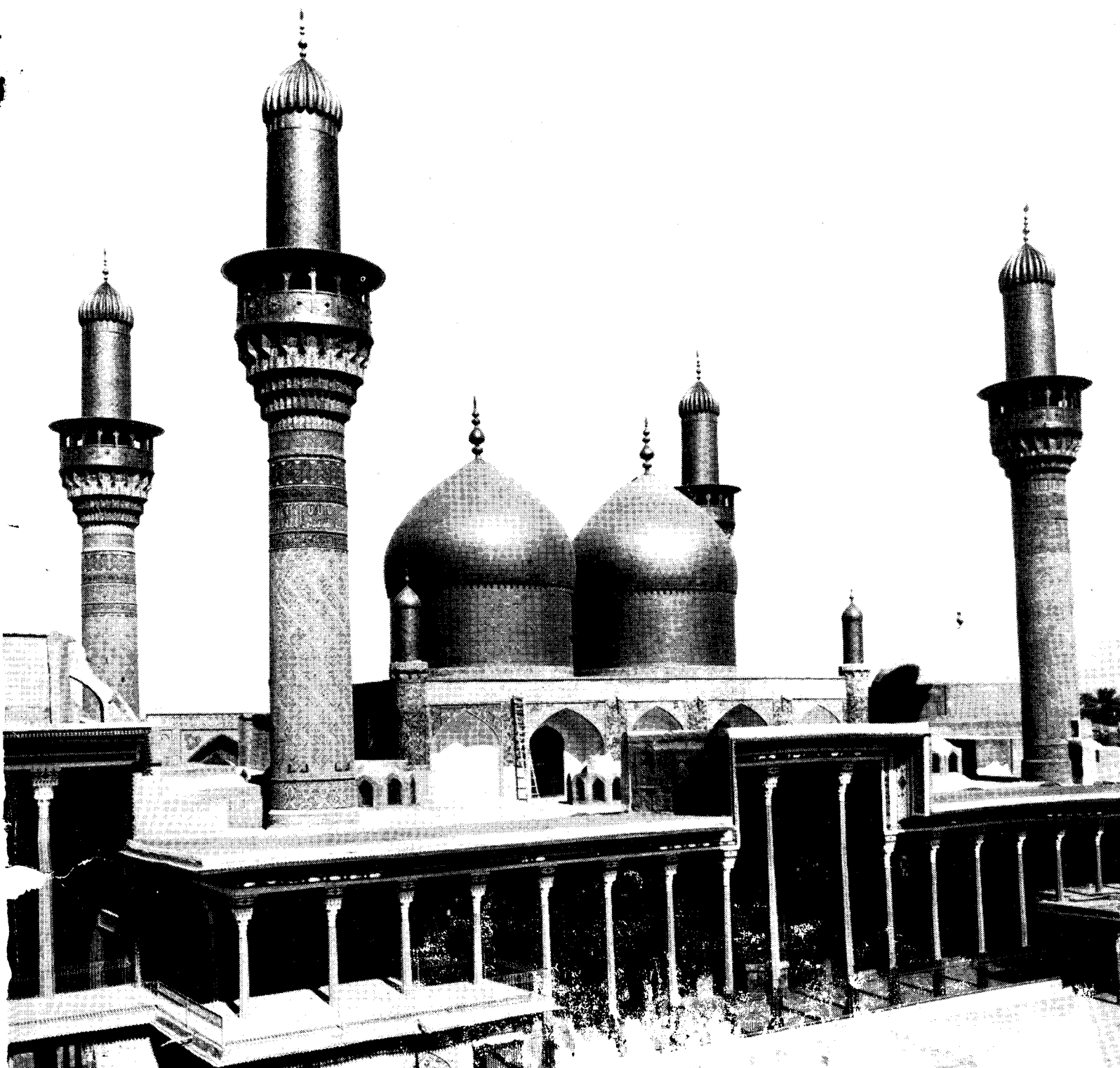


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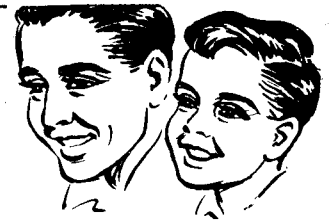
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Continued on page 4

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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The picture on the cover is that of the famous mausoleum at Baghdad known as al-Kazimayn. In this shrine are interred the remains of The Imam Musa al-Kazim (d. 799 C.E.) and his grandson, The Imam Muhammad al-Jawad (d. 835 C.E.).

