen to his homeland and against all laws.

The United States of America adopted this pledge despite the declarations which were made by President Wilson at the end of the First World War and which supported the principle of self-determination for all conquered nations and peoples.

The League of Nations approved this unjust pledge and gave the mandate of Palestine to Britain.

Leaving the cruel injustice which the pledge or declaration represents, we note that the mandate itself has recognized the independence of Palestine and has charged Britain to prepare the ways and means which enable an independent Palestine to manage its own affairs by itself.

But Britain, instead of doing so, proceeded to fulfil its pledge. It opened the doors of Arab Palestine to overwhelming Jewish emigrants and thus established Judaism in the country. It looked upon the Jewish agency as a "State within the State" and handed over to it public utilities and Arab lands. It persecuted the legitimate Arab population, tortured them and extinguished their nationalistic movement.

After the Second World War Britain, conniving with international Judaism, which by now had its grip on the country, renounced the mandate.

Historians should note that Britain did not fulfil her obligations as regards providing Palestine with a national government and Palestine people with the proper systems of government which would enable them to undertake their responsibilities.

And when the United Nations decided to partition Palestine, Britain evacuated its armies from the country after the Jews had established a national government backed by terrorist armed gangs and after the legitimate people of Palestine had been prevented from establishing a government of their own. Zionist terrorist gangs then seized the military equipment left by the Mandatory Power in camps, aerodromes and strategic positions. With them, they attacked the legitimate people of the country, expelled them from their homes and dispersed them all over the place.

This state of affairs is, no doubt, the main cause of the instability we now behold in Palestine.

Arabs demand nothing more than justice and protection against the expansionist armies of world Zionism

Western mentality is indeed strange when it describes Arabs as unpractical people, because they do not admit

oppression, recognize what is *fait accompli* or submit to the greed of Israel. We Arabs claim nothing but justice and stick to human moral values and international laws. The tragedy of Palestine, which is the result of Jewish aggression and Western injustice, will never be settled unless Palestine refugees go back to their homes and unless every cause of Zionist aggression on this portion of the Arab homeland, which is dear to every Arab, has been removed.

How are we expected to accept injustice and recognize *fait accompli* when both are condemned by all human laws?

It is a known fact that world Zionism has expansionist aims in the Arab world. To the student of the history of world Zionism these aims are clear. It is a movement that does not distinguish between faith and nationality. It wants to combine both in one country regardless of the threats which its fanatic covetousness causes to the peace and security of the area.

It is indeed unfair to the Arabs as far as the question of Palestine is concerned to have to hear in the United Nations and other international organizations that the world is tired of the problem of the refugees, that the resources of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will be exhausted some day, that it is up to the Arabs to prepare the ways and means for the resettlement of the refugees in their own spacious countries. To this the Arabs always reply that Palestine refugees have a homeland of their own and that they are determined to go back to it. What international principle or human rule stands between a citizen and living in his own homeland which is dear to him?

Arabs have repeatedly appealed to the United Nations to enable Palestine refugees to return to their homeland and to exercise their right of self-determination. They have proposed the establishment of an agency belonging to the United Nations to manage the property of Arab refugees and hand over to them the revenue of such property. If this proposal is accepted much of the international assistance now provided will be reduced.

It is indeed a myth that can never be believed or carried out to gather all the Jews of the world in Palestine irrespective of the problem of dual loyalty and of the lack of resources in Palestine to maintain all Jews.

Palestine is a grave danger. Many people all over the world foresee the disastrous effects of this grim tragedy

This is indeed a very grave problem. There are many people all over the world and particularly in America who oppose it and realize the grave dangers it entails.

The passage of ten years after the Zionist aggression on the rights of the Arabs in Palestine can only strengthen the determination of the Arab nation and of all peace-loving peoples to stick to the Arabism of Palestine, to seek by every possible means to stop the aggression on that dear part of the Arab world and to persist in demanding the return of the refugees to their country so that they may lead a free dignified life and exercise their right to self-determination.

If this is realized, it will no doubt be a good beginning for the re-establishment of peace and stability in the Arab East. A new era would then open, an era of free co-operation among all the peoples of the zone as well as among all the peace-loving peoples of the world.



"There is no deity worthy of worship except God and Muhammad is the messenger of God"

WHY I JOINED THE WORLD BROTHERHOOD OF ISLAM

by H. S. LEWIN

In my quest for truth I started from Catholicism, which confused me with its numerous intermediaries between God and man

I was brought up by my parents to be a Catholic, and I was sent to a Catholic school. Here one was thrashed if one was inattentive or backward in one's religious studies. At first I was very impressed, but as time went on I began to wonder about the rights of the all-powerful priests who could dispense God's blessings as they pleased, and also the forgiveness of sins was regulated by the priests. There was also such a confusion of saints that God Himself appeared unapproachable except through a maze of others who had to be appeased or invoked. After I left school, I gave up trying to be a Catholic. I had to work alternate Sundays, and on my days off I always found something more attractive to do.

Impressed by fortitude and general behaviour of Muslims

During the war I was at sea visiting many Muslim countries; the crews on the ships were also Muslims. Their fortitude in the face of danger, and their general behaviour, impressed me very much. Later, after five years in the East and Africa, I returned to England. There I felt the urge to lead a better life, but felt the Catholic religion was empty, or lacking in something, and remembering my many Muslim friends, I determined to study Islam. Eventually I found an English interpretation of the Holy Qur'an by Sale, which was rather confusing as he is very bigoted and writes in a very difficult style of English, but I thought to myself there is something here if only I could understand it.

In 1950 I returned to Malaya for two years. On inquiring about Islam in Singapore, I was thwarted by suspicion and could get nowhere. Towards the end of my tour I had found a good friend in a Malay, Abuchik Bin Shaffi, who took me to many places not usually visited by Europeans. With him I visited his home village outside Malacca, where I found the real Muslim way of life in practice. This experience convinced me that Islam was the truth; it embraced a way of life as well as beliefs that stood up to reason. Not as I had been used to, a series of statements that

must be believed and not questioned. Alas, my time was short, and there was no one I knew of to turn to for information about Islam.

Abuchik, though good-hearted, was not a scholar, and there were language difficulties between us.

I finally accepted Islam at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

On my return to England I was determined to find a favourable translation of the Holy Qur'an; this I did in London. It was a translation by the late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali. On reading through it I wrote to him in Lahore. I received a very nice letter from Lahore saying that the Maulana was dead, but advising me to get in touch with the Mosque at Woking. This I did, and I was invited to a meeting at Victoria in London. I attended the meeting, and after due consideration I made a formal affirmation accepting the Unity of God and the Prophethood of Muhammad. Since that time I have made several visits to the Mosque at Woking, and many visits to the meeting-house at Victoria, London, S.W.1. These visits were most enjoyable, as there was a congenial company, and I always learnt something new, either about Islam, or the Islamic peoples and countries. The friendly spirit of these meetings was most impressive.

The Brotherhood of Islam is very real. The more one attacks Islam, the more one is convinced of its truth

The brotherhood of men in Islam is very real, when you have experienced the differences, the prejudices of colour, nationality, breeding, social standing and educational standards, to say nothing of religious bigotry. The freedom of the mind, as often stressed by Mr. Abdul Majid,¹ lies in the freedom from supersition which is the self-imposed curse of so many peoples, even of those who call themselves advanced or civilized.

There is also the freedom to study and subject one's fancies without having to consult an index such as the Roman Catholics have. Again, one is exhorted to study; after all, the more one attacks Islam, the more one becomes convinced of its truth. No other religion can convert its attackers as Islam can if it is attacked with impartial reasoning.

¹ Editor of *The Islamic Review*, and through whose personal efforts the meetings at London, S.W.1, are a success.

ARAB UNITY¹

By FAYEZ A. SAYEGH, Ph.D.

These extracts deal with the latest phase of the process of unification of the Arab world. They survey the recent trends which culminated, in February 1958, in the unification of the former Republics of Egypt and Syria in the *United Arab Republic*; the association of the Kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan in the *Arab Union*; and the association of the Kingdom of the Yemen with the United Arab Republic in the *United Arab States*.

These successive acts of unification are neither the beginning nor the end of the process of re-integration of the various political parts of the Arab nation. They are but one phase in that process. They cannot, therefore, be properly appraised unless they are viewed from the perspective of the total advance of the Arab States towards solidarity, cohesion and unity. Nor can they be adequately understood save in terms of the urge for unity which inhabits the Arab heart, and the idea of unity which, as one element of the Arab national movement, animates Arab society. Furthermore, both the advance towards unification in practice, and the idea of unity as the subjective counterpart thereof have their roots in the long history of the Arabs and in the modern political experiences of the Arab world.

A full study of the background of the recent measures of unification, therefore, must examine, first, the historical background of Arab unity; secondly, the ideological character of the Arab desire for unity; and, thirdly, the antecedent phases of the Arab advance towards unity prior to the phase which is examined in the chapter here reproduced. These three elements of the systematic examination of Arab unity in general correspond to the three parts of our forthcoming book. For the convenience of the reader, we shall summarize in the present introduction the pertinent facts relating to each of these three elements of the background of Arab unity.

ARAB UNITY

The area known today as the Arab world, stretching from Morocco to Iraq, has been since the dawn of history the target of successive migrations and incursions by diverse Semitic peoples originating in the Arabian peninsula. The population of the area is the result of a history-old, unceasing process of amalgamation, in which earlier settlers and newcomers, victors and vanquished, continuously merged with one another in that most ancient of melting-pots, the Near Eastern-North African basin of the Mediterranean. From the first millennium B.C. onwards, the Arabs have been the dominant migrating Semitic group hailing from the peninsula.

In the seventh century A.D. new migrations and incursions, from the same peninsula, resumed the historic process of earlier centuries. But the triumphant hordes of that century differed from their predecessors in that they came infused with a new spirit and a new faith, Islam, which had swept the peninsula in the preceding decade and unified its tribes. The Muslim-Arabs fanned eastwards as far as China, and westwards as far as the Atlantic coasts of Africa, penetrating thence into Europe and across Spain to the borders of France, within less than one century.

Some of the conquered peoples adopted the faith and the language of their Muslim-Arab conquerors. They remain

until today characterized and identified, in their ethnic composition, language, culture and predominant faith, by the *arabization* which they underwent thirteen centuries ago. They are the Arabs of today; and their lands comprise the Arab world.

These Arab lands and peoples enjoyed a great measure of political unity — at times effectively centralized, and at other times loose and decentralized — from the seventh century until the sixteenth, when they fell under the hegemony of the empire of the Ottomans.

Even under Ottoman rule, the Arab lands preserved not only the Arab character of their peoples, but also their political unity. Provincial administrations, even when they were semi-autonomous, remained within the framework of the overall political system and under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan.

It was not until the nineteenth century that this political unity of the Arab world, enjoyed continuously for the preceding twelve hundred years, began to collapse gradually under the impact of European imperialism. European powers nibbled at the outlying Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, detaching them one by one from the rest of the Arab world and setting up in each of them a separate administration. This process of forcible dismemberment and occupation of Arab lands went on throughout the nineteenth century, until the eve of the First World War. Before the outbreak of the war, France had occupied Algeria, Tunisia and the major part of Morocco; Britain had occupied or otherwise extended its control to the string of principalities and shakhdoms stretching along the southern and eastern coastlands of the peninsula, as well as Egypt and the Sudan; Spain had taken a portion of Morocco; and Italy had occupied Libya. Only the Fertile Crescent² and portions of the peninsula had continued to enjoy political unity within the Ottoman system.

The Arabs of the Fertile Crescent and the peninsula, allying themselves with Britain during the war, rose in revolt against the Ottomans in June 1916. This Arab revolt was preceded by lengthy Anglo-Arab negotiations, which culminated in an agreement whereby Britain promised to support the Arab aspirations for liberty-in-unity after the war.

When the war ended, however, it transpired that Britain, after concluding its agreement with the Arabs, had concluded another agreement with France, in accordance with which the Fertile Crescent was to be divided into diverse zones of influence for the two Powers. Despite the Arabs' protest against, and resistance to, the betrayal of principle and pledge by their wartime allies, the dismemberment of the Fertile Crescent into ten separate and distinct political entities was forced on the Arabs as part of the post-war settlement — by virtue of which the Arabs lost not only the unity they had enjoyed under the Ottomans but also the liberty they had helped gain for themselves during the war.

1 This article is an extract from chapter XII of the author's book, *Arab Unity*, published by the Arab Information Centre, New York, N.Y.

2 The Fertile Crescent comprises Iraq and geographical Syria (which in turn includes the areas which came to be known, after the First World War, as the Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan and Syria).

Thus, although the unity of the Arab world was preserved for twelve centuries, a process of forcible dismemberment, initiated during the nineteenth century, and reaching its climax after the First World War, left the Arab world a mosaic of separated political units. *At the end of the war, the Arabs, comprising one nation, found themselves living in some twenty-five different States under as many different political systems.* Barriers, often artificial and arbitrary, were erected athwart the Arab world — interrupting the free flow of communication, transportation and trade; and sealing off one segment of the Arab nation from the others, against the will of all Arabs.

It was as a reaction to this intensive, arbitrary, merciless fragmentation of Arab society that the modern Arab idea of unity first arose in the Arab mind — becoming one of the cardinal objectives of the Arab national movement.

Since disunity was a concomitant it was compelled to seek first to extricate itself from the hegemony of foreign powers, in order to be free afterwards to restore Arab national unity.

The period between the two World Wars was a period of struggle for independence. Towards the end of the Second World War, seven Arab States had succeeded in liberating themselves. Since then, four others have accomplished that primary national objective, self-determination. Others are still struggling for their freedom.

As soon as they became free to pursue the policy they chose, the seven then dependent Arab States launched their first effort to restore Arab unity. On 22nd March 1945 they founded the League of Arab States.

The League was not a union, but a step towards unity. It was somewhat analogous to the "league of friendship" in which the American States were associated under the Articles of the Confederation, which was the precursor of the federation introduced in the subsequent decade under the Constitution of the United States of America. Acting under similar objective and subjective compulsions, many Arabs have persisted, since the founding of the League, in their efforts to evolve the League into a union, or, failing that, to erect structures of political unity independently of the League.

* * *

If the League was the first step towards the restoration of Arab unity, the arrangements made in February 1958 — thirteen years after the founding of the League — were the early fruits of the second step towards Arab unification.

As the reader knows, and as the narrative in the chapter reproduced in the following pages shows, however, the recent steps towards unification have produced not one structure of political unity, but two: the United Arab States and the Arab Union. The explanation for this dichotomy must be sought in the fact that the *architects of the two structures harbour different concepts of foreign policy and of internal socio-political organization.* Equally desirous of achieving Arab unity, but also equally dedicated to their respective divergent views on vital national affairs, the governments of the Arab States concerned have chosen, at the present stage of Arab history, to follow two paths toward unity instead of one. It is these two paths that the following pages will describe.

A FRESH START

As soon as it became evident that progress towards a greater measure of cohesion than had been provided for in the Pact of the League of Arab States was unattainable within the framework of the League itself, unless the will of the

member-States to give up some of the prerogatives of State-sovereignty obtained, Arabs began to think seriously in terms of establishing relations of greater cohesiveness between such individual States as were willing to conclude them outside the framework of the League. Such relations, while not binding upon the League itself or upon non-participating States, had been nevertheless envisaged and authorized in the permissive clause contained in paragraph 1 of Article IX of the Pact of the League.

The failure of all proposals submitted by representatives of individual member-States to the League, from 1951 to 1954, suggesting that it initiate or authorize measures calculated to go beyond the scope of inter-governmental co-operation as stipulated in the Pact and achieved under the auspices of the League, confirmed the *a priori* conviction of many Arabs, in official and unofficial quarters, that it was unlikely, if not impossible, for the League to evolve from within into an instrument of real unity — it having been conceived in the first instance as merely an instrument of *co-ordination* among *sovereign* States.

Of decisive importance was the failure of the Treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Co-operation, which had been approved by the Council of the League on 17th April 1950. This Treaty, which had been reluctantly ratified by some of the contracting States, continued to be *inert* despite the fact that it was finally ratified by all members of the League and that it formally entered into effect in 1952. However, the Treaty continued to be *technically* in force, and *potentially* capable of implementation, until 1955, when it became clear that two different currents of foreign policy and internal socio-political organizations were in action within the Arab countries. Their differences became crucial once the Arabs gained their independence and reached political maturity. On the one hand there was Egypt, Syria and other countries who believed in a foreign policy of non-alignment. On the other hand there was Iraq, who believed in alignment with Western powers.

Those Arab States which were convinced of the need for an Arab system of collective security such as had been contemplated in the Treaty, and which, at the same time, were opposed to the policy of foreign alignment, then became ready to proceed towards establishing a system of collective security among themselves, through bilateral or multilateral agreements to that effect concluded without reference to the League and outside its framework.

It was perhaps natural that the initiative for such moves be taken by Egypt and Syria. For the governments of these two countries were not only in agreement with one another on the desirability of a system of joint defence between the Arab States, and on their appraisal of the unattainability of such a system within the League; but they also were animated by an ardent desire for Arab unity, stimulated by the dynamic brand of Arab nationalism swaying the public as well as officialdom in these two countries. And they were, in addition, tied together in bonds of mutual sympathy and special affinity, resulting from the similarity of their aims in foreign policy and in domestic socio-political organization.

FUNCTIONAL UNIFICATION

Within less than eight months from the signing of the Iraqi-Turkish agreement, a Mutual Defence Pact was concluded between Syria and Egypt, destined to be the precursor of many successive agreements between the two countries, and the first of cumulative strata in the edifice of unity.

The Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Defence Pact³ of 20th October 1955 contained all the salient features which had marked the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation, with the exception of its economic sections. In fact, the Egyptian-Syrian Pact was a reactivation, within the limited context of Syrian-Egyptian partnership, of the moribund pan-Arab Joint Defence Treaty. The parallelism between the texts as well as the purposes of the two documents emphatically suggests that the later agreement between Syria and Egypt was essentially an effort to fill the gap in international governmental relations left wide open by the failure of the Joint Defence Treaty.

In addition to providing for mutual support in the event of attack, and for consultations between the contracting States whenever the peace of the area or the security of the States concerned was threatened (Articles III, IV and V), the Mutual Defence Pact also established two agencies, similar to the two bodies founded by the Joint Defence Treaty.

The Supreme Council, composed of the Foreign Ministers and War Ministers of the contracting States, was to be "the official authority from which the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Command shall receive all directives relating to military policy" (Article VI, paragraph a).

The War Council — reminiscent of the Permanent Military Commission established in the Joint Defence Treaty — was to be composed of the Chiefs of staff of the two contracting States (Article VII, paragraph a). It was charged with tasks similar to those entrusted, in the earlier Treaty, to the Permanent Military Commission.

Just as the Joint Defence Treaty had established a Joint Command composed of a Commander-in-Chief and a General Council of Chiefs-of-Staff (in Section V of the Military Annex to the Treaty), so, too, the Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Defence Pact established a Joint Command consisting of the Commander-in-Chief, the General Staff, and "the units detached for the security of the Joint Command and the conduct of its activities" (Article VIII, paragraph a).

Despite these similarities between the pan-Arab Joint Defence Treaty of 1950 and the Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Defence Pact of 1955, the later agreement contained provisions which had been lacking in the earlier agreement, designed primarily to enhance the realizability and ensure the effectiveness of the bilateral agreement.

The Joint Command contemplated in the Joint Defence Treaty was to be set up in time of war; and the Commander-in-Chief was to be appointed upon the outbreak of hostilities — as was implicit in Section V of the Military Annex to the Treaty.

The Joint Command contemplated in the Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Defence Pact, on the other hand, was to be "permanent, functioning in peacetime and wartime" (Article VIII, paragraph a). Moreover, the Commander-in-Chief was to exercise vital integrating functions in peacetime and to prepare for "all eventualities arising from any possible armed attack on one of the two countries or on their forces" (Article VII, paragraph b, sub-paragraph 2). Furthermore, the contracting States undertook to place all their "striking units" at the disposal of the Joint Command, "in peace and wartime" (Article IX, paragraph a); and to establish a "joint fund" for defraying all expenditures incurred by the Joint Command (Article X).

The basic differences, however, between the pan-Arab Treaty and the Egyptian-Syrian Pact pertained not to the respective texts and provisions of the two agreements, but to

their respective outcomes in practice. While nothing tangible came out of the Joint Defence Treaty, the Mutual Defence Pact was put into effect immediately. The Supreme Council created in Article VI of the Pact was soon established; and the first Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Command was appointed on 8th November 1955.

The effectiveness of the Mutual Defence Pact was put to the test twice in the course of the two following years.

In the first test, arising out of the Anglo-Franco-Israeli invasion of Egypt in October-November 1956, the Commander-in-Chief decided against invoking the Pact at the initial stages of the hostilities. This decision was publicly announced by him, as well as by the Presidents of the two contracting States, later on. The forceful, immediate intervention of the United Nations, which succeeded in accomplishing the early cease-fire and the subsequent withdrawal of the invading troops, removed by international diplomacy the military occasion which might otherwise have arisen for a change in strategy on the part of the Joint Command and for an invocation of the Pact.

In the second test, arising from the Turkish-Syrian crisis of September 1957, the Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Defence Pact was immediately invoked. On 13th October 1957 it was officially announced by the Joint Command, from its headquarters in Cairo, that "basic elements" of the Egyptian armed forces had been moved to Syria. The transfer of Egyptian troops to reinforce Syrian defence establishments (as a precautionary measure necessitated by the concentration of Turkish troops in close proximity to the Syrian border) had begun in mid-September, in consequence of a decision to that effect taken by the Joint Command on 11th September 1957.

The Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Defence Pact of 20th October 1955, then, accomplished the integration of the defence establishments of the contracting States much in the same way in which the integration of the defence establishments of all the Arab States had been contemplated, *but never enforced*, in the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation of 17th April 1950, concluded under the auspices of the League.

