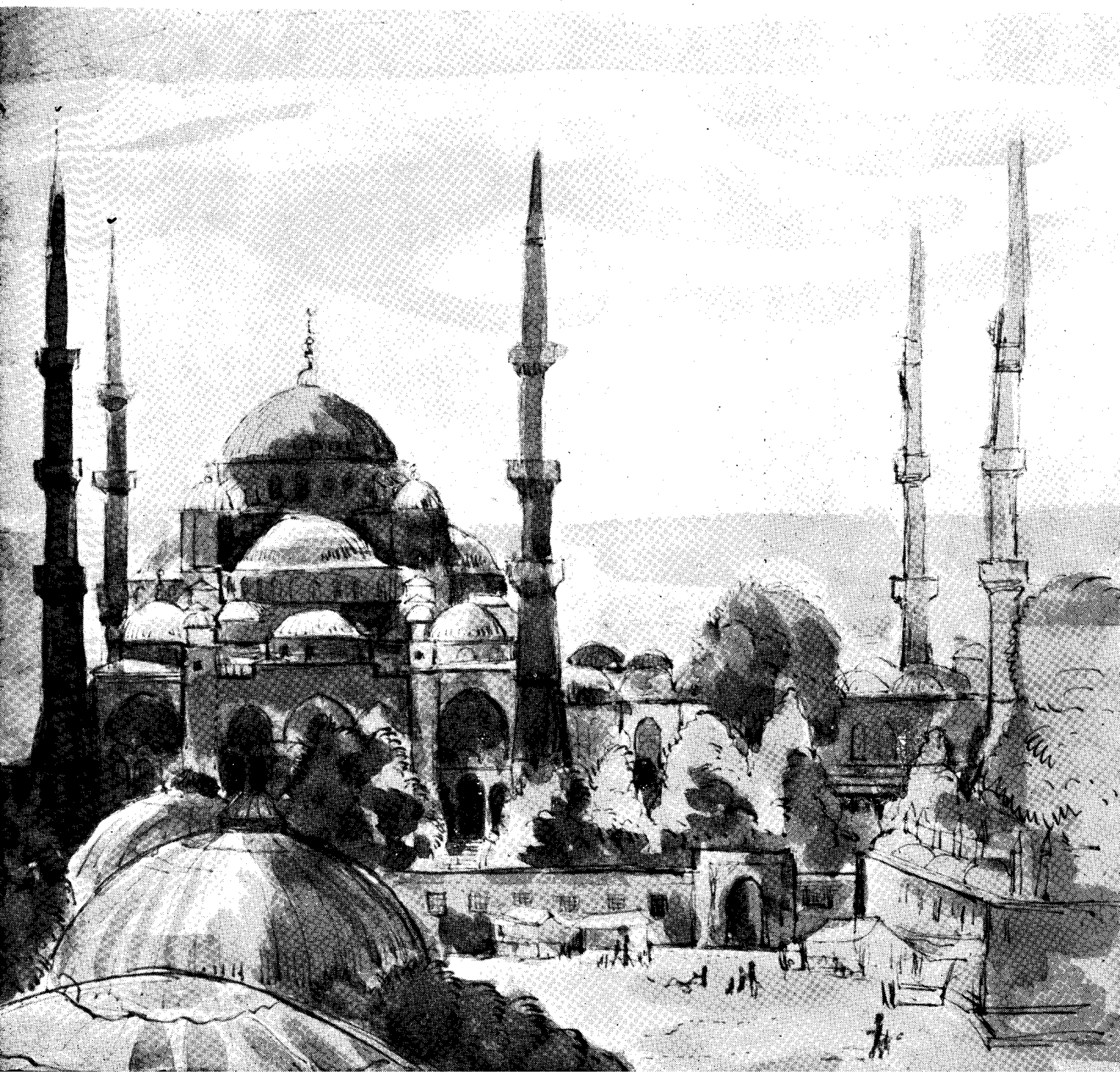


THE

ISLAMIC

REVIEW



السامع العربي



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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 is that of the Sultan Ahmad Mosque at Istanbul, Turkey, one of the most beautiful and magnificent Mosques for which Turkey is rightly famous all over the world. This Mosque is distinguished by its six tall and graceful minarets.

The picture itself is taken from a water-colour by a young English artist, Mr. Philip Compton, as seen by him from one of the first floor windows in the eastern wall of St. Sophia, Istanbul.

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1951

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE
WOKING - SURREY
ENGLAND

'Phone : WOKING 679

Telegrams & Cables :
MOSQUE, WOKING

London Office : 18 Eccleston Square,
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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. 12

DECEMBER, 1951 C.E.

RABBI' AL-AWWAL, 1371 A.H.

A RETROSPECT OF THE WORLD OF ISLAM IN 1951

Fight Against Illiteracy

In spite of the grave world situation, the drive for literacy made considerable progress in most Islamic countries during 1951. The two most important cultural events during 1951 were the World Muslim Conference held at Karachi, Pakistan, in February, 1951, and the 21st Congress of Orientalists at Istanbul, Turkey, during September, 1951, where for the first time in the long history of the Congress the Eastern Muslim Orientalists banded themselves together into an independent Congress of their own. Everywhere in the Islamic spheres of influence there was a craving for knowledge and an immense amount of journalistic activity which was often combined with a striving towards political unity and social equality. Religious revival in Turkey attracted greatly the attention of the world of Islam, many a new monthly and weekly religious magazine making its appearance there. Everywhere there was to be seen in the platform pulpit and books a tendency towards closer and yet closer understanding of the problems of the component parts of the world of Islam.

A reaction against what is described as occidental materialism was noticeable in all Muslim countries. There were also increasing signs to be observed amongst intelligentsia, who realized that extreme poverty was a useful breeding ground for Marxist materialism. Books dealing with this aspect of life appeared everywhere. The most notable was that of *Ma'rakat al-Islam wa ar-Raasmaliyyah* (The Struggle between Islam and Capitalism) by Sayyid Qutb, a famous young Egyptian writer.

Islam as a World Social Order.

The proposition of forming an Islamic *bloc* of the Muslim countries was freely discussed by the Press and Muslim statesmen. It was suggested that it was highly desirable in the interests of the future independent well-being of the world of Islam that early steps should be taken to give shape to this dynamic idea, for an Islamic Front consisting of Arab and non-Arab countries, including Indonesia, was the only way of making the voice of the world of Islam heard and its presence felt in the United Nations. The inclusion of Indonesia in the Islamic *bloc* was quite compatible with the new political concepts in world affairs in view of the Atlantic Pact, which has accepted Turkey as one of its participants although Turkey is a Mediterranean power.

To buttress this idea, it was proposed that an international Islamic Cultural Organization, with its venue either at Cairo or Karachi, be established with a view to uniting the Muslims of the world on one platform and under one banner culturally through the unity of language, thought and culture. The organization will seek to present Islam to the world as a social order by publishing literature on Islam in the languages of the Muslim countries and those of the European countries.

Egypt.

In Egypt, the Ministry of Education's promise to give free education for all was actively pursued. Thus, the budget of the Ministry of Education was raised from £E.23 million in 1950 to £E.30 million in 1951. Of this, £E.3,457,205 was spent on providing meals for school children. Apart from child education, a campaign was carried out against illiteracy, catering for over 400,000 students. The Egyptian Government opened up an Institute of Islamic Studies in Madrid and aimed at setting up a similar institute in Tangiers, Morocco.

Pakistan.

Pakistan, handicapped as she was by the Kashmir dispute with India, developed its educational system by adding a new university to

its already existing four. A Bill was passed by the Parliament of Pakistan for the establishment of the new University at Karachi. A tremendous stimulus was also given to education in East Pakistan, whose Government also set up a Committee, known as the East Bengal Education Committee, whose main task was to advise the Government on the reorganization of the education system. Another Committee, known as the East Bengal Language Committee, was charged with the very important task of standardizing the Bengali language.

Syria, Indonesia and Iraq.

In Syria, which devoted 20 per cent of her budget to education during 1951, the budget of the Ministry of Education amounted to £S.50 million. The number of elementary schools increased from 658 in 1946 to 1,576 in 1951.

In Indonesia, where 93 per cent of the population were illiterate six years ago, the campaign carried on to wipe out illiteracy amongst 20,073,000 illiterates aged between 16 and 40 was actively pursued. In 1949 alone 513,626 people were taught to read and write in the Indonesian islands. The problem of finding the requisite number of teachers was vigorously tackled by the Government. The universities of Djakarta and Jogja were enlarged to contain 14 faculties. English was substituted for Dutch as the compulsory official language.

In Iraq part of a sum of 12,618,000 dinars (1 dinar = £1 sterling) was spent in the year 1951 on building schools, and it was hoped that the University of Baghdad would at last become a reality.

In Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia, education received a great deal of stimulus as a result of increased oil revenue. The Palestine Arabs with their high standard of education played a great part in helping Jordan evolve towards a constitutional monarchy. Jordan's new King, Talal, made a promising start, and his friendly attitude towards Egypt gave a tremendous stimulus to the Arab cultural ties.

North African Arab countries.

Cultural activities in the Malay States were badly handicapped by the political unrest. But the emergence of a united Malayan Chinese party promises to solve this question. In the French-administered North African territories there was great enthusiasm for publications in Arabic and for information about the Islamic world, particularly about the new Islamic countries. The North African Arabs under French rule continued their struggle to get recognition of their right to education in their native tongue. In Algeria, the 'Ulema Association continued the work of the great Shaikh 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis, and played a great part in keeping education in Arabic alive. In Senegal, Mauretania, Zanzibar, Oman and Aden there was an increasing demand for Arabic literature. The 60,000 Muslims in Mauritius talked of setting up an Islamic cultural centre there.

Lack of revenue due to the oil crisis prevented expansion of education in Iran. U.N.E.S.C.O. officials carried out a three-year survey of education in Afghanistan and published a first detailed account of education in that country. There were 400 students in the university at Kabul. In Afghanistan an intensive campaign was being carried out to educate the nomadic tribes, while increasing numbers of students went to America for specialized education.

By the Light of the Qur'an and the Hadith

Some Characteristics of a Muslim

By KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

(1) *Charity to relatives, friends, and other people in general.* The Qur'an says: "And treat them (your female folk) with kindness" (4 : 19). "And give to the near of kin his due and (to) the needy and the wayfarer" (17 : 26). Then comes a most beautiful verse in the Holy Qur'an that carries our charity even to those who are strangers to us. Charity, in Islam, is not confined to our people, but we are ordered to be charitable to aliens as well. The verse goes thus: "And serve God and do not associate anything with Him, and be good to the parents and to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy, and the neighbour of your kin and the alien neighbour, and the companion on a journey and the wayfarer and those whom your right hands possess; surely God does not love him who is proud, boastful" (4 : 36).

(2) *Charity, beneficence, mercy, and compassion.* The Qur'an lays special stress on this subject. Islam has been identified by the Prophet Muhammad with compassion and charity towards others. The first four Names of God, as given in the commencement of the Holy Qur'an, speak of God's mercy and compassion which are open to everyone. His beneficence has two aspects, spoken of in the Qur'an and borne out by His Work in Nature. *Rahmāniyyat* and *Rahīmiyyat* are the two Arabic words that convey the two distinct characters of mercy, which we have to observe in our kindness to others. First, we have to show our charity and beneficence to those who have no claims on them, and secondly, to those who serve us, but we should reward their actions manifold. Even in our dealings with offenders our punishment of them should be rather for correction than for vengeance.¹ In one place the Qur'an places charity above all other good qualities.

Here I quote one of the verses of the Holy Qur'an that has "elicited words of praise even from the most hostile critics of the Qur'an." It sets forth faith in God and benevolence towards man as the essence of religion. "It is not righteousness that you turn your faces towards the East and the West, but righteousness is this that one should believe in God and the last day and the angels and the book and the prophets, and give away wealth out of love for Him to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and the beggars and (for the emancipation of) captives, and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate; and the performers of their promise when they make a promise, and the patient in distress and affliction and in time of conflict — these are they who are true (to themselves), and these are they who guard (against evil)" (2 : 177).

The Prophet Muhammad says: "God does not show His Mercy to those who do not take mercy upon others." Again he says: "They invite the mercy of the Most Merciful God who are merciful themselves to others. Mercy comes from heaven to those who show mercy on earth." The Prophet Muhammad also says: "He is the true believer who loves his brother as himself."

(3) *Meekness, humility, and courtesy.* The second Caliph, Umar, reports the following saying of the Prophet Muhammad: God will honour him who is meek and humble to others. God exalts him in the eyes of others who is small in his own eyes. And He disgraces him who is proud and lowers him in others' estimation who is great in his own eyes. Again the Prophet

Muhammad says: "He is not of us who treats not our elders respectfully and the younger kindly." "Do not do unto others that which you do not wish others to do towards you." "God loves lenity and gives much to those who show lenity and mercy to others." "The best among you is he who is best to others in his dealings."

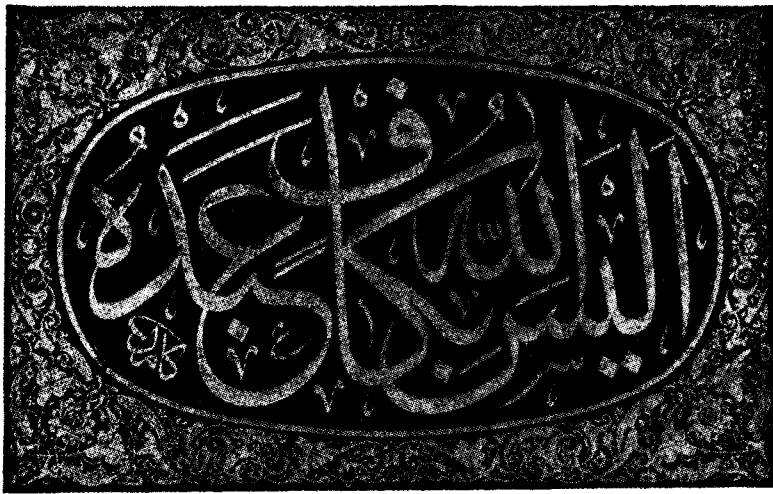
(4) *Almsgiving and benevolence to others.* The Qur'an says: "By no means shall you attain to righteousness until you spend benevolently, out of what you have; and whatever you spend God surely knows it" (3 : 91). Almsgiving is one of the pillars of the Muslim faith. The Holy Qur'an in its very beginning speaks of almsgiving as one of the chief characteristics of those who fear God. Prayer and charity are the two chief themes of the Qur'an. Like its other institutions, the Qur'an has also systematized charity as an institution. No one can be a Muslim unless and until he pays a part of his earnings for the support of poorer members of the community.

(5) *Teaching and imparting knowledge to others.* The Qur'an makes teaching wisdom one of the duties of God's messenger — "Our Lord! and raise up in them a messenger from among them who shall recite to them Thy communications, and teach them the Book and the wisdom, and purify them; surely Thou art the Mighty, the Wise" (2 : 129) — as well as of those who are godly people. "It is not meet for a mortal that God should give him the Book and the judgment and prophet-hood, then he should say to men: be my servants rather than God's; but rather (he would say): Be worshippers of the Lord because of your teaching the Book and your reading (it)" (3 : 78).

(6) *Fair dealing in business.* The Qur'an says: "Woe to the defaulters, who, when they take the measure from men, take it fully, but when they measure it out to others or weigh out for them, they are deficient" (83 : 1, 2, 3). "Give a full measure and be not of those who diminish: And weigh out with a right balance: And do not wrong men of their dues, and do not act corruptly in the earth, making mischief" (26 : 181-183).

(7) *Bearing true witness.* "O you who believe! be maintainers of justice, bearers of witness for God's sake, though it may be against your own selves or (your) parents or near relatives; if he be rich or poor, God is most competent (to deal) with them both; therefore do not follow (your) low desires, lest you deviate; and if you swerve or turn aside, then surely God is aware of what you do" (4 : 135). "[And the servants of the Beneficent God are] they who do not bear witness to what is false" (25 : 72). "O you who believe! be upright for God, bearers of witness with justice, and let not hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably" (5 : 8). "And do not mix up the truth with the falsehood, nor hide the truth while you know (it)" (2 : 42).

¹ "You will find others who desire that they should be safe from you and secure from their own people; as often as they are sent back to the mischief they get thrown into it headlong; therefore if they do not withdraw from you, and (do not) offer you peace and restrain their hands, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them; and against these We have given you a clear authority" (4 : 91).



" ("Is God not sufficient for his servant?") *The Qur'an* 39 : 37)

ODE TO MUHAMMAD

O Prophet of Arabia, O Prophet of the world,
 Across the troubled centuries the flag that you unfurl'd,
 Still floats, emblazon'd with the heavenly word of Peace.
 Peace? — and they stare,
 All unaware
 That in these anxious days the dove of peace
 Can find a resting-place, where troubles cease.

So, while their thoughts are full of fear
 And while with cry of "War is near!"
 They melt their monies into armaments,
 Banks into tanks, and fill the firmament's
 Quiet with riot
 Of air armadas, blest by sacraments,
 Let them but for a moment cease
 And think of peace :

That peace, O Prophet of Arabia,
 That peace, O Prophet of the world,
 That you yourself, Muhammad, did proclaim
 For those, who keep within the heart,
 Secure, unsullied, loved, apart,
 Remembrance of the Sacred Name :

For those, who still
 In ease or need,
 In word and deed,
 Their duty to fulfil.

For you were mortal man,
 God-guided, God-aided,
 And we, as mortals, can,
 God-guided, God-aided,
 Achieve success
 And peacefulness.

Muhammad ! Muhammad ! Muhammad !
 Your life did show
 To high and low

Success comes from submission to the One Supreme.
 Submit, succeed. Trust unto death the Lord of life.
 Who trusts in God has made an end of strife.
 His life is peace, though round him roars the fight ;
 His breast hath vision, though dark fall the night.

For God is with him ever
 With love no pow'r may sever.
 Death vanquishing, he lives in life to come.
 Mortal, he knows of this mortality the sum
 And dwells in calm, unruffled
 As the mirror'd swan
 On waveless lake celestial, where the sun
 Of heav'n shines with eternal gold
 And perfumes whisper blisses manifold.

In Gardens blest,
 Where rivers flow,
 Secure they dwell,
 And many bright companions ever with them go.

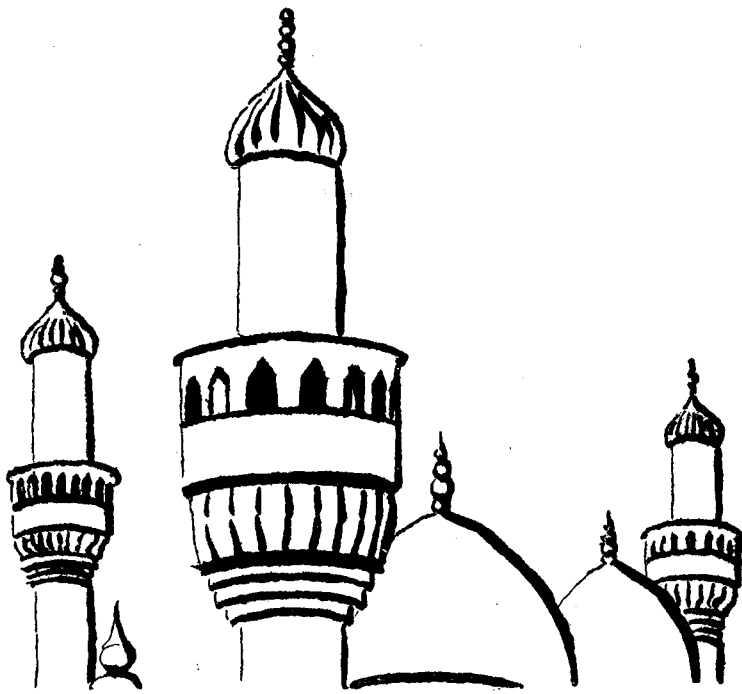
For those, who ever
 With firm endeavour,
 Calm amid tumult, blame or affliction,
 Pray still their dear Lord's benediction,

Unshaken and unyielding,
 They take for their soul's shielding
 Remembrance of the Sacred Name.

Muhammad ! Muhammad ! Muhammad !
 Trustworthy, faithful, fearless,
 You have lit the lamp by which the world,
 To the very brink of ruin hurl'd,
 May see the path that leads to peace.

Blessings light on thee ! for thou didst proclaim
 Remembrance ever of the Sacred Name.

William Basbyr Pickard.



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MI'RAJ

By HUSAIN al-ATAS

“Has not Islam stood the test of time more than any other system known to us?”

Islam revealed to us that the ultimate nature of reality is spiritual.

Every event in the religious life of the Prophet Muhammad, however unimportant it may appear to some observers, contains certain meanings and values which, when properly understood and followed, have the effect of moulding our life in concrete and visible forms of relationships.

Islam revealed to us the truth without which no human life would be durable, namely, that the ultimate nature of reality is spiritual. Since time immemorial, the attention of mankind has converged on the idea of the spiritual basis of existence. There had never been a single society recorded in history which had not a kind of religious institution. It is the very essence of the nature of man not to be satisfied with the purely material aspect of life. The whole annals of human thought and evolution itself are undeniable evidences of the attempt of man to transcend the world of matter and reach the region of the spirit. In tracing the evolution of human life Jalal al-Din Rumi brought forward also the reality of man's yearning for spirituality. He wrote,

“I died from mineral and plant became ;
Died from the plant, and took a sentient frame ;
Died from the beast and donned a human dress ;
When by my dying did I e'er grow less ?
Another time from manhood I must die
To soar with angel-pinions through the sky.
'Midst angels also I must lose my place,
Since 'everything shall perish save His Face.'
Let me be Naught ! The harp-strings tell me plain
That 'Unto Him do we return again.'”¹

The purpose of religion is to awaken in man the longing to transcend matter.

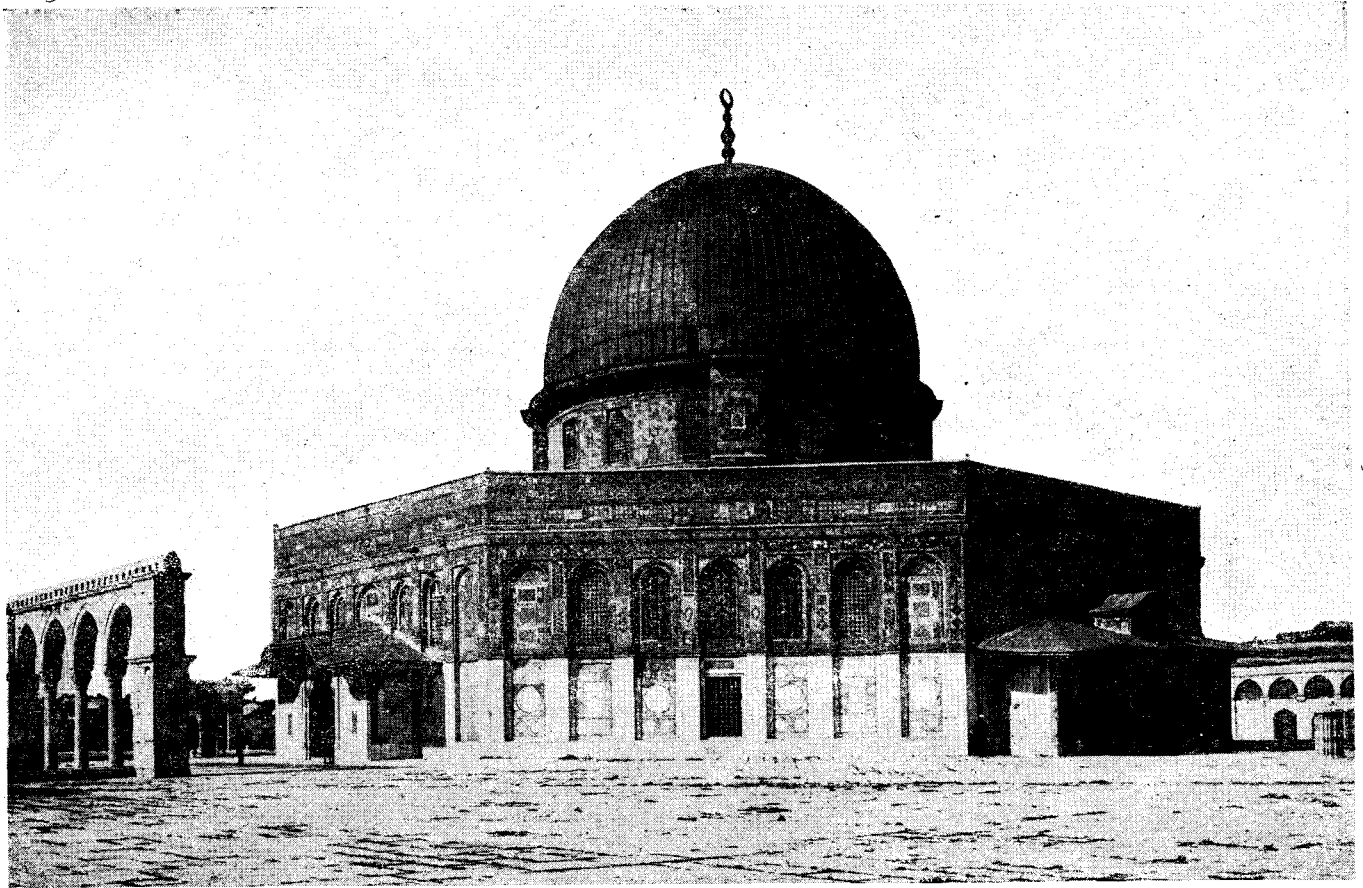
The desire to transcend the world of matter and explore the region of the spirit, is something which is innate in man, lying deep in the core of his being. In some hearts, this desire or longing is strong, in some it is weak and in yet others it is dormant. The aim of religion is to awaken this longing in man so that he may attain a particular kind of consciousness which will make him arrange his life according to certain patterns of behaviour and thinking. A life based on religious consciousness should, however, not be identified with that based on philosophy or

Weltanschauung. Religion is not mere thought of feeling or action, but it is the expression of the whole man. It combines in itself the theoretical, the emotional and the active elements in human life whereas non-religious forms of life-experience do not embrace all these factors. Religion lays the emphasis on the worship and adoration of the unconditioned cause of all possible conditioned phenomena of existence, whereas non-religious systems lay the emphasis on conditioned phenomena. Describing the nature of religion Professor A. C. Bradley rightly said, “Religion is not a mere state of activity of the intellect ; it is worship — inward if not also outward. It implies and includes, no doubt, an intellectual activity, some idea, belief, theory, science or logos, concerning the object of worship. But this is very far from being all : religion is a movement of the whole soul.”²

The patterns of behaviour and thinking suggested by religion constitute the framework on which is to be built the ideal life.

Islam and the modern conditions of life.

The ideal life in Islam, consists in reaching a harmony between our true self and our worldly experience. Our true self by its very nature already contains the essence of our spiritual existence. It is true that many people to-day, living in modern industrial societies, do not feel inclined to give a spiritual explanation of their existence. But this is only because the nature of their society and the kind of life they lead have conditioned their intellectual as well as emotional make-up. Modern society has made less and less possible that particular type of experience on which religion is based. “It is the decisive, basic experience which is felt to reveal the meaning of life as a whole. It can so deeply impress our mind as to provide a mould into which further experiences flow. Karl Mannheim attributed the acute crisis in modern life to the loss of this sort of experience which he termed “paradigmatic experience.” He wrote, “It is their disappearance without anything else to take their place which leads to the disintegration of modern life-experience and human conduct. Without paradigmatic experiences no consistent conduct, no character formation and no real human co-existence and co-operation are possible. Without them our universe of discourse loses articulation, conduct falls to pieces, and only disconnected bits of successful behaviour patterns and fragments of adjustments to an ever-changing environment remain.”³ Ibn Khaldun had rightly pointed out this conditioning influence of social factors



The Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem.