This exquisite shrine is a poem of dedication and homage, composed in brick, mortar and timber, to the immortal memory of the two Imams buried there.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

The late Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai (d. 1937), an Indian Muslim, is the author of some excellent books on Islam and comparative religion, the most important being *Pan-Islam and Bolshevism*, London, 1937.

Lt.-Colonel Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser, an Egyptian Muslim, is Prime Minister of Egypt.

Gurbakhsh Lal is an Indian Hindu journalist.

Abu Muhammad is the pen-name of an Algerian Muslim. He is the political columnist of the Arabic weekly, *al-Basa'ir*, Algiers, Algeria.

F. Kardosh is a Syrian journalist.

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Husein Rofé, an English Muslim, has lived for a number of years in Morocco and Indonesia, and is now visiting Japan.

The Islamic Review

August: 1954

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"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLII. No. 8

AUGUST, 1954

Zu 'l-Hijjah, 1373 A.H.

The Pakistan-Turkish Agreement — A Major Event in World Diplomacy

For many years the peoples of Muslim countries have been clamouring for unity and for the implementation of concrete steps whereby some tangible evidence of this innate desire for unity might be clearly manifested to the rest of the world. For a while the Muslims felt that they were going to see their dream realized when the Sa'dabad Treaty of 1937 was signed between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. In this Agreement the four States guaranteed each others' borders and bound themselves to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of another, to settle any internal conflicts among themselves by means of peaceful negotiations, and not to conclude any offensive alliances of any kind with other powers. This treaty was motivated by excellent intentions but its signatories were the victims of the territorial strategy of the Great Powers during the last world war. Between then and now great changes have taken place, the principal ones being the emergence of Pakistan and Indonesia. An opportunity had to be awaited to start afresh and finish the job that had been left undone by the Sa'dabad Pact. Pakistan, ever since her appearance, had been establishing relations of friendship with the Middle Eastern countries. In her efforts to strengthen her ties with them, a treaty of friendship was signed on 26th July 1951 at Ankara between Turkey and Pakistan, this being followed up by a cultural agreement signed on 29th June 1953. Barely a year had elapsed before the following statement was published simultaneously on 19th February 1954 in Karachi and Ankara: "In the spirit of friendship between Pakistan and Turkey the two Governments have agreed to study methods of achieving closer friendly collaboration in political, economic and cultural spheres, as well as of strengthening peace and security in their own interests as also in that of all peace-loving nations."

Finally, the Turkey-Pakistan Agreement was signed in Karachi on 2nd April 1954 by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, and His Excellency Monsieur Selahattin Refet Arbel, the Turkish Ambassador.

The Agreement, which contains six clauses, is effective for five years and may automatically be renewed for a further period of five years, and is aimed at achieving a maximum amount of co-operation and joint consultation between the two signatory nations. It reaffirms their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their determination always to endeavour to apply these purposes and principles. Both parties are pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of each other and from "participating in any alliance or activities directed against the other". They are also pledged to consult with each other on international matters of mutual interest, and to develop co-operation in the cultural, economic and technical fields. In the realm of defence, it is stated that technical information and progress reports will be exchanged and an endeavour will be made to meet, as far as possible, the requirements in the production of arms and ammunition, and to co-operate in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, should an unprovoked attack occur against them from "outside". Finally, it is agreed in Article 6 that any State, whose participation is considered by the contracting parties useful for achieving the purpose of the present Agreement, may accede to the present Agreement under the same conditions and with the same obligations