* * *

Not only its military provisions, however, but also the economic provisions of this pan-Arab Treaty were destined to have their counterpart within the context of Egyptian-Syrian collaboration. On 2nd September 1956, Syria and Egypt reached an economic agreement for industrial co-operation, providing for the formation of joint companies with joint capital for economic projects. This was followed a year later by another agreement envisaging more far-reaching integration of the economies of the two countries. This new agreement was signed on 3rd September 1957. It established a joint committee charged with making recommendations within three months for the "unification" of the economies of the two States. On 13th November 1957 another economic agreement, designed to facilitate the transfer of funds, was concluded.

* * *

While the integration of the economies and the defence establishments of Egypt and Syria was proceeding actively, a third facet of inter-governmental collaboration was receiving serious attention.

³ An unofficial translation of the full text of this Pact may be found in the *Middle East Journal*, Winter of 1956, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 78-79.

On 15th March 1957, the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement⁴ was concluded. Aiming at unifying educational methods and enhancing cultural co-operation between the contracting States, this Agreement was envisioned as a contribution, on the cultural-educational plane, to the achievement of Arab unity.

In Article II of this Agreement, the contracting States undertook to work for:

"The strengthening of co-operation among them in the fields of science, education and culture; the exchange of information, results of scientific and technical research, and teachers; the admission of students, cultural institutions and universities; the holding of conferences, meetings, seminars and educational courses; the co-ordination of sports and arts activities; and the achievement of co-operation between communities, councils and bodies — official or otherwise — that are concerned with these matters."

Articles IV and V of the Agreement required the Ministries of Education in the contracting States to draw up "unified basic programmes" for the elementary, intermediate and secondary stages of education; and to complete these programmes at least one month before the commencement of the 1957/1958 school years.

Article X welcomed the accession of other Arab countries to the Agreement, and declared that its ultimate aim was to achieve complete cultural unity in the Arab world.

Article XI required the contracting States to work for the unification of laws and regulations relating to culture and education, in conformity with the basic principles embodied in the Agreement.

The Agreement had six Annexes designed to spell out, in detail and in specific terms, the basic provisions contained in the main body of the Agreement. Annex I discussed in detail the diverse facets of co-operation described in Article II of the Agreement. Annexes III, IV and V dealt with examinations, teachers' training and technical education, respectively. And Annex VI defined the tasks of the Joint Committee, which was entrusted with enforcing the provisions of the Agreement, tackling such problems as might arise from its application, and supervising the evolution of the Agreement with a view to the strengthening of cultural unity between the contracting States.

A PERIOD OF FLUIDITY

These agreements between Egypt and Syria, concluded from 1955 to 1957, may be looked up as successive landmarks in a process of gradual, *functional unification* of the two countries, in preparation for their eventual *political unification*. If the process was triggered by the collapse of the collective security system contemplated in the pan-Arab Treaty of Joint Defence of 1950, the subsequent stages of that process and its final outcome were animated by a positive impulse for unification.

A distinction must be made, however, between the attainment and speedy enforcement of these successive agreements between Egypt and Syria, as indicative of a determination on the part of the governments of the two countries to accomplish political unity, on the one hand, and the serviceability of these agreements, when acceded to by other Arab States, for achieving cohesion and ensuring inter-governmental co-ordination among all acceding States, short of political unity, on the other hand.

For it must be observed that bilateral agreements similar to the Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Security Pact were subsequently concluded between Egypt and Su'udi Arabia, and between Egypt and the Yemen; and a trilateral agreement of a similar nature was concluded in October 1956 between Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Moreover, Jordan was a party to the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement of 1957.

In this period of fluidity in intra-Arab governmental affiliations, similarity in concepts of foreign policy entertained by certain Arab States tended to overshadow such dissimilarity as may have existed between their respective concepts of domestic socio-political organization. At least in part, this phenomenon was occasioned by the fact that it was the debate on Arab foreign policy, between the "pro-Western" and the "neutralist" schools of thought, that received all the attention of the outside world, and most of the attention of the Arabs themselves. An important development which occurred in 1955 — the year in which the process of *functional unification* was initiated between Egypt and Syria — served to focus international and Arab attention on the Arab debate of *foreign policy*, and thereby to relegate to the background the Arab debate on *domestic policy*. The purchase by Egypt of arms from Soviet *bloc* countries, in the latter part of 1955, indicated the determination of Egypt and other "neutralist" Arab States to extricate themselves from their former exclusive dependence upon the Powers of the West; to establish their independence of both Power *blocs*, Eastern as well as Western; and to exercise their sovereign right to initiate new relations, or to cultivate and develop existing relations with all Powers, on a basis of reciprocity, and within the framework of freely-negotiated, freely-concluded, mutually-defined, and reciprocally-implemented relations. The "Great Debate" in the Arab mind, between two different brands of nationalism, came to be viewed, in the outside world and by many Arabs as well, in turns of its foreign-policy implications, and in oblivion to its implications with respect to domestic forms of socio-political organization and intra-Arab relations.

It was at that time, and under the impact of the oversimplification of the import of the "Great Debate" and the narrowing-down of its scope, that the Arab governments, whether monarchic or republican, came to define and envision their mutual affinities primarily, if not exclusively, in terms of the similarity in their outlook on foreign policy, and to conclude agreements of mutual defence on that basis. At that time, the Kings of Su'udi Arabia, Jordan and the Yemen harboured concepts of foreign policy akin to the "neutralist" concepts of the Egyptian and Syrian governments; hence the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral pacts of mutual defence by the "neutralist" governments of these five Arab countries.

These inter-governmental affiliations, and perhaps some of the underlying governmental persuasions also, soon began to change. This change became evident early in 1957. The proclamation of the Eisenhower Doctrine and the internal crisis in Jordan — which occurred in the early months of 1957 — had the joint impact of loosening the informal alliance of the five Arab countries and reshuffling the inter-governmental affiliations in the Arab world.

Only the partnership between Egypt and Syria, sealed in the identity of their outlooks on foreign and domestic policy,

⁴ All extracts from the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement cited in the sequel are taken from *Syria: 1957* (published by the Directorate-General of Information of the Syrian Government, Damascus, 1957), pp. 140-141.

and the affiliation of the kingdom of the Yemen with those two Arab republics, inspired by identity of foreign policy views, survived the disturbance in the intra-Arab pattern of inter-governmental affinities and affiliations in the spring of 1957.

It was because of these circumstances that in the subsequent progress towards unity, Egypt and Syria were to take the lead in outright unification, and the Yemen was to associate itself with them in a federal relationship, while the Kings of Iraq and Jordan were to pursue a separate path towards Arab unity, via the union of their two kingdoms.

UNITY OF EGYPT AND SYRIA

As we have already suggested, the Egyptian-Syrian mergers were successive milestones along the path of *functional* unification designed to lead to final *political* unity.

On 16th January 1956, the new Egyptian Constitution was proclaimed. For the first time in Egypt's modern history the Constitution of the State announced that Egypt was "an Arab State" and that the Egyptian people was "a part of the Arab nation" (Article I). This was reminiscent of the Syrian Constitution of 5th September 1950, which had proclaimed, in its Preamble and in Article I (paragraph 3) that the Syrian people was a part of the Arab nation and looked forward to the day when the Arab nation would be unified in one State. When the Egyptian Constitution was ratified by the people in a referendum vote on 23rd June 1956, Syrians and Egyptians were experiencing an upsurge of sentiment for unity. The Syrian Parliament voted, only eleven days later, to abolish passports and visa requirements between Syria and other Arab countries on a basis of reciprocity. On the following day — 5th July 1956 — the Syrian Parliament unanimously approved plans for setting up a committee to negotiate with Egypt for a federal union of the two countries. On 5th January 1957 the Premier of Syria announced that his government would soon appoint a ministerial committee for the same purpose.

The events of the spring of 1957, to which we alluded in the preceding section, delayed the progress towards unification. But, in November 1957, the call for unity was taken up again in earnest.

On 19th November 1957 an Egyptian-Syrian parliamentary session was held in Damascus. It was attended by the Syrian deputies and a visiting delegation composed of forty members of the Egyptian National Assembly, headed by the Vice-Chairman of the Assembly. The joint session unanimously approved a motion urging the Egyptian and Syrian governments immediately to begin negotiations to create a "federal union" of the two countries.

On the same day, the Egyptian National Assembly unanimously adopted a similar resolution.

Negotiations between the two governments soon began; and on 26th January 1958 a joint statement issued by the two governments announced that the final draft of a treaty of unification was being composed.

On 1st February 1958 a formal public announcement of the merger of Egypt and Syria into the United Arab Republic was made in Cairo.

On 5th February 1958 the President of Egypt presented to his country's National Assembly a comprehensive statement embodying the proclamation of the formation of the United Arab Republic and a seventeen-point provisional constitution for the new Republic outlining the procedure by which the union of Egypt and Syria would be effected. On

the same day, the President of Syria made a similar announcement before the Syrian Parliament, embodying the same provisional constitution. The President of Syria added, in his announcement, that it was Syria that had initiated the move for unity; and he proposed that President Galam Abd al-Nasser of Egypt be the first President of the United Arab Republic.

Both the Syrian Parliament and the Egyptian National Assembly gave their unanimous approval to the measures blueprinted by their respective governments, in bilateral negotiations, and announced by their respective Presidents.

The formation of the United Arab Republic, the provisional constitution thereof, and the naming of Nasser as its first President, were taken to the peoples of the two States in country-wide plebiscites on 21st February 1958. They received the approval of the peoples by overwhelming majorities.

SYRIA'S EAGERNESS FOR UNITY

Thus, the first union in modern times between formerly independent Arab States was born.

The new union was conceived in mutual consent, and born by means of an orderly and free procedure. In its birth, the peoples, parliaments and governments of the States concerned took part. Originating in the peoples, the urge for union had been reflected in and articulated by their respective parliaments. Acting under the mandate of their parliaments, the two governments held the discussions in which the concrete plans for unification were drawn up. These plans then came from the governments to their respective parliaments for approval; and from parliaments the plans went to the peoples for ratification. The circuit was completed: from peoples to parliaments to governments, and back from governments to parliaments to peoples.

* * *

The christening of the newborn union is of great symbolical significance.

Two proud names, as ancient as history itself, evoking venerable memories, familiar alike to the archaeologist engrossed in his explorations of the remains of pre-historic man, to the faithful of all monotheistic religions well-versed in their respective scriptures, and to the student of modern international affairs, have now been relegated to the past. By the choice of their own peoples, these names have been abandoned as designations of national identification, giving way to a new name — the United Arab Republic.

The selection of the new name reflects the three impulses animating the creation of the new political being.

The term "United" expresses the unitarian character of the relationship now established between the two former States. No vestige of sovereignty, exercised independently by either State, was to linger in the new set-up; no prerogative of authority was to be jealously withheld from the agencies in which ultimate sovereignty was now vested by the constituent parts. Former Egypt and former Syria, in entering the union, doffed their former separateness and identities at the threshold, to emerge inside as but two provinces of one State.

The term "Arab" in the name of the new union refers not only to the national character of the peoples of the two former States, as defined in their respective former constitutions, but also to the hoped-for extension of the union so as to include all Arab countries. The term "Arab", there-

fore, designates the national identity of the population of the new State, as well as the range of their hopes for future extension. It refers to the actual Arab nature of the new State, which identifies it nationally at present, as well as to its potentially pan-Arab in reach in the future. It emphasizes, in short, the view of the architects of the United Arab Republic that this union was but a nucleus for greater Arab unity, and stresses their hope that that complete unity be achieved in the years to come. Hence the invitation to all other Arab States, while the formation of the United Arab Republic was being proclaimed, to join in the union.

Finally, the term "Republic" describes the form of government obtaining in the constituent States as well as in the newborn union. But the term "Republic" refers to more than mere form of governmental structure. It refers to the total concept of socio-political organization which is fundamental to the dynamic brand of nationalism animating the peoples and governments of former Egypt and Syria and of the new United Arab Republic.

* * *

Some observers have wondered at the fact that the urge for unification emanated from Syria; others have sought to explain this phenomenon in terms of a domestic Syrian situation, real or alleged, which is claimed to have made the unification of Syria with Egypt seem to the leaders of the Syrian Government to be the only hope for salvation from internal upheavals. Whatever the internal conditions in Syria may have been in the opening months of 1958, and it is not our intention here to examine them, there is one fundamental fact characterizing the entire career of Syria as a State, from its establishment after the First World War until its merger with Egypt in the United Arab Republic; and this persistent and continuous fact is that the Syrian people has overwhelmingly desired Arab unity, that most Syrians have looked upon the separateness of Syria as a provisional condition which must be altered at the earliest possible opportunity through unification with other Arab States, and that successive Syrian governments — regardless of party affiliation or type of regime — have invariably championed the idea of Arab unity and have placed themselves in the vanguard of the process of accomplishing it. This fact, which has marked the entire lifetime of Syria as a State, outweighs such transitory internal conditions as are claimed to have existed immediately before the formation of the United Arab Republic, and must be viewed, therefore, as the decisive cause of, and the explanatory reason for, the fact that it was the Syrian Government that urged the immediate unification of Syria and Egypt.

Since its conception and birth, the idea of Arab unity has found in Syria its major stronghold. Syria has been not only the cradle but also the most insistent advocate of the idea of Arab unity since the beginning of the modern Arab awakening.

In more recent decades, when the Republic of Syria was carved out of geographical Syria, the post-World War I Syrian State inherited from the wider geographical entity not only its name but also the mantle of the cause of Arab unity. The national anthem of the Republic of Syria sang with equal pride the praise of the golden ages of Arab history in Syria and elsewhere. The Constitution of the Syrian State solemnly proclaimed the determination of the people of Syria

to work tirelessly for the realization of their aspiration for Arab unity. It stated in its preamble:

"We, the Representatives of the Syrian Arab People, meeting in a Constituent Assembly . . . declare that our people is a part of the whole Arab nation, bound to it with its past, present and future, and is looking forward to the day when our Arab nation shall be united in one State. Our people shall, therefore, assiduously strive to fulfil this sacred desire. . . ."

In the oath which, according to Article LXXV of the Constitution, the President of the Republic was to take before assuming office, he was to swear to "work for the achievement of the unity of the Arab countries". Similarly, the oath which was to be taken by every member of Parliament before assuming his duty contained an identical phrase (Article XLVI).

Successive Syrian governments have proposed successive schemes for Arab unity. During the consultations of 1943, which preceded the formation of the League of Arab States, the Syrian Premier announced the readiness of his government to endorse and implement any arrangement for unity which other Arab governments were prepared to make. During the 1944 session of the Preparatory Committee, at which the Alexandria Protocol was written, the Syrian Premier also announced the readiness of Syria to give up its sovereignty for the furtherance of Arab unity. And, after the establishment of the League, the first formal proposal submitted by an Arab government for unification came, in January 1951, from the Syrian Premier.

Public opinion in Syria has been equally expressive of its readiness to surrender State-sovereignty within Arab unity. Perusal of an anthology¹ containing the basic platforms of all Syrian parties, as authoritatively defined by official party spokesmen, reveals the *unanimous* advocacy of Arab unity by all the political parties established in Syria, despite their disagreement on many a vital objective.

Representatives of all political parties and groups in Syria, convening in a national conference in June 1956, agreed to adopt a common platform on certain basic questions affecting the vital interests of Syria. One of the points on which they all agreed pertained to Arab unity, with particular reference to union with Egypt. The parties unanimously adopted a resolution calling for:

"Expanding the bilateral agreement with Egypt by concluding an agreement between the two parties covering economic, political and cultural affairs, so that these agreements may serve as nucleus for an all-embracing Arab unity."²

It is clear, therefore, that the decisions of the Syrian Parliament in November 1957 and of the Syrian Government in January 1958 to create a union of Egypt and Syria, were manifestations of a *continuous* policy which successive Syrian governments and parliaments and successive generations of the Syrian people had voiced. It is this permanent and continuous desire of Syria, government and people, for Arab unity, and not any passing internal situation in January 1958, real or alleged, that must be viewed as the primary explanation for the eagerness shown by Syria in the early weeks of 1958 to establish the United Arab Republic.

* * *

One final observation on the United Arab Republic must now be made. It pertains to the future of the union, and the role which will be assigned to diversity within the permanent framework, which has yet to be constructed. (For

1 *Al-Ahzaab al-Siyasiyyah fi Suriyyah (Political Parties in Syria)*, al-Ruwad Publishing Co., Damascus, 1954).
2 *Syria: 1957, op. cit.*, pp. 187-188.

only a Provisional Constitution has been so far worked out and ratified; the permanent Constitution remains to be written.)

Until political unification and community of life have succeeded over the years in replacing diversity by a greater measure of homogeneity, the smooth functioning of the union in the foreseeable future will depend to a large extent upon the realistic recognition of such diversity as now exists.

To the extent to which the arrangements which will be contained in the permanent Constitution, relative to the separate administration of the two provinces of the United Arab Republic, will be realistically flexible, to that extent many of the strains which are otherwise likely to mar the life of the Republic will be ameliorated, if not entirely averted.

If, on the other hand, the *eager idealism* to which we alluded in a previous paragraph, or the *doctrinaire dogmatism* of the nationalist ideology which has been averse to recognizing diversity within the Arab nation, or such *authoritarian* tendencies as may operate in the planning of the permanent Constitution or in its implementation in daily life, should individually or jointly endeavour prematurely to submerge diversity beneath the surface of simple uniformity, demanding that unity manifest itself as rigidity and dismissing the counsel of flexibility, then it is not unlikely that unnecessary strains may be created and natural strains aggravated. In such an eventuality, misgivings and unfavourable second thoughts about unity will have been occasioned unnecessarily. Such discontent with a particular form of unity may come to express itself as disillusionment with unity as such.

A SEED THAT WILL GROW

The formation of the United Arab Republic was envisioned as a step towards the unification of all Arab States and the erection of total Arab unity. The Syrian Premier called it "the first step on the path to entire Arab unity". The Syrian President said: "I am sure that our unity today is a seed that will grow. It will be a step followed by others." The Egyptian President stated: "Today we feel that Arab nationalism is being realized. We look to the future and feel it will be loaded with power and dignity." The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States described the formation of the United Arab Republic as "the beginning of union among all of the Arab States". The Permanent Observer of the League at the United Nations viewed the union as "a new milestone on the road to complete Arab unity".

Arab public opinion — as represented in the utterances of political parties, in the comments of the press throughout the Arab world, and, above all, in the spontaneous jubilation of the masses — greeted the union with happy excitement, not only for what it was in itself, but also and perhaps primarily for the promise it held for the eventual unification of the Arab world in its entirety and the fulfilment of one of the principal objectives of the Arab national movement.

* * *

Even in the short period of time which has lapsed since the formation of the United Arab Republic, official and semi-official actions of diverse kinds have been taken in the direction of greater Arab unity. These actions are a testimony to the dual role played by the founding of the new union in contemporary Arab history: on the one hand, actualizing the former potencies for union in Syria and Egypt; and, on the other hand, stimulating the desires of other Arab peoples for unity and concretely demonstrating their realizability.

In North Africa, representatives of the modinant political parties in Tunisia and Morocco (the Neo-Destour and the Istiqlal parties), respectively, together with the National Liberation Front, in a conference held in the closing days of April 1958, called for political unification of three Arab countries of North Africa.

In Palestine, representatives of the Arab refugees in the Gaza sector have called for the merger of the Arab sector, as symbolical of the merger of the entire Arab community of Palestine, in the United Arab Republic.

While these two calls have so far remained unrealized, two other decisions have already been implemented.

The Kingdom of the Yemen, immediately announcing its desire to associate itself federally with the United Arab Republic, implemented that desire when the United Arab States was formed.

The Kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan also realized a similar desire for unity by forming a union of their own, designated as the Arab Union.

These four actions, viewed jointly, reveal the influence which the unification of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic has exercised on contemporary Arab history in the few months which have elapsed since that unification was accomplished.

Fluidity has overtaken the Arab situation. Rigid boundaries have begun to dissolve under the heat of the ardent desire for unity. Arab officialdom has begun to loosen its hold on State-sovereignty (which it had until recently sought to retain) and to adjust itself to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Arabs. Arab political realities are in a state of flux which, having been stirred into motion, may not come to rest before many of the marks of the post-war era have yielded to new moulds fashioned by the Arabs themselves in accordance with their nationalist ideals.

THE UNITED ARAB STATES

The proclamation of the founding of the United Arab Republic was accompanied by an invitation to all Arab States to join. This invitation, indicative of the pan-Arab scope of the ideology which animated the unification of Egypt and Syria, was indicative also of the *expandability* of the new union.

Such expandability has characterized every inter-governmental Arab institution or agreement since the birth of the modern Arab idea of unity. Arab inter-governmental treaties, agencies and structures have all envisaged and provided for future participation by other Arab States. The first Arab treaties in the 1930's, the Protocol and the Pact of the League of Arab States in the 1940's, and all agreements concluded under the auspices of the League or independently of it in the 1950's, have invariably contained clauses proclaiming their expandability and permitting, indeed welcoming, the participation or accedence of other Arab States. The proclamation of the formation of the United Arab Republic (as well as the subsequent agreements heralding the founding of the Arab Union and the United Arab States) partook of the same expandable character and exhibited the same tendency.

Furthermore, the expandability of the United Arab Republic was marked by *flexibility*. The invitation addressed to the other Arab States was twofold: to join the United Arab Republic, within the framework of its unitarian form and republican institutions; or to enter into a federal association with it, in which the autonomy and internal

institutions of the invitee could be preserved. This flexibility betokened a realistic acknowledgment, by the architects of the United Arab Republic, of the fact of diversity in the Arab world : socio-cultural diversity in the conditions and degrees of attainment of the peoples, and political diversity in the concepts of political organization cherished by the governments.

* * *

The identity of the first, and so far the only, Arab State which has responded favourably to the invitation extended to all Arab States by the United Arab Republic testifies to the wisdom of the flexibility which marked the invitation. For the Yemen, the responding State, is monarchic in its form of government, and is characterized by certain fundamental patterns of socio-economic organization which would otherwise have rendered its immediate and outright unification with the United Arab Republic unattainable. Hence the formation of a new federal union, the United Arab States, associating the Yemen with the United Arab Republic in a relationship which ensures the essential advantages of unity without disregarding the conditions of diversity and the resultant need for internal autonomy.

