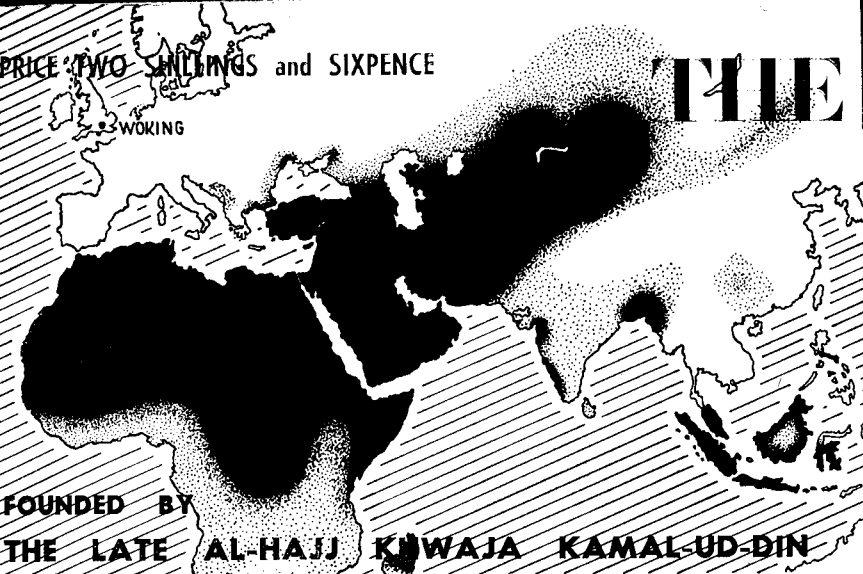


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ing political issues is analytical and informative. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and not those of *The Islamic Review*, or its publishers.

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Between Ourselves

The Cover

The picture on the cover, taken in Karachi, Pakistan, on Friday, the 6th of July, 1951, depicts an interesting aspect of Muslim festivals. Pakistani boys are displaying large placards which exhort the devotees who had come to take part in 'Id al-Fitr congregational prayers to give their *Sadaqat al-Fitr* (the charity on the 'Id Day) to the Fund for the Needy organized by Karachi Administration (*Karachi Nizaamat*). The uses to which the money thus raised will be put is displayed on another placard which carries the words and accompanying illustrations: "houses, shops, food, clothing, utensils, orphans, the needy, widows".

The Contributors

Muhammad 'Ali, M.A., LL.B., a Pakistani Muslim, is translator of the Holy Qur'an into English. His writings in defence of Islam have contributed considerably to the renaissance of Islam. No living Muslim has written more on Islam in English than he.

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Our Subscribers in Pakistan are respectfully requested that they should please be very particular in intimating to our office at Lahore any change in their address as soon as it takes place.

Lack of co-operation of our friends in this matter has been a fruitful source of many an avoidable complaint.

Our subscribers who are in the employ of the Government of Pakistan are asked particularly to take notice of this request.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1951

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَسَلَّمَ

"Muhammad is....the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets..."

"There will be no Prophet after me."

—THE HOLY QUR'ÁN 33:40
—THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XXXIX, No. 9

SEPTEMBER, 1951 C.E.

ZU 'I-HIJJA, 1370 A.H.

THE DIFFICULTIES THAT FACE US

Although for some time now the world of Islam has been gradually coming into its own, which indeed is a matter of pride and joy for all those who believe in its mission and destiny, there are yet very few who realize the magnitude of the difficulties that lie ahead and beset its path before it can ever hope to attain its goal. The purpose of these few lines is to focus attention on this rather far from being a roseate picture of our present and future.

At present there is not a single major Muslim country that is not engaged in one form or another in grappling with its own peculiar problems. Pakistan with its Kahmir tangle; Indonesia with its Irian problem; Iraq and Iran with their struggles against exploitation of their natural resources by imperialist powers; Egypt with the problems of the Sudan and of the occupation of the Suez Canal Zone which the British refuse to vacate, despite the fact that it is an open violation of Egypt's sovereignty; Turkey with the perpetual threat to her territorial integrity by her mighty neighbour; Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco which, groaning under the crushing dead weight of colonialism, are trying to find their feet; and the Muslims of China and of Central Asia about whose religious and spiritual life we know next to nothing, go to make a rough outline of our difficulties.

But in the midst of all these the one problem that stands out is that of the Middle East in which an artificial State bolstered up by artificial means has been created. This State, as everyone knows, is not endowed with such assets as may ensure its survival, for, besides being surrounded by Arab Muslim States with an outlet on the sea which is of little avail to it, it is devoid of natural resources to establish an important foreign trade. This intruder State is a poor country. There is increasing evidence of economic depression in it due to lack of production and artificially increased population whose means of subsistence can be assured only so long as they depend on the foreign trade and, particularly, American charity.

Since last September the "Zionist authorities in Palestine" have been working assiduously on a three-year plan which would cost 1,500 million dollars for the reconstruction of their country to ensure the means of subsistence for an increasing number of immigrants. They have relied for the realization of such an ambitious plan upon the "charity" of Jewish-Americans.

An anti-Communist journal, *Common Sense*, Union, New Jersey, the United States of America, has collected some astonishing facts and figures about this "charity" of the Jewish-Americans and the way in which it is being organized there by

"the Zionist authorities in Palestine". *Common Sense*, in devoting the whole of its issue for 1 May, 1951, to this has also drawn the attention of the American public to the effect that this "charity" to help "the Zionist authorities in Palestine" will have on the Muslims of the Middle East and the chances of success the United States will have if it ever came to a showdown between the Soviet Union and its satellites and the Western democracies. To use its words, the United States "stands as much chance as a snowball in Hell of winning a war with the Soviet Union without the goodwill and co-operation of the 400,000,000 Muslim population in Europe, Asia and Africa."

Common Sense describes in detail the five methods — it prefers to call them "assaults" — adopted by "the authorities in Israel" to raise this huge sum of money. The first of these assaults are the negotiations being conducted between the representatives of the United States, the United Organization and "the Zionist authorities in Palestine" for a fifty-year non-interest bearing \$1,000,000,000 loan by the United States to "the Zionist authorities in Palestine". The second of these five assaults is the successful Zionist assault upon the Securities and Exchange Commission of the United States. The invisible and invincible Zionist "State within a State" in the United States which has operated so successfully inside and outside the Government of the United States has obtained from the Securities and Exchange Commission their approval to unload on Americans a \$500,000,000 "bond issue" of "the Zionist authorities in Palestine". The third of the five assaults is upon the Congress of the United States. The assault is for a \$500,000,000 "grant-in-aid" from the United States Treasury. The fourth of these five assaults is based upon the "Point Four" agreement. "Point Four" financial aid by the American people will donate another additional \$500,000,000 to these "Zionist authorities in Palestine" with which they can carry out their present programme for a "Tennessee Valley Authority" and other extensive reclamation and power projects in Palestine. The last of these five assaults consists of the "fund-raising drives" now going on at top speed all over the United States. Zionists plan to raise by this method a total of almost another \$500,000,000 in the United States. The "tax deductible" income-tax feature of these so-called contributions to charity will divert approximately \$425,000,000 from the United States to the "Zionist authorities in Palestine".

The lesson to be learnt from all this is quite clear.

By the Light of the Qur'an and the Hadith

By MUHAMMAD 'ALI, M.A., LL.B.

"Your wives are the trust of God in your hands, so you must treat them with all kindness" (A Saying of the Prophet Muhammad)

The status of the woman in Islam.

The woman is a free person in the fullest sense of the word, as free as the man. She can earn property (Holy Qur'an 4:32); she can own it and dispose of it as she likes (Holy Qur'an 4:4); she can inherit property, like the male or along with the male heirs (Holy Qur'an 4:7). Spiritually, too, she stands on a level with the male (Holy Qur'an 3:194; 40:40; 16:97). She is even recognized as being the recipient of Divine revelation (Holy Qur'an 3:41; 28:7).

Marriage relationship is given the same importance as blood-relationship (Holy Qur'an 25:54). Marriage serves a double purpose in human society, being the means of the moral uplift of man and of the multiplication of the human race (Holy Qur'an 7:189; 30:21; 42:11). Celibate life is against the teachings of the Holy Qur'an which requires every Muslim to live in a married state (Holy Qur'an 24:32). If anyone has not the means, he should try to keep himself chaste by other means (*Bukhari*). Marriage is a sacred contract which a man and a woman enter into by mutual agreement (Holy Qur'an 2:232; 4:21). Temporary marriage is forbidden (*Bukhari*). A Muslim may marry a non-Muslim woman (Holy Qur'an 5:5). Marriage is forbidden within certain degrees of relationship (Holy Qur'an 4:23,24). The rule is the marriage of one man with one woman, but in exceptional cases a man is allowed to take another wife (Holy Qur'an 4:3).

Marriage.

Marriage should be preceded by a proposal (*Bukhari*). It is recommended that before making a proposal, a man should satisfy as to the desirability of the match (*Tirmidhi*). The guardian must obtain the woman's consent for marriage (*Bukhari*); where a woman, given in marriage by her father, disliked the match, the marriage was annulled (*Bukhari*). Marriage among equals is recommended, but all Muslims being equal there is no limitation as to the choice of the mate (*Ibn Maja*). Nobility of character is the most valuable gift of a woman which should be taken into consideration in marrying her (*Bukhari*). A dowry must be settled on the woman at the time of marriage, there being no limitation as to its amount (Holy Qur'an 4:4, 20). The dowry may be increased or decreased by mutual consent after marriage (Holy Qur'an 4:24). Any conditions may be laid down at the time of marriage, so long as they are not against the law of Islam (*Bukhari*). The marriage must be publicly proclaimed, and it is recommended that it should be held in a public place, and announced with the beat of drum (*Mishkaat al-Masaabih* 13:3). The contract is given a sacred character by a sermon before the parties announce their acceptance (*Abu Dawud*). A feast is recommended when the bride comes to the bridegroom's house (*Bukhari*).

Divorce.

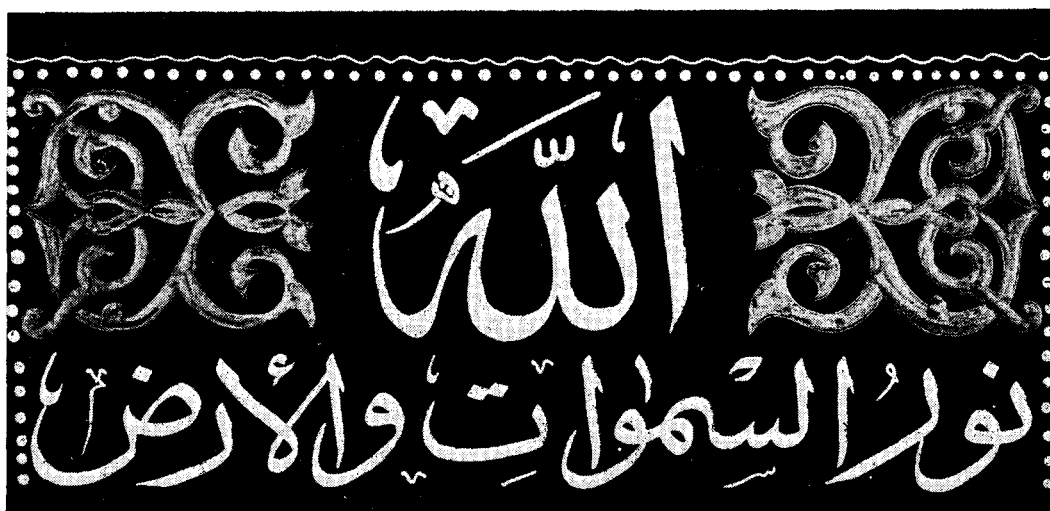
Divorce is permitted, but it is stated to be "the most detestable of all things permitted" (*Abu Dawud*); the right should, therefore, be exercised under exceptional circumstances. When differences between husband and wife arise, every effort should first be made for reconciliation and private judges should be appointed for the purpose (Holy Qur'an 4:35). Divorce may be resorted to only if reconciliation cannot be effected (Holy Qur'an 4:125-130). The wife can claim a divorce for any good reason (Holy Qur'an 2:229; *The Musnad* 5, 277), even though there is no ill-treatment on the part of the husband (*Bukhari*). Divorce

should be pronounced during the period of cleanness (*Bukhari*), and should be followed by "idda", a waiting period of about 3 months. During this period the wife should remain in the house of her husband, and the parties are free to re-establish marital relations (Holy Qur'an 2:228; 67:1). After the waiting period has passed, the parties may remarry (Holy Qur'an 2:232). But the option for re-establishment of marital relations and remarriage is limited to two occasions (Holy Qur'an 2:229). The dowry settled on the wife at the time of marriage cannot be taken back by the husband on divorce, unless the wife is guilty of adultery (Holy Qur'an 4:20), or she wants a divorce without any fault on the part of the husband (*Bukhari*). Divorce should be pronounced only once; its utterance thrice on one occasion is un-Islamic (*Nisaai*).

Special stress is laid on kindly and good treatment towards the wife. "Keep them in good fellowship or let them go with kindness" (Holy Qur'an 2:229) is a direction which requires kindness towards the woman even when she is divorced. Again: "Retain them in good fellowship or set them free with liberality, and do not retain them for injury" (Holy Qur'an 2:231). Kindness is recommended even when a man dislikes his wife: "Treat them kindly; and if you dislike them, it may be that you dislike a thing while God has placed abundant good in it" (Holy Qur'an 4:19). Good treatment of the wife is made an index of a man's excellence: "The most excellent of you is he who is best in his treatment of his wife" (*Mishkaat al-Masaabih*). Addressing the people at Mecca, the Prophet Muhammad said in his Farewell Pilgrimage address: "They (your wives) are the trust of God in your hands, so you must treat them with all kindness" (*Muslim*).

Home life. The covering of the face never required by Islam.

Much of the happiness of home life depends on its privacy. Entering houses without permission is strictly forbidden: "Do not enter houses other than your own until you have asked permission and saluted their inmates" (Holy Qur'an 24:27). The inside of the house is regarded as a sacred place which can be entered only on permission. A curtain at the door secures the privacy of the inmates and what is known as *hijab* or seclusion (Holy Qur'an 32:53) is only another name for this privacy. To ensure happier marital relations, it is recommended that a woman should not be alone in private with a man unless there is present a *dhu mahram*, a very near relative (*Bukhari*). For the same reason, too free mingling of the sexes is discarded. Women have every right to go out of their houses for their needs (*Bukhari*), and there is no seclusion of women in this sense. But when going out, they are required to be properly dressed; they should not make a display of their finery or uncover certain parts of the body such as the bosom (Holy Qur'an 24:30, 31). The wearing of an over-garment is recommended for this purpose (Holy Qur'an 33:59). The Islamic social system really prohibits the displaying of beauty in such a manner as to excite the passions of the other sex; it does not prohibit the going out of women for their needs. The veil or covering of the face was never required by Islam, and women said their prayers in congregation in mosques unveiled. When performing the pilgrimage women were forbidden putting on a veil (*Bukhari*). The Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said to a young woman who was not properly dressed: "When the woman attains her majority, it is not proper that any part of her body should be seen except this and this"; and he pointed to his face and hands (*Abu Dawud*).



ECONOMIC REGENERATION OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

WANTED — A “SCHUMAN PLAN”¹

By “ARIEL”

“The recent agreement between France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, by which these six West-European nations have pooled their coal and steel resources, should serve as an eye-opener to the Muslim world. This coal-steel merger plan — popularly known as the Schuman Plan — is the beginning of an entirely new idea in economic planning, and it will not be surprising if after twenty years from now we see the whole world in the grip of a number of Schuman Plans. It was, therefore, time that the Muslim countries also thought whether anything of that type could be achieved by them. All Muslim countries are on the threshold of a new era of economic development, and it was perhaps the fittest time when we could unite and give to our economic fabrics an entirely new pattern based on the idea of Collective Enterprise”

“Another step that occurs to me (though very trivial in itself) is that we should honour the leaders of the other countries by associating their names with big public projects of outstanding importance. Imagine Pakistan’s Sukkur Barrage (Lloyds Barrage is its real name being named after the great Kemal Ataturk. I am sure half the people that would visit the barrage would be led to know more about Kemal Ataturk than they do already, and it would also have a great educative value. Another instance, the great Aswan Dam in Egypt can be named after another great Islamic hero — Qaid-i-azam Muhammad ‘Ali Jinnah. Will not Pakistanis feel a great pride and a closer community of aims with the Egyptians if they do so? I am sure that this step would go a long way in cementing the ties of love and friendship between the masses of the Muslim countries”

The past and present of Muslims.

From Algiers and Morocco in the west to Indonesia in the east extends the Muslim world — the “Sixth Continent”, as it has come popularly to be known — housing within its geographical boundaries 400 million souls, or about one-fifth of the world’s population. A large part of the Muslim world is politically independent but is under the direct influence of the Western nations, and economically they stand prostrated, as most of the lands have for the last two centuries been the scene of the most extensive and systematic exploitation that human ingenuity could think of. In fact, the foundations of the Western civilization and of everything material that it boasts of to-day — of New York, its Broadway and its Manhattan City, of Chicago and San Francisco, of London with its Piccadilly and Hyde Park, of the humming mills of Manchester and Dundee, of Paris, Brussels and The Hague — have all been laid on the sweat and blood of this unhappy part of the world known as the Middle East and South and South-East Asia. Muslims, who at one time

ruled almost half the known world, count nowhere to-day. We have lost our traditions, our culture, our civilization to others who now rule the world by the very principles and learning which we gave to the world in the heyday of Islam. There is no freedom from want and hunger for the teeming millions of this “Sixth Sub-Continent”. In fact a large portion of the population is denied the basic necessities of life, and who knows when, if ever, the angel of power and plenty will smile again on these unhappy lands?

Why all this?

The reasons for this degeneration in thought and practical life are not far to seek. We have simply ceased to be Muslims. We have drifted away and away from the teachings of the Holy Qur’an and our Prophet. Islamic ways of life, its basic values and fundamentals, have almost been forgotten. The cardinal principle of Islam — universal brotherhood — no longer holds sway in our lands. We are now Arabs, Turks, Pakistanis, Iranians and Indonesians instead of being simply Muslims. Apart from this

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moral degeneration, we have followed an ostrich-like policy in regard to the material advancement that all the Western world now is proud of. We have kept our eyes shut to all the social and economic changes that have almost irreducibly changed the face of the world during the last century. While the Western people were making voyages of discovery and founding new empires, while industry and social revolutions were convulsing great empires and recreating a new life and a new society, while the Renaissance came and art flourished and science progressed, the Muslim world dreamt of the glorious ages gone by. Thus it has come to pass that we are in our present helpless plight. It is, however, useless to rue our fate and cry for the might-have-been of history, but at the same time it was perhaps necessary to recall all this because no rejuvenation is possible unless the examination of self is complete and we know in what a miserable condition we have landed ourselves by centuries of self-delusion and self-neglect. We have no doubt a heritage — and a most glorious one, too — but the more recent heritage is all a tale of woe and misery and the question before the Muslim world to-day is to rebuild itself on modern knowledge but without in any way compromising the fundamentals of its faith.

First streaks of dawn.

It is heartening to note, however, that in this darkness of all-round squalor, poverty, misery and hunger, the first streaks of dawn are already beginning to appear. The birth during the past four years of two new independent Muslim States — Pakistan and Indonesia — is a definite indication of the fact. The whole Muslim world is agog with new ideas of political and economic independence. The cry of "no more economic exploitation by the West" is clearly discernible above the tumultuous fight of Capitalism and Communism. Forces of liberation have swept the entire area, and it is undeniable that before long the shackles of bondage — visible and invisible — will have once and for all been broken by the Muslim countries. The future, always elusive and uncertain, lies before us opaque as an undeveloped film, but sheltering within its thin bosom matter which may bring a prize or may prove "another so much stuff wasted", and it is naturally up to us to develop our future into a winner, or God forbid. . . .

Our main objectives should now obviously be that we make determined advances in all fields — political, social, cultural, religious, economic, industrial and scientific. In short, an all-out effort will have to be made to bring ourselves to some comparable standard with the West. Economics is, however, the prime mover behind all progress and advancement nowadays, and it is here that the first concentration of effort will be needed if the inherent weakness of the Muslim lands is to be removed. Economic weakness and chaos leads to political weakness, and it is economics which has been the dynamic factor in promoting the two recent world wars, and it is on this plane that the present world tension, as also the fight between the two dominating ideologies of the world — Capitalism and Communism — goes on. Before considering the measures that are essential to bring about our economic regeneration, it might be useful to survey, very briefly, the existing conditions of the economy of the Muslim world.

Present-day conditions.

The pattern of the Muslim world's economy is markedly wanting in diversification. The countries of this region derive the greatest part of their national incomes from agriculture and the production of primary raw materials. There are a few scattered patches of industry here and there, but it does not yet play as important a rôle as it does in the West. The natural resources of the regions have not yet been fully tapped except for oil, which has gained world-wide prominence during the last decade. Oil will be examined in more detail later on.



A new member of the world brotherhood of Islam, which does not know the unconscionable barriers of race and colour, Mr. Muhammad Leonard Cook, an English Muslim who has chosen to mould his life on the pattern of the principles of Islam

About 70 per cent of the population of the Muslim countries depend on agriculture. This valuable productive asset is, however, by no means fully utilized, and on a conservative estimate another 40 per cent of the total area under cultivation at present can be brought under the plough if efforts towards that end are made. The agrarian structure, which constitutes the basis of agricultural economy, rests mostly on a system of land tenure characterized by a high degree of concentration of land-ownership in a limited group of large owners. This, together with the use of obsolete implements, antiquated methods and the almost complete absence of modern methods of agriculture, results in a low level of productivity and of *per capita* income. The standard of living of the rural population as a whole is at the barest subsistence level. Recently some 4,000 tractors have been imported into Turkey with Marshall Aid, and mechanized farming is becoming more popular there. A sweeping Land Reform in that country in 1945 gave agricultural lands to about 5,000,000 landless peasants.

The most important agricultural crops and other raw materials produced in the Muslim countries are wheat, barley, maize, rice, cotton, tobacco, jute, tea, rubber, and hides and skins. The region is almost self-sufficient in food and some of the countries even have an exportable surplus.

Mining, fuel and power.

The mineral resources of the Muslim world largely remain unexplored. The whole of the Middle East is believed to be very rich in minerals. War conditions adversely affected the development of mineral production in most cases except for particularly indispensable products. This was mainly due to the acute shortage of mineral equipment and machinery normally imported from abroad and in certain cases owing to military operations and international conditions. Mining is now being resumed and considerable attention is being directed towards all kinds of machinery. The chief minerals of the region which are being extracted now are iron-ore, copper, chromium, sulphur, manganese, phosphate, potassium chloride, salt and gypsum.

The Middle East contains rich oil reserves. Of the proved world resources of oil outside the United States two-thirds are to be found in the Middle East. The oil industry in the Middle East has developed phenomenally during the last decade. While

the world production increased from 21,000,000 tons in 1900 to 500,000,000 tons in 1950, the Middle East production of oil jumped from 16,000,000 tons in 1938 to 105,000,000 tons in 1950. Thus if the rest of the world's production is taken at 100 in 1938, the world production increased to 175 in 1950 as against 650 in the Middle East. It is estimated that by 1960, the Middle East will be producing more oil than the United States. Oil, therefore, plays and will play in future a very important rôle in the economy of the Middle East. The Muslim countries have become the playground of the big powers because of this oil. At the moment the oil resources of the Middle East are mostly being exploited by the British and American Oil companies, and the benefits of this rich gift of nature continue to be largely denied to the countries themselves but are taken away by the exploiting nations. There is not the least doubt that before long the economy of the Middle East will base itself on oil. Already, oil has begun to dominate the political horizon of the Middle East countries, and this importance is to grow with the passage of time as oil resources of the world are depleted.

The Muslim countries are generally deficient in coal. Turkey produced in 1939 225,000 tons of coal, and this production had increased to 319,000 tons by 1946, and that of lignite increased from 8,500 to 37,200 tons during the same period. Coal and iron production are substantially responsible for the progress made in establishing heavy industries that have been initiated and developed under Turkey's industrialization plans. Pakistan's indigenous production of coal of about 300,000 tons a year falls much below its requirements. Besides, the coal is of inferior quality and cannot be used for industrial purposes.

The electric power resources of the region are also not properly harnessed as compared with the Western countries. The following figures indicate the stage of advancement of a few countries in the *per capita* consumption of electrical energy :

U.S.A.	1,610 kW.
Sweden	1,610 „
Palestine	135 „
Algiers	50 „
Egypt	26 „
Turkey	15 „
Pakistan	1.6 „

Electricity developments in the Islamic countries has been, up to the present, rather unbalanced and lop-sided in so far as electric power has been generated from costly imported fuels while the natural water power has been allowed to roll down to the high seas. Out of a total production of 266,000,000 kW. hours in 1945 in Turkey, only 6 per cent came from water power, although the hydro-electric potential of the country exceeds 15 billion kW. hours per annum. Fortunately, interest has now gradually shifted towards the exploitation of the water power resources. Egypt has embarked upon a grandiose project of the Assuan Dam for the generation of 352,000 kW. Turkey has also in hand four ambitious Hydel schemes, which would have a total installed capacity of 170,000 kW., Algiers has set up a target of generating 150,000 kW. Afghanistan has also been planning hydro-electric installations to yield 38,000 kW. Pakistan's target is 265,000 kW. in the next six years, out of which 125,000 are proposed to be generated by 1953.

Industry.

The types of industry prevalent throughout this region are mainly those connected with the processing of raw materials abundant in the area and include textile, sugar and other food processing manufactures, cement and chemical industries. The last world war provided a strong impetus for industrial development in the Muslim countries. Metal industries developed considerably in Turkey mainly due to its coal and iron resources. Other efforts to develop metal industries took place in Iran and

Egypt. Iran has a fully developed carpet industry as well as factories making woollen and cotton clothes. Glass, small arms, ammunition, chemicals, matches, silk textiles, cigars and cigarettes and beet sugar refineries are the other important industries in Iran. Turkey has made great strides in the industrial field. A Five-Year Plan inaugurated in 1934 saw iron and steel, textile, mining, paper, glass, sugar and cement industries established in the country. In 1938 another Four-Year Plan was prepared, but this could not be carried through owing to the outbreak of the war. A Five-Year Plan is now under way. An important feature of the plan is that it accords special attention to the extensive development of chemical industries. The plan also aims at increasing the capacity of the steel works to over three lakhs of metric tons. Other important provisions in the plan are the expansion of the cement works and textile factories. A recent development is the establishment of a factory for the manufacture of electric bulbs and other electrical equipment.

Egypt has also several considerably developed industries, such as sugar, cigarettes and textiles. The chemical industries are also developing year by year. The country is now self-sufficient in sugar, alcohol, cigarettes, salt, electric bulbs, cement, etc.

Pakistan is not industrially a very advanced country. Efforts are, however, being made by the Government to put the country's economy on an industrial footing as soon as possible, and an expenditure of about £25,000,000 is proposed to be made within the next two years exclusively on the establishment of industrial units in the country. Included in this top priority programme is the establishment of cotton, jute and steel mills, and cement, leather, strawboards, and chemical factories.

Development Plans.

Governmental efforts at developing the economies of the Middle East countries were first initiated after the first world war. Prompted mainly by a general desire towards attainment of some degree of economic independence, these countries embarked on a wide range of measures to further the utilization of their natural resources, increase their productive capacities and raise the standard of living of the peoples of the area. The development, however, took place according to the needs of each country, and there was thus no co-ordination in this respect in the countries that make up the Middle East.

The establishment in 1945 of the Economic Committee of the League of Arab States marks the first attempt towards the organization of inter-State developmental activities in that region. After the formation of Pakistan and the emergence of Indonesia as an independent State, the joint efforts were carried a stage further by the formation of the International Islamic Economic Conference, which has since held two sessions — one in Karachi and the other in Teheran.

At the moment a few countries of the Muslim *bloc* have already drawn up their Development Plans and some have gone ahead with them. Egypt has formulated and initiated a Five-Year Plan which concentrates on agriculture and hydro-electric projects, industry, transport, health and public works, and social affairs. The total cost of the plan is about £55,000,000. The Turkish plan provides for the promotion of the industrial potentialities of the country and aims to achieve certain productive goals. Similarly, Iran has undertaken a Seven-Year Plan which concentrates on the development of agriculture, industries and means of transport. Pakistan, being a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, has tagged its development programme to the British-sponsored Colombo Plan. The Government of Pakistan have drawn up an impressive £250,000,000 Plan for the development of agriculture, transport, industries and mining, fuel and power and social activities. £82,000,000 are to be spent on agriculture alone. In order, however, to expedite the

development of essentials for the betterment of the country's economy, another Two-Year Plan was announced by the Government, which is to form part of the overall Six-Year Plan and in which more emphasis has been laid on industries, electric power, shipping, etc. Iraq has also drawn up an ambitious development programme costing about £50,000,000. Included in this programme are three major irrigation projects, involving an expenditure of about £20,000,000. Other expenditure provided in the programme relates to drainage works, construction of roads and some public health and educational schemes, etc.

Foreign Trade.

The main exports of the Islamic countries are cotton, jute, dates, hides and skins, wool, mineral oils, tea, rubber, tin and tobacco. The main imports are cotton piece-goods, sugar, motor vehicles, jute goods, machinery, manures and a host of other consumer goods. The countries generally have adverse balances of trade. Trade amongst the countries themselves is also not very much developed primarily because of the fact that the countries are all exporters of agricultural products and industrial raw materials and importers of manufactured goods.

Task ahead.