A view of one of the most beautiful specimens of early Muslim architecture built during the reign of the Omayyid Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan in 691 C.E.

This building is held sacred by the Muslims because of its associations with the Mi'raj (Ascension) of the Prophet Muhammad

Mi'raj is the highest form of religious experience in the life of the Prophet Muhammad

on human nature and society. It was the Prophet Muhammad himself who discovered this truth when he said that every child was born a Muslim, and that it was his parents who made him a Jew, Christian or a Muslim. For this very reason Islam seeks to create favourable conditions for the necessary religious experience by means of indicating a social order and a pattern of life which ought to be followed by everyone who is and wishes to remain a Muslim.

The structure of movement in Islam combines both the factors of constancy and change. Islam is constant in preserving the basic values of human life without which no society could function properly. But at the same time, Islam emphasizes change and progress in the attempt to adjust ourselves to new discoveries and circumstances. The universe, as pointed out by the Qur'an, is in constant change and creation, and our adjustment to this change is what according to Islamic terminology is called "*Ijtihad*."

The central point of the Islamic way of life is that loyalty belongs only to God.

The Islamic way of life connotes *inter alia* the fulfilment of our duties to our fellow beings and ourselves, and the attempt to disentangle ourselves from the world. By this is meant not running away into monastic seclusion or taking the line of least resistance, but the endeavour to purge our soul from what is low and undesirable. The Prophet once expressed his objection to monasticism because this, he said, dissociated us from others thus

preventing us sharing each other's burdens together. The process of disentangling ourselves from the world is the outcome of the Islamic demand that loyalty belongs only to God. By identifying our loyalty to God we follow the dictates of our own ideal nature. Loyalty to God is the spring by which the noble qualities in man are released. It is only in this way that the warmth, enthusiasm and vigour of contributing our share to human welfare come into play. A life purely based on non-religious rationalism could not produce the necessary warmth, vigour and enthusiasm. Another point is that if our loyalty is not directed to God, some other object of worship which has created only disastrous results, such as the race, the nation or the class, will draw man's innate desire to worship a being more powerful than himself. Thus it is clear that the consequences of being loyal to God above everything else can only favour the development of human welfare as a whole. The state of mind and emotion of one who devoted himself first and foremost to God was vividly expressed by the Persian Muslim poet, Khwaja of Kirman (1281-1341 C.E.). He wrote the following verses in connection with his thoughts on God :

"Pass us not by, for our thought is set on Thy constancy,
Our heart on the hope of Thy promise, and our soul on Thy
faith ;
If it be Thy pleasure to thwart our pleasure, that matters
little ;
Our object in this world and the next is Thy pleasure.
Hereafter, since we have staked our head in following Thee,



A view of the interior of the Dome of the Rock to which a reference is made in the Holy Qur'an (17 : 1)

Drive us not from Thy presence, for our heart follows after Thee.

I put my neck under the yoke and bow my head in service :
 Forgive me, if Thou wilt, or slay me : it is for Thee to judge.
 He who is Thy slave becomes freed from all :
 He who is Thy friend becomes a stranger to his own kin."⁴

Kant's humanism.

It is thus clear to us that no higher workable principle of morality exists besides worship and adoration of God. The famous and meritorious German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, formulated a doctrine of morality which could be regarded as the highest development of that philosophical trend of thought called humanism. Humanism preached that man should be treated for his own sake and that morality should be based on loyalty to our own conscience. This creed denied the necessity of religion and revelation but only emphasized the duty to be good. But as Professor A. C. Bradley put it, when humanism based itself on man, it meant the good in man. This presupposed the existence of a standard to distinguish between good and evil and the conscience itself did not create the values but only adopted and assimilated them. Thus humanism, and every other system of thought which includes a value judgment, did not create but adopted the values. It is another form of revelation with the only difference that it is not attributed to God but to the Unknown.

In the first stage of our spiritual development, the passion dictates the thought and action (*Nafs ammara*). In the second stage, the thought controls the passion and action (*Nafs lawwama*). In the last stage, thought and feeling become one (*Nafs mutmainnah*).¹⁰ It is to reach this stage that the Prophet Muhammad said "*Takhallaqu bi Akhlaq Allah*" (Create in yourselves the attributes of God).

Miraj is the highest form of religious experience in the life of the Prophet Muhammad.

All the teachings of Islam and the events pertaining to the life of the Prophet, such as the *Miraj*, aim at revealing the truth which could transform man into "*Insan kamil*." The *Miraj* is the highest form of religious experience in the life of the Prophet. In it the Prophet perceived the hidden realities and intensely felt the communion with God. His spiritual separation with the world that night denotes the goal to which human life is moving, an inconceivable but real existence beyond the reach of our present faculties. The reality of the Prophet's experience was later proved by his devout followers like al-Ghazzali and some other sufis, although not in a completely similar nature and degree. Although the experience of the sufis was not entirely the same as the *Miraj* (Ascension), yet essentially it was the same, for they too, in their visions saw certain aspects of reality which it was impossible to recollect or to express in words. This inability of the sufis to express their experience verbally does not invalidate their claims to the truth and reality of their experience. Our conceptual mode of apprehending reality is only one of the possibilities. The results of researches in the psychical life of individuals suggest other possibilities of non-conceptual mode of consciousness. The celebrated American philosopher and psychologist, William James, demonstrated this truth in his studies on mysticism. He wrote, "It is that our normal waking consciousness, rational consciousness as we call it, is but one special type of consciousness, whilst all about it, parted from it by the filmiest of screens, there lie potential forms of consciousness entirely different. We may go through life without suspecting their existence ; but apply the requisite stimulus, and at a touch they are there in all their completeness, definite types of mentality which probably somewhere have their field of application and

adaptation. No account of the universe in its totality can be final which leaves these other forms of consciousness quite disregarded."⁵

Islam, as defined in the Qur'an, is "The nature created by God wherein He has created man." True human nature, as this verse indicates, is nothing but Islam. Diversities in man and his surroundings belonging to the nature of existence, it is logical that Islam provides the ways by means of which the possible differences of religious expressions could take place, the one not cancelling the other but instead complementing one another. The rationalist, on the one hand, selects for his intellectual framework, certain essence of Islam which suits his bent of mind. The mystically inclined, on the other hand, found in the *Mirraj*, that truth whose nature forms the basis of their belief.

The *Mirraj*, or the profoundest spiritual experience of the Prophet, thus denotes the higher possibility in the realm of words urged in the Qur'an to denote the three stages of the spiritual development of man. The aim of Islam, as I have mentioned before, is the creation of more or less perfect individuals from whom emanates the stream of ideal qualities that would permeate the whole of life. When writing of such individuals, Muhammad Iqbal, the Muslim philosopher-poet of Pakistan, said, "He is the completest ego, the goal of humanity; the acme of life both in mind and body; in him the discord of our mental life becomes a harmony. The highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason, become one. He is the last fruit of the tree of humanity, and all the trials of a painful evolution are justified, because he is to come at the end. He is the real ruler of mankind; his kingdom is the Kingdom of God on earth. Out of the richness of his nature he lavishes the wealth of life on others, and brings them nearer to himself. The more we advance in evolution, the nearer we get to him. In approaching him we are raising ourselves in the scale of life. The development of humanity both in mind and body is a condition precedent to his birth. For the present he is a mere ideal; but the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals who will become his fitting parents."⁶

To reach this stage of perfection, which Iqbal called "*niyat-i-ilahi*" or divine vicegerency on earth, we direct our minds and hearts for guidance to the Prophet Muhammad (on whom be peace!). His life and religious experience are the points of departure from which we hope to reconstruct ailing humanity. He was the embodiment of perfection. His happiness is our happiness, his grief our grief, his concern is our concern, and his ideal is our ideal.

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- ⁹ Preface to Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*.
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The Muslims and the spiritual crisis in Europe.

If Muslims ignore the historical rôle of religion as a power in moulding human life, the present state of affairs in the West would be theirs in the decades to come. We shall not trace the causes of what is now happening in the West, but only describe the phenomena of a society which is undergoing a spiritual crisis of immense importance to the future of other peoples with which it has come into contact.

As everyone knows, religion in the West has lost its function as a vital force in shaping human life. Lying deep beneath the smooth surface of Western society, are the disturbances and unrest which at times erupted in the forms of catastrophic events in the physical as well as the psychical planes. Whole nations went to war without knowing its real causes. The psychical atmosphere became polluted. People distrust one another and each try to excel the other not in 'Amal 'Ibadah (the act of worship) but in self-aggrandizement. They live in a society in which might is right; in which moral scruples are considered as a sign of weakness; in which despair and uncertainty have seized the minds and hearts of the people; in which they are not only weary of finding a way out but also of maintaining their hope. Despite the material splendour that we find here, and the amazing rapidity in the progress of technology, Western society, viewed as a whole, is an abnormal one.⁷ The very construction of its social order produces people whose views on life are sectional and whose faculties develop disharmoniously. Progress in science is not accompanied by similar progress in moral power. This disproportionate development of the human faculty generates deplorable consequences in the internal as well as external lives of individuals and groups.⁸ One of the most heart-rending phenomena that eats away the fabric of Western society, is the general loss of belief in everything that has to do with the value and meaning of life. All sorts of social problems arise from this. The American social scientist, Professor Wirth, wrote, "The world has been splintered into countless fragments of atomized individuals and groups. The disruption in the wholeness of individual experience corresponds to the disintegration in culture and group solidarity. When the bases of unified collective action begin to weaken, the social structure tends to break and to produce a condition which Emile Durkheim has called "anomie" by which he means a situation which might be described as a sort of social emptiness or void. Under such conditions suicide, crime and disorder are phenomena to be expected because individual existence no longer is rooted in a stable and integrated social milieu and much of life's activity loses its sense and meaning."⁹

The above description shows us the fate of a people who have lost their faith in religion and everything else. The Muslims can prevent such a crisis in their respective countries, if only a form of planning is introduced, and the people taught the true teachings of Islam, and if the forces of vested interests can be kept within their proper limits. Reforms and reconstruction can be brought about by means of Islam. Did not Islam, during the lifetime of Muhammad accomplish the most far-reaching change in history? Has not Islam stood the test of Time more than any other system known to us? I am fully convinced that the Muslims will prefer the Islamic way of life to any other if they only realize the full implication of Islam in regard to the requirements of our age.

“IJTIHAD” IN ISLAM¹

By DR. AHMAD AMINE

“Nothing will save the Muslims but the resumption of *ijtihad* which they abandoned long ago and thus converted what was a wide and enterprising field into a narrow and barren one”

The message of Islam is both spiritual and mundane.

In the course of a discussion I recently had with His Excellency 'Ali 'Abd al-Razzaq Pasha, in which we were reviewing the affairs of the Muslims and the state of stagnation in which they found themselves, he said to me: “The remedy for this state of affairs is that we should adopt the views which I published some time ago, in that the message of Islam is only spiritual, and that, therefore, matters and problems falling in the other spheres should be left to our own judgment.” I replied to this: “My opinion is that the message of Islam is wider than this, and is both spiritual and mundane; a proof of that being the provisions made in the Qur'an regarding the laws of sale, purchase, hire and other monetary transactions, and also regarding personal status, e.g., marriage, divorce, etc.”

Why and when the door to *ijtihad* was closed.

Our problems can be solved by opening the door of *ijtihad* (literally, “exerting oneself to the utmost degree to attain an object”, and technically, “exerting oneself to form an opinion in a case or as to a rule of law”) which has been closed by the 'ulama (the very learned). The fact is that *ijtihad* did not cease because the 'ulama met and formally resolved to this effect. It ceased as a result of a psychological and social state of affairs which came about with the invasion of Baghdad by the Tartars and their persecution of the Muslims. The 'ulama feared the destruction of Islam at the hands of the Tartars, and were of opinion that the best thing that they could do in the circumstances was only to endeavour to preserve the great achievements of the renowned *Imams* of the past. They had hoped for nothing better than this, in view of their chaotic mind. This has been called “the closing of the door of *ijtihad*”, and it is this “door” which we want to open.

The theory we advance would, in effect, lead to the same result as the one advocated by His Excellency 'Abd al-Razzaq Pasha. By *ijtihad* that we understand a free and universal *ijtihad*, and not the one confined to purely religious matters. We would like to see *ijtihad* practised in all fields, even to the extent of restricting the *nass* (the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad) and ceasing to comply therewith, when a *mujtahid* (the expert in *ijtihad*) has satisfied the prerequisites for the practice of *ijtihad*, as set out in the authoritative books on *fiqh*, e.g., that he should have a mastery of the Holy Qur'an and the *Sunna*, as well as the Arabic language, and be well versed in the customs and traditions of Islam and the objectives of the laws of Islam, etc., etc.

Examples of a free *ijtihad* from the life of 'Umar the Great.

The Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab has set the example for us in this regard. He did not wish at one time to use *zakat* money for *Taalif al-Qulub* purposes, i.e., for giving it to people in order to win their hearts. Thus when Islam, as a result of its having been accepted by a great number of people, did not stand in need of the *zakat* money being spent for *Taalif al-Qulub* purposes, i.e., for winning the hearts of people by monetary help, he stopped giving the *zakat* money to them. Once when he found that Muslims were frequently pronouncing the “triple divorce” in one pronouncement he restrained them by declaring

that the single pronouncement of “the triple divorce” would be tantamount to the three pronouncements of divorce making it irrevocable. This 'Umar did despite the fact that the Qur'an says, “*al-Talaq Marrataam* (the pronouncement of divorce is two times)”, i.e., the revocable divorce can be pronounced twice and the three pronouncements of divorce all at one time are one of the two pronouncements.

And when he penalized a Muslim with the punishment specified for drunkenness, and he saw that as a result of this that Muslim escaped to Constantinople and became a convert to Christianity, he decided never to punish a Muslim with the same punishment again while there was a war on. Also, when a Muslim stole from the Muzayna tribe during a famine, he punished the culprit and ordered his return to his tribe, and also compelled the culprit's tribe “to pay the price of poverty”, saying: “You have starved them and thus drove them to theft”. There are many such episodes in the life of the Caliph 'Umar, and they all demonstrate clearly how he made his decisions to suit the situation with which he was confronted and the ills he desired to remedy.

An example of a free *ijtihad* from the history of Muslims in Spain.

The Consultative Assembly in Spain followed the same principles. When 'Abd al-Rahman al-Naasir had sexual intercourse with his wife during the month of Ramadhan, some of the 'ulama gave a *fatwa* (religious decision) to the effect that he should atone for this sin by setting free one slave, according to the doctrine of atonement. Yahya bin Yahya al-Laythi, the head of the Assembly, did not, however, agree with this *fatwa*. He held that as the sinner was a prince possessed of great wealth, it was a very easy matter for him to set free one slave; and so he decreed a heavier and more deterrent punishment, which was that he should fast for sixty days in place of the day on which the fast was broken. Only thus, al-Laythi thought, would the true spirit and purpose of the Islamic Shari'a be achieved.

The prerequisites of *ijtihad*.

The *ijtihad* which we would like to see practised is one that would conform to this spirit. If a problem should face the Muslims, *ijtihad* should be employed for its solution, while keeping the following two paramount principles in sight:

The first of these principles should be the fulfilment of the true objectives of the Islamic Shari'a law based upon the Qur'an, and the second should be a true regard for the present status of the Muslims. In every generation, there will be found problems requiring for their solution this kind of *ijtihad*. This is made evident by the numerous novel problems that were frequently submitted to the late Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh, of Egypt, and in which *fatwas* were sought regarding the true Islamic view on the facts of the case. Such problems related to diverse matters amongst which were: the position with regard to the flesh of animals slaughtered by Christians and Jews, the wearing of a hat in case of necessity, the depositing of money in savings banks, the acquisition of shares in life-insurance companies, and many

¹ Courtesy the Editor, *Risalat al-Islam*, Cairo, for April 1951.

other matters and problems which continue to arise in this ever-developing world. Almost every day new situations arise which require pronouncements to be made according to the Shari'a; and unless such problems are solved speedily, and the situation taken in hand, the Muslims will face a grim prospect. The Persian *'ulama* were more liberal in this regard, and more readily amenable to the acceptance of *ijtihad* — though they had laid many conditions for *ijtihad* which had the effect of restricting its scope. I, on the other hand, would advocate a free and unrestricted *ijtihad*.

The *ijtihad* that we would like to see practised, is not one that would be open to every person without discrimination, for that would inevitably lead to chaos and anarchy. *Ijtihad*, in my view, should be exclusive to people of undoubted substance and merit who fulfil the essential prerequisite and qualities of the true *mujtahids*, as for example, to some members of the Senate or House of Representatives and similar learned men of high repute. Islam, of its nature, is elastic, and would allow such a course, for it has decreed *ijtihad* as one of the sources of the Shari'a, and the Prophet Muhammad also approved of *ijtihad*. When the Prophet sent Mu'adh bin Jabal as governor of a province and appointed him to be the dispenser of justice there, he asked him :

"According to what shalt thou judge?"

He replied :

"According to the Book of God."

"And if thou findest naught therein?"

"According to the tradition of the Messenger of God."

"And if thou findest naught therein?"

"Then shall I interpret with my reason."

And thereupon the Prophet said :

"Praise be to God who has favoured the Messenger of His Messenger with what His Messenger is willing to approve."

The Prophet also encouraged his companions to exercise their own faculties of *ijtihad* — independent judgment — in addition to his own, on worldly matters. Once, he ordered them not to fertilize the palm trees, and when they complied with this and the palm trees yielded no fruit, he said to them : "You know more about your own worldly affairs." The Prophet did many things which were not strictly connected with religion, and where he followed his own personal taste and pleasure, as in his love of gourd; or sought to conform to a national custom, as in the matter and type of his attire, in his growing of a beard and dyeing it, and in many other similar matters. All these are matters that have nothing to do with the Shari'a, for every generation has its customs and traditions, and every person is permitted some liberty in the satisfaction of his taste. To confuse these matters would be a very wrong thing. It is related about the Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal that he refused to eat melon because he did not know of the exact way in which the Prophet Muhammad cut open the melon. This is a purely sentimental matter, and has no bearing on religion, being nothing more than the Imam's devotion to the Prophet and his wish to follow in his footsteps in every respect — in religious as well as other matters. This is a matter to which his love for the Prophet Muhammad and not faith called him.

Each age has its problems which can be solved only by a free *ijtihad*.

We live in an age of continuous progress, and our modern civilization has given rise to many difficult problems, all of which require the practice of *ijtihad* for their solution. When wireless was introduced, we wondered whether it was permissible

for us to listen to the Qur'an being chanted on it. The whole world is continually facing new problems brought about by new inventions, which present new problems for solution. When aeroplanes began to be used as a means of travel, the statesmen of the world started introducing special provisions in international law to provide for the passage of the airlines of one country over the territories of others. The same problem had to be faced with regard to the organization of the modern mail, shipping, rail travel, and similar matters. If we remain in constant uncertainty over such matters simply because we can find no express provision in the *nass* (the verse of the Qur'an or a Hadith) with regard to them; and if the Muslims do not face the situation by the exercise of their independent judgment and their *ijtihad* in resolving such problems, they would be driven to the adoption of one of the two alternative courses. The first is that they embrace the Western ideas, and disregard the Shari'a — as Mustafa Kamal Attaturk did in Turkey; and the second course is that they would stand still without taking any decision. In either of these courses there is grievous harm.

The early jurists of Islam gave two widely divergent decisions as a result of *ijtihad*.

A law requires two main things for its existence. It should have solid doctrinal bases that would stabilize and co-ordinate its growth, like the Islamic doctrine of "Do no harm, and suffer no harm." It should also have flexible and adaptable bases which will enable it to meet any new exigencies. Islam has both these characteristic qualities. It has the fundamental and basic principles, which we call "the purpose of the Shari'a", e.g., the preservation of life and property; and there are also the flexible principles, e.g., the regulation of interest, which is formulated through *ijtihad*. When either of these two essential qualities is lacking in any system of law, it can never hope to survive the test of time.

Abu Hanifa once said: "If a man misappropriates a garment and then dyes it black, this would depreciate the value of the garment." When his pupil, Abu Yusuf, approached him with the same question at a later stage, when the situation had changed and the Abbasids had adopted black as their official colour, he gave a *fatwa* to the effect that dyeing the garment black appreciated its value! There is no contradiction or clash in principle here, it is simply a matter of a change in circumstances. The jurists of the early Islamic era held that a person who contracted to purchase a house forfeited his customary right to rescind the contract, upon the house being found unsuitable, if he had inspected at least one of the rooms of that house before he made the bargain — this was so because the rooms in the houses at that time were all alike. But with the coming of modern civilization and the multiplicity of architectural designs, it was held that the inspection by the prospective buyer of one room only should not mean that he would forfeit the right to rescind if the house was later found to be unfit.

The reason why two jurists gave two divergent decisions.

I was recently perusing the book *al-Hawamil wa al-Shawamil*, and came across the story which related that Abu Habban al-Tawhidi asked Miskawaih about the reason why one jurist when requested to give an opinion on a particular problem would give a *fatwa* to the effect that it was permissible, while another would decree it to be strictly forbidden. Miskawaih replied that the variation of the resultant *fatwas* was attributable to the variation in time and place, and that both these factors should be given permanent consideration when exercising *ijtihad*. He said: "*Ijtihad* itself is an exercise for the mental faculties. A proof of this is the fact that if a king should desire to play with the sceptre and the ball, it matters not to us whether or not he

succeeds in his play, so long as he has exercised his muscles. If a wise man were to hide something and then ask the people to search for it, then whether or not the people finally succeed in finding that thing, the fact remains that the wise man has achieved his purpose. Likewise, those who deal in geometrical and mathematical problems are content with the effort they exert

in attempting a solution for the problem regardless of whether they had arrived at the correct solution or not."

In short, nothing will save the Muslims but the resumption of *ijtihad* which they abandoned long ago, and thus converted what was a wide and enterprising field into a narrow and barren one.

THE LATE MAULANA MUHAMMAD 'ALI

(1874-1951)

By S. M. TUFAIL, M.A.

The belief in the finality of the Prophethood of the Prophet Muhammad was perhaps never brought under discussion so explicitly before. The question engaged Muhammad 'Ali's attention for a considerable time. His various writings and his book *al-Nubuwwat fi al-Islam* made this point very clear. There has not been anybody else for many centuries past who has so elaborately discussed and defended the conception of the finality of prophethood (*Khatm Nubuwwat*). His writings in this respect are unique

"Probably no man living has done longer or more valuable service for the cause of Islamic Revival than Maulana Muhammad 'Ali of Lahore"

His early childhood and college career.

With the passing away of Maulana Muhammad 'Ali in October, 1951, the Islamic world has indeed lost a great literary figure of present-day Islam.

It was probably in the winter of 1874 that this famous translator of the Holy Qur'an was born at Murar, a small village in the Kapurthala State, India. He was the fifth son of Hafiz Fateh Din, the headman of the village.

He was not yet five years old when he was sent to the nearest village school of Dialpur with his brother 'Aziz Bukhsh who was four or five years older than he. After three years the two brothers were sent to Kapurthala High School and from there they passed their matriculation examination in 1890.

Muhammad 'Ali was a brilliant boy. He did very well in the school. When he returned home during the holidays he used to take part in the village games, especially *Kabaddi*. At school he played cricket.

At this age his love of virtue and truth was proverbial. His teachers and classfellows had a great respect for him. Before going to school he was not taught to read and recite the Holy Qur'an but, having an inherent love for this sacred book, he used to study it till he learnt to recite it by himself.

After he had completed his education at school, his father was rather anxious to give him higher education and with scarce means he managed, somehow, to provide funds for sending both of his sons to the Government College, Lahore.

The Maulana spent five years in this college, taking his B.A. in 1894, and M.A. in 1895.

As to his academic activities his college career was quite brilliant too. He had a special aptitude for mathematics, in which subject he headed the list of candidates at Punjab University. When he once asked for a certificate from one of his professors the only remark noted was :

"He is the best mathematician of our College."

For his M.A., he took English as his subject and was one of the five candidates, out of twenty-three, declared successful in the examination.

Strangely enough, during his college days he never took part in literary activities. He never wrote anything for publication and never appeared on the college platform to deliver a speech. He was only interested in long walks, athletic sports and football. And even at the age of 75 he went for long walks early in the morning. This was perhaps the secret of his good health even in his old age.

After taking his B.A. in 1894, and while still attending the M.A. classes in the Government College, he joined the Islamia College, Lahore, as a professor of mathematics when he was only 19. After getting through his M.A., while still working in the Islamia College, he joined the Law College and came out second, first and third in the three Law Examinations of Punjab University.

Muhammad 'Ali joins the Ahmadiyya Movement.

In 1897 he left the Islamia College for the Oriental College, Lahore, where he worked as a professor till 1900, when he left that college, too, to start practice as a lawyer in Gurdaspur, Punjab, but before three months had passed he decided to begin the great work of his life as editor of the *Review of Religions*, in obedience to the wishes of the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, a renowned religious writer and founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam in 1890.

It was in 1892 that the founder of the movement paid a visit to Lahore and the two brothers frequently went to meet him. They had heard a lot about his reputation as a great saint in their village, which was situated at a distance of about 20 miles from Qadian. They heard from his own lips that the time had come when Islam was destined to triumph in the world, and were impressed with the truth of this claim.

Later Muhammad 'Ali paid a visit to Qadian in March 1897 in the company of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (the founder of the Woking Muslim Mission, England), who was also at the time a professor in the Islamia College, and who had earlier joined the Ahmadiyya Movement. There he too enlisted himself as a member of this great revivalistic movement in Islam. He had his religious instruction in the company of the founder there and was enlightened as to the deeper meaning of Islam. He admits it himself in the preface of the Holy Qur'an :

"And lastly, the greatest religious leader of the present time, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, has inspired me with all that is best in this work. I have drunk deep at this fountain of knowledge which this great reformer — Mujaddid and Mehdi in Islam, of the present century — and founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement has made to flow."

His joining the Ahmadiyya Movement opened a new chapter for him. Had he not come into contact with the dynamic personality of the founder he could not have been such a great religious authority on Islam to-day.

After joining the movement he remained at Lahore for three years. And during that time he paid frequent visits to Qadian and did the work of rendering into English many of the manifestos issued by the founder. This was only the beginning of his literary career.

A visit to Qadian in those days was rather a hard task, as the village was situated at a distance of about eleven miles from the nearest railway station of Batala, and accessible only through an *ekka* (the native unsprung carriage) on a country road. But often would Muhammad 'Ali walk this distance at midnight on Saturdays in the company of friends, and come back on foot on Sunday evening for his work in the college.

Muhammad 'Ali dedicates his life to the service of Islam.

When he decided to start work as a lawyer in 1900, he sought the advice of his teacher, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who after some time told him that he was thinking of starting an English monthly to carry the message of Islam to Europe and America,



Mr. S. Muhammad Tufail, M.A., who has joined the staff of the Working Muslim and Literary Trust

and that he would like him to edit it. Muhammad 'Ali immediately gave up the idea of working as a legal practitioner. Assiduously learning all he could in the company of the founder of the movement, he undertook to convince the world of the beauties and practicability of the teachings of Islam for the rest of his life.

The first number of the *Review of Religions* came out in January 1902, with the following declared object :

"Our object in starting the *Review of Religions* is twofold. First, to draw the world to truth, viz., to teach true morals, to inculcate true beliefs, to disseminate true knowledge, and last but not least, to make men act upon the principles of truth ordained. Secondly, to draw them with a magnetism so mighty in operation that it may create in them a power to act upon the doctrines taught."