The formation of the union, and the Charter of the United Arab States, were announced five weeks after the proclamation of the founding of the United Arab Republic. The announcement was made in Damascus on 8th March 1958 by the President of the United Arab Republic and the Crown Prince of the Yemen.

The Charter of the United Arab States emphasized the expendability of the newer union in Article I. It also emphasized the flexibility of this union in Articles II and XII, which respectively declared that each State would preserve its system of government and its international status, and that the law organizing education and culture in the union would regulate the co-ordination of the educational and cultural activities of the component-States of the union in stages. The other substantive articles, however, defined the areas of life and the functions of government which were to be unified : foreign policy (Article VI), diplomatic and consular representation (Article VII), and armed forces (Article VIII). While establishing the principles of freedom of movement in the union (Article V), and of equal rights of all citizens to work and hold public office throughout the union (Article IV), the Charter entrusted to subsequent laws the definition of the precise measures of unification to be injected into the economic life of the union : the development of production, the exploitation of natural resources, and the co-ordination of economic activities (Article IX) ; currency affairs (Article X) ; and regulations governing the projected customs union (Article XI).

THE ARAB UNION

If the Yemen, although monarchic in its system of government, found it possible to react positively to the expandability of the United Arab Republic — with the foreign policy concepts of which it was in complete agreement — it was because of the flexibility marking that expandability. By virtue of this flexibility, the Yemen could associate itself with the United Arab Republic while, at the same time, preserving its internal autonomy and its distinctive socio-political system.

Two other Arab kingdoms, Iraq and Jordan, however, had to pursue a different course.

Entertaining similar concepts of foreign policy and identical views on the patterns of domestic socio-political

organization, which individually and jointly set them apart from the United Arab Republic, these two Arab kingdoms were unable to accept the invitation of that republic to join in its unity or to associate with it federally. On the other hand, it was equally impossible for Iraq and Jordan to remain unaffected by the current of Arab unity set in motion by the formation of the United Arab Republic. For the peoples of the two kingdoms were animated by a strong urge for Arab unity ; and the governments of the two kingdoms had entertained, from the beginning of the lifetime of their respective States, a concept of Arab unity of their own, derived from the political aspirations of the Arab Revolt in 1916, and expressed in terms of specific projects (of " Fertile Crescent " or " Greater Syria " unity) intermittently since the early 1940's.

Unable to remain inactive, and also unable to participate in the new Arab union, the two kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan therefore charted their own separate path towards Arab unity. They formed the Arab Union on 14th February 1958, two weeks after the founding of the United Arab Republic.

* * *

The Arab Union of Iraq and Jordan was a resumption, in the Arab situation of 1958, of earlier efforts made by the great-grandfather and the respective grandfathers of the contemporary monarchs of the two kingdoms. In each successive attempt, however, the effort to attain the self-same goal has been constrained to adjust itself to the conditions of the day and to take into account the changes wrought by history in previous years.

The dream of King Hussain, the leader of the Arab Revolt of 1916, was of a united Arab Kingdom comprising geographical Syria, Iraq and the Hijaz. His abdication from the throne of the Hijaz, and British betrayal in the Fertile Crescent, militated against Hussain's fulfilment of his aspiration.

Hussain's son, Faisal, was animated by the same desire in the aftermath of the First World War. In 1920 he accepted the throne of a united Syria from its people, amidst the announced dedication of the peoples of Iraq and Syria to the ideal of political and economic union between the two countries. But the French occupation of the interior of Syria, and Faisal's enforced abdication, which took place a few months after the proclamation of the kingdom, shattered Faisal's dream. He was content with the throne of Iraq alone.

The area east of the River Jordan, in the southern sector of geographical Syria, was established as the Principedom of Transjordan in 1923 under Abdullah, Faisal's elder brother. The dream of Hussain and his Hashemite family, having been twice frustrated, was allowed by Abdullah to remain dormant for two decades.

In 1941, when Anthony Eden made his statement indicating the reversal of Britain's former attitudes toward Arab nationalism and Arab unity and the adoption of a new British policy of concurrence with, and mild support for, such programmes of unification as may be agreed upon by the Arabs, the old Hashemite concept of Arab unity was reactivated.

Abdullah and Nuri al-Said successively submitted to the British Government, in 1941 and 1943 respectively, two cognate proposals for unification of the Fertile Crescent area. Despite minor differences, these two proposals were essentially identical. They envisaged a United Syria linked to Iraq in a federal tie under Hashemite rule and with the

blessing of the British Government. It will be noted that the Hijaz was no longer included in the Hashemite vision of Arab unity in the early 1940's; for, in the meantime, the Hashemites had been ousted from the Arabian peninsula by Ibn Saud, formerly sovereign of Najd and subsequently king of the union of Najd and the Hijaz — the Kingdom of Su'udi Arabia. However, if the newer versions of the earlier Hashemite concepts of Arab unity of 1916 and 1920 took cognizance in the 1940's of the severance of the Hijaz from Hashemite domain, these versions continued to envisage the inclusion of the Lebanon, Palestine and the Syrian State, as well as Transjordan and Iraq, in the projected Fertile Crescent unity.

The pan-Arab inter-governmental consultations and conferences of 1943 and 1944, leading to the formation of the League of Arab States in 1945, put an end temporarily to the efforts of Iraq and Transjordan to unify the lands of the Fertile Crescent — although Abdullah, after becoming King of Transjordan (and, later on, King of Jordan), resumed his efforts intermittently. It was not until fluidity was introduced into the Arab situation in recent months, in consequence of the unification of the former Republics of Egypt and Syria, that the old Hashemite idea of Arab unity was once more revived. Just as in the preceding reincarnations of the idea, however, the new resurrection took cognizance of such changes as had in the meantime overtaken the Arab situation.

The first Hashemite reaction to the advance announcements of the then-imminent unification of Egypt and Syria took the form of an approach, initiated by the King of Jordan, to the other Hashemite King of Iraq and to King Su'ud of Su'udi Arabia. Both in its inclusiveness as well as in its exclusiveness, this approach betokened recognition of the change in Arab circumstances which had taken place in the preceding fifteen years. Palestine had been lost: the larger part of Palestine had become Israel; the eastern sector of the remainder of Palestine had been already integrated with former Transjordan, to form the Kingdom of Jordan; and the south-western sector (the Gaza strip) had been placed under Egyptian occupation, pending final settlement of the Palestine problem. The Lebanon had come to be recognized, in its post-1920 frontiers, by all Arab States within the Arab League, as well as on an international scale. Syria had been preparing to join Egypt in the formation of the United Arab Republic. Hence the exclusion of the three Fertile Crescent territories of Palestine, the Lebanon and Syria from the new 1958 version of the Hashemite concept of Arab unity.

The vision of the old idea of the Arab Revolt remained; only its territorial scope had changed, in accordance with the change of circumstances.

Instead of the union of the Hijaz, geographical Syria, and Iraq, contemplated by their great-grandfather four decades earlier, the two Hashemite kings could integrate in 1958 only the two kingdoms of the south-eastern sector of geographical Syria and of Iraq. But the continuity of the Hashemite idea was nevertheless attested to in the Preamble of the Agreement of the Arab Union, which stated:

“Whereas: the mission of the Arab Revolt, for which its leader has striven, passed to the sons and grandsons and was inherited by generation after generation to remain always as a flame illuminating the path of the Arab nation towards the realization of its hopes and aspirations for the complete unity which integrated all the elements leading to liberty, happiness and

strength; the regaining of the glories and preservation of its heritage, and its sacred aims; and the assurance of a happy future under the auspices of this blessed unity;

“Therefore: the two Hashemite States decide to form a Union between themselves based upon these sublime aims.”

Furthermore, Article VII of the Agreement stated:

“The Arab Revolt flag will be the flag of the Union and the flag of each of the two States.”

Each of the two kingdoms associated in the Arab Union has maintained its identity and autonomy; according to Article II, “each of the two States reserves its integral State entity, its sovereignty, and its existing government”. Many of the vital functions of government, however, have been declared subject to unification: foreign policy and diplomatic representation, armed forces, customs laws, and educational curricula (Article IV). The determination has been expressed to unify the currency and to co-ordinate the economic and financial policy of the two States also (Article V).

TWO PATHS: ONE GOAL

Within five weeks from the unification of the former republics of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic, two other unified structures were erected: the Arab Union and the United Arab States.

Other calls for unity, semi-official and unofficial, have also been uttered in many Arab lands.

Despite the dichotomy of the movement of Arab unity (in consequence of the “Great Debate” in the Arab mind between two general interpretations of the objectives of Arab nationalism), the process of Arab unification has been set in motion, as a result of the first real challenge made by the Arab peoples and governments, on 1st February 1958, to the political *status quo* in the Arab world.

The effort to resist the political fragmentation, which had been imposed upon Arab society by outside Powers between the opening of the nineteenth century and the end of the First World War, has come at last to be exercised in earnest.

The first partial fruition of this effort, in 1945, took the shape of a *co-ordinating* association set up by the sovereign Arab States — the League of Arab States.

The second fruition of that effort began to take place thirteen years later — when *real unity*, no mere *co-ordination*, was the objective; and when, one by one, five sovereign Arab States willingly parted with their sovereignty in order to attain unity.

Despite the different concepts of foreign policy of internal socio-political organizations harboured by the new unions one thing is certain: The march of the Arabs towards unity has started in earnest; and the will of the Arab nation for harmony and unity will not fail to assert itself and to ensure that the paths pursued by diverse Arab governments shall in the end converge on the same goal — one nation in one State.

HUNAYN IBN ISHAQ

by RAFIQ M. KHAN

Perhaps the world stands today on the verge of an intellectual and scientific renaissance among the Arab peoples. The advance of modern thought and learning has by no means left them untouched, and there are signs of a growing appreciation in the Middle East both of the needs of the present time and the achievements of an illustrious past. How much does the passage of a few hundred years signify in the development of mankind? Archaeologists and historians have unearthed evidence of manifestly superior civilizations in Iraq, Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Pakistan during epochs when the West was still deep in ignorance and primitive savagery.

There have been many revelations of the extent to which the Middle East lands surpassed Europe in knowledge and culture. The superiority of the Arabs, for example, in the arts and science for a period of at least seven centuries, until the catastrophic invasions of the Mongol hordes, has been the subject of numerous studies. Few such researches, however, are of such interest as those covering the work of one Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, the celebrated ophthalmologist and court physician of the ninth century C.E., and of his immediate pupils and disciples.

The importance of Hunayn Ibn Ishaq lies not so much in his own scientific discoveries and records as in the tremendous contribution he made to the preservation of ancient knowledge and its eventual transmission to later generations, for whom the Western Renaissance opened new visions and new opportunities. It is true that Hunayn was not the only one to whom posterity became thus indebted; but it is equally true that he was the founder of the real means by which eventually the Renaissance became possible. It was he (and other Arab scholars) who translated the lost or forgotten works of the Greeks into Syriac and Arabic and imparted to the task the genius and scrupulous care of a scholarly and truthful mind. But for him the priceless investigations and knowledge of Galen, the Greek scientist, and other earliest "fathers of science", would have been irretrievably lost.

Although Hunayn Ibn Ishaq is perhaps more specifically known as the author of the epochal *Book of the Ten Treatises (or Discourses) on the Eye*, of which Arabic manuscripts versions still survive, the real extent of his contribution lies in the fact that he translated or supervised and revised the translations of no fewer than 95 important books into the Syriac language and of 39 books into Arabic from the Galen manuscripts which he had sought for and collected, besides many more made by his pupils. Other translators and savants followed, all playing their part in the great revival of learning which marked the dawn of modern history, but it was Hunayn who led the way and who is still best remembered.

Born in 809 C.E. in the town of Hira, in Mesopotamia, Abu Zaid Hunayn Ibn Ishaq was the son of a Nestorian druggist of the Arab tribe Abadi, and when barely in his teens was already a student of medicine at the great academy of Gunde Shapur (of Khuzistan, in Persia), which had been founded four hundred years earlier by Sassanian King Shapur II. Under the enlightened and tolerant aegis of Islam, that institution had reached the zenith of its glory, and his first teacher there was the celebrated physician Yahya Ibn Masawaih.

Within a few months there came a turning point in the young Hunayn's life. At such a tender age he had not yet mastered the Greek language sufficiently well to please the proud Yahya, who mercilessly told him that he could never expect to make any progress in science or medicine with such an inadequate command of Greek. He was next heard of at Basra, where there flourished a college which had become the centre of studies in languages. There, while in his teens, Hunayn became thorough master of no fewer than four languages — Arabic, Greek, Syriac and Persian. The year 826 C.E. found him at Baghdad, and at the age of 21 he was admitted into the service of Gibrail Ibn Bukhtishu, "the most famous of the family of court physicians" and himself physician-in-ordinary to the Caliph al-Ma'mun (813-833 C.E.).

A devoted patron of all learning, the Caliph delighted in encouraging especially translations by savants from Greek medical and scientific works into Syriac and Arabic. One of Hunayn's first tasks was to translate Galen's *De Differentis Febrium* and *De Typis (Febrium)* into Syriac for his patron, and a little later *De Facultatibus Naturalibus* (it was typical of Hunayn, however, that he was himself dissatisfied with his early efforts and subsequently revised these three translations). The results nevertheless impressed Gibrail so greatly that the latter brought Hunayn to the special notice of the Caliph, who made him assistant to the superintendent of the "library academy" which was established in Baghdad in 830 C.E. There, given the name of "Bait al-Hikma" (the House of Wisdom), under whose roof al-Ma'mun himself had placed all the Greek manuscripts which he had collected throughout his dominions, Asia Minor, Egypt and Constantinople, scores of young translators were set to work with Hunayn.

Even after al-Ma'mun's death Hunayn continued in high favour in the royal court, for Gibrail's son became his patron and friend, while his old teacher Yaha Ibn Masawaih (whose taunt had by now been forgotten and forgiven) and other scientists recognized his merits. By now the Abbasid ruler, al-Mu'tasim, had succeeded to the Caliphate, and, with Salmawaih Bunan as court physician and royal favourite, Hunayn found himself under the most favourable of auspices. In this period he translated thirteen more of the important works of Galen. The next Caliph, al-Wathiq (842-847 C.E.), continued the royal patronage and also assisted Hunayn to make long excursions into Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and Palestine for the purpose of collecting rare Greek scientific manuscripts.

It was under the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (847-861 C.E.) that Hunayn, now in his thirties, attained the summit of his glory as translatory and medical practitioner. His enemies grew jealous of his quick rise and successes. They knew that Hunayn was an agnostic, scientifically minded and caring little about matters of religion, and therefore they denounced him as a heretic. Later they gained the ears of the Caliph, who handed him over to the Catholicos Theodorius, head of the Nestorians in Baghdad. Hunayn was flogged and imprisoned for months, all his belongings and (worst punishment of all) even his previous books being confiscated. His professional skill, however, restored him to liberty and favour, for when the Caliph lay seriously ill and all other physicians had failed to cure him, Hunayn was sent for as a last resort and saved the ruler's life. New riches and honours

were showered upon him and he was granted full compensation for his losses and sufferings. Hunayn magnanimously forgave his enemies and continued his scientific work.

In the last twenty years of his life Hunayn was assisted by his son, his nephew, and a wonderful galaxy of other pupils, including 'Isa Ibn Yahya, Musa Ibn Khalid, Abu Uthman Sa'id and Isa Ibn Ali, all of whom became distinguished public figures. Happy in his work and honoured by five more Caliphs, he died in his 68th year, in 877 C.E., to be remembered gratefully by posterity. To the last he retained his active habits of living and working, enjoying his daily rides on horseback and sometimes on camel, his Turkish baths, his cake, and his long siestas.

Such then was the life and personality of this great and remarkable man. He could be remembered for his own sake alone, but his literary and scientific achievements have earned for him an enduring niche in fame. There was one outstanding feature in all he did: he was a severe critic of his own work, which was thus of the highest standard and accuracy. He wrote 17 books on general medicine, including diet, symptoms, fevers, hygiene and even veterinary practice. In addition he ventured into the domains of logic and universal history. Unfortunately a large number of his books have been lost, except on medicine. Most important of those which survived are his *Ten Treatises on the Eye*, together with an account of operative treatment of eye diseases, and half a dozen other smaller discourses.

For a very long time it was feared that Hunayn's original *Ten Treatises* had been irretrievably lost, for no trace of them was obtainable in any of the famous public libraries of Europe or Asia. In 1908, however, Professor Max Meyerhof, the oculist in Cairo, made a happy discovery. He found that Pasha Ahmed Taimur Bey had sent a valuable set of manuscripts to the Khedivial (later National) Library in Cairo. They consisted of a collection of ophthalmological writings. When Dr. Meyerhof, by the Pasha's kindness, had them translated, he was thrilled to find that one of them was certainly an original manuscript of Hunayn's *Ten Treatises*, bearing the long title *The Book of Hunayn Ibn Ishaq on the Structure of the Eye, its Diseases and their Treatment in ten Treatises*. Later, thanks again to Taimur Pasha's help, Dr. Meyerhof was able to make a virtually complete copy of the *Ten Treatises*. The text and its translation into English were published exactly half a century ago in Egypt. The volume producing this also contains a number of copies of ancient diagrams of the eye, which were probably of Greek origin preserved by Hunayn.

It would perhaps be out of place here to give even an elaborate analysis of the contents of the Treatises. Sufficient space, however, may be found in the present article to state that the discourses cover the following fields:

- Treatise I. The nature of the eye and its structure.
- Treatise II. The nature of the brain and its use.
- Treatise III. The optic nerve, the visual spirit and the vision itself.

- Treatise IV. The things that are indispensable to the conservation of health (and to the avoidance of its contrary).
- Treatise V. The causes of the accidents befalling the eye.
- Treatise VI. The symptoms of the diseases occurring in the eye.
- Treatise VII. The virtues of all the remedies in general.
- Treatise VIII. The kinds of remedies particularly for the eye.
- Treatise IX. The (Medical) treatment of eye diseases.
- Treatise X. The compound remedies suitable for eye diseases.

Professor Meyerhof, quoting ancient authorities, including al-Razi, was convinced that an Eleventh Treatise by Hunayn discussed the operative treatment of eye diseases.

Although to modern physicians, eye specialists and surgeons a great deal of those ancient writings may in some ways appear to be almost primitive conceptions, the fact remains the manuscripts reveal an amazingly wide knowledge of scientific theories. Galen's own purpose had been "to transform medicine into an exact science, like astronomy or mathematics". Hunayn concentrated on Galen's references to the eye and synthesized them into his systematic *Treatises*, which became "the starting point of Arabic ophthalmology" and remained for centuries the standard text-book on that department of medicine, far ahead of anything known in the contemporary West. While Galen and Hunayn were far from perfect in some of their conceptions, it has to be remembered that they possessed no clinical instruments comparable with those of modern science, and were further limited by Greek and Islamic interdiction of autopsies: yet they knew about such things as cataracts, and treated them with great success.

All knowledge has to have its beginnings. High praise then must flow to those who made the original studies and discoveries, which later generations, equipped with better tools for the job and the application of more accurate scientific theories and methods, elaborated into the wonders of ophthalmological practice such as we know it today. To Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, the Arab of eleven centuries ago, will ever remain the credit of having preserved in usable form the knowledge which the Greeks long before his time had assembled and which, however imperfect, though never crude, became the groundwork of the medical systems of later scientific development — for the everlasting benefit of mankind.

Perhaps the fountain of wisdom and knowledge will again ere long spring in abundance from the historic lands of the Middle East. These people are of the same stock as their forebears, the fathers of modern science. A revival of their now latent talents and genius might well regain for Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon and Iran, the intellectual leadership of the world, once symbolized by such men as Hunayn Ibn Ishaq.

A GLANCE AT THE WORLD OF ISLAM

THE SUDAN

Sudan Foreign Minister presents to the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization the Arab proposal for settlement of Middle East Problems

The General Assembly of the United Nations held extraordinary meetings to discuss the Middle East crisis. After lengthy debates over several proposals, the Arab States' proposal to settle the crisis, presented by Sayed Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub, Sudan Foreign Minister, on 21st August, was unanimously adopted.

The important role played by the Sudan's Foreign Minister at the United Nations in unifying and consolidating Arab opinion was universally commended.

In presenting the Arab proposal, the Sudan Foreign Minister made the following address :

"Mr. President,

"I am not speaking this time in the name of the delegation of the Sudan, but it is my honour and privilege to speak in the name of the Arab States represented in this Assembly.

"It is a great honour and privilege, Mr. President, because when I speak I will speak in the name of ten Arab States who are not only related by common language or common heritage of history and future, but also related by blood. . . .

"Mr. President, I am sure it is the goal of the United Nations and the intention of every member of this august institution to always reach a peaceful solution for any dispute that is presented before the Assembly. It is no doubt the aim of the United Nations to establish peace and international security. The resolution which is just being distributed with a No. 8/3859 of 21/8/1958 is, I am proud to say, Mr. President, the exempt for peaceful solutions and I am sure it inaugurates the beginning of understanding not only between the Arab States but also between all the member-States present here. . . ."

The Secretary-General of the Arab League congratulates the Sudan

"To the Supreme Council,

"In this historical moment in the life of the Grand Nation of the Arabs I convey to your Gracious Council my sincerest congratulations for united collaboration of the Arabs which attracted the attention of the whole world in the highest international organization. May this Arab unity be an inauguration of a new era of Arab brotherhood which is the channel for the glory of all the Arabs."

The Sudan Agricultural Bank

The Council of Ministers has approved the appointment of Sayed Hammad Towfik to the post of Managing Director of the Agricultural Bank of the Sudan. Sayed Hammad was the Minister of Finance and Economics in the first Sudanese Cabinet, then Minister of Communications and again Minister of Finance and Economics in the National and Coalition Governments. Sayed Hammad, who was a member of the Senate until his appointment to his new post, is known from the early days of his service as a Government official as a man of ability and discretion.

Former Managing Director of the Gezira Board appointed Executive Secretary of new United Nations Economic Commission

Sayed Mekki Abbas of the Sudan has been appointed Executive Secretary of the new United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, it was announced by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld recently.