It will be seen from the above paragraphs that the economic problems of the Muslim countries are mostly similar in nature. All countries have unbalanced economies in that their natural resources of minerals and hydro-electric power and even agricultural potential rather lie undeveloped. Their agricultural products go out of their hands in a raw form and are sold back to them at enhanced prices in the shape of manufactured goods. Development that has taken place so far has been undertaken on a country to country basis and not in accordance with a unified plan for the whole of the Islamic world. It is also clear that for a proper development of our resources and for eliminating our dependence on the West for much of our requirements, a huge capital investment would be required. Recent experiences, however, show that even the big nations of the world, after decades of industrial experience, have found it in their interest to pool their resources and thus achieve greater stability in the otherwise shifting sands of international trade and commerce. The recent agreement between France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, by which these six West-European nations have pooled their coal and steel resources, should serve as an eye-opener to the Muslim world. This coal-steel merger plan — popularly known as the Schuman Plan — is the beginning of an entirely new idea in economic planning, and it will not be surprising if after twenty years from now we see the whole world in the grip of a number of Schuman Plans. It was, therefore, time that the Muslim countries also thought whether anything of that type could be achieved by them. All Muslim countries are on the threshold of a new era of economic development, and it was perhaps the fittest time when we could unite and give to our economic fabrics an entirely new pattern based on the idea of Collective Enterprise.

International Islamic Economic Conference should be organized on Government basis.

Two important steps have already been taken in this direction — one the formation of the International Islamic Economic Conference, and the other the holding of the Mo'tamar 'Alam-i-Islami. Both these conferences represent the concrete desire of the Muslim world in general to join hands on the problems that it faces to-day, but unfortunately nothing substantial has come from the conference tables except the verbatim reports of the brilliant speeches delivered there by the delegates or an endless plethora of beautifully worded resolutions on almost all subjects concerning the Muslim world. Looking round on the practical side, one is amazed at the apparent indifference

with which the resolutions and discussions of the conference have been treated by the Governments concerned. The Colombo Plan could be hammered into shape in a few meetings because the will to do the things was there; similarly the Schuman Plan is receiving final touches despite many obstacles. And you just go through the piles of the resolutions of the International Islamic Economic Conference which discuss all aspects of the economy of the Muslim countries and you will feel as if here, too, something new is on the anvil. Grandiose projects — the formation of Islamic airlines, steamship companies, travel facilities, the development of industries on a regional basis and so on and so forth — have all been discussed and placed on record. But as soon as you look about to see whether anything has been achieved anywhere, you get completely shocked at the inaction. To say nothing of achievement, even the will to achieve seems to be lacking. Two years have passed and the participating countries have not even been able to plan an organization which is scheduled to conduct an organized survey of the economic conditions of the Muslim *bloc* according to the recommendations of the International Islamic Economic Conference. The setting up of an organization for "planning" the future development of the Muslim countries was perhaps the easiest of the recommendations, but even this has not been put into practice.

The real reason for this inaction is that the International Islamic Economic Conference continues to function as a private organization. There is no doubt that all the Governments send their Cabinet Ministers to attend the conference, but the "Governments" themselves are not represented on the conference tables, and that lends an entirely different colour to the deliberations of the Conference. Large sums have been spent on the two conferences of the International Islamic Economic Conference with hardly any perceptible result so far.

The first step in the economic regeneration of the Muslim lands should, therefore, be that a high-powered Economic Commission for the Islamic countries should be formed on a purely Governmental basis. Private organizations such as the International Islamic Economic Conference should be finally wound up. All governments of the Islamic countries should emphatically declare their willingness to give unstinted support to the deliberations of this Commission. The main functions of this Commission should be the creation of an entirely new pattern of economy for the Muslim world — a pattern based on the idea of Collective Enterprise. By Collective Enterprise is meant the pooling of resources of the Islamic countries on the pattern of the Schuman Plan. In other words, the proposal means the development of the economy of the Muslim countries on a Pan-Islamic basis.

New blue-print.

As readers must have seen in the paragraphs where the existing economic conditions of the Muslim countries has been surveyed, our first and foremost need is industrialization. The present position is that even the small and medium industry is not fully developed, to say nothing of the heavy industry or the armament industry. The International Islamic Economic Conference in its last session in Teheran has recommended the development of industry in the Islamic countries on a regional basis. This means that some industries (notably the heavy industry) are to be developed in that region alone where circumstances are most conducive to its development. Thus the steel industry can be developed in Turkey and Egypt, and these two countries can cater for the needs of the other Islamic countries. The possibilities, however, are that, if all development is left to private capital in those countries or even if the State participates in these projects, it is difficult to make the industries so productive as to make them capable of meeting the demand of the

whole Muslim *bloc*. An alternative proposal can, therefore, be that the Muslim countries pool their financial resources and facilitate development of essential industries as a matter of urgency. A Supranational Islamic Development Board will have to be created, the capital of which should be contributed by all participating countries both in their own currency and in sterling and dollars. A portion of the blocked sterling balances should also be transferred to the credit of this Development Board, which will provide the Board with more working capital which it will need from year to year in connection with its expanding activities. The Development Board should work under the direct supervision of the high-powered Economic Commission, the creation of which has already been suggested.

Pan-Islamized oil and heavy industry.

The Board will co-ordinate the various development programmes of the member countries and arrange for an immediate study of the ways and means of integrating the economy of the Muslim world on a Pan-Islamic basis. In this connection immediate attention is necessary to the question of oil and the establishment of heavy industry. We have recently seen how the question of nationalization of oil in Iran has created a very delicate situation in international politics. Similarly, the oil resources of Iran and Arabia and Kuwait are also being exploited by the other nations of the world. My point is that if the Muslim countries possessing oil are left to deal with Britain, Russia and America alone, it will always be harmful to our interests one way or the other. The solution therefore lies not in nationalization of the oil industry but in placing it on a Pan-Islamized footing. Take the case of Iran. The Iranians have already admitted that if they are unable to operate the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, they will close down such portions of it as cannot be worked. Very soon the same situation, as has been created in Iran, can be possible in other countries as well. A Pan-Islamized footing to the oil industry would mean all the Muslim countries would be directly interested in the efficient working of the various oil companies, taken over by the Development Board. The merger of the economic interests of the Muslim countries might also perhaps result in our getting better deals with the outside world. It has, however, also to be realised that all the Islamic countries combined cannot in one stroke collect all the capital that will be necessary for compensating the existing concessionaries. It will, therefore, be necessary to extend the work of the taking over to a number of years, and meanwhile it would be well to come to a financial agreement with the existing oil companies by which the Board can take increasing interest in the affairs of the companies as its investment increases. Another step which is possible right now is that new concessions for the development of oil should not be given to foreigners but left to be solely exploited under the aegis of the Development Board.

I have given above the necessity and nucleus of the plan on which the economy of the Muslim countries can be based. There are other phases of our economy where Pan-Islamization is essential. These can be the heavy industry, the establishment of inter-regional communications, including the development of air transport, the provision of technical institutes, tariff policies, and the question of our foreign exchange reserves.

Heavy industry.

So far as the heavy industry is concerned, it should not be very difficult to organize it as a joint enterprise. The Development Board should allocate suitable sums for the establishment of this industry in the different countries of the region. We can concentrate the jute industry in East Pakistan; similarly the steel industry can be located in Turkey and Egypt, whereas the rubber industry can be developed in Indonesia. Light and medium industries should be left to develop on a decentralized basis, but according to a plan chalked out by the Economic Commission.

Means of inter-regional communications which include the development of shipping and the establishment of air lines should also be undertaken on a Pan-Islamic basis. At the moment one air line running from Indonesia to Egypt and Turkey should perhaps be enough. The Development Board should arrange for the purchase of a number of ocean-going vessels to promote inter-regional trade. Our objective should, however, be that we make our own ships as soon as possible. Another important step essential to our economic regeneration is that we must quickly overcome the dearth of technical personnel that we face in every branch of our industry and learning at present. Whether it is a question of technicians for oil, textiles or iron and steel mills or economists, school-teachers, doctors or nurses, it is always the dearth of technical personnel that stares us in the face and which is, apart from finances, one of the biggest problems for our planners. It is most essential, therefore, that a plan for eradicating this shortage is drawn up in consultation with the Governments concerned and accorded the highest priority in execution. In the matter of tariff policies some concerted action is necessary. We have all tried to give some concession to some foreign countries who are members of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (G.A.T.). It needs no emphasis to say that our tariff policies are not co-ordinated at present. There are many articles of trade which we can conveniently buy from amongst ourselves. The policy should be that the Islamic countries should give tariff concessions to each other to stimulate their industrial production. For example, if textiles and hosiery can be imported from Egypt into Pakistan, it should pay less import duty in Pakistan than the textiles of other countries. Similarly, our surgical and sports goods should be allowed to enter other Islamic countries at a cheaper cost. There are many who think that if the subject is examined properly and discussed across the tables between the representatives of the various Islamic countries much headway can be made in this direction to the advantage of all concerned.

Currency riddle.

And now we come to the all-important question of our foreign exchange reserves. The Muslim countries are mostly members of the Sterling Area and their Foreign Exchange Reserves are therefore maintained in the Bank of England. This gives to the United Kingdom an excellent opportunity of controlling the foreign exchanges earned by the members of the Area. The most important advantage that it gives to England is that even our current purchases from the Dollar Area can and have been restricted. There are, no doubt, certain advantages too in the membership of the Sterling Area, but there are grievous liabilities also attached to this membership, most important amongst which is the feeling of subordination that it creates as between England and the other countries. A bold move in this connection is, however, possible in that the Muslim countries should have their own currency reserve separate from the accounts now being maintained by the Bank of England. We can leave our present earnings with that Bank, as also our frozen sterling balances, but any fresh earnings from a specified date should be creditable direct to our currency accounts. For this purpose it will be necessary to route and centralize the entire transactions through a central exchange bank in any one of the Muslim countries, and this will have to be undertaken. Side by side with the question of our foreign exchange reserves, we should look into the reserves that we have put aside as a cover for our note issues. Here British sterling securities figure in a very high percentage in our balance sheets. It is most essential that a policy should be initiated whereby our total or even a major portion of our investments should not be made in securities of the United Kingdom origin. Egypt has, recently started a policy whereby she will have a gold and dollar backing

to her currency. In any case it is universally recognized that putting all one's eggs in one basket is not a good policy and diversification in the matter should, therefore, be our keynote.

Easier things.

All the programme explained above would require a lot of constructive thinking, calculations and round-table talks between the participating Muslim countries, but, given the amount of goodwill, care and thought, many of the difficulties which appear insurmountable at first sight can easily be overcome. What is required is a correct realization of the almost compelling circumstances which lead to the only goal — collective enterprise. But there are many things which can be done without much effort. For example, take the question of postal rates. Why cannot we introduce cheaper rates in the case of Islamic countries? Why cannot governments undertake the supply of free or cheaper material to all the Islamic countries? The present position is that the majority of the educated class (to say nothing of the illiterate masses) are not at all acquainted with the economic or cultural trends in the Muslim world. Most of us do not know how much the other Islamic countries receive in revenues and how much they spend, what the figures of their trade and commerce are; we even do not know the exchange values between the different currencies of the Islamic bloc. Much of this ignorance can be removed if governments undertake to furnish the people with subsidized educational material on other Islamic countries. A half-yearly or yearly brochure on the Islamic countries — their budgets, educational and social problems, development schemes, etc. — can be very helpful. Let our embassies in the Islamic countries give the public of those countries periodical information regarding Pakistan and let the embassies of those countries supply the same to us here. Can we not take any lesson from the working of the British Information Service and the United States Information Service? Surely, millions are not required to start such a service, and if need be, why cannot we put our resources together and create a Central Library or Islamic Institute, where moderately priced literature on all aspects of the Muslim world is available? Why cannot the Islamic countries arrange cinema shows now and then and tell the rising generation what the future would demand from them? It is always, of course, very easy to call for a party of journalists and take them round in a country on joy rides, but the vast majority of the masses remain as ignorant of the present-day conditions of their brethren in the other lands as they have ever been.

Another step that occurs to me (though very trivial in itself) is that we should honour the leaders of the other countries by associating their names with big public projects of outstanding importance. Imagine Pakistan's Sukkur Barrage (Lloyds Barrage is its real name) being named after the great Kemal Ataturk. I am sure half the people that would visit the barrage would be led to know more about Kemal Ataturk than they do already, and it would also have a great educative value. Another instance, the great Aswan Dam in Egypt can be named after another great Islamic hero — Qaid-i-azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah. Will not Pakistanis feel a great pride and a closer community of aims with the Egyptians, if they do so? I am sure that this step would go a long way in cementing the ties of love and friendship between the masses of the Muslim countries.

The financial aspect.

The financial aspect of this grandiose scheme needs more explanation. What is to be guarded against is the fact that the proposals do not flounder on the financial rocks. As stated earlier, it would be necessary for the Islamic countries to set aside certain portions of their revenues to put the whole machinery in motion. The share of each country can be determined by negotiation, and once the Development Board gets going, future difficulties can

be met with courage and fortitude. The Development Board should run on commercial lines, each country getting from the profits a share equal to the capital contributed by it. The Board should have the power of raising loans in its own name in all the member countries and the governments concerned should see that every facility is afforded to the Board to float its loan and to the investors who want to put their money in the shares or bonds issued by it. Care should be taken to have all denominations of loans issued, i.e., in big denominations as well as in small. Backed by proper publicity, such loans can bring in substantial sums of money. So far as external resources are concerned, we should set aside a certain percentage of our blocked sterling resources as our capital contributions in the formation of the Development Board and these can be utilized as soon as it gets "unfrozen". The Board should work in close co-operation with such other bodies as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and should get loans from that body — all such loans to be jointly underwritten by the Governments concerned.

Back to earth.

Coming back to earth from all this high thinking and planning all sorts of doubts and misgivings invade me. Many of us would think that even if the half of all these projected plans is achieved it would be a shining star in the cap of the Muslim world. It should not, perhaps, be the star that we should be after. Instead we should get to the job in a quiet and business-like manner without tom-tomming and fanfares. We should have courage and confidence in our God and set out on the road with the determination that the thing has to be done at all cost. Every one of us who is connected with the organization of the scheme should take it in the spirit of *Jihad* and lo! you will see that the earth unfolds its bosom and throws its riches before you, and so do the mighty seas and rivers and mountains. There is really no need for despair if we take the job with the same zeal and fervour that characterized our actions 1,300 years ago. And then, as has been said above, there are many things which can be done without spending millions in cash or labour. Only there should be the will to take up the things in the right way.

I close by giving a few extracts from the report of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East:

"... But higher living standards cannot be bestowed by any one upon another like a gift. An improved economy does not come in a neat package sold or given away in the market-place. A higher standard of living must grow out of the application of human skill and ingenuity to the physical resources of a country or a region.

"The highly developed nations of the world did not make their way by wishing. By work and risk they forced the earth, the soil, the forests and the rivers to yield them riches. They pooled their energy and resources by taxation and mutual enterprise to discover new ways of doing things. They worked, they invented, they educated their children, and they invested in their national and in their private enterprise. This they must continue to do if they are to maintain the standard of living they have achieved.

"There is no substitute for the application of work and local enterprise to each country's own resources. Help to those who have the will to help themselves should be the primary policy guiding and restraining the desire of the more developed areas of the world to help the less developed lands."

And so, my friends, nothing can be achieved unless by work and risk we force the earth, the soil, the forests... and invent and educate and invest in our national and private enterprises... and not only now but we must continue to do so... even in the far-off unseen future.

The Presentation of a Copy of the Holy Qur'an to Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands by a Prominent Pakistani Muslim, Shaikh Mian Muhammad, of Lyallpur, Pakistan

Shaikh Mian Muhammad, the sponsor and patron of the Holland Muslim Mission and a business magnate from Pakistan, accompanied by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, went in June, 1951, to see the working of the German and Dutch Muslim Missions. Shaikh Mian Muhammad founded a year or so ago a charitable trust under the style of the "Shaikh Mian Muhammad Trust", amongst whose many other objects one is the maintenance of the Holland Muslim Mission with its headquarters at Amsterdam. This Mission was started last year with Mr. al-Mehdi 'Abderrahman Koppe, a German Muslim, at its head.

The Imam and Shaikh Mian Muhammad left England on Saturday, the 16th June, 1951, for about a fortnight's tour. During their stay in Holland besides acquainting themselves with the actual working of the Mission and meeting many Muslims, including the new Dutch Muslims, Shaikh Mian Muhammad had the honour of being received in audience by Her Majesty Queen Juliana of the Netherlands at The Hague. This audience was arranged through the good offices of Sayyid Lal Shah Bukhari, *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Pakistan Embassy in Holland. Shaikh Mian Muhammad was presented to Her Majesty by Mr. Bukhari on Thursday, the 28th June, 1951, at 10.30 a.m., when Her Majesty honoured Shaikh Mian Muhammad by accepting a copy of the Holy Qur'an (the Arabic text and Dutch translation in parallel columns), with a commentary and a copy of the Dutch translation of *The Religion of Islam*, both by Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, placed on an artistic silver tray. The two books, wrapped in brocade, were tied up in white-green ribbon forming the Pakistan flag by Madame S. Bukhari. Her Majesty the Queen,

who was greatly pleased to receive the present of these books, undid the packing herself and glanced through them, especially the Holy Qur'an. Shaikh Mian Muhammad, in presenting the copy of the Qur'an, took the opportunity to bring to the Queen's notice the great respect, honour and reverence the book commanded from the hearts of the four hundred million Muslims of the world. He also submitted that it was a very pleasant and happy coincidence that this copy of the Holy Qur'an was being presented to Her Majesty in the very month in which the Qur'an was revealed, that is, the month of fasting, nay, the very week in which the first revelation came to the Prophet Muhammad (may the peace and blessings of God be upon him!). Her Majesty was very much touched and impressed by these words of Shaikh Mian Muhammad. While this talk was in progress tea was brought in for the guests. Shaikh Mian Muhammad in excusing himself of the honour of having a cup of tea with Her Majesty took the liberty of stating that as he was keeping the fast he could not avail himself of the Queen's gracious hospitality. This aroused Queen Juliana's interest in the institution of fasting in Islam and she asked a number of interesting questions, which Shaikh Mian Muhammad, who himself is a devout and learned Muslim, answered in a befitting manner.

Her Majesty the Queen is very popular with her subjects. Her life is characterized by simple habits. Shaikh Mian Muhammad was much impressed by this. To use his own words, "I was reminded of the simplicity and popularity of the early Muslim rulers, like Abu Bakr and 'Umar the Great."

A picture taken at Amsterdam, Holland, which shows the sponsor and patron of the Holland Muslim Mission, Shaikh Mian Muhammad, seated (centre) with Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, on his right, and Mr. 'Abderrahman Koppe, a German Muslim, who is the head of the Holland Muslim Mission (second row, third from left), and other Dutch Muslim friends



WANTED — A MUSLIM BLOC

The Prime Minister of Pakistan's Address on the occasion of the Muslim Festival of Fitr, at Karachi on Friday the 6th of July, 1951

What the emergence of Pakistan has meant to the world of Islam.

"If the Western Democracies can enter into pacts to protect their way of life, if the Communist countries can form a bloc on the basis that they have an ideology, why cannot the Muslim peoples get together to protect themselves and show to the world that they have an ideology and a way of life which ensures peace and harmony for the world?"

"The true Islamic spirit has been growing stronger among the Muslims not only of Pakistan but of all other Muslim countries since the inception of Pakistan."

"I do not mean to say that this spirit did not exist among them before. But it is a fact that the Muslims were rather shy of speaking of Islam for fear of being dubbed reactionaries. Since they are resolved to follow the principles of Islam and build the new State in accordance with them, a new spirit has come over all the Muslims of the world to raise the banner of Islam boldly and courageously."

"Today they are proud of proclaiming that they have their own ideology and code of life which according to them is the panacea of all the ills from which the world suffers. They mean to translate Islamic principles into practice to be able to prove to the world that the Islamic way of life is the way to peace and progress."

"From Morocco to Indonesia the Muslims are showing unmistakable signs of awakening and a new sense of pride in Islam. They realise that they have an inherent sense of unity which they

must strengthen so that they may be able to defend their freedom and make their contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind."

Pakistan's aim is to serve the world of Islam.

"Pakistan came into existence not with a view to acquiring a territory or gaining material riches but for the purpose of serving the world of Islam and mankind and demonstrating the soundness of Islamic principles."

"On behalf of the people of Pakistan I declare that if there is a move on the part of the Muslim peoples to unite with a view to defending their freedom and developing strength to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world, Pakistan will wholeheartedly join such a move and will play its full part."

"So far we have only been showing sympathy to each other by passing resolutions or issuing statements, but the time has come when we must get closer together and jointly play our part in the councils of the world if we want to survive. There are different types of imperialisms raising their ugly heads."

"We must unite to defeat their evil designs. This we can only do if we are united and determined to defend our freedom and our way of life. It is our right to make our contribution to the peace and progress of humanity. That is what Islam teaches us and as Muslims we must not fail in our duty."

Concluding his inspiring speech Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan prayed for the peace and happiness of the Muslims and the world."



Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, addressing an 'Id meeting in Karachi on Friday, 6th July, 1951

The Prime Minister of Pakistan addressed the following message to the world of Islam :

"... The 'Id al-Fitr, as one of the few universal festivals of Islam, symbolizes the true Islamic spirit and outlook on life. The spirit of 'Id al-Fitr is one of peace, goodwill, toleration and sympathy towards all. It should be the desire and endeavour of every true Muslim to enable the poorest among us to partake of the happiness of day."

"On behalf of the Muslims of Pakistan, I send sincere fraternal greetings to our Muslim brethren in all other parts of the world. The world of Islam to-day is pulsating with a new life and urge to realize its intrinsic unity and cohesion, so as to play its due part in furthering the cause of world peace and prosperity. We in Pakistan welcome this development."

"I pray that this 'Id may be the harbinger of an era of peace and prosperity not for the Muslims alone but for the entire mankind."

A STUDY OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF ISLAM

By MEHMET KIDEYS

"In the first instance each Muslim should realize that enmity between the believers is a reactionary feeling, which rightly belongs to a period known as the Period of Ignorance. It is time that Muslims should realize this elementary fact, and set their faces towards a real and lasting union and give up old superstitious and disruptive elements, which still exist in the Islamic world on an individual and national scale. Let them read and grasp the meaning of the following verse from the Qur'an: 'Hold fast all of you to the rope of God, and do not disperse'."

Why the Brotherhood of Islam has been found wanting.

"In the first instance each Muslim should realize that enmity between the believers is a reactionary feeling, which rightly belongs to a period known as the Period of Ignorance. It is time that Muslims should realize this elementary fact, and set their faces towards a real and a lasting union and give up old superstitious and disruptive elements, which still exist in the Islamic world on an individual and national scale. Let them read and grasp the meaning of the following verse from the Qur'an: 'Hold fast all of you to the rope of God, and do not disperse.'"

One of the fundamental institutions in Islam is the institution of Brotherhood. The Holy Qur'an firmly established this principle with the words: "Verily, the believers are brothers unto each other." (49 : 10.)

The religion of Islam not only instituted the idea of fraternity but also prepared the necessary means for its everlasting maintenance. The institution of the *Zakat* — social assistance — the teaching and the propagation of good and healthy habits are some of the factors that contribute to the building up of fraternity among Muslims. On the other hand, Islam strictly forbids such bad habits as lying, backbiting, gossiping, invention of rumours, partisanship, calumny, division, envy, jealousy, racialism and all claims to blood supremacy, and thereby it protects the institution of fraternity.

While this noble idea is still discernible among the Muslims, why is it that there is such a strong sense of division prevalent in the political scene in Islam? I think the answer to this question will be a simple one. To-day the whole world of Islam does not observe as it should the principles of Islam, which after so many centuries have very well established their force in the hearts of all Muslims.

It is very well known that while enmity and division is strictly prohibited among the faithful, there has always been, since the days of the first Caliphate, a deep sense of hostility between the different factions and races in Islam. More recently nationalism, which has been discarded by the European nations, is being adopted by the Islamic nations, so as to intensify their hostility against one another. As a result no alliance can be achieved nor a union between the independent Muslim States.

All the peoples of these independent Muslim States believe in One God, in One Prophet, in One *Qiblah* and in One Book. There may be some small differences between people in their interpretation of some minor religious doctrines. However, such a small divergence, surely, will not, or should not, prevent a real and a lasting union. Why should these people turn deaf ears to the commandment of God: "Verily, the believers are brothers unto each other"?

There can be no doubt that a person who declares his faith in *Tauhid* (the oneness of God), and wholeheartedly endorses the Prophet's ideal and practices in the institution of fraternity, will at once regard the brotherhood of Islam as transcending racial and blood relationship. There is a beautiful Hadith recorded on the Brotherhood by the Traditionist Bukhari: "None of you will be considered a believer, unless each one of you likes to see in his brother in faith, what he cherishes to see in himself or to possess in himself."

A tribute to the genius of Pakistan leadership in strengthening the bond of the Brotherhood of Islam.

It is common knowledge that the very spirit of Islam represents Union (*Tauhid*). Any action which is contrary to this spirit will alienate Muslims from their faith and religion. Our disobedience to the spirit of *Tauhid* will bring misfortune not only in this life but in the life to come. Many territories, which at one time enjoyed prosperity under the dominion of Islam, were later deprived of their independence and liberty and lived for a long period under abject slavery to an alien hegemony. Some of these territories regained their independence by persistent struggle and even at the cost of their most valued sons and daughters. In some areas struggle for existence and political independence still continues against the alien invaders. While these struggles were progressing none of the independent nor semi-independent Muslim States went forth to the assistance of their brothers in the field of battle.

It must be understood that while every faithful is required to run to the help of his brother, similarly every Muslim nation must think of giving aid to the less fortunate Muslim countries, which struggle to regain their freedom. The independent Muslim countries should always bear in mind that at one time they were obliged to struggle for their own existence and independence. With the exception of one or two cases, there is no indication to-day of help coming from Muslim nations for their fellow Muslims in less fortunate circumstances.

As one outstanding exception, Pakistan among Muslim nations, has proved her resolute and unshakable adherence to the religion of Islam by her energetic action in the sphere of Muslim Brotherhood. As a practical step, Pakistan has taken the initiative in forming a conference for economic co-operation between the various Muslim nations, which has for the last two years held meetings — the first in Karachi and the second in Teheran. In this connection the services of His Excellency the Minister of Finance of the Government of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, as the chief organizer should be remembered with gratitude and much appreciation. May his leadership be crowned with success in later years!

When and how the command to "hold fast to the rope of God" was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad.

On the other hand, the World Muslim Conference, which is also a credit to the genius of Pakistan leadership, held its second meeting in Karachi in February, 1951, and will, of course, contribute materially to a greater understanding among the great comity of Muslim nations. Thus we see with the greatest pleasure the Qur'anic injunction: "Hold fast all of you to the rope of God and do not disperse" (3 : 102) being gradually fulfilled.

For a better appreciation of the above injunction, I would like to refresh memories with the historical data as to when this verse was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad.

Prior to the establishment of Islam the two Medina tribes called al-Aus and al-Khazraj used to quarrel very much and waged incessant wars against each other. After the acceptance of Islam by these tribes they became real friends and brothers, and were recognized as the *Ansar* (helpers) by the *Muhajirin*



Egypt's Ambassador to Afghanistan

His Excellency Ahmad Setty al-'Akkad Bey (second from right), Egyptian Ambassador to Afghanistan, at Karachi, Pakistan, on his way to Kabul

The picture shows him and the Egyptian Ambassador to Pakistan, His Excellency 'Abd al-Wahhab 'Azzam Bey, to his right, and Mr. Akbar Tayyibji, to his left, Protocol Officer, the Government of Pakistan, who had gone to receive him at the port of Karachi

(emigrants) who, forced to emigrate from Mecca, found the greatest hospitality and fraternity with their hosts in Medina. Now all these peoples were merged in the most amiable relationship and in complete concord and understanding with each other. The feelings of hostility of the period known as the Era of Ignorance in the history of Islam was a thing of the past having disappeared at the rising of the sun of Islam.

This united front shown by the Muslims who previously had belonged to hostile groups, but now enjoying the most friendly relationship and fraternal affection for each other, aroused the jealousy of the Jewish tribes of Medina. The Jews were on the lookout to foment trouble among the peaceful Muslims.

One day an aged Jew, named Shasbin Qais, who lived during the heyday of pagan corruption, saw a group of youths belonging to the tribes of al-Aus and al-Khazraj having a lively discussion in an excellent spirit of amity and concord. The old Jew was very much perturbed by this scene of fraternal love and happiness established between the two former enemies. He was under the impression that this concord might bring disadvantages to the Jews of Medina.

Seeking to cause dissent and disagreement among the two tribes, he asked a young man from his tribe to mix in the friendly conference, advising him to recall some memories from the battle of Bias, and some other battles preceding the battle of Bias, and also to recite some verses from the poets of these formerly opposing tribes. The young Jew was quite successful in creating jealousy and a certain feeling of pride between the youth of the different tribes by using the methods inspired by his corrupt adviser. During the heat of the argument regarding the past unsavoury incidents between the two tribes, the youth of both sides, losing their tempers, began to use violent language against each other. At last the arguments reached such a critical stage that a youth of the al-Khazraj tribe rising on his knees shouted: "If you are willing, my tribe is ready to oppose you in the field of battle again". On this the youth of the tribe of al-Aus cried loudly, that they were all ready and prepared to fight in the outskirts of the city of Medina.

The Prophet Muhammad's address to his community.

The dissent soon spread through the respective tribes of the opposing youths and the old antagonists soon found each other in

battle formation in the fields outside Medina. The Prophet Muhammad with his *muhajirin* followers reached the spot where the conflict would soon turn into a bloody skirmish. He addressed the tribes of al-Aus and al-Khazraj with the following words: "O Muslim congregation, fear God, fear God! What are you going to do, when still I am living amongst you? While you have been honoured by God with the light of Islam, while you have found the right way through the guidance of Islam, while Islam has brought you salvation from ignorance and anarchy, while you have found amity and concord with each other, now are you going to return to your old ways and act in a manner which befits your deeds in the time of ignorance?"

The Prophet Muhammad's timely intervention before the outbreak of armed conflict, soon cooled the tempers and brought understanding to both parties. They repented for their action and with tears in their eyes, the people of the al-Khazraj and al-Aus embraced each other, and asked forgiveness.