This declaration ends with the words :

"It shall defend the cause of truth and oppose every false doctrine or erroneous teaching which is in violation of the rights of the Creator or the created."

Dealing with all the burning questions which troubled men's minds in those days the *Review* within a period of three years acquired a fame not only in India but also in the religious circles of England and America. Its great merit was its clear exposition of the religion of Islam, though at the same time it carried on powerful controversy with other religions, particularly with Christianity.

Muhammad 'Ali is commissioned to undertake the translation of the Holy Qur'an into English.

The founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement had, however, also a desire to get the Holy Qur'an translated into English to which he gave expression in 1891 in his book entitled *Izala-e-Aubam*. He passed away on 26th May, 1908, at Lahore and the *Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya, Qadian*, which was founded by him to carry on his mission, worked under the guidance of the late Nur-ud-Din who was a great scholar and religious divine of his age.

In 1909, Muhammad 'Ali, while still in the service of the Anjuman, was called upon to undertake the work of the translation of the Holy Qur'an. It took him eight years to accomplish the task. The labour spent on this translation is evident from the wealth of the footnotes attached to it. The author had to work hard for these years, tracing not only original authorities and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and all such questions as are dealt with in the notes but also the great Arabic lexicons on which he based his interpretations wherever he made a departure from the interpretations of the current translations. He worked on it for almost twelve hours daily and had at times to perform the task in standing posture, for which he kept a high desk to enable him to work in this position.

By this time differences had arisen in the Ahmadiyya Movement. That is a sad aspect of the story but one could not help it. The founder has been misunderstood and misrepresented by his friends and foes alike. A certain number of his followers, overpowered with passion and fanaticism, thought that the founder was a prophet in the real sense of the term and all those who did not accept him as such were outside the pale of Islam. After the death of his successor, Nur-ud-Din, in 1914, Muhammad 'Ali left Qadian in April 1914, owing to these differences on doctrinal issues with the party in Qadian and took up his residence at Lahore where a new Anjuman was formed under the name of *The Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam*, of which Muhammad 'Ali was chosen the President.

Muhammad 'Ali and the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad.

The belief in the finality of the Prophethood of the Prophet Muhammad was perhaps never brought under discussion so explicitly before. The question engaged Muhammad 'Ali's attention for a considerable time. His various writings and his book *al-Nubuwwat fi al-Islam* made this point very clear. There has not been anybody else for many centuries past who has so elaborately discussed and defended the conception of the finality of prophethood (*Khatm Nubuwwat*). His writings in this respect are unique.

The other point which he emphasized was that whoever declared his faith in the *Kalima* (there is no god except God and Muhammad is His Messenger) is a Muslim and nobody has any right to dub him *Kafir* (unbeliever). Declaring brother Muslims kafirs had sapped the vitality of Muslims and had divided them against one another. This was a happy pastime of the so-called

Mullah. When such a practice made its way through the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Muhammad 'Ali and Khawja Kamal-ud-Din revolted. To them this was quite alien to the teachings of Islam and what they had been taught by the founder.

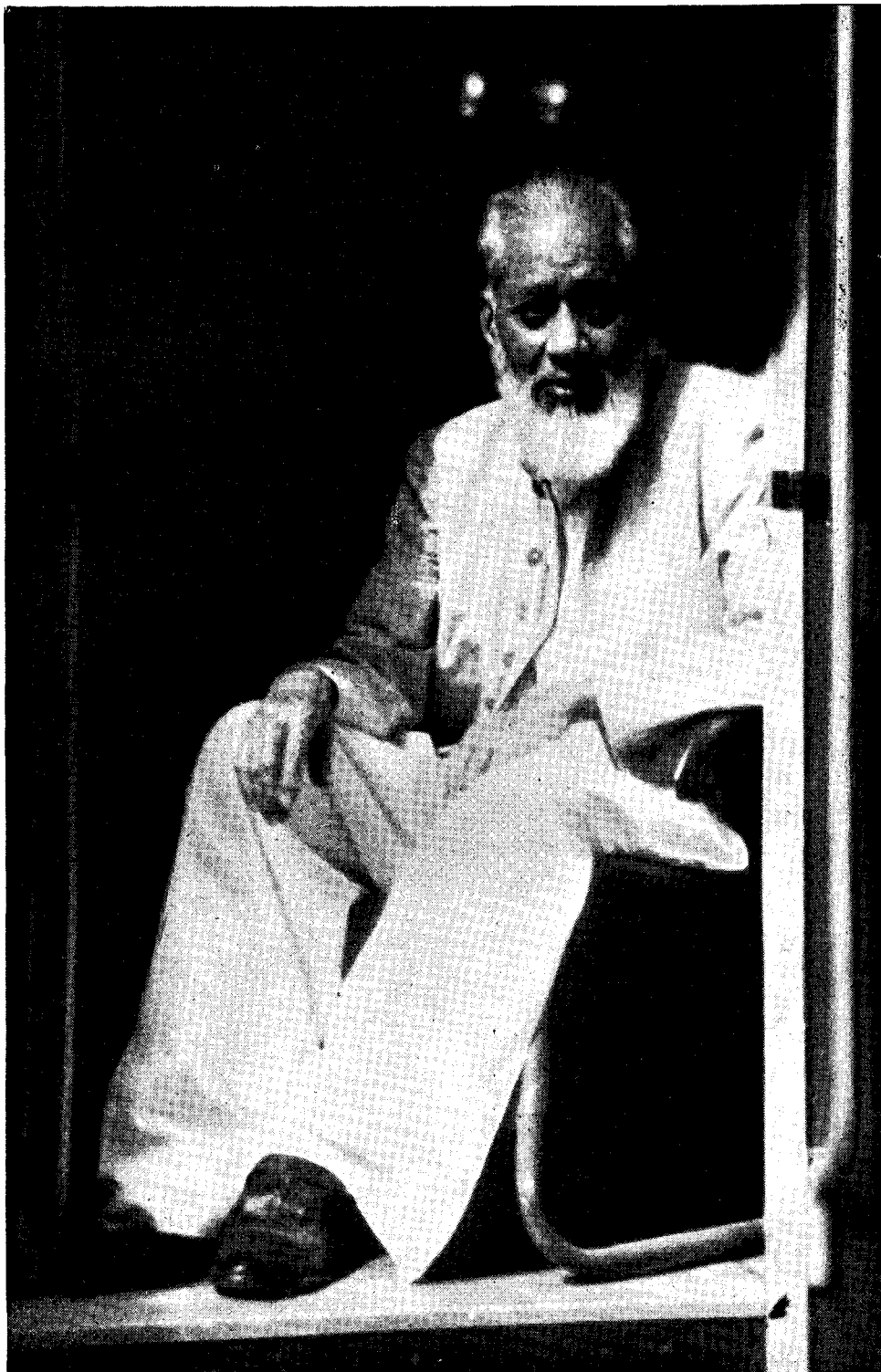
When Muhammad 'Ali settled in Lahore he practically started from scratch. There was no organization and no funds to further the cause of Islam. A handful of men assembled and decided to carry on the task of the propagation of Islam assigned to them by the founder of their movement. As Amir (spiritual leader) and President of the Anjuman, Muhammad 'Ali had manifold duties. Besides all this he steadily pushed on his literary work.

The English translation of the Holy Qur'an with commentary was published in 1917. The Urdu translation and commentary of the Qur'an was published less than seven years later.

The late Marmaduke Pickthall on the quality of the writings of Muhammad 'Ali.

He was a prolific writer, being the author of a large number of books both on the doctrinal and historical sides and having contributed about 7,000 pages to the English literature on Islam and about 10,000 pages to the Urdu literature on Islam. Reviewing one of his books, *The Religion of Islam*, the late Marmaduke Pickthall, an English Muslim and the translator of the Qur'an wrote in 1936 :

"Probably no living man has done longer or more valuable service for the cause of Islamic revival than Maulana Muhammad 'Ali of Lahore. His literary works, with those of the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, have given fame and distinction to the Ahmadiyya movement. In our opinion the present volume is his finest work. It is a description of Islam by one well-versed in the Sunnah who has on his mind the shame of the Muslim decadence of the past five centuries and in his heart the hope of the revival, of which signs can now be seen on every side. Without moving a hair's breadth from the traditional position regarding worship and religious duties, the author shows a wide field in which changes are lawful and

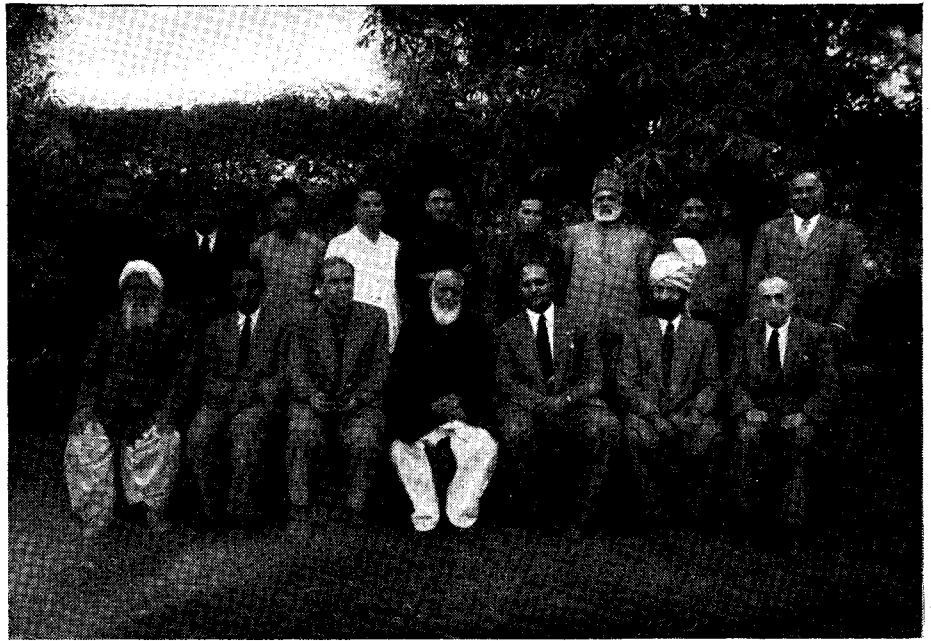


*The late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, exhausted and pale, sitting in a chair in the railway carriage that took him to Karachi where he breathed his last on October 13th, 1951, at 11.30 a.m.
This picture was taken on May 31st, 1951, when his friends saw him off to Karachi for the last time*

may be desirable because here the rules and practices are not based on an ordinance of the Qur'an or on an edict of the Prophet (peace be on him !) and should be altered when they cease to meet the needs of the community. Such a book is greatly needed at the present day when in many Muslim countries we see persons eager for the reformation and revival

This picture was taken at Lahore, Pakistan. It shows the late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali with his friends and admirers from such far-off countries as Algeria, Dutch Guiana, China, Siam, Borneo, Mauritius and England

In the group can be seen: (standing, left to right) Mr. 'Abdul Rahim Jaggoe from Dutch Guiana (second); Mr. Ma'sum Chang from China (fourth); Mr. Ibrahim Blanghet from Borneo (sixth); (seated, left to right) Mr. Ibrahim Qureshi from Thailand (second); Mr. Mourad Kioane from Algeria (third); Maulana Muhammad 'Ali (fourth); Mr. Haroon Nababu from Mauritius (fifth); and Major A. W. Battersby from England (seventh)



of Islam, making mistakes through lack of just this knowledge.

We recommend it as a stimulus to Islamic thought. To use an old-fashioned word, it is an *edifying* book."

Like his translation of the Holy Qur'an this book is indispensable, as the poet of Pakistan, Muhammad Iqbal put it, to the student of Islam. This monumental work deals comprehensively with the sources, principles, laws and regulations of Islam. In parts this work has been translated into Turkish and an Arabic translation is also under preparation. *The Living Thoughts of the Prophet Muhammad*, *The New World Order*, *A Manual of Hadith* and an Urdu translation of *Sahih Bukhari* with comments are some of his books which have also been greatly appreciated. He was a missionary to the core of his heart and this attitude we observe in all his writings.

Muhammad 'Ali's share in the Renaissance of Islam.

When the educated classes of Muslims were dazzled by the glory of Western civilization Muhammad 'Ali's writings showed them the right path. From the date when Muhammad 'Ali Jauhar (of the *Khilafat Movement*) was editing the *Comrade* till the time of Qaid-i-a'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah and the late Liaquat 'Ali Khan, Muhammad 'Ali's writings have been awakening Muslims to the potential beauties of Islam. Muhammad 'Ali Jauhar was simply thrilled when he got a copy of the translation of the Holy Qur'an. He wanted to shout about it from over the top of every European house. To him it was an austere faithful translation in English which could help groping humanity at this great hour of peril. Qaid-i-a'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah said with pride that he had read the translation of the Holy Qur'an by his namesake. He possessed all the important works of Muhammad 'Ali in his library and would often consult them when he wanted to address the Muslims of India on any religious occasion.

The late Liaquat 'Ali Khan was also a great admirer of Muhammad 'Ali's works. He was so interested in his writings that he donated a considerable sum to present these works to various libraries of the world on his behalf.

Muhammad 'Ali the man.

The secret of the success of Muhammad 'Ali lay in his unwavering faith in God kept active by his constant study of the

Holy Qur'an, the Hadith and the inspiring words and memory of the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and last but not least his devotional prayers.

Muhammad 'Ali was a very hard-working man and methodical in his work. He had unassuming habits. He could not pose. Though he is no more among us I can still remember every aspect of his behaviour. How he talked, how he moved, how innocent and childlike sometimes his behaviour was. The sphere of his activities was diverse, as was his nature. It is rather difficult to describe him in full as he was. Only those who have seen him and lived with him may feel and remember the live personality behind him.

He always spoke gently. His gestures were very few. While addressing his audience from the pulpit he had a gentle and facile manner. He would never strive for effect. Unnecessary oratorical expressions were perhaps alien to his nature. He said nothing superfluous nor was there anything superfluous in his writings. Whatever he felt he expressed in simple unassuming language. He would quote the Holy Qur'an and the Hadith quite accurately but at quoting poetry he was not good. He would forget half the line or alter the sequence of words, not caring, not knowing about the metre.

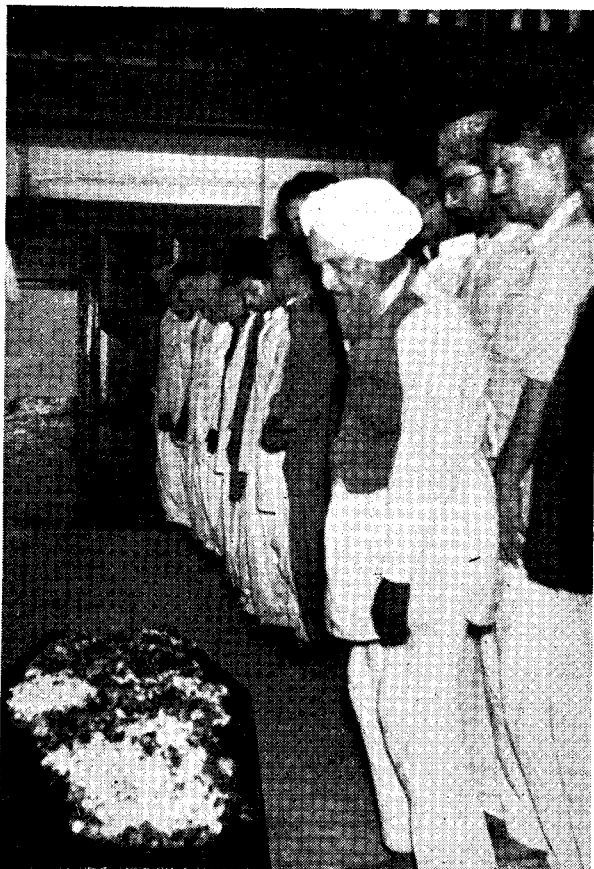
I can very well remember one bright morning. It was most probably in 1947, the occasion was of *Id al-Adha*. I observed him dressed in a *Sherwani* of dark brown colour (it looked like a new one) and a white *Shalwar*. He had a Faiz cap on his head. Generally he used a turban but on that occasion he had a cap. More or less this was his dress throughout his life. In this respect he did not much change.

He started his sermon with the recitation of the Holy Qur'an in a low voice. He stood straight and held his right hand with his left just a little below the abdomen. This posture was very common to him. As he proceeded with his sermon he steadily moved his face sideways. His movements were reserved for a while but then he wanted to emphasize some point, so he lifted his left hand with its palm towards the audience and raised his voice and became enthusiastic. He then let his hands move freely. Sometimes he would place one of his hands on his hip, in his effort to bring home some point to his audience, and point

out with the first finger of the other to make them really understand it. He then pressed the palms of his hands against each other, sometimes running his fingers into one another. When he finished up with the sermon he stretched his arms to the utmost to ask forgiveness and pardon from God and then quietly sat down. This is how he gave an address in public. Ah! we shall never see him standing before us again.

The last two years of Muhammad 'Ali.

His troubles started in 1950. He had a severe attack of coronary thrombosis at Karachi in the month of September last year. For full forty days he was struggling with life and death and then he recovered. On December 10th, 1950, he reached



Salat al-Janaiz (the prayers for the dead) are being said for the departed soul of the late Muhammad 'Ali. His elder brother, Maulana 'Aziz Bukhsb, is leading the prayers

Lahore. His friends had gathered at the Lahore station to receive him. People took him out sitting in a chair which was placed by the wall of the platform. He looked completely exhausted but smiled and shook hands with all those who were present. The next day, despite the advice of doctors, he started work. As he could not sit on a chair for long he ordered his bed to be moved to his office. Here he would sit and go through the proofs of the new edition of the Holy Qur'an, reply to letters and send instructions to the Anjuman's office. When visitors came he listened to them but said very little in reply. Talking for him was forbidden. That might affect his lungs which had become weak through his prolonged illness.

The climate of Lahore had a soothing effect on him and his health steadily improved. He could stroll a little now, and worked harder. For the annual gathering of the Anjuman in the month of December held every year, he dictated two long speeches which were later read out in the meeting. He emphasized the need of opening missions in Hong Kong, Turkey and Egypt. Two more months slipped by peacefully. In March 1951, he was doing his work with the zeal of a young man. I requested him once not to exert himself so much. He smiled and said that he could not live without work; if he stopped doing anything he would cut short his life; this work kept him going. He did not listen to what his friends and doctors said. He had his own theories and he stuck to them to the last. He wanted to finish the proofs of the Holy Qur'an that were coming from England. He had another programme in mind so he wanted to complete this work in a short time. He wrote about it from Karachi and even after a severe heart attack this idea still occupied his mind. He wanted to make a tour of Europe, America and the Middle East countries and perform the Hajj when returning. I would like to quote a part of his letter:

"I wanted to leave this year but couldn't for two reasons. The typed manuscript lying with Mr. Ahmad Husain has not been fully compared and the proofs of the Holy Qur'an have also been received by me which has increased my work considerably. I intended to leave after the 'Id but that is not possible now, and still if I go, sufficient time is not left, so I have decided to leave for England in April next. And if God wills, I would like to present the true picture of Islam to those people by visiting these places. It is just possible, as Khwaja Sahib¹ thinks, God may bless these efforts. After staying for sometime in Woking, I intend to go to Berlin and then visit Istanbul . . . while returning I had a mind to stay in Egypt definitely. If God makes it possible for me, I would like to perform Hajj also which I have been desiring for a long time. We shall be coming back *via* Damascus, Baghdad and Basra."

So everything was settled and the passage was booked for April, but when the doctor examined him in March he dissuaded him from undertaking such a long journey. And in April he had another attack and once more he was in the hands of nurses and doctors, who struggled hard day and night for his recovery. The proofs of the Holy Qur'an were still coming and that was his only worry. He wanted to see the Qur'an printed as early as possible. He personally looked through every detail of it. He was never contented unless he had himself compared the manuscript for the last time. His writings were dear to him like one's own child. Doctors warned him not to exert himself again but God gave him another chance. When his condition improved he left for Karachi. It was on May 31st, 1951, when his friends, relatives and followers saw him off to Karachi for the last time. He looked pale and exhausted and sat quietly in a chair. When the train whistled he stood up and with shaking legs and hands said goodbye to all who had come. The train faded away in the mist taking away the soul which was so dear and near to many hearts.

Karachi again put on him a comforting hand and within three months he finished going through the proofs of the Holy Qur'an (except those of the Index), making minor alterations here and there, at the same time sending instructions to the office as he still controlled the general administration of the

¹ Khwaja Nazir Ahmad, son of the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din.

Anjuman. This was all too heavy now for his weak constitution, but he worked and worked because he could not live without it. But the mighty pen wielded for full fifty years for the cause of Islam at last came to a stop on October 13th, 1951, at 11.30 a.m.

"O soul that art at rest! return to thy Lord, well pleased with him, well pleasing him" (The Qur'an 89 : 27-30).

The last days of Muhammad 'Ali.

He had booked his seat for Lahore by Pakistan mail on the 15th, but he arrived two days before. Five or six days earlier before his demise he became very quiet and lost all interest in things around him. He wanted to come to Lahore as early as possible. He told his attendants that he must go on the 13th otherwise it would be a bit difficult for them to take his body to Lahore. He seemed to know that his appointed time had come. Everybody tried his best to get a seat for him on the 13th of October, 1951, but it was not possible.

About a thousand people gathered at Lahore station to receive him. They lifted his body at 8 p.m. from the train with tears in their eyes. The funeral services were lead by Maulana 'Aziz Bukhsh, his elder brother, in the Mosque at Ahmadiyya Buildings. At 9.40 p.m. his body was slowly lowered into its earthly abode for eternal rest. Forty-five minutes later people showered flowers on his grave and prayed for him for the last time and slowly and sorrowfully moved out of the graveyard. It was quiet after a while. Only the pale moon was shedding its yellow light over his grave.



The last obsequies having been performed, the body of the late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali is being carried by his friends to the last resting-place

THE REFERENCES TO WINE IN THE QUR'AN

By 'ALI NASOOH al-TAHIR

The drinking of wine was common in Arabia and the environment of the Prophet Muhammad before Islam. Even in the Meccan period of the Prophet Muhammad wine was not prohibited to the believers. The Qur'an prohibited its use in stages as immediate prohibition would have been very severe on those who were addicted to it.

The chronicles on the life of the Prophet show a bitter hatred of wine on his part. Among his traditions there is not one that shows tolerance towards wine and its use. The Qur'anic references to wine show not only disapprobation but also rejection. For instance we read in the Qur'an: "And thou wilt see mankind as drunken and they will not be drunken? But the punishment of God will be severe (upon them)" (22 : 2).

It seems that the early commentators of the Qur'an were influenced by the literary spirit of the style prevailing during their times, and by the frequent references to wine among poets and prose-writers so that they explained every verse containing the words *rabiq* and *cup* to mean wine. This led them to consider the wine of the other world as not intoxicating. There are no grounds for such a consideration on their part as this is contrary to the spirit of the Qur'an and the great message of the Prophet.

In this short treatise I shall try to show the error committed by most of the commentators in their different quotations on the *rabiq*, "cup" and wine which led to the propagation of what

is commonly known at present as "the wine of the other world" which does not intoxicate, and to the exaggerated place they gave in their description of the springs and rivers of wine and also in a manner that overshadowed the other world — *jannat* — with a winy aspect unworthy of heavenly perfectness.

The Life of the Prophet Muhammad.

Let us go into the question more closely. The spirit of the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and the spirit of the Qur'anic literary style form the basis of this study.

(a) The hatred of the Prophet Muhammad for wine.

All reliable chronicles on the life of the Prophet Muhammad tend to show his fondness for pure water. He used to send for pure water from the springs of far houses if they had any. Wine is not included in his descriptions of the rivers of the other world or its luxuries. He has described the basin (*al-Haudh*) and the drink it contains, but he has not mentioned in his descriptions the wine at all. On the contrary the drink was described clearly as follows: "Its water is whiter than milk, its odour is better than musk, its cups are like stars of the sky; he who drinks of it shall never have thirst." (Cf. *al-Bukhari*; *al-Taj al-Jami'i li Usul al-Hadith*, Vol. 5, p. 403 (1935).) Tirmidhi quotes a tradition in which the Prophet Muhammad describes the

drink of the other world to 'Abu Dharr in the following words : "Its water is whiter than milk, and sweeter than honey." Describing al-Kauthar, a river in paradise, the Prophet Muhammad said : "Its banks are of gold ; its stream is of pearl and jacynth. Its soil is better than musk. Its water is sweeter than honey and whiter than snow" (*al-Bukhari ; al-Taj al-Jami'i li Usul al-Hadith*, p. 405).)

If we contemplate the vision of the Prophet Muhammad on the night of Ascension (*Israa*), it confirms this attitude towards wine. In the vision he was offered two cups. One of them contained milk, the other wine. He looked at them and chose the milk. He heard a voice whispering to him "you have chosen the right one by nature." Anas quotes the Prophet Muhammad on the same subject, "I was shown the *Sidra*¹ tree. I saw four rivers. Two of them were visible, and two were concealed. The two visible ones were the Nile and the Euphrates. The two concealed ones were two rivers of Paradise. Then three cups were offered to me, viz., one cup containing milk, a second cup containing honey and a third cup containing wine. I took the cup containing milk. I heard a voice whispering to me, 'You have well chosen by nature'."

In order to show his bitter hatred for wine we may quote what Ibn 'Umar quotes from the Prophet in this respect. He narrates that the Prophet Muhammad said, "God curses wine, its consumer, pourer, seller, purchaser, presser, applier for its pressing, carrier, and to whomsoever it is carried him." Jabir narrates that the Prophet Muhammad also said, "He who believes in God and the day of resurrection should not attend a table where wine is served."

(b) Expressions borrowed from wine are absent in the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet Muhammad.

The student of the Qur'an will observe the absolute absence of literary descriptions of wine in the Qur'an. There are no wine expressions used in its persuasive style. On the contrary, the Qur'an uses them in a dissuasive style. Thus the Qur'an has used descriptions of wine to depict painful suffering. For instance, "And thou wilt see mankind as drunken and they will not be drunken, but the punishment of God will be severe" (22 : 2). The reader will notice here that the Qur'an does not say in the style of the wine-poets, "But the mercy of God is near." The Qur'an has also described wine clearly as *rijs* (uncleanness), "O ye who believe, intoxicants and games of chance and idols and divining arrows are only an uncleanness of Satan's handiwork" (5 : 90). There is not one single expression in the Qur'an which says of the believers in paradise that they will feel as if they are drunken because of their gladness at their presence near God.

Wine style expressions are also absent in the life of the Prophet Muhammad from the poetry and prose of that period. Hassan ibn Thabit, the poet of the Prophet Muhammad did not make any verse relating to wine after he had said a verse in which he used the words about wine.

This verse which reads

Yasqoona man warada al-Bareesa² 'aleyhumoo
Baradaa² yusaffiqo bi al-Rahiq al-salsalee

he had written before he adopted Islam. A good number of the companions (*Sababi*) and followers of the Prophet Muhammad were poets and were considered first-class Arab *litterateurs*. None of them is reported to have said one

verse in which wine may have been spoken of in a laudatory manner which may resemble the wine sophisticated poems of Ibn al-Fareed and others.

The style of the Qur'an.

In my opinion there is not one verse in the Qur'an, whether mentioning the cup or *rabiq*, which absolutely means wine. I shall quote and explain hereunder all these verses : "And they will be honoured in the gardens of delight on couches facing one another. A cup from a gushing spring is brought round for them ; white, delicious to the drinkers wherein there is no headache nor any exhaustion" (37 : 42).

"There wait on them immortal youths, with bowls and ewers and a cup from a pure spring, wherefrom they get no aching of the head nor any exhaustion" (56 : 17).