Sayed Abbas, who has had a distinguished career in the Sudanese Ministry of Education and in the constitutional development of his country, is at present Managing Director of a large development project in the Sudan.

The Sudan Ambassador for Iraqi Republic presents his credentials

Sayed Gamal Mohamed Ahmed presented on 20th August 1958 his credentials to the Iraqi Supreme Council as the Republic of the Sudan Ambassador to the Iraqi Republic.

Economic situation — a statement by Ministry of Finance and Economics

The question of the country's economic situation and the deterioration in its foreign exchange reserves has been a popular topic with press commentators. The Ministry of Finance and Economics would like to indicate that since the day the Government declared its determination to push on with the second phase of the Manaquil Scheme until completion and to continue the reasonable expansion in education, health and other services, it has fully appreciated the foreign exchange difficulties that were bound to face the country, and more especially so when the 1957/58 crop was the lowest the country has ever produced since 1931/32. Two courses were open before us, an easier one of suspending work on the Manaquil Scheme and other productive schemes and the cessation of any expansion in education and health services and thereby conserving the country's foreign reserves, and a more difficult and hazardous course of pushing on with the Manaquil Scheme and other productive schemes, sparing no effort and exploring every possibility to raise the foreign exchange requirements. The latter course we chose to adopt in spite of the fact that we were fully aware of the difficulties involved therein.

Expenditure on development for 1957/58 was over L.S.18 millions, and the appropriation for this purpose for the financial year 1958/59 amounted to more than L.S.14 millions as compared with an aggregate expenditure of not more than L.S.75.5 millions on development for the last ten years 1948/49 to 1958/59.

Several countries have sustained similar difficulties and have each endeavoured to resolve them in the way most compatible with its conditions and interests, and the Sudan is no exception in this respect.

The Ministry of Finance and Economics wishes to assure all citizens and resident foreigners that it is closely watching the situation and is highly appreciative of its responsibilities and is sparing no efforts in the execution of the plan set for overcoming the difficulties facing the country.

Revised agreement of Arab Postal Union signed in Khartoum

At the closing meeting of the Arab Postal Conference

on 14th August at the Government Guest House, an agreement was concluded by the heads of the delegations.

Speakers at the last meeting were: Sayed Mamoun Hussein Sherif, Minister of Communications and Honorary President of the Conference; Sayed Antoun Khalil Hobeigha, head of all delegations; Sayed Suleiman Hussein, Director of Posts and Telegraphs and President of the Conference; Sayed Abdel Hamid Kamal, representative of the Arab League; and Sayed Anwar Bekeir, Director of the Permanent Office of the Union.

MALAYA

The general election to the Federal Legislative Council is to be held in August 1959. This has been announced by the Federation Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, in the Legislative Council recently.

The question on the lips of everyone in Malaya today is whether the present Alliance Government under the leadership of the Tunku will be returned to power at this election. The consensus of opinion is that it will do so, although political circles predict that it will not perhaps win as impressive and sweeping a victory as it did in the first election in 1955, when it lost only one out of the 51 seats.

The Alliance, in that election, was a loosely-hung political set-up, based merely on the understanding reached between the three main communal political parties in Malaya: the United Malay National Organization, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress. It is interesting to note that from merely communal bodies formed with different purposes, it has now become a single national party, uniting in its fold the three major communities of the country.

Since that election, however, the UMNO-MCA-MIC alliance has had some anxious moments. The setbacks suffered by Alliance candidates at the municipal elections in Penang and Province Wellesley, Selangor, Seremban and Malacca at the hands of the Pan-Malayan Labour Party and other minor parties caused the Alliance no small amount of anxiety. This anxiety, if anything, increased when the People's Progressive Party Secretary-General, Mr. D. R. Sreenivasagam, wrested a former Alliance seat in last year's by-election to the Federal Legislature from the Ipoh-Menglembu constituency in the Perak State. The by-election was also marked by some ugly incidents. Tunku Abdul Rahman was booed at an election rally in Ipoh. No doubt much of this was the result of the high feelings against the Government because of the Chinese school troubles then prevalent in Malaya. The Alliance, as a consequence, went into the subsequent by-election to the Federal Legislature from the Batu Pahat constituency in Johore State with grave fears. The fact that in this by-election the Alliance candidate faced a tough opponent in Dato Sir Onn only helped to heighten these fears. There was also a Party Ra'kyat candidate. The big guns of the Alliance went into action heart and soul, and despite the keen fight, the Alliance candidate retained this seat, won for it in the 1955 contest by the present Malayan Ambassador in the United States, Dr. Ismail Ibn Dato Abdul Rahman.

Since then, however, the Alliance has had some heartening and reassuring success at the polls, for in the recent Malacca Rural District council elections, it won 48 of the 54 seats.

Political observers hold that so long as the UMNO-MCA-MIC Alliance, which has now assumed the name of the Alliance Organization, can maintain its unity, and with

its far superior organization, even the combined opposition of all the other parties cannot oust the Alliance in the next election. That the Alliance will maintain its unity has been proved by the recent twelfth annual assembly of the UMNO, where many an UMNO delegate attempted in vain to curb MCA representation on the Alliance National Council and its Executive Committee. Several UMNO State divisions proposed that the present parity of representation given to the MCA in the Executive Committee and the National Council be reduced. But the Tunku, and his Deputy, Dato Abdul Razak, warded off this attack on their partners. It was finally agreed, as a compromise, that the Executive Committee of the Alliance organization should comprise six UMNO, five MCA (instead of the present six) and three MIC representatives. This decision has obviously displeased some UMNO branches as well as some MCA leaders, but there is no serious threat to the unity of the Alliance.

Another important decision was taken by the women's section of the UMNO (the Kaum Ibu) which will have far-reaching effects on Malay society. It was a significant victory for the rights of Muslim women when the Kaum Ibu persuaded the UMNO assembly to accept their resolution asking for a tightening of the marriage and divorce laws. Almost all the dozen women delegates to the assembly spoke on the subject. As a result of this resolution, UMNO is now committed to a full investigation of this problem. The divorce problem is assuming quite serious proportions in the country, and attention to this and the resultant prevalence of prostitution among Malay women have been called quite frequently.

SINGAPORE

The Singapore All-Party Mission, led by the Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, has returned after finalizing the draft of the new constitution which is to confer internal self-government on this island. A bill to create the State of Singapore has already been introduced in the British Parliament.

One interesting feature of this new constitution is, as was pointed out by the President of the Singapore Division of UMNO, Inche Abdul Hamid Ibn Haji Jumat, that the special rights of the minorities, more especially those of Malays, have been written into the constitution. It is also generally believed that the first Yang di Pertuan Negara, who is to take the place of the present British Governor under the new constitution, will be a Malay. At any rate, Inche Abdul Hamid said he had pressed for this, and it should not be very long before we know to whom this signal honour will go. General elections to the expanded Legislative Assembly under the new constitution are to be held in March next year.

INDONESIA

Foreign Minister Subandrio on Australian attitude to West Irian

Foreign Minister Subandrio said on 8th September that up to now the Indonesian Government had not formally known of the objections of the Australian Government to the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia. He would not give direct comment on the talks between the Dutch Foreign Minister Luns and the Australian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Casey, in The Hague recently, because he did not know the entire subjects discussed.

Dr. Subandrio said, however, that the Indonesian Government was prepared to give the necessary clarification or

guarantee to Australia in case there were some doubts on her part if West Irian was returned to Indonesia.

He said that Australia ought not to be concerned about Indonesian influence on East Irian, because for Indonesia it was by no means a new problem that part of an island belonged to her and the other part to a foreign country, such as British North Borneo and Portuguese Timor, which up to now had not constituted any problem.

The Foreign Minister said that if Australia regarded West Irian as very important as a defence base in facing air attacks, then actually the whole of Indonesia too formed an important territory in the event of such attacks.

He expressed the hope that the "seeds of contention" which might become a source of international conflict, with all its consequences, would not be planted in South-East Asia. He pointed out that there were many problems attached to a colonial inheritance which have now become the sources of such conflicts in Asia, and that it would be unwise to make West Irian one of them.

Dr. Subandrio said that the Indonesian people wanted to live as good neighbours and hoped that West Irian would not become an obstruction in achieving that desire. He had heard rumours that Australia was afraid that West Irian would later be governed by a State whose ideology was contrary to that of Australia's, in which case he wished to emphasize that Indonesia's ideology was the Pantja Sila (Five Principles).

The Australian attitude towards West Irian might Foreign Minister concluded.

certainly influence the general elections in Indonesia, the

Foreign policy statement by Dr. Subandrio

Foreign Minister Subandrio, replying on 29th August to the Parliamentary debates on the 1958 Budget of his Ministry, said that Indonesia's non-adherence to the capitalist system so far as her economic development was concerned, was strictly confined to her own national existence, and she had no desire to eliminate the capitalist system beyond her borders.

Dr. Subandrio stated that Indonesia's independent and active foreign policy was aimed at adding and deepening the sense of friendship with all countries, including those of the two power blocs, and in carrying it out she might sometimes be accused of tending to move either to the left or to the right. This should be accepted as a consequence of a foreign policy which was not intended to follow an absolutely straight line. Occasionally it led to an indifferent attitude towards both blocs or forced the Government to find a reason for criticizing the policy of countries in either bloc.

Dr. Subandrio pointed out that, considering the course of American history during the first hundred years of her existence, when he statesmen and politicians condemned colonialism and imperialism, Indonesia was not extremist in her attitude.

Political organizations in trouble areas banned

In his capacity as Central Military Administrator, the Army Chief-of-Staff, Lieutenant-General Nasution, on 5th September imposed a ban on the existence of four political organizations in some trouble areas. They are: the Masjumi (the largest Muslim party), Parkindo (Christian Party), IPKI (Independence Upholders' Party) and PSI (Socialist Party), all of which are represented in the elected Parliament. The Masjumi has 57 representatives, Parkindo 8, PSI 5 and IPKI 4.

The Chief-of-Staff's decree prohibited the existence of these parties in Tapanuli, West Sumatra; Riau mainland in East Central Sumatra; and in North and Central Sulawesi. Investigations with reference to other parties are still being conducted.

The head of the Army Information Service explained that the decree was based on the consideration that many members and board members of these parties in the specified areas were found to have committed punishable acts or to have maintained connections with the rebels.

No intention of National Council to dissolve political parties

First Deputy Prime Minister Hardi, replying to Parliamentary debates on the 1958 Budget, denied that the National Council was planning to dissolve political parties. He added that there was no intention on the part of the Government to grant "special treatment" to the Council, and that it had not the slightest desire to curtail the rights and powers of Parliament.

First shipment of rice from the United States

Four thousand tons of rice from the United States were unloaded at Tandjung Priok harbour recently. This was the first shipment to arrive under the U.S.-Indonesian rice agreement signed by Foreign Minister Subandrio and U.S. Ambassador Jones on 22nd May.

A total of between thirty-five and thirty-seven thousand tons of rice will eventually be delivered under the agreement.

Government reply to Parliament on National Advisory Council

In a reply concerning the National Advisory Council to a report submitted by Parliamentary divisions recently introduced in Parliament, the Government explains about the norms applied in nominating the National Advisory Council members, the Council's budget, advice extended to the Government, the double function of Councillors and M.P.s, and the juridical foundations.

Budget

The Council's budget for 1957 has amounted to Rp.4 million, and this year it will be Rp.7,971,600.

Major advice extended to the Government by the Council is related to normalization of conditions, the New Life Movement, the West Irian campaign, the National Planning Board, national autonomy and decentralization, the rice problem, the taking over of Dutch enterprises, National Re-awakening Day (20th May), measures following on military operations, Japanese reparations and economic co-operation with that country, cultural matters, security measures, and the Fourth Asian Games in 1962.

All proposals of the Council studied by the Government have been accepted or agreed to in principle. As to the implementation of them, there have been certain differences of opinion between the Council and the Government, and in such cases, the latter's ideas have been implemented, since it is the Government which is responsible to Parliament.

MOROCCO

The Revolution of the King and the People

Each year 20th August is commemorated throughout Morocco as a day of the Revolution of the King and the People. This year the celebrations in Rabat, attended by His Majesty the King and the Crown Prince, were held in Twarga Square. Also present at the ceremonies were Mr. Ahmed

Balafrej, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and members of the Government.

His Majesty the King then addressed the assembled gathering and the following is the text of his speech :

"Dear People,

"We commemorate here today the fifth anniversary of the Revolution of the King and the People and the indissoluble unity which binds them together according to the will of Divine Providence. We render thanks to Almighty God for having bestowed His goodness upon us and for having ensured us of victory.

"This is the anniversary of a great event which enabled the world to hear the voice of Morocco and the truth about the tragedy staged in our country for so many years. This event revealed the intimate communion existing between the King and his People. It also proved that the Throne is the repository of Moroccan sovereignty, the symbol of its unity and the guarantee of its progress and emancipation.

"It is not our intention, on this occasion, to mention only the immediate causes of the events of 20th August. Nor to recall the sufferings which the Royal Family suffered during its exile and the immense sacrifices which our people endured. We wish to recall the reasons which made us, although an independent State for several centuries, subordinated to a Protectorate status through discord which divided the country and disrupted its unity. It is these evils which led to our downfall and allowed us to be conquered by foreigners. We must always bear them in mind so as to avoid having to undergo again the hardships which we have endured for over fifty years.

"At the present time our country is engaged in reconstruction and our struggle is greater and more difficult than yesterday's. The new era requires us to be vigilant and lucid so as to preserve our freedom acquired at great cost through the blood of our martyrs and the sacrifices of our people.

"In order to safeguard our independence we must also establish a democratic rule and promote a policy of economic expansion. Social justice and cultural progress are equally essential. To achieve our national aims we must seek to unify our territory and obtain the evacuation of all foreign troops from Moroccan soil. We must promote the union which will liberate Algeria within the framework of an Arab Maghreb.

"We wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the glorious struggle being waged by the noble Algerian people. We are convinced that Algeria and other countries of the Arab Maghreb will co-operate for the common good of their people and for the consolidation of peace in the Mediterranean area.

"In order to consolidate our freedom and independence we must give proof of great moral qualities and accomplish great tasks. Consequently, for the greater good and welfare of our country, national unity is more than ever necessary. We must remain true to our best national traditions. In order to endow our country with a democratic structure, we must not merely borrow from foreign systems. We must derive inspiration from our own moral values and those of Islam, a liberal and tolerant religion, which is easily adaptable as a means of evolution and progress for the happiness of mankind.

"Just as the Revolution of 20th August put an end to foreign domination, so should the struggle we are leading today enable us to preserve the results we have so far obtained. We must ensure for our citizens a civic and political education so that they become aware of their

responsibilities and obligations. We must kill within us all seeds of discord, ill-feeling, malice and egoism and not let ourselves be driven by our passions.

"We are grateful to our Martyrs and for the sacrifices so many have made in the struggle for freedom which bids us to be proud of belonging to this country.

"Do not let us waste our time in negative acts or in sterile discussions which prevent us from assessing the progress we have achieved since independence.

"On this anniversary of the Revolution of the King and the People, may our people bear all this in mind. May they guard against relapses for they are still convalescent. May they aspire towards achieving higher ideals without disregarding reality. May they avoid all that could hinder their progress towards greatness, dignity and prosperity.

"As for us, we reaffirm our will to remain true to our principles. We shall not cease, with the help of God, to work so that our people may attain higher standards.

"We pray to Almighty God to bestow His blessings upon our martyrs fallen on the field of honour while defending the freedom of their country. We pay tribute to all those who, by their sacrifice and heroism, resisted and fought for the freedom we have now regained."

TUNISIA

Visit of Mr. Jomard to Tunisia

Dr. Abdel Jabar Jomard, Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, paid an official visit to Tunisia at the invitation of the Tunisian Government. He arrived on 2nd September, and received a very warm welcome from the people of Tunisia.

During his stay, he met Dr. Mokaddem, Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Bahi Ladgham, Secretary of State to the Presidency, and had long and important talks with President Bourguiba, who is convalescing in Monastir after his recent illness.

Visit of Mr. Buri to Tunisia

On 5th September, Mr. Ukbi El Buri, Libyan Foreign Minister, arrived in Tunis for a two-day official visit, during which he had interesting talks with President Bourguiba, Mr. Bahi Ladgham and Dr. Mokaddem.

Tunisia joins the Arab League

Following the meetings of the Neo-Destourian Political Committee and the Council of the Secretaries of State, the Tunisian Republic decided to join the Arab League. The Council asked the Foreign Secretary to proceed with the necessary formalities.

Tunisia presents her candidature to the Security Council

The Tunisian Government decided to seek the support of many countries who are members of the United Nations organization for her candidature to the Security Council. It would be the first time that Tunisia occupied a seat on the Council.

Chinese Trade Delegation

A Chinese Governmental Trade Delegation is expected to arrive soon in Tunisia to negotiate and conclude a trade agreement between the Republic of Tunisia and the Chinese People's Republic.

The Delegation will be headed by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Trade.

Tunisian Trade Delegation

A Tunisian Trade Delegation, headed by a senior official of the Tunisian Foreign Office, left Tunis on 6th September for Prague, in order to conclude a trade agreement with the Czechoslovak Government.

RAMADHAN—THE MONTH OF MERCY

Ramadhan in the Muslim World

In the early hours of the morning, before the first faint rays of dawn herald a new day, a solitary figure patrols the deserted streets of a typical Arab town, beating vigorously on a drum-like instrument, urging the townspeople to cut short their slumber. But instead of directing a stream of abuse at the drummer, the citizenry promptly rise and prepare their *sahour* or early morning meal, taken before the daybreak.

The explanation for this unusual procedure is that the Muslims of the Muslim world keep Ramadhan—the holiest month of the Islamic year. During Ramadhan, every believer is required to fast from daybreak to sunset. In many communities there is usually a man who volunteers to awaken the residents in time to take the meal which will sustain them until sunset. They may eat and drink in the early hours of the morning until, to use the words of the Qur'an, "a white thread may be distinguished from a black one."

In the city, the traditional drumming—although still in existence in some areas—is largely a relic of the past. Cannons have replaced the drummer for many years. A cannon shot now announces the time for *sahour* and another announces the time for abstinence. The drummer still flourishes in small villages where he can make his rounds in a short time. At the end of Ramadhan, he is rewarded by each family in the community according to its means, with money and sweets.

Divine grace

As the drummer paces the streets, he repeatedly chants, "Ramadhan, month of mercy, during which the soul is purified and the body is mortified." Tradition expresses the belief that whoever observes the Ramadhan fast faithfully and with a clean heart will obtain remission of his sins. Indeed, a true follower of Islam looks forward to Ramadhan as a time to seek Divine grace. By refraining from the normal patterns of life, the Muslim strives for renewed mastery over earthly appetites. Thus fasting becomes spiritual discipline, an outward manifestation of an inner yearning to come closer to God.

As envisaged in the Qur'an, Ramadhan also has the practical social virtue of creating new bonds of understanding between all classes of men. For during this month, when rich and poor alike must perforce fast, the more fortunate members of society are realistically reminded of the pangs of hunger which may be suffered for longer periods by their poorer brethren. New sympathy for the poor rises spontaneously in all hearts, and Ramadhan is noted as a month of great charity.

The true observance of Ramadhan involves more than mere abstinence from food and drink. During the fasting period a Muslim also shuns smoking and all other forms of physical pleasure. And during the entire month, believers carefully avoid all kinds of sins, big or small. Indeed, "moral abstinence" is so strict that the Prophet Muhammad warned that lying, backbiting, slandering, giving false oath or even thinking passionately of the opposite sex would annul the fast.

However, the Qur'an allows ample exceptions for those who might suffer from a strict régime of daytime fasting during Ramadhan. Included in this category are young

children; the aged and the sick, pregnant or nursing mothers, and travellers engaged on prolonged journey. Special dispensation may also be granted to soldiers engaged in battle. But missed days should be made good upon the return of the individual to a normal pattern of life.



A Call to Prayer

Although Ramadhan is being observed during the month of April this year, the great fast varies from year to year because its date is not determined by the Gregorian Calendar familiar to the West but by the lunar calendar, which differs from the former, year in and year out. Ramadhan is the ninth

month of the Arabic calendar — the month in which the Qur'an was first revealed to the Prophet Muhammad.

The Qur'an states :

"The month of Ramadhan is that in which the Qur'an was revealed as guidance to mankind; therefore whoever of you witnesses the coming of this month shall fast therein" (2:185).

The crescent, an usher

Generally the coming of Ramadhan is determined by astronomical calculation but a group of venerable 'ulemas, of Muslim learned, have to take official cognizance of the appearance of the crescent moon which ushers in the holy month. When Ramadhan is imminent, the 'ulemas eagerly scan the skies after sunset to discern a trace of the new-born moon. Sometimes during the eventful night a distant twinkle in the galaxy of stars crystallizes into the tiny crescent of the Ramadhan moon, rising on the horizon. A cannon shot suddenly shatters the stillness of the night, lights flash brilliantly in nearby minarets, and the excited people know that the month of the great fast has begun.

The root of the word Ramadhan—r-m-d—refers to the heat of summer, and shows that the holy month originally fell within this season. Whenever Ramadhan does occur during the summer period, daytime fasting may extend for sixteen hours or more. In other seasons, the daytime hours are automatically shorter and less rigorous. But despite the rigors of fasting, those Muslims who may be inclined to neglect their prayers, observe this "fourth pillar" of their faith.

Gay and devout

Ramadhan is a month of gay good fellowship. For in the evening, when the sun goes down, cannons proclaim the *itfar* or the end of daytime fast, and the streets of towns take on a joyous festive atmosphere. People eat, drink and take merry in a variety of acceptable patterns adapted to the holy month. Shops and cafés are open all night, minarets are brilliantly illuminated, and mosques are crowded with believers responding to the muezzin call for evening as well as the early morning prayers. This is the time for large family congregations, visits to friends and neighbours.

Ramadhan evenings in the Middle East are also an especially glorious time for the children. Armed with stained glass candle-lanterns of different shapes and sizes, they romp from house to house chanting a sort of Ramadhan choral in which the name of a friend is injected. The song begins like this :

"If it weren't for so-and-so, we would not have gone to the trouble of singing our arias here. . . ." And they are sure of a sweet reward.