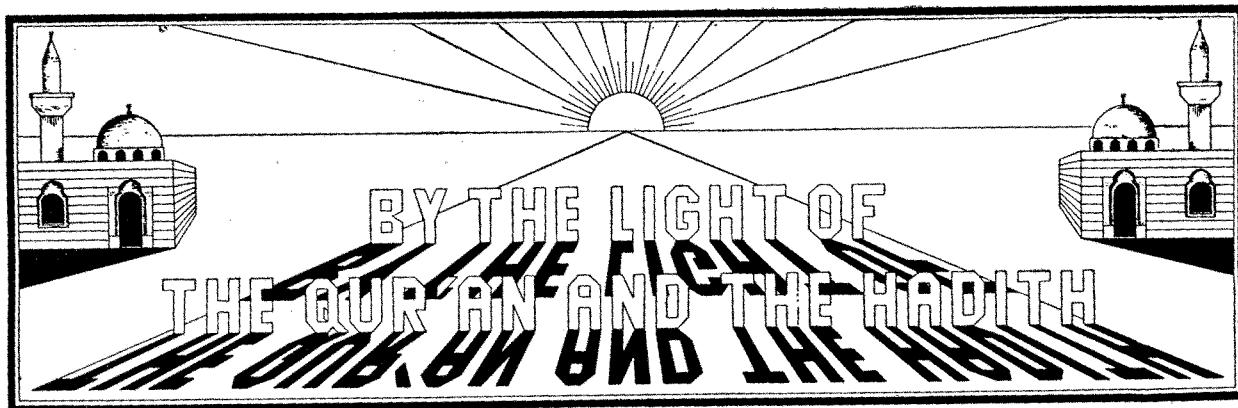
as the contracting parties. The importance of the final Article cannot be over-emphasized, as it opens the possibilities of an alliance of the Middle East Muslim States with the two signatories.

For Pakistan the Agreement represents a major achievement and a triumph in diplomacy of the first order. Modern Turkey has always pursued what is commonly known as a realistic policy. After the First World War, Turkey rid herself of foreign interference and quickly re-established herself on the political, military and cultural plane. During the last World War her diplomats matched the brains of the British, Soviet and Germans. Turkey's willingness to enter into an Agreement with Pakistan is a sign of the importance she attaches to such an alliance and the respect she holds for Pakistan. Muslims the world over will rejoice in such an alliance.

It should be emphasized that both Turkey and Pakistan are countries which have everything to gain by the maintenance of peace and that it would be unthinkable that this Agreement should in any way be interpreted as being motivated by aggressive feelings on the part of the two signatories. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, during a recent visit to Syria, explained that the Agreement would be open to all the Middle East countries with the exception of Israel. In the Lebanon he explained the alliance to journalists and said there was no basis for any apprehension that Pakistan's relations with the Arab world would undergo any change. He emphasized that Pakistan had always supported the Arab world and would continue to do so. In Iraq the Agreement was hailed with approval by the Press supporting the majority party (Destour) and by the Independents, although it was opposed by the extreme Opposition, which has about twelve seats in the Iraqi Parliament. The former Iraqi Premier and Foreign Minister, Dr. Fadhel al-Jamali, is well known as an enthusiastic supporter of Pakistan and of a Middle East rapprochement with Turkey, and it is to be hoped that Iraq will soon adhere to the Agreement. It has been said that the Agreement may disrupt the Arab League, but we believe once the British have evacuated the Suez Canal there is likely to be a modification of Egypt's foreign policy towards Turkey and all disagreements between Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey and the various Arab States are likely to be smoothed out in a spirit of mutual friendship and co-operation.