"Lo ! the righteous shall drink of a cup whereof the mixture is of *kafur*, a spring wherefrom the slaves of God, drink, making it gush forth abundantly" (76 : 5).

"They shall pass therein from one to another a cup wherein there shall be nothing vain nor any sin" (52 : 23).

"There they are watered with a cup whereof the mixture is of *zanjabil*" (76 : 17).

Al-Akhfash says that the "cup" in the Qur'an means wine. Al-Hassan, Qataada and Dhahhaaq explained the verse "A cup from a gushing spring" to mean flowing wine in apparent rivers. On what did they base their opinions ? The cup in these verses was described as filled with *ma'in*. This word in the Arabic language means running water. It was never used to mean wine in Arabic expressions before Islam or in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. The Arabic dictionaries never mentioned this word to mean wine. The only meaning they attach to this is running water. The usage of the Qur'an supports this meaning in the following verses : "And we made the son of Mary and his mother a portent and we gave them refuge on a height, a place of flocks and water-springs" (*ma'in*) (23 : 50).

"Say, have you considered if your water should go down, who is it then that will bring you flowing water" (*ma'in*) (67 : 30).

Some may say that the description of the water being white and delicious to the drinkers (the Qur'an 37 : 17) and especially because it mentions that it does not cause any headache, etc., shows that it is describing wine and not water. I maintain that it is just the opposite and that the Qur'an describes the water as a favour to the believers and rebuke to the non-believers. The Qur'an says that the believers will be served in paradise with a cup of *ma'in* (which is running water). It applies to the water of springs, which is usually pure limpid water, and as it is known the water of springs is always fresh and appreciated and those like the Arabs who are deprived of it will appreciate it all the more. Indeed the whole world appreciates pure water which is preferred to any other drink. The description in the Qur'an that it is white applies either to the colour of the cup, or to it together with its content (i.e., the drink). In this case one may imagine a transparent crystalline or silver cup. Therefore appreciation here is the result of two things : (1) The water is a fresh spring water ; (2) It is served in beautiful high-class cups. The remaining part of the description in the Qur'an repeats the natural qualities of water just in the same manner as you may rebuke a man who drinks wine by saying to him, "why don't you drink this pure limpid water which does not contain any alcohol, and does not intoxicate you, instead of drinking this wine which takes captive your mind and intoxicates you ?" From

¹ The Qur'an 56 : 28. *Sidra* is the lote-tree.

² Names of rivers in Syria. Al-Barees is now called al-Ghoota.

this it becomes clear that the Qur'án is describing the real effects of water on human beings and is stating in a positive manner the qualities of water, which are the direct opposite to those of wine. This explanation applies to all verses where *rabiq*, cup or *ma'in* are quoted. The Qur'án confirmed the effect of what is contained in the Qur'anic cup in the following verse: "There they pass from hand to hand a cup wherein is neither vanity nor cause of sin" (52 : 23). This confirms that what it contains is not similar to wine; drinking-parties are often disturbed by quarrels and very seldom close happily.

The assertion that the wine of the other world does not intoxicate is strange.

The statements of different commentators that the wine of the other world does not intoxicate is really very strange. If it does not intoxicate, it should not be called wine, but pure drink (*taboor*). It would have been acceptable to call it wine by borrowing the name, if the Qur'anic style tolerated it in similar expressions. But as explained above the style of the Qur'án in this respect is very clear and decisive. It bestowed on wine an evil description, and compared it to suffering and described it as *rijs* (uncleanness). Can, then, this same *rijs* be taken as comparable to the divine drink of the other world, which was clearly described as pure: "Their Lord will slake their thirst with a pure drink" (76 : 21). The Qur'án did not say pure wine, as purity and wine cannot coincide with each other. On what then did the commentators base their opinion? They must have based it on *the rivers of wine*.

An analysis of the expression "Rivers of Wine" in the Qur'án.

Finally let us analyse in the quotations of the Qur'án the following verse:

"A similtude of the garden which those who keep their duty to God are promised. Therein are rivers of water unpolluted, and rivers of milk whereof the flavour changeth not, and rivers of wine delicious to the drinkers, and rivers of clear-run honey; therein for them is every kind of fruit with pardon from their Lord" (47 : 15). The mention of the rivers of wine in this verse seems to have been taken as a basis to prove that in the other world exist rivers of wine. If this is so, what prevents the presence of springs of wine in it? It is this that has misled the commentators who went so far in their imagination. Here I have to draw the attention of the reader of this verse to its opening words, which are "a similtude of the garden, etc." Here the Qur'án is trying to simplify to the minds of the believers the conception of the paradise which God is promising them. It is evident there is a reference to a certain land of this world and which the people knew and to which the description applies. It is the land of running water and rivers; the land of milk which is as plentiful as if it flowed in rivers; the land in which wine is plentiful as rivers, the land of clear honey plentiful as rivers. In the verse under discussion the Qur'án says that the paradise which was promised to the believers resembles the land which produces the said products. All this applies to Syria (including Palestine, i.e., the Holy Land). It is the Holy Land which was promised in the sacred books and was known as the Promised Land, or the Land of Honey and Milk and Wine. It

is the only land in the world which bears this name and of which the followers of the sacred books used to dream and which was promised to the People of the Book and also the Muslims. It is also the same land which was included in a good number of traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, considering it part of the paradise and to which applies the tradition quoted by Anas (see above) on the vision of the Prophet at Jerusalem, and in which he saw the four rivers and was brought the cups of milk, honey and wine, etc. I am of opinion that this verse concealed a prophecy of the conquest of this land and even of Mesopotamia, the latter representing the rivers of unpolluted water. The prophecy was fulfilled after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in the time of Abu Bakr and 'Omar. The Qur'án threw a light on it before its conquest and promised it to the believers, and therefore the mention of wine, honey, milk and running water was a description of the real condition of that country and to its fame for these products in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. If the Qur'án did not mention all of them, then the description could not point to Syria and the Holy Land. And as the garden in the Qur'án has different meanings, viz., world garden, other-world garden, spiritual garden, illusory garden, agricultural garden, etc., this verse does not necessarily signify the other-world garden, and I think that it defines a promise given by God to the believers to conquer Syria to which the description of the Qur'án, as well as of the other sacred books, applies. This promise was fulfilled.

This resembles very much the quotation of the Qur'án in respect of the light of God: "God is the light of the heavens and earth; a similtude of his light is as a niche wherein is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass. The glass is as if it were a shining star; (this lamp) kindled from a blessed tree, etc." (22 : 35). This verse simplifies the comprehension of the light of God to the minds of the hearers or believers and make it resemble something common known to the religious circles in the environment of the Prophet Muhammad, as the *mishkab* (niche), the lamp, the bright pure light of the olive oil, etc. All these were known to them, but it is the illustration of the Qur'án which simplified the conception of the light of God in this beautiful manner.

Conclusion.

The whole article shows us that the garden of the other world is above the uncleanness of wine or wine expressions and that the comments of certain commentators were not worthy of the perfectness of God; for they describe Him as employing expressions of vinous style, while God defined wine clearly as Satan's uncleanness and the other-world drink as *taboor* (pure). How would God then make the pure resemble the *rijs* (uncleanness)? This is not possible. It is only a common error of the commentators of the first four centuries of the Hegira, when wine figured much, especially in the poetry of that period. The total absence of the vinous style in the Qur'án, as well as in the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, as well as in the poetry in the life of Muhammad and his successors is sufficient proof that those commentators who invented springs of not intoxicating wine and described a vinous aspect of the garden of the other-world were not on the right path.

TRADE UNIONISM IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

By DR. J. HANS

The Second Islamic International Economic Conference, held in Teheran in October 1950, adopted a recommendation in favour of the establishment of a Muslim trade union federation to be formed by national trade union federations of member countries.

This resolution was adopted just five years after representatives of Muslim trade unions appeared for the first time upon the international scene; the occasions were offered by the congress of the newly constituted World Federation of Trade Unions, held in Paris in September 1945 and the International Labour Conference, which followed in October-November of the same year.

Trade unionism is indeed a comparatively young phenomenon in the world of Islam. Though there existed trade unions in a few countries (Tunisia, Dutch East Indies) during the inter-war period (1918-1939) one could not talk of a "movement", as occupational associations of workers and employees were still in their infancy even in those few countries, where they had made their first start.

Whereas, in 1939, Muslim countries which had trade unions were exceptions to the rule, nowadays the position is completely changed, as may be learned from the brief list of such countries which have not yet introduced trade unions: Afghanistan, Iraq, Jordan, Sa'udi Arabia, and the Yemen.

A broad survey.

What has happened in the comparatively short span of time between 1939 and 1951 in the domain of Muslim trade unionism? What are the really moving forces of the phenomenon of Muslim trade unions? What is the outlook for the future?

The following article is an attempt to give some answers to the above questions as far as reliable data are available and judgment possible with regard to an evolution which has so rapidly sprung up.

In giving first a general survey, let us begin with the two geographic extremes of the world of Islam, its Western and Eastern outposts: Morocco and Indonesia. It is curious to state that these two countries happen to represent also two extremes in the modern evolution of trade unions among Muslims: Moroccans do not yet have the right to form their own trade unions, while on the other hand one of the features of Indonesia's post-war social and economic evolution is the variety and complexity of trade unions and their international affiliations.

The present position of trade unions in Tunisia and Pakistan indicates a fairly progressive evolution along the traditional activities of trade unionism.

Legal and organizational conditions prevailing in Egypt and Turkey, and to a certain extent also in Iran, do not yet enable the ever-growing strata of industrial workers and employees as well as of artisans to display an adequate rôle in the field of occupational associations.

Reference should also be made to the conditions in Algeria, Syria, the Lebanon and in the Sudan, though it is rather difficult to derive general lessons from the evolution in these countries owing to their widely differing social and economic structures.

International affiliations.

As has been stated at the beginning of this article, the formation of a Muslim Trade Union Federation was suggested a year ago. The realization of this scheme would be equivalent to the emancipation of the Muslim trade unions movement from the existing two international top organizations.

The juxtaposition of two contending international trade union forces is certainly one of the causes which are advocating the establishment of a purely Muslim central organization. The existing two main forces are the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.), founded in October 1945, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), commonly termed as the "Communist" and the "Democratic" federations. The democratic top organization was formed in December 1949, after a split which had occurred in the senior federation in January 1949, when the national leaders of trade unions of the United States, Great Britain and Holland left the W.F.T.U. During the past two years or so both international federations have held their own regional conferences. The W.F.T.U. held an Asian and Australasian trade union conference in November 1949, and established a liaison office in Peking. The I.C.F.T.U. held an Asian regional conference in Karachi in May 1951, which decided to set up regional machinery for Asia and the Far East.

There is no doubt that this split has cast its shadow upon the comparatively young trade union movement in the Islamic world; a merely passive rôle or a policy of neutrality might finally lead to a situation "between hammer and anvil". It must not be overlooked that both existing top federations are recognized by the United Nations and the International Labour Organization, and they have the possibility of explaining and advocating their cases in both bodies. In the light of these facts the suggested Muslim Federation of Trade Unions is gaining special momentum.

Western conceptions versus Islamic standards.

The second world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was held in Milan (Italy) in July 1951. One of the many agenda dealt with by this meeting covered the general problem, how to develop free unions in the "underdeveloped" areas of Asia. This modern-styled term, if applied to Muslim "underdeveloped" countries, is, however, likely to obscure the real issues and the real underlying motives. The transfer of the Western conception of trade unionism, collective bargaining, solidarity of workers, etc., is not only a matter of organization. All these conceptions found little or no place in the thoughts and activities of the masses of Muslim workers until some ten years ago. Muslims have their own ideas and religious precepts about the relations between labour and capital; Western patterns are not immediately compatible either with the former tribal or village social standards of the men who have accepted employment in factories, etc., or with the rather "paternalistic" views held by the employers.

It may be recalled that the trade unions of the West experienced a long period of trial and error during the past hundred years or so before they reached their present standing in the social structures of their countries. Nevertheless, the trade unions of Western Europe have been recently blamed by the

American labour organizations for their rather weak attitude in the utilization of Marshall Aid in favour of the workers. The American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (U.S.A.) have a substantial amount of influence on the distribution of Marshall Aid. If reference is made to this recent evolution among the Western trade unions its only reason is to demonstrate that the present stage of workers' organizations, as embodied in trade unions, is by no means a final one.

It is against this background that trade unionism in Muslim countries is gradually emerging. The above-mentioned special social and moral standard on which Muslim trade unions are based is not the only difference in the evolution in the Western and Islamic world. Muslim trade unions in a number of countries, such as Indonesia and the *Maghreb* (Morocco) are also an important factor in the struggle for political and national independence. With the growth of industrialization the trade unions will become an ever-increasing item in the shaping of the new social order in the world of Islam. Their influence and force is likely to become greater than would correspond with their numerical strength.

Taking all these circumstances into account, it does not require much power of vision to foresee a "separatist" development of Islamic trade unionism. It is certainly interesting to note in this connection that a similar trend, based on religious sentiments, is noticeable also within the European trade unions, as there exist "Christian" (chiefly Catholic) trade unions in France, Italy and Western Germany, which are representing the "right wing" within the national federations of free unions.

The following more detailed survey should show whether and how far the trade union movement in the Muslim countries has fallen away from Western patterns. Let us start with the conditions in the *Maghreb*.

Conditions in the *Maghreb*.

Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia have a different political and social structure. For this reason there is a substantial variation in the trade union movement in each country. The fact that the French are present in all of them and that the territorial trade unions are affiliated to the French national centres in Paris is the most outstanding feature of the movement in the whole *Maghreb*. The three departments of Algeria are politically and administratively a part of France; Tunisia and Morocco are French protectorates, but the political standing of Tunisia is more advanced than that of Morocco. All these circumstances are reflected in the structure of the trade unions of the *Maghreb*. The national associations of the three countries are linked to the two big international centres via the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (which is Communist-dominated) or the *Force Ouvrière* (which belongs to the Confederation of Free Trade Unions). It has already been mentioned that there is no freedom to form their own trade unions among the Moroccans themselves. Apart from Tunisia, where a national independent trade union centre has been established, the outlook in the *Maghreb* is not very satisfactory for the time being.

Egypt.

As may be gathered from an official publication of the Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs (*Social Welfare in Egypt*, Cairo, 1950), the Law No. 85 of 1942 recognized unions formed by industrial and commercial workers. It provides that workers employed in one occupation, trade or craft or similar occupations, trades or crafts, may form unions to protect their rights and help improve their material or social conditions. To protect union members, the law imposes a penalty on an employer who dismisses one of his employees for union activity or imposes a

punishment on him to compel him to withdraw from the union or because he carries out a decision of the union. All lawsuits brought under this law, whether by the union or one of its members, are exempt from court fees.

Under the terms of the law, trade unions are not allowed to extend their activities to the political or religious domains.

Special regulations prohibit desertion of duty or stoppage of work in operations or institutions of public importance.

Trade unions in Egypt are still very largely on a local (and sometimes only on a factory) basis. There is no national trade union centre; recently a beginning was made with the formation of some national industrial unions.

The Sudan.

There are some 45 trade unions, which formed the "Sudan Trade Union Federation" at the end of 1950. The country was frequently troubled by strikes (including railwaymen and police) in 1950 and 1951 which seemed to indicate that the freedom of association enjoyed by the Sudanese workers and employees (a freedom denied to the Muslim workers of Morocco) is not yet properly invested.

The Lebanon and Syria.

A feature of these two Levantine republics is that their trade unions are split between the two big international centres: the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Junior International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It is interesting to recall that a Lebanese Communist leader represented the Middle East on the executive committee of the World Federation after its foundation in September, 1945. As a matter of fact there are two national federations (the *Fédération Syndicale des Ouvriers et Employés du Liban* and the *Congrès Ouvrier Syrien*), which, though practically working underground, are strongholds of the Communist Party and affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The non-Communist trade unions of the two republics are federated in their own national centres: the *Ligue des Syndicats des Ouvriers et Employés* (affiliated to the International Confederation), and the *Union Générale des Syndicats Ouvriers en Syrie*, which is said to be independent.

It should, however, be borne in mind that neither the Lebanon nor Syria are typical Muslim countries; the population of 1,200,000 of the Lebanon includes a Muslim minority of some 40 per cent, and the President of the republic is by custom a Christian. In Syria there are some 2,500,000 Muslims in a total population of some 3,000,000. Thus the evolution of trade unionism in these two countries does not reflect the traditional social structure and political standing of Muslim countries.

Turkey.

"Labour Problems in Turkey" is the title of a report of a Mission of the International Labour Office published in Geneva in 1950. This mission visited Turkey from March to May, 1949, in response to a request of the Government of the Turkish Republic. The five members of the Mission have made very careful investigations of labour conditions of the country and summarized their findings in a number of recommendations submitted to the Government of Ankara. The Report has also been published in Turkish by the Turkish Ministry of Labour. The following statements are *verbatim* quotations from this Report: "Since 1936, relations between employers and employees have been governed by provisions of the Labour Code, which regulates employment, contracts, and the organization of work, prohibits strikes and lock-outs, and establishes compulsory conciliation and arbitration procedures for the prevention and settlement of

disputes. The Code applies, generally speaking, to persons partly or wholly engaged in the performance of manual work in undertakings where at least ten persons are normally employed."

After the enactment of a number of traditional regulations "the Trade Union Act of 20th February, 1947, was enacted. Under this Act occupational organizations could be formed freely for the purpose of mutual aid and of protecting and representing the common interests of their members and could engage in a number of activities."

But owing to certain formerly introduced legal provisions, not abolished by the Trade Union Act, 1947, "the activities of employees' organizations have been largely channelled to mutual benefit activities, which are necessarily limited by their financial resources. These activities are beneficial and necessary to the employees, but they are not the main functions of trade unions."

The Report further states that the progress of organization has not reached the stage where a national trade union movement is being contemplated. The right of employees' and employers' organizations to join an international organization is subject to the decision of the Council of Ministers. As a matter of fact, Turkish (and also Egyptian) trade unions are not yet linked with the international centres, and this abstention is likely to continue until an International Muslim Trade Union Federation will emerge in the future.

A more recent review of trade unionism in Turkey is contained in an article of the *International Free Trade Union News* (August, 1951, New York, issued by the American Federation of Labour). Its author, an American, has returned from a trip to Turkey, which he undertook as a mission for the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Though Turkey is described as being one of the most socially stable countries in the entire Middle Eastern area, the American author thinks that "the election of the Democratic Party in a landslide vote in May, 1950, was, in part, due to the stirring of the masses, both in the workshops and on the farms, who identified their hope for a little better life with the slogans of that party — one of which was a promise to grant a greater amount of freedom in the field of labour unions".

Iran.

Another mission of the International Labour Office studied the "Labour Conditions in the Oil Industry in Iran" in January and February 1950. The Report was issued in Geneva in 1950, and contains very instructive information about an industrial area which is standing in the limelight of international interest since the Oil Nationalization Law was enacted by the Iranian Parliament in March 1951. As in the case of the Turkish mission the Iranian one was arranged at the invitation of the Government of Teheran; the mission consisted of three members, one of them being an Iranian on the staff of the Labour Office. The mission spent six weeks in Persia and, though it was chiefly engaged in the study of the oil labour conditions, its findings cover also the general situation of relations between labour and capital of the whole country.

The following data are freely rendered from the contents of the monograph issued by the International Labour Office.

Trade unionism is of recent growth in Iran. The need for it was not felt until factory industries began to develop in the country, and such industries have not grown up only in the last 25 years. Before the second world war, trade unionism in Iran was suppressed, and during the war little was known about the local workers' organizations. They appeared on the international scene from September to November, 1949, at the meetings of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labour Conference held in those months in Paris. At that time there were four main trade union organizations in Iran, which claimed a combined membership of some 400,000 industrial and agricultural workers and peasants. One of these four organizations — the Central Council of Workers and Agricultural Workers (153,000 members) — was closely associated with the Tudeh Party, a political movement, which has come under Communist influence. To counteract the influence of Tudeh and the Central Council, a new organization, called the Federation of Trade Unions of Iranian Workers (known by the abbreviation of its Persian name as E.S.K.I.) was formed, which later joined the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The Central Council continued its activity, however, though it lost much of its support.



The Tunisian Trade Union Leader, Mr. Farbat Hashshad, is addressing a meeting. To the left of Mr. Hashshad is Mr. Ibrahim 'Abdullah, the Secretary General of the Tunisian Agriculturalists Union (Union Generale des Agriculteurs Tunisiens)

The legal position of trade unions is defined in the first Labour Law, which came into force in May, 1946. This Law dealt with the following subjects: formation of trade unions, penalties against persons causing individuals by force or menace to join unions or preventing them from joining unions, action to be taken if a union exceeded its prescribed rights or limits or if it disturbed public order. Unions should be formed for the defence of the occupational interests of workers and employees in the same occupation or belonging to the same undertaking.

Oil workers' trade unions were formed as completely separate bodies and until recently had little contact with the trade union movement in the other parts of the country.

It is pointed out in the Report of the International Labour Office that the Iranian workers have only a brief experience of trade union activities; consequently the sense of solidarity and mutual help is not yet sufficiently developed to enable the unions to function with full efficiency.

Pakistan.

A Muslim trade union movement of particular importance is that of Pakistan, as its origin coincided with the birth of this State on 15th August 1947. As a result of some four years of freedom of association on a religious basis, the number of members of Pakistani trade unions is 390,000, and the number of unions some 210.

The overwhelming majority of Pakistani workers and employees — some 160 unions and 320,000 members — is unified in the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour, which is

affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Its main strength is among dock, railway, inland waterways and agricultural workers. There are separate headquarters in Western and Eastern Pakistan, at Karachi and Narayanganj respectively. The move towards the unification of the non-Communist trade union forces of the country began in the early part of 1949 and was ratified at the first Congress of the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour, held at Karachi in September 1950.

The Pakistan Trade Union Federation, which is reported to have its main strength in the Punjab, is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. At its second annual conference, held at Lahore in April 1950, it claimed 70,000 members in some 50 unions; this would be equivalent to some 18 per cent of the total number of organized workers of the country.

Indonesia.

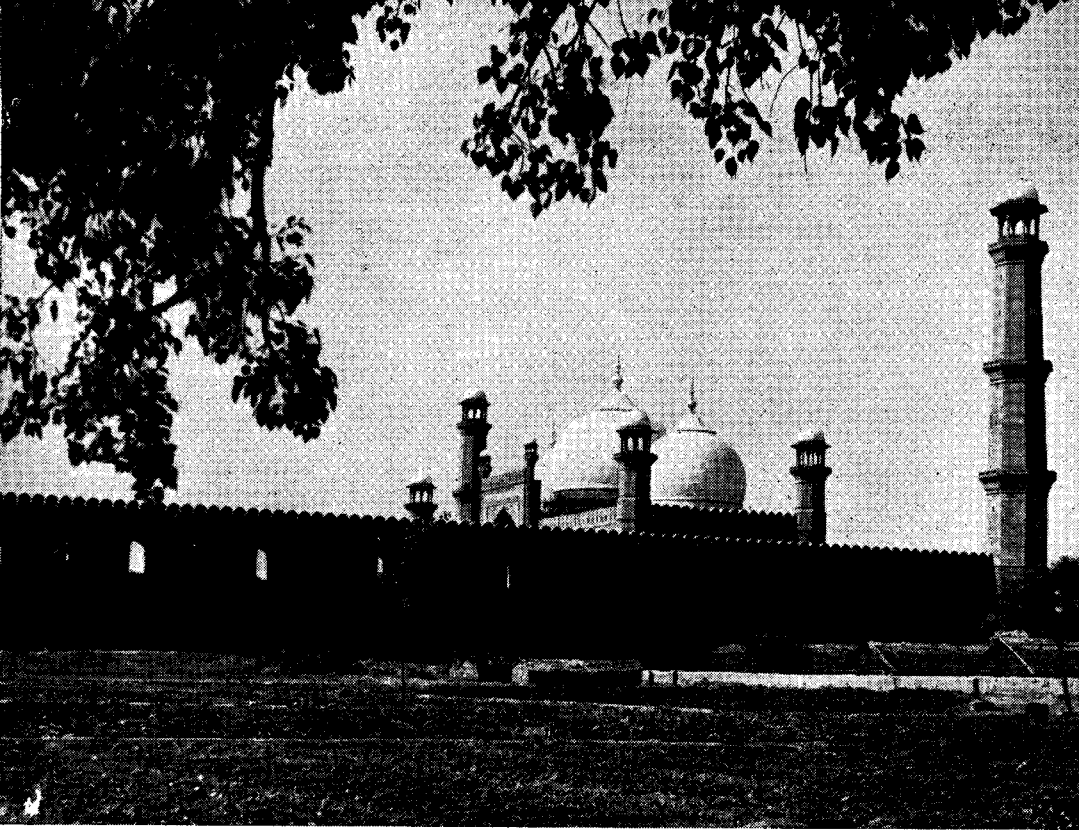
It is difficult to outline the present position of trade unionism in the Republic of Indonesia. After the overthrow of the Japanese *régime* in August, 1945, there was a continued emergence, merger, split and disappearance of workers' and employees' organizations. The largest groups of organized workers were dockers, plantation, railway and oil workers. Indonesia is certainly one of the strongholds of the World Federation of Trade Unions in South-Eastern Asia, though there exist many independent local unions, most of them open to European and Chinese members. It may be recalled in this connection that Indonesia, though being overwhelmingly populated by Muslims, has not declared itself as an Islamic State, as did Pakistan in 1947.

MOON AND STARS

Trembling under the breath of dawn,
The fearful stars said to the moon:
"About us lies heaven's changeless scene,
Where we exhausted shine, must shine:
Our task at morn and eve to rove —
To move, to move, for evermore!
No rest has any, even the thing
Called motionless, in this world's throng:
The harsh decrees of motion tax
Us all, stars, men and trees, and rocks.
But shall this journeying ever cease,
Or show our eyes some halting-place?"

"O my companions," said the moon,
"You who Night's harvest-acres glean!
To inquietude all life belongs;
This is the ancient doom of things.
Swift runs the shadowy steed of time,
Lashed by desire's whip into foam;
And there's no halting on that path,
For hidden in repose lurks death:
They that press onward triumph; that
Which loiters is trampled underfoot.
The goal of all this haste is Beauty:
Its cradle Love, its haven Beauty."

—Iqbal.