Throughout these Ramadhan days and nights, when people meet on crowded streets or in cafés and shops or business offices, the traditional Ramadhan greeting and its familiar response heard on every side :

"*Ramadan Karim*" — Ramadhan is generous.

"*Aallahu akram*" — God is the most generous.

And tradition has it that for the duration of Ramadhan the gates of heaven are opened, the gates of hell are closed and the devils are put in chains!

THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA

The Federation of Malaya extends southwards from the narrow Kra Isthmus (between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea) which joins it to the south-east corner of Asia. It is bordered on the north by Thailand ; to the south-west, across the Straits of Malacca, lies the Indonesian island of Sumatra ; and at the southern tip of the peninsula, and connected to it by a causeway, lies the island of Singapore. By sea, Penang is some 8,000 miles from London (via Suez) and 1,275 miles from Colombo. Kuala Lumpur can be reached by air from London in about 42 hours.

Area

50,690 square miles (about the size of England proper, or about twice the size of the island of Ceylon).

Physical features

Four-fifths of the surface of the Federation is covered by dense tropical jungle, mountains or swamp. Mountain ranges form a high backbone running roughly north and south between mainly alluvial coastal plains. The highest mountain, Gunong Tahan, rises to over 7,000 feet. The two principal rivers are the Perak and the Pahang, and there are many smaller rivers and streams. In the area cleared of jungle and forest are the rubber plantations, tin mines, rice-fields, coconut and oil palm estates and peasant small-holdings, from which the country's wealth is derived.

Climate

Tropical and characterized by copious rainfall, high humidity and uniform temperature. Rainfall averages about 100 inches a year, though the annual fall varies considerably

from place to place and year to year. In the plains temperatures vary between an average maximum of 90°F. and an average minimum of 70°F. In the hills they are lower and vary more widely.

Federal Capital : Kuala Lumpur The States of the Federation

	Area (sq. miles)	Population (1957 census)
Johore - - - -	7,330	925,919
Kedah - - - -	3,660	701,486
Kelantan - - - -	5,750	505,171
Malacca - - - -	640	291,233
Negri Sembilan - - - -	2,580	365,045
Pahang - - - -	13,820	312,978
Penang - - - -	390	571,923
Perak - - - -	7,980	1,220,633
Perlis - - - -	310	90,834
Selangor - - - -	3,160	1,012,047
Trengganu - - - -	5,050	278,147
Unlocated (wayfarers by rail) - - - -		1,499
Total	50,670	6,276,915

Racial groups (estimated 30th June, 1956)

Malaysians - - - -	3,048,899
Chinese - - - -	2,366,656
Indians and Pakistanis - - - -	740,336
Others - - - -	95,658

Principal languages

Malay, Chinese, Tamil, English. Malay is the national language, although English is permitted for official use for ten years after Independence Day (31st August 1957) and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides.

Religion

Islam is the religion of the Federation, although every person has the right to practise his own religion. The right to propagate a religion, however, is subject to any restriction imposed by State law regarding the propagation of religious doctrines among Muslims.

History

The earliest known inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula belonged to a number of races among which were the Semang and Sakai, still surviving in the jungle areas. Between the first and fifteenth centuries, Malay kingdoms in the Peninsula came under the influence — in whole or in part — of Indians from the west, Chinese and Thais from the north, Malays from Sumatra in the south, and finally of Arab missionaries of the Muslim faith, who succeeded in converting most of the territory to Islam.

In 1511 a Portuguese settlement was established at Malacca, and in 1641 it was captured by the Dutch. British interest in the area dates from the late eighteenth century.

1796 The island of Penang, then almost uninhabited, acquired by the East India Company from the Sultan of Kedah. In 1800 a strip of territory on the mainland was added and the annual payment to the Sultan was revised accordingly.

1819 East India Company settlement established on Singapore, then a swampy almost uninhabited island, by agreement between Sir Stamford Raffles and the Sultan of Johore.

1824 Dutch settlement at Malacca was handed over, by treaty, to Britain. In the same year Singapore was ceded to the East India Company by agreement and financial settlement with the Sultan of Johore.

1867 The Colony of the Straits Settlements (Penang, Malacca and Singapore) which, since its formation in 1829, had been under the control of the Governor-General of India, was transferred to the Colonial Office.

1870–1880 In the 1870s the British introduced the rubber tree from South America, via the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, outside London.

1874 First of a series of treaties concluded over the next ten years between Britain and the rulers of the States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, by which they accepted British Protection.

1895 These four States were constituted by treaty the Federated Malay States, to be administered under the advice of a British Resident-General.

1885 The State of Johore entered into a treaty of protection with Britain.

1909 Siam (now Thailand) began to transfer to Britain her rights of suzerainty in the northern States of Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Kedah. These, with Johore, were known until 1947 as the Unfederated Malay States.

1914 Johore concluded a treaty accepting a British adviser. These treaties were in their main features similar. The Malay States accepted British protection and agreed to have no dealings with foreign powers except through Britain. A British Resident was appointed to each

State, and the Ruler agreed to follow his advice in all matters except those of the Muslim religion and Malay custom. Under the British Resident a modern system of administration was built up.

1941 Japanese occupation until 1945.

1946 Singapore constituted a separate colony.

1948 Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, comprising the 9 Malay States and the Settlements of Penang and Malacca.

1954 New Constitution enacted.

1955 First Federal elections held to the legislature.

1956 Constitutional conference in London.

1957 The Federation of Malaya Independence Act and the subsequent Order in Council set up the independent Sovereign State of the Federation of Malaya, which became a member of the Commonwealth.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

The constitution of the Federation is unique in that it sets up an elective monarchy within the Commonwealth. No part of the Federation belongs to Her Majesty's Dominions and the Queen's status in the Federation derives solely from her position as Head of the Commonwealth.

The Sovereign (or Paramount Ruler) is styled His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong of the Federation of Malaya. He is elected from amongst their own number by the nine Rulers of the Malay States and holds office for five years.

The first and present Yang di-Pertuan Agong is His Majesty Tuanku Abdul Rahman Ibn al-Marhum Muhammad, of the State of Negri Sembilan. Personal title: "Tuanku".

The Deputy Paramount Ruler (styled Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong) is also elected from among their own number by the nine rulers.

The Executive

The executive authority of the Federation is vested in the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, who acts on the advice of the Cabinet or of a Minister acting under the general authority of the Cabinet.

Prime Minister: Tunku Abdul Rahman. Personal title: "Tunku".

The Legislature

The report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission, published in February 1957, recommended that the Federal Legislative Council should be continued after Merdeka (Independence) Day and should not be dissolved before 1st January, 1959. This would give time, it was hoped, for electoral rolls to be prepared for State elections.

The Constitution provides for a bicameral legislature, consisting of the Senate (the Upper House) and the House of Representatives.

Twenty-two of the 38 members of the Senate will be elected and 16 appointed by the Sovereign from persons who have rendered distinguished public service or have achieved distinction in the professions, commerce, industry, agriculture, cultural activities, social service or are representative of racial minorities or are capable of representing the interests of aborigines. The Senate is presided over by a President chosen from among its own members. The term of office for a member of the Senate will be six years and this will not be affected by a dissolution of Parliament. Eventually the House of Representatives will have 100 members elected in single member constituencies by citizens of 21 years and over.

There is temporary provision, however, in the Federal Constitution for the House of Representatives initially to comprise 104 members, each of the existing 52 constituencies being divided into two for this purpose; but after the first General Elections have been held and before the second elections it will be necessary for the Election Commission to make a redistribution to provide for 100 constituencies, each returning one member. The House will be presided over by a Speaker, chosen from among its members.

Each of the States forming the Federation has its own Executive Council and Legislative Assembly.

Relationship between Federal and States Legislatures

Subjects for legislation are set out in a Federal List, a Concurrent List on which the Federal and the States Legislatures may legislate, and a State List. Federal law will prevail if inconsistency arises. Residual power lies with the States.

Citizenship and franchise

All who were citizens of the Federation before Independence continue to be citizens and all born in the country thereafter are citizens by operation of law. Others may become citizens by registration (e.g., women married to Malay citizens, or people over 18 born in the Federation before Independence) provided that they declare on oath that they abjure loyalty to any other country and swear to be loyal citizens of the Federation. Others may become citizens by naturalization subject to ten years' residence, good character and an adequate knowledge of the Malay language. The franchise is based on universal adult suffrage for all Federal citizens on a common role.

All citizens of the Federation are also Commonwealth citizens, but this provision does not impair the Federation's control over the entry of other Commonwealth citizens from outside the Federation.

Justice

The Constitution provides for the independence of the judiciary. In appointing the Chief Justice, the Head of State may act in his discretion after consulting the Conference of Rulers and considering the advice of the Prime Minister. Other judges of the Supreme Court are appointed on the recommendation of the Judicial and Legal Service Commission after the Head of State has consulted the Council of Rulers.

The Supreme Court has original, appellate and revisional jurisdiction. It can also settle disputes between States or between a State and the Federation. Appeals lie from the Supreme Court to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong who may then refer them to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London.

Fundamental rights

As with India, certain fundamental rights are written into the Constitution. These include liberty of the person, prohibition of slavery and forced labour, protection against retrospective criminal laws, equality before the law, freedom of speech, assembly, association and religion.

Political parties

The United Malay National Organization (UMNO), the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) comprise the Alliance Party and form the Government. In addition there are a number of other parties, including the Progressive Party, the Party Negara, the Pan-

Islamic Malayan Association, the Labour Party and the Party Ra'ayat. The two latter parties have recently formed the Socialist Front.

Local Government

At present there are five types of Local Government authority operating under the State Governments.

- (1) The fully elected City Council of George Town.
- (2) The two financially autonomous Municipalities of Kuala Lumpur and Malacca with elected Councils empowered to raise revenue by rates, licences, etc., and maintain public services.
- (3) Twenty-seven of the larger towns in the Federation have elected Town Councils, some of which are financially autonomous.
- (4) Many of the smaller towns have nominated Town Boards which are being gradually replaced by elected Councils.
- (5) Elected Local Councils with financial powers are being developed rapidly in rural areas. Many of these are in the new villages which have been made by people resettled from areas of Communist terrorism.

Defence

In October 1957 the Federation signed the Mutual Defence and Assistance Agreement with the United Kingdom. Under the terms of this agreement the United Kingdom is to grant such assistance for external defence as the Federation may require and help in training the Federation's armed forces. The United Kingdom Government may maintain naval, land and air bases, including a Commonwealth Strategic Reserve, in the Federation's territory. The agreement further provides that if there is an armed attack on the territories of the Federation, or on United Kingdom dependencies in the Far East, or upon the forces of either country in those territories, the two Governments will co-operate in taking action to meet the situation effectively. There is no limit to the life of the agreement and either Government can review the agreement or any part of it.

Speaking in the Federal Legislature in October 1957, the Prime Minister defended the agreement thus: "We have at our command an army of less than one division in strength, we have no air force, we have no navy, not a sea-going craft, not even a sailor. You would appreciate fully that a new nation cannot stand alone and it would be a crime against the Malayan society to leave this country undefended and open to attack from without and harassed by enemies from within."

Commonwealth forces are stationed in Malaya and by agreement assist in operations against the Communist terrorists to help bring to an end present emergency.

External affairs

The Federation of Malaya, like other members of the Commonwealth, is completely responsible for its own external affairs. It is a member of the United Nations and many of its specialized agencies, including the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction, and also belongs to the International Finance Corporation, the International Tin Council and is a signatory to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

THE EMERGENCY

Since 1948 a State of Emergency has existed in the Federation as a result of the activities of Communist terrorists, nearly all Chinese, who destroyed life and property among the civilian population. British and Malayan forces have been engaged continuously in jungle warfare to suppress the terrorism.

One highly successful method of combating terrorism has been the formation of new villages composed of people, mainly Chinese, who formerly lived as squatters in widely scattered districts on the jungle fringe where they had little hope of offering resistance. The scheme has gone far beyond the military objective of protecting the people and denying food to the terrorists. The people have received land titles and have been brought within the reach of the advanced medical and educational facilities of the territory. They are, for the first time, learning the arts of self-government in elected councils.

Large areas have been cleared of terrorists and declared White Areas (areas free of Emergency restrictions). With the coming of Independence, a special amnesty was offered to terrorists (the "Merdeka offer") and by the end of December 1957, 122 Communist terrorists surrendered under the terms of the offer. This represented a surrender rate of 40 a month in the last three months of the year compared with 8 a month in the earlier part of 1957.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Health

In 1956 the Government maintained :

	<i>No. of Beds</i>
30 General Hospitals - - - -	8,638
38 District Hospitals (smaller institutions equipped to handle only lighter cases, more severe cases being referred to General Hospitals) - - - -	3,093
2 Mental Hospitals - - - -	4,200

In addition there were 162 private hospitals with 6,416 beds. Both Government and private bodies were responsible for numerous specialized units, static and mobile dispensaries. Recurrent Government expenditure on medical and health services in 1956 was \$M56.6 million; capital expenditure \$M2.6 million.

Vital statistics in 1955 compared with 1948 were :

	1948	1955
	<i>per thousand</i>	
Birth Rate - - - -	40.0	43.0
Death Rate - - - -	16.3	11.5
Infant Mortality Rate - -	89.0	78.0

Education

One of the main objectives of the Federation Government is to weld the diverse communities into one Malayan nation, and to do this it is intended to make Malay the official and national language. Thus Malay is one of the compulsory languages in the schools and the Malay Language Institute at Kuala Lumpur is conducting research in the preparation of books and methods of teaching.

The provision of sufficient schools and teachers is one of the chief concerns of Government education policy, especially the provision of primary education for all children between the ages of 6 and 12. By January 1958 arrangements had been completed to provide accommodation and teachers for all children between 6 and 7 whose names had been registered by their parents in 1956 under "Operation Torch".

In September 1956, the numbers of pupils attending schools of various types were as follows :

<i>Main Medium of Instruction</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Enrolment</i>
English - - - -	471	205,563
Malay - - - -	2,180	398,412
Kuo Yu (Chinese) - - -	1,325	320,168
Indian Languages (mainly Tamil) - - - -	902	48,522
	4,878	972,665

Most of these schools were either aided or run directly by the Government. The total enrolment of girls in 1956 was 373,405 (38.4 per cent of the total).

In 1956 full secondary courses were provided at 13 "Chinese schools" and 12 "English schools", although 58 other "Chinese schools" and 221 "English schools" also had secondary classes.

Technical and Vocational Education : In 1956, technical education was provided by four Junior Technical Schools, which are being converted to Technical Institutes; a Technical College at Kuala Lumpur, which in addition to courses in Civil, Electrical and Telecommunications Engineering and Land Surveying, commenced a course in Architecture in 1956; and an Agricultural College at Serdang. In 1957 fourteen new Trade Schools were also planned. Short courses, mainly for fishermen, farmers and women from rural areas, are provided by the Rural and Industrial Development Authority. Help has been given from the Colombo Plan countries in the provision of equipment and experts and in 1956 six local instructors were sent on training courses to New Zealand, six others having returned in the previous year.

In 1957 there were seven residential Training Colleges for Teachers (two of which were in the United Kingdom), and a further three will be opened in 1958. Twelve day training centres opened in the latter half of 1957. In addition, there are full-time normal classes and other part-time training schemes.

The University of Malaya, in Singapore, with faculties of arts, science and medicine, had 1,574 students in 1956, of whom 974 (62 per cent) were from the Federation. The report of the University of Malaya Commission (1957) strongly recommended the setting up of a new University College at Kuala Lumpur by 1960.

Adult Education is provided by the Government, the Adult Education Association and the Malayan Public Libraries Association, the latter being a Chinese body which commenced work in 1956, mainly in the new villages created by the Emergency. The number of students attending evening classes in 1956 was as follows :

	<i>No. of Students</i>
Government Evening Classes - - -	4,042
Adult Education Association - - -	17,653
Malayan Public Libraries Association - -	14,767
	36,462

In the years 1956 and 1957, the annual recurring cost of education was \$M113 and \$M134 respectively (Malay Dollar=2s. 4d.). In 1958 it will be \$M173½, of which just under \$M162 is provided for in the federal estimates, the balance to be found from local contributions to be raised by State governments and local education authorities.

Information services

In 1956 the Government Information Services printed 90,000 leaflets and published weekly newspapers with cir-

new films were made with separate language versions in Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English. One film won a diploma of merit at the Edinburgh Film Festival. Circulations ranging from 25,000 to 65,000 copies. Thirty-five

Broadcasting

"Radio Malaya" operates on a Pan-Malayan basis for the governments of the Federation and of Singapore, and broadcasts in English, Malay, Chinese (7 dialects) and Tamil. It maintains transmitting stations in the Federation of Penang, Malacca, Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh. There is also a commercial rediffusion service and special services for schools and rural listeners. In 1958 the Federation Government intends to appoint a commission to advise on the setting up of a separate service for the Federation and meantime senior administrative and technical officers are being transferred to Kuala Lumpur.

Welfare services

The Government maintains or assists homes and training centres for the blind (including a Braille publishing office), homes for children and the aged, and gives encouragement to youth movements. There is a workmen's compensation scheme and an employees' provident fund.

THE ECONOMY

Rubber is the chief source of prosperity, and in 1956 the Federation produced 33.2 per cent of the world's total supply of natural rubber. During the period since the Second World War, exports of Malayan rubber to the United States dollar area have been the greatest hard-currency earner in the sterling area. The tin industry comes second in its contribution to the country's economy and in 1956 provided 35.4 per cent of total world supplies, making the Federation the world's largest producer.

Rubber Replanting Scheme : Altogether some 3.5 million acres of land are under rubber, 2 million in estates and 1.5 million in small-holdings. With increased competition in world markets from synthetic rubber, replanting with high-yielding trees has become, more than ever, a necessity. In May 1955 the Federal Legislative Council gave approval for the expenditure of \$M280 million on a replanting scheme. Producers claiming grants have to satisfy the grant authority that they are planting approved high-yielding rubber trees and following good agricultural practice.

Tin and World Markets : In 1956 the Federation of Malaya's output of tin-in-concentrates was 62,295 tons. Net exports of tin and tin-in-concentrates were valued at about \$M400 million. European mines were responsible for about 58 per cent of production and Asian (mainly Chinese) mines for 42 per cent. The Federation is a signatory to the International Tin Agreement (ITA) which came into force on 1st July 1956, and as a result of a serious fall in world prices it was announced in December 1957 that the Federation would restrict exports. This will require the industry's rate of production to be reduced to 67.6 per cent of the average for the last five years. The International Tin Council also called up the second contribution to the buffer stock, and the Federation accordingly paid its share.

Communications

Sea : The principal seaports in the Federation are Penang and Port Swettenham, but Singapore (a separate territory) is the main port for the whole peninsula.

Rail : In 1955 the total route mileage in service in Malaya was 1,028. The main line runs from Singapore to

Prai, opposite Penang, and connects northwards with the Thailand railway. There are several branch lines, including the long east coast line, which runs from Gemas northwards and also connects with the Thailand railway just beyond Kota Bharu. By November 1957, ten of the twenty-six 1,500 h.p. diesel-electric locomotives ordered from the United Kingdom had been delivered and were in operation hauling heavy freight and passenger trains on the main trunk route between Singapore and Prai.

Roads : In 1955 some 6,384 miles of road were being maintained at a high level. In July 1956 a new Rompin to Gemas road-link was opened which provided quick access to the east coast from the south. The total number of vehicles registered in the Federation on 31st December 1956 was 113,956, of which 17,209 were commercial load carrying vehicles.

Air : Kuala Lumpur became an international airport in 1956. There are seven other main aerodromes and 58 unattended landing grounds available for civil aircraft. In 1956 the total number of arrivals and departures at civil aerodromes of aeroplanes of all types was 85,736.

Telecommunications : The main towns on the west coast are linked by a VHF (very high frequency) radio trunk telephone system which in 1956 was extended to Kuantan on the east coast. A detailed survey has been made for a microwave system between Kuala Lumpur and Johore Bahru.

Trade

Products for local consumption : rice, vegetables, fruit, coconuts, tea, fish.

	1955	1956
	1955	1956
	Value	Value
	Value	Value
	in \$M	in \$M
	in \$M	in \$M
	million	million
	million	million
<i>Exports</i> - - - - -	2,371.9	2,264.0
<i>of which</i>		
Food, Beverages and Tobacco	93.9	99.5
Copra and Coconut Oil - -	52.3	59.4
Palm Oil and Kernels - -	40.8	48.5
Rubber (all types) - - -	1,585.1	1,378.1
Wood, Lumber and Cork - -	28.6	32.1
Tin Concentrates - - -	202.4	130.9
Tin Blocks, Ingots, etc. - -	231.4	340.8
Iron Ore - - - - -	32.6	51.0
Other Commodities - - -	104.8	123.7
<i>Imports</i> - - - - -	1,542.9	1,751.0
<i>of which</i>		
Rice - - - - -	125.6	135.7
All other food - - - -	352.1	389.2
Beverages and Tobacco - -	79.7	83.1
Tin Concentrates - - -	64.0	69.8
Rubber (all types) - - -	59.4	68.6
Copra - - - - -	11.4	23.2
Mineral Fuels - - - -	125.8	135.5
Chemicals - - - - -	88.0	103.5
Textile yarn, Fabrics, made-up articles and related materials	105.1	99.8
Clothing and Footwear - -	29.0	33.0
Base Metals - - - - -	52.7	64.0
Machinery, other than electric	59.5	79.7
Electric Machinery - - -	40.5	48.7
Transport Equipment - -	74.3	103.1
Other Commodities - - -	275.8	314.1

Except in 1948, the highest export earnings have been from the sterling area, with the United Kingdom as the chief customer, taking approximately 48 per cent of such exports. In 1956 about 83 per cent of export earnings from the dollar area were derived from the United States. There is also a substantial export trade with West Germany, France, Japan, Italy and India. Main import sources are the United Kingdom, Thailand, Indonesia, Australia, Burma and India.