The following verses were then revealed to the Prophet of Islam: "O you who believe; if you obey the sect of those to whom the Book was brought, they will turn you, after your faith, to unbelievers again. How can you disbelieve while unto you are recited the signs of God, and among you is His Apostle? But whosoever takes firm hold on God, he is guided into the right way. O you who believe, fear God with the fear that He deserves, and die not save you be resigned."

"Hold fast all of you to the rope of God, and do not disperse; but remember the favours of God towards you, when you were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts, and on the morrow you were, by His favours, brothers. You were on the edge of a pit of fire, but He rescued you therefrom. Thus does God show to you His signs, perchance you may be guided". (3: 99-103)

The words of the Prophet Muhammad a guide to us in solving our problems.

If we study carefully the circumstances in which the above verses were revealed, we should gain some experience to guide us in the problems which confront the Muslims today. In the first instance each Muslim should realise that enmity between the believers is a reactionary feeling, which rightly belong to a period known as the Period of Ignorance. It is time that Muslims

should realize this elementary fact, and set their faces towards a real and a lasting union, and gave up old superstitious and disruptive elements, which still exist in the Islamic world on an individual and national scale. Let them read and grasp the meaning of the following verse from the above quoted Qur'anic passage: "Hold fast all of you to the rope of God, and do not disperse".

Again let them see for themselves the advantage of being

united, and what is meant by: "Thus does God show to you His signs, perchance you may be guided". The following Hadiths give sufficient evidence what great importance the Prophet himself attached to Brotherhood in Islam: "God does not unite my people in ignorance. The hand of God is on my people. Whosoever causes dissension and he is responsible for it, his way is to Hell. Congregation is Mercy. Dissent and division is Chastisement".

MUSLIM STUDENT LIFE IN INDONESIA

By AHMAD TUNGGUL BIROWO

Students rôle in an Islamic society.

A grave responsibility lies to-day on the shoulders of Muslim students, who must be fully conscious of the contribution which they can make towards improving the living conditions of the society to which they belong. Their ideals to-day represent the pattern which that society will follow in the future when they take the place of their elders. Contemporary Islamic civilization requires a more intellectual approach to social problems from the young generation, and a correspondingly increased awareness of educational, economic, political and scientific problems. The extent to which the youth of to-day can respond to these factors will greatly affect the future development of Islam, and we can thus learn much of evolutionary trends in Indonesian Islam by studying students' activities to-day.

Activities achieved through students' organizations.

With a view to achieving a suitable training for their future position in society, the Indonesian Muslim students, following the lead given by those in Djogjakarta, formed two organizations, the Muslims Students' Association (*Peladjar Islam Indonesia*) and the University Students' Union (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia*).

The members of the Muslim Students' Association of Indonesia (P.I.I.) include Muslim students from both Muslim and other secondary schools, while the latter organization is naturally only for university students, and is consequently restricted in membership. The following information concerns the secondary school organization only, as being of greater numerical importance.

The Muslim Students' Association of Indonesia (P.I.I.) was formed in the middle of the hostilities with the Netherlands, on 4th May, 1947, and aimed at an improved standard of education and culture among the youth, as a result of the inculcation of Islamic principles. Its President, Hajj Ahmad Timur Jailani, is one of the chief campaigners for religious instruction in Indonesian schools, and is well known to most of the students. The headquarters of the organization are in Djogjakarta, which besides being the centre for the entire country, also has its additional branch committee for the local Djogjakarta sultanate. The latter branch includes some 3,000 young Muslim members, and directs nine divisional departments, which in their turn contain 49 sections.

The contribution to Islamic society, and the extent of their activities may be judged from the following account.

The organization is fortunate in having had the opportunity to establish its headquarters in Djogjakarta, since this town had formed the chief resistance centre of the independence movement and many other Islamic movements had also been directed from this former republican capital. This enabled a close co-operation with other and powerful groups actuated by similar ideologies, including the Masjumi Islamic political party, and the Muslim Youth Movement of Indonesia, originally based in the same town.

Following the Dutch withdrawal from Indonesia, the Islamic Students' Association of Indonesia soon obtained local recognition, and participated in the all-Indonesian Islamic Congress held in Djogjakarta in 1949. Many of the committee members came from the Muslim Students' Association of Indonesia, who took an active part in both executive and clerical duties. This Congress gave them the opportunity to establish closer relations with sympathisers throughout Indonesian territory, through the support obtained from influential movements, which lent them willing support.

During the Congress, the walls of the conference hall were decorated with paintings and drawings on the initiative of the students, whose aim thereby was to portray Islam in a dynamic fashion, calculated to influence the Islamic consciousness of the members. They opened their own bookshop, where their own publications were sold, dealing with contemporary Islamic problems, educational questions and other matters. A small café was also organized to facilitate intimate and informal discussions, and an exchange of views between members in a homely atmosphere. Thus these young students not only contributed towards the successful organization of the Congress, but also towards a closer understanding between the various distant Indonesian States, which had not at that time achieved their present unity.

Departmental activities.

The organization contains special departments for information, education, sport and social affairs, and a women's section, all of which are organized by the local manager, himself also a secondary school student.

The Information Department, apart from the material mentioned above, also publishes a magazine called *Merah-Putih* (Red and White, referring to the Indonesian national colours), and local reviews in other parts of the territory bring the total number of such magazines up to eleven. These journals vary greatly in nature, but all act as a means for an exchange of views, and expression of thoughts of individual members, in addition, of course, to general news and announcements. In addition to periodicals, they have a small library of some 300 volumes in Javanese, Indonesian, Malay, Arabic, English and Dutch. Although the students have very limited means for such projects, they have received assistance from foreign cultural organizations, and recently received a gift from Chicago of 50 works on science suitable for secondary schools.

Educational matters are more closely connected with the fundamental aim of the organization, and lectures are regularly delivered by national Muslim authorities on religious, social, historical and psychological subjects. Holiday courses and expeditions into the country to visit other branches also form part of the educational programme. A prominent object of members throughout the country was to achieve Government agreement for religious teaching in schools, which object has now been attained. Yet despite official sanction, there is still a



Muslim students' café at Djogjakarta, Indonesia

shortage of religious teachers, and the students have now formed their own committee to investigate the subject.

The feminine section is working towards an increased emancipation in the attitude of girl students towards life, and these likewise receive instruction by lectures on hygiene, dress design, psychology, etc. Their aim is to provide girls with an education of the same standard as their boy comrades and class-mates, for in Indonesia, schools are co-educational. The education of young Muslim children is a duty which falls largely on the mother, and these mothers of the future must be sufficiently educated to perform their tasks intelligently. Indonesian consciousness of unity among many races with different languages and local traditions is constantly being stimulated by group meetings, celebrations and public holidays, and that of most interest to women is 21st April, dedicated to the memory of R. A. Kartini, woman champion of Indonesian womanhood. In 1951 the feminine department of the movement celebrated that day by visits to poor

relief and orphans' organizations, and those for the blind and disabled, where they distributed gifts.

Sport is encouraged by the organization to achieve a maximum of physical fitness among its members, who engage actively in football and badminton, as well as general sports, with teams several hundreds of miles distant, and for the fourth anniversary of their movement on 4th May, 1951, they organized an inter-urban sports contest between Djakarta, Djogjakarta and Surabaya, the chief cities of West, Central and East Java respectively. The celebrations were also attended by subsequent festivities late into the night.

The local manager, Amir Hamzah, who is just completing his secondary school education, has gained much popularity through his unceasing activities, and especially through his efforts to strengthen relations between members spread over a wide area. In his absence, his place is taken by the assistant manager, Sukapti, a girl student who writes many articles for the movement's journals and is a keen sportswoman. The girls' section is headed by another secondary school girl student, Nur al-Nisa, who has written various articles on Islamic matters and juvenile problems.

In general the co-operation between this movement and other Islamic movements in the country has already produced fruitful results. The pawnshop and gambling were familiar sights in this country under the colonial régime, and an intensive propaganda has been carried out to discourage students from the evils of gambling. This has even influenced the Government to forbid roulette in the country.

The Muslim Students' Association of Indonesia has even started to form links with similar Islamic ideologies abroad, and expressed their aims through the Indonesian representative at the Karachi World Muslim Conference early this year. The Egyptian delegation during its visit to Indonesia was impressed by their desire for a closer co-operation with the youth movements of other States, in order to achieve an international Islamic youth movement. More ambitious plans have been made for the future, and it is hoped to send a delegation to the forthcoming congress in Egypt to further the progress of Islamic brotherhood among youth throughout the world.

SOURCES OF "THE ARABIAN NIGHTS"

By DR. 'ABDUL KARIM GERMANUS

"There is no equal or even parallel in Western literature to such a rich treasure of fancy, observation, knowledge and poetic beauty as *The Arabian Nights* offer, in such a splendid artistic attire"

The whole knowledge and learning of the Muslim East is embodied in the tales of *The Arabian Nights*.

Profusely flowering gardens, richly planted with golden pomegranate bushes, gaudy marble palaces with tanks brimming with sparkling wine, fragrant cascades, giants, spirits, miraculous animals, sultans and poor fishermen appear before us in a colourful array, when we think of *The Arabian Nights*.

The collection of tales which we know to-day in its Arabic garb encompasses the fanciful imagination of the whole Muslim East. Its fancy is so brilliant and so many-sided that we nearly lose our breath while perusing it, and still its events roll on on earth and its acting persons are real living men of flesh and blood. Men who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow and heave a heavy sigh for help to the Almighty. Men who yearn for earthly riches, seek after power and sing of love and weep over their dead; they are adorned with human virtues and human sins disfigure their souls. The whole learning and knowledge of the Muslim East is embodied in the concatenated chain

of these tales and the Sabbath of witches displays its pandemonium with all its frightening frolics and mysterious sorcery: jinns and demons, giants and fish-tailed sirens and bewitched princesses, alternately pop up in the vision of the endless nights in the multiform company of miserable labourers. Then courageous knights break through, riding on fiery Arab steeds and measure their swords with the truculent enemy. There is no equal or even parallel in Western literature to such a rich treasure of fancy, observation, knowledge and poetic beauty as *The Arabian Nights* offer, in such a splendid, artistic attire.

In Cairo, Baghdad and Damascus this treasure of immeasurable value is sold by itinerant hawkers in the small coffee-houses in cheap editions together with braces, shirt-studs stockings and sticks. Some centuries ago, when printing was yet unknown, tales had been recited during the nights of Ramadhan in the houses of the rich by *meddas* violently gesticulating and imitating the voices, pronunciation, and faces of the protagonists. A portion of these popular tales and dramatic

scenes unobservedly slipped into the collection of *The Arabian Nights* together with a hundred others which were not embodied in the then existing manuscripts. The audience which was uninitiated in the art of reading could not recognize their sources and cared little for their origin, but even much later, when manuscripts became rare and also the story-tellers gradually died out, the demoniac power of imagination fascinated the alarmed souls who thought that whoever reads the whole series, from beginning to end, certainly is raped away from the earth by the jealous monsters.

***The Arabian Nights*, after having influenced Europe's literature of the Middle Ages, recedes into oblivion.**

The Arabian Nights as a systematic collection is the masterpiece of medieval Arabic literature. In the Middle Ages the Arabic language and culture was the lighting torch not only of the Muslim East but of the whole Western world. The mosque-schools of Andalusia were frequented not only by Muslims. Christian scholars eager to gather the honey of knowledge also sat at the feet of the Muslim sages. In the famous universities of Italy the natural sciences were taught in the Arabic language up to the 15th century. Not only in the sphere of learning, but in literature, too, the Muslim East became the tutor and the inexhaustible source from which the West has amply drawn inspiration and material. The Crusaders and merchants trafficking with the East brought home a number of stories, ideas, proverbs and wisdom, which they had heard and learned from Muslims. In the 14th century many an Italian author borrowed from the literature of the Islamic Orient. Sercambi's (1347-1424) more than a hundred short stories, the *Decameron* of Boccaccio (1313-1375) and even Dante's *Commedia* (1265-1321) display unmistakable signs of Islamic Oriental influence.

Then the ways parted. The West utilized the re-invention of printing (originally a Chinese device) and the press with the cheapness of its productions democratized literature. The Eastern manuscripts had become rare, and many of the most valuable pieces irretrievably perished in the turmoil of war and destruction. A spiritual stagnation benumbed the Arabic East and the miraculous tales of the *Nights* gradually receded into the dimness of the women's apartments and to the occasional revelries of ill-famed people. This collection of Arabic literary masterpieces became neglected by the learned and the puritans.

A Frenchman rediscovers for Europe and also for the East *The Arabian Nights* in 1704.

Jean Antoine Galland made a journey, in the capacity of an official of the French Embassy in Constantinople, to Asia Minor and Syria. He was an Oriental scholar and passionately addicted to collecting manuscripts. After his return to Europe a friend of his surprised him with the present of a big Arabic manuscript, which he eagerly read through. His literary taste at once discovered the most valuable treasure of Arabic literature and he translated it, or rather Frenchified it in the course of several years and published it in 1704 in twelve volumes under the title: *Les Mille et une Nuits*. This edition which praises the artistic taste of Galland earned within a short time an unexpectedly great success. The Europe of the 18th century was, so to speak, intoxicated with its beauty, and it has been translated successively into every European language. The wondrous world of the Islamic East, as manufactured in this mighty work has fascinated its Western readers and made them yearn for such a fantastically, romantic life. There was not a single high-class European home in which *The Arabian Nights* had not found an esteemed corner of intimacy — while the East has nearly forgotten its popular production raised to such a brilliant rank in the West. It may be supposed that if Galland had not stumbled upon the manuscript and had not made it palatable to the then ruling baroque taste of

Europe, *The Arabian Nights* would have been entirely lost to lovers of art and literature.

In the Orient a century had to pass till people began — under the influence of Galland's success — to show an interest in the original of the "Tales", and an English Orientalist published a small part of the Arabic text in Calcutta in 1814. After this edition a full text was published in Cairo in the 'thirties and parallel to it German Orientalists published the whole collection in Arabic with a German translation in Breslau (Germany).

The frame-story of *The Arabian Nights* and its origin.

This original edition has thrown light on an interesting fact: The tale of Aladdin's wonderful lamp and the story of 'Ali Baba and the forty thieves, which have become known and popular through Galland's redaction, are not inserted in the original Arabic edition. Galland has taken these two charming tales from another collection and set them on their successful career by inserting them among the rest.

All three Arabic manuscripts which have been used for the above-mentioned publications agree in the introductory frame-story about the disillusion of a Persian king in all womenfolk, which led him to kill off his wives in succession till the daughter of his vezir deluded him with stories from night to night so exciting that the king postponed killing her from month to month and at last, after the thousandth night, recovered from his blood-thirst and forgave the mischievous fair sex.

This frame-story into which innumerable fascinating, breathtaking tales are incorporated, one flowing into another, or rather like a magic-box in which another, and another and again another is encased and the impatient-curious opens them in turn in ever-increasing excitement to find the hidden treasure — this frame-story soon found its way to Europe. In the 13th century it crops up in an Italianized colour. Its Arabic form in the *Nights* is not its original fountain. Mas'udi (956) states that many an Arab story has been translated from Persian. The Persian collection of *Hazaar Afsana* (Thousand Tales) contains the above-mentioned frame; and the names of some protagonists remained Persian even in its Arabic garb: *Shahrzaad* (city-born) *Dunyazad* (world-born). The name of kings *Shahrbaaz* (city-arm) and *Shabryaar* (King) are also Persian.

In the Middle Ages several tales became popular in Europe, the origin of which is undoubtedly Persian and they filtered towards the West through Arabic channels. These tales relate the frolics, the ruses and unfaithfulness of women. Such is the collection of *The Seven Wise Masters*. The tales of the *Panchatantra* by Bidpai had been gathered in order to serve as a guide to Indian kings and was soon translated into Persian; and its Arabic edition, *Kalilah wa Dimna*, by Ibn Muqaffa (760), is one of the oldest Arabic prose works and excels with its refined style which has long remained a model to subsequent writers. The same work continued its migration into Turkish *Humaayun-naame* (Princely Rook). Its Latin translation (*Horologium Turcicum*) has in its turn enriched and inspired Balkan and even Hungarian literature as late as the 17th century.

India probably the cradle of the frame-story of *The Arabian Nights*.

India seems to be the cradle of the frame-story of *The Arabian Nights*. It is true that there exists a similarity between its fundamental idea and the book of Esther in the Bible; but Esther's story is not sufficient proof of the lineal connection between the two versions. Esther convinces the King of Persia of the innocence of her oppressed people, Shahrzaad, on the other hand, fights not only for her sex, but for her own life, too. This motive is lacking in Esther's case. Shahrzaad's fate is much more exciting and consequently more artistic.

According to tradition Alexander the Great was also fond

of stories told him during night to banish sleeplessness. Still, in spite of these outward similarities, it may be maintained that the concatenation of tales originated in India, where it was an ancient custom to avert threatening events with an interminable series of stories. In the Indian story of *Sukasaptai* the wise parrot keeps the wife at home with its endless chatter, in order to hinder her from visiting her lover, while her husband is away. We read the following story in the sacred book of the Jainas: A king changed the object of his love daily. Once a girl of low birth took along her maidservant and instructed her to ask a tale from her in the presence of the king. "Wait," answered the girl, "till the king falls asleep." The king's curiosity was aroused and he pretended to sleep, while the girl directed some puzzling questions to her maid, the solution of which she would tell her the next day. The king amused himself with this trick for six months and neglected all his other wives during this time. This story had found a versified version already in the 5th century C.E. But this is not all. The first part of the frame-story: the agony of the king at the sight of his wife's unfaithfulness may be found in the Buddhistic *Tripitaki*, which had been translated in 251 C.E. into Chinese, and the second part can be traced back also to a Buddhistic source, to one of the *Jataka* stories relating the pre-earthly life of the Buddha.

In the stories themselves Indian motives appear ever and anon. There is the touching story of the physician who cures the incurable king by a sweating ointment, probably with mercury, the amalgams of which Indians had known from time immemorial. The courtiers became jealous of the clever physician who thus won the confidence of the king and they persuaded the king to put him to death, lest his medical knowledge should gain uncontrollable influence and power. The physician, seeing that his life cannot be saved, hands over a book to the king, asking him to read it while the physician's severed head had been placed on a plate. So it was done. When the king gazed at his victim's bleeding head and tried to turn the leaves of the book, the leaves stuck together and the king licked his fingers to separate them. No sooner had he read some pages than the poison infiltrated into his blood and he tumbled dead from his throne. In India books have from early ages been soaked with poison against insects.

Let us remember the tale of Sindbaad, the seafarer, in which he strayed into a narrow valley surrounded by inaccessible hills. The valley was glittering with diamonds. He has never seen such an abundance of riches before. Suddenly pieces of flesh drop down from the hill-tops and in their wake vultures descend and carry up their prey to the high peaks. Diamonds stick to the flesh-pieces and are carried off with them. As soon as the vultures reach the top with their precious booty, men dash upon them and pick out the diamonds from the flesh. The thought of escape flashes across his mind. He unfurls his turban and fastens himself with it to the foot of a vulture, which carries him, together with a large quantity of diamonds, and thus he is saved. The story betrays the place of its events: the valley of Golconda in Hyderabad, where huge boulders lie scattered, about which a Hindu legend maintains that, when Shiva had created the world, he cast there the rubbish. Here was found the biggest diamond, *Koh-i-noor* (the hill of light). Sindbaad's name, too, is Indian.

Biblical and Greek stories in *The Arabian Nights*.

Besides Indian and Persian tales, Biblical stories alternate with ancient Arabian legends in the *Nights*. The romances of the pre-Islamic heroic age became a favourite amusement of the Omayyads and its heroes and amorous heroines soon found entrance into the stories of the popular reciters who entertained their public during fairs and holidays. Also this material eventually became embodied in the *Nights*. Ancient Greece also amply contributed to enrich the collection. Alexander the Great, the admired hero of the Orient, was called *Zu'l-Qarnayn*

(the master of two sheaves of light, i.e., of the East and West) and became an ever-recurring subject of tales. The story of the *Seven Sleepers of Ephesus* is still captivating the imagination of Arabic writers and poets. Sindbaad describes in his third voyage how the one-eyed giant devoured the ship-captain. The Homeric story of Polyphemos infiltrated into Arabian fancy through the Byzantine Greek prose-translations.

Story-tellers filled an honourable place in the court of the Arabian Caliphs. The Abbasids enjoyed hearing about the vicissitudes of their subjects, and when, after the lapse of the glorious centuries, the older lustre of the empire waned, its memory was revived in the form of delectable tales. Many an imaginary story was attributed to the Caliph Haarun al-Rashid. This wise and legendarily benevolent ruler, who roams disguised the benighted streets of Baghdad in company with his vezir, Ja'far, visiting the houses of the poor and peeping into the taverns of the dockyards has remained the romantic prince of the *Nights*. The world of spellbound witches and appalling giants may also have originated in Baghdad. The Arabian desert was terror-struck by jinns, which have a human shape and haunt the abode of peaceful people. The suffering of the poor found consolation in the hope, strengthened by religious belief, that this world of sorrow is but a transition to a beatific hereafter. This ascetic tone of past reality rings out through many a pious tale.

Egyptian tales in *The Arabian Nights*.

Egypt in the 11th century knew well the tales of *The Thousand and One Nights*. Many tales have a decidedly Egyptian colouring. Miraculous motives also play their important part in these stories, as they do in those of Baghdad, but while in those of Indian and Persian origin the spirits and ghosts appear in human form, and are friends or enemies of the protagonists, the Egyptian tales display the supernatural powers in the capacity of talismans by dint of which every wish or order of the hero will be executed. The Egyptian tales represent the people, the tradesmen and the artisans, and depicts their everyday life. These tales abound in trickery and artful deceit and their heroes constantly expose the unreliability of the authorities and the untrustworthiness of the police. A characteristic trait of liberal-minded Egyptians even to-day. Sometimes it seems as if we read old Herodotus immortalizing the story of Rhampsinitos in Arabic garb. This kind of tale migrated into Andalusia and there it was enriched with a humorous colouring.

In the Egyptian tales Christians and Jews who had embraced Islam often occur and try to smuggle the tenets of their abandoned creed into the true religion. God hinders them invariably from the execution of their devilish tricks.

The rich store of medieval learning is embodied in the *Nights* in a poetical shape from the mouth of the clever slave-girl, Tawaddud, by whom the curious audience enjoyed again and again lectures on science, jurisprudence, and literature without fatigue or exertion. Thus the *Nights* became, besides the mosque-schools, the popular university for the large public.

In the East the odd numbers have a mystic significance: 3, 7, 9 and their multiplications exert a good or bad effect on events. The Indian *trimurti* (trinity) and the Babylonian system of six augmented by one into seven is still manifested in European culture in the belief of the creation of the world in six days, the seven days of a week (Arabic: *Usbu'*; Persian: *Hafta*; Italian: *Settimana*; Hungarian: *Hét* etc.). Our Heaven is sevenfold, seven is an ever-recurring lucky number, etc. There are nine numerals in Arabic mathematics augmented by "nought" (*sifr*), which has no independent value.

The final systematic collection probably took place in Egypt.

When story-tellers were unable to keep the ever-increasing material in memory, they began to copy the tales from one another

and gradually systematized them into 1,001 portions. The language of the Arabic text permits the inference that this final systematic collection took place in the 15th century probably in Egypt. During this time classical Arabic had already become permeated by vulgar elements and some expressions and words point to their Turkish origin. Even the title of the tales : *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Alif Laila wa Laila*) seems to be derived from the more rhythmic Turkish : *Binbir Gece*. The existing manuscripts are, on the whole, uniform but the tales are not the work of one author ; they display a vast difference and variety of style, literary taste and exposition : unblemished classical Arabic varies with the vulgar colloquial.

The Arabic text is kept in prose throughout, but this prose frequently and smoothly runs into rhymes, as was the habit of ancient bards and enchanters who intended to bewitch their audience. The Arabic prose-writers liked to chequer their narrative with the interspersions of poetry. These poetical insertions served to make the text more enjoyable and impressive. The *Nights* abound in poetical quotations, which interrupt the flow of the narrative and serve as a telling argument. We rarely read the authors' names and the poems appear at first sight to be popular creations, but on closer inspection we find that more than two hundred verses of Arabic classical poets have been smuggled into this vast material. The ancient poetry is hardly represented among these unnamed authors' quotations. The 10th and the 13th century contributed a much richer harvest to the compilers, these poetical productions being kept in an easier and more popular language.

The Arabian Nights a bridge between the East and West.

The Arabian Nights is a connecting bridge between the East and the West. In the Middle Ages the tales slipped unobserved into the treasury of European literature. The voyage of Sindbaad

became the source of St. Brandan's *Navigation*. The short encyclopaedia of learning of the Middle Ages as represented in the Spanish *Historia de la doncella Teodor* is a copy of the tale of the slave-girl Tawaddud. The tale of Bulukia in the *Nights* comprises the cosmology and eschatology of Islam. Abu 'l-A'Alaa al-Ma'arri has presented the most striking description of Hell in the early 11th century (*Risaalat al-Ghufrān*) and through popular channels it infiltrated into the tale of Bulukia on the one hand and influenced Dante, on the other.

The tale of Haikar was very popular among Christian Arabs. Haikar was the minister of Sennacherib, King of Babylon. His nephew intrigued against the minister whom the king sentenced to death. But his wife bribed the hangman, who killed somebody else instead. The neighbouring prince in the belief that the wise minister had been hanged put intricate questions to Sennacherib and threatened to revolt if he could not solve them. In the last dangerous moment the hangman confesses the truth, the wise minister Haikar appears from his hiding-place, answers the puzzling questions, regains the king's confidence and finally leads even the king's mischievous nephew to the right path. The cradle of this tale was rocked somewhere in the vicinity of the fabulous tower of Babel, and can safely be traced back to the 7th century B.C. ; its fragments were discovered in Egypt during the excavations at Elephantine in Aramaic script dating from the 5th century B.C., its vestiges are visible in the Jewish Talmud, in the apocryphal Biblical book of Tobit and at last in the medieval legends of Byzantine and Slav Christians !

Centuries and continents are linked together in the wondrous tales of *The Arabian Nights*, which equally entertain the young and the old, teach, amuse, excite and lull into a sweet sleep : they are undoubtedly the immortal Arabic masterpiece of world literature.

“MODERN TRENDS IN ISLAM”

By ‘ABDUL RAZZAQ, M.A.

The merit of Professor Gibb's study of modern trends in Islam.

Professor H. A. R. Gibb has written a book, *Modern Trends in Islam*, which the author considers modern. These trends have been examined in the necessary background of what has gone before. It is an attempt to survey the world of Islam, not merely as it exists to-day in space, but also to discover the fundamental principle or law of its development throughout its history. If the author observes “intellectual confusions” and “historical romanticisms” as the predominant characteristics of modernists—in whom he discovers the modern trend—he still believes that Islam has an inherent vitality of its own which may enable it to survive these “intellectual confusions” of its modern adherents. He stands outside the pale of Islam, but he is not an altogether unsympathetic observer. He makes his position quite clear : “The metaphors in which Christian doctrine is traditionally enshrined satisfy me intellectually as expressing symbolically the highest range of spiritual truth which I can conceive”—but “we of the West are fellow-voyagers with men engaged in a common spiritual enterprise, even though our ways diverge. The object of this inquiry is only to discover what progress they are making on their way.” If the author was satisfied with his inquiry into the progress this “spiritual enterprise” was making, one should not have found it necessary to notice this book. For beginning, as he does, with the premise of his satisfaction with Christian doctrine, there could not have been much of interest for one who began with the other premise of dissatisfaction with Christian doctrine.

But he could not succeed in making his inquiry a “progress report” on a “spiritual enterprise.” The reason is simply that Islam is not merely a spiritual enterprise. He had to undertake examination of trends which are strictly “spiritual,” for the simple reason that it is impossible to compartmentalize Islam into a spiritual section and other than spiritual. But all through his undertaking traces of that implied division linger on and, in our opinion, confuse issues. Because of this division of the subject, the author in his quest for “modern trends” in Islam has so limited the heads under which he has carried on his inquiry, that his conclusions are necessarily unsatisfying. If it were an inquiry into modern trends in the “theology”—whatever that may mean—of Islam, perhaps the terms of reference would have been adequate. But as the inquiry is much more comprehensive, they do not reveal the core of the problem, much less help us on to a constructive programme. If he could have forgotten that his inquiry was about the “religion” of Islam, he might have attained more satisfactory results. But there is full justice in his complaint that, although the subject is one which should interest Muslims primarily, there is no systematic exposition of the theme by any Muslim. No Muslim has tried systematically to expound the nature and significance of the trends apparent in the society of Islam to-day. Even if it is misleading, both about the nature and identity of the trends which may be called modern as well as about the inwardness of the concept of Islam, he has the merit of treating a subject which is of vital importance to the world of Islam.

Why a study of the modern trends in the Muslim world by the Muslims themselves is not forthcoming.

But why has not the theme been expounded by a Muslim? Is there any explanation for the lack of systematic exposition? The late Iqbal alone, in his *"Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,"* attempted to cover the subject, though not perhaps as an exposition of modern trends in Islam. But the book has not found its public. Even in India it has not many readers and in the rest of the Islamic world it is hardly known. Is it possible to draw any inference from the apathy of the reading and thinking public, which may be relevant to the present inquiry? The fact of this apparent deafness of the public to the undoubtedly weighty utterances of Iqbal perhaps provides us with a clue to the understanding of the nature of the crisis through which the world of Islam is passing (and producing its modern trends). The book and its message, interesting as they are, do not indicate the nature of "modern" trends in Islam. It is quite possible so to define "modern" trends that the contributions of the book will constitute an integral part of "modernism" in Islam, but the general mass, not merely its educated section, refuses to take it as a "modern trend" exposition. The world of Islam has to live before it can afford the luxury of thoughts, at least thoughts embodied in books. The modern trends which Islam is exhibiting emanate from the modern conditions of existence of the modern Muslim. This is manifest in his everyday life as he adjusts himself to the new world of facts. You may make a book out of that, but even if you do not, the modern trends are there.