The Badshahi Mosque at Lahore, Pakistan, built in 1673 C.E. by the Moghul Emperor, Aurangzeb

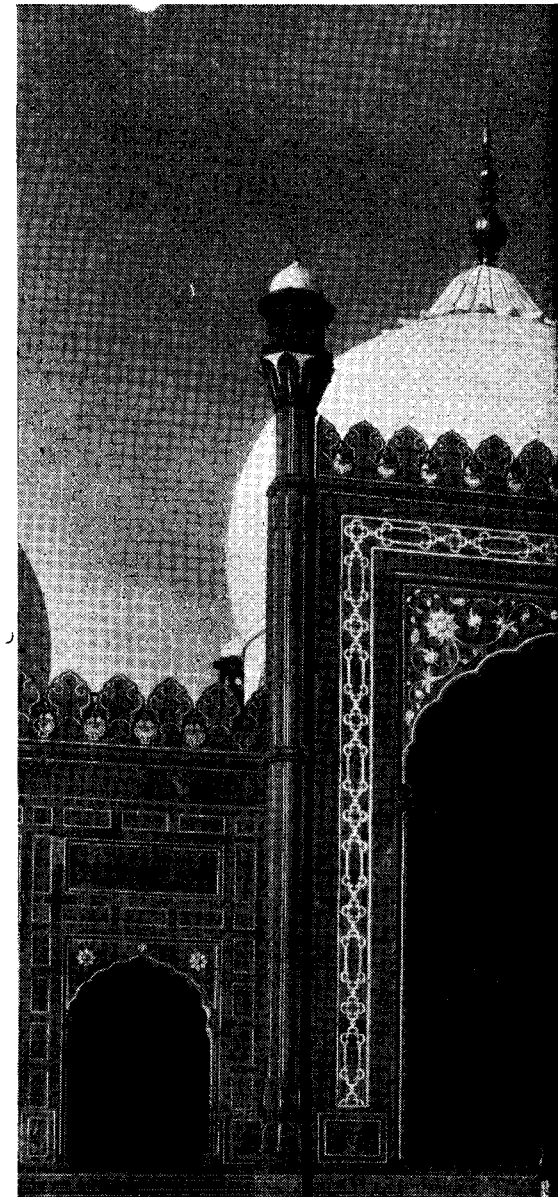
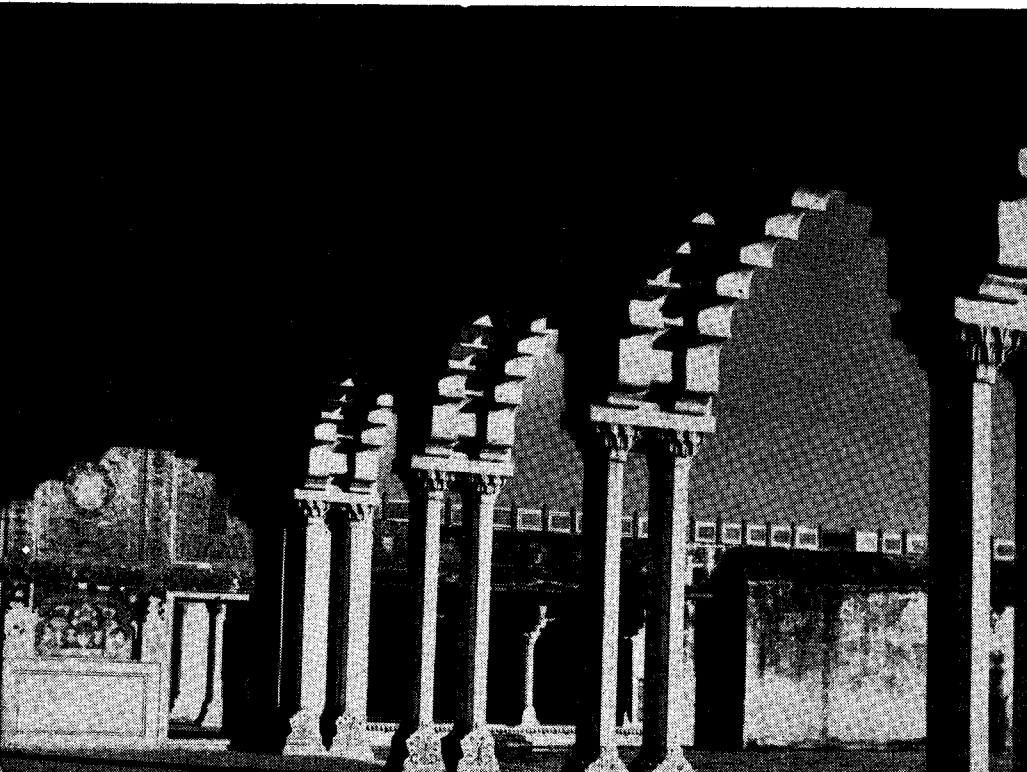
MOGHUL ARCHITECTURE AT LAHORE PAKISTAN

A closer view of the central arched entrance at Lahore, built by Emperor Aurangzeb in 1673 C.E. The entrance is decorated with floral marble inlay ornaments.



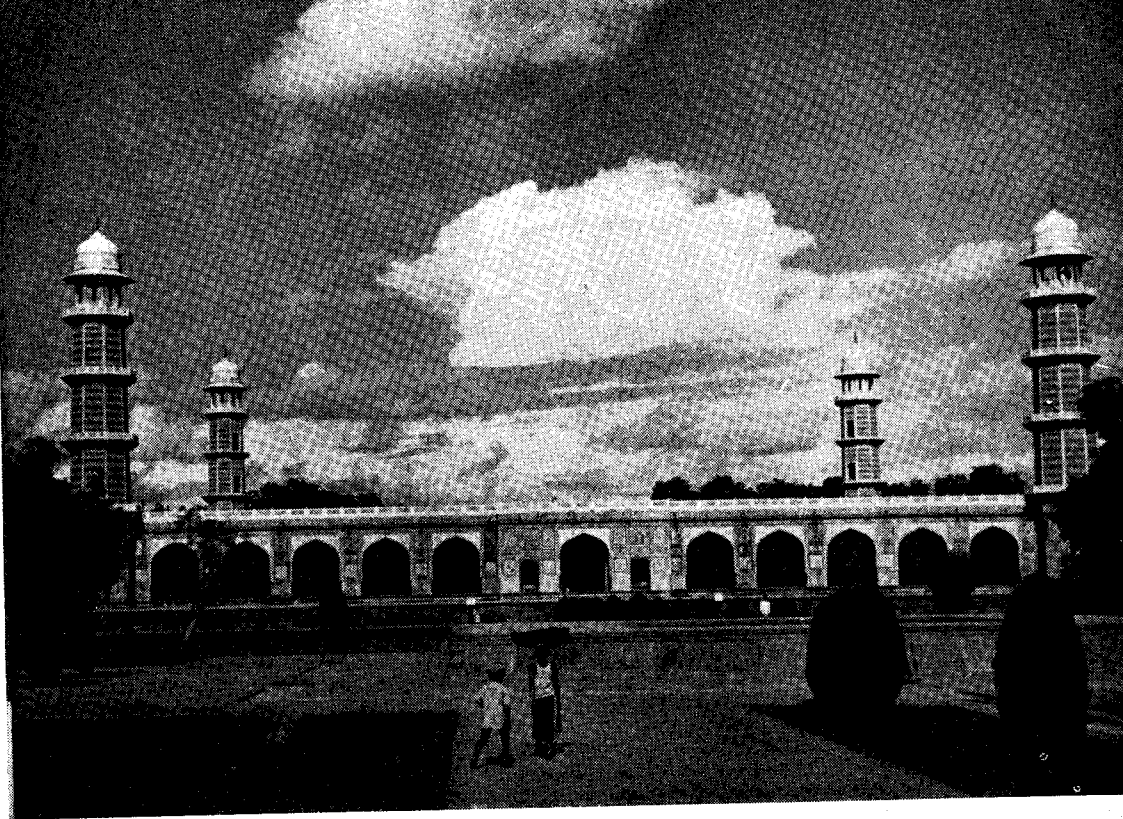
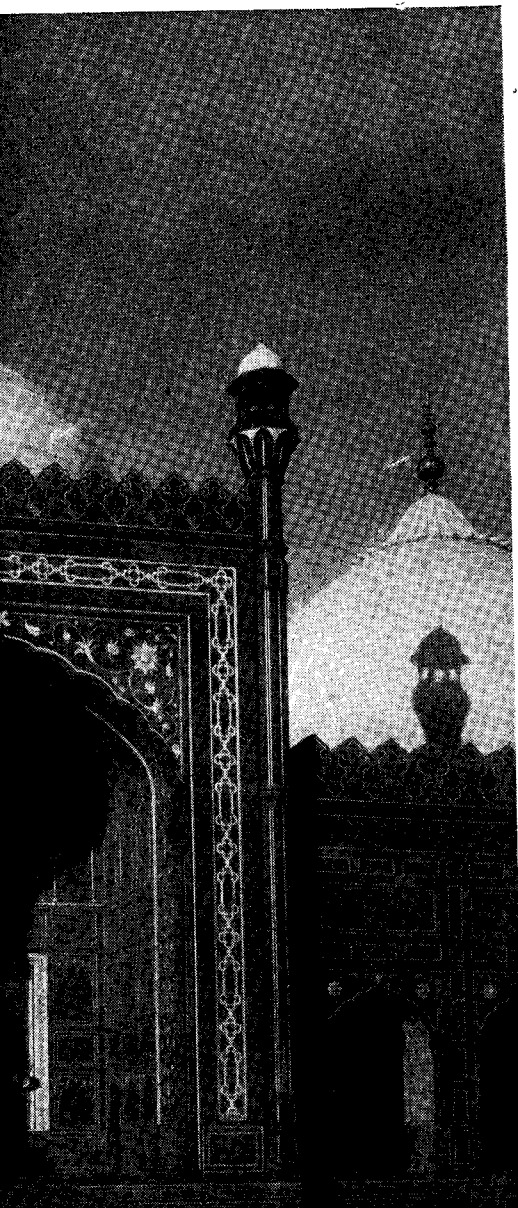
Shish Mahal (the Palace of Mirrors) the Fort, Lahore

This part of the Fort is renowned for its excellent inlay decoration. It was built in 1633 C.E.



HITECTURE IORE TAN

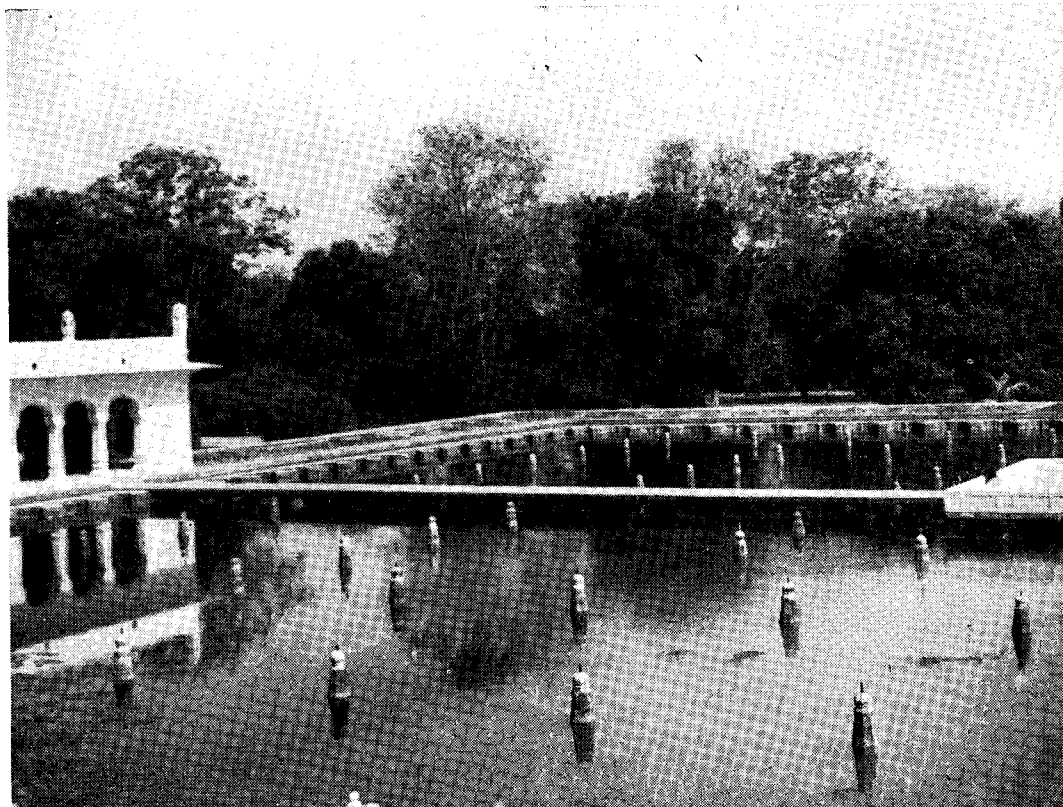
*the Prayer Hall of the Badshahi Mosque
1633 C.E., showing details of geometric and
red sandstone masonry*



*The tomb of the Moghul Emperor Jahangir (1595-1627 C.E.) at Shahdara,
near Lahore, Pakistan*



*The Shalimar (Home of Bliss) Bagh at Lahore, Pakistan
Three miles east of Lahore are the famous gardens called the Shalimar Bagh.
This building is a pleasure garden with pavilions, waterways, cascades and
carefully laid out flower-beds. This garden was built by the Moghul Emperor,
Shah Jehan, in 1637 C.E.*



MOGHUL ARCHITECTURE IN LAHORE

By H. K. BURKI, A.R.P.S.

Through a prolonged and persistent isolation, Indian architecture had come to a dead end. Static and undue uniformity had led to a progressive deterioration. It was only the advent of Muslim rule in Delhi at the close of the 12th century C.E. which provided the country with an infusion of new ideas that it so badly needed.

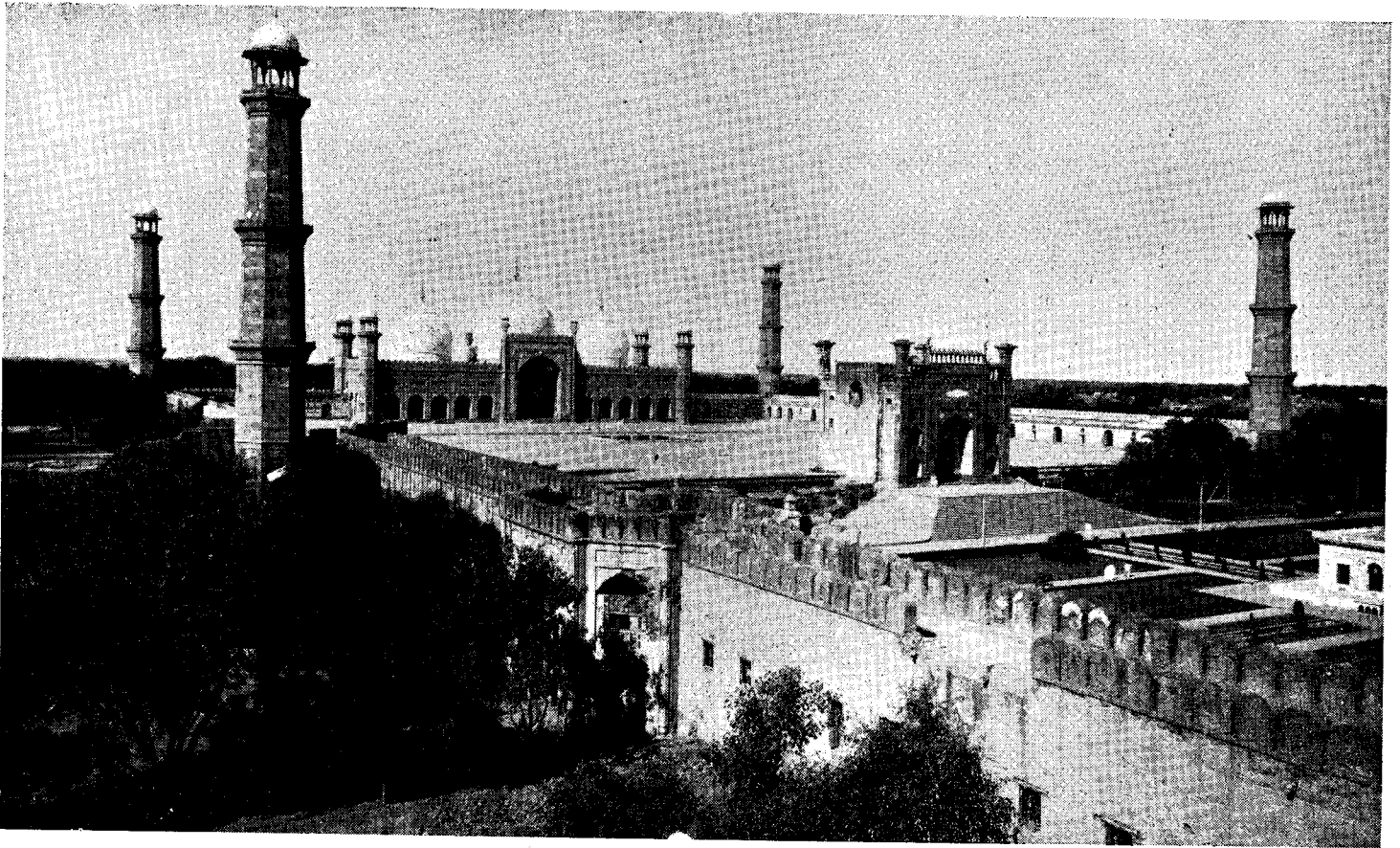
Although the building activities of the earlier Muslim monarchs had made a notable contribution towards the later development of this art, it was during the Moghul dynasty's régime that Islamic architecture in India achieved its greatest glory. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the "Great Moghuls" constructed buildings on a lavish scale, some of which are masterpieces of the building art. And unlike the Hindus who devoted themselves almost exclusively to the construction of temples, the Moghuls built a great variety of buildings.

The power and wealth of the vast empire and fairly settled conditions almost throughout the whole country gave a definite impetus to these building projects, but the driving force, the principal factor behind it all, was undoubtedly the cultured outlook, good taste and highly developed artistic ideals of the aesthetic Moghul rulers themselves, Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb — all intellectually far superior

to the people around them and with an inherent love of art. These six successive rulers built forts, palaces, magnificent mosques, beautiful gardens and even entire cities. Their efforts were confined mainly to Delhi, Agra and Lahore — the three imperial cities. Although at Delhi and Agra the Moghuls built some of their finest buildings, Lahore, the capital of Akbar for 14 years, received their attention equally well.

Babar.

Babar, the founder of the dynasty, and his son Humayun no doubt laid the foundations of the movement, but their contribution as compared with what followed after them was negligible. It was Akbar who gave the Moghul style of architecture a concrete shape. One of the first buildings that he constructed was the Lahore Fort. Forming a parallelogram of 1,200 feet by 1,050 feet, this palace fortress, contained within a high bastioned wall, was built with two divisions of fairly equal spaces, one essentially for the official and service buildings and the other reserved for the royal palaces. The remains of Akbar's constructions inside this fortress, especially the carvings and brackets of these buildings in red sandstone, show designs of great charm and fancy.



A general view from south-east of the premier Mosque of Pakistan—the Badshahi Mosque—at Lahore. This Mosque is the most spacious Mosque in the East. Our picture shows the vast open court and the landscape in front of the main entrance.

The Badshahi Mosque built by the Moghul Emperor, Aurangzeb, in 1674 C.E., has recently been repaired

Jahangir.

Jahangir's reign (he ascended the throne in 1605 C.E.) was relatively uneventful. Unlike his father, he paid more attention to the minor arts, e.g., miniature paintings. Still, he did undertake building projects, and by far the most important of these was his own mausoleum at Shahdara on the banks of the Ravi, just outside Lahore. Most of it seems to have been constructed after his death under the direction of his consort, Nur Mahal Begum. Built in the centre of an immense garden enclosed by a high brick wall, the square one-storey tomb was embellished with four 100-foot-high minarets, one at each corner. The building in comparison with other similar specimens would not have been greatly impressive, but the minarets, ornamented with inlaid stones, frescoes and mosaic tiles, more than made up for the poverty of conception in its main design. Its spaciousness and the setting of the building were quite in keeping with the spirit and character of this nature-loving monarch. Even after three hundred years, to-day as you enter the gardens of this building this effect at once becomes obvious.

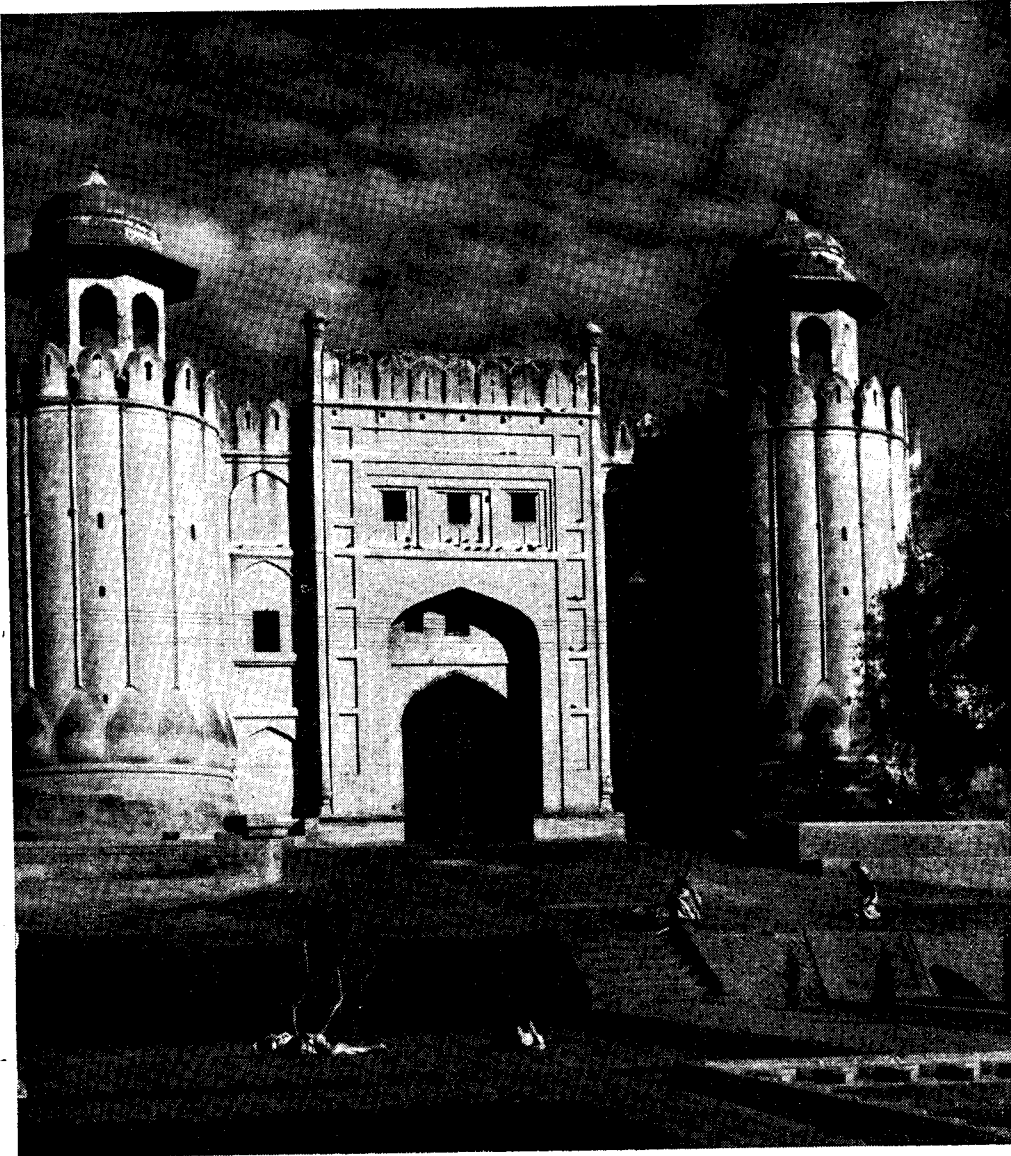
Shah Jahan.

With Shah Jahan arrived the golden era of Moghul architecture. As active as his grandfather Akbar, Shah Jahan, the

creator of the Taj Mahal, revolutionized the style with his extensive and intelligent use of marble. One of his earliest contributions was the removal of Akbar's stone buildings inside the Lahore Fort and in their place the construction of the Shish Mahal (the Palace of Mirrors), the Diwan-i-'Am, and some other minor buildings. In spite of the fact that during the troublous times that followed the collapse of Moghul power in the Punjab many a building was damaged and allowed to decay, these buildings still retain much of the beauty that Shah Jahan's architects infused into them.

Most of the Moghul buildings had well-planned parks attached to them, but quite a few large-scale gardens were built on their own. Shah Jahan laid out the Shalimar Bagh in Lahore — the most notable example of landscape architecture in the plains. Built in 1637, this garden of 1,600 feet by 700 feet was embellished with fountains, pools, water-channels, paved pathways, flower-beds and imposing pavilions. Maintained in a fairly good condition, to-day the gardens provide the citizens of Lahore with a beautiful and conveniently placed pleasure resort.

While Shah Jahan was busy creating stone and marble buildings in great profusion at Delhi and Agra, a completely different style was becoming manifest in the Punjab, where brick



*The gateway of the Fort at Lahore,
Pakistan*

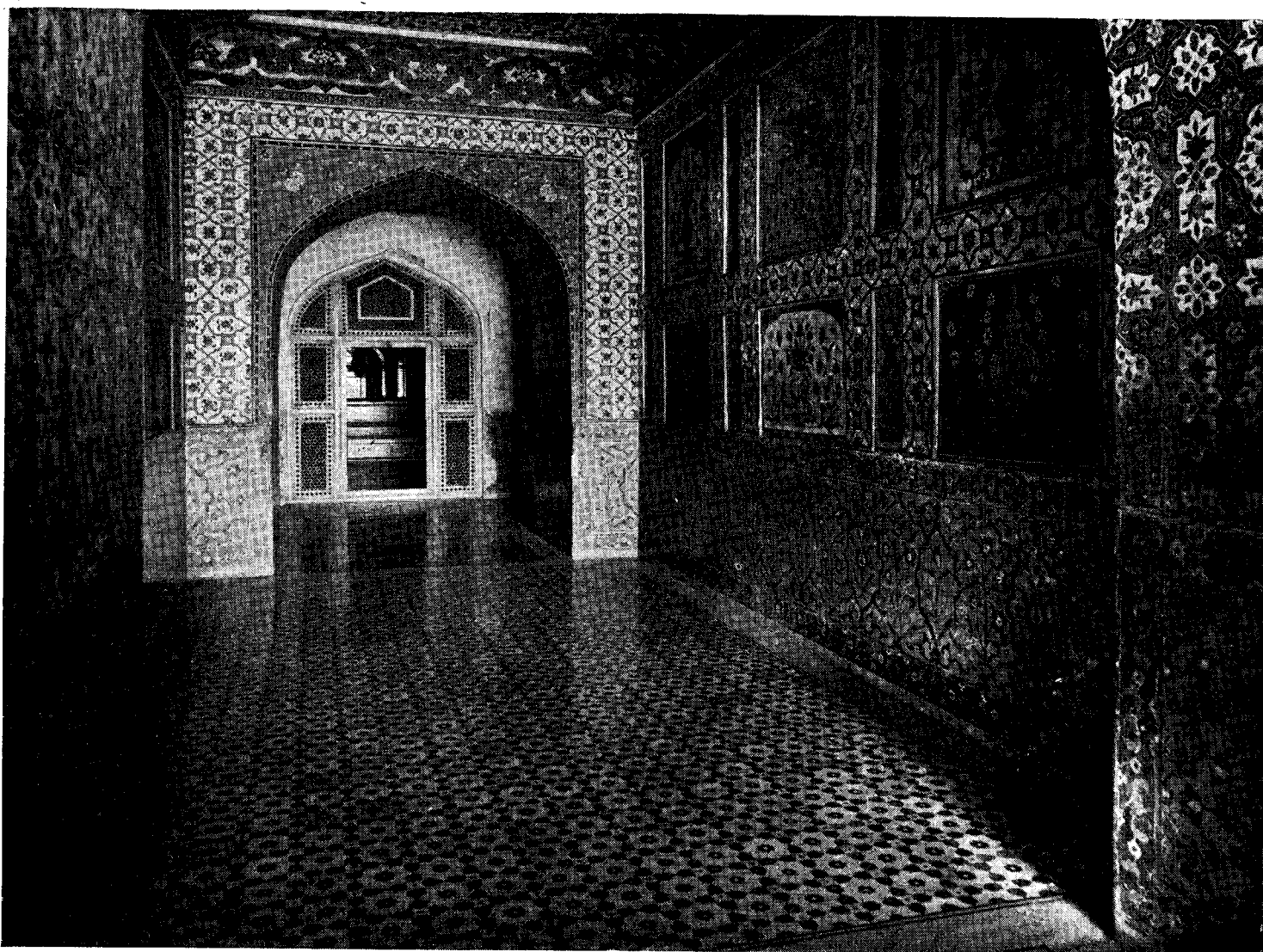
masonry was exclusively used and patterns of brilliantly coloured glazed tiles supplied the main form of decoration. There were two reasons for this development. First, the lack of supply of stone, necessitating the use of more easily available and long-established use of bricks, and secondly, the influence of Persia, where at that time the Safavid art was at the height of its glory. The finest specimen of this style of Moghul architecture is the Wazir Khan's Mosque in old Lahore. Planned on the conventional style, the mosque was built in 1634. Both its exteriors and interiors were extensively ornamented with floral patterns, verses from the Holy Qur'an, and glazed tiles. Hemmed in by the higgledy-piggledy houses of old Lahore, as it is, and much of its beauty marred by the ugly surroundings, this colourful building still displays the characteristics of a vigorous style quite effectively.