Building and currency

Sixteen commercial banks (of which 12 were authorized to deal in foreign currencies) and a Post Office Savings Bank were operating in 1956. In 1958 the Federation Government will consider questions of banking legislation and the establishment of a Central Bank. A Bank Ra'ayat (People's Bank) is to be set up by the Rural and Industrial Development Authority.

Like other independent members of the sterling area, the Federation holds its foreign exchange reserves in London and the exchange value of the currency is fixed in terms of sterling.

Public finance

The Federation of Malaya's first annual budget since Independence within the Commonwealth was introduced in December 1957. This concerned only the draft estimates of ordinary revenue and expenditure. A separate budget of capital expenditure will be presented during the first quarter of 1958.

	<i>\$M million</i>	
	<i>(actual)</i>	<i>(estimated)</i>
	1948	1958
Revenue - - - -	235.5	783.4
Expenditure - - - -	290.8	902.6

The estimated expenditure for 1958 has been allocated as follows :

	<i>per cent</i>
Defence and Security - - - -	28.0
Social Services - - - -	27.3
Economic Services - - - -	10.4
Administration - - - -	8.8
Grants to States - - - -	8.6
Public Debt Charges - - - -	5.5
Pensions - - - -	8.6
Miscellaneous - - - -	0.7
Appropriations to Capital Account - - - -	2.3

The major sources of revenue in the Federation are income tax, import duties on tobacco, cigarettes and petrol, and export duties on rubber and tin.

The States have separate budgets, covering certain agreed items of revenue and expenditure, balanced by allocations from Federal Revenue.

Some production figures (1956)

Rubber (tons) - - - -	626,000.00
Tin-in-Concentrates (tons) - - - -	62,295.00
Cement (tons) - - - -	102,261.00
Soap (tons) - - - -	14,900.00
Rubber footwear (million pairs) - - - -	9.83
Bricks (million) - - - -	67.40
Biscuits (tons) - - - -	7,200.00
Soft drinks (million gallons) - - - -	9.30

Development Plans

The broad outline of a draft development plan for the period 1956-60 was published by the Federation Government

in March 1957 and the general structure follows closely the recommendations of an International Bank mission which made a survey of the country in 1954. The plan envisages capital expenditure on economic and social development of \$M1,009.5 million, allocated as follows :

Land, Industry and Natural

	<i>Allocations of Capital Expenditure</i>	
	<i>1956-60</i>	<i>as % of</i>
	<i>\$M million</i>	<i>total</i>
Resources - - - -	255.9	25.4
Communications - - - -	254.4	25.2
Fuel and Power - - - -	80.1	7.9
Education - - - -	95.4	9.5
Health and Social Welfare - - - -	53.0	5.2
Housing - - - -	32.5	3.2
Water Supplies - - - -	69.6	6.9
Others - - - -	68.2	6.8
Government Sector - - - -	90.4	8.9
Unallocated Reserve - - - -	10.0	1.0
	<u>1,009.5</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Rural and industrial development

The decision to set up a special agency of government to help promote rural and industrial development was taken in 1951 mainly to meet the needs of areas of the territory in which lived a rural population as yet largely untouched by recent economic and social progress. After two years of experimental work the Rural and Industrial Development Authority (RIDA), in January 1954, became a statutory corporation with powers to extend its operations to urban areas. It is financed by an annual subvention and by a loan of \$M10 million from Federal funds and, in order to associate the people of the various "under-developed areas" with its management, it works through State, Settlement and District Development Boards. RIDA also assists individuals and co-operatives in building up businesses and organizes training schemes. In 1956, \$M1,473,920 was advanced in loans and \$M1,303,177 was spent on schemes.

Co-operatives

At the end of 1956 there were 2,123 registered societies, including 256 labourers' co-operative credit societies, 310 production and marketing societies, thrift and loan societies with a total membership of 66,554, 30 co-operative housing societies and an insurance society.

Introduction To Islam

Compiled by Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah, D.Litt., Ph.D.

Demy 8vo. 199 pages with a map of the world showing the direction of the Ka'bah.

A highly useful book for initiates into Islam.

Hyderabad-Deccan, India, 1957. Price 15/-

YOUNG ARAB WRITERS TODAY

By JAMAL MOHAMMED AHMED

Contemporary Arabic literature is a vigorous literature that nobody can ignore who wants to know the mind of the Arabs today : Iraq alone published over 500 books in 1952 ; the Lebanon published in 1954 as much as ten times more than it did ten years ago ; an Azharite relatively unknown in 1950 has recently seen the eighth edition of a book he published then ; and a biography of Christ by an Egyptian museum sold half a million copies in 1955. It is these years I want us to look at — the war years and after.

My own conviction is that these two decades may play a role similar to the two fateful years of Napoleon in 1798. With his savants in Egypt and campaigns in Syria, young Napoleon did not only awaken a national sentiment that was then slumbering, but also opened new vistas for the whole of Arab society. By 1918 the forces released then, and augmented later, by the work of the Arabs themselves, had spent themselves, and Arab intellectuals were probing for new modes of thinking and living, having by that time digested a good deal of the European thought of the nineteenth century. By the outbreak of World War II this phase was over and a new confused one had settled in.

The war forcibly brought out the contradictions in the life of the Arab peoples. They were the inheritors of a culture and civilization that had kept the human mind awake once. Yet they were now among the poorly-educated peoples of the world. Their land had great potential wealth, yet they were among the poor peoples of the earth. Their position on the map of the world was central and therefore vital, yet they were not as significant in world affairs as that position warranted. Many of their young came back with good qualifications from European and American universities, yet the jobs given them in their own countries often did not allow them scope for their new knowledge. Worse still was the cynical way in which some of their compatriots handled public affairs. Their Western friends (and virtual rulers) were no help. They were too committed to the old cynics on one hand and on the other too busy rethinking the condition of European man after two ruinous wars. The missionary zeal with which many of them had come out — the only moral justification for Empire-making — had waned because the European order was passing.

The young men and women who are writing today and creating the climate of opinion in which we live, grew up in an atmosphere of questioning and grave scepticism. They were surrounded by large causes on one hand and an infuriating sense of helplessness on the other. They read the English poets of the twenties and thirties with rapture and identified themselves with them. They looked back to their own modern masters, who were mostly Lebanese emigrés to the United States or Latin America, and even they seemed to confirm the malaise :

*If a Westerner chatters and clatters,
Proclaiming his exploits,
If he sanctifies the dead and the gone,
And glorifies the ferocity of those who survived,
Do not sing for the victor.*

*Nor need you pity the vanquished.
Kneel down like me and pray.*

and

*Brother,
There they are,
But they couldn't be if we chose well,
Disaster and woe,
Yet if we had enough will in us,
They wouldn't be.
Do not wail,
Nobody listens.*

(Mikhail Naimy)

So "will" was involved and a "choice" was to be made. But what were the odds ? What was there to choose from ? Arab thinkers had to start the long search. One of those attempts is summed up in Dr. Suhail Idris's novel of the period, *The Latin Quarter*. With all its stodginess the novel does not fail to portray the mind of the young during and after the war. The narrator is an earnest, sensitive youth full of vague yearnings. A group of hard-drinking poker-playing revellers are seen as a vivid background. The one steady individual is Fuad. He is tense, secretive, dedicated and perhaps the most boring character in modern Arabic fiction. We wield a shade of influence on the narrator because of his unbending attitude and resolute answers to his questions. They are all "lost", a word that recurs often in the story, but are saved in the end by the proddings of Fuad and, as far as the narrator is concerned, through unrequited love. A realization that their countries need their "struggle" dawns on them.

It did not take the young long to make the choice. The liberalism of the older generation was the first to suffer. Extreme leftism vied with Islamic extremism for the loyalty of the new intellectuals. Both provided ready answers. It was not long before university students, literate workers, town merchants, village teachers and young civil servants rallied to their banners. In this comfort of unreason they all saw the millenium round the corner. For instance :

*Comrades,
Comrades in misery,
Come away,
Come to a far away land,
Where the sky is not the only shelter
And a crumb is not the only food.
Come away, where
Life is said to be happy.*

and

*Can you not see ?
There he comes,
To finish you ;
Revolt.*

(Kamal Nashaat)

At the end of the forties, almost all the Arab countries were in the throes of disorder. Extremism produced extremism and there was the failure of the campaigns in Palestine. Little complacency remained now. The "left" lost its glamour because, torn between its international creed and the national emergency at hand, it faltered and fumbled

and failed to take a line. The "right" was not feeling any better. It took the campaign as a supreme challenge to its faith and force and discovered that it had underestimated the hostile forces abroad and at home. The result was perhaps the most distressing period in the recent history of the Arabs. There were aimless demonstrations, an alarming number of political assassinations, administrative instability and a complete loss of bearing.

Into this scene walked young Khalid of al-Azhar and seemed to hold it by the scruff of the neck. The first in his series of books was significantly called "From here we start". He evoked sympathy and affection, not because of any startling views or specific guidance he gave, though there was much inspired historical and social analysis, but because of the ardour, the freshness of approach and the integrity he brought to bear on the scene. He was a good combination of fire and forthrightness slightly reminiscent of the seventeenth century "levellers". He used that seductive prose Arabic is capable of, that sometimes borders on poetry:

*The night is well-nigh over and fleeing
And the morning is valiantly battling on.
There it comes. Yet look out.
There are false mornings too—
They precede the true.
But I see the clouds dispersing,
And the fogs trundling away
Smitten hard by the wind of freedom.*

Some hope was restored and I even remember us arguing in unions and clubs that a comeback of liberalism was not impossible. Here was its Ali Abd al-Razik of thirty years ago. The young spirits were up for a heave in the ruins. My own countryman Faituri was 22 when Khalid was piping blood into the disheartened and the broken. A true child of his times and climate, he declared too with a loud voice that the Arab was not down or out — how could he be?

*To him the world has always yielded.
He never yielded.
Suffering, we were told, has reduced
Him into a mummy,
Carrying his days as a shroud for him.
No, the giant, the demon in his blood
Is stretching and rubbing:
Vein is rubbing with vein
For life.
Out of the balconies of death
Come thunder
Storm
The deluge.
History is witnessing
Fallen Gods and idols,
And destiny with all its might
Must bow its head.*

Much subtler voices were to come from Iraq. Among these were Nazik al-Malaikah's. "The Hidden Land" is not

only a powerful poem but also one of the most competent:

*A haven of magic, we were told
It was.
Made of nectar and twilight roses,
Of tenderness and gold.
In it, they said, was
The panacea for the wounds of man.
We wanted it, but didn't get it.
Back to our hopes, miserable and unfulfilled.*

From this strain of post-Spanish War Auden she goes on to enquire:

*Where is the land?
Are we to see it or
Is it to stay
Enveloped, unattainable?
Agitating inside us only
A numbed yearning?
A prayer
Within closed lips?
The millions are
A torrent of desire,
Burning desire
And a dream of flame.
Open the gates.*

I may say, in passing, that Malaikah has progressed far since then on her chosen road of giving the transient and abstract recognizable shapes and features.

Confidence was regained, though dour and precarious, as you see. Gradually a more sedate literature emerged. It became less sweeping and less melodramatic. It lost in brilliance and rhetoric but gained in maturity, variety and depth. At this particular moment, one rarely comes across those over-elegant and well-cut pieces of prose and poetry that tell less than they claim. It is my opinion that Arabic literature is reaching pinnacles it has not reached before, and I am not excepting the "Golden Epochs" dear to the hearts of many. It is not due to the greater literacy (hence bigger audience), nor is it the many media at a writer's disposal today, nor the flourishing revival in the publication and study of the classics. These have something to do with it, but I believe the biggest single factor is the great change the Arabic language is experiencing. Never since Hunain, al-Kindi and al-Razi has it been made to say so much with such resilience and springiness. I shall illustrate this by two passages. One comes from Fayez Sayegh's "The Responsibility of the Arab Thinker", in which the writer expresses a view of the parentage of "East" and "West":

شيئاً كبيراً كالجنة وفيها خواجات لا يحصى لهم عدد، وبنات
كاللبن الحليب، ونساء فرنج لهن ملايات لف حريرية
تلمع وتلعلع، وقصب براقهن لا بد صغير ودقيق مثل
عقلة الاصبع وانوفهن لا بد كحبة الفول واجسامهن لا بد
مصنوعة من لحم طري، وليس فيها عظام، وانما هي
كاللبن تجذبه فينجذب معك، وتلمسه فيسيل لعابك من
حلاوته، والرجال هناك طريين، لا يشبعون نساءهم،
والنساء يمضغن اللبان فيطرقن في افواههن الحلوة الضيقة،
ويطلبن الرجال، رجال مثلنا فلاحين خناشير كفحول
الجاموس.*

¹ The closeness between the basic cultures of "Eastern" and "Western" culture in the sense of the spiritual heritage of these two terms, is more real than the divergence or opposition between them. Both have emanated from the same original heritage. In other words we find that the apparent contrast in the concepts of "East" and "West", as well as their existential and spiritual ingredients, is in reality due to a revolt of the parts against the whole, the revolt of the partial expression against the basic catholic whole. Communism is essentially the revolt of the Western soul, in the name of genuine Western values, against certain impulses and extravagances of the Western soul, as well as some of its frivolities and negligences.

The passage grates a little but is it not the intricate nature of the subject, and the unfamiliarity of the theme to the language? There is no question that here an Arab writer is grappling with difficult thought. My other passage comes from a story by Yusif Idris on the confusions of adolescents, their exuberance and crassness. To them, the city is:

ان القربى بين القيم الجذرية الجائمة في اساس الغرب والشرق بالمعنى التراتي الروحي لدينك المصطلحين اكثر اصالة من التباين والتضاد فيها بينما او انها كليهما انبثقا عن تراث واحد جامع فافترقا فيها اخذه كل منهما منه وبكلمة اخرى نجد ان التضاد او التباين في مفاهيم الغرب والشرق - ومقوماتها الكيانية الروحية هو بالحقيقة وليد تمرد الاجزاء على الكل، تمرد التعبير الجزئي او الاستمرار الجزئي على الاساس الجامع... فالشيوعية هي في الاصل انتفاضة النفس الغربية باسم قيم غربية اصيلة على بعض نزوات النفس الغربية وتطرفاتها وبعض التهااتها واهمالاتها.*

This is delightful, as it should be.

Given that language and literature are vitalized as never before, one can rightly ask of the dominant writers at the moment, What do you want us to think and feel? It is difficult to point to one dominant tone in a literature bubbling with energy. Poetry and fiction seem to be treating several things and in several ways: the beauty of life and landscape, the clash of wills, the treachery of fate, Jamila and Ben Sadig, the redemption of Palestine, etc. Some are portraying the local scene in its entirety and some are trying to make sense of the distracted world around them. There is, I feel, a similarity between the writing of the young here and the group of young English writers known as "The Angry Young Men". Before I go any further in this, however, I must state that the question of influence does not come in at all. Let us settle that, because I do not want anybody to rush out with talk of "impacts".

Like their counterparts here, this group attained maturity during and after the war, and sometimes refer to themselves as the post-1945 generation. Their character has recently been described by Kenneth Tynan in his story of a friend, the personages of whose stories were always corpses. When asked whether he could not cheer up his novels a little, the man said yes. He could make his corpses dance. The group may be cheerless, but they are being watched with interest because of the sense of purpose which seems to impel them. John Osborne, for instance, writes "to make people feel. To give them lessons in feeling. They can think afterwards". Colin Wilson, who has made an erudite research into the makings of the "outsider", came to the terrifying conclusion in his second book that men are moral and spiritual lepers. He declared that there was no room in present society for supermen. This is a "world of apes". I find such writing refreshing. The themes, the diction, the images are all lively and purposeful. It is admitted, for instance, that the life of the working man has been materially improved. But that has been all. "The idea seems to be that if you shower the monster with enough cultural,

emotional and spiritual rubbish, he will sit quite happily on a great soft cosy mountain and never notice the stink".

A character in Jabra Ibrahim Jabra's stories declares that he wants his poetry "tough and devouring". How he would have enjoyed Thom Gunn! He wants it to "provoke and anger". Life's symbols are no longer "roses or soft downs, the only truths of life are dirt, bitterness, treachery and evil". Adnan, in this story, has no use for civilization in the city. "It hurls people into coffee-houses. They sit there chattering and nattering until their bottoms ache." They become impotent. He sees people sick, undressed and altogether disagreeable. In another story, *Araq*, a character puts up a weird sort of ladder. It is not for going up. "It is for going lower and lower and lower, where the grudging and the vengeful are waiting to receive you." Yet another story is called *Closed Windows*; the lovers have to go through a street named "Darkness" to meet.

Dhu al-Nun Ayyoub goes further. In a slim collection of stories from Vienna, he angrily takes leave of anger and implies that even anger is not worthwhile. After all, this is the same world that watched St. John the Baptist's head on the plate without moving a twig. The ethics of this age bear no relationship whatsoever to its techniques. Buland al-Haidari is angry, a trifle weary, and wants to be left alone. One of the bold experimenters in rhyme and meter, he traces his solitude to:

*A yellow reed by the shore of my death
So you have grown, a whimper
Long and exasperating
Like sin,
Like my silence.
Barren and desolate,
Never greening,
Or meaning to.
A flash in the pan
Like despair.
A visitation you grew.
Leave me.
Your face bores me.*

Going over to Syria, we see anger with fire and teeth in it. Nizar Qabbani takes it as far as the bedroom and comes out shouting "Vessels of puss". He is one of the most widely read poets and his major poems provoke likely discussions among readers and critics. Al-Kayali identifies himself with Judas:

*I tread on the neck of virtue
With my boots,
I clothe myself in misleading garbs
To hide me and protect my evil.
My wine comes from the tears of the bereaved,
And I dig the graves of my benefactors.
Behind their funerals I dance!*

2 . . . something vast as Paradise with gentlemen beyond number, and ladies white as milk, and foreign women in shining, fluttering silken scarves. The gold thread of their veils must be of the finest; their noses as small as the white bean; their bodies made of tender boneless flesh, soft as Turkish Delight, that gives when you touch it, and makes your saliva flow with its sweetness. But the men there are soft and do not satisfy their women; and the women chew scented gum in their small, sweet mouths, and ask for men — men like us: peasants, strong as male buffaloes.

In Lebanon, anger takes a polished, ponderous form. Khalil Hawi dubs men "pillars of salt" in "Sodom":

*Maimed figures through
Imbecilities of years.
If you remind passers-by
How the dead are
They do not remember, the hollow ones.
Without today
Without tomorrow
Without memoriam.*

You get varieties of anger. Badre Shakir al-Sayyab, who likes to think of himself far and remote from the immediate and the urgent, sees salvation in his death. "The River and Death" is a recent poem of superb diction and ends with this piece of charitable anger:

*Every one of my twenty years
Passed like an eternity;
I wish I could run and
Join the ranks of fighters,
And slap fate in the face*

3 Recent books by "Angry Young Men": (1) Colin Wilson, (2) John Osborne, (3) Thom Gunn.

*With my drawn fists.
I wish I were drowned in blood
To the deep depths, to the bottom.
Carrying the burden of humans
With humans.
To regenerate life.
I see victory in my death.*

Those of you acquainted with *Religion and the Rebel*, *Look Back in Anger* or *Sense of Movement*³ may find that anger here is parochial, less universal. Part of the blame is mine. To give you a complete picture of the whole field of present writing I ought to have stopped longer at Malaika's "Pain", Al-Sayyab's "Christ after Crucifixion", and not to have left out Fadua Touqan, who from her hills of Nablus writes what I take to be the most delectable, though esoteric, lines of modern Arabic verse, and never fails to touch and move. Nor should I have left out Yusuf al-Khal's James Syngian note in "The Return" or his "The Homestead". Above all I should have taken you to Najib Mahfuz's saga of the Abd al-Jawwad family in Egypt over three generations — a novelist many of whose works I hope to see on shelves other than Arabic. Indeed I cannot claim to have done more than give you the briefest introduction to what is being written in Arabic today.



THE STRANGE HISTORY OF PIERRE MENDES FRANCE AND THE GREAT CONFLICT OVER FRENCH NORTH AFRICA, by Alexander Werth, 1957. Barrie Books. Price 30/-.

Mr. Werth, the writer of this book, has achieved a reputation as the pre-war *Manchester Guardian* correspondent in France during the latter years of the Third Republic. His article in the *New Statesman and Nation* on Tunisia and Morocco aroused much appreciation in North African circles.

Mr. Werth quotes Mr. Mendes France's introduction to François Mitterand's *Aux Frontières de L'Union Française*: "Our concessions to Bao Dai have set up a precedent which the Tunisian nationalists have been quick to take advantage of".

Mr. Mendes France was attempting to obtain his investiture as French Premier, but he obtained 13 too few votes and 100 Communists voted against him. As a result the Sultan of Morocco was deposed by the reactionary Laniel Government and the repression in Tunisia and Morocco lasted for another year.

According to *Le Monde*, General Benouville, one of the Gaullist leaders, was told by General de Gaulle that Mr. Mendes France was "unsuitable", in view of his "disquieting ideas on Indo-China and North Africa". Fifty-two Gaullists abstained from voting for Mr. Mendes France and two voted against him.

Mr. Werth traces the development of Tunisian nationalism in the years 1950-54. Bourguiba's "Seven points", the "turning down" by the French of Premier Muhammad Chenik's "three points" on 15th December 1951. "Although the (French) Note did not use the word 'co-sovereignty', abhorred by the Tunisians, it was, in fact, interpreted by the Tunisians and by the French to mean that the French Government had decided to perpetuate Franco-Tunisian co-sovereignty (complete) with French Resident-General and French members of the Cabinet."

The Neo-Destour Party is somewhat confusingly described as the "more extreme nationalist party" (at the time the far less important *old* Destour were demanding complete independence so they were the extremists) whose supporters in Paris, the Ministers Salah ben Youssef and Badra, "unexpectedly arrived at the UN at the Palais Chaillot in Paris, to lodge a complaint against France". Their visit coincided with the arrival in Tunis, in the midst of great military and naval parades, of the new and extremely tough Resident-General, M. de Hautecloque, who had been appointed to replace the liberal M. Perillier . . . rioting broke out in various parts of Tunisia; the Neo-Destour Congress, which was to have been held on 18th January, was prohibited, and the Tunisian nationalist leaders, among them Bourguiba, besides hundreds of others, were arrested "on orders of M. de Hautecloque". An important omission is the fact that this conference was held under the Chairmanship of Mr. Hadi Chaker, who was later murdered; it passed

a motion demanding no longer home rule but complete independence. Such was the result of the repression.