This leads us to the question: Is it really possible to discover "modern trends" in a society by studying contemporary thought and such of the practices as have been contemporaneously recorded? Even if it is at all possible, in order that the study may be fruitful and significant, in order that it may enable us to gain an understanding of the nature of the crisis through which the society is passing, we must presuppose that a significant proportion of the society is directly and actively taking part in the thought process, each man making his own significant contribution. Otherwise the study will be—to borrow Professor Gibb's expression—a cold and chilly mausoleum, in which one has only sought to enshrine his own wisdom, with what success posterity alone can say. Is a significant proportion of the peoples of Islam taking part in the thought process out of which we are trying to deduce the trends which we may describe as modern? If they are not, what relation do these sections whose thought processes we are analysing bear to the whole of the world of Islam? What are the facts on which we are to exhibit the nature of the relationship? If this relationship has not been clearly demonstrated, is it quite correct to describe these phenomena as trends in Islam? The world of Islam consists of all the peoples of Islam. A study of the activities of the articulate sections can be regarded as significant only if we can prove that these activities—in the domain of thought or of action—do reflect also the similar activities or aspirations of the vast Muslim mass, especially so, if there are other planes of experience where it is not necessary to distinguish class from mass. The primary data for the investigation of modern trends in Islam, arising out of modern conditions of life, must be sought in such activities and aspirations as are common to the whole world of Islam.

Professor Gibb's study is not a study of modern trends amongst the Muslims.

If Professor Gibb had undertaken a study of the modern theology of Islam—whatever that may mean—his approach would perhaps have been more appropriate. As it is, he has undertaken an investigation which is more ambitious, developments in theology being only part of it. It was perhaps inevitable, for the concept of Islam comprises the totality of life and Islam is not a pure concept but practice as well. In fact, the insistence on the

unity between theory and practice is of the essence of Islam. The point at which Professor Gibb has chosen to launch his attack on the problem is unlikely to yield fruitful results—the study is not likely to lead us to an understanding of the nature of the crisis through which the peoples of Islam are passing. This does not mean that it is not an interesting and valuable study. If we love abstraction and if we want to compare Islam in the abstract with, say, Christianity or any other religion to-day, it will indeed be helpful. But it is not a study of modern trends among the Muslims. It is not an investigation concerning the attempt the Muslim is every day making to adjust himself to modern conditions of life. Gibb is too much concerned with Islam in the abstract to know his Muslims and their problems. The study should really have been about the Muslim and his attempt to fit himself into the modern scheme of things. We could have regarded the study as a significant contribution to the problems with which it concerns itself, if the author had so distributed his emphasis on Islam and the Muslims that the two would have merged into one whole. The concept of modernism, the author derives, is a function of changes in the character of religious thought. This religious thought as an independent category is treated as the core of Islam. Naturally, in that rarefied atmosphere there is hardly a thought to be bestowed on the average Muslim and his problems. As a matter of fact, we do not believe the history of theological thought is really a good medium to apprehend the nature of modern trends in any society, not even when they are religious trends. When the specific society is Islamic the difficulties are insuperable. For, does not that society provide the wonderful spectacle of laymen trying to reconstruct religious thought? Professor Gibb is aware that theology in Islam has really no official, accredited keeper. But he does not always seem to remember it. But perhaps we are not quite fair to the author. Let us see how he has developed his theme.

Professor Gibb ignores the difficulties in assuming that Muslims and Arabs are synonymous.

The general outline of his theme is not very complex. There are any number of rich and illuminating *obiter dicta*, but the central and basic assumptions of the work are few and simple. Islam is a revealed religion. At least its votaries claim so. But it was revealed to a Prophet who was an Arab. Hence, says the author, an understanding of the character of Arab thought is essential to the understanding of Islam. Even though in India there is a rich and variegated intellectual life, Arabia is still the core of Islam and apparently has always been so. To such an extent that the author practically treats the two terms Arab and Muslim as synonymous. There are obvious difficulties, historical and factual, but the author does not notice them. For the purpose of his exposition, the character of Arab thought and its peculiarities—assuming it has peculiarities which it is possible to transmit to whosoever becomes a Muslim—is the character of the Muslim thought. What is this peculiarity in the character of Arab thought which provides the author with a key to the understanding of Muslim thought, religious or otherwise? It is atomistic and discrete. The Arab artistic creation is a series of separate moments, each complete in itself and independent, connected by no principle of harmony or congruity beyond the unity of the imagining mind. It is not merely an exercise in ingenious abstraction or hypothesis making. It has a very relevant implication. The nature of that implication will be clear, if we trace the spring of mental life among the Muslims. The spring of mental life, the author says, is furnished by the imagination expressing itself in artistic creation. The intelligible object on which creative impulses of the imaginative life express themselves are two in number: (a) religious intuition; and (b) rational thought. Of the two intelligible objects of creative impulse the Arab intellect has poured itself out in religion. All

their intellectual powers have been directed towards the effort to build up the structure of the religious institution of Islam and to make it dominant in every relationship of social life. The two intelligible objects are not necessarily mutually exclusive. But, as a matter of historical fact, in the case of the Arab it has been so. The Arab has remained averse from the thought process of rationalism because of the character of his thought; his imagination is atomistic and discrete. That completes the preliminary process and makes the picture symmetrical. Only two hypotheses and a corollary have been necessary: (a) the peculiar character of Arab thought—presumably possible to transmit; (b) the identification of Arab with Muslim thought; and (c) the aversion of the so identified Muslim thought from the thought process of rationalism. Considering the vastness of the undertaking this minimal hypothesis is permissible. That perhaps also explains why Europe has not gone Muslim. The peculiar character of Arab thought cannot be transplanted to European soil.

Whence does Islam derive its vitality?

The Arab, we have seen, was destined to a life in which religion would play the predominant part. How has he fulfilled his destiny? What are the foundations of the religious thought and life of the Arab and the Muslim? The author's findings are clear, simple. We admire the directness with which he has reached the heart of the question. The structure round which life is built is religious in character. The foundations of this religious structure are three in number—the roots of the faith of Islam—the Qur'an, the traditions and the concept of *ijma'* or the consensus of the community. It is in their interaction that the whole structure of the doctrine has been built up; the socio-religious institutions of Islam and the substance and contents of religious thought itself are the products of these three. The concept of the consensus of the community plays an important role in the further development of the theme. For this concept with its inwardness is the condition precedent to the rise of modernism. Modernism, it is argued, is a function of changes in the character of religious thought. These changes are rendered possible only because the proclivity of the orthodox to heresy hunting always finds its limits in the good sense of the community. The first reaction of orthodoxy in Islam, as elsewhere, is always an attempt to suppress that which is not in conformity with its views. But because Islam sanctions no official organization for orthodoxy and because of the operation of the principle of the consensus of the community, suppression can never be undertaken in an organised manner. From this fact, the practical catholicity, the "toleration" of Islam is but a single logical step.

So far, the author has traced, what may be termed the scaffolding on which Islam hangs. But Islam is a live organism. What is the principle of life, the law of its movement? Whence does it derive its subsistence and its vitality? The question is important and the author devotes a whole chapter to it. The concept of tension in religion is introduced to explain religious life in Islam. The procedure is simple in outline. The Arab (Muslim) life is predominantly religious in character. It is not a dead existence of stereotyped institutions. The principle of vitality in the life of the socio-religious institutions as well as in religious thought are again derived from the tension generated in the case of Islam, as perhaps in the case of every live religion, by the struggle between the forces of transcendence and those of immanence, between the forces represented by the orthodox *'ulema*, emphasizing the oneness of God and the forces represented by the sufi with his monistic conception. If the analysis is correct, vital Islam should emerge only after the rise of sufism and the predominant trait of sufism, not merely one of its traits, should be monism. Professor Gibb traces the

history of Islam in this struggle between orthodox transcendence and sufi immanence. It was, he asserts, fortunate for Islam that neither party gained a decisive victory. For the outright victory of either wing would have resulted in a loss of "tension," which is tantamount to lack of spiritual vitality. As a matter of fact, a kind of division of spheres was arrived at for the larger and more significant periods of the life of Islam. The sufi brotherhoods continued to care for the personal religious needs of the people and gave play to their religious emotions. The doctors and theologians entered freely into the sufi orders. This working agreement reached its climax in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in a remarkably harmonious correlation and inter-action. One of the principal causes of the astonishing external activity of Islam was this state of equilibrium resulting in harmonious co-operation during the two centuries as between the two wings of Islam. As the operation of the two forces never ceased in Islam, Professor Gibb dismisses the prevalent notion that Islam stayed put since the thirteenth century, that it remained fixed in the moulds created for it by the scholastics, jurists, doctors and mystics of the formative centuries. The inner structure of Muslim religious life was being continuously and profoundly re-adjusted. In brief, throughout its whole history it is the working out of the pattern of the one inevitable struggle between transcendence and immanence. Of course, there is the confusing spectacle of the "middle-of-the-roads," men and women who lacked the awareness of this struggle. No doubt they were the vast majority—but they are irrelevant to the making of a symmetrical picture representing trends. And also there is the curiously indirect relation between inner reality and outer form. And, above all, there is the theorist's privilege to leave out whatever may not fit into the picture.

The picture of the modern trends in Islam presented by Professor Gibb is out of all perspective.

But this is all only by way of a preface to the study of modern trends in Islam. The nineteenth century provides the vital background. Of course the roots go far beyond the nineteenth century, but our immediate background is what happened during that period. What connects the nineteenth century with the eighteenth is the change that was taking place in the structure of religious thought. The harmonious working agreement between the sufi and the *'ulema* was working out against the *'ulema*. The theologian was being dragged in the wake of the sufi. The physical expansion of Islam was taking place at the cost of vital compromises between the strict conceptions of the theologian and pantheistic and animistic concepts and practices. A reaction was inevitable if the Qur'an still continued to remain a living force in the life of the community. Wahabism and various offshoots are the embodiment of this reaction. In the ideal aspect of the challenge which it flung out to the contamination of pure Islamic monotheism by the infiltration of animistic practices, pantheistic notions, Wahabism had a salutary and revitalising effect which spread little by little over the whole of the Muslim world. Wahabism had also a revolutionary theocratic aspect. By setting an example against "apostate" Muslim government it contributed directly to the outbreak of militant movement in almost every part of the Muslim world. By the end of the nineteenth century, many of the ideas for which Wahabism alone stood had grown acclimatised, if a little changed in form, to the whole world of Islam. That brings us into the very midst of modern trends in Islam. Professor Gibb applied himself to the study of the specific trends he designates modern. As to the merit of the criticism he makes of the trends he designates modern we have really nothing to say. But why does he designate them the modern trends of Islam? Do they indicate for him the signs of life that he suspects in Islam? Mufti 'Abduh's four-fold programme—(a) the purification of Islam

from corrupting influences and practices; (b) the reformation of Muslim higher education; (c) reformation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought; (d) the defence of Islam against European influences and Christian attacks—provides him with the pegs on which he hangs his facts. Undoubtedly each item in the programme is a worthy one and has received the attention of serious modern Muslims—Muslims who are sincere and deeply care for Islam and the Muslims. But does the sum total of the items in the programme provide the author with the “Muslim view of the universe”? Surely, that is what he set out to find out. It is quite possible that the Muslim to-day has no clearly formulated view of the universe. As a matter of fact, it is because the Muslim has not offered any systematic exposition of the subject that we have followed the author. The picture that he offers is not what we were led to expect. We again hasten to add that even in these chapters, there are specific questions and specific aspects which have been left richer and fuller of meaning by the Professor's efforts. But we insist that the picture as a whole is out of all perspective. New stresses have arisen and the old social structure begins to show cracks. The book does not help us either to feel the weight of the strain or see the cracks. All the separate observations in chapters four and five deserve our careful attention. It is right that all these strands in the mental make-up of the Muslim should be exhibited and analysed. It is a service done to them, and they are grateful. This historical romanticism, this fascination for framing apologetics and, perhaps, what the author calls the new cult of the Prophet, these are all questions which will require a great deal of searching of the heart by the Muslim. Perhaps even more, he will have to cultivate his sense of awareness of questions bearing on social ethics, social institutions and law. And they inevitably will be bound up with an understanding and apprehension of the system of Islam as a whole. And after we have done all that, will the record faithfully and fully exhibit modern trends in Islam?

Professor Gibb's analysis of the causes that have led to the decline of the Muslims.

Anyway, the modern trends that he sees are not very heartening; for the carefully chosen words which sum up the obstacles which in both thought and action so far hinder the modernists from making a full and positive contribution to the progress of the Muslim community are “the intellectual confusions and the paralysing romanticism which cloud the mind of the moderns of to-day.” If we could agree with Professor Gibb as to the reasons which prevent “modernists” from making their full contribution to the progress of the Muslim community, we would have been happy indeed. If “intellectual confusions” and “paralysing romanticism” are all that stand between them and their due contribution to the progress of the community—bad as these may be—we need not worry too much. Progress of a community, Muslim or otherwise, is not achieved by it because a section of its “intellectuals” does not suffer from “intellectual confusion” or romanticism, not even when you put the adjective “paralysing” before it. We might as well say that the recovery of the patient is retarded or hindered by his illness. The lack of progress of the Muslim community is evident—at least on one level of its existence—by intellectual confusions and paralysing romanticism of its modernist intellectuals. They are not casually connected in the way Professor Gibb suggests. One is really the symptom and the manifestation of the other. This will perhaps be clearer if we follow Professor Gibb as he pursues his argument. The gist of his argument about this “paralysing romanticism” is the hypothesis that he had put forward quite early in his discourse: “The atomism, the discreteness and the intensity of the Arab imagination, its resistance to synthetic constructions and above all, its aversion from rationalism.” The whole book is an attempt to trace the maladies from which Islamic society is suffering. “Paralysing romanticism” is one of the two princi-

pal maladies. And the reason for it is the peculiarity of the Arab intellect. And, of course, the word Arab is interchangeable with the word Muslim. May we not begin composing the funeral speech? For, if the hypothesis is correct in its major implications, “historical method and mode of thought” will not have a chance to show what they may be capable of. The author has somewhere in the book called attention to the similarity between Iqbal's doctrines of “dynamism and activism” and the same doctrines as propounded by some now defunct dictators in Europe. Perhaps he has not noticed the similarity between his conception of “peculiarity of Arab intellect” and the doctrine of racial destructiveness and peculiarities of the same dictators. Professor Gibb uses a great deal of incantation all through his discourse but what kills the flock of sheep is the occasional drop of poison that he uses. If the whole analysis leads to this one fundamental conclusion that the idea from which the body politic of Islam is suffering can be cured by cultivating historical method and mode of thought, the ills cannot be really as serious as they appear to be. But we do not agree with the author that the characteristics of the “modern trends” in Islam to which he has drawn the attention are serious symptoms of maladjustment in Islamic society. Scientific habit of thought, which has never been lost by Muslim scholars, though they may very likely need to revise their scientific method and to broaden out as well as deepen their grasp of it, will be a rather inadequate remedy to the problems of Islamic society. Re-evaluation of the data of thought through the cultivation of historical thinking will no doubt be a great enough achievement, but it will not achieve the end in view, which is the stabilizing of Islamic society, rendering indeed the trends in Islam really modern. Those confusions and romanticisms to which the author rightly draws the attention are not the “modern trends” in Islam. They are really a measure of the inadequate development of the “modern trends” in Islamic society. For, is not a trend in society to be regarded as modern only when the full development of the trend enables the members of the society to have a fuller and complete life—material, moral and spiritual—than it used to have? In such a view of the case, there is no point in dividing trends into religious, theological or secular. At least, not when the society is Islamic. The basic factors out of which problems arise in a society are similar in all societies, even when the institutions in which earlier attempts to solve similar problems have been symbolised may be apparent in each of them. What distinguishes Islamic society from other societies is that of the peculiar institutions of Islam through which the peoples of Islam have sought to stabilise it, and not the “peculiarity of Arab thought.” Whether the society of Islam will be modern in a modern world depends upon the capacity of these institutions to function significantly under these altered conditions. For the conditions of life are greatly different from what they were in the past and they are continuously altering. The question is, Can the institutions bear the strain of these altered circumstances? The roots of the faith in Islam are the principles which vitalise the institutions of Islam. In fact, any institutions which embody these principles may be characterized as Islamic. The historic forms of the institutions in the past or as they may exist to-day are no doubt very interesting, but they should not be mistaken for the principles which, it is said, they symbolise. Can we determine the relations which these institutions ought to bear to the present-day view of the society, if we examine the society on the plane of its thought—what the modernists are thinking, confusedly or otherwise, about them? They will be no doubt very interesting data and, as such, will help us to understand one of the aspects of the question. But surely “modern trends in Islam” is a much wider issue? To vest the “modernised” in the society with the sole charge of “modern trends in Islam” appears to be a fundamental misapprehension of the

nature of such trends, a misapprehension which results in the halting and dubious conclusions the author ultimately arrives at. No two generations of the peoples of Islam have viewed the "roots of faith" in Islam in exactly the same way. The measure of success each generation has attained depended upon the degree in which it succeeded in carrying out those principles of the life of the society. They have been principles of movement only when they have enabled the society to move with the times. The question of forms, of institutional expressions of the principles have, of necessity, been less important. The intellectual apprehension of the nature of these principles or of the attempts to apply them in the society is not the solution of the problem. In fact, does not this clarity of thought with regard to them come only when the details of the picture themselves have become clearer. By all means let us understand, let there be less intellectual confusion; but surely the development of the society will not wait till we have gained an understanding of the direction in which it is moving. There are certain basic minimum demands which every society is making on its constituents. The difference between modern society and the society that preceded it—Islamic as well as non-Islamic—is that the number of persons interested in these questions has grown to astronomical proportions. The multitude demands, as it has never demanded before (anyway, the demand has not been conceded ever before) the rights and the conditions which may enable them to participate in the thought processes of the society. It no doubt is very interesting to read the history of other peoples' thought, but it is certainly more interesting to make contributions to it. (Is there anything in the roots of the Faith in Islam which may facilitate such a consummation? We believe there is, and we believe the basic tragedy that was enacted in Islam was the inadequate appreciation of the principles of these roots of the Faith. Equality—the right conditions for all to participate in equal degree—in the domain of religion was acknowledged but not in the affairs of this world. A division into religious and secular life was made, which is essentially foreign to Islam).

The weakness of Professor Gibb's analysis.

Of such demands, of such emergent conditions to which adjustment in fact will be necessary, there is no trace in this analysis of modern trends in Islam. For the very concepts which the author has used in his analysis cannot exhibit the nature of such problems. The terms of reference he has followed restrict too narrowly the scope of his investigation. The weakness of his analysis is, perhaps, most apparent when he reflects on the future. The future of Islam rests, where it has rested in the past, on the insight of the orthodox leaders and their capacity to resolve the new tensions as they arise by a positive doctrine which will face and master the forces making for disintegration. If the orthodox leadership is endowed with insight, if it has capacity to resolve new tensions, and if it has a positive doctrine capable of facing and mastering the forces making for disintegration, then the future of Islam will rest in the hands of orthodox leaders. No doubt. But, when all these conditions have been fulfilled, any leadership, orthodox or otherwise, can claim to have the fate of Islam in its hands. His kind of analysis could not have led to a different conclusion. He has derived his modern trends from changes in the character of religious thought. His obsession with "changes" in the character of religious thought has left him with no leisure to study the efforts the whole world of Islam is making in common to adjust itself to modern conditions of life. The "intellectual confusions" do but reflect the real conversion of the world of Islam. The picture itself is confused, hence the intellectual apprehension is not clear-cut. And this study with its unreal premises is merely like beating the air.

Why did Sufism in Islam arise?

The change in the character of religious thought is claimed

to give rise to the modern trends in Islam. This change itself is the result of the ever-renewed struggle between the doctrine of transcendence and that of immanence, or, in the present context, between official Muslim theology and sufi theology. The vitality of every living religion, hence of Islam, depends on the tension generated by the struggle between these two concepts. When the forces representing these doctrines hold sway evenly over the society, the society is going through its most vital phase. Has the author traced the tension in the present-day world of Islam? Has he established that Islam has always been most alive only when the two concepts have been in condition of equilibrium in the society of Islam? Surely, this is pursuing an abstraction too far. And is it really correct to equate sufiism with the doctrine of immanence and that alone? Sufism is, surely, also the doctrine of otherworldliness. Even if for the purpose of a study we distinguish between sufi theology and sufi ethic, the distinction has not really existed in fact. The characteristic of sufiism that has constituted it into a source of danger to the world of Islam is its otherworldliness. And it is this aspect of sufiism which reveals the principal problem of Islamic society.

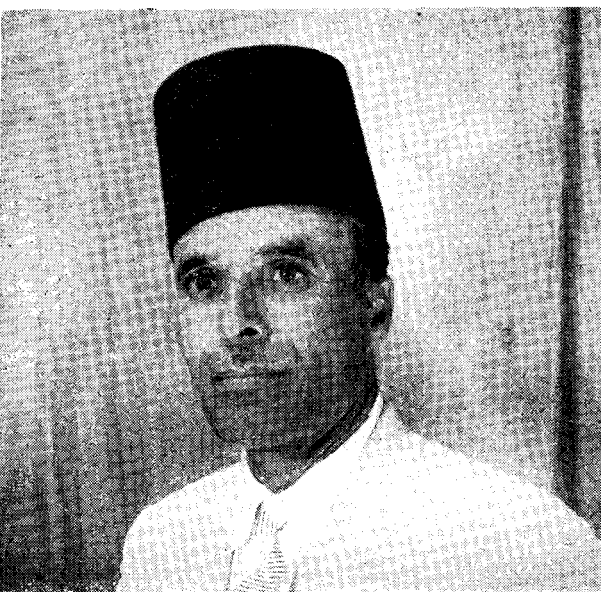
The emergence of conditions in which sufiism with its emphasis on otherworldliness could flourish has always been the principal problem of the world of Islam. For Islam is not really otherworldly. Salvation in the other world, according to Islam, does and does only depend upon conduct in this world. Conduct comprises the sum total of activities which concern not merely one's own self, but one's relations with others as well. Islam is emphatically a this-worldly religion. The rise of sufiism, or rather the conditions which favour the rise of sufiism with its otherworldliness, is its one abiding tragedy. If we are to understand the nature of the problems which Islam will have to solve, the trends which may help it solve these problems, the modern trends in Islam in fact, we must be clear about the significance of the rise of sufiism and the meaning of its continued hold on the mass of Muslims. Why did men—the Muslims—go otherworldly? As everywhere and always, live men take refuge in the contemplation of the other world only when they have lost this one. It was only when the mass of Muslims ceased to have a voice in the affairs of this world that sufiism was provided with a suitable soil to flourish in. Sufism was the most noticeable symptom of the maladjustment which had occurred in the body politic of Islam. As the author himself points out, the principles of political democracy in Islam were most decisively negatived even before the lapse of its first century. The basic tragedy of Islam flows out of this non-application of the principles of democracy on the political plane. A sort of social democracy with full democracy in religion was not enough to enable the peoples of Islam to apprehend the unawareness of the concept of equality before God. For it is not possible to make men unequal among themselves and then give reality to the concept of equality before God. As the number of men who participated in the making of effective decisions in the body politic went on decreasing as power continued to be concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, sufiism with its cult of otherworldliness began to gain ever-increasing ascendance in the body politic of Islam. The mass of men had lost this world and, naturally enough, they turned to the other. The problem for Islam to-day is to enable Muslims to take interest in this world. This world must be rendered worthwhile. This can be achieved only if the mass of Muslims can effectively participate in life both on the plane of thought as well as practically. And that is why Islam to-day has gone political. And it is only right that it should have done so. It is only on the political plane, at the moment, that the mass can find its way quickly to a participation in the significant process of life. The modern trends in Islam are all those trends which help this consummation.



T U N

French Protectorate since 1881
including 143,977 French civ
Area :

The Beys
the Symbol of the Unity and



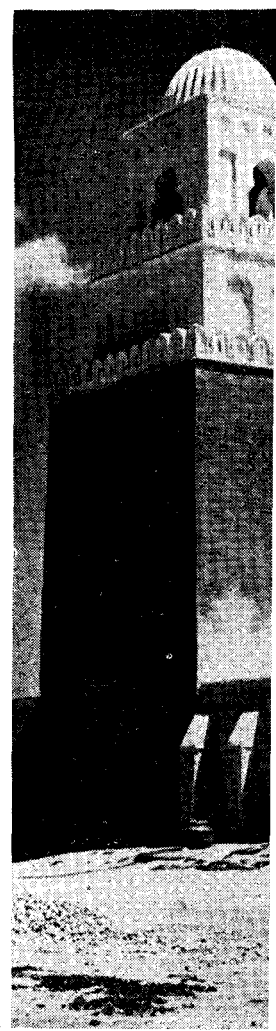
Top, left — His late Highness Sidi al-Munsif, the Bey of Tunisia. For his patriotic views, the French deposed him in 1943. He died in exile at Pau, France, in 1948

Centre, left — Mr. Habib Bourguiba

Mr. Bourguiba is the acknowledged leader of the Tunisian Independence Movement. Recently he was in Pakistan, India and Indonesia to secure the support of the political leaders of these countries in his mission. Mr. Bourguiba's health has suffered considerably as a result of his having had to pass five years in prison in Tunisia and France, which was the price he paid for his struggles for the independence of his country. He is supported by more than 90 per cent of the population of Tunisia

Bottom, left — The Muslim women of Tunisia are holding a meeting at Tunis on the occasion of the inauguration of the Arab League in March, 1945

Centre — The world-famous minaret of the Great Mosque at Qairawan, Tunisia. This minaret is about 1,300 years old and is styled "The Mother of the Minarets of the North African Muslim World"



ISIA

Population (census 1948) 3,230,952
 population and 84,977 Italians
 ,000 kilometres

Tunisia are
 independence of Tunisian people



Top, right — *His Highness Sidi Muhammad al-Amin (seated left), the Bey of Tunisia, and his son, Prince Muhammad, are talking to the Nationalist leader, Mr. Habib Bourguiba (seated right)*

His Highness's demand for an elected Parliament for his country on the 15th of May, 1951, has fluttered the French dove-cotes

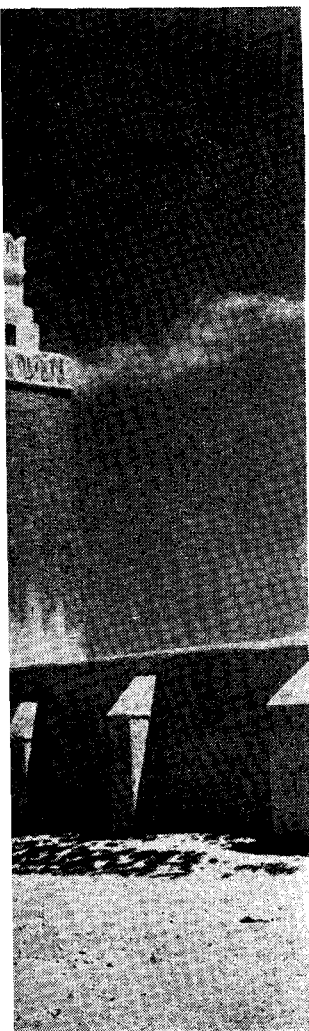
Centre, right — *'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tha'alibi (died 1944 at Tunis). He was the President of the Old Destour Party*

His book Martyr Tunisia (La Tunisie Martyr) is the most important political nationalist work on North Africa



Bottom, right — *Muslim women of Tunisia are demonstrating against the exile by the French of his late Highness Sidi al-Munsif, the Bey of Tunisia. In the procession they are carrying the picture of the late Bey*

When their leader, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, was in prison, the women of Tunisia suffered courageously the repression carried by the French against them in 1938-39 for their support of the Neo-Destour Party



TUNISIA RIPE FOR INDEPENDENCE

by G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

French promises have exhausted the patience of the Nationalists.

The more spectacular Moroccan crisis and the approach of Libyan independence have tended to put the Tunisian question temporarily in the background. For the average hack journalist, chasing the sensational across the world from Korea to Persia and Porto Rico, Tunisia for the moment provides little copy. But for the serious historian and the creative political thinker it provides one of the most stimulating and important of world problems. Outwardly, the fascination of the landscape and the glorious views of the Mediterranean from the Moorish café and Dar Zerrouk at Sidi Bou Sa'id, the imposing ruins of ancient Carthage, the nostalgic charm of the Arab music played by a great orchestra, the Rashidiyah, formed by the British composer, Baron d'Erlanger, and the whole galaxy of succulent dishes, *couscous*, *tchekchoukas*, *keftegi* and *malouhouia*, and fragrant perfumes and well-ordered *souks*, cafés full of elegant intellectual Muslims and an ugly European quarter full of insignificant cosmopolitan cross-breeds, tend to obscure the serious and vital life which is trying to break through this superficial Hollywood background and the literary Utopia of Flaubert and Gide and link itself up with the newly revitalized State of the Arab and Islamic world.

Over a year ago the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, declared at a banquet at Thionville that the task of the new Resident-General, Monsieur M. Perillier, would be that of leading Tunisia "towards independence, which is the final objective for all the territories within the French Union". He qualified this statement, it is true, with a caution about "necessary delay". A programme of moderate reforms was introduced, but the time has now come for the fulfilment of Monsieur Schuman's promises. The patience of the Nationalists, who, as a correspondent of the Paris daily, *Le Monde*, Monsieur Messud, pointed out, embrace nearly the whole nation, is exhausted, and further delays can only result in a far bigger crisis than the Moroccan stalemate.

A glance at the earliest history of Tunisia.