Aurangzeb.

The Emperor Aurangzeb, the last of the "Great Moghuls", spent so much of his time campaigning against his enemies in

the south that he could not possibly devote the same amount of energy in raising monuments as his predecessors had done. Nevertheless, he did make his contribution, and it was only fitting that this pious and devoted Muslim should have constructed a mosque, large enough to accommodate 65,000 people. Erected in 1674 by his Master of Ordnance, the imposing Badshahi Masjid, though conforming to the established style, was provided with a novel feature. Instead of the usual four, the builder introduced eight minarets, four at the corners of the enclosure and four on the sanctuary itself. The effect was at once pleasing.

Badly damaged by an earthquake, the Badshahi Masjid has been undergoing repairs for the past ten years or so. Its renovation having recently been completed, to-day the mosque looks as good as new. The Muslims of Lahore who congregate here for 'Id prayers may well feel proud because in their town is one of the biggest mosques in the world and the premier mosque of Pakistan — the largest Muslim State in the world.



The Mausoleum of Emperor Jahangir (died 1627 C.E.)

Our picture shows a view of a part of the interior depicting fresco-painted walls, marble floor and refined marble tracery panels of the door leading into the tomb chamber

MOROCCO — BOND OR FREE?

By ROM LANDAU

“ After 39 years of the Protectorate the first question you are asked if, in case of illness or an accident, you telephone for an ambulance is whether you are Moorish or French, for, if the former, a very inferior type of ambulance will be dispatched to collect your dying mother or your child who has just broken a leg. After 39 years of the Protectorate there are still only 250 State-employed doctors for the native population of almost 9 million ; there are, however, 14,000 policemen to keep that population ‘in order’. It took the French 38 years to establish the first school for future Moorish administrators, and even now it is limited to 50 pupils only ”

Only those people who in the past accepted French propaganda on the subject of Morocco at its face value were surprised by recent developments in that country. If you happened to be better acquainted with Moorish events, you realized that the situation in the Maghreb was becoming critical. Though the crisis of February 1951 may be said to have been brought about by the Sultan's historic visit to Paris in November 1950, its deeper causes have to be sought in events that lie much further back, in fact in the very history of Morocco. For however beneficial the French Protectorate, established in 1912, might at first have been to everyone concerned, sooner or later it was bound to become an anomaly. True enough, by 1912 the Maghreb found itself in a bad state ; nevertheless it formed a clearly defined national entity, and it could look back at more than a thousand years of unbroken independence and at a magnificent cultural past. The French came to Morocco not as conquerors but as tutors and reformers ; the Sultan retained his sovereignty and his own government (Makhzen), and only the conduct of foreign affairs and national defence became a French monopoly. So long as Marshal Lyautey was French Resident General the stipulations of the Treaty of Fez of 1912 were faithfully adhered to ; but after his recall in 1925 the French came to treat Morocco as a colony, and they paid far greater attention to the advancement of their own nationals on Moorish soil than to that of the natives whose progress they had solemnly promised to encourage.

What the French Protectorate has done.

There is no denying that at first French rule was of great benefit to the Moors. Lawlessness was stamped out, a fertile economic life was initiated, and the country came to enjoy many of the benefits of modernization. But good government means more than efficient railways, good roads and thriving factories, and a nation is surely more than merely an economic entity. In the human, social, cultural and educational spheres the French can hardly claim to have kept their promises. After 39 years of their rule only 7 per cent of native children find accommodation in schools, whereas for the children of French settlers the ratio is 100 per cent ; for French patients there is one hospital bed per 185 people, for Moorish ones — one per 2.105. After 39 years of the protectorate the first question you are asked if, in case of illness or an accident, you telephone for an ambulance is whether you are Moorish or French, for, if the former, a very inferior type of ambulance will be dispatched to collect your dying mother or your child who has just broken a leg. After 39 years of the Protectorate there are still only 250 State-employed doctors for the native population of almost 9 million ; there are, however, 14,000 policemen to keep that population “in order”. It took the French 38 years to establish the first school for future Moorish administrators, and even now it is limited to 50 pupils only. No wonder the French never cease saying that the Moors are not ready to administer themselves. After 39 years of the Protectorate natives can still be imprisoned

without trial, and even condemned to hard labour, solitary confinement, or to a life sentence. None of the nationalist leaders who had spent many long years either in French prisons or in exile ever appeared before a judge or had a trial.

However open to criticism certain aspects of British colonial administration in Africa might be, it encourages indirect rule and the establishment of native councils with a great measure of legislative and executive power. In Morocco even today legislation is imposed from above by the Residency, and executive power is vested exclusively in either the countless departments of that Residency or in French Governors (*Chefs de Region*) and District officers. Even a Pasha or Caid chosen by the protectors themselves has no power to oppose himself to the verdict of a District Officer. The representatives of the Sultan's Makhzen within the French administration are mere figure-heads without any executive power ; moreover, in the preponderance of cases, they are not nominees of their own sovereign but of the Resident General. After 39 years not even a nucleus of a legislative chamber has been formed, and the country is still awaiting its first democratic elections. The French have indeed proposed to the Sultan that municipal elections be held ; but since they wished to give the French minority of fewer than 5 per cent the same number of representatives as would speak in the name of the 95 per cent of Moors, the Sultan naturally rejected the proposal. As a result, French propagandists have ever since described him as an autocrat opposed to democratic measures.

The Nationalist Movements of Morocco.

Under the prevailing conditions it was inevitable that a strong nationalist movement should be born, and that its aim could be nothing less than full independence. Originally only the Istiqlal party made independence its central aim. There were also the smaller parties of Nasiri, Ouezzani and Torres which at first were prepared to limit their demands to the granting of individual reforms. But as a result of French intransigence during the Sultan's visit to Paris in 1950 and of the subsequent crisis, even these leaders realized that only full independence could safeguard the rights of the Moroccan nation. So, together with the Istiqlal, they formed this year a common front that refuses to negotiate with the French so long as a definite and dated promise of independence is not given.

The founder of the Istiqlal party is 'Allal al-Faasi, a scholar and poet of distinction, a leader of rare integrity, and the idol of the Moorish people. Today both he and his party can claim to speak for every politically-conscious Moor, whether Arab or Berber. Though the French try to discredit him and his party by claiming that they represent a mere handful of disgruntled intellectuals and rich merchants, the length to which the Residency went during the crisis of 1950 in an effort to suppress the party revealed the spuriousness of such assertions. In reality the French know only too well that the Istiqlal has come

The picture was taken during the Casablanca Conference in January 1943 when the Sultan of Morocco was the guest of Mr. Roosevelt at a dinner

The only member, writes Mr. Harry Hopkins (The White House Papers of Harry Hopkins, Vol. II, page 687, London 1949, quoted by Mr. Rom Landau in his book The Sultan of Morocco, London, 1951) who appeared to take no interest in the conversation, or in fact in the entire dinner party, was Mr. Churchill, who from the very beginning had taken a glum view of the occasion. Already on the day before, he had sent a note to Harry Hopkins in which he referred to the Sultan's forthcoming visit in the following words, "Dinner at the White House (Dry alas!) with the Sultan. After dinner, recovery from the effects of the above." Not surprisingly when the dry feast in due course materialized, the British Premier was "glum and seemed to be real bored".

The Sultan, who respects the traditions of Islam and behests of the Qur'an, drinks no alcohol even to please his hosts.

The Feast of the Throne, the anniversary of the Sultan of Morocco's accession, was celebrated throughout Morocco on the 18th November, 1951.



The Sultan, in his speech from the throne, advised his subjects to preserve order by acting with circumspection and caution. "We will spare no effort for the sake of the nation and the defence of its interests until it achieves its hopes." For this purpose, the Sultan said, he had gone to Paris last year and laid the two memoranda before the French Government calling for a Franco-Moroccan convention which placed relations with France on a new basis, while safeguarding the interests of the "different elements" in the Empire chérifien.

So far, the Sultan pointed out in his speech, nothing had occurred in connection with the memoranda, which requested the opening of negotiations for the substitution of a Franco-Moroccan convention for the existing Protectorate treaty. In his speech the Sultan repeated his request to the French Government. The Sultan also made a reference to the bond constituted by the Islamic faith

to symbolize Morocco. They also know that the Sultan completely identifies himself with the party's aims. But since the French have to exercise a certain reserve in attacking the sovereign himself, they always concentrate their attacks on the Istiqlal.

It is only since the momentous crisis of February 1951 that the world has gained some knowledge of the Sultan's personality and of his qualities as a national leader. A profoundly religious man, unswervingly loyal to the precepts of Islam, Sidi Muhammad V is at the same time very progressive-minded and anxious to guide his people along strictly democratic lines. Realizing that within the framework of the existing Protectorate treaty his country has no chance to assume its rightful position within the comity of nations, he requested the French in 1950 to revoke that treaty and to replace it by a less antiquated political agreement. By refusing even to consider his demand, the French Government unwittingly provoked the crisis which they then used as an excuse for waging their war against the Istiqlal and against the Sultan himself.

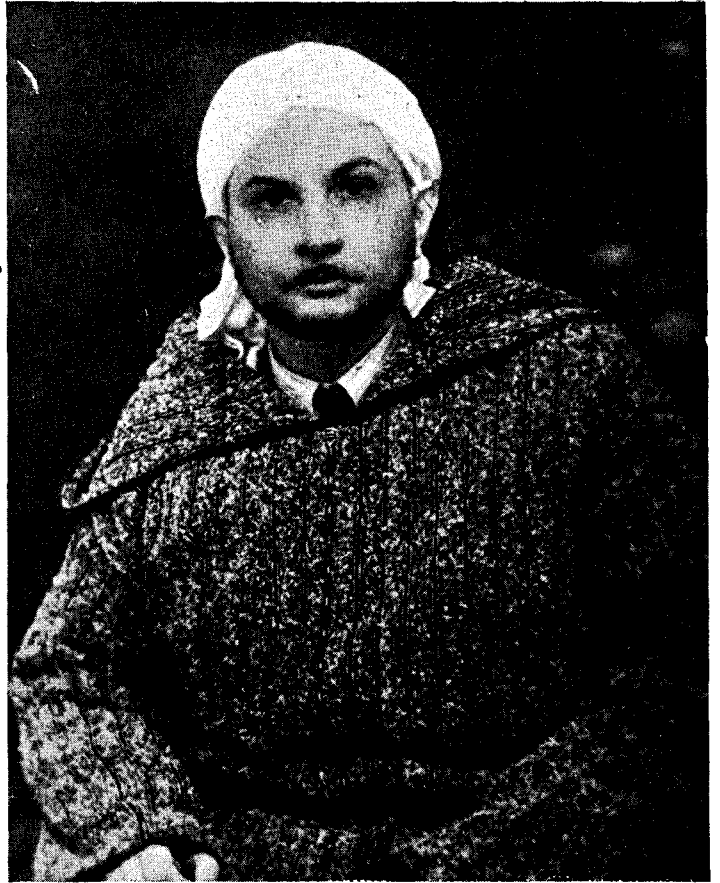
The effect of the crisis of February 1951.

Though by now the crisis has become part of modern history, it is nevertheless worth recalling that, in order to stamp out Morocco's independence movement, the French authorities

were prepared to provoke bloodshed and civil war. In their attempt to induce the Sultan to proclaim a solemn condemnation of the Istiqlal, General Juin threatened the monarch with deposition; he then brought French and Senegalese troops into the main cities, and finally, he incited Berber tribes from the Middle Atlas and the Glaoui country to march on the capital. It was only to prevent the outbreak of an artificially manufactured civil war that the monarch accepted most of Juin's demands, except the one concerning the Istiqlal.

At first it appeared that it was General Juin who emerged victorious from the crisis. But soon it became obvious that he had overplayed his hand, and that France was the main loser. The latent discontent of the Moors became known throughout the world, and the Moroccan problem was at last brought into the light of day. The Sultan emerged from the crisis with his prestige greatly enhanced, and the independence movement gained added popularity. But what counted, perhaps, most was the reaction of the Muslim world at large. From Algeria to Pakistan and Indonesia Muslims realized for the first time that without their active support their Moorish brothers stood little chance of improving their tragic lot. The conscience of the Islamic world was awakened. Pakistan and Egypt dispatched special delegations of observers to study the Moroccan problem

(Right) Mr. 'Allah al-Faasi, a scholar and poet of distinction, the leader of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco. He has passed a good number of years of his life in exile imposed on him by the French Colonial authorities in Morocco. He, like many other Moroccan Nationalist leaders, is not allowed to enter French Morocco



(Left) Al-Hajj Ahmad Balafrij, one of the progenitors of the Nationalist Movement in Morocco, is Secretary-General of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco. Mr. Balafrij, like all those people who work for the assertion of the rights of their countries, had to pass a few years in Corsica where the French Colonial authorities had exiled him

on the spot. Though the French would not permit them to enter their zone of Morocco, the international city of Tangier and the Spanish zone offered them sufficient opportunities for gathering all the requisite material. For the first time these Muslim observers realized the tremendous difficulties under which all Moorish patriots laboured. They learned that 'Allal al-Faasi was not allowed to return to his native town, Fez, and that a number of other leaders had to put up with a day-to-day existence at Tangier because the French would not allow them to return to their homes, families and jobs in French Morocco. It was only then they realized that 'Allal al-Faasi had been for many years expelled to Gabon, that Haj Ahmad Balafrej, the secretary of the Istiqlal party and founder and director of the best school in all Morocco, had ruined his health in French prisons and during a long exile in Corsica, and that several nationalist leaders had spent many years of solitary confinement in French prisons. They learned, in short, that the justice and freedom so valiantly advertised by the Protectorate authorities were nothing but a tragic mockery.

When by the summer of 1951 it became evident that France would not give up voluntarily her policy of an antiquated colonialism based on armed might, suppression and intimidation, the Arab League decided to come to the aid of their powerless brothers in the Maghreb. The League decided to expose the French régime to a supra-national forum, namely to the United Nations Organization, a body that had originally been created precisely for the purpose of safeguarding equity in international dealings and of preventing disputes that might endanger the peace of the world.

The importance of Morocco in Western defence plans.

There was no longer any doubt that unless fundamental changes were brought about in Morocco the situation there might threaten the peace of the whole of French North Africa and open wide doors to Communist influences. So far the Moors have displayed a remarkable measure of self-discipline. No matter how frustrated and impatient Moorish youth might feel, the nationalist leaders have commanded them to remain calm, and the young have obeyed these commands. But continuous

French intransigence has taxed native self-restraint to the utmost, and the day may not be far off when, in spite of what their leaders tell them, Moorish youth might seek measures of desperation. In view of the enormous strategic and economic importance of the Maghreb in Western defence plans, it is essential for the democratic world that Morocco should be peaceful and relatively contented. At the moment of writing Morocco's contentment exists only in French propaganda pronouncements, and such peace as there is must be described as a very uneasy one. The Moors had been hoping that the replacement of General Juin by General Guillaume would mark an improvement in France's attitude towards themselves. In actual fact the new Resident General used in his first speeches on Moorish soil a language that was far more offensive than anything his, by no means reticent, predecessor had ever uttered. He promised to "wipe out" Moorish nationalism, and he referred to 'Allal al-Faasi, a leader worshipped by the entire nation, as a "traitor", a "snake", a "scoundrel", and even as "an enemy of Islam". It is not likely that the Moors will ever forget such language on the part of France's official representative who, moreover, never missed an opportunity to affirm that he was speaking not in his own name but in that of France.

What the Moors want.

The Moors are hoping that, in spite of French objections and efforts, the world will at last be allowed to hear of their grievances, and that it may find means to call a halt to the rampant French colonialism. Though the Moors realize that their unpreparedness for self-government is due entirely to the delaying tactics of the Protectorate and that a continuation of the present régime will retard them further on the road towards home-rule; they do not clamour for instant independence. All they ask for is that France should be made to give a definite and dated promise of independence. They have no desire to chase the French out from their country; but they wish to be masters in their own land, and they will not discuss their future relationship with France except on a basis of complete equality. They are anxious to retain many of the French experts and technicians at present employed in the Maghreb, but they are not



The poor in Morocco

prepared to see their country swamped by an indiscriminate immigration of French settlers not only from metropolitan France but also from Algeria and Corsica. For they are fully aware that if such immigration continues unchecked, Morocco may soon find herself in the position of Algeria, and the attainment of independence will be rendered more difficult than ever before.

Neither France nor the rest of the world has anything to lose but a great deal to gain from Morocco's independence. The supposedly autocratic ambitions of the Sultan exist only in the French imagination. Both Sidi Muhammad V and the nationalists visualize the future of their country in terms of a constitutional monarchy, with a freely elected Parliament consisting of two chambers. There is to be general franchise, irrespective of colour, race, sex or religion. Among the pillars upon which the hoped-for independent state would rest are to be Islam, the Arabic

language, and closer co-operation with the rest of the Muslim world. This, however, does not imply that the Moors are not eager to cultivate the closest relations with the rest of the world, including France.

What will happen if the United Nations Organization opposes itself to Morocco's demands no one can foresee. For the preponderant majority of the Moors, rich and poor, Arab and Berber, the French Protectorate has become insufferable. It holds out no promise of either freedom, justice or true progress; it condemns a nation that for 1,300 years has always been independent to an existence of impotence. The future relations of the nations of the West with the Muslim world may well depend upon the decisions taken in Paris by the United Nations which has refused to discuss the Moroccan question. For far-seeing statesmanship the right decision should have been obvious. It is becoming more and more evident that such statesmanship does not yet exist in the modern world.

*A view of a typical Moroccan
tin-cantown called Bidonville
in French*

*The picture represents the
Bidonville near Marrakeesh*



ISLAM IN ENGLAND

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING

The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust.

The normal activities of the Woking Muslim Mission and the Shah Jehan Mosque continued as usual. During the months September and October, 1951, because of the absence of Mr. 'Abdul Majid, Editor of *The Islamic Review* from England, we found it difficult to arrange the five different Friday prayers at five different places where we are taking these services regularly. Fortunately we succeeded in enlisting the voluntary services of an Egyptian friend of ours, Mr. M. Sakib, who very kindly and very faithfully officiated at the Friday prayers at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1. Now we are fortunate in having Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., formerly Joint Secretary of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, Lahore, as a member of our staff. We welcome Mr. S. M. Tufail and are sure that his help

and co-operation will be of immense service to the Shah Jehan Mosque and the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust.

The burial services for the late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, President of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, as well as of the late Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, were held at all the five places where Friday prayers are conducted by the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission. The Imam also performed the burial service of a young Turkish girl who was buried at the Brookwood Cemetery on 9th October, 1951.

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, delivered a lecture on Islam at the Birmingham International Centre in Birmingham on Wednesday, 24th October, 1951. The lecture was very well attended and the Chairman commended the speech of the Imam. The audience showed

appreciation of the remarks of the Imam on Islam. During the discussion which followed some very interesting questions were asked.

The Imam performed the "naming" ceremony of the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Mazharul Haq, born on 4th October, 1951, at our London Prayer House; the girl being named Mas'udah. The Imam, after sounding the *Azan*, that is, the call for prayer, explained the significance of this ceremony.

The Woking branch of the United Nations Association arranged for a "Brains Trust" meeting on Wednesday, 31st October, 1951. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Mosque, was asked to be one of the members of the "Brains Trust" team. The meeting was a very big one and attended by many members of the public of Woking, and was found very useful and informative in each and every respect.

New members of the World Brotherhood of Islam.

We welcome the following new members to the brotherhood of Islam :—

Mr. R. A. Morris, Kati Estate, Kuala Kangar, Malaya.
 Miss L. Jones, 7, Sloane Court, London, S.W.3.
 Mrs. Arifa Tayibjee, Sharples Hall, Ashby Bridge, Bolton.
 Mrs. Lily Hussain, 160, Horton Grange Road, Bradford, Yorks.
 Mrs. Eva Barakat, 178a, Bitterne Road, Southampton.
 Miss Therese Daly, 61a, Fairholme Road, London, W.14.
 Mr. Aprolis Zeehardelaar, 6, Thurloe Square, London, S.W.7.
 Mrs. Fatimah Daurceawoo, 17, Tivoli Road, London, S.E.2.
 Mr. J. S. Hancock, 10, Cadogan Gardens, London, S.W.3.
 Mr. D. M. Batchelor, 11, Guildcount Lane, Sandwich, Kent.
 Mr. F. O. Curry, c/o Pier Master, The Pier, Bognor Regis, Sussex.

Visitors to the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.

His Excellency Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan to France, together with some of his friends and relatives paid a visit to the Shah Jehan Mosque on 2nd October, 1951, and had tea with the Imam and other members of the staff.

Among the various other prominent visitors to the Mosque may be mentioned the following :—

Mian Ghulam 'Abbas, Auditor-General of Pakistan, Karachi.
 Mr. Mourad Kiouane, a well-known writer from Algeria.
 Mr. A. R. Jaggoe, from Dutch Guiana.
 Mr. Fazal Ahmad Khan, Institute of Archaeology, the University of London.
 Mr. Kamal Fazel, Rahnuma High School, Teheran, Iran.
 Mr. 'Azizulhaq, Ministry of Works, Karachi, Pakistan.
 Mr. Hamid Nasrudin Bey al-Tayib, an English Muslim.
 Mr. and Mrs. 'Abdel Rashid Howard-Smith, English Muslims.
 Al-Hajj Dawud Cowan and family, the School of Oriental Studies, London University.
 Sh. Muhammad Amin, Srinagar, Kashmir.

MUSLIM COUNCIL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM Farewell meeting in honour of Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal.

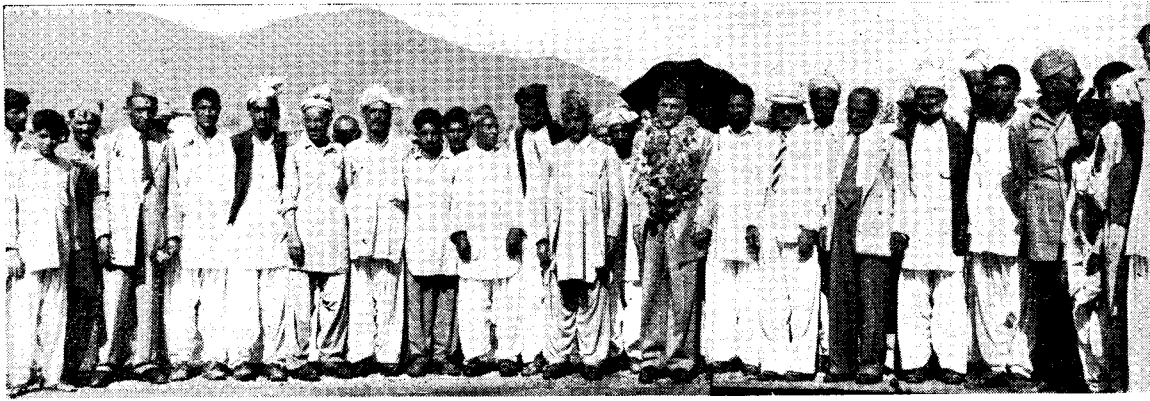
On the 28th October, 1951, the Council held a statutory quarterly meeting in London. It was the turn of the Muslim Society in Great Britain to act as hosts. The representatives of that society, the 'Allaouia Religious Society, Cardiff, the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, and the Jami'at al-Muslimin of Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool, were present.

The main item of discussion was the welfare scheme for Muslims on a nation-wide basis, proposed by Mr. Sulaiman Jetha of the Muslim Society in Great Britain. It was decided that in view of the fact that some local organizations already had welfare schemes of their own, the new scheme proposed would cover only those Muslims not provided for locally, either because such local schemes did not cover the cases in question or because no Muslim Society existed where that particular Muslim was resident. Instructions were given by the Council to Mr. Sulaiman Jetha to prepare all preliminary steps for launching the project.

The Manchester delegate proposed that steps should be taken to prepare proper literature for the instruction of Muslim children, and a sub-committee was formed to investigate existing literature and to report to the Council on future needs in this respect. The Manchester delegate also suggested that at a future



The Honourable Sardar Bahadur Khan, Communications Minister of Pakistan (first from left, seated) paid a visit to the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking where he dined with the Imam. He was accompanied by Brigadier S. Ghawas (third from left, standing), formerly Senior Military Liaison Officer in the High Commission for Pakistan, London



A picture depicting the warm welcome which Khan Bahadur Ghulam Rabbani Khan, B.A., LL.B., received on the occasion of his arrival in his native town Mansebra, North Western Frontier Province, Pakistan

Mr. Rabbani Khan was until very recently a member of the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust which he joined as an honorary worker at the sacrifice of his lucrative practice at the Pakistan Bar

date there should be held in London a large-scale exhibition of Muslim culture. The Council adopted the idea but fixed no date for the exhibition.

Finally it was decided to meet again in January, 1952.

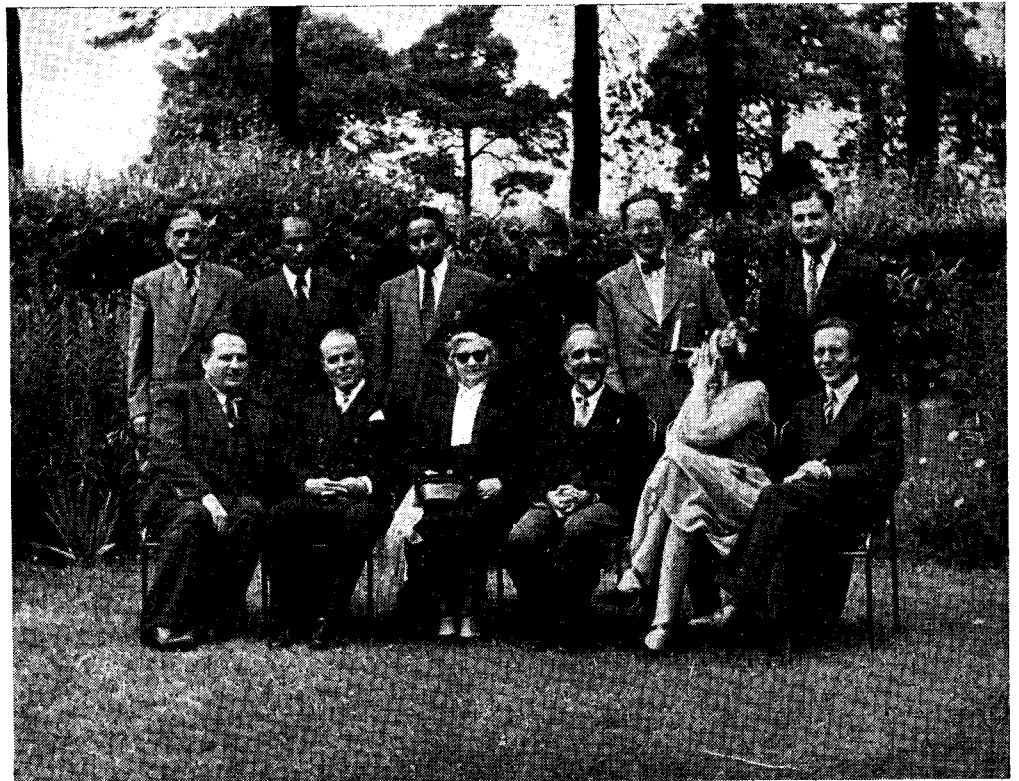
MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN

Farewell meeting in honour of Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal.