Pakistan may well ultimately succeed in persuading Turkey to join with the Arab States in their opposition and in supporting the North African countries in their struggle for complete independence. In the United States of America there is a growing realization that support of Israel and French imperialism produces negative results. The United States has, it appears, induced Britain to evacuate the Suez Canal; she recognizes the need for a strong Egypt and strong Arab States in the rear of Turkey, and if Turkey could be persuaded to break off relations with the Zionists, then Britain and the United States might eventually follow suit. This result, which would be of immense mutual benefit to Egypt and all the Arab States, may be a direct result of the Turkey-Pakistan Agreement.

In Pakistan the Agreement has been welcomed, and is regarded as a step which ". . . will jointly serve to advance the cause of the Muslim peoples"; ". . . is a distinctive contribution that such an alliance can make to the promotion of international peace, and in particular, to the progress and prosperity of the Middle East, can hardly be over-estimated"; and ". . . the most momentous Agreement yet entered into by Pakistan".



THE QUR'ANIC CONCEPTION OF GOD

By the late SHAIKH MUSHIR HUSAIN KIDWAI

The Qur'anic God-idea stopped for ever the worship of gods

A conception of a god or gods is an old one in human history. Probably it came into the minds of the very first human beings, whether evolved or created, when they began to think and had some experience of life. They soon found out that though they could control animals and grow seeds, yet their command over nature was very poor. Then they saw the sun, the moon and the stars rise and set. Storms raged furiously to uproot gigantic trees: floods swelled small rivulets, and epidemics came and killed the near and dear ones in large numbers. But on the other hand they also noticed the beneficent activities of nature — good crops, birth of children (particularly male), recovery from diseases and ailments, and so forth. This induced them to think and to argue in their own minds. Thus they began to believe that there were unseen powers and spirits which had a greater control over circumstances than they had. They grew superstitious. Whatever was strange and strong inspired awe in them. They bowed to it. Thus they began to worship big rivers, big mountains, even big trees. They attributed gods to storms, to thunder and lightning. Up to this day in India every element has a named goddess. Up to this day small-pox is considered to be a goddess by the Hindus in India, and the mass of people try to appease her to get rid of the small-pox instead of going to a physician. In order to propitiate these gods and goddesses the people offered to them, and they do the same today, flowers, fruits and sweets. They chanted music. They burnt incenses: they sacrificed even their children. At places nature-worship gave place to star-worship. The sun and the moon and the big stars were all worshipped. Abraham, the father of the Mid-Eastern religions and of all Biblical prophets, was the first to revolt against the star-worship. The scene depicted in the Qur'an of his self-struggle is very illuminating. It is as follows:

“And thus did We show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and that he might be of those who are sure. So when the night overshadowed him, he saw a star; said he: Is this my Lord? So when it set, he said: I do not love the setting ones. Then when he saw the moon rising, he said: Is this my Lord? So when it set, he said: If my Lord had not guided me I should certainly be of the erring people. Then when he saw the sun rising, he said: Is this my Lord? Is this the

greatest? So when it set, he said: O my people! surely I am clear of what you set up (with God). Surely I have turned myself, being upright, wholly to Him Who originated the heavens and the earth and I am not of the polytheists. And his people disputed with him. He said: Do you dispute with me respecting God? and He has guided me indeed; and I do not fear in any way those that you set up with Him, unless my Lord pleases; my Lord comprehends all things in His knowledge; will you not then mind? And how should I fear what you have set up (with Him), while you do not fear that you have set up with God that for which He has not sent down to you any authority; which then of the two parties is surer of security, if you know? Those who believe and do not mix up their faith with iniquity, those are they who shall have the security and they are those who go aright” (The Qur'an, 6: 76-83).

But it was the final Prophet, Muhammad, the most illustrious progeny of Abraham, who dealt a death-blow to the star, sun, fire and nature-worship, when he was inspired to declare: “God is He Who created the heavens (the celestial bodies) and the earth, and sent down water from the clouds, then brought forth with it fruits as a sustenance for you; and He has made ships subservient to you that they might run their course in the sea of His command, and He has made the rivers subservient to you. And He has made the sun and the moon subservient to you pursuing their courses, and He has made subservient to you the night and the day” (The Qur'an, 14: 32-33).