The earliest history of Tunisia, the eastern part of the Arab Maghreb, is veiled in mystery. The Libyans, Berbers, or Numidians, seem to be inextricably linked up. Their history seems to date from roughly 3000 B.C., as Professor Julien, whose monumental work, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, 1931 (A History of North Africa), written twenty years ago, still remains the most authoritative source, has stated, the Berber-speaking tribes of to-day represent anthropologically opposed types. In 814 B.C. Dido set up the Phoenician dynasty and founded the city of Carthage. Hannibal in his campaigns in Spain and Italy used Berber troops. Ultimately, Rome's success in the Punic Wars was largely due to Scipio winning over the Numidian cavalry leader, the great Aguellid Masinissa.

Masinissa played a decisive part in the battle of Zama in 202 B.C., when Hannibal's infantry stood firm but his cavalry was routed. Masinissa usurped the Massylian kingdom at Cirta (modern Constantine) in Eastern Algeria in 203 B.C. An able administrator, he settled the Numidian nomads on the land and attempted to absorb Carthage, which showed a remarkable vitality and capacity for revival. The Romans, however, distrusted their African allies, and had no intention of allowing the growth of a very powerful, indigenous empire. In 146 B.C., after four years of incredibly heroic defence, Carthage fell to the younger Scipio, who wiped out the city with an act of barbarity equal to the worst acts of inartistic vandalism. The Roman colonization which ensued resulted in the setting up of a granary. The Berbers and the Phoenician language remained. Jugurtha made a brave but futile attempt by corruption and by revolt to revive the kingdom of Masinissa. In the 5th century the Vandals crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and penetrated into North Africa, capturing Carthage on October 19, 439 C.E. Their leader, Geneseric, set up his headquarters in Tunisia, and it was not until 499 C.E. that the Byzantines under Belisarius were able to restore Roman civilization.



The respect and love in which His Highness the Bey al-Amin is held by his people is shown by our picture in which the Bey is giving a kiss to one of the women members of the Neo-Destour Party

The Arab period.

The Arabs, who gave Tunisia a uniform language, religion and civilization for the first time, came under the Arab general, Nafi' bin 'Okba, whose sweep across North Africa was as sensational as the Eighth Army advance in 1942-43. He realized that in order to dominate effectively the Berber population he would have to set up an inland city, and not like the Carthaginians, Romans and other conquerors, settle on the littoral. He founded the city of Qairawan in 670 C.E., which was to "serve as a place for arms for Islam to the end of time" (according to the historian al-Nuwairi, *vide supra*, Professor Julien). In spite of repeated Berber revolts the Arab conquest proved so decisive that to-day there are only 1 or 2 per cent of the population who speak a Berber tongue. Islam had an immediate and profound appeal which survived the fluctuating forces of Arab and Berber conquerors who moved from East to West and from West to East. Amongst the rulers of Qairawan were the Almohades, the Berber dynasty from Morocco. The advent of the Hilailian hordes temporarily wrought havoc. As early as 732 C.E. the Zitouna University in Tunis was spreading Arab culture, and the historian Ibn Khaldoun remains the outstanding intellectual figure of Tunisia, and a pioneer of modern historical research.

The Hafside Emir Abu Zakariya revolted against the Almohade Imam of Marrakesh and from 1229-1249 ruled a kingdom that stretched from Tripoli to Tangiers based on Tunisia or Ifrikiyya as it was then called. His son al-Mustansir ruled from 1249-1277 over his father's empire and with the support of Arab nomads, economic prosperity based on agricultural development, and diplomatic relations with Europe were stimulated. Art and architecture were encouraged. In 1349 the Merinides of Fez overthrew the Hafsides, but the Hafsides retained some measure of control till 1526.

In the 13th century, St. Louis attempted to use Tunisia as a base for an offensive against Palestine. Tunisia also came under the domination of the Barbary Corsairs and the Spaniards. In 1574 the Turks captured the city of Tunis. The French set up a consulate in the town and started a series of intrigues which resulted in the absorption of the Turkish regency three hundred years later. Nominally, from 1574 onwards, Tunis was ruled by the Bey of Algeria as representative of the Sultan, but in practice the subordinate Bey exercised real control. In 1705 the Bey Husain gradually took control, and a few years later established an hereditary dynasty which still rules to this day. The Tunisian rulers who had been repeatedly dominated by the Algerians did not feel sufficient racial or religious solidarity to intervene effectively against Napoleon in Egypt and Charles X's Commander, Bourmont, in Algeria in 1830. The only attempt of the Tunisians to support the Turks was crowned with disaster and their fleet was wiped out by the French at Navarino in 1827. The extravagance of the Bey Ahmed, who abolished slavery in 1846, was one of the major causes of French intervention. In 1837 French troops invaded the Tunisian frontier tribes and provoked a protest from the British Government. The Director of Tunisian Finances from 1837 to 1873, the Khazanadar Mustapha, amassed a huge fortune for himself.

The machinations of the Western Powers in Tunisia.

In 1857 the Bey Muhammad introduced a modern constitution which was brought into operation by his successor, Muhammad al-Saddok. A municipal council was introduced and there was talk of a form of legislative assembly. Later, the Tunisian Nationalists, and in particular the Sheikh 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tha'alibi, used this constitution as a proof that, given time, Tunisia would have evolved her own salvation and development into a modern State, without exterior domination and coercion. In 1862, faced with a deficit of 28,000,000 francs (£1,125,000),

the Khazanadar could not pay the civil service, and on May 6, 1863, the Bey contracted a foreign loan of 35,000,000 francs, of which he only received about one-seventh in kind. To repay this within 15 years as stipulated he had to contract a further loan of 63,000,000 francs (over £2,500,000), on which the bankers took a commission of 13,000,000 francs. Under such conditions it is understandable that the debt rose rapidly within five years to 160,000,000 francs. A control commission under a French Inspector of Finances was installed and this was reduced to 125,000,000 francs, on which interest was paid of 6,250,000 francs per annum. The taxes imposed (the *Mudjba*) naturally caused discontent, and in the 1860's revolts, famines and disease paralysed the country. The French officials were utterly unscrupulous. They used any method to intimidate the Bey and to extinguish British and later Italian influence.

The British consuls, the two Reades, father and son, and Wood, were men of exceptional ability and integrity. They made genuine efforts to maintain Tunisian independence under the suzerainty of weak and distant Turkey. While they undoubtedly did their best to further British interests, they worked genuinely for Tunisian economic stabilization, and were not a party to the abominable and cynical bartering of Tunisian independence carried out by Disraeli and Salisbury at the Conference of Berlin in 1878. The best example of French intrigue is given by the London *Times*' correspondent and later defender of 'Orabi Pasha in Egypt, the lawyer Broadley, in his fascinating account of the French conquest. One of the rebels against oppressive taxation, 'Ali bin Ghadam, submitted to the Bey in 1864 and surrendered letters which he had received from French officials in which he was encouraged to bring his supporters in the proximity of Tunis to intimidate the Bey, much in the same way as the Berber tribesmen were used to intimidate the Sultan of Morocco in 1951. Needless to say, the French officials did not neglect to inform 'Ali that the Bey was a puppet of the British. In 1871 the Italians, benefiting from French weakness after their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the revolt of the Algerian patriot, al-Mokrani, made preparations to invade and occupy Tunisia. This was prevented by British diplomatic pressure. Mazzini (died 1872 C.E.), the Italian patriot and revolutionist, so Liberal-minded and so great a supporter of European countries, was the inspirer of Italian imperialism in North Africa. He calmly allocated Morocco to Spain, Algeria to France, and claimed Tunisia for Italy. On November 18, 1871, a *Firman* (proclamation) from the Sultan of Turkey definitely and irrevocably asserted Turkey's suzerainty over the Regency of Tunisia. This period marked the summit of British prestige in the Regency.

In 1873 the Khazanadar was dismissed and was fined 35,000,000 francs (nearly £1,500,000). He was replaced by Khair al-Din, who made a tremendous effort during the four years of his office to modernize the Tunisian administration and to set up a strongly centralized State. He founded the hospital and the Sadiki (school) and introduced technical training. He was, however, no match for the intrigues of the French consul, Roustan, and the corrupt Moustapha bin Isma'il, who had made his *début* picking up cigarette ends in the street, serving in an inn, and as a barber's assistant. Like all his contemporaries, Khair al-Din also amassed great wealth, and on his departure he sold his palace for 2,000,000 francs and his estate of 90,000 hectares, the Enfida, to the Société Marseillaise, thus encouraging French economic penetration, and providing them with an excuse for military penetration. A naturalized English Jew, Yusuf Levy, claimed the right of *Shuf'a* — the privilege to buy up the adjoining land, and aided by the lawyer, Broadley, won his case in the Malekite courts. The French then tried to invoke the Hanefite law to dispossess him.

A small British railway was sold to the Italian company,

French Army units displaying their might in Tunis, which have been used often by the Colonial Power to cow down the Tunisians into submission



Rubattino, backed by the Italian State, in the teeth of fierce French competition. Originally costing £40,000, it was sold for £160,000. Neither the Tunisian Bey nor the people benefited in any way from such transactions. In 1878 Bismarck encouraged the French to annex Tunisia. Salisbury reputedly said to the French Foreign Minister, Waddington, "*Vous ne pouvez pas laisser Carthage aux mains des Barbares*" (You cannot leave Carthage in the hands of the Barbarians). Roustan was immediately informed of British disinterestedness, and he did not fail to inform the Bey, who called in the British Minister, who reassured him that this report was false, and induced him to publish a pro-Turkish speech by the British Premier in the court circular! British policy remained, in the words of the London *Times* correspondent, "an enigma". Finally, the British after repeatedly supporting the Tunisians against the French, counselled them into submission, and even six days after the French occupation issued an order — the Ottoman Tunis Order!

The final act which led to the French intervention was as dishonourable as it was insignificant. The Bey's representative in the Algerian port of Bone, Yusuf (known as Monsieur Allegro), was a racketeer who stirred up trouble amongst the frontier tribesmen and with one of his accessories did a trade in

plundered loot from wrecks. On several occasions Algerian tribesmen had been encouraged by the French to penetrate Tunisian territory, and it is quite certain that the French were quite as much to blame as the Khamirs (or Khroumirs), the Tunisian border tribesmen. The French claimed that the Khamirs were out of control, but a British witness, Mr. Perkins, who investigated on the spot, found that they had accepted the rule of the Tunisian Commander-in-Chief, 'Ali Bey, and were well disciplined and prepared to submit to any reasonable arbitration. The cause of dispute according to Mr. Perkins could have been settled in the Police Court in five minutes. It was over the possession of a single cow!

Tunisia becomes a French Protectorate by virtue of the Treaty of Bardo in 1881 wrung out of the Bey.

On April 24, 1881, two French columns, 30,000 strong, penetrated the Regency and 8,000 landed at Bizerta (which had long been coveted by the British Navy). Roustan and General Breart wrung the Treaty of Bardo or Kassar Sa'id out of the pathetic Bey, only one of whose ministers, the head of the Municipality, General 'Ali Zarrouk, put up any opposition. Tunisia became a French Protectorate and the pro-French quis-



The net result of Colonial rule in Tunisia, as elsewhere, is illiteracy and poverty

lings, the cigarette collector (now Premier), Moustapha bin Isma'il, and General Elias Musalli, were loaded with honours. Retribution was, however, at hand. At Sfax the Tunisians organized by the Kaid of Neffet, 'Ali bin Khalifa, put up a heroic resistance for a week. When the town was finally occupied, a British vice-consul was a witness to appalling scenes of plunder. The mosque was used as a stable and houses were blown up with the inmates still inside. The holy city of Qairawan was occupied and the great mosque defiled. 'Ali bin Khalifa retreated towards the Tripolitanian frontier and carried on resistance until his death in 1885. (The Wergemma tribe did not submit until 1901. There was an insurrection at Kasserine in 1906 and in 1915, corresponding to the Turkish appeal for a *Jihad*, a member of the Consultative Assembly, al-Hajj Sa'id bin 'Abd al-Latif, attempted to join hands with the Tripolitarians. With 2,000 men of the Wergemma tribe, he attacked a French post and was killed in the ensuing battle.) In the meantime, French troops were decimated by disease. Clemenceau and Rochefort led the attack against the French Premier, Jules Ferry, and the French Minister, Roustan, who was involved in a law suit against Rochefort. His financial and political intrigues were brought to light and he was replaced by Cambon. Jules Ferry was replaced by the radical, Gambetta, but just as Gladstone, succeeding Disraeli, carried out his expansionist policy in Egypt, so Gambetta refused to implement the original French declaration that they would retire from Tunisia directly order had been restored.

The French assume control of Tunisia by removing Tunisians from public life.

Paul Cambon proceeded to absorb the Tunisian State economically and politically, so that the Bey and his ministers became mere puppets, tolerated to appease foreign opinion and to bluff the local population. In 1896 a consultative assembly of French representatives (*Conference Consultative*) was set up, to which in 1907 the Tunisians, Muslims and Jews were condescendingly allotted 16 seats for nominated members. As an act of further appeasement a non-political Grand Council (*Grand Conseil*) was substituted, which could discuss the budget. It had separate French and Tunisian sections. It is worth remembering that the Tunisians only achieved numerical parity

in 1945. District Commissioners (*Controlleurs Civils*) were placed in charge of the sheiks and kaid. The French gendarmerie and Customs officials took control. A Ministry of Justice was set up in 1921. In 1914 and 1934 municipalities were organized in the towns and country with nominated members. Liberty of Press, introduced in 1884, and the right to hold public meetings, were reduced to a mockery by the frequent use of special powers and residential decrees. The Resident-General was to all intents and purposes an autocratic ruler, combining the powers of Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, backed by a French Commander-in-Chief and Director of Finance.

The Young Tunisians organize themselves for National Independence in 1904 — Tha'alibi — Destour.

By 1904 a new Arab and Islamic intelligentsia had arisen to organize the struggle for national independence. Following closely upon the lines of the Young Turks, 'Ali Bash Hamba founded the Young Tunisian Party in 1904 and started a paper, *The Tunisian*. He was supported by his brother, Muhammad, and the brilliant Islamic scholar Si 'Abd al-'Aziz Tha'alibi, whose book *L'Esprit Liberal du Koran* (The Liberal Spirit of the Qur'an) following the progressive lines of the Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh of Egypt, produced a great effect. As usual it was anathematised by the passive religious leaders. At the same time an important cultural organization, the Khaldounia, was founded by Si Bashir Sfar and M. A. Khairallah. The Young Tunisians came into open conflict with the authorities in 1911, when the French threatened to run a railway through the Muslim cemetery of Djellaz, on the outskirts of the town of Tunis. The Muslims picketed the cemetery and were evicted by force. In the resulting fighting and rioting there were mass arrests, and both Muslims and Europeans suffered fatal casualties. Shortly afterwards a tram driven by an Italian killed a Muslim child. 'Ali Bash Hamba organized a boycott of the trams which was completely observed by the Muslim population. He coupled this with a demand for the employment of Muslims by the tramway company. The French authorities reacted vigorously. The Bash Hamba brothers and Tha'alibi were deported. In Constantinople the Bash Hamba brothers carried on Pan-Islamic Turkophile propaganda. After the war Tha'alibi, who was in Paris, addressed a note to President Wilson asking for the independence of Tunisia. In

A picture taken after French bullets had laid low some Tunisians who were holding a meeting at Enfidaville in 1950 for the restoration of their birthright — independence. Amongst the martyrs was one woman. The palls on the coffins are the Tunisian flags



1920 he published a pamphlet, "Martyr Tunisia" (*La Tunisie Martyr*), which proved to be a sensational exposure of French rule and remains to-day the most important political nationalist work on North Africa. Meanwhile in May, 1919, a delegation of Tunisian notables had asked the French Resident-General, Flandin, to grant a Constitution (*Destour*). The Bey Si Nassar on June 18, 1919, welcomed a similar delegation, and with this encouragement the *Hizb al-hurr al-dastouri* was formed by the lawyers Ahmed al-Safi and Salih Farhat (a descendant of Moustapha Khazanadar) under the presidency of Tha'alibi. This party reached a membership of 60,000 to 70,000 members; its programme was more moderate than Tha'alibi's; it demanded in its Nine-point Programme a Legislative Assembly of Tunisians and French elected by universal suffrage, controlling the budget and electing a government responsible to it, the access of Tunisians to all administrative posts, for which they were to be paid the same salaries as the French, universal municipal suffrage, freedom of the press, the right to hold meetings, the separation of the legislative and judiciary powers.

The demand for independence grows.

The Bey Si Nassar was extremely friendly to the Destourians whom he received on June 18, 1919. His son, Si Munsif, was later to become the embodiment of national unity in the struggle for independence. The aim of the Destourians was to "create a constitution which would afford the people a chance to govern themselves according to the rules approved of by the civilized world". On June 6, 1919, the delegation went to Paris. As is



Abu Muhammad Ahmad Tawfik al-Madani
Mr. al-Madani, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Destour Party, and Chairman of the Islamic Relations Group, is at present living in Algiers. He was deported by the French for his Tunisian Independence activities

pointed out by the late Dr. Habib Thamir in his history of the Tunisian Nationalist movement, the word "independence" was not mentioned in this plan of demands which marked a retrograde step in comparison with the first programme presented by Tha'alibi to President Wilson. The delegation and a subsequent delegation produced no effect. On the arrival of the new Resident-General, Lucien Saint, on June 6, 1921, yet another delegation, known as "The Forty", again pressed for the Nine-point Programme. Tha'alibi was amnestied and allowed to return to Tunis and martial law was ended. Superficial structural laws such as the setting up of the Ministry of Justice and the turning of the Consultative Assembly into a Grand Council with powers to discuss the budget were produced. Discontent increased. A French colonial, R. Louzon, was deported under an act of 1778. After a distinguished career in the French Army in Tunisia during the 1914-18 war, he had been converted to becoming an ardent supporter of the Destourian movement, and combining this with Communist and revolutionary syndicalism, he encouraged the Muslims to demand complete independence. To this day he and his paper, *La Revolution Proletarienne*, give consistent support to the North African nationalist movements and to the Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic cause. On April 4, 1922, the Bey threatened to abdicate if satisfaction was not given. The Resident called on the Bey at his palace at La Marsa with a display of force in the shape of a squadron of cavalry of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, and the Bey was persuaded to change his mind, as it was essential for the French to have a ruler on the throne on April 27, the date of President Millerand's visit.

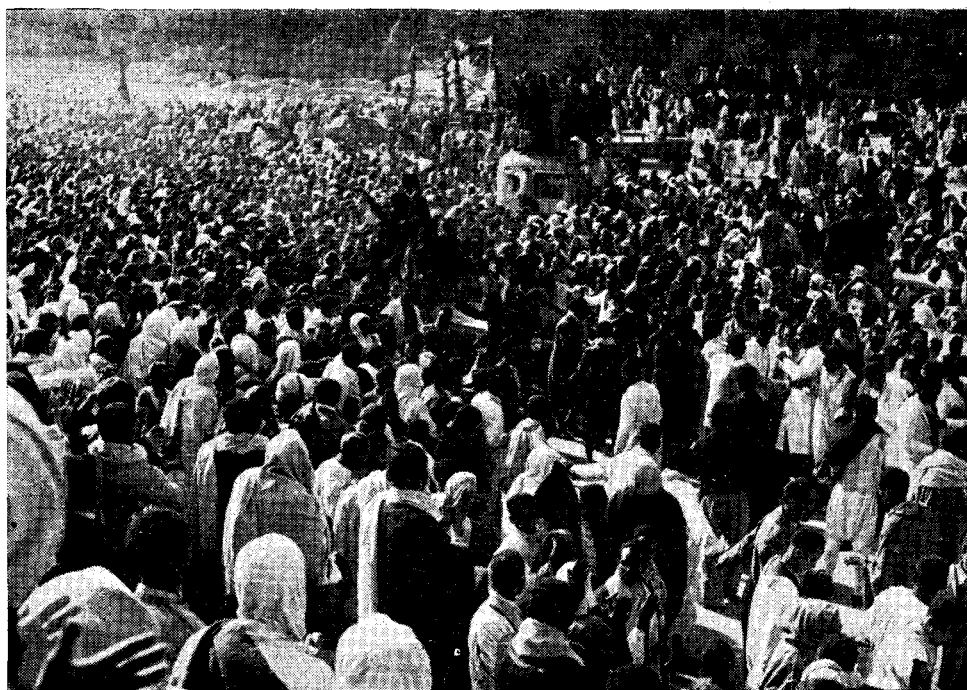
This former Socialist proclaimed that Tunis was and always would remain French, and the Resident began systematically to persecute the Destourians. The more moderate elements, led by an Algerian lawyer, Hasan Guellaty, formed the moderate Reformist Party, asking for equal salaries and opportunity for Tunisians and an equal number of Tunisians and French in the Grand Council, the right to form trade unions, compulsory education in Arabic for all boys and girls, equal opportunity for colonization of the land, freedom of speech and of the Press, the right of vote for every Tunisian at the age of 21, etc. (vide *al-Nabdhah*, Tunis, for 19th October, 1924). The reformist newspaper, *al-Nabdhah*, founded in 1922, is, together with *al-Zohra*, edited by 'Abd al-Rahman Sanadli, founded in 1887, one of the three big dailies¹ of the Regency. In 1923, Tha'alibi, finding his activities curtailed in Tunis, went into voluntary exile, and for fourteen years propagated the Tunisian cause in the Middle East and in what is now Pakistan, India. He was one of the chief supporters of the Mufti Amin al-Husaini, at the 1931 Jerusalem Pan-Islamic Conference, at which a motion was passed to resist the naturalization of Muslim subjects in the French-occupied parts of North Africa. His great intellectual qualities provided a spiritual influence which survives his death in 1944. He predicted the Allies' victory in 1939.

Tunisian Labour Movement.

During the war between 'Abd al-Karim and the French and Spanish, one of the leading members of the Destourian Party, an eminent Arab scholar and Algerian, Tawfik al-Madani, was expelled for publishing an accurate account of the causes of the war and a call to support 'Abd al-Karim (vide *Ifrikiyya*, Tunis, for 25th May, 1925). On November 28, 1925, four students of the Zitouna University were arrested and several demonstrators imprisoned for showing active opposition to the unveiling of a statue in Tunis to the Catholic Cardinal Lavigerie, the inspirer of the White Fathers, the Catholic missionaries who had gone out into the desert all over North Africa in an attempt to convert the Muslims to Catholicism, and at the same time had played

¹ A new Arabic patriotic daily, *al-Sabah*, edited by Habib Shaikhruhu.

The Tunisian Neo-Destour leader, Habib Bourguiba, is entering the town of Gabes. The people are chairing him



a great part in furthering the French military occupation. On October 12, 1924, the Tunisian national trades union, the C.G.T.T. (*Confederation Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens*), known in Arabic as the "Jami'at 'Umoum al-'Amalah al-Tunisia," was formed by Muhammad 'Ali, the former chauffeur of Enver Pasha, who had received university education in Berlin, and Mukhtar al-Ayari, M. Ghannoushi and 'Ali Karawi. The Muslim workers realised that they were not receiving fair treatment by the French trade union, the C.G.T.T. They received active support from a Corsican Communist, Finidori, the French Communist Party's policy at that time being actively to fight imperialism, support North African nationalism and form red revolutionary trade unions. The Tunisian Union was, however, independent, although it received outside Communist support. There were strikes in the cement works at Hammam Lif on January 19, 1925, and strikes of the agricultural workers on the estate of Potinville. The trade unionists and Communists were arrested, and in spite of a protest strike by the dockers, Muhammad 'Ali, Finidori and the others were deported. Muhammad 'Ali died as a result of a motor accident at Jidda in 1928. The Destourian paper, *The Liberal*, pointed out that there had been in all 400 condemnations of Liberals, suppressions of newspapers, and suspensions of meetings. Although the Destourians disapproved of the syndicates and Communists' activities, they objected to their arrest.

After 1925 the Nationalist movement remained quiescent. The leading nationalist was Shadhily Khairallah, who attended the Brussels Congress against imperialism and supported *L'Etoile Nord Africaine* (The North African Star), in which with Massali Hajj he worked for North African independence.

The appearance of Habib Bourguiba and the foundation of the Neo-Destour Party.

The years 1928-29 were noted for strikes by the Tunisians of the Zitouna University. The French Eucharistic Congress held at Carthage in May, 1930, aroused a strenuous protest. A campaign to oppose the naturalization of Tunisian Muslims was fought out to the bitter end and resulted in a complete success for the Destourians. Between 1924 and 1928, 787 Muslims had become French citizens. Between 1934 and 1941 only four

Muslims renounced their nationality. (During the same period nearly 7,000 Tunisian Jews acquired French citizenship.) It was during this campaign that Habib Bourguiba came into prominence. He and Dr. Mahmoud Materi broke away from Khairallah's paper and founded *L'Action Tunisienne*, which was up till its final suppression in 1938 the French language paper of the Neo-Destourians. Their Arabic paper, *al-'Amal*, founded in 1934 was edited by an eminent scholar, Tahir Sfar. During this period Muslim cemeteries were picketed and no French Muslim could be buried in them. The Nationalists carried on a violent campaign against the 'Ulemas who had pronounced a *Fetwa* in support of the French. In June, 1933, the Resident-General, Manceron, was forced to provide special cemeteries for the Muslim naturalized subjects. Many of the French Muslims pleaded for the return of their Tunisian citizenship.

On May 12 and 13, 1933, a new conference of the Destourian Party was held, and once more the demand was put forward for a Tunisian Parliament to elect a responsible government. On September 9, 1933, Habib Bourguiba, as stated above, resigned from the Destourian Party, and on March 2, 1934, he and Dr. Materi founded the Neo-Destourian Party. The new Resident-General, Marcel Peyrouton (1933-36), pretended to flirt with the Neo-Destourians. Later, he carried on a policy of violent repression against the Nationalists and the French Socialists and trade unionists. On September 2, 1934, 200 Neo-Destourians were exiled to Bordj le Boeuf. There were small uprisings at several localities. Once he had arrested the Nationalists, Peyrouton attacked the French Socialists. He reduced the French civil servants' subsidy, the hated *tier colonial*, from a third of the salary to 22½ per cent. Well-known Socialists such as the lawyer Duran-Angliviel, and the trade union leader, Bouzanquet, were prosecuted, and several Europeans long resident in the Regency were deported. Under mysterious circumstances Shadhily Khairallah was "exiled" to a post in the French consular or Foreign Office administration in Rome. Shortly before the triumph of the Popular Front, Peyrouton was transferred to Morocco. He eventually became Vichy Minister of the Interior and after a period of imprisonment now holds an important journalistic administrative job in Morocco. The new Resident-General, Guillon, and Blum's Under-Secretary for

Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Vienot, after the liberation of the Neo-Destourians, attempted to carry out a programme of reforms. Bourguiba visited Paris and during a visit to the Residency, Monsieur Vienot stated that certain French interests were not necessarily to be confused with the interests of France as a whole — a warning to the colonials. The C.G.T.T. — *Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* — re-started its activities, but like the Destourian Party it split up between the old Syndicalists, a tiny group under Gennawi, and the dynamic Neo-Destourians, one of whom, the lawyer Hadi Nouri, became its secretary. After the fall of Blum's government in France, friction between the authorities and the Neo-Destourians increased. There was bloodshed in the mines at Mdilla and Metlawi, where altogether 23 people were killed. In July, 1937, Tha'alibi returned, and was welcomed at a monster meeting in the Gambetta Park by both Destourian parties. He failed to realize the widespread importance and popularity of the Neo-Destourians, and when he tried to hold public meetings at Beja and Mateur there was shooting and he was forced to retire.

French start persecution of the Nationalists.

French promises to Habib Bourguiba were not kept, and persecutions of the Nationalists continued. In February, 1938, six Muslims were killed at the port of Bizerta, and Hadi Nouri was arrested after a demonstration protesting against the deportation of an Algerian trade unionist, Hasan Nouri. In March a prominent Neo-Destourian, 'Ali Belhouane, was prosecuted for a meeting he had held at the Sadiki school. On April 8, 1938, a mass demonstration was held in Tunis. The Residency was ringed off with barbed wire and prepared as if for a siege. Dr. Materi, who had resigned the presidency of the Neo-Destourian Party, counselled moderation, but the whole population was aflame. On the 9th of April, 1938, 'Ali Belhouane appeared before the magistrates. Mass demonstrations took place. One of the prominent Neo-Destourian leaders of these was Monji Salim. Shots were fired. No satisfactory explanation has ever been given as to who started the firing — officially 22 persons were killed, in fact about 200. It was certainly not the work of organized Nationalists. It is thought that Italian Fascists may have been responsible. The legal period of the Neo-Destourian activities was brought to an end. There were mass arrests. Martial law was proclaimed. The New Destour Party is still illegal and its prominent members are being arraigned before a military tribunal at the time of writing. Hashshad Boudali and Khiary are being prosecuted for holding the world-traditional May Day meeting. The Destourians were arrested all over the country. Habib Bourguiba, Tahir Sfar, Salih bin Yusuf, and later, Bahri Guiga, were arrested. Guiga and Sfar renounced political activity and were released in 1939. The other Neo-Destourian leaders remained in prison until released by the Germans in 1942. The Destour, or, as they were known now, the Old Destour Party, were allowed to publish their paper, *al-Irada*, an Arabic daily, and their French language paper, *La Charte Tunisienne*. Tha'alibi, Salih Farhat, Dr. A. Bin Milad and a very able polemist, Shadhily Khallidy ('Abd al-Haq), carried on a vigorous criticism of the protecting power, but they were too embittered to support their compatriots in gaol. The Italian Fascists' campaign for taking over Tunis brought Daladier in haste to the Regency. His trip was a complete failure. Neo-Destourian boatmen waved placards asking for the liberation of the prisoners as he arrived in port. A prominent French evening paper showed a photograph of his being "welcomed" by Neo-Destourians with placards bearing slogans of a similar nature at the palace of Bardo. While he wine and dined with European journalists, veiled Neo-Destourian women demonstrated outside the Hotel Majestic. The Mareth Line on the Tripolitanian frontier, whose defences he visited, was used



The late Dr. Habib Thamir

He directed the Tunisian underground struggle after Mr. Habib Bourguiba's arrest by the French from 1931-41 with skill and courage. He was killed in an air crash in Pakistan in 1949, where he had gone to take part in the first International Islamic Economic Conference

effectively by Rommel's army which for a short time held up the British 8th Army on the Tunisian frontier. A small band of Corsicans enjoyed themselves singing their Bonapartist patriotic songs and brandishing their spectacular national flag, which resembled the skull and crossbones — emblem of an 18th century buccaneer. The new Resident, Erik Labonne, suppressed several new Neo-Destourian papers, such as, *Tunis al-Fatat* (Young Tunis). Dr. Habib Thamir (who was later killed in a plane accident in Pakistan) carried on a courageous underground movement. In 1940-41 he was sentenced to 20 years' hard labour. Thamar was undoubtedly one of the most active and courageous and determined leaders, although he would most likely have preferred to remain a retiring and modest doctor. At the beginning of the war there was opposition to mobilization by the Muslims at Qairawan. In 1940 the Prime Minister, Reynaud, is reported to have offered Italy joint protectorship over the Regency, or rather a share in a condominium. This was apparently opposed by the British Ambassador and disdainfully rejected by Mussolini, who was confidently expecting to occupy Tunisia after he had left Germany to defeat France on her own.