On the 21st October the Committee of the Society held an "At Home" at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, to say farewell to the former honorary secretary, Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, and his wife and daughters, on the eve of their departure for Pakistan, where Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal is to work as an engineer.

The meeting was overcrowded with well-wishers who had come to say goodbye to their most popular secretary, and on behalf of all those present as well as the members unavoidably prevented from attending. Mr. Isma'il de Yorke, President of the Society, expressed the most heartfelt thanks not only to Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal but also to Mrs. Iqbal and their two daughters, Lila and Jamila, for the tremendous work they had all put in for the Society. The President also wished them all success in their new life. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, and Major Farooq Farmer, the honorary treasurer of the Society, both spoke along the same lines. Afterwards Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal was presented with a copy of the Holy Qur'an and his wife and daughters received presents in

Mr. Habib Bourguiba, the Tunisian leader of the Neo-Destour Party, with his wife at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey (second from left, front row). Madame Bourguiba is seated at his left



appreciation of their efforts and in memory of the very happy association between them and the members. In his reply, Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal thanked the Society and expressed a hope that he would be able to continue his work for Islam in his new life. He urged those visiting the West not to reject everything they found nor to try to assimilate themselves entirely with their Western surroundings, but to sift the good from the bad and to absorb all that was good.

Finally, the large gathering said goodbye individually to Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal and his family, all repeating their good wishes for their future.

"All Prophets' Day" in London.

"All Prophets' Day" was celebrated on Friday, the 2nd November, 1951, at Caxton Hall, London, when a large and select gathering attended the meeting addressed by the representatives of the various faiths. Before the speeches the guests were entertained to a sumptuous tea. In the absence of Mr. Isma'il de Yorke, al-Haj Mian M. Iqbal, Barrister-at-Law, took the Chair. After the representatives of Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism had addressed the audience, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam

of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, was asked to speak. The Imam recited verses 78 to 84 of the third chapter of the Holy Qur'an, and then dealt in a scholarly manner with the subject of the Prophet Muhammad being foretold in the previous religious scriptures. He said: "It is very interesting to note that practically all the foregone prophets and religious guides and teachers of all ages and of all times have in some form or other drawn the attention of their respective followers to the belief in one prophet who would appear at the end of this golden chain of all the prophets". He amplified this claim of the Qur'an by some quotations from the Old and New Testaments as well as the Puranas and Dasatir, the scriptures of Hindus and Parsees. Finally, he stated that when this one foretold prophet, the Prophet Muhammad, appeared in Arabia, he made an article of faith for the Muslims to believe sincerely and honestly in, and respect and revere, all those prophets who had gone before him. This, the lecturer pointed out, afforded another reason for the finality of the Prophet Muhammad, who was the last of the prophets.

The meeting was closed with befitting remarks from the Chairman, who, as a student of international law, threw some light on the legal and judicial aspects of Islam.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND RELIGION

An Examination of the Ethnological Theories of the Origin of the Idea of God

By M. SAMAD, M.A.

"There is not a people but a warner has gone among them" (The Holy Qur'an)

The physical and the biological sciences, as they are to-day, no more present any serious challenge to religion and the religious way of life. But it seems now that the social sciences, including anthropology and psychology, have entered the field in opposition to religion. The anthropologists all appear anxious to fit the whole facts of religion, ancient and modern, into their pet theories. But those who wish to discredit the existence of God by tracing the idea to a crude beginning in the remote past, are often bewildered to find a belief in One Supreme Being existing along with the more usual polytheistic notions, ever since the dawn of human history. There is, for instance, the belief in *Mana*,¹ or an All-Pervading Soul, which Lewis Spence admits (*vide his The Outlines of Mythology*, London, 1944) is older than Animism. Then again we come across the mention of "All-Father" — a pure monotheistic conception — even among the most primitive people. This led Andrew Lang to oppose the evolutionary theories of his time in his book *The Making of Religion* (London, 2nd Edition, 1900). He maintained the "hypothesis of an early Supreme Being among savages, obscured later by ancestor-worship and ghost-gods". Pater W. Schmidt adopted Lang's thesis and has written largely upon "High Gods". Schmidt claims that definite evidence is now available to prove that "these High Gods, in their oldest form, come before all other elements of religion, be they naturism, fetishism, ghost-worship, animism, totemism, or magism, from one or another of which the earlier evolutionistic theories had derived the origin of religion".²

Let us examine some of the ethnological theories of the origin of the idea of God. Sir E. B. Tylor, in the second volume of his *Anthropology* (vol. 2, London, 1946) has traced the various systems of spirits and deities in the barbaric and ancient religions to animism or the "theory of souls". He further suggests that the higher conceptions of God are merely extensions

and developments of the same primitive idea. The fundamental difference between the attitude of modern and ancient man as regards the surrounding world is this: for modern, scientific man the phenomenal world is primarily an "It"; for ancient, and also for primitive, man, it is a "Thou". "Primitive man," observes Crawley,³ "has only one mode of thought, one mode of expression, one part of speech — the personal". This attitude results in, to begin with, the belief in what is known as Animatism, that is, the notion that every object in the natural world is a living and sentient being in the same sense that man himself is. Later on, when the barbaric people started believing in the "theory of souls" — which is variously explained by the anthropologists as due to dream experience or the phenomenon of death or hallucination or all these combined — they naturally thought that every natural object also had an indwelling soul like their own. This is what we term Animism. From this to a belief in polytheism or a number of nature-gods is not a difficult step. It is manifest that the earliest conception of nature-gods must have occurred during that phase in the development of Animism

¹ The term *Mana* has been variously interpreted by the anthropologists, but in all cases they have shown poor appreciation of the significance of this idea. Lewis Spence, for instance, writes: "*Mana* would appear to be the essence of soul or spirit-power existing in a loose, fluid, or perished condition. It is all-pervading and includes both mental energy and unusual ability, while it is also associated with an overpowering sense of the majestic or awful". The anthropologists, it seems, have made no allowance for the degeneration which a term undergoes in the course of time and have depended entirely upon the information collected from the natives of the Melanesian archipelago in the South Pacific. In my view *Mana* gives expression to a highly developed spiritual view of Reality, much the same as the Sanskrit word *Paramatan*, which stands for the One Supreme Being.

² Pater W. Schmidt: *High Gods in North America*, p. 3, Oxford, 1933.

³ The quotation has been taken from the book *Before Philosophy*, by Henri Frankfurt and others, London, 1949.

when man conceived of spirit as helpful to himself and therefore superior to him in its attributes.

Lord Raglan does not necessarily differ with this view, though in his book *The Hero* (London, 1949) he offers the further explanation of the genesis of myth. The ancient man, being ignorant of natural cause and effect, considered each natural phenomenon to be a miracle. In imitating these magical or supernatural happenings, he thought he would be propitiating them into a more generous expression and producing definite and unfailling results advantageous to man. This was the origin of rites, and these ceremonies, it was believed, were originally gone through by the gods and were handed down by them to certain privileged persons in the tribe. Myth, says Lord Raglan, is merely "the form of words which is associated with a rite" — it is the description of a rite, its story, the narrative linked with it — and the gods of mythology were originally ritual characters. Lord Raglan discounts the historical value of mythology and avers that none of the figures of mythology could be regarded as historical beings.

The opposite view is propounded, among others, by Professor Hocart and Sir G. Elliott Smith. Both these writers consider the ancient gods to have arisen from deification of the departed kings and other historical celebrities. Let me quote G. Elliot Smith on this point :

"Most ethnologists have discarded Tylor's views on animism, and the evidence now available makes it doubtful whether truly primitive people had 'the notion of a ghost-soul animating man'. There are, in fact, no grounds for the belief that natural man had any religion, or that primitive religion, when it first emerged, involved belief in a ghost-soul. It was an invention of civilized man, and in all probability it was devised in the process of building up the idea of kingship, perhaps less than sixty centuries ago" (*In the Beginning*, pp. 73-74, London, 1946).

And again :

"The evolution of the idea of god is clear in Egypt. The Pyramid texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties leave no room for doubt that at first the gods were merely kings who had died and been mummified" (*ibid.* p. 80).

Professor A. M. Hocart has discussed the theory at length in his book *The Kingship* (Oxford, 1927). "The earliest known kingdom," writes Hocart, "is a belief in the divinity of kings. I do not say that it is necessarily the most primitive, but, in the earliest records known, man appears to be worshipping gods and their earthly representatives, namely kings. In the present state of our knowledge," he adds, "we have no right to assert that the worship of gods preceded that of kings. Perhaps there never were any gods without kings, or kings without gods." This is a very sweeping statement and, to my mind, it fails to distinguish between *simple deification*, on the one hand, and *identification* of the dead chief with the great spiritual or elementary powers, on the other. I think that it is the latter process which has been in operation in originating some of the gods to be met with in mythology. But more of this later.

It is clear that none of these theories accounts for the presence of beliefs in "Mana" and the "All-Father" among the ancients. Spiritual monotheism, according to these theories, is the latest and the most developed form of the crude ideas entertained by the primitives ; but in fact what we find is that the two are co-existent from the very beginning, if the belief in One Supreme Being is not actually the earlier of the two. We shall have to seek for the origin of the belief in One True God elsewhere than in primitive reasoning. Dr. R. R. Marett, who approaches the religious problems from a psychological point of view, in his book, *The Threshold of Religion* (London, 1909),

explains the belief in "Mana" as due to what he calls Supernaturalism — a basic feeling which may well be prior to Animism. He defines it as composed of fear, admiration, wonder and the like, which may be expressed as "awe". What Marett termed "awe" is designated by Goldenweiser as "religious thrill". This comes very near explaining the belief in "Mana" and "All-Father", the origin for which, in my view, must be sought in Religious Inspiration or Divine Revelation. The Total-Reality, which enters our awareness and appears on interpretation as an empirical fact, has another way — i.e., the intuitive — of invading our consciousness and offers further opportunities of interpretation. It seems that from the very dawn of human history both these approaches have been tried by man. While the discursive approach led man to believe, first in Animatism, Animism and polytheism, and later on in materialism, monism and the other cosmological attempts of modern science and philosophy, the intuitive approach has invariably taken man back to the One God. The intuitive approach is open to every man, but, as in any other branch of knowledge, there are geniuses in this branch of study as well, who create a stir in the world. They are called prophets or rishis in religious literature.

This view is further strengthened when we find that mythology makes mention of certain gods, called "hero-gods", who appear to be the pre-historic prototypes of the historical prophets like Moses, Jesus, Buddha and Muhammad (on them all be the peace and blessings of God!). They are referred to as light-bringers, civilizers and law-givers. About Osiris, the greatest of the Egyptian gods, we read that he was a "kind of culture-hero or civilizer of the Egyptian folk". He taught them a high conception of God and the arts of life. Having accomplished his task of enlightenment among them, he journeyed through many lands, instructing their peoples in arts and civilization. Qetzalcoatl of Mexico is likewise spoken of as the inventor of writing and of law ; he was the great civilizer and uplifter of the ancient Mexicans. There is no doubt that these, and many others like them, were prophets, who after their death were *identified* with the powers of growth or the spirits of nature by popular superstition, because of their extraordinary qualities, and a great many supernatural tales were invented about them. Signs are not wanting of a belief that in very primitive times the great departed were thought of as being associated with the phenomenon of growth. From this to their identification with the spirits of nature is but a step.

Thus, while it is not possible to trace the belief in an All-Powerful Spiritual Being, called "Mana" or "All-Father", to any of the sources suggested by the theories credited by the anthropologists, the remaining gods of mythology could perhaps be classified into two categories :

- (1) those formed by the identification of exceptional historical figures and kings with the spirits of nature. This class of god includes most of the primitive prophets found in mythology ; and,
- (2) those who were definitely developed from the supposed spirits of nature or animism.

It is the last class alone which the anthropologists have been able to explain with any amount of success. I think I have given good reasons for supposing that the monotheistic conception of God had its origins in Divine Revelation. Later on when the prophet, responsible for such a conception, was himself identified with one or another of the pagan deities, this conception tended to be lost in the pagan traditions. It is this concoction which the anthropologists have before them, and unless they separate the various conceptions of God and give different explanations for the origin of each, they will never succeed in understanding this aspect of their subject.

This article is a commentary on the verse of the Holy Qur'an quoted at the beginning. The presence of monotheistic ideas among primitive people shows that God has been guiding all the races and nations at each stage of their development to the one true religion. Whenever the Religion of God has become

mixed up with pagan elements, a fresh revelation, through a new prophet, has come to take its place. The latest and complete expression of the Divine Will to man is contained in the Holy Qur'an. Islam is the most ancient and yet the most modern religion.

FARABI (870-950 C.E.)

A GREAT TURKISH MUSLIM PHILOSOPHER

By DR. BEDI N. SEHSUVAROGLU

Introductory remarks.

Towards the middle of the tenth century of the Christian era, a small man with a sparse beard, wearing the costume of the Turcoman, and heelless shoes with pointed toes called *zerbul*, was ushered into the presence of the Hamdanite Emir Sayf al-Dawla (918-967), who ruled over Aleppo and the neighbouring country in Syria. This modest man who spoke several languages with ease, won the sympathy and admiration of those around him, by his vast knowledge of philosophy, religious law, logic, medicine, and even music and poetry, to such an extent that the monarch, a patron of the arts and letters, did not wish him ever to leave his court. When the philosopher died, at the age of eighty, the Emir himself was present at the prayer for the dead (*Salat al-Janaiz*), and caused his body to be buried at Damascus outside al-Bab al-saghir, near the tomb of Mu'awiya. This humble tomb of a humble man has been visited continuously throughout the centuries. The works of Farabi translated into many languages in East and West, place him in the ranks of the greatest figures of all time. This modest little essay, dedicated to his memory, has no more pretentious claim than that of making known his name to the people of to-day.

An outline of his life.

The river which is sometimes known as Iaxartes and sometimes called Sihoun or Syr-Darya, flows through Turkestan into the Lake of Aral.

The town of Farab which later on was called Otrar, is situated on the banks of this river at its confluence with the River Aris. Farabi no doubt acquired his love of nature from this beautiful, green and shady city.

Marius Fontae says in his history: "There was a time when, as the nomads say, the Lower Sihoun was so densely populated that a cat could go from Tashkent to the Lake of Aral by jumping from roof to roof."

The city of Farab although it is to-day only a mass of ruins, is famous not only for having been the birthplace of great men and great philosophers but also because of the Yesevi Mosque and because Timarlane died there. When the armies of Chenghiz Khan began their invasion of the West, they first of all destroyed the city of Farab. Farabi¹ whose real name was Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Turhan ibn Uslug, was born in this centre of culture of the Turks in Asia, and is as his name shows an Asiatic Turk whose genealogy can be traced back for three generations. Later, when his works were first translated into Latin, he was known under the name of "Alpharabius" or "Alpharabi". The simple fact that he never gave up wearing his Turkish costume in his journeys across Iran, Baghdad, perhaps even Egypt, as well as Turkistan, and that he called himself Farabi al-Turki should leave no doubt as to his origin.

Farabi — Persian or Turk ?

Jurji Zaydan, in his *History of Islamic Civilization*, writes that the parents of Farabi were Persians. This is perhaps based on a geographical assumption as Farab is to-day situated in Persian territory. Others, on the other hand, have thought that Farabi was an Arab because all his works were written in Arabic and in the twentieth century Larousse supports this contention: But it is known that as Latin was the scientific language of the West in former times, Arabic and Persian were similarly used in the East. The fact that Farabi wrote in Arabic is no better reason for depriving him of his real nationality than it is for claiming that Newton, the Englishman, Spinoza, the Dutchman, and Leibniz, the German, were Romans because they wrote in Latin. Not only Oriental writers but also a number of Europeans also agree that Farabi was of Turkish origin. Emile Bréhier states in his *Histoire de la Philosophie* (History of Philosophy) that most Muslim philosophers, in spite of the fact that they wrote in Arabic, were not of Semitic but of Aryan origin. The Rev. Robert Hammond, in the preface to a work he wrote in 1947, on the philosophy of Farabi and his influence in the Middle Ages, also states that it can be claimed that Farabi was of Turkish origin.

Farabi's study of Aristotle.

His father, Muhammad, was an impecunious nobleman who had formerly been commanding officer at the fortress of Vasic, and was in retirement. Although the facts about the life of the philosopher cannot be fully verified, it is almost certain that he was born about 870 C.E. We know his genealogy as far back as it is possible to trace his genealogy back to his grandfather. Tradition has it that he was of small stature, had a sparse beard and narrow-lidded eyes, and wore the dress of the Turcoman. His biographers do not state whether he was married or whether he had any children. His early education took place at Farab and he was — so it is said — for a certain period Kadi at Bukhara. Seized with a passion for books when he was twenty or twenty-five years of age, he left his country to go to Baghdad.² Although at first he could only express himself with difficulty in Arabic, he quickly obtained such a mastery of that language that he was able to write treatises on the most learned subjects. Although during his period of study at Baghdad, he was often in material want, this did not discourage him. He attended a course of lectures by Abu Bishr Metta ibn Yunus³ who at that time was commenting on the logic of Aristotle. Farabi like the other students took notes and filled 70 notebooks.

While he was following this course of lectures Farabi himself was teaching Abu Bakr ibn Sarraj,⁴ the greatest grammarian of his age. In exchange Abu Bakr gave him lessons in grammar. Conforming to the intellectual traditions of his time and seized with a fervent desire for learning, he also studied mathematics, astronomy, the natural sciences, chemistry and medicine. He

thus assimilated all the sciences of his epoch, but it is above all as a philosopher that he has taken his place in history and achieved fame which a thousand years after his death remains undiminished.

A friend of Farabi, who left Baghdad about this time, left in his care a library chiefly composed of translations of the metaphysics of Aristotle which Farabi read over and over again. In a copy of Aristotle's book on the soul a note in the hand of the philosopher was discovered, according to Ibn Khallikan, after the death of Farabi, in which he stated that he had read this work more than a hundred times. Farabi had already stated when alive that he had read the Physics of Aristotle forty times. He also studied thoroughly all the other works of Aristotle, Isagogic of Porphyros.

According to Ibn Khallikan, who is the only person to mention this journey, Farabi left Baghdad for a period and went to Harran⁵ in Iran which had long been the home of the Sabians⁶. Here his study of ancient philosophy reached a very high level. Harran was renowned at that time for the lessons in

philosophy given by Johanna ibn Khaylan. After having familiarized himself with the language of the country Farabi started to work with this philosophy⁸: they studied together Aristotle's *Second Analysis*. Farabi, who studied at Harran the philosophy of the Sabeian school, no doubt took part in the disputes between the theologians which at that time caused Iraq and Iran to be divided up amongst different sects. We do not know, however, whose side he took. The influence of Harran is found in most of the theories of Farabi who discarded the ideas of Aristotle.

Farabi at Baghdad and Damascus.

A short time afterwards we hear of Farabi being in Baghdad where he was commenting on the works of Aristotle on Logic and Philosophy and was himself writing several works. But Farabi always preferred to be brief in his writing and his chief works are composed of essays. He lived for about forty years in Baghdad. According to the introduction of *Kashf al-Zunun* shortly after his return from Harran, he went to spend some time in his native country, Turkistan, where he wrote at the behest of the ruling monarch, 'Ali Saman, an important work called *al-Ta'lim al-thaami*.⁹

During the period that Farabi spent in Baghdad (roughly 288-330 A.H. — 901-942 C.E.) there was considerable agitation and political and religious struggles. In less than half a century there were six new Caliphs. It is probable that Farabi who liked solitude, philosophy and music, suffered greatly as a result of these troubles, and that he was personally exposed to many unpleasant situations. Anyhow, Farabi left Baghdad in the year of the Hegira 330 and settled in Syria, in Damascus, which at that time was occupied by the Sultan of Egypt, Akhshid, who died there 334 A.H.-946 C.E. Farabi must have won the favour of the Akhshid Atabay, for he went to Egypt. The sources of information conflict over the date of this journey for the years 331, 337 and 338 A.H. are all mentioned. What is certain is that Farabi did not remain a long time in Egypt and he soon returned to Syria and settled at Aleppo.

In the year 333 A.H. (945 C.E.), the Emir Sayf al-Dawla 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah ibn Hamdan defeated Ahmad ibn Sa'id al-Qulab who governed Syria in the name of the Akhshid. Soon Aleppo became not only his headquarters but also a centre of literature and science. Sayf al-Dawla very quickly appreciated Farabi's worth and tried to win him over by offering him a high salary, but Farabi would only accept sufficient money for his daily needs: 4 silver dirhem, equal to five piastres.

The Emir then asked Farabi to follow him in the Damascus campaign: but the fatigues of the journey completely wore out the old man, then eighty years of age. He died at Damascus in the year 950 C.E. (Rajab 339 A.H.) His tomb the whereabouts of which were known not long ago, has to-day completely disappeared. Researches carried out by Turkish consuls, at the request of the Turkish Society of History and Medicine, have produced no result.

Farabi is the base of a Muslim philosophical pyramid: Farabi — Avicenna — Averroes. He is not only the foremost philosopher of the Turkish Muslims but also from Greek standpoints, and he is the founder of a Turkish philosophical school, that is to say, the founder of the first real philosophical school of Islam. Unlike Avicenna and Averroes who may be called his pupils, Farabi did not take any interest in politics and gave up his whole life to science. His studies of Aristotle and Plato are particularly remarkable.



A photo of the special issue of a postal stamp printed by the Turkish Government in commemoration of the millenary of the Muslim philosopher and encyclopaedist Farabi

Farabi, the artist.

Farabi was also a poet and a musician. His poems deal not only with philosophical subjects but also with the sufferings of his youth. His knowledge of music was so great that he could write the *Kitab al-Musika al-kabir*, a work of undisputed historical value. He is also the inventor of a musical instrument which is said to have been the *Kanun* but which according to Dr. Suheyl Unver, of Istanbul University, was a kind of lute called the *al-Ud al-muthamman*. According to M. Huseyin Sadettin Arel whose competence in musical matters is uncontested, Farabi was influenced in his musical theory by the Greeks, and tends to transform Oriental music according to the principles of Western music or, to be more precise, of Greek music.

Farabi, the doctor.

Although Farabi studied medicine, as was customary at that time, there is no documentary evidence that like Avicenna he practised medicine; his comparison of the human body with the human societies in his *al-Madinat al-fadhila* is, however, sufficient proof of his medical knowledge.

The philosophy of Farabi.

Ancient Greece, which up to the Middle Ages had been the intellectual centre of the world, was gradually put into the background by the school of Alexandria, which, in its turn, gave way to the school of Antioch. Greek thought lost a lot of its brilliance through these changes of environment. During the first centuries of the Middle Ages (5th to 10th centuries) Western thought degenerated. This same period saw the arrival on the scene of the first Islamic thinkers. These latter saved Greek thought from oblivion, and it is thanks to them that the West came to know about Aristotle.

Islam, unlike the Jewish religion, because of its rejection of racial considerations, and differing from the Christian religion in its strict interpretation of monotheism, embraced within its frame, in its deep faith, a number of tribes which did everything possible to propagate their new religion by spiritual conquest. The Turks always occupied amongst these tribesmen, as well as in all the domains of Islamic culture, a privileged position, and it was a Turk — Farabi — who founded towards the end of the third century of the Hegira the first philosophical school of Turkish Muslims.

Although during the three centuries which preceded the arrival of Farabi Islam had already produced many celebrated schools of philosophy, such as the Sabean schools, Qadariyya, Mu'tazila, 'Aqliyyun, Kalamiyun, and eminent thinkers, such as al-Kindi (flourished in the first half of the ninth century C.E.), none of these can be considered to be a philosopher in the sense in which we understand this word today.

The great Mashshaita Farabi, whose philosophy was arrived at by way of logic, and, above all, by the logic of Aristotle, is definitely a neo-Platonian whose reasoning leads finally to mysticism and metaphysics. Farabi is, like Plato, a mystical thinker. With him, as with all the mystics, contemplation dominates action. That is why he preferred to study the relationship between man and God although he was concerned with the relationship between man and nature and in political philosophy. He endeavoured to arrive at the knowledge of the one Being, the efficient cause, the Creator of All Things. His philosophic system is a form of spiritualism, and his method, deduction.

The philosophy of Farabi, defined in two words, is a mixture of theocentric and neo-Platonic ideas, of mysticism and a kind of developed form of Aristoteleanism.

To summarize, for Farabi philosophy only serves to bring to man the knowledge of God, passing through the following stages:

1. Logic.
2. Theoretical Philosophy. { Metaphysics.
Psychology.
3. Practical Philosophy. { Ethics.
Political Philosophy.

His works.

This man, whose learning covered so many fields, such as medicine, philosophy and music, and who was bold enough even a thousand years ago to conceive the idea of a single world State, was none the less of an extremely modest nature. He spoke little and liked to live far away from other people, in close touch with nature. That is why he was not as celebrated as his disciples Avicenna and Averroes, whose renown quickly spread through the East as well as the West. His works only began to appear in translations in German, French, Hebrew and Latin towards the end of the 19th century; unfortunately, in Egypt and India and in our own country, people took even longer to translate and to know his works. Even at the present moment there does not exist a complete, systematic edition of his works.

Although his biographers mention more than a hundred of his works written in Arabic, about philosophy and the natural sciences, to-day there remain in existence only about fifteen or twenty. Certain of his works, such as the encyclopaedic *Ihsa al-Ulum*, even had an influence on the Western writers of the 18th century.

Isma'il Farabi wrote in Arabic some commentaries on the philosopher's *Fusus al-Hikam*. These commentaries were published at the same time as the original text, in 1874 C.E. (1291 A.H.), by the publishing firm of Matba' Amira; but in this edition the commentaries are mixed up with the text and the numerous misprints detract from the value of the work.

In 1890 Dieterici edited and published in German twelve essays by Farabi.

In 1907 'Abdurrahman Mekkawi published in Egypt eight other essays on philosophy. And recently, other essays were published in India. Mr. Hazmi Tura, former Director of one of the libraries in Istanbul, and B. Ahmet Ates, a lecturer in the University of Istanbul, each prepared a complete bibliography of the works of Farabi which can be found in the libraries of Istanbul.

The first serious study about Farabi was published in 1868 in Berlin, by Steinschneider. Boer, Schmolders, Horten and Munk gave him a place of some importance in their writings. These researches, however, were only the work of Orientalists, and Farabi still did not occupy the important place to which he was entitled in the history books and books on general philosophy. It is only in recent times that Emile Bréhier gave him a place of first importance in his volume, *Histoire de la Philosophie consacrée au Moyen Age* (History of Philosophy in the Middle Ages). Masson-Oursel copied him in his studies of comparative philosophy. Farabi's reputation was thus raised from the narrow confines of the Orientalist into the wider sphere of the history of human thought.

The interest of the scholars of today in Farabi.

The following savants of to-day are interested in Farabi and his work: Miguel Asin Palacios, Qadri, Etienne Gilson, the Egyptian Muhammad Amin, Ibrahim Bayyumi al-Maqdur, the Shaikh 'Abdul Razik, and 'Abdur Rahman Badavi. In Turkey Professor Isma'il Hakki Izmirli, Professor Shemseddin Gunaltay, Mr. Mehmet 'Ali 'Ayri, Professor H. Z. Ulken, Professor A.