Mr. Werth notes that Mr. François Mitterand, a Minister in the Faure-Government, January-February 1952, was "liberally inclined. M. de Hautecloque and General Garbay, the Commander of the French forces in Tunisia, were going to stand no nonsense. The Tunisian appeal to UN was taken particularly badly, and rioting in the Cap Bon area led to the famous *ratissages* (i.e., punitive expeditions organized by General Garbay (who had distinguished himself as the leader of much larger-scale punitive expeditions in Madagascar in 1947 — where 80,000 people were believed to have been killed) ”.

A M.R.P. (Catholic Moderate) French deputy, Mr. Fonlupt-Esperaber, published "... some harrowing details of the various outrages committed by the Foreign Legion ". Mr. Mitterand drew up a plan of reforms which Mr. Werth considers would have been "gladly accepted by the Chenik Government, and accepted, at least in the main, even by the Neo-Destour leaders. But at the end of February the Faure Government was overthrown, and replaced a few days later by the Pinay Government, which shelved the Mitterand Plan and gave the Resident-General in Tunisia, Mr. de Hautecloque, a free hand ". Mr. Chenik and his Ministers were arrested and replaced by a "French stooge, Mr. Baccouche, one of the wealthiest men in Tunisia and principal shareholder of the Tunisian branch of Coca-Cola ”.

The Chenik Government would never have acted without the consent of the Neo-Destour Party for Mr. Salah Ben Youssef. Youssef, at that time the head of the Neo-Destour since Bourguiba's arrest, was the virtual Prime Minister, and Chenik was little more than a mere figurehead. The "glad acceptance" of the Mitterand plan was Bourguiba's phrase, but it was qualified with reserve.

Mr. Werth greatly exaggerates the Bey's opposition to the French during this period and mentions the 100,000 strong UGTT and seems to forget that this organization, which was then about 80,000 strong (including only 30,000 paid-up members as Mr. Ahmad Ben Salah told later on), was dominated by the membership of the Neo-Destour, who controlled the fight for liberation. After the death of Hached, who was murdered by the "Red Hand" colonial movement on 4th December, the "fighters of Farhat Hashad" ("Hached") were one of the principal bands of the Liberation Army or "Fellaghas", as the French called them (Highwaymen). The Casablanca strike of protest on 8th December 1952 at the callous "bumping-off" of Hached by French colonials "was used as a pretext for striking at the trade unions, and the 'riots' developed into a general lynching of Moroccan trade unionists by the Europeans of Casablanca. 500 Moroccans lost their lives as against 4 or 5 Europeans ”.

Mr. Boniface, the Prefect of Casablanca, described as "top he-man of the French in Morocco", is considered as being mainly responsible for the deposition of the Sultan in 1953 while in Tunisia. "Encouraged by the toughness of the French in Morocco and the non-interference of the United States, M. de Hautecloque extracted from the Bey a number of decrees which were calculated, as it were, to consecrate the principle of co-sovereignty." It might have been mentioned here that Mr. Bourguiba (later President) returned his decorations to the Bey in disgust and that the financial arrangements which ultimately led to the Bey's deposition took place between the French and the Bey and his family.

"Compared with Morocco, Tunisia was relatively quiet

during the greater part of 1953 ; but towards the end of the year a partisan war was started by the *fellaghas*, guerilla units that had been formed over a period of months.

"By the summer of 1954 this guerilla activity had assumed alarming proportions. Not a day passed without acts of terrorism or counter-terrorism being perpetuated. One day French gunmen would shoot down several Tunisians in a café ; the next day several Europeans would be murdered in similar conditions. Tunisia, with its 250,000 Europeans (of whom 150,000 were of French descent), and its 3 million Moslems were sinking deeper and deeper into chaos."

The figure of 150,000 Europeans of French descent seems exaggerated ; many French citizens were naturalised Italians, Maltese and former Tunisian Jews. The attempts at naturalising Tunisian Muslims had led to the great campaign which culminated in the foundation of the Neo-Destour Party owing to the lack of dynamic leadership by the old Destourian leaders.

An apt quotation from *Le Monde* (1st August 1954) shows that "There is nothing new in his (Mendes France's) promise on internal autonomy. What is new is his assurance that the promise is made without ulterior motives and without mental reservations". (The translation of this article is typical of the high standard of Mr. Werth's books ; nobody is more able to translate French thought into English. *Le Monde* considers in this article that "America's pan-Arab policy has borne fruit. It has encouraged all the Arab capitals around the Mediterranean. As for the British, they have, after a spell of bad humour, returned to their original conception of Anglo-Arab friendship, which was symbolized in the past by Mr. Eden becoming the god-father of the Arab League, and Mr. Churchill the inventor of the kingdoms of Jordan and Libya.

"Trapped between the Arab *bloc* determined to support the independence of French Morocco and allies who are keen to see French North Africa sink into chaos, France had no choice but to act quickly. Our relations with the Moslem world were in danger of gravely deteriorating ; and terrorism was threatening the position of the French in Tunisia itself. . . ."

Mr. Werth quotes another passage which is quite misleading and utterly false. "Up till now the struggle in North Africa had been between two minorities : the European die-hards who want to give nothing away, and the Moslem extremists who want everything. But between these two there is a mass of millions of people : Europeans, Arabs, Berbers, Jews." This is nonsense ; there never was a pro-French majority in North Africa nor more than an insignificant number of quislings. Tunisia was always nationalist and Destourian since this party's foundation in 1919.

Mr. Voizard, the reactionary French Resident-General who replaced M. de Hautecloque, is described as "ineffectual" and "heartily disliked by the French community in Tunisia", yet he rather than de Hautecloque was instrumental in winning over the Bey. His successor, General de La Tour, later on did endless harm in Morocco holding up the return of the legitimate Sultan Sidi Muhammad Ben Youssef.

During his visit to Tunis, Mr. Mendes France cleverly brought Marshal Juin to allay the suspicions of the French colonials, whom he did not feel sufficiently strong to be able to override completely. He was also accompanied by the Gaullist Minister of Moroccan Tunisian Affairs, Mr. Christian Fouchet. The appointment of a Gaullist to this post was a master stroke, and Tunisian autonomy inevitably spelt the end of the French North African empire. Almost

immediately it led to "riots" in Petitjean and Fez in Morocco and opened the way for the Sultan's return.

The attack of the French reactionaries in France was led by the historian Mr. Jacques Bardoux, who said that as early as 1951 he had informed the Queuille Government that a "Vigilance Committee" had been formed in London in 1951 by a Pakistan Colonel, Aqbel Zefar Cureshi, to raise an army in co-operation with Tunisian "émigrés" in Cairo. He mentioned Mr. Bourguiba's visit to London in 1951 and said that Mr. Bourguiba had spoken to a Committee of the House of Lords and another Committee of the House of Commons and had argued in favour of establishing closer contacts between British agents in Libya and the British Consular services in Tunisia, as well as between the King of Libya and the Bey of Tunisia. He was also in favour of basing Tunisian economy on sterling, rather than on the franc.

Mr. Bardoux then spoke of "brigands" who later in the year had raided Tunisia from Libya: only it happened that these "brigands" were wearing British battle-dress, were armed with brand-new tommy-guns and had been trained in a special camp in Tripolitania.

Another "Algerian lobby man", General Aumeran, said: "We can't stay and go away at the same time," and Mr. Quilici, a leading French Algerian colonial deputy, said that the Mendes France trip was "not a turning point but a breaking point".

A Right-Wing Deputy, Mr. Joseph Halleguen, said: "Your visit to Tunis, where you descended like an angel from heaven, has earned you the unanimous approval of the British and American press; but that kind of approval cannot help worrying me". Mr. Halleguen correctly forecast that the Neo-Destour Party would now be the most influential force behind the Tunisian Government. He said that the Arab League "is, of course, jubilant at present"; when Salah Ben Youssef had been Minister of Justice in the Chenik Government, none of the terrorists had been arrested. Furthermore, he said that Bourguiba "was the trump card in the hands of a country (Britain) which had established itself in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica". He wondered if the British realized that by inviting Bourguiba to speak on the B.B.C. and in the House of Commons and at Chatham House, they had insulted France. At the same time he claimed that he was not anti-British and had been the guest of the British during the German occupation of France!

General Monsabert quoted Bourguiba as saying: "These proposals (for home rule) . . . are merely a big step towards complete independence". He said that it "might be possible to come to terms with Bourguiba; but behaving Bourguiba there are Salah Ben Youssef and the blackmail of Cairo". And already Monsabert prophesied that the "Bourguiba phase" would be succeeded by a "Saleh Ben Youssef phase". The General stated that the Franco-Moslem army in North Africa must remain in its then existing form and "the Beylical Guard must be the only purely Tunisian force in Tunisia". Thus he forecast the present Franco-Tunisian dispute which still remains unsolved in 1958.

Mr. Mendes France delivered a counter-attack on his former colleague, Mr. Martinaud-Deplat, for using "against Bourguiba certain documents of a very doubtful quality which he had acquired while Minister of Justice in the previous Government". Mr. Martinaud-Deplat claimed that Mr. Bourguiba had declared on the Rome Radio in 1943: "The defeat of France must lead to the independence of Tunisia". Mr. Mendes France, whose policy was defended

by the future Socialist Foreign Minister Mr. Pineau, none the less won a majority of 451 to 122; he was later defeated on the Algerian question on 5th February 1955. In his final speech Mendes France was able to remind the French National Assembly that nearly 5,000 political prisoners had been released by his Government as a result of his home rule policy, and whereas 195 people had been killed in Tunisia during eight months in 1954, not a single person had been killed from 15th December 1954 to January 1955, and only 50 from July to December as compared with 145 in the previous four months. The final vote was 273 for him against 319, but Mr. Faure, his successor, was bound to carry on the negotiations with the Tunisian Government as they were so far advanced.

Twenty-four pages are devoted to "A Reasonable Arab Land: Bourguiba's Tunisia". The new Premier, Mr. Tahar Ben Ammar, is described as a "semi-stooge" and "great landed proprietor". He was later replaced by Mr. Bourguiba: "Bourguiba, the fire-eater, the arch-enemy of the French Right, the bogey-man of the Martinaud-Deplats and the Quilicis. . . . In the days of internal autonomy, Bourguiba suddenly became a moderate in the eyes of the French: the bogey-man was now Salah Ben Youssef; and not until Tunisian independence was proclaimed did the Youssefist tide recede while Ben Youssef himself became the man of Cairo. He was in Cairo now, criticizing Bourguiba and calling him a French agent and a traitor".

Commenting on the physical changes in Tunisia, the removal of the Cardinal Lavegerie statue, the renaming of the former Avenue Jules Ferry, Avenue Bourguiba, the taking over of the central police station by the UGTT and a big bank by the Neo-Destour Party, Mr. Werth writes: "How things have changed in four years". He found that "Now there were lots of Tunisian customers in what used to be almost purely European cafés in the old days. . . . For one thing, the Tunisians never suffered from the same inferiority complex as the Algerians, moreover, within a short time, a new class of Tunisian government official has sprung up — and most of them were reasonably well-paid".

Mr. Werth was told by the French *patronne* of the Hotel de France that there was "awful unemployment . . . all the same, things might be worse . . . that Bourguiba is a very reasonable man. . . ."

Mr. Werth obtained much of his information from a certain "Ahmed, a very progressive Neo-Destour militant, aged about 33, and a junior official in a government office connected with the Ministry of Finance". He and his wife, who worked in a "maternity guidance" clinic, earned between them 60,000 francs per month.

The author gathered the following conclusions. There were dangers of the formation of a "new kind of moneyed bourgeoisie. Rather too many young people had the ambition of becoming Cabinet Ministers, drawing 400,000 francs a month — or ambassadors. . . . It did not take long to discover that there were signs of friction between the Government personnel and the trade unions with their particularly acute social consciousness".

Mr. Werth admits later on that the UGTT had four ministers in the Government, and he would do well to point out that the Union of Civil Servants forms the backbone of the UGTT.

Ahmed told Mr. Werth that "in the days of internal autonomy, the conflict between Bourguiba and Salah Ben Youssef was very sharp, and that a large number of Neo-Destour intellectuals tended to become Youssefists, but now

Ben Youssef no longer mattered ; he had become a Cairo stooge ; there was no great admiration in Tunisia for Nasser. Tunisia was not impressed by the social and economic record of the Arab States ; Tunisia intended to become a modern State, and Bourguiba was universally accepted in Tunisia ". Ahmed warned Mr. Werth : " If Bourguiba were assassinated today there wouldn't be a European left alive in Tunis ; it wouldn't matter who he was, nationally or politically. The whole lot would be murdered."

Apparently, " Things were difficult, shopkeepers in Tunis were complaining that business was at a complete standstill. . . . European capital was being exported at the rate of a milliard francs a month ; even the Italians, of whom there were 100,000,¹ were leaving."

Mr. Werth interviewed Mr. Mahmoud Ben Ezzedine, assistant of Ahmad Ben Salah, the Secretary of the UGTT. " With him, as with so many other Tunisians, Algeria was an obsession." He told Werth : " Nothing is going to get done properly in either Tunisia or Morocco as long as the war in Algeria goes on. It is a fire that is sure to spread. We have got past the purely nationalist stage of our activity . . . today our people are learning to think in social terms".

The agricultural workers of the former Premier Tahar Ben Ammar had gone on strike during his premiership, and many employers refused to pay the legal minimum of 350 francs per day. The UGTT was forming " economic and cultural cadres" and had held a six weeks' " popular university course". There were too many business men, " both Tunisian and European, and above all the Jews . . . who don't pay anything like the taxes they should pay": 2 million hectares of fallow land could be cultivated and there were 400,000 unemployed. The UGTT was trying to set up farming collectives and to end nomadism. The United Nations had set up a special fund for helping Libya, it should do the same for Tunisia. Feudalism and polygamy had been abolished and the *cavids* had been sacked. The Tunisian had a sentimental attachment for Egypt but their " whole upbringing has been Western". He forecast the nationalization of the big estates and the *Habous* and stated that the Bey's civil list had been cut down from £35,000 per month to £8,000. The Bey was not popular like his predecessor Moncef Bey. It was hoped that 6,000 workers' villas would soon be constructed to " decongest the bidonvilles". They would be let complete with bathrooms at 6,000 francs per month. Ben Ezzedine said of Salah Ben Youssef : " He is dead. Dead politically. Completely dead."

Mr. Werth traces a biographical sketch of Mr. Bourguiba, whom he mentions as being called " the world's most intelligent Arab statesman" and alternatively as " France's only statesman".

Four or five minor errors appear in this biography.

- (1) *L'Action Tunisienne* was never the " Old Destour organ", as Werth states on page 361. It was founded by President Bourguiba.
- (2) The Germans released Bourguiba, not the Italians, to whom he was handed over later on, and finally allowed to return to Tunisia. Mr. Werth, however, absolves Mr. Bourguiba of the charge of collaboration with the Italians ; he rightly states that Bourguiba " declared on the Bari radio that he was prepared to negotiate with Italy, ' provided Italy recognized Tunisia's complete and entire independence'."

- (3) Bourguiba returned to Tunisia on 10th December 1951, not " soon after the new year" (in January 1952).
- (4) Bourguiba's seven-point programme was produced first of all in April 1950, not 1951. This is not clear from the text.
- (5) The prohibited Congress of 18th January 1952 took place in secret, as has already been stated. This factor is omitted in the text.

Mr. Bourguiba impressed Mr. Werth by his " extraordinary charm, the great clarity of his mind — but also by the fact that he was worried".

Asked if he thought that Britain and France would attack Egypt, Mr. Bourguiba is recorded as having said : " I think it highly improbable, but if they do then Nasser will have the whole Moslem world and the whole of French North Africa on his side." It is doubtful if Mr. Bourguiba can really have used the word " French" in referring to Tunisia or Morocco. Of the Algerian colonials, Bourguiba said that if they wanted war against Egypt " Ils sont fous", Bourguibism (" reasonableness") was placed in jeopardy by the extremism of Arab nationalism which this venture would help to stimulate.

Mr. Bourguiba said : " What we are trying to do in Tunisia has never been done before in other Arab countries. We want to create a State which would set an example for them : a State where there would be respect for the human person and respect for social justice. . . ." It implies the interpretation of the Qur'an in the light of the requirements of a progressive modern State.

Mr. Bourguiba mentioned the help to be given by the United States, which was sending a shipment of wheat and the £17,000,000 French loan. " But, in the long run, we must depend on our own plans : we must increase production : we must make the most of our *habous* lands (Werth incorrectly spells this *habou*) that have been freed from their *main-morte* stranglehold. We must at any price increase production — food production as well as industrial production."

With regard to the " nationalization of the large estates" he said : " No, there is no hurry about them. Most of these are fairly efficiently run ; and we have masses of other lands to develop."

Mr. Bourguiba said the French were not being helpful with regard to the presence in the country of 40,000 troops, the DST and the former *Controleur Civils* (district commissioners who were retained as consuls). Also there were differences on the retention of the barracks by the French. Capital would be welcomed, ". . . from Germany, Czechoslovakia and America or elsewhere. . . . As to the capital that came here during the colonial régime, and which is no longer satisfied with the present conditions, let it go ! We are not keeping it back. What we want are *bona fide* investments. . . . The colonial era is over : and more intelligent capitalists realize it."

Of Algeria, Mr. Bourguiba said : " That is our biggest worry of all. As long as the war goes on there, our own instability is complete."

Mr. Bourguiba admitted the privileged position of the French in North Africa, but said that this was conditional to France recognizing the legitimate aspirations of the Arab people, and France could not develop the Sahara " over the head of an Algeria that's at war. . . ."

¹ Possibly an exaggerated figure.

"Of course, nothing would please us more than if we could mediate in this tragic conflict, and put an end to it. . . . We are telling the French that the era of colonialism is closed, and that they must recognize the fact. We are telling the Algerians that they cannot get everything overnight and that they've got to proceed by stages. I believe that there are some reasonable people among the FLN who fully agree with us. . . ."

Mr. Werth "Recalled to Bourguiba the strong line taken by Ahmed Ben Salah, head of the Tunisian trade unions, who had said shortly before that Tunisia must help her Algerian brethren by every means — not only giving them moral support, but arms and men as well. Bourguiba made a face; he was obviously not in agreement with this, and thought it, indeed, an embarrassing point."

Mr. Bourguiba said Tunisia was a Muslim country in which an example was being shown to the French that they could live there peacefully, but the Algerian war was a threat to their position. Apparently the French "strongly suspected the Government of planning to lease Bizerta for a very substantial consideration to the Americans, the British, or perhaps even to the Russians."

Dar el Bey, which during the Baccouche government was empty apart from a few "local fez-wearing worthies, or a haughty French official from the Residency", was now swarming with "important-looking diplomatic personages — including top-ranking members of the French Embassy waiting for an audience — and with various Tunisians, some Oriental, others in European clothes. Business-like Tunisian officials — all in European dress — were darting from office longer the comic opera Arabian Nights palace of the to office. This was a genuine Seat of Government, and no Baccouche days".

The Tunisian leaders were opposed to the commercial part of the conventions with France which hampered the development of Tunisia's trade. The French even tried to prevent the Tunisians from manufacturing their own glasses for drinking mint tea, and 10 hectares of sugar beet were being grown for the first time. Tunisia had to buy 60,000 tons of "the dearest sugar in the world" from France under the Protectorate.

In 1957 Mr. Werth links President Bourguiba with the Moroccan trade union leader Mahjoub Beb Seddik. He writes: "Men like Bourguiba and Mahjoub Beb Seddik were immensely impressive. . . ." He quotes Mr. Mendes France on Bourguiba in the "Suez debate" in the French Chamber. "Like Bourguiba, I believe in a North African federation which would work in close harmony with France and would constitute a West-Arab unit, which would itself constitute a barrier against pressure from Egypt and other Eastern countries."

Mr. Werth considers that in 1957 Mr. Mendes France had come round to supporting a point of view somewhat similar to that of Mr. Bourguiba when he had invited the

Sultan of Morocco and Mr. Ben Bella to Tunis in October 1956. Mr. Ben Bella's kidnapping is recognized as having aggravated the Algerian question and in stimulating terrorism.

Tunisians, according to Mr. Werth, considered either that Mr. Mendes France was the "only man in France in whom Tunisia has any faith at all", or alternatively, that he was an "enlightened colonialist" who was working in the interests of his country who would have prolonged the duration of the French Protectorate.

Mr. Ahmad Ben Salah, he found, was easy to talk to like the late Farhar Hashad and other North African trade union leaders from Algeria and Morocco. He had refused a ministerial post and "took the line that his function was to act as corrective to government action. The trade unions of Tunisia, while apparently loyal to Bourguiba, tend to play the part of a constructive opposition. One of the functions of the UGTT was, as it were, to present a maximum programme — which it was then for the Government to apply as far as possible".

Ahmed Ben Salah spoke of higher income tax as business men were only paying income tax on 5 or 10 per cent of their real incomes. He said he supported Bourguiba but was against recent salary cuts.

Mr. Werth thinks that Mr. Ben Salah's removal from the secretaryship of the UGTT was due to "his interventionalist zeal (over the Algerian war)". He sums him up thus. "There was no 'fundamental' disagreement between Ahmed Ben Salah, the trade union leader, and Bourguiba, the head of the Government. And yet . . . Ben Salah was less of a 'possibilist' than Bourguiba: he was less pro-French; he was even, I suspected, less hostile to Salah Ben Youssef — now in Cairo — than Bourguiba himself."

In the next paragraph, however, Mr. Werth quotes Ahmed Ben Salah on Ben Youssef. "Well, since we got our independence, he hasn't much of a leg to stand on."

Mr. Werth forgets that Ben Youssef owed his support chiefly to the rich Djerba business men and to other bourgeois circles.