Italians in Tunisia.

At the time of the French conquest there were over 11,000 Italians in Tunisia as compared with nearly 700 French. In 1939, according to French statistics, the French outnumbered the Italians by 14,000, but a large percentage of the French were naturalized subjects, many of Italian origin, and the Fascists claimed that there were really 120,000 Italians in the Regency as compared with 108,000 French. The industrious Italians were the proletarian backbone of the European community together

Farhat Hashshad, the Tunisian Trade Union leader, is detailing the demands of the workers to His Highness the Bey of Tunisia



with the equally hard-working Maltese, many of whom had become French citizens through an arrangement between Lord Curzon and the Quai d'Orsay. Most of the vineyards and the fishing industry and public construction were in the hands of Italians. Subsidised schools, hospitals and restaurants and free holidays for the children in Italy and occasional acts of terrorism induced the Italians in Tunisia to support the Fascists.

In 1937 Italian marines murdered an Italian Communist, Micelli, in cold blood, and marched out of the town. They behaved in the words of *Le Populaire* "as in a conquered city". Peyrouton during his period of office obtained decorations for prominent Fascist officials. French attempts to sponsor an anti-Fascist Italian paper, *Il Giornale*, edited by the son of the murdered Italian deputy, Amendola, backed by Monsieur Campolonghi of the Human Rights Organization, did not get the backing of more than 6,000 Italians. The Italian Fascist daily, *L'Unione*, Tunis, edited by Santamaria, was on the other hand widely read. In 1942 the Bey died. A pathetic figure, he submitted passively to the repression of his people. Tired, bespectacled and indifferent, he could be seen on fête days walking over carpets spread through the streets, while the obsequious perfume king, Smida, from the Souk Attarine, poured bottles of perfume in his path.

Sidi Munsif identifies himself with the National aspirations.

At this time Si Munsif, the new Bey, ascended the throne of Tunisia. He took up the national struggle where it had ended with the death of his father, Nassar, in 1922. He dismissed his Prime Minister, who was the tool of Vichy, and the French Resident, the weak, ineffective but obedient Admiral Estava. Munsif refused to apply Vichy racial laws to the 70,000 Tunisian Jews; he abolished the distinctions between Tunisian and French civil servants' wages, the hated *tiers colonial*¹; he set up a national ministry under the head of the Tunisian section of the Grand Council, Muhammad Shenik, including Dr. Materi and the old Destourian leader, Salih Farhat, as Minister of Tunisian Justice. During the Allied landing in Morocco and the German occupation of Tunisia, the Bey, Si Munsif, attempted to remain

neutral, claiming he had no real power. His government largely supported this view, although one or two of them supported the British and Americans. He refused to give way to the Italian Consul, Bombieri, who tried to set up an Italian Protectorate. If he had been more astute, he would have retired and given token support to the Allies. As it was, the Free French Forces were able on the strength of his indecision to get him unjustly and illegally deposed when General Giraud and the new Resident, Juin, took over. The unemployed in Tunis and Sfax had naturally been forced by economic reasons to take jobs with the German troops of occupation. An Arabic paper, *Ifrikiyya al-fatat*, published during the German occupation, had been taken over by Thamiir and Tayyib Salim. It had supported a vigorous Nationalist policy, but its publication during the German rule was used by the French as a pretext for complete suppression of the Nationalist movement. Shortly before the allied occupation, Habib Bourguiba had been released by the Germans, and had been sent back to the Regency. He and other Neo-Destourians went into hiding and only came out some months later, thanks to the protection of the sympathetic American consul, Doolittle. The Free French carried out summary executions in Sfax and there were many arrests of innocent people in Tunis whose number remains a mystery to this day. The new Bey Lamine (al-Amin) was boycotted by the Muslims until the death of his brother, Munsif, in France, when the Bey Lamine realised like the Sultan of Morocco that his national dignity and popularity were dependent on his complete identification with the Nationalist aspirations.

Habib Bourguiba leaves Tunisia without French knowledge for Egypt to focus the attention of the Middle East on the affairs of his country.

In 1946 after Habib Bourguiba had left for the Middle East and joined Thamiir in Egypt to carry out a propaganda campaign in the Islamic world, an all-embracing Congress of Tunisian notables was held in the capital, at which a resolution was passed demanding complete independence. Habib Bourguiba abroad pointed out that mere measures of reform were now out of date. Up till 1948 the two Destourian parties remained on friendly terms. The Bey objected to Frenchmen being elected to the French Parliament, for unlike the British Parliament, the

¹ Literally the colonial one-third. All Frenchmen were given wages which were higher by one-third than those of the Tunisians. Out of 30,000 civil servants only 5,000 are Tunisians.
See also 'Abd al-Haq's *La Tunisie aux fonctionnaires*.

A woman member of the Neo-Destour Party, Dr. Bashira bin Milad, is presenting to His Highness some of the demands of the women of Tunisia



French Chamber of Deputies has members elected from all overseas territories, administered by France. The Bey considered this a violation of the Protectorate.

The French introduce some reforms in 1950.

In 1947 the French introduced a few moderate reforms and the Socialist Mons, who had replaced the dictatorial General Mast as Resident, gave the premiership to the lawyer 'Abd al-Rahman Ka'k, a founder-member of the Reformist Party. The Tunisian Government was the laughing-stock of both Muslims and Europeans. It was replaced three years later by a far more representative Government under Si Munsif's Prime Minister, Muhammad Shenik, which included the Secretary of the Neo-Destourian Party, Salih bin Yusuf, as Minister of Tunisian Justice.

This government was formed after a visit of Habib Bourguiba to Paris in April, 1950. At first the French officials under Premier Bidault refused to see Habib Bourguiba. Due to pressure by the French colonials the Resident Mons, who had appeared at a mass meeting with the Bey at Souss and had, according to the colonials, been seated in a position subordinate to that of the Bey, was replaced in spite of protests from the French Socialist Party. Thanks to the support of Jean Rous of the left wing Parisian daily, *Franc Tireur*, the Socialist Party gave Habib Bourguiba a hearing and took up his cause. Claude Bourdet in his paper, *l'Observateur*, Paris, gave Habib Bourguiba excellent support. In fact, if a referendum had been given in France on the question of some form of Tunisian independence, the combined votes of the Socialists, Communists and sympathetic mem-



The Tunisian Trade Union leader, Mr. Farbat Hashshad, is addressing a meeting held in memory of the late Tunisian patriot, Dr. Thamir. To the left of Mr. Hashshad is sitting Mr. Ibrahim 'Abdullah, the Secretary-General of the Tunisian Agriculturist Union (Union Generale des Agriculteurs Tunisiens), which forms a very important section of the Neo-Destour Party

His Excellency Salih bin Yusuf, the Minister of Tunisian Justice and Secretary-General of the Neo-Destour Party, is addressing the Neo-Destourian women on the occasion of the day — April 24, 1881 — when Tunisia was declared a French Protectorate by France



bers of the M.R.P. (*Mouvement Republicain Populaire*) would most likely have gained a majority. Habib Bourguiba's Seven-point Programme of immediate reforms, to which he had reverted, was aimed at getting rid of the French police force and abolishing the power of veto of the French Secretary of the Tunisian Government, abolishment of the French District Commissioner who controlled the Kaids and the setting up of a National Government, elected by universal suffrage. At the same time he said that "these structural reforms are necessary to consecrate our independence and they should draw nearer and fortify the spirit of Franco-Tunisian co-operation which constitutes for us a geographical necessity".

The Neo-Destour and North Africa.

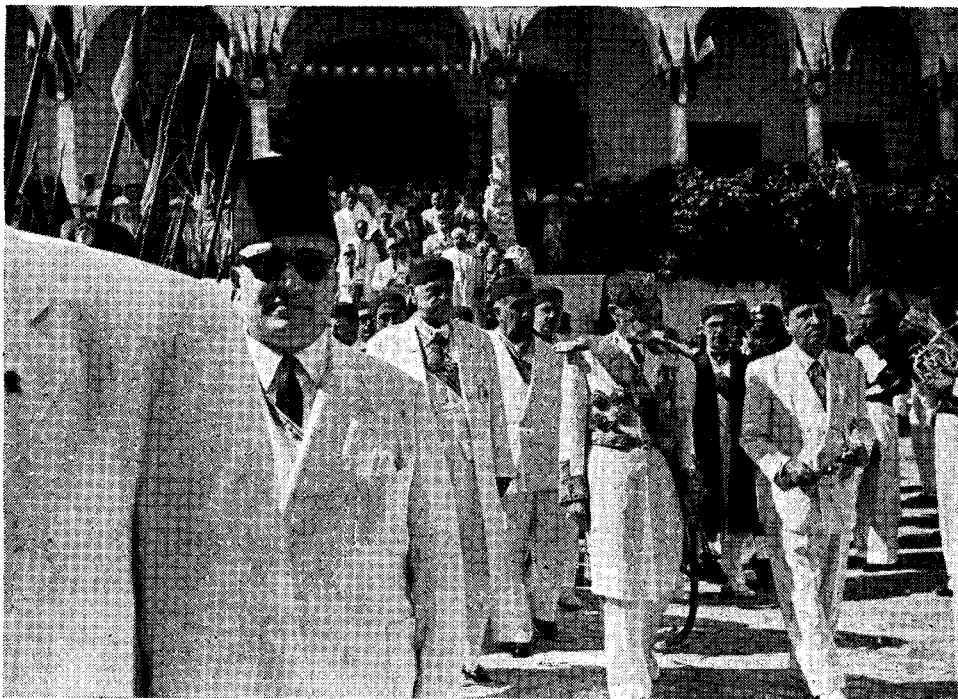
Professor Julien made an appeal in the Parisian daily, *Le Monde*, for the French Government to listen to Habib Bourguiba. He pointed out that from 1936 to 1937, when he had negotiated with Habib Bourguiba, as a member of the Mediterranean High Committee during Blum's first government, he had found Habib Bourguiba to be reasonable and worthy of consideration. Eventually, at the end of the year, Habib Bourguiba was received by the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Parodi, and on February 8, 1951, the new Resident-General, introduced a series of reforms giving the Tunisian members of the Government numerical equality with the French technical administrators, and transferring the right of veto from the Secretary-General to the Resident-General. Needless to say, nobody was fully satisfied. The French colonials protested and the French Secretary, Monsieur Vimont, resigned, and the Old Destourians claimed that the Neo-Destour Party were sacrificing Tunisian sovereignty. The fact, however, remains that the vast majority of the country and the hundred thousand strong Nationalist Trade Union, the U.G.T.T. (*Union Generale Tunisiennne du Travail*), remains firmly and strongly behind Habib Bourguiba, who, reassuring the Nationalists, stated at Monastir that the Tunisians would obtain their independence even by armed conflict if that became necessary. During the recent Moroccan crisis the Neo-Destourian Party and the Tunisian Government stood firmly behind the Sultan. The Minister of Justice cabled a protest to the French Government. The U.G.T.T. and the Neo-Destourian Party declared a one-day strike of

protest and the Neo-Destourian Arabic weekly, *al-Hurriya*, was suppressed for an article by Farid Bourguiba in which he had supported the Istiqlal of Morocco. The position now is that the Tunisians are claiming a parliament elected by universal suffrage and the proclamation of the Destour (*Constitution*), and wish to obtain their independence like their Libyan brothers.

Habib Bourguiba's recent visit to Pakistan and Indonesia is a move to obtain Islamic support. His friendliness towards Britain and America and his moderation in his dealings with France, a policy which has been supported by Farhat Hashshad, the dynamic leader of the U.G.T.T. (*Union Generale Tunisiennne du Travail*), which broke with the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions in 1950, is a test case for the colonized peoples of the world. Will the Western Powers help to build up a vital democratic independent Muslim State friendly towards the Islamic and Western world at the same time, or will they continue to bolster up an artificial repressive French régime valuing the military support of the armies of General Juin more than the friendship of millions of oppressed people? The appalling cynicism with which the French have treated the Sultan of Morocco and faked the Algerian elections and attempted to disregard Bourguiba, not to mention the disgraceful conditions he and the Neo-Destourian leaders were subject to during their imprisonment, are hardly a favourable inducement to persuade him to believe that there is any advantage for Tunisia to enter into a Treaty of Union with France. The correspondent of *Le Monde*, Paris, Monsieur de Montety, and Guerif, also the very knowledgeable authority on North Africa, Monsieur Ladreit de Lacharriere, have all attempted to wean Habib Bourguiba from solidarity with the Moroccan and Algerian independence movements and the Arab League. A democratic independent Tunisia under Habib Bourguiba's premiership would, however, play a far more constructive rôle amongst the Western democracies and independent and still dependent world States.

The economic reasons for discontent in Tunisia.

The French naturally claim credit in Tunisia for restoring the country's finances, developing the economy and putting an end to tribal revolts. But unlike the British in Egypt they have acquired the most fertile land for themselves. French statistics show that of the 12,500,000 hectares, 72 per cent or 9,000,000



His Highness the Bey, accompanied by his Ministers, is leaving the Bardo Palace. In the foreground on the right of His Highness is His Excellency Salih bin Yusuf, the Minister of Tunisian Justice

are suitable for cultivation. And of these 9,000,000, 4,500,000 are actually exploited. 1,416,000 hectares are sown with crops. The best quality wheat is in the hands of 3,000-5,000 European colonials. 500,000 Muslims work in the olive groves in the Sahil from Susa to Sfax. Needless to say, the wine industry is entirely in the hands of Europeans. In 1948 the population was given as 3,230,952, of whom nearly 2,832,978 were Muslims and 70,971 Tunisian Jews. The population is increasing at the rate of 2.49 per cent per year. It should, therefore, by now have attained a figure of nearly 3,600,000. In 1946 about 1,800,000 Muslims were engaged in agriculture, and there were 100,000 in the Nationalist trade union, including civil servants. The formation on January 22, 1946, of the Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail was a feat without parallel in North African history, for it soon grouped 100,000 members and was entirely free of European domination. The Communists changed the name of their section of the French C.G.T. to "Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs Tunisiens" (U.S.T.T.), but the three European trade unions combined only group a fraction of their Tunisian rivals. When the U.G.T.T. was finally admitted to the World Federation of Trade Unions, pressure was brought to bear by the Communists to force it to merge with the Communist U.S.T.T. Farhat Hashshad, however, resisted this pressure, and in 1950 the U.G.T.T. withdrew from the World Federation, whose political agitation it disagreed with. Hashshad and other Trade Union delegates attended the Free Trade Union Congress held at Milan, Italy, in July, 1951.

A large part of the Tunisian countryside is perpetually threatened with drought. Before and after the war there were serious famines. Dr. Bernard of the League of Nations estimated in 1938 that about 40 per cent of the population were on the verge of starvation and that 81 per cent were in receipt of less than 3,000 calories a day. Farhat Hashshad stated that real wages in 1949 had only 51 per cent of their pre-war purchasing power. In 1951 figures given in the Tunisian French language paper, *Mission*, showed that prices had risen to 27.5 times their pre-war level, while wages had gone up only 20.4 times in one zone and 16 times in the other zone. Agricultural wages were 234 francs (about 4/10) in one zone and 210 francs (4/3) in another zone for a day's work of 12 to 15 hours. Many of the

peasantry are enslaved by the *Khumasaat*, which means payment for labour in kind, based on five part division of production. The strikes have been breaking out repeatedly amongst the agricultural workers. The worst industrial strike was the bloody affray at Sfax in July, 1947, when 26 Muslims were killed and 150 wounded. There have been strikes in the phosphate mines. The powerful Sfax Gafsa Company, which bears the same relationship to Tunisia as the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to Iran, is a perpetual target for nationalistic and syndicalist propaganda. It controls one-fifth of the 2,000 kilometres of railway. The big mass meetings and demonstrations of the Trade Unions and the Neo-Destour have been well organized and disciplined, as their leaders, Monji Salim and 'Ali Belhouane, do not wish to give the opportunity for a repetition of the 9th of April, 1938.

The production of phosphates has fallen from 3,000,000 tons in a peak year to half that amount, and Tunisian economy is suffering from Moroccan production. Three companies, one Franco-Tunisian, one American and one British, are exploring for oil, but in spite of rumours no large quantities are yet being worked. Tunisia is in a state of political maturity and economic crisis, from which the stranglehold of French commerce and political Iron Curtain, artificially cutting it off from Tripolitania, cannot benefit it.

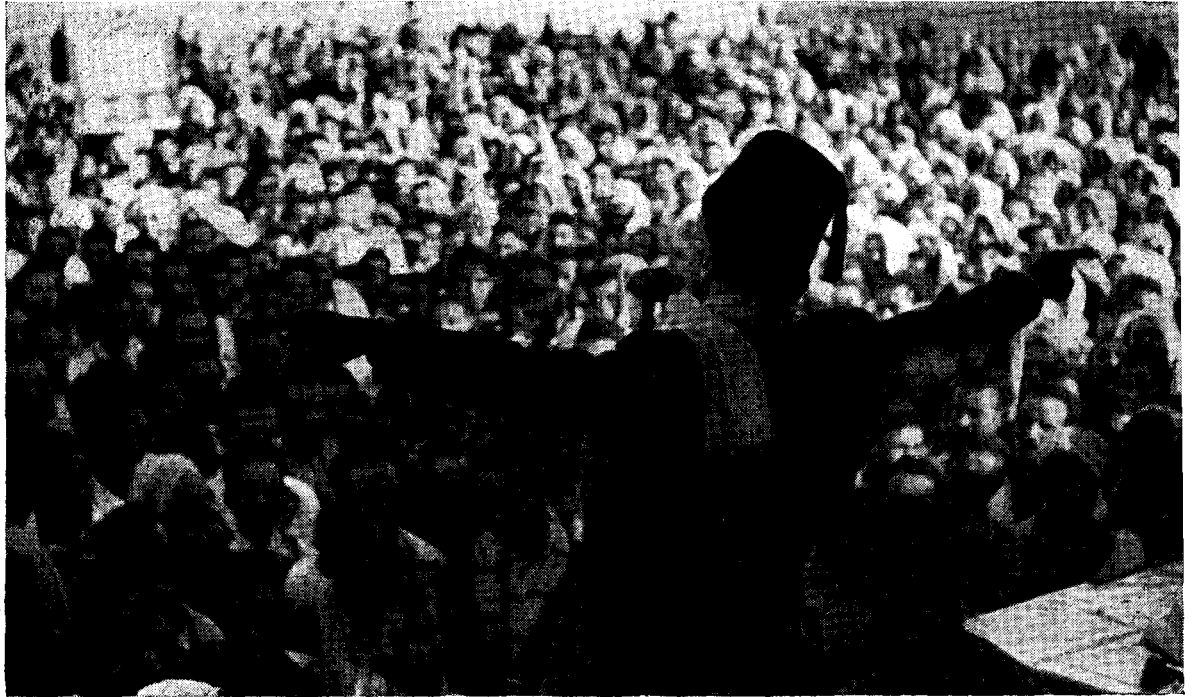
Two-thirds of the budget are absorbed by the Civil Service, composed mainly of the French.

Of the budget roughly two-thirds are absorbed by the civil service. According to official statistics issued on January 3, 1951, there were 181,700 children at school. 100 per cent French children were attending schools, whereas only 12 per cent Tunisian Muslim children were at school. This percentage includes the 3,000 children in Qur'anic schools (*cf.* the French official figures quoted by U.G.T.T. at its annual conference).

Since the beginning of May, things have rapidly developed. On the eighth anniversary of his reign, May 5th, the Bey Lamine put forward a demand for further reforms including the setting up of a representative assembly to draw up a modern democratic constitution which has been for 22 years the basic Destour demand.

The Tunisian leader, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, in a characteristic oratorical pose, is swaying the audience.

Mr. Bourguiba, who owes the lease of his life to the intervention of the last world war, was sentenced to death by the French for his "subversive" activities



The Resident-General, Perillier, speaking at the 25th anniversary banquet of the National Congress of the Officers of the Reserve (Territorials), said that there was no question of jumping the stages (of the programme of reforms), that the next stage envisaged municipal reform, and those people who wished to go further than the agreed measures were not helping their country.

He attempted to make out that the French reform of universal municipal suffrage was more radical than the Nationalist programme, reiterating that "the problem was not that of giving power to a few people chosen amongst the personalities".

Monsieur Perillier then had a violent scene with the Bey and, according to the well-informed French weekly, *L'Observateur*, he asked for the dismissal of the Prime Minister, the moderate Muhammad Shenik, the Minister of Justice, Salih bin Yusuf, who is also secretary of the 150,000 strong Neo-Destour Party, and Si Badra, the Minister of Social Welfare, who had protested against the brutal killing of agricultural workers during a strike on the Enfidaville State some time previously.

The Bey showed remarkable powers of resistance when one considers that he was a nominee of Generals Giraud and Juin in 1943, when he was forcibly placed on the throne to replace the popular Munsif Bey. Unlike Munsif's father, Sidi Nassar, who more or less gave in during the year 1922 when faced by the Resident Saint, Si Lamine was not intimidated by the appearance of troops (the Spahis), and he went over the Resident's head and appealed direct to Vincent Auriol, the President of the French Republic. Here the matter rests, but it can be safely said that the projected Beylical visit to France will not take place.

The Arab League, which was recently instrumental in patching differences between the Istiqlal, Reformist and Democratic Independence parties in Morocco, would do well to attempt to heal the breach between the two Destour parties, the Nationalist Trade Union and the students of the Zitouna University.

The vast mass of the people support the Neo-Destour Party, which allied with the U.G.T.T. (*The Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail*) is progressively working for independence and is represented by its secretary in the Tunisian Government.

The Old Destour Party contains some veteran Nationalists, the lawyer Salih Farhat, Minister of Justice in Shenik's government during the reign of the late Bey Munsif; Dr. A. Bin Milad, a very progressive and active Socialist, and a brilliant journalist, Shadhily Khallidy, now in retirement. None the less, the fact remains that since 1933 the real political activity of the country has been in the hands of the brilliant orator, the lawyer Habib Bourguiba and his party, ably supported by the 100,000 strong Union founded in 1946. Since 1934 the Neo-Destourians have been repeatedly imprisoned, as the French are much more afraid of them than of the Old Destourians.

In order to win back mass support, the Old Destourians are working together with Fadhl bin 'Ashour and his student supporters in the 1,200 year old Zitouna University. There have been repeated clashes between the two factions, and at Carthage on May 14 or 15, the Neo-Destourians were brutally assaulted with French police connivance. This situation is very much to the liking of the French colonials, who want to exploit these disorders to get the whole Nationalist movement suppressed and end a dangerous series of reforms which will inevitably end in Tunisian independence. A further skirmish between rival Nationalists in front of the law courts involved 1,500 people. It was here that there was the massacre in 1938 on April 9.

The French section of the Grand Council, a consultative institution with limited powers, is openly provoking the Tunisian Government and the Resident is frequently interfering.

The Neo-Destourians and syndicalists have set up an Action Committee of Popular Representation and to preserve Constitutional rights. The old party have countered this with a National Independence Organization backed by a few students and an affiliated Communist Party support. In the real interests of Tunisian independence, however, Salih Farhat should offer to work with Habib Bourguiba in the spirit of Munsifism, of national unity, till independence is obtained. The French police are only afraid of the Neo-Destour and the syndicalists. That is why they alone are being arrested. Habib Shakir, a leading Neo-Destourian, has been recently sentenced to two months' imprisonment, and Farid Bourguiba to two months' imprisonment and a £500 fine, and the Arabic weekly, *al-Hurriya*, has been suppressed.

Prompt action by the Arab and Islamic States may help Habib Bourguiba, backed by his many French sympathisers, such as Jean Rous (whose constructive work has done much to stimulate improved Franco-Tunisian relations based on a recognition of legitimacy of complete Tunisian independence), Claude Bourdet, Professor Julien and the moderate Socialists Bidet and Lapie, to add a vital and democratic force to the body of Arab and Islamic States without a further period of repression and bloodshed. France will find that an independent Tunisia will be a much better friend than a hostile police protectorate.

An appeal to the French.

It is quite ridiculous that Tunisia should be ruled by *colons*, who are a disgrace to metropolitan France, whose glorious civilization and industrious people must not be confused with

the camarillas of arrogant racialists who in Tunisia flout the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. They are toiling to support a *putsch* if necessary to overthrow the parliamentary régime in France, and they are smarting under the elementary lessons in humanity which have been administered to them by some Frenchmen like Jean Rous, Julien, Louzon, Finidori, Boudet, Dessinges, and the enlightened French press, which includes such journals as *Le Franc-Tireur* (a Left-Wing Socialist Independent Parisian daily), *L'Observateur* (a Socialist-Neutralist Parisian weekly), and the highly intelligent Catholic pacifist Parisian monthly, *L'Esprit*, and *La Revolution Proletarienne*. These courageous writers are the grains of mustard seed who have moved mountains out of the bloodstained path which leads to Tunisian independence.

THE NILE FESTIVAL

By MARY FAYED

A festival dating back to the days of the Pharaohs.

Every year, in August, there is a day of festivity in Egypt, for the whole nation pays tribute to the River Nile in a celebration which has existed in various forms since the days of the Pharaohs.

The flood-water, with its rich content of silt, comes mainly from Abyssinia and reaches Cairo in the month of August.

It is not surprising that the people of the Nile Valley attach such importance to the flooding of their river, because since the first settled communities lived on its banks, over 4,000 years ago, they have depended upon its nourishing mud-laden waters for their agriculture and prosperity.

In the Nile flood, the Ancient Egyptians saw a manifestation of their Gods. During the Festival of the Flood, the sacred boat of Amon-Ra was carried about by a great procession of priests, preceded by the statues of former kings, with the reigning Pharaoh bringing up the rear. Thousands of lamps waved in fantastic night rituals, while Pharaoh performed his symbolic washing with Nile water. When the first waves of the flood reached Thebes and Memphis, and the canals were opened, the popular festival began. The people led by the high priests, walked in procession to the accompaniment of music played by men on harps and pipes, and sacrifices were offered in the temples in tribute to the deities who had conquered the hills and deserts and enabled the Nile God to provide a plentiful harvest for his worshippers.

Sometimes during the anxious period of drought just before the flood, the Pharaoh came in person up the Nile to Silsileh, where the river seems to vanish in the narrows between the rocks. There he sought to propitiate the Nile God with gifts, particularly a white ox, and, if he threw a roll of papyrus inscribed with magic formulae into the water, the river was certain to rise again from the earth.

On one occasion in ancient times, the Nile rose unusually high owing to torrential rains. Villages were flooded, crops were destroyed and famine stalked the land. Swept by a wave of terror and superstitious fear, the people consulted their wise men. The sages proclaimed that the Nile God was angry and demanded a sacrifice — the sacrifice of a young maiden. Accordingly amidst tears and rejoicings, the most beautiful maiden in Egypt was dressed in gay apparel and thrown into the river as the bride of the Nile. The flood subsided and each year the same ceremony was continued up till the time of the Arab invasion of Egypt, when this human sacrifice to the Nile God was abolished.

The Roda Nilometer.

Nowadays the daily rise in the level of the Nile flood as measured by Nilometers at various points from the Sudan northwards is distributed throughout the country by telegraphic news

service. But about a hundred years ago, the daily level as registered on the Roda Nilometer, was proclaimed in the streets of Cairo, and each district had its own Crier of the Nile.

The Roda Nilometer, one of the oldest Islamic monuments in Egypt, is situated on the southern extremity of the island. It was built in 861 C.E. by the Abbasid Caliph, al-Mutawakkil. During the reign of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha this ingenious device was marked with two columns of figures, one which showed the rising level of the river and the other the relative taxation which would accompany the increased production of crops. When the danger point was reached, that is, when the flood mark showed that land and crops were threatened, then the taxation figures decreased in proportion as the Nile level rose. According to an old law, the land-tax could not be exacted unless the Nile rose to a height of 16 cubits of the Nilometer.

An old belief was that on the first night of the rise in the river (the Night of the Drop) a miraculous drop of water fell into the river and caused it to rise. Many singular customs were carried out on that night, among them being one which entailed the placing of a lump of dough on the terrace of the house after sunset. If at daybreak on the following morning, the dough was found to be cracked then it was believed that the Nile would rise high in the following season.