Adnan-Adivar, and Kamaledin Burslan have already written much about him and are devoting still further studies to him. Like Professor H. K. Ulken, we maintain that definite judgment on the works and personality of Farabi will only be possible when the research in progress has succeeded in :

- (1) amassing together all his works and in distinguishing them from the works attributed to him ; also in elucidating the divergent thoughts which exist in the different works ;
- (2) finding out the extent of the influence of Greek and Christian thought on Farabi and reciprocally finding out how far he remained faithful to Greek thought, and what sources of information he used ;
- (3) discovering what was the influence of his studies of Sabeanism on the evolution of his thoughts ;
- (4) finding out how far his knowledge of medicine went, and whether he ever put it into practice ; and,
- (5) examining and solving the difficulties of establishing a biography of the philosopher based on the testimony of Ibn Khallikan and Ibn Qifti (d. 1248 C.E.) or others who lived two hundred years after him, since his contemporaries made no mention of him .

Influence of Farabi on the thought of the world.

In his preface to the translation of the works of Farabi by Kamaledin Burslan, Mr. Isma'il Hakki Izmirli deals at length with Farabi's influence. Taking our ideas in general from this work, we can thus summarize this influence :

1. All the philosophies coming after Aristotle were influenced by Farabi.
2. Farabi is the first and foremost encyclopaedist of Islam.
3. The Muslim authors before Farabi had written some good commentaries and made résumés of logic, but the real evolution of Muslim logic is due to Farabi.

Farabi elucidated several problems of logic which up to that time had remained without a solution ; he added a number of concepts and definitions on the question of imagination, as well as concepts of Deduction and opinion in the story of Judgment. And he defined exactly the different forms of syllogism. Unlike the Western thinkers he included the Poetics and the Rhetoric of Aristotle amongst his works of scientific logic, thus bringing their total to eight volumes. He imparted more scope to logic and this was developed by the activities of the Mashshaites and theologians who followed on. Farabi reconciled Aristotelean metaphysics with the Muslim faith, the dualism of Aristotle with the principle of emanation and the intellectual system of neo-Platonism.

Like all other philosophers or thinkers who came before him, Farabi was influenced by the great authorities who dominated the thought of the Middle Ages : Aristotle, Plato, and, above all, neo-Platonism, which was more easily reconciled with monotheism. A Muslim like Farabi replaced the Aristotelean dualistic idea of Supreme God with that of the One Being which had been placed by the neo-Platonism at the summit of the Pantheon and by adding to this theory the system of intelligence taken from Plotinus he succeeded in overcoming the Aristotelean dualism of matter and form and reconciling philosophy with religion. Thus came into being the syncretism of Farabi. Farabi reconciled Plato with Aristotle and at the same time attempted to fill in the gaps between the mass of ideas which Greek philosophy had developed into. He also profited from the theories of the philosophic school of Sabeans and others.

4. For Aristotle, God is the centre of the Universe who reigns and knows everything that is in the Universe, but for Farabi, on the contrary, God knows the universal laws but not individual persons. For Aristotle, the prime motive is universal knowledge, that is to say, God Himself ; the Universe depends on God. For Farabi, this universal knowledge is the chief motive of the Universe, as it was the first thing to be created and there is no direct relationship between the Universe and God.

5. Farabi, not being satisfied with the love of God, threw himself with all the force of his inspired soul into mysticism, and his thoughts lost themselves in the question of the Necessary Being ; he showed the way to the philosophers in making mysticism enter the realms of philosophy. Following his example, philosophers such as Ikhwan al-Safa and Avicenna, and mystics such as Abu Naasir Sarraji Tusi, Sulami, Abu Sa'id Abul-Khayr and Ghazali, founded philosophic mysticism. Islam thus knew three great schools of philosophic mysticism : the Ishraqites, the Akbarites and the Mudjaddidites.

6. The analogy which he saw between religion (the Qur'an) and philosophy encouraged him to interpret certain essential concepts of religion in a philosophical sense : prophecy, the *Tesbih*,¹⁰ inspiration, the Heavens, the *al-Lawh al-Qalam* (Table of Destiny), *'Arsh Kursi* (Celestial Throne), chance and destiny. He is thus the first in Islam to found a philosophy of religion : prophecy being for Farabi a form of moral perfection rather than an innate gift, the philosophers superior to the prophets. On this point Farabi comes into opposition with the theologians, but none the less one must not forget that Farabi is here speaking of a prophet and not of a Messenger of God, and that the sense of these two words greatly differs in the Muslim religion.

When man enters into relationship with Conscious Intellect (*'Aql Fa'al*), the curtain which separates them falls and then one speaks of the revelation, the word of God. These are the ideas which the soul receives from the *intellect agent*. The angels are subjective concepts, forms of light revealed to the souls of prophets. These advanced ideas of philosophy and religion, especially on the first happening, the Creation, and on prophecy, caused severe criticism to be levelled against him by theologians, and, particularly, by *Shayk al-Islam*, Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328 C.E.). These studies influenced both Muhyiddin 'Arabi and the Egyptian philosopher, Ibn Mubshshir Fatik.

7. Farabi was the first person to speak of evolution in psychology. Even Ghazali, who spent his whole life trying to destroy the work of Farabi, remained under his influence on this particular question : the psychological classification which he adopted is that of Farabi, developed by Avicenna.

8. By being the first to recognise the faculty of discerning good and evil by oneself, Farabi was the first to preach rational morality, and thus prepared the way for Avicenna's mysticism of right (or reason) by stating that good and evil come from the same will, which is eternal and not created ; he thus influenced the founder of the philosophical theology, Fakhr al-Razi.

9. Farabi was the first to speak in Islam of a social philosophy and of society being well or badly organized ; he had in this a strong influence on Ibn Khaldoun, the greatest historical philosopher in the East and in the West, and so he prepared the way for the foundation of a school of Social Philosophy.

10. He worked on the reform of Arab music following the Ionian principles and invented an instrument called *al-'Ud al-muthamman*.

Thus one can affirm that the Mashshaite philosophy began in Islam with Farabi, the philosophy of religion, political philosophy and rational morality. It was Farabi who also laid the

foundations of rational mysticism, who systematized logic, who taught mysticism to the philosophers, and the art of writing encyclopaedia to the thinkers.

Farabi is not only the master of philosophy of such people as Avicenna, Averroes, Ibn Khaldun, Fakhr al-Razi, Ibn Haytham, Ibn Miskawayhi (or Jalaluddin Rumi). His rational morality made him the forerunner of the German philosophy of Kant; his theory of "the Great Man and the Little Savant" of the Englishman, Spencer. By saying that knowledge is not acquired only by intellectual effort but that it flows from a superior soul to men, he was the precursor of the theory of philosophic intuition of the Frenchman, Bergson. He thus introduced the theory of the social contracts of Rousseau, by stating that social union comes about through the will of the individual.

Conclusion.

Although Islam, which was founded in 635 C.E. found its conquests held up in Andalusia and Poitiers and, a little later in 751, in Chinese Turkestan, the Arabs had already succeeded in this short period in making themselves almost the complete masters of the destiny of the medieval world. They contributed not only to the expansion of Islam, of the language and culture of the Arabs, but also made known the civilizations of the Near East and of Ancient Greece, and particularly of Plato and Aristotle. This spiritual sovereignty is due above all to three great names in Islamic thought: Avicenna, Ghazali and, especially, to Farabi. Their influence spread over Europe, passing through Andalusia and Morocco; Averroes of Cordoba (1126 to 1198 C.E.) can be considered as the last link in the chain which stretches from Ancient Greece to the Renaissance. It is thanks to the commentaries of Averroes the disciple of Farabi and founder of medieval Aristoteleanism, that the West once more discovered Aristotle, a discovery which prepared the way for the Renaissance. These are the services which this great Muslim Turk, the millenary of whose death was commemorated last year in Turkey, rendered to the history of mankind.

I should be very pleased if this modest work encouraged someone to elucidate not so much discussions round his nationality as his contribution to the history of human thought. We should thus, perhaps, repay some of our debt to him.

Let us finish this study with these words of Farabi which

he dedicated to his grandchildren and which to-day, ten centuries later, have lost nothing of their meaning or value: "Just as the tree achieves itself in its fruit, so happiness is reached in the practice of moral virtues. The only way to arrive at supreme happiness is to work continually to become more virtuous."

REFERENCES

- ¹ The principal documents containing information about the life of Farabi date back to two centuries after his death. They are:
 - (a) *Wasfiyyat al-Uyun* by Ibn Khallikan;
 - (b) *Tarikh al-Hukama* of the celebrated historian Jamal al-Din Ibn al-Qifti, the Ayyoubite Wizir; and,
 - (c) *Tabaqat al-Atibba*, by Ibn Abu Usaybia (d. 1270 C.E.).
- ² This city, the fourth seat of the Caliphate, after Medina, Kufa and Damascus, was founded in the year 143 A.H. by the Abbasside Caliph Mansur. It rapidly became one of the greatest scientific centres of the East.
- ³ Abu Bishr Metta Ibn Yunus, translator of the Greek philosophical works and himself a famous philosopher.
- ⁴ Ibn Sarraj was the teacher of the great grammarian Abu Sa'id Sirafi.
- ⁵ According to Professor S. Gunaltay it is impossible to say exactly when and what date Farabi went to Iran, how long he stayed there, or what he studied there.
- ⁶ The philosophical school of the Sabeans is a survival of the paganism of the Sumerians and of the Babylonian-Chaldean civilizations. Later this school of thought adopted certain of the principles of Judaism and of Christianity and Greek philosophy, or rather of neo-Platonism, and studied geometry, mathematics and astronomy. Some of the Sabeans were monotheists and believed in the religion of Abraham. Others, and in particular the Sabeans who were Hindus, Greeks or those who studied at Harran, were polytheists. Inspired by fear of the Caliph Mamun, they formed a sect which was accepted by Islam but which was the closest to their beliefs: they perform the prayers, fast, and perform the ablutions, although they worship idols. On holy days they make human sacrifices to the stars. They are not allowed to marry several times, and only a judge can authorize a divorce under their code.
- ⁷ "While the Christian Ibn Yunus learnt philosophy from the Muslim Abu Yahya, the Muslim Farabi studied with the Christian Johanna. This is a fine proof of the tolerance of Islam during this epoch" (quoted from Professor S. Gunaltay).
- ⁸ The theologians clarified philosophical ideas by translating the Greek authors and made themselves the defenders of religion and of inspiration.
- ⁹ In the East, Aristotle is called *mu'allim. awwal* (the first master), Farabi *mu'allim. thaani* (the second master). This explains the title of this work.
- ¹⁰ A kind of Muslim chaplet.

BOOK REVIEWS

INDEPENDENT IRAQ: A study in Iraqi Politics since 1932, by Majid Khadduri. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Published by Oxford University Press, London, 1951. Price: 21/- net.

Independent Iraq covers the period 1932 to 1951 and brings up to date the history of Iraq which was covered from a Western point of view from 1920 to 1935 by Ireland and Foster. The author, Majid Khadduri, is Professor of Middle East Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies of the John Hopkins University in the United States. This book which is published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, gives a clear and critical account of the history of the last 19 years in Iraq.

There have been 32 Cabinets during this period (1932-51). The most interesting and exciting aspect of this history concerns the military *coup d'etat* of General Bakr Sidqi in 1937 and the Rashid 'Ali al-Gaylani government in 1941 which defied the British. Bakr Sidqi's coup was supported by the progressive Ahali group which was founded in 1931 and was bitterly opposed to the corruption and selfish rule of the oligarchy which had

replaced the British in 1932. The leaders of the Ahali group were 'Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim and Muhammad Hadid who advocated a form of social welfare state known as Sha'biyah. They joined forces with Kamil al-Chadirchi (a former member of the Ikha party, of which Rashid 'Ali and Yasin al-Hashimi were the leaders), and Ja'far Abu 't-Timman. Under the leadership of the powerful opportunist Hikmat Suleyman they supported Bakr Sidqi in the overthrow of the Ikha party government. But Suleyman and Sidqi very soon broke off with their progressive allies and the dictatorship ended with the assassination of Bakr Sidqi. The events which led up to the British occupation of Iraq and the fall of Rashid 'Ali in 1941 are dealt with in great detail, and with exceptional skill and clarity. The evil influence of militarism is clearly shown but the four colonels who dictated Iraq's policy were to a large extent interpreting the detestation of British intervention in Iraq affairs.

If the British had had the sense to clear out in the early twenties and if there had been no Zionist movement sponsored by the British, the Iraqis' attitude would have been very different during the last war. Sir Percy Cox, the British High Com-

missioner, is quoted as having said in the early days of British rule: "The mere terms 'Mandatory and Mandate' were an anathema to them from the first." And as the present writer points out, "this anti-mandate feeling was best expressed by the term *al-W'ad' ash-Shadh* (the perplexing predicament) which had become popular in the Press and was applied by the Nationalists to account for almost every disappointment in the realization of Iraq's independence." A British report of 1928 pointed out that Iraq had national sovereignty and yet remained under mandate. Iraq controlled and administered the railways and the Basra port but did not own them; it could declare martial law but could not move it without the concurrence of the British High Commission; foreign governments could impose tariffs against the Iraqis without any retaliation on the part of the Iraqi Government; and foreign subjects enjoyed special privileges in Iraq without any reciprocation abroad. Even several experienced British administrators realized that the lessons of good administration can only be learnt by independent governments free from foreign domination. In support of this contention Mr. Khadduri quotes a statement by Captain V. Holt, who was Oriental Secretary to the British Embassy at Baghdad from 1916-1944. "The steady progress which Iraq has made since the termination of the Mandate in 1932 has strengthened me in my belief that the ability of any people to govern themselves does not as many may seem to think, develop in ratio to the length of the period during which they are under tutelage. On the contrary prolonged tutelage weakens and ultimately destroys the qualities on which the capacity for self-government depends. The only way for any people to learn how to govern themselves is by their assumption of real responsibility for the management of their own affairs."

The 1929-31 Labour Government was responsible for making the first move towards giving Iraq independence but the 1930 Treaty with Britain was never popular and there is considerable agitation in Iraq for its immediate abrogation. Foreign affairs, the historic Sa'dabad Treaty between Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan, the negotiations between Iraq and Iran over the waters of the Shatt al-'Arab, and the negotiations leading to the formation of the Arab League, are very clearly explained, and there is a very interesting chapter on constitutional development. After the flight of Rashid 'Ali there were a succession of Cabinets, in which General Nuri as-Sa'id was nearly always a member. He has been in fact eleven times premier since 1930. In 1946 political parties were once more able to come into existence. Rashid 'Ali's supporters under the presidency of Muhammad Mahdi Kubbah formed the *Istiqlal* (Independence Party). The veteran politician, Tewfik Suwaydi and the more radical Sa'd Salih formed the *Abrar* (Liberal Party). Chadirchi and Muhammad Hadid and Husayn formed the National Democratic (*al-Watani al-Demoqrati*). 'Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim formed the National Union (*Ittihad al-Watani*) Party and 'Aziz Sharif *the Sha'b* (the People's Party), while in 1949 General Nuri Sa'id formed the *Ittihad ad-Dusturi* (the Constitutional Union Party). The People's Party and the National Union were quickly suppressed and the National Democrats resigned from Nuri as-Sa'id's Government in 1946 as a protest against the unsatisfactory manner in which the elections were carried out. There is a detailed account of the Communist and alleged Communist activities in Iraq, and some very plain speaking about the future. Mr. Khadduri concludes: "If the National Government cannot acquire enough strength through conceding certain of the popular demands and through seeking the co-operation of the liberal groups, its position will be greatly weakened by continual popular upheavals or by the intervention, or threat of intervention of another foreign power."

One has no hesitation in recommending this excellent book which is one of the finest histories of modern times and is essential as a reference book for anybody studying the Middle East. It does credit both to its Iraqi author and to Chatham House, the Royal Institute of Affairs, and the Oxford University Press.

THE SULTAN OF MOROCCO, by Rom Landau. Robert Hale, Ltd., London, 1951. Price 7/6.

Mr. Rom Landau, a well-known writer whose articles published in *The Times* championed in moderate terms the cause of Moroccan independence, has written a short appreciation of the 'Alawite Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Muhammad ibn Yusuf. This short little book contains an excellent account of the incidents which earlier this year caused Morocco to be front-page news for several weeks. He deals chiefly with the personal relationship between the strong domineering militarist, the French Resident-General, General Juin, and the subtle nationally-minded Sultan Sidi Muhammad ibn Yusuf.

General Juin attempted to force the Sultan into abdication. In reply to one of his violent outbursts the Sultan replied: "We are not on the parade ground, general, where it is enough to give orders to be obeyed!" Mr. Landau shows up the diabolical plot hatched by the French to render the abdication of the Sultan "more palatable" to the world. The Sultan's French doctor had already been prevailed upon to write a letter to President Auriel in Paris announcing that the Sultan's failing health might make such an emergency inevitable. In fact the Sultan, a young man of forty-one, was in excellent health. As soon as he heard of the official strategy, he instructed his Grand Vizier to publish an authoritative denial. An account is given of the Sultan's visit to Paris in October, 1950, when he attempted to get the French to abolish the old treaty of the Protectorate. General Juin, using Berber tribesmen backed by the feudal potentate, Thami al-Glawi, forced the Sultan to banish the members of the Inner Cabinet, and to sign a long series of so-called reforms. He refused, however, to denounce the *Istiqlal* (Independence Party), which had the mass support of the people in the French Zone of Morocco, and instructed his Grand Vizier to denounce "parties" in general, as it would be ridiculous for him to denounce the *Istiqlal* (the word means "independence"); as it would be tantamount to sacrificing his own sovereignty. (This point is not made clear by Mr. Landau, who says that the original Arabic text denounced parties in the plural, while in the French translation was distorted into reference to "a certain party"). He quotes the interview between the Sultan and the correspondent of the Egyptian paper *al-Abram*, Mahmoud 'Azmi Bey, in which the Sultan told the Egyptian journalist that he signed the protocol of February 25, 1951, as "a result of threats and in order to avoid deplorable consequences". Mr. Landau excels as a story teller, and for anybody who requires documentation for the diplomatic relations between the French and the Moroccan leaders, this makes excellent reading. However, when it comes to recounting the relations between the Moroccan Nationalists and the French and past history, Mr. Landau is often at fault. He attempts to flatter the French and the Moroccans at the same time, and his remarks about the Berbers and his particularly frequent reference to what has become a degrading word, "native" (which has been discarded by many French colonials), are quite out of place in such a book.

He does not attempt to interpret history or to point out that if the Sultan had further resisted and been deposed, and if riots had ensued, the Moroccan question would have come up earlier in the year before the United Nations under far more

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favourable circumstances. The Sultan of Morocco has in the last nine years, in fact ever since he was freed from the completely dominating influence of General Noguès (a name completely misspelt in the text), taken an increasingly firm stand to certain Moroccan nationalist rights. But it is the Moroccan people and secondly the Istiqlal party, whose leader, 'Allal al-Fassi, spent nine years in exile, and the Berbers who recently revolted against the French in the Tadla district, who are the mainspring of the opposition to the French. Sultans may come and go, but it is impossible for the French to suppress the whole of the Moroccans.

As for the flattering remarks about Marshal Lyautey, it was he more than any other Resident-General who insured the slavery of the Moroccan people, and by driving the tribesmen out of their cornfields on the north bank of the Wergha river forced Muhammad 'Abd al-Karim to fight. He is quite wrong in saying that the Moroccans only want a promise of independence. What they desire is immediate independence. A remark about the "blackness" of the rich Berbers is as unfortunate as it is irrelevant. It is to be hoped that Mr. Landau read an account of Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan's attack on colour prejudice,

for although Mr. Landau does not mean any harm, this purely irrelevant remark about the colour of al-Glawi's skin is likely to be misinterpreted.

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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.)

"PALESTINE CONTINUES TO BLEED"

13 Field Survey Squadron, R.E.,
Fernhurst Camp,
Nr. Haslemere,
Surrey.

5th November, 1951.

Dear Sir,

Assalamo 'Alaikum !

Having just read with great interest the November issue of *The Islamic Review*, it came as rather a shock to me to understand that your learned contributor Mr. Sharif al-Mujahid, M.A., considers Lawrence of Arabia to have "planned and plotted against it (Palestine), resulting in the triumphal entry of that imperialist diehard, General Allenby . . ." ("Palestine Continues to Bleed").

I remember as a boy reading D. H. Lawrence's book *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, and thinking what a great champion of the Arabs he must have been — and until this have always thought so. The article has knocked out some of the bottom bricks of the lofty pedestal on which I had stood him, and created some misgivings in my mind.

Surely there is no doubt that Lawrence's campaign in the Middle East was to establish the Arabs in independent self-governing territories of their own? If indeed higher policy was to further British influence in the Middle East, can Lawrence — or, for that matter, Allenby — be held to blame? I am sure that Lawrence's sympathies were entirely with the Arabs and that his own intentions, at any rate, were quite honourable. I do wish that this could be admitted.

Then again, with regard to Britain's control over Palestine, Britain made mistakes during the administration, it is true, but wouldn't any country? Popular feeling here was, I consider, always rather more for the Arabs than for the Jews. The mandate was a difficult one for Britain — it was not her job to establish either one community to govern Palestine, and judging from the reports I read — which, however, may have

been biased, of course — Britain's impartiality was, in my opinion, most commendable.

Even after Hitler's anti-Jewish reign of terror in Europe, when British sympathy went out to refugee Jews, the majority feeling in this country was still, in so far as Palestine was concerned, entirely with the Arabs. Stern Gang terrorism saw to that!

And with regard to "wholesale Jewish immigration" into Palestine, may I remind Mr. Sharif al-Mujahid that Britain was in no way responsible for that. To a great extent it was the United States of America's sympathy that financed and encouraged this immigration, and roused international feeling against Britain for her attempts to restrict it and return ships carrying the migrants to Europe and Cyprus!

Despite all this, however, I do agree that the United Nations Organization is remaining remarkably apathetic towards the flagrant violations of the United Nations' Charter by the Jews as witnessed in Palestine to-day, and it would appear that there is "discrimination and wanton connivance" on the part of the United Nations Organization . . .

. . . Could not the Arab States forget their own internal petty differences and unite to form a common, passive but voluble front against Israeli aggression, and through Islam, gain world support?

Yours very sincerely,

D. M. BATCHELOR.

* * *

LEONORA MUSLIM YOUTH ORGANIZATION

Pln. Leonora,
West Coast Dem.,
British Guiana.
10th April, 1951.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamo 'Alaikum

I beg to extend to your organization on behalf of the Leonora Muslim Youth Organization our sincere thanks for the literature sent us.

The light of Islamic principles is burning dim in this country, and we hope that your organization will endeavour to assist us in whatever way you can find possible.

At present we need a lot of Islamic literature so that our youth can equip itself with the necessary education to further the cause of the teachings of Islam.

We will be very glad if your organization can find it possible to give some advice to us. Apart from the Christian Missions we have another movement which is likely to convert our youth to their ideas.

THE SECRETARY.

* * *

A NEWCOMER INTO THE FOLD OF ISLAM

The Imperial Palace,
Teheran, Iran.

Dear Sir, 24th March, 1951.

I wish to thank you very much for the copies of *The Islamic Review* and other literature on Islam that you have sent to me. I am enclosing a subscription for more copies of the *Review*, and also a gift subscription for my father in California.

I cannot tell you the spiritual enlightenment that has been mine since I joined the great Brotherhood of Islam. Islam is not only the most practical of all religions, but also the most self-satisfying. When I became a Muslim, it seemed to me that a cataract had been removed from my eyes, so that I really saw life and God for the first time. Islam has erased my former doubts about the existence of a Supreme Being, and has answered my questions about man's relations with God.

You have very kindly asked me to send you an article concerning my impressions of Islam and the Islamic world, and I shall do so in the near future. During the past month I have learned to read and write Farsi, and have now begun my lessons in conversation. I feel it is very vital that I learn the Persian language fluently, and later Arabic, in order to be able better to study the great Islamic literature that is so abundant. I later intend to write books and articles about our great religion, and the peoples of the Middle East, in order to create a better knowledge and understanding with the peoples in other parts of the world. I feel that existing lack of understanding between nations is one of the major causes of world tension to-day.

I especially wish to compliment you on the article on the back cover of the *Review* for February, 1951. It is one of the best condensed and concise explanations of Islam that I have ever seen.

Thank you again for all the things you have sent. I shall always be a faithful subscriber to the *Review*.

Sincere wishes from your brother-in-Islam,

'ALI HILLYER.

* * *

A NON-MUSLIM ON OUR LITERATURE

87, Clarence Road,
Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.

Dear Sir, 29th July, 1951.

First I would wish to express my thanks at being shown the interior of the Mosque at Woking when I called on the evening of Monday, 14th May. For some time I have been interested in Islam, and I was greatly interested in your literature.

The booklet, *The Religion of Humanity*, by Muhammad 'Ali, M.A., was very enlightening, and an excellent summary of the main essentials of the faith.

I enclose subscription for *The Islamic Review*, which I would very much like to read regularly. It presents such an excellent survey of events and opinions in the Muslim world, and information from other quarters is so often prejudiced.

On the subject of Islam I have read *The Living Thoughts of Muhammad* by Muhammad 'Ali. Also I obtained a copy of J. M. Rodwell's translation of the Holy Qur'an. I read at first with curiosity, but gradually became interested in the book for its own sake. One could not fail to be moved by the sincerity and simplicity of its message, and its provision for so many aspects of life and circumstances. Consequently I wish to learn more, if possible, about Islam and its traditions. From all too many books on similar subjects one only gets a picture of fanaticism and fatalism, and such literature as *The Islamic Review* is consequently much appreciated. I have a general idea of the history of the revealing of the Book, etc., but, of course, on many subjects I find myself ignorant, such as, the tradition concerning the Imam Husain, and such movements as Sufism.

In closing, I thank you again for your kindness and the literature I was given, and which has given me much food for thought. I look forward to receiving *The Islamic Review* and learning more about Islam.

Yours faithfully,

G. T. HAYBALL.

* * *

'ID MESSAGE TO THE WORLD OF ISLAM FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE WORLD MUSLIM CONFERENCE, KARACHI

G.P.O. Box 898, Karachi, Pakistan.

Dear Sir,

Assalamo 'Alaikum!

On this happy day of 'Id I take this opportunity of sending you the most hearty greetings and the warmest wishes of the Season. 'Id is verily a day of rejoicing, but the day of real rejoicing for the Muslim world shall be when it becomes an independent and sovereign world of its own, a *bloc* of its own, a unit free and independent of the fetters of dependence on either the Western democracies or the Cominform.

Look at the map of the world and the central position we occupy. From Morocco to Indonesia we are holding the world like a belt round the belly and the belt is so well knit in the centre. We have only to tighten the belt to swing the world. We have only to appreciate our position and make a determined effort to find our proper place — a place of honour — under the sun.

Let us, on this auspicious day, resolve to shake off all shackles which are crushing and corroding us: let us resolve to cut all chains of slavery, whether self-imposed or thrust upon us by stronger hands. Let us determine to sink or swim together. Let us bury our hatchets; let us sink our differences; let us drown our jealousies and with the slogan "Muslims of the World Unite", let us march forward, onward to progress, to greatness.

Yours fraternally,

IN'AMULLAH KHAN,
Secretary, Mo'tamar-i-'Alam-i-Islami.

* * *

THE MUSLIMS OF INDONESIA AND PAKISTAN'S DUTY

Amsterdam.

Dear Sir, 26th July, 1951.

In his recent speech, made at Karachi on 6th July, 1951, Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, in discussing the idea of a Muslim *bloc* said, "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." Being fully convinced of the good-

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