Mr. Ben Youssef made the great mistake of organizing armed resistance to Mr. Bourguiba. Had he attempted to organize a constitutional opposition on democratic lines free from personal bias, his position would now be far more important, especially as Pan-Arabism or Nasserism is growing with the stimulus of the Iraqi Republican *coup d'etat* and the rift between the FLN and the Tunisian Government over the Edjele oil agreement.

Mr. Ben Salah, on the other hand, has acted with great tact and patriotic zeal since his complete eviction from the trade union leadership. He and his group of former UGTT leaders form the biggest and most constructive element in President Bourguiba's Cabinet. Mr. Ben Salah is a great dynamic constructive personality who enjoys tremendous prestige throughout the Maghreb and the democratic world.



THE *ISRAA'* AND THE *MI'RAAJ* (ASCENSION OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD) — CORPOREAL OR SPIRITUAL?

III F 8/13 Nazimabad,
Karachi, West Pakistan.
20th April 1958.

Dear Sir,

In *The Islamic Review* for June 1958 there appeared an article on the "Night Journey and the Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad" by Mr. M. Yahya Butt. But I was rather disappointed in the otherwise excellent exposition, for it does not seem to take a definite stand on the issue of whether the Night Journey and the Ascension were corporeal or spiritual. Permit me to say that the point can bear a little more discussion, even though, I must admit, it has no material bearing on the various more pressing and practical problems facing the world of Islam today.

The Night Journey and the Ascension are mentioned in two different places in the Holy Qur'an. The Night Journey is described in the following words: "Glory be to Him Who made His 'Abd (servant) travel, one night from the *al-Masjid al-Haraam* (Sacred Mosque at Mecca) to the *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (Remote Mosque at Jerusalem) whose surroundings We have blessed so that We may show him Our signs. Verily He is Hearing, Seeing" (17: 1).

As to the *Mi'raaj* (the Ascension), this experience of the Prophet Muhammad is referred to in the chapter entitled *al-Najm* (the Star). The words of the Qur'an are: "*Wa la-qad ra'aa-hu Nazlatan ukhraa 'inda Sidrat al-muntahaa; 'indahaa Jannat al-Maa'waa; Idh yaghsha' al-sidrata maa yaghshaa; maa zaagha al-Basaru wa maa taghaa; la qad ra'aa min aayaati Rabbihi al-Kubraa*" (And certainly he saw Him in another descent, at the furthest lote-tree. Near it is the Garden of Abode. When that which covers, covered the lote-tree; the eye turned not aside, nor did it exceed the limit. Certainly he saw of the greatest signs of his Lord) (53: 13-18).

The various words used in these verses are such that they lead us to the conclusion that both the *Israa* and the *Mi'raaj* were corporeal.

In the verse relating to the Night Journey we see it opens with the word *Subhaana*, the which word means "Glory be to Him Who made His 'Abd (servant) travel one night from the *al-Masjid al-Haraam* (Sacred Mosque at Mecca) to the *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (Remote Mosque at Jerusalem) whose surroundings We have blessed so that We may show him Our signs. Verily He is Hearing, Seeing" (17: 1). The word *Subhaana* has in it the signification of wonderment and reverence. The use of the word is designed to convey something that is not out of the ordinary and to emphasize the greatness of God. If the *Israa* were not corporeal, the Qur'an would not have used the word *Subhaana*. For if the *Israa* was of the order of a dream there was nothing extraordinary in it. Everyone can have a dream of this nature. There are, I am sure, people about who would claim to have travelled around the world in their dreams, leave alone from Mecca to Jerusalem.

Further, in this verse there are the words "He made His servant travel". These show that the Prophet Muhammad was awake and not asleep and that he was in possession of his full consciousness. The word 'Abd (the servant) is used in the Qur'an in many places and is used to mean a human being with body and soul. For instance, we read in one place, "All praise is due to Him Who sent the Book (*Furqaan*) to His servant ('Abd)" (25: 1). "Did you see him Who prevents a servant ('Abd) when he prays?" (96: 8-9). The word *asraa* just cannot be used when one talks of a single journey made in a dream.

The words *Li-nuriya-nu min Aayaati-naa* (So that We could show him (the Prophet Muhammad) our signs) in this verse further make it clear that the journey of the Prophet was not a mere dream. It distinctly points to a visual experience. In this connection it should not be forgotten that when the Prophet Muhammad related his Night Journey, there were some who denounced him and contended his statement. If the experience was of the order of a dream, surely none of his Companions would have either denounced him or disbelieved him?

Now let us take the *Mi'raaj* (Ascension). This experience, which took place in the night of the Night Journey and is a continuation of the journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, as described in the words of the Qur'an, confirms the view that it was corporeal. The chapter *al-Najm* (the Star) has the following words: "*Wa la-qad ra'aa-hu Nazlatan ukhraa 'indaa Sidrat al-Muntaha, 'indahaa Jannat al-Maa'waa la-qad min Aayati Rabbi-hi al-kubraa. Idh yaghsha -laSidrata maa yaghshaa maa zaagha al-Basaru wa maa taghaa*" (53: 13-18).

This verse is very explicit about the things shown to the Prophet Muhammad. The words *ma zaagha al-Basaru wa maa taghaa* are noteworthy. The faltering of the eye is a characteristic of the human body when in possession of full consciousness and not when it is in a state of dream. The verse definitely brings out the point that the Prophet when shown the great signs of God did not falter nor show any signs of fear. Further, we also know from the Traditions relating to the spiritual experiences of the Prophet that Gabriel accompanied him on his Night Journey and the Ascension. It is also known that Gabriel visited the Prophet when he was awake and not when he was asleep.

All these considerations lead one to the conclusion that both the Night Journey and the Ascension were corporeal.

As to the Hadith attributed to 'Ayesha that the Prophet was with her at the time of the Night Journey and the Ascension, it must be pointed out that it cannot be accepted as authentic, for these experiences took place in Mecca long before she became the wife of the Prophet, 'Ayesha having married the Prophet after his migration to Medina. Besides, there is not a single Companion of the Prophet who corroborates the words of 'Ayesha.

Yours sincerely,

A. HAMEED.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

List of Books on Islam and Allied Subjects (continued)

Customers are advised not to order books by Air Mail. Air Mail Postage is expensive. It costs approximately 16/- per lb.

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
			Muhammad the Educator, by Robert L. Gulick Jnr. 176 pp.		2	6
			The Prophet and Islam, by Stanley Lane Poole. 52 pp.			
			Muhammad the Holy Prophet, by Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar. Demy 8vo, xx+472 pp.		15	0
			Muhammad the Prophet, by F. K. Khan Durrani, with a Foreword by Abdullah Yusuf Ali. Cr. 8vo, xvi+160 pp.		12	6
			The Prophet of the Desert, by K. L. Gauba. Cr. 8vo, 249 pp.		3	3
			Muhammad of Arabia, by Khurshid Ahmad Enver. Pen picture of the Prophet in fascinating and novel style. Cr. 8vo, 95 pp.		15	0
			The Image of Greatness, by Muhammad Sharif Qureshi. A humble tribute in blank verse. Cr. 16mo, 48 pp.			
			Muhammad, Upon Whom Be Peace, by Shaikh Abdur Rehman. The Prophet's life described in verse. Demy 8vo.		5	0
			The Holy Prophet Muhammad : The Apostle of Allah, by M. A. al-Haj Salmin. xv+225 pp.		1	0
			The Greatest Man, by Abdus Salam Khan. A valuable book for courses in high schools and colleges. 62 pp.		1	0
			Muhammad at Mecca, by W. M. Watt. xvi+192 pp.			
			Aishah the Beloved of Mohammad, by Miss Nabia Abbott. A study based on untranslated Arabic sources. Indexed, xi+230 pp.		15	0
			Wives of the Prophet, by Fida Hussain Malik. xii+153 pp.		4	0
					6	0
					2	10
					4	0
					8	0
					13	0
					6	6
					17	0
					1	1
					2	8
					10	6
					2	5
					1	5
					9	0
					1	6
					12	0
					1	6
					12	0
					1	6
					12	0
					1	6
					15	0
					1	0
					3	0
					4	6

Muslim History

			Islam in the World, by Dr. Zaki Ali. A qualified writer who tries to illustrate the place of Islam in history and the modern world. Demy 8vo, x+434 pp., 4 maps and an appendix
			The Crescent in India, by S. R. Sharma. Demy 8vo, viii+718 pp., 13 illustrations, maps and index
			Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, by F. W. Hasluck. Demy 8vo, lxiv+870 pp. Illustrations and maps, 2 volumes
			Conflict of East and West in Turkey, by Halide Edib Hanum. Demy 8vo, xvi+301 pp.
			The New Turks, by Eleanor Bisbee. xiv+298 pp., indexed
			Islam in Ethiopia, by J. S. Trimingham. Study of the History and Institutions of Islam in Ethiopia. 8vo, xv+299 pp., with 6 maps
			The Legacy of Persia, by A. J. Arberry. It contains thirteen valuable contributions on Persian Art and Culture by well-known Western scholars. Cr. 8vo, xvi+421 pp., with 53 plates and index
			A Monograph on Muslim Calligraphy, by M. Ziauddin. It describes the general character and history of Muslim calligraphy. Royal 4to, vi+72 pp., bibliography, 63 illustrations
			Outlines of Islamic Culture, by A. M. A. Shustery. The book not only brings out the main features of Islamic culture, but elucidates what is common to it and other cultures. 2 vol. Demy 8vo, xxiv+340, and viii+341-796, vi (index); xv chapters, 43 illustrations and appendices
			Foundations in the Dust, by Sutton Lloyd. A history of an archaeological exploration in Mesopotamia. The author is a well-known archaeologist and is Technical Adviser to the Directorate General on Antiquities, Baghdad. Demy 8vo, xii+237 pp., illus. bibliography and index
			Khilafat in Theory and Practice, by S. A. Hasan. A bird's eye-view of the practical working of the institution during the various periods of Islamic History. Demy 8vo, viii+70 pp.

Prices subject to change

Postage and Packing Extra

List of Books on Islam and Allied Subjects (continued)

Customers are advised not to order books by Air Mail. Air Mail Postage is expensive. It costs approximately 16/- per lb.

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
			Islamic Society and the West, by H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen. The present volume is the first of the two volumes intended to give an adequate account of the state of Muslim society before the opening of the 19th Century. Demy 8vo, 386 pp.			
			The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt, by W. H. Salmon. English translation of the Arab chronicle of Muhammad Ibn Ilyas. Demy 8vo, xiii+117 pp. ...			
			Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire, by H. H. Sumner. 80 pp.			
			The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs — 1511-1574, by G. W. F. Stripling. History of the Arabs and the Turks in the first three-quarters of the 16th Century. Indexed, 136 pp.			
			Muslims in Arabia and Africa, by Mahmud Brelvi. Profusely illustrated and 15 coloured maps of Arab countries. xx+341 pp.			
			Ottoman Statecraft, by W. L. Wright, Jnr. Turkish text and translation			
			Arab Seafaring, by G. F. Hourani			
			Arab Archery, by Robert P. Elmer and Nabih A. Faris. 196 pp.			
			Islam in Africa and the Near East, by S. M. Ahmed. Cr. 8vo, 307 pp.			
			Islam in China and the Far East, by S. M. Ahmed. Cr. 8vo, 260 pp.			
			Islam in India and the Middle East, by S. M. Ahmed. Cr. 8vo, 265 pp., with frontispiece			
			Islam in the U.S.S.R., Turkey and Europe, by S. M. Ahmed. Cr. 8vo, 312 pp.			
			The Spirit of Islam, by Ameer Ali. History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam with the life of the Prophet. 6th imp., 8vo, 71+513 pp., with frontispiece			
			Bridge to Islam, by E. W. Bethman. Study of the religious forces of Islam and Christianity in the Near East. 8vo, 240 pp.			
			Studies in Muslim Ethics, by D. M. Donaldson. History of the Muslim ethical system with quotations from principal Arabic and Persian writers. 8vo, xi+304 pp.			
			Medieval Islam, by G. E. von Grunebaum. A study in cultural Orientation. 2nd ed., revised. 8vo, viii+378 pp.			
			Islam in East Africa, by L. P. Harris. 8vo, 96 pp.			
			Muhammad and Charlemagne, by H. Pirenne. Translated from the French by B. Biall. Deals with Western Europe before Islam. Islam and Carolingians, etc. 2nd imp., 8vo, 293 pp.			
			The Arabs in History, by Bernard Lewis. 196 pp., indexed			
			Al-Biruni — Commemoration Volume, Iran Society, Calcutta. A symposium of eminent Orientalists to commemorate the millenary (Hegira years) of the birth of the great scholar of Khwarizm, Shaikh Abu Raihan al-Biruni, mathematician, astronomer, geographer and historian. xxviii+303 pp., indexed...			
			Avicenna, Scientist and Philosopher of Islam. A millenary symposium contributed by A. J. Arberry, J. L. Teicher, J. M. Wickens, E. I. J. Rosenthal, A. C. Crombie and K. Foster. Edited by G. M. Wickens. 8vo, 128 pp.			
			The Shi'ite Religion, by D. M. Donaldson. A history of Islam in Persia and Iraq. With illus., bibliography and index. 8vo, xxvi+393 pp.			
			An Arab Philosophy of History. Selections from the prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406 C.E.). Translated and arranged by Charles Issawi...			
			Egypt's Destiny, by General Naguib. 288 pp.			
			Mohammedanism, by H. A. R. Gibb. 206 pp.			
			Golden Deeds of Islam, by M. Yakub Khan. Cr. 8vo, 132 pp.			
			Making of Pakistan, by Richard Symonds. 227 pp.			
			Young Pakistan, by Rafiq M. Khan and Herbert S. Stark			
			Jinnah, by Hector Bolitho. 244 pp.			
			The Holy Saint of Ajmer, by M. al-Haj Salim. 485 pp.			
			Religion, Philosophy, Mysticism, etc.			
			<i>Books by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din.</i>			
			Threshold of Truth. 8vo, 196 pp.			
			Religion of Jesus and Traditional Christianity. 77 pp. ...			
			Sources of Christianity. Demy 8vo, 113 pp.			
			Message of Islam. Demy 8vo, 74 pp.			
			God and His Attributes. Demy 8vo, 55 pp.			
			Human Faculties and their Development. 35 pp.			
			Islam My Only Choice. Demy 8vo, 30 pp.			
			With Difficulty is Ease. Demy 8vo, 16 pp.			
			Islam to East and West. 204 pp.			
			Modernization of the Islamic Form of Devotion. Demy 8vo, 15 pp.			
			Islam and What it Means. Demy 8vo, 30 pp.			
			<i>Books by Muhammad Ali</i>			
			The Religion of Islam. Royal 8vo, 784 pp.			
			New World Order. Cr. 8vo, 148 pp.			
			The Anti-Christ, Gog and Magog. 91 pp.			
			The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, by Dr. S. M. Iqbal. A valuable book for Muslim Youth of today. 205 pp.			
			What is Islam? by J. W. Lovegrove. Cr. 8vo, 50 pp. ...			
			The Status of Women in Islam, by Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. 23 pp.			
			Islam and Socialism, by K. N. Ahmad. Royal 8vo, 16 pp.			
			Jesus in Heaven on Earth, by K. N. Ahmad. Royal 8vo, 500 pp.			
			The Teachings of Islam, by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Cr. 8vo, 212 pp.			
			Avicenna on Theology. Translated from Arabic by A. J. Arberry			
			The Message of Islam, by A. Yusuf Ali. Résumé of the teachings of the Qur'an with special reference to the spiritual and moral struggles of the human soul			
			Spirit of Islam, by Amir Ali. 515 pp.			
			Studies in Islam and Christianity, by M. S. Dudley Wright. Cr. 8vo, 171 pp.			
			Revival of Zakat, by S. Ataullah. 110 pp.			
			The Persian Mystics. The invocations of Sheikh 'Abdullah Ansari of Herat (1005-1090 C.E.). Translated by Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi			
			Islamic Ideology, by Dr. K. A. Hakim. 346 pp.			
			Modern Islam in India and Pakistan, by Wilfred Cantwell Smith. 475 pp.			
			Islam and Communism, by Dr. K. A. Hakim. 263 pp.			
			Fundamental Human Rights, by Dr. K. A. Hakim. 27 pp.			
			Islam and Theocracy, by M. M. Siddiqi. 47 pp.			
			Whether Islam has been Beneficial or Injurious to Human Society in General, by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. 41 pp.			
			Islam the Ideal Religion, by Professor S. Youseff el-Dighy. Includes discourses on the Prophet Muhammad and the Holy Qur'an			
			Pearls of Faith, by Sir Edwin Arnold. Contains the Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God in verse with comments from various Oriental sources. 190 pp. ...			

Prices subject to change

Postage and Packing Extra

List of Books on Islam and Allied Subjects (continued)

Customers are advised not to order books by Air Mail. Air Mail Postage is expensive. It costs approximately 16/- per lb.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Support of the Faith, by Mir Hashmat Ali. 76 pp.	4	6		The Brotherhood of Purity, by Stanley Lane Poole. 46 pp.		2	0
Marxism or Islam? by M. Siddiqi. 8vo, 169 pp.	18	6		Wright's Arabic Grammar. 2 vols.	2	5	0
Islam's Contribution to the Peace of the World, by S. A. Haque. 52 pp.	1	3		Arabic Grammar, by G. W. Thatcher, with Key. 461 pp.	1	1	6
Mysteries of Selflessness. A Philosophical Poem by the late Dr. S. M. Iqbal. Translated with Notes by Professor A. J. Arberry	6	0		Teach Yourself Arabic, by A. S. Tritton. 296 pp.	7	6	
The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes. Translated from Arabic by Professor A. J. Arberry	6	0		Arabic/English — English/Arabic Dictionary, by E. A. Elias. School size. 692 pp.	1	10	0
Islamic Social Framework, by M. Raihan. Studies the present and future developments of Islam through the establishment of Pakistan. 8vo, 169 pp.	6	0		Arabic/English — English/Arabic Dictionary, by E. A. Elias. Pocket size. 877 pp.	15	0	
Readings from the Mystics of Islam. Translated from Arabic and Persian by Margaret Smith. Cr. 8vo, 144 pp.	18	0		The Seven Odes, by Professor A. J. Arberry. The author compels Western readers to recognize the fact that the Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia are among the greatest masterpieces of world literature. 258 pp.	1	5	0
Free-Will and Predestination in Early Islam, by W. M. Watt. With diagram, bibliography and index. 8vo, x+181 pp.	12	6		Islamic Culture, by A. A. A. Fyzee. Explains in easy words the meaning of culture with reference to the culture of Islam. Cr. 8vo, 50 pp.	4	0	
Illumination in Islamic Mysticism. Translated and edited by E. J. Jurji	15	0		The Spirit of Islamic Culture, by K. A. Waheed. Cr. 8vo, 24 pp.	1	6	
Faith and Practice of al-Ghazzali, by M. W. Watt. 8vo, 155 pp.	9	6		Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramer. Prepared by a number of leading Orientalists. The work will consist of 100 parts of 64 pages each. On the completion of each 20 parts a binding case will be furnished, so that the complete work will consist of 5 stout volumes. Each part	19	0	
Muhammadan Festivals, by G. E. von Grunebaum. 8vo, viii+107 pp.	1	1	0	Shorter's Encyclopaedia of Islam. Includes all the articles contained in the first edition and supplement of the Encyclopaedia of Islam which relate particularly to the religion and law of Islam. S. Roy. 8vo, 671 pp.	4	4	0
Social Justice in Islam, by S. Koth. Deals with contemporary Islamic thought in relation to social justice and its position <i>vis-à-vis</i> the non-Islamic world. 8vo, 298 pp.	1	6	0	Chahar Maqala (Four Discourses) of Nidhami-i-'Arudi-i-Samarqandi. Translated into English from Persian by Edward G. Brown. 8vo, 139 pp.	3	6	
				Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates, by Lt.-Col. Sir Wolseley Haig. Enables one to find the exact equivalent of any day in any month from the beginning of the Muslim era. Cr. 8vo, 32 pp.	3	6	
The Book of Certainty, by Abu Bahr Siraj al-Din. Modern account of Sufism. 8vo, 108 pp.	7	6		Immortal Rose. Translated by A. J. Arberry. An anthology of Persian Lyrics. Demy 8vo, viii+174 pp.	12	6	
General Books				Alf Laila wa Laila, by A. J. Arberry. Tales from the Thousand and One Nights. 8vo, 222 pp., with 6 illus. Cloth	15	0	
A New World, by W. B. Bashyr Pickard. Cr. 8vo, 171 pp.	5	0		Near Eastern Culture and Society. Edited by T. Cuyler Young. Contributions by eleven famous scholars from the U.S.A., England, the Lebanon, Syria and Turkey. Cr. 8vo, x+250 pp., 24 illustrations, indexed	1	10	0
The God that Failed, by Arthur Kostler, Ignazin Silone and Richard Wright. Contains experiences of ex-Communists. 272 pp.	12	6		The Fallacy of Marxism, by Dr. Rafi-ud-Din. 144 pp.	2	0	
Muslims in China. Edited by China Islamic Association. 116 pp.	2	0		The Muslim Neighbours of Pakistan, by Mahmud Brevli. 276 pp.	15	0	
The Road to Mecca, by Muhammad Asad. The author's story of his discovery and acceptance of Islam. 8vo, xiii+381 pp., with end paper maps and 12 plates ...	1	1	0				
Diwan of Zaib al-Nissa, by Magan Lal and Jesse Wisebrook. 102 pp.	7	6					
Road to Kashmir, by A. de Mhaffe. 206 pp.	15	0					
Falcon of Spain, by Thomas Ballantyne Irving. 158 pp.	12	0					
Glimpses of Iqbal's Mind and Thought, by Dr. H. H. Bilgrami. 124 pp.	8	4					
Marriage and Family Life among the Arabs, by Khuda Bakhsh. 57 pp.	2	0					



Prices subject to change

Postage and Packing Extra

Can be obtained from—

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING, SURREY, ENGLAND
AZEEZ MANZIL, BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE, WEST PAKISTAN