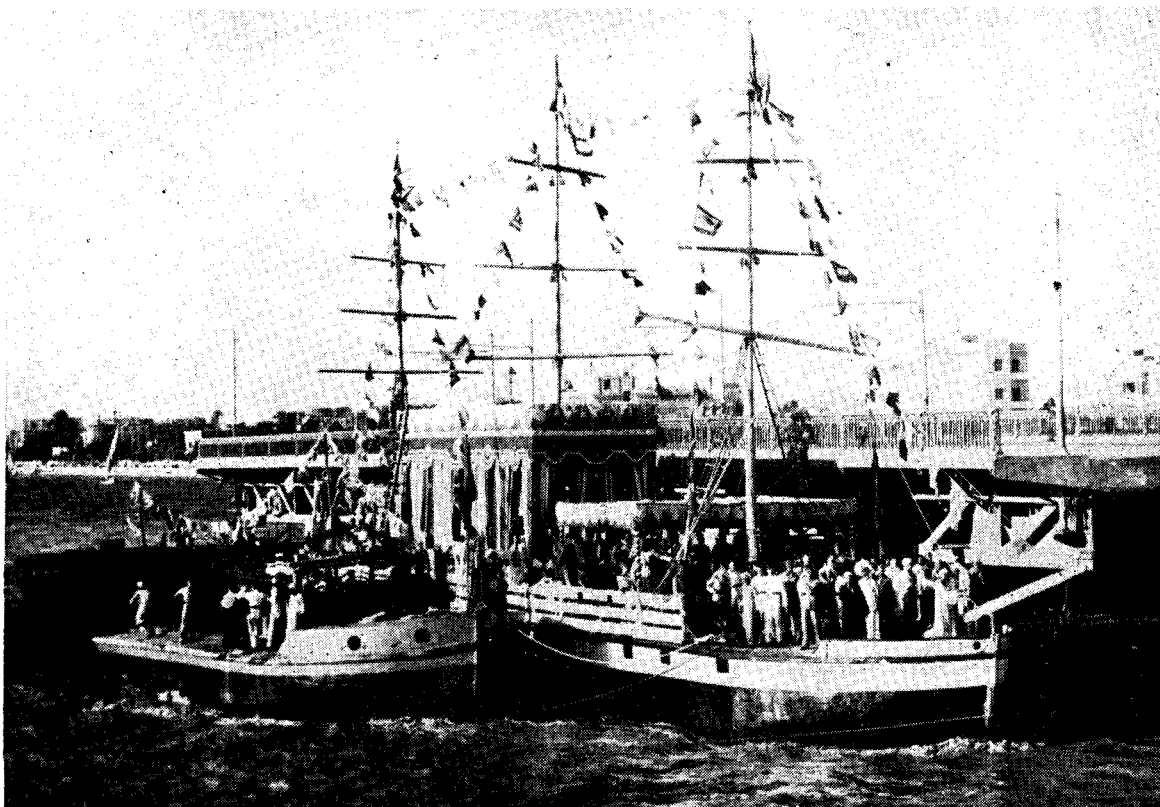
For many hundreds of years the day of *Wafa al-Nil*, or the day of abundance of the river, was an occasion for great celebrations. At one time the Caliph used to attend the celebration in person, attended by a great and dazzling company of soldiers wearing armour of gold on which the Caliph's name was blazoned in jewels.

A dam was built across the mouth of the canal of Cairo at Fam al-Khaleeg, at the commencement of the rise. On the festival day, this earthen dam or dyke was cut through allowing the water to surge into the Canal to water the thirsty Delta.

In front of the dam was built a cone-shaped pillar of earth on whose flat top was sown a little millet or maize. This pillar was called the *'aroosah* or bride, and was always washed away, a week or a fortnight before the dam was cut.

The festivities on the occasion of the annual rise in the water level of the Nile.

In the afternoon, before the *Wafa al-Nil*, a large, gaily painted boat, called the *'Akabab*, sails from Boola taking passengers for hire. It makes fast to the island of al-Roda, immediately opposite the opening of the Canal. This boat represents the vessel in which the Ancient Egyptians used to convey the maiden whom it is said they threw into the Nile. Numerous other boats, hired by private parties, also move to the entrance of the Canal in readiness for the ceremony of the



The 'Akabab on its journey to Roda Island, Cairo, and the Nilometer. The tugboat draws the 'Akabab, which has no propellers.

Cairo celebrates in August every year one of Egypt's oldest ceremonies, called "The Wedding of the Nile". In olden times under the Pharaohs' rule, and even centuries later, a young Egyptian virgin was chosen from amongst the beautiful girls, attired in exquisite dress and betrothed to the Nile by being thrown into the river.

To-day, the custom of throwing a girl into the river is no longer followed. A statue of plaster is substituted as a symbol of the ancient bride. The former human sacrifice was considered a tribute to the Nile for the blessings lavished by it on the land. It was also thought to act as a charm, preserving the people from the malediction of Isis and Ostris, thus entailing loss, famine and waste.

After the Arab conquest, 'Amrou, who commanded Cairo for the Caliph 'Umar, had a horror of this custom, and forbade it. That year, it so happened, no flood appeared. 'Amrou, astonished at this unusual occurrence, and pressed by the pleas of the inhabitants, wrote to the Caliph 'Umar for orders.

'Umar replied with a letter addressed to the Nile itself, in which he said: "If you come in your own name, go away and let the country become a desert. But if you come in the name of God, continue to make Egypt fruitful."

This letter was thrown into the Nile. On the sixteenth day the flood came. The water rose 24 feet and flooded wide areas

following morning. Exhibitions of fireworks, professional musicians and story-tellers and the firing of guns from the 'Akabab, which is illuminated by gaily coloured lamps hanging from the riggings, all adds to the diversions on the river, which last through the evening and into the night.

The modern ceremony which attends the Festival of the Nile has lost none of its old colour and significance, in spite of the relief from the fear of drought brought about by the building of the Aswan dam and the use of modern engineering methods, which greatly reduce the risk of disastrous floods.

At 3 p.m. on the day of the festival, the gaily decorated 'Akabab stands by in the river, near the Semiramis Hotel and the invited guests come on board. She then moves off amidst the applause of huge crowds lining the banks, and her departure is greeted by a salute of 21 guns. On the voyage towards the southern end of Roda Island, she is escorted by sailing boats, launches and river-craft of all descriptions. At the point on the island where the Nilometer stands the Nile "bride", now happily made of wood and cotton, is thrown into the river, and the 'Akabab returns by way of Old Cairo, to her original mooring-place alongside the Semiramis Hotel.

In the evening, to the accompaniment of music, the 'Akabab, decorated with flags and multi-coloured lights, moves to the opposite bank of the river. Here in the Gezira Garden, a large marquee is erected for the official procedure of signing the *hujja*, the document which records the annual details of the rise in the waters of the River Nile. This ceremony is witnessed by a distinguished gathering of visitors, including diplomats, high Government officials and other important citizens.

After the playing of the National Anthem, the Governor of Cairo, representing His Majesty the King, presides at the official ceremony accompanied by the Rector of al-Azhar University and the Chief of the High Shari'a Courts.

When the *hujja* has been read, it is signed by the Governor of Cairo and representatives of the Ministries of Social Affairs and Public Works. Before and after the signing of the *hujja*, prayers are read from the Qur'an.

Thus concludes a day of festivity, which since the time of the Pharaohs has echoed the sentiments of a grateful nation for the abundance and prosperity which they owe to the life-giving water of their mighty river, who "fillet the storehouses and maketh wide the granaries".

Iran, The Western Democracies, 'Azzam Pasha's visit to Turkey and her proposed entry into the Atlantic Pact, French Elections and Algeria

By ABU MUHAMMAD

Iran and the West.

In these days, when peace is a ball that is being kicked about from one corner to another by two powerful adversaries, some of the small nations of the world are finding an opportunity to march ahead and endeavour to free themselves of this gigantic and infernal tangle. These nations are seeking earnestly and with everything at their disposal to base their future on the concept of neutrality towards this great and serious feud which is threatening the whole world with destruction. This neutral *bloc*, which now includes Pakistan, Egypt, and the great majority of the Arab and Islamic world, is gaining strength daily, a thing that is causing anxiety and restlessness to the Western Democracies. This neutral *bloc* derives no support from the Soviet Union or from its satellites or allies. But the Western Democracies, nevertheless, view the development of this neutral *bloc* with great concern. They see in it a breach in the strength of the Western *bloc*, because it deprives it of many all-important strategic positions and fronts which are essential for the success and effectiveness of the strategic and other plans of the Western Democracies and which have so far been regarded as integral parts of Western policy.

Iran, for example, which has been the main theme in the political world for some time, can now be regarded as free from the onerous bonds and shackles of the Western *bloc*, if not wholly so, then at least from the military angle. It cannot be hoped now that Iran will be, in the event of a military show-down between the Western and Soviet *blocs*, a military front from which the United States of America can launch an attack against Soviet Turkestan — unless, of course, the Soviet Union has formulated other schemes. This is something which no one can be sure of at this stage.

Britain and Iran.

The British capitalists and the British Government had entertained doubts about whether the Government of Iran was in real earnest in its move to nationalise the oil industry. The British suspected the resoluteness which was shown from the first hour by the Government and people of Iran in their drive to nationalise their country's oil, and regarded the avowals of the Iranian leaders as a protracted bluff by means of which the Iranian Government hoped to achieve more than it thought it was possible for her to achieve in the circumstances. The British thought that when the Iranians would be faced with a show of adamant and confirmed resoluteness on the part of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the British Government they would waver and retreat from their original plans and finally abandon the main implications of the nationalisation project. In this way, the British hoped, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and those who have an interest in it will ultimately attain their ambition in full.

It was in fulfilment of such a policy that the British wanted to negotiate on behalf of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The British authorities in London had earlier declared that they would accept the principle of nationalisation and that they would be prepared to negotiate with the Iranian Government on its basis. By such a "concession" the British authorities tried to appease the Iranians and damp the national determination and temper of the people of Iran. What they appeared to concede with the right hand, the British hoped to retrieve in multiples, with the left.

But the time for play-acting and bluffing had, however, been passed at that stage of the matter. The West was now to find that

the East could no longer be treated as an impetuous and ignorant youth whose feelings and rights could be flouted and ignored, and who can subsequently be won back by a small bait.

In Teheran the British Company found itself facing a powerful and determined front. They found that the whole was solidly united in whole-hearted support of their government. They found an alert and sensitive public opinion which was mindful of all that was going on. The British Company played some of the cards which in the long tradition of British imperialism had been tested and found successful in such games against the people of the East. This time, however, the British found that their opponents were not so naive or inexperienced. The British Company, finding that it could get nothing out of the Iranians, finally gave up the game, in desperation. The Iranian Government had laid down one main condition as a prerequisite of the continuation of the discussions — that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company should pay into the Iranian Treasury 75% of its revenues since the date of the passing of the nationalisation law. In this, the Iranian Government was adamant. The British Company tried to coerce the Iranians by holding out threats of the use of force to bring about a change in the Iranian behaviour, but all this had no effect whatsoever on the Iranians who remained firm and resolute. Finally, the British Company refused to accede to this condition, holding that the revenue of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was the absolute property of that Company, and one which it was not willing to relinquish. And so ended the negotiations in which the Iranians sought to reclaim their national rights and retrieve the oil wells and installations in their country, and in which the British sought to perpetuate the state of imperialism over Iran, veiled under a nominal acceptance of the principle of nationalisation, and to continue to exploit that vast wealth of oil which is amongst the world's greatest resources.

The United States of America and Iran.

The news of the breaking down of the discussions between the British Company and the Iranian authorities was received with great dismay all over the Western world. The news distressed the United States of America more than it did Great Britain. The United States of America was greatly worried because of the presence of the Soviet Union on the borders of Iran, and because of the Soviet Union's readiness to interfere in the oil dispute if the dispute took on a military aspect. Such would have been the case if Great Britain had carried out her threat of sending paratroops to seize the oil wells and refinery installations in Iran, and if Iran also fulfilled her threat of destroying the oil pipe-line in such a case and sending her military and civilian forces to occupy the oil districts in the country.

The Western democracies, and in particular the United States of America now feared that Iran might become a "second Korea", and the first battleground of the calamitous third world war. Such fears were justifiable, for the situation in Iran was inflammable and foreboded very ominous and sinister results if not tackled properly at its early stages. The best thing that could be done by those high international organizations, whose main purpose is the maintenance of world peace and by the wise political counsel of the world was to advise the British Government to submit to the dictates of justice and accept what had been resolved by the Iranian nation. Only if this course was taken would that part of the world, and indeed the whole world, be saved from the imminent danger of the unspeakable horror and misery of a world war that would have changed the whole

future of mankind. The people of Iran, in their mood at that time, would prefer their own death and destruction to the continuation of servitude under imperialism!

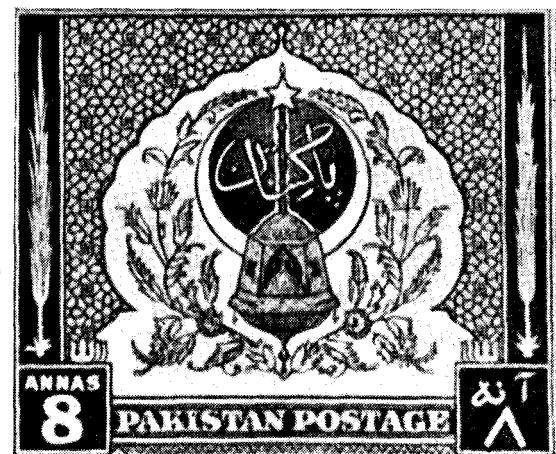
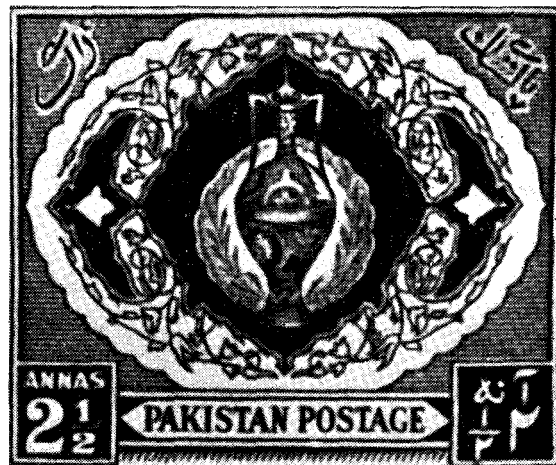
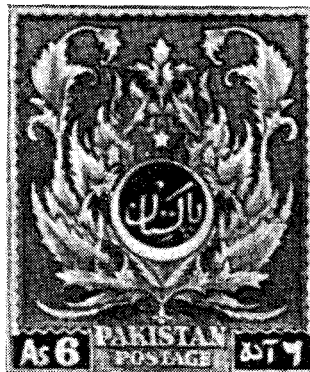
'Azzam Pasha's visit to Turkey.

Arab and Turkish political circles are now very jubilant at the success of the tour of the Turkish Republic by 'Abd al-Rahman 'Azzam Pasha, the Secretary General of the Arab League, who was there on the invitation of the Turkish Government. The purpose of this visit to Turkey was to find ways and means of bringing together the two great Arab and Turkish nations, who have in the past been the pillars of the great Muslim empire and civilization. Another purpose was to clear the air of the differences and controversies that had caused a split between the two peoples in modern times, so that agreement could be reached between the Arab and Turkish people for creating a common united front that would maintain peace in the East and act as an effective element in maintaining world peace as well.

On this subject Turkey holds one point of view and the Arabs another. It remains to be seen who will finally succeed in convincing the other of his point of view.

Turkey considers that the Eastern Islamic world will not be safe unless it allied itself with the Western Democracies led by the United States of America. Turkey holds that in making such an alliance with the Western Democracies the Eastern Islamic world will find itself alongside a powerful and mighty ally. Only by this means, Turkey says, can the weak Eastern Islamic nations make sure that their countries will not be invaded by the Communists who, from the first moment after the declaration of a next war, will march towards the Mediterranean Sea and endeavour to occupy the Eastern Islamic countries bordering upon it, so as to cut the link between the East and the West and deprive the Western Democracies of many strategic advantages. In such an event, Turkey maintains, Eastern Islamic countries will sacrifice their independence and freedom and will be trodden upon very heavily by the merciless powers of Communism.

'Azzam Pasha, however, is of the opinion that a third world bloc should be formed, which, by virtue of its geographical and strategic position and the immense natural resources it possesses, as well as its vast population, will command respect and wield effective power. Such a force will, if it so desires, play an effective rôle in international organizations and world political circles in procuring and maintaining world peace and stability. 'Azzam Pasha considers that such a bloc can stand between the two insane adverseries in the world today, who are each trying to crush and annihilate the other, and can try to put an end to their feud, and generally act as a stabiliser and moderator in the present world turmoil. In case the



Pakistan's new postage stamp issue on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of her creation on 14th August, 1951

Islamic Symbolism in the Design

The Government of Pakistan issued a new set of postage stamps on 14th August, 1951 — the fourth anniversary of the establishment of Pakistan.

These stamps have been designed by the famous Pakistani artist, Mr. K. B. 'Abdur Rahman Chughtai. Their colouring has been chosen by the Ministry of Communications. The printing has been done in London by the direct plate process in one colour. The new postage stamps are of the denominations of 2½ As. (annas), 3 As., 3½ As., 4 As., 6 As., 8 As., 10 As., and 12 As. The size is 29 x 33.5 millimetres and the perforation gauge 13/13½.

Four designs have been used in these stamps; one design appears on stamps of two different denominations which are distinguished by different colours. The 2½ As. and 3½ As. depict a vase and plate surrounded by a leaf decorative design. Ceramics have always been patronized by Muslims and glazed pottery work has been one of the traditional arts in Pakistan. The design represents a Muslim heritage and Pakistan's interest in its revival. The 2½ As. stamp is red while the 3½ As. is blue.

The 3 As. and 12 As. stamps are meant for air mail use — internal and external. The design depicts an aeroplane and an ancient hour-glass artistically typifying the saving of time and shortening of space made possible by this modern manner of travel and transport. The colours are dark red for the 3 As. stamp and dark green-blue for the 12 As.

The 4 As. and 6 As. stamps carry a leaf pattern in Saracenic style. The leaf pattern has been used by Muslims throughout the centuries and is the chief motif of architectural decoration. Few artists can compare with Chughtai in craftsmanship in this particular style. The colours are leafy green for the 4 As. stamp, autumnal brown for the 6 As. The designs of the 8 As. and 10 As. stamps represent the symbolic Muslim arch which is characteristic of Muslim architecture and is a permanent Muslim contribution to that art. From the arch hangs a lamp in the shape which is familiar throughout the Muslim world. This symbolizes the lamp of learning which the Muslims lighted in the world after the darkness of the feudal ages. The 8 As. stamp is dark brown, the 10 As. purple.

whole of this *bloc* or part of it is attacked by either of those two great sides, then it can, by standing united in opposition to the aggressor, have a better chance of repelling the aggression. Such a *bloc*, which will be destined to become a very powerful "third" *bloc* in the world, will include, according to the views of 'Azzam Pasha, countries like India, Pakistan and Indonesia, in the Far East, Afghanistan and Iran, in the Middle East, and Turkey and the whole of the Arab world in the Near East.

Turkey's new rôle.

It is perhaps not a sheer coincidence that there was a storm in the Turkish Press and in Turkish public opinion, against the Western Democracies, and particularly Great Britain, during 'Azzam Pasha's visit to Ankara and Istanbul. Turkey has recently found herself compelled to tie herself to the Western Democracies and to accept economic and military aid from the United States of America, so as to counteract the pressure exerted by the Soviet Union on her borders, its serious threat to her national safety, and its determined and open endeavour to retrieve the districts of Kares and Ardahan and to lay hands on the Bosphorous and Dardanelles, the keys to the Black Sea. In spite of her declared allegiance to the Western Democracies, Turkey was not admitted to any effective alliance with the Western Democracies—except for two treaties with Great Britain and France, which were entered into some time ago, and which are not of any real significance in the present world situation. Turkey has demanded earnestly and persistently that she should be included in the North Atlantic Pact, so that thereby she would be assured that in the event of the Soviet Union carrying out its sinister threat to her safety she (Turkey) would not find herself facing the Soviet Union single-handed, and with the Western Democracies merely supplying her with arms and ammunition — to such a degree as is then possible. Further, Turkey believes that on her becoming a member of the North Atlantic Pact the Soviet Union will ease the pressure it now exerts on the Turkish borders. The Soviet Union will then be made to realize that in the event of its invasion of Turkey it will not have only two million Turkish soldiers to contend with, but the whole military strength of the countries of the North Atlantic Pact—a rather different proposition from the Soviet Union's point of view.

Though the United States of America has at last acceded rather unwillingly to the Turkish request and has recommended to the member countries of the North Atlantic Pact the admission of Turkey and Greece to full membership of the Pact, Great Britain and France did show great opposition to this move. The opposers to Turkey's inclusion in the North Atlantic Pact said that Turkey was situated in a particularly dangerous spot, and that the member countries of the North Atlantic Pact had not at their disposal at the present time means of protecting and giving effective aid and support to Turkey in the event of aggression by the Soviet Union. Further, they said that the admission of Turkey to the Atlantic Pact would incite the disapproval and anger of the Soviet Union, which might view such a move as a hostile act directed against the Soviet Union, a thing that was likely to provoke the Soviet Union to invade Turkey in order to free itself from the blockade that is being erected around it before its pincers close tighter.

The United States of America was greatly worried in case Turkey adopted the neutralist attitude advocated by 'Azzam Pasha, and decided to stand aloof in the event of a clash between the Soviet *bloc* and the Western Democracies, who are prepared to defend their countries with every power at their disposal in the event of aggression. 'Azzam Pasha's visit has been of great benefit to Turkey, because the neutralist policy that is being advocated by him had made the United States of America double her efforts towards admitting Turkey to the North Atlantic Pact before Turkey committed herself to the neutralist camp. In this way, Turkey has achieved her first object. But if the United

States had not overcome the opposition of those member countries who do not favour the admission of Turkey to the North Atlantic Pact, then the visit of 'Azzam Pasha would have opened new horizons for the people of Turkey. Turkey may henceforth emerge from the difficult role of neutrality which she has so far maintained, so as to lead the new neutral *bloc* which is destined to be a great third *bloc* in world politics. In such a role, Turkey can hope to settle her disputes with the Soviet Union, which is at present more inclined to settle such differences by peaceful and friendly negotiation so as to enable it to devote more attention to other problems and fields.

The French elections.

The elections for the French National Assembly were concluded on the 17th June, 1951, and the intrigue that was spun by the majority of the French political parties under the direct influence of the United States of America and against the French Communist party has borne good fruit to the intriguers. The French Communist party, as a result of the system of the pooling of votes between allied political parties, lost 80 seats, while not losing in terms of actual votes more than half a million votes (it polled 4,500,000 votes compared with 5,000,000 in the last election). To illustrate this crooked system of pooling votes which has been invented by the Franco-American genius, it might be useful to mention that the French People's Rally, the political party led by General De Gaulle, and which aims at a dictatorship, polled only 3,800,000 votes and secured as many as 115 seats in the National Assembly — as against 103 seats only for 4,500,000 votes for the Communist party. Such is the manner in law in France respects the wishes of the people, and such is the way in which the electors are allowed to express their views and desires!

The United States of America was determined on banishing the Communist party from power, and it succeeded in doing so.

The French imperialists also wanted to banish from the new National Assembly those who spoke for the independence of Algeria. Strict instructions were issued to the authorities to this effect and these instructions were carried out in a manner in which no heed or respect was paid to the spirit of the law and justice, and in which all the elementary principles and traditions governing the holding and conduct of parliamentary elections were ignored. The *al-Bayan* party (*Hizb al-Bayan*) did not win a single seat. The Party for the Triumph of Democratic Freedom lost all the five seats which it held in the outgoing Assembly, and the European Communists retained only two of the four seats which they had held. The candidates sponsored by the Government won all the seats in spite of the declared wishes of the Algerians and the electorate.

Some of the remarkable features of the new French National Assembly are:

1. The absence of any representative of the National Independents.
2. The absence of about half of the original voting strength of the Communist party.
3. A great reduction in the strength of the Socialist party and the M.R.P. (*Mouvement Republicain Populaire*).
4. The emergence of a new power, the French People's Rally under the leadership of General De Gaulle, which now has 115 representatives, and which is likely to grow in strength in the future.

One wonders how France can hope to have a stable government at a time when she is faced with a very acute economic crisis, a relentless and destructive war in Vietnam, a pressing national crisis in North Africa, and a troubled international situation which may lead to full-scale war at any moment. The political situation in France, which was in turmoil, has become even more so after these elections. The future may show the truth of this assumption.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES ON MUSLIM WORLD AFFAIRS

A JEW LOOKS AT OUR AFFAIRS

The daily Hebrew paper, *Haaretz*, Tel Aviv, Israel, recently printed two articles by Mr. R. Motzri on the political evolution of the Middle East. Below is a summary of his views.

England and the Middle East countries.

The trouble with Iran obliges Great Britain to strengthen her strategic and political position in the Middle East. She sent military reinforcements to the Middle East and dropped her plan of transferring the military bases from the Middle East to Kenya. In the political sphere Great Britain is meeting with great difficulties except in the case of Turkey, friendship with whom is developing in a most satisfactory way. In all the Arab countries, including even the Hashimite *bloc* — Iraq and Jordan — which is in her "sphere of influence," there is a very strong tendency in favour of neutrality in the case of war between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the new Syrian government has begun to support Egypt in her anti-British attitude. For all these reasons Great Britain is endeavouring to weld more closely her bonds with Turkey.

Attitude of Syria.

Using the troubles on the Syrian-Israeli frontier as a pretext, the Syrian government asked that the 14th session of the Arab League Council and the extraordinary meeting of its political committee should take place at Damascus. Though in principle Egypt is against the holding of these meetings outside of Cairo, it is significant that in this case she agreed to Syria's demand.

It is interesting to note the true reasons motivating this demand. They appear to be of purely domestic character. But by exaggerating the danger of the conflict with Israel the Syrian government hope to divert the attention of the public from its recent military defeat. In trying to interest the public in the meetings of the League, the Syrian government expects to increase its prestige and thus to diminish the influence of the People's Party, which for the moment enjoys a majority in the Syrian parliament, but which has been eliminated from the participation in the present government. By increasing its own prestige the Syrian government expects to obtain a majority in the new elections which will take place in the near future.

Recent session of the Arab League's Council.

One of the most important questions examined by the Council of the League was the renewing of the functions of the General Secretary of the League, 'Azzam Pasha, who is, as is well known, an Egyptian. In spite of the opposition of the Hashimite *bloc*, his functions have been prolonged for a further two years.

Though the League's convention on collective defence has not yet been ratified, the Syrian Premier has asked for military aid. This action of the Syrian government is a trial of the efficiency of the League. Iraq agreed to send military aid to Syria, considering this action as the first step towards the unification of two countries. In any case it is in this light that Egypt regards this step of Iraq.

Egypt and Syria and Turkey.

It should also be noted that the Egyptian government presents no united front to Syria's demand. One group led by Siraj al-Din Pasha, Minister of Finance — he is the right-hand

man of Nahas Pasha — is opposed to sending aid to Syria because it would weaken the position of Egypt in the case of a conflict with England. The other group led by Salah al-Din Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, favours the demand of Syria, partly because it would check the influence of Iraq in Syria. In any case Syria has already obtained some result as the Egyptian government has allowed her to take possession of the arms bought by Syria from the American authorities in Egypt, the export of which was previously forbidden. On the other hand the Egyptian government has no fear of the increase of Iraq's influence in Syria, as the present government of Syria is more and more inclined to orient its policy on Egypt and to support its anti-British attitude in particular. The recent visit of the King 'Abdullah to Turkey is due to a very great extent to this new attitude on the part of Syria. King 'Abdullah's visit, which it seemed alarmed Syria to such an extent that she is now proposing to send to Turkey Colonel Shishikli, the author of the recent *coup d'etat* in Syria and at the moment Chief of the General Staff — the man in fact who now dominates the political life of the country. Syrian propaganda refers to his projected visit to Turkey as being of purely military character, but knowing the part he plays in the political life, it is certain that the real aim of his visit is to undo the results of King 'Abdullah's visit.

King 'Abdullah's visit to Turkey.

During his recent visit to Turkey King 'Abdullah tried to counter-balance the Syrian-Egyptian *bloc* by suggesting that Turkey should take the lead among the peoples of the Middle East in order to organize their common defence. He also pointed out that the importance of the troubles on the Syrian-Israeli frontier was greatly exaggerated and that they were of a purely local character. It is significant that King 'Abdullah made this visit to Turkey before that of 'Azzam Pasha. Speaking about the latter, the King declared that 'Azzam Pasha was not qualified to engage in negotiations in the name of all the member-States of the Arab League. Finally, he declared that if Turkey found herself in danger, he would be on her side. In conclusion one can say that the results of his visit to Turkey could be considered as a great success for British diplomacy.

Turkey and the Arab League.

The countries of the Arab League constitute the immediate hinterland of Turkey and it is understandable that she is closely interested in their attitude and alarmed by their tendency to remain neutral in the case of war. The Turkish statesmen neglect no occasion to point out that the defeat of their country in the case of war would automatically bring about that of all the Arab States. This is why they do everything to achieve a *rapprochement* with the Arab States. One of the steps in this direction was the invitation of 'Azzam Pasha. But they realize all too well that it is not easy to detach Egypt from her attitude of neutrality in the event of war, and it was for this reason that they received King 'Abdullah so warmly. Through him they wish to achieve at least a minimum — an alliance with the Hashimite *bloc*.

Another step is the return of the Turks to religion, as they hope through the community of religion to reinforce their links with the Arab world.

It is very significant that one of the most important Cairo dailies, *al-Misri*, recently published an article which very warmly

¹ *La Documentation Francaise*, Orient-Occident, Paris.

supported the idea of the Turco-Arab *rapprochement*. This could be the beginning of the formation of a Muslim bloc of 200,000,000 which by its geo-political situation and its cultural

aspirations would not belong either to the East or to the West, but would play a very important rôle for the maintenance of peace as a powerful factor of international equilibrium.

A TURK LOOKS AT IRAN AND RUSSIA

The aims of Communist activity in the Middle East.

The apprehensions of the Turks concerning the events in Iran found expression in the article of Mirza Bala in the Istanbul daily, *La Republique*, which is the French edition of the Turkish daily, *Jumhuriyyet*.

This article draws the attention to the declarations made by the leader of the Iranian society *Fidayani Islam*, Sayyid Ayatullah Abulkasim Kashani, who pointed out that the activity of his group was widely spread not only in Iran but even abroad. In other words, *Fidayani Islam* hints at being associated with the societies *al-Islamiyyah* in Pakistan and *Ikhwan al-Muslimin* in Egypt. It is remarkable that these declarations coincided with the end of the Congress of the Communists from the East in Batum, at which the Communist parties of the following countries were represented: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Southern Azerbaijan, Turkey, Armenia, Kurdistan, the Lebanon, the Sudan, the Society *Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, of Egypt, North Africa, U.S.S.R., and the terrorists from Israel. According to certain papers of Iran and Egypt the following subjects were discussed at this Congress:

- (1) Appropriate means of creating the States of Southern Azerbaijan and of Armenia (apparently from the Turkish eastern provinces);
- (2) Measures to organize internal troubles and revolutions in those Eastern countries having common frontiers with the Soviet Union, particularly in Turkey, with a

view to weakening them;

- (3) The deepening of the conflicts between the East and the West; and,
- (4) Exciting the hatred of the Muslims against Europe with a simultaneous strengthening of the State of Israel.

According to the author of this article, it was not by chance that Southern Azerbaijan took first place in this programme of action. Its population totals 15,000,000, mainly of Turkish origin, having behind them the long traditions of a struggle for independence. It is very easy for the Soviets to excite there a movement against the "Iranian imperialism" in order partly to increase their influence in Iran and, secondly, to paralyse the movement of independence against the Soviets within Northern Azerbaijan.

The Soviets have a long tradition of subversive activity in Muslim countries; it is very probable that the terrorists of the society *Fidayani Islam* are in fact the members of the *Tudeh* party, and for the moment are only disguising themselves under the cover of Islam.

The aim of the Soviet policy in Iran is that which they inherited from Tsarism: to reach an outlet on the Indian Ocean.

But that is not all: it would only be the preparatory step to spreading their influence in the Arab countries through *Ikhwan al-Muslimin* in order to encircle Turkey on the South and the East. Thereafter the Soviets would find wide open the routes to the Mediterranean, India and Africa.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

The departure of Mr. Ghulam Rabbani Khan for Pakistan.

The general activities of the Woking Muslim Mission and those of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, continued with increased vigour and energy. During the summer months the work generally increases especially on account of overseas visitors and holidaymakers who come to the Shah Jehan Mosque, which leaves no rest for the Imam and his indefatigable staff.

Our readers will be grieved to note that our selfless and untiring colleague, *Khan Bahadur* Ghulam Rabbani Khan, has left the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission. His departure has created a void not very easy to fill. The Imam of the Mosque and the members of the Muslim Society in Great Britain accorded a hearty farewell to Mr. Rabbani Khan on the eve of his departure for Pakistan. The pleasant memories he has left behind will long be cherished by many a friend of his, Muslim and non-Muslim.

If on the one hand we are sorry to lose Mr. Rabbani Khan, on the other we are happy to announce that Dr. M. Ishaq Kamil, has very kindly placed his services at the disposal of the Woking Muslim Mission and is now a permanent member of the staff. He has been posted to the R.A.F. Camp at Halton for the religious instruction of the Pakistan Air Force Trainees.

The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque's visit to Germany.

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, and Shaikh Mian Muhammad reached Berlin by air from Hamburg where they had stayed two nights and met the German Muslim community of Hamburg and some other Muslims from oriental countries. The visitors stayed at the Mosque

and were the guests of Mr. Muhammad Aman, the Imam of the Berlin Mosque, for about four days. The Friday sermon was delivered by the Imam but prayers were led by Shaikh Mian Muhammad at the request of Mr. Hobohm. The prayers were very well attended by the Muslims of Berlin with a very good representation of the German Muslims.

A very successful lecture was delivered on Sunday, the 24th June, 1951, by Mr. Hobohm and the big room of the residence of the Imam was packed to capacity. On both occasions, that is Friday and Sunday, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah also addressed very briefly, in German, both the gatherings.

The visitors were also received by the Deputy Mayor of Berlin, Dr. Schreiber, who was officiating as Mayor of Berlin during the absence of Dr. Reuter who was on a visit to England. Mr. Muhammad Aman Hobohm also accompanied both the visitors and Dr. Schreiber had a very interesting talk about the Muslims in Germany and trade relations with Pakistan, and also took the trouble of showing the distinguished guests the "Bell of Freedom" which is placed on the top of the Berlin City Hall and also showed the big room where are stored the signatures of seventeen million Americans who have paid a very high tribute to the patience and bravery of the people of Berlin during the period of the blockade by the Russians.

Lectures.

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, gave an interesting talk on "Islam and the Institution of the Mosque" with a special reference to the history of the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking at the Chertsey Rotary Club on

Tuesday, the 17th July, 1951. This was his third talk in the various Rotarian club centres of Great Britain with three more to follow during the coming few months. A small but select gathering of intellectuals and personalities of various professions and walks of life attended the meeting. The Speakers, Secretary of the Club and the Chairman, who is the headmaster of a Chertsey school and also editor of a local newspaper, were specially impressed with the talk of the Imam and appreciated it very much. Many members of the Club expressed their desire to visit the Mosque and to have further talks with the Imam. The Imam extended an open invitation to all the members and it was suggested that they should visit the Mosque in the form of a party and have a cup of tea with him.

Visitors to the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.

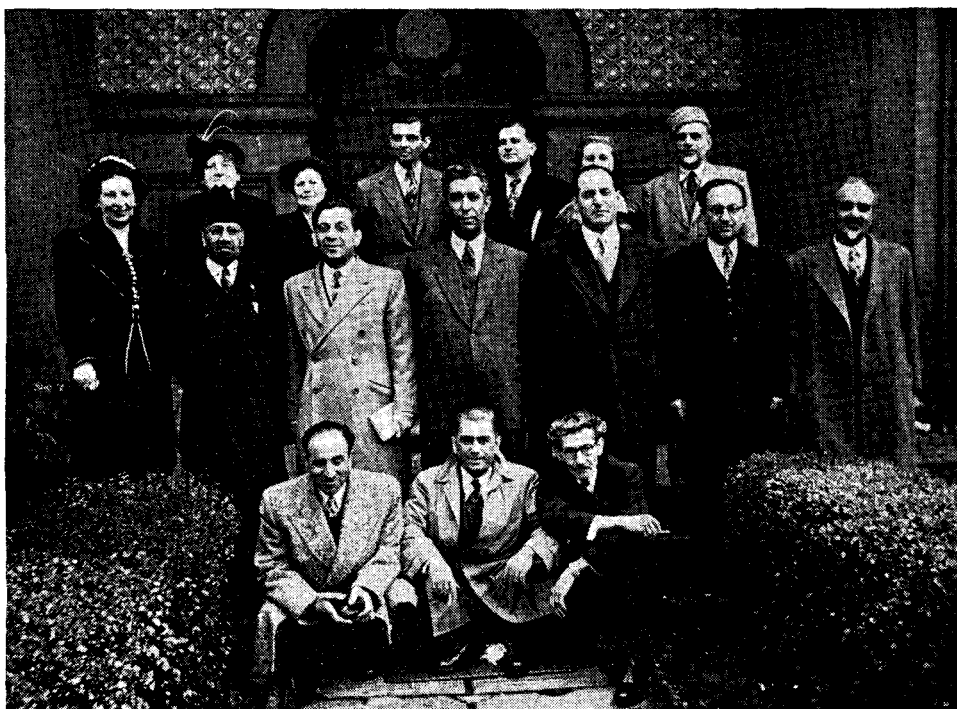
Among the many visitors to the Shah Jehan Mosque during the few recent weeks were :

Mr. G. A. Dossani from India ; Mr. H. C. Javeri from

Pakistan; Lady Adamjie with her family from India ; Lt.-Col. 'Abdullah F. B. Baines-Hewitt from Devizes, Wiltshire ; Mr. Syed Aminuddin of Hyderabad-Deccan, India ; Mr. Zulkifl Hasim of Hyderabad who is living in London ; Lt. M. Nasir bin Haji Tahir, Lt. 'Abdullah Munir, M.C., 2/Lt. Abdul Wahab, of the Malay Regiment ; Dr. Kamil M. Arriff of Penang ; Miss Amina Surianata from Indonesia ; Miss Tahira Sa'ida E. Post from Holland ; Mr. O. R. Sadick of Hongkong ; and Mr. G. M. Lockhat of Durban, Natal, South Africa.

Marriages.

The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, solemnized the marriage ties of Mr. Shaffi' Tyabjie and Miss Aria Bermans on the 29th July, 1951, at the Mosque, Woking, and of Captain Sa'dullah Khan and Miss Patricia E. Thomas on the 14th July, 1951, at Reading. At the wedding of Mr. Tyabjie there was a gathering of about forty guests who were entertained at lunch by the Imam. On both the occasions, the Imam gave befitting speeches.



The members of the Iranian Press Delegation at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on Friday, the 1st of June, 1951, where they were received by the Imam, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, and entertained to lunch, after which they joined their Muslim brothers in Friday congregational prayers led by Mr. Ghulam Rabbani Khan (back row, first right), who delivered the sermon in Persian.

Our picture shows :

Sitting on the steps of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, from left to right : Mr. 'Ali Asghar Amiraani, Editor, Khaandinha, Teheran ; Mr. Gul'azaar, Information Department, British Embassy, Teheran ; and Sayyid Muhammad Sajjadi, Tamaddun, Mashhad.

First row, standing, from left to right : Mrs. Olive Toto ; Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah ; Mr. Jawad Mas'udi, Editor, Journal du Teheran, Teheran ; Mr. Baqir Nek Anjam, Editor the weekly Fardaa, Teheran ; Mr. Ahmad Maliki, Editor, the daily, Sitaara, Teheran ; Mr. Husain Za'imi, Editor, Kista, Teheran ; and Mr. 'Abd al-Majid, Editor, The Islamic Review, Woking, England.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MUSLIMS IN SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY, by Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani, the Arab Press, Algiers, 1365 A.H. pp. 284.

It is one of the most interesting historical works I have read in Arabic. Arab historians have mostly devoted themselves to the study of Islam in the East and have almost ignored the Islamic civilization in the Mediterranean islands. Hence our Arabic material on this subject is wildly scattered. But the Italian sources especially the works of M. Amari can provide us with a fair coherent information on the subject. Our present author, Mr. Madani, has made a good use of both Arabic and non-Arabic sources, and the result is a useful work on an interesting part of Islamic history. The book is rich in information. It begins with a description of Sicily, its climate, natural resources and population, and makes the observation that poets have always sung the praises of the Sicilian woman who became like her Spanish sister proverbial in beauty. But, the author adds, both are no more beautiful than the average Arabian woman in our country! (p. 17). He concludes this chapter with a discussion of Sicilian society. Then in the next chapter he passes on to tell us something about Sicily under the Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthagians, Romans, Muslims, Normans and Spanish. This outline is followed by a description of Sicilian cities of historical interest like Palermo, which contains such palaces as al-Fawwara, al-'Aziz, al-Qubba, the large cathedral built by Muslim artisans and the Royal Palace; and Messina, Marsa 'Ali, Syracuse, etc. After this he enters into the lengthy subject of Muslim conquest of Sicily, which is a chapter full of the heroic achievements of the Aghlabites. Of the great leaders of conquest the author makes special mention of Asad ibn al-Furat, whose importance in the conquest of Sicily is just as important as that of Tariq ibn Ziyad in Spain. Then he gives a series of names of commanders and rulers of Sicily, making the proper names sub-headings for his subject. This part is well illustrated with photographs of historical sites and a good size historical map of Sicily and Southern Italy as they were at the time of the Muslim conquerors. The fifth section of the book deals with Sicily under the Fatimides, the successors of the Aghlabites. The headings here also take the form of proper names which in a way make the book look a bit dull, but the style of the writer dissipates all feeling of dullness. The subject of Sicily under the Fatimides comes under two periods: first, the period when it was under the direct rule of the Fatimides, the second is when the Sicilian Muslims achieved their independence and only rendered lip service to their Cairene sovereigns. This is followed by the dual rule of the Muslims and the Normans and the final expulsion of all Muslims from the island. The book is concluded with two chapters: one on "Muslim Civilization in Sicily" and the other on "Science and Literature in Sicily". The writer gives a good selection of verses by Sicilian poets like Ibn Hamdis, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi al-'Abbas, etc. An interesting part of this chapter is the list of books written by Sicilian Muslims (pp. 240-241).

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF IRAQ, by Dr. Mudhaffar Husain Jamil.

This book published in Arabic by the Director of Statistics at the National Bank, Baghdad, was originally a Ph.D. Thesis in Economics submitted to the University of Fuad I, Cairo. This is one of the most learned and instructive works that have appeared recently in Iraq. In 678 pages Dr. Jamil tells us the whole story of Iraq's commercial policy. He begins with a very interesting historical survey starting with 3,000 B.C. and coming down to the time of Islam where he relies on *Kitab al-Kharaj* of Abu Yusuf and *Kitab al-Amwal* of Abu 'Ubaid and *al-Ahkam*

al-Sultaniyya of Abu Ya'la. After a brief mentioning of the Ottoman period and a general view of Iraq's external policy, he passes on to the core of his subject, namely, the commercial policy of Iraq.

The book is full of useful statistics and figures. Its main feature is the novel idea of double footnotes: one for explanations and quotations, and another for sources.

A glance at the primary and secondary sources makes one realize the wide range of material, most of which is documentary and unavailable to the ordinary reader, that the author has utilized to bring such a unique work to light.

THE PERSONALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IRAQI, by Dr. 'Ali Husain al-Wardi, Baghdad, 1951. Pp. 68.

This booklet, which is the text of a lecture delivered by the author at the Hall of Queen 'Aliyah College last April, has caused a great deal of sensation in Iraq, inasmuch as it analyses the personality of the average Iraqi. Many criticisms and refutations of the author's claims were published in the Iraqi Press. Mr. Wardi suggests that the Iraqi is suffering from a dual personality owing to the dual nature of his life: for instance, his life at home is different to his life at school or office. He writes in one language (the classical Arabic) and speaks in another (the colloquial Iraqi) and so on and so forth. He suggests as a cure for this abnormality the mixing of the sexes, the raising of the standard of Iraqi homes and the standardization of the spoken language.

THE ETHICS OF ISLAM, by Syed Ameer 'Ali. Introduction by M. Shahidullah, D.Lit. (Paris), The Noor Library, 121 Serang Lane, Calcutta, India. Pp. 52 + xii. Price Rs.1. 2/- (3/3).

This commendable booklet by the author of the classic, *The Spirit of Islam*, the late Syed Ameer 'Ali, has long been out of print. The publishers by reprinting it, for which probably they took the cue from the speech of His Highness the Aga Khan delivered last year at Karachi, Pakistan, in which he asked rather pointedly for a reprint edition of this treatise on Islam have done a great service to the cause of Islam.

Although the booklet has passed through the scholarly hands of Dr. Shahidullah, D.Lit. (Paris), it seems rather strange that he did not see it right to bring uniformity into the transliteration of proper names. Bukhari is spelt in two different ways. There are also some orthographical mistakes, whose creeping in in such a small and otherwise excellent brochure can hardly be justified.

THE ESSENCE OF THE TEACHINGS OF THE QUR'AN, by Abdus Salam Khan. The Concise Islamic Literature Series No. 2. Madani Publications, Hyderabad, Pakistan. Price Rs. 3/-. Pp. 213.

We greatly appreciate the selfless services of the author A. S. Khan in advocating the cause of Islam single-handed. In this respect we wish him success. His exposition of the teachings of the Holy Qur'an are the result of diligent intelligent labour. The book supplies a much needed requirement of the readers interested in the subject matter of the Holy Qur'an. At a glance one can go through the most essential parts of the Holy Qur'an so ably arranged under the respective headings dealing with the cardinal principles of Islam: the Articles of Faith; the five Pillars of Islam: the Ethics; the Laws of Society; Economics; National Politics; Administration and Justice; Learning and Science and Health and Hygiene.

The injunctions of the Holy Qur'an followed by the lucid notes of the author will prove a source of great guidance to the seekers after truth.

However, it is a great pity that the author's remarks on page XXVIII of his Introduction, "The credit of collecting this scattered material in the form of a book goes to Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Usman, the First and the Third Caliphs. The immediate task before them was to collect the material, to sift it and to compile it in a book form," are not the result of serious study. They echo the views of the European writers on the compilation of the Qur'án. Both internal and external evidence proves exclusively that the Qur'án existed in the form of a book before the death of the Prophet Muhammad. "Though the Holy Qur'án was revealed in portions, yet it is a mistake to suppose that it remained long in that fragmentary condition. As its very name implies, it was a book from the first, and though it could not be complete until the last verse was revealed, it was never without some form of arrangement. There is the clearest testimony internal as well as external, that every single verse or part of a verse and every chapter that was revealed had its own definite place in the Holy Book. The Holy Qur'án is itself clear on this point: "And those who disbelieve say: Why has not the Qur'án been revealed to him all at once? Thus, that We may establish thy heart by it, and We have arranged it well in arranging" (25 : 32). The arrangement of the Qur'án was thus a part of the Divine scheme. Another verse showing that the collection of the Holy Book was a part of the Divine scheme runs thus :

"Surely on Us devolves the collecting of it and the reciting of it" (75 : 17) ; from which it appears that just as the Holy Qur'án was recited by the Holy Spirit to the Holy Prophet, in like manner the collecting together of the various parts was effected by the Holy Prophet under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. History also bears testimony to the truth of this statement, for not only are there numerous anecdotes showing that this or that portion of the Qur'án was put to writing under the orders of the Holy Prophet, but we are clearly told by 'Uthman, the third Caliph, that every portion of the Holy Book was written and given its specified place, at the bidding of the Holy Prophet : "It was customary with the Messenger of Allah (may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him) that when portions of different chapters were revealed to him and when any verse was revealed, he called one of those persons who used to write the Holy Qur'án and said to him : Write this verse in the chapter where such and such verses occur" . . . Thus the whole Qur'án was arranged by the Holy Prophet himself, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit." (Muhammad 'Ali, *The Religion of Islam*, Lahore, 1936.)

We hope that the author will give further consideration to this important subject and rectify the note given in the Introduction.

WHAT OUR READERS SAY . . .

(The letters published in these columns are, as a rule, meant to be informative and thought-provoking in the interests of Islam. Nevertheless, the Editor does not take responsibility for their contents.)

PAKISTAN, ISLAM, AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

A British Non-Muslim Point of View

Magdalen College,
Oxford.

Dear Sir,

The most important single development in the history of the British Commonwealth is now agreed to have been the attainment to equal and independent status within that organization of Ceylon, India, and Pakistan. By the same development the relationship of the Islamic world to the Commonwealth was transformed overnight. For we now have a situation where the nation that is the most powerful, politically, of the Islamic states, is a full and equal member of the Commonwealth. It is the implications of this new situation that I should like to examine, and in doing so to give what seems, on the whole, to be the average British attitude to the problems with which we are now presented.

The general problem of the new situation seems to be how Pakistan is to reconcile total collaboration with other Islamic powers, and similar political and economic collaboration with her fellow-members of the Commonwealth. On the political side Pakistan has come down so far mainly on the side of co-operation with Islam. She has taken part in all the recent United Nations moves of the Arab-Asian *bloc* to stop the spread of the Korean war, while Pakistani public opinion may be said to be decidedly in favour of Egypt in the current Anglo-Egyptian disagreements. Furthermore, though Pakistan has taken part in all Commonwealth conferences since her independence, she has not shown herself, any more than Canada or India, Ceylon or South Africa, in favour of making the Commonwealth function much more effectively than at present, beyond the mere exchange of information that seems to constitute the main part of Commonwealth

co-operation. She is, however, willing to subscribe to the somewhat platitudinous declarations of friendship and goodwill that invariably accompany Commonwealth meetings — like the recent Declaration of Principles issued by Commonwealth Prime Ministers: and that Pakistan values the Commonwealth connection is shown first by her choosing to remain a member at all, and secondly, by her belief recently that the Kashmir question, Pakistan's biggest headache in external affairs, should be brought before the Commonwealth Premiers. This is the overall political picture. On the economic side co-operation with Islam has not prevented Pakistan from playing her full part in the Colombo Plan meetings or from taking advantage of opportunities offered there — e.g., the scholarships for technical training offered to Pakistan by Australia. And in the sphere of military collaboration the picture is similar: Pakistan keeps certain United Kingdom officers in her armed forces, allows certain of her own officers to be trained in Britain and in Canada, and allows Commonwealth use of the training facilities of Quetta.

In other words, maximum co-operation with Islam does not preclude maximum co-operation with the Commonwealth. Rather, Pakistan will immeasurably increase her rôle in world politics by acting as a connecting link between the Commonwealth and the Middle East Muslim States, for she is the one power that shares the counsels and confidence of both groups. But some Pakistanis in the present state of world tension might prefer, like the "little Englanders" of English history, to become "little Pakistanis", and turn their backs on their world responsibilities in order to devote themselves to building up their own country's economic strength. But this policy cannot in the long run commend itself to many. If any countries in the world can afford to be isolationist, it must be the major powers, the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and China. For it is only these who have economic strength enough to live in a fair degree of autarky, and are strong enough from a military

point of view to deter or repel any aggressor. But if these powers — notably the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — have both forsworn isolationism, and are seeking to win over other powers to co-operate with their policies, how much less can smaller nations, either Islamic or Commonwealth, afford to stand aside in uneasy neutrality? And we need not take sides over the merits and demerits of American or Russian policy: quite apart from these considerations it is generally agreed as a matter of principle that no one nation or group of nations should dominate overwhelmingly in the international scene. The only inference, then, that we can draw from all this, is that Pakistan should continue to be an active member of the Commonwealth — the only association of states with even a slight chance of being able to prevent a division of the world into two hostile camps — without sacrificing any of her natural ties with Islam. Of course, Pakistanis will say, "But we *are* active members of the Commonwealth. What else can you expect us to do?" It is precisely this question that we must now attempt to answer.

The first thing Pakistan must do before she can begin to help make the Commonwealth something more than a mere fund of inactive general goodwill, is to press for a solution of the Kashmir problem on the lines she has followed so far. The positions of India and Pakistan respectively on Kashmir, as revealed after the last Commonwealth conference, leave no doubt that Commonwealth opinion as a whole is on Pakistan's side. Pakistan should now exploit this general sympathy for her case by every means of peaceful propaganda, until a solution is found. But the Pakistani public should not be stampeded — or try to stampede Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan — into demanding withdrawal from the United Nations or from the Commonwealth as a means of protesting at the seemingly endless delay in solving the Kashmir question. Patience and the absence of public hysteria (that marks the behaviour of other nations on certain matters!) can only reflect increasing credit on Pakistani case, and can do no harm to it whatever. And the Kashmir question settled, Pakistan can then turn to other matters, hardly less important.

The chief of these is certainly Asian military security, the basis of which must be co-ordinated defences of Ceylon, India and Pakistan, forming what might be called a "Cinpak" bloc. On this foundation the security of all Commonwealth nations alike could be based and made really effective.

Apart from Asian security, that of the Middle East is of most general concern. And here the stumbling-block to proper defence co-ordination is the present antagonism of British and Egyptian views. It is also an obstacle that Pakistan is singularly qualified to remove. Egypt admits the necessity for defensive preparedness in the Canal Zone at all times, but feels, reasonably enough, that in peacetime Egyptian troops are sufficient to guard Suez, and that under such circumstances the presence of United Kingdom troops on Egyptian territory is intolerable. But could Egypt feel these objections if the troops who assist her to defend Suez are not British foreigners, but Pakistani fellow-Muslims? If Pakistan were to assist in Suez defence we should thus achieve two aims, effective protection for a vital link in world communications, and the allaying of Egyptian resentment against the United Kingdom. With this accomplished, the way would then be open for reconciling the British and Egyptian views, with Pakistani mediation, on the Sudan and all other outstanding difficulties.

Finally, Pakistan could interpret with far greater force the views of Arab countries to the Commonwealth. If this had been done recently, it might conceivably have been possible to present a united Commonwealth and other democratic nations' programme to prevent over-hasty United Nations action on Korea, with far more success than has been achieved on the war there.

The danger of world war is increasing daily; and it is only by every nation's taking any measure that might promise success that we are likely to avoid it. Muslim Pakistan may accomplish little on the lines suggested here, but ought she not to try?

Yours faithfully,

F. FENTON.

* * *

ISLAM IN AUSTRALIA

Miriam Street,
Holland Park,
Brisbane, Queensland,
Australia.

June 6th, 1951.

Dear Sir,

I wish to thank you for your prompt despatch of books which I sent for some months ago. I received them a few days ago and I am very pleased with them. I admire the good work you are doing in England and Europe for the cause of Islam. I do not understand why you do not set up an organization in Australia as I am sure Islam will gain many friends in Australia if only we had some men like yourself to deliver the message of Islam here.

I wonder if you are aware of the fact that we have a little Mosque at Holland Park and no resident Imam for it? I will endeavour to take some snaps of our Mosque and send them to you.

Yours in Islam,

A. R. RANE.

* * *

THE VALUE OF LITERATURE ON ISLAM

Mülhauser Strasse 7/1,
Hamburg,
Germany.

May 28th, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Having had the opportunity of close contacts with Muslim friends in Iran, in Egypt, in India, and in East Africa I became greatly interested in Islam. My Muslim friends were and are kind enough to give me all the guidance I need in my search for the truth, but realizing that a Western contact would be of special benefit to my studies they asked me to get in touch with you.

Mr. Nikan, of Sabzevar, Iran, had the kindness to send me a copy of the reprint from *The Islamic Review* of the excellent article written by al-Hajj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. I was greatly impressed by its reasoning and wisdom, and I should love to read more of the works of this competent author. I should also love to get the chance to obtain a good biography of Muhammad which would be detailed enough to enable me to make an extensive study of the great Prophet and of his work.

I write for foreign publications and am a man of peace who sees in Christianity the sorry spectacle of a return to the age of darkness, hatred and fear of a Torquemada.

I have lived (and studied) for many years in the United States of America where I first became acquainted with the lofty principles and true history of Islam. I have also visited Canada, the British Isles, France and some Balkan countries. My modest journalistic contributions appear from time to time mainly in the United States of America, in Canada, in England, in India and in Japan.

Yours, etc.,

Dr. OSCAR C. PFAUS.

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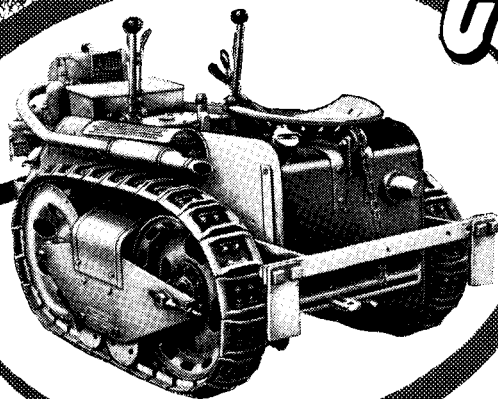
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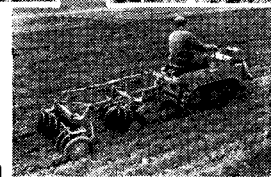
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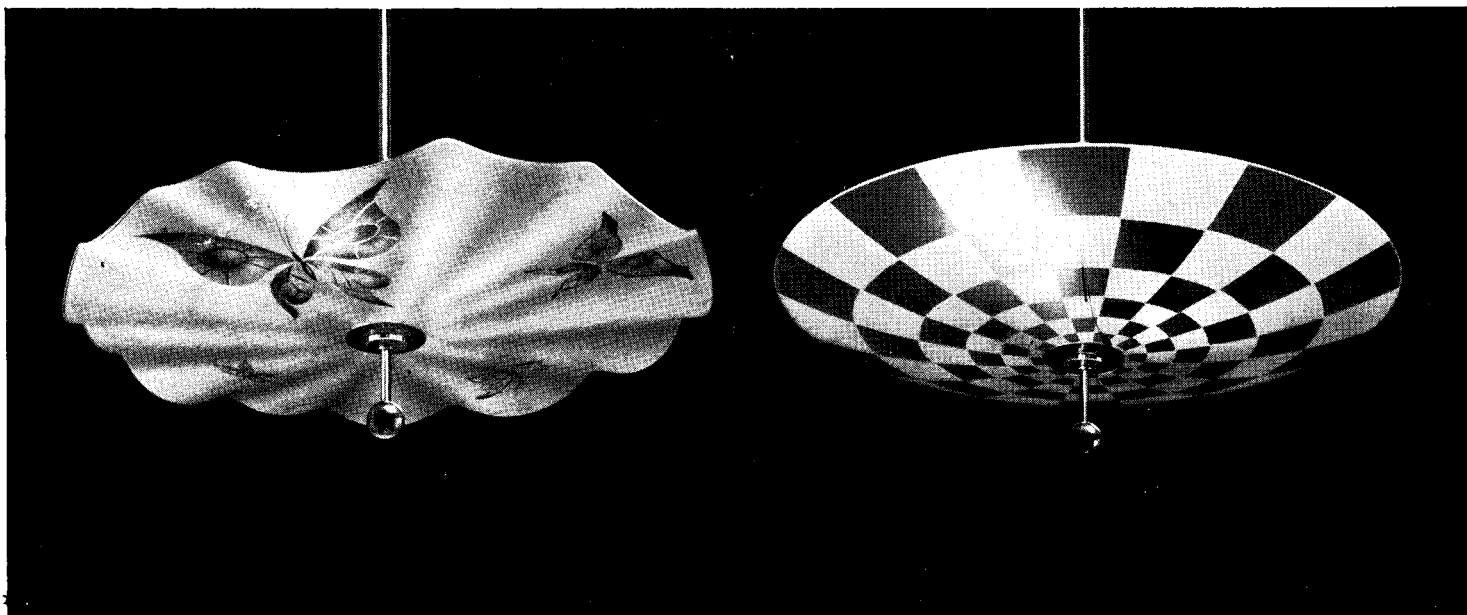
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