It was further declared that not only the sun and moon and rivers and seas and air could be utilized by man, but also whatever was in heavens and earth, open or concealed, was made subservient to man if he knew how to control it (The Qur'an, 31: 20). Only a scientist, and that of the most modern and highest standard, can realize the full import and all the implications of such Qur'anic verses. In fact it was under the impetus of such instructions as to the capabilities and possible achievements of human intelligence that Muslims adopted means to study the laws of nature and to master the elements — the sea, the wind, the fire, the electricity, in fact all things apparent or hidden (the Qur'anic words, 21: 20, *zahiratan va batinatan*) in the atmosphere, on the earth or inside the earth. Considering the time when the above

announcements were made, every reasonable person will be compelled to admit that such enlightenment could only be achieved by a mind inspired by none but the Author, the Cherisher and the Evolver of the Universe. Within these last thirteen centuries after the announcement was made man has progressed very much; yet if we consider all the possibilities which the above verses reveal we are far, and very far — probably thousands and thousands of years — from accomplishing all that is implied in these verses. What wonder then that as far as scientific impetus goes, the Muslims claim that the Qur'án is the final message from God and is certain to remain true at least for thousands of years, if not millions. Let man ponder and ponder deeply over such verses as given above, with which the Qur'án is full, and do all he can to bring into his subservience all that is in the heavens and the earth. That will engage his attention till eternity. How could any sensible man bow down before any being or thing which did not possess any capabilities of bringing even the mighty sun under his subservience? Thus was ended for ever among the people with any intelligence the worship of nature. On the contrary, serious efforts began to be made to know the laws of nature set by One God in order to subdue nature for man's needs and requirements. The Qur'án has, in fact, stopped for ever the worship of gods or goddesses as it has stopped the worship of nature. One of the Qur'anic arguments is that if there were more than one God "the whole creation would necessarily fall into confusion and be overturned by the competition of such mighty antagonists".

The Qur'án says:

"Or have they taken god from the earth who raise (the dead). If there had been in them any gods except God, they would both have certainly been in a state of disorder; therefore glory be to God, the Lord of the dominion, above what they attribute to Him" (The Qur'án, 21:21-22).

Judaic and Christian ideas of God

It is true that long before Muhammad was born there were people whose conscience and reason both had rejected the plurality of gods. Even in ancient Egypt, Unitarians were to be found, as also in Greece. The high philosophy of the Vedas also culminated in one Brahma — one "Om". But really the first religious system which based itself upon the doctrine of the Unity of God was Jewish. It was Moses who preached strict monotheism and conceived a God of high attributes. But alas! his people could only grasp the idea of a tribal king. They could only think of an exclusive God of Israelites — a tribal sovereign. Even then they lapsed into idolatry again and again. They could believe only in an anthropomorphic God — a mighty king of their own nation. Judaism is the one religion which has no philosophy. It claims to have based itself strictly on law, and the Jewish people do not go beyond the letters of that law. Therefore the law has become too rigid. Christ came to make this rigidity a little flexible. He also came only to the Israelites and tried to divert their attention to the spirit of the law, but they did not listen to him. Instead, they reviled him and his holy mother. They refused to have him as their prophet. They jeered at him. They could not appreciate his spirituality. They put him on the cross with a crown of thorns on his head. And his disciples, almost all of whom had proved untrustworthy, cowardly, untruthful, traitors, made a mess of his principles and preachings after him. The Christianity as known today has very little of the simple teachings of Jesus Christ in it. Although its foundation

remains that of the old Mosaic religion, although it recognizes the Old Testament as its basis, yet, instead of the spirit which Jesus wanted to introduce into Judaic beliefs, a very poor philosophy has been made the corner-stone of the so-called Christian religion. In fact the old pagan Mithraic cult has been transformed into Christianity. Tertullian admits, as did others, that Mithraism and Christianity were identical in all but name. Not only the same rituals and holidays, like Sunday or 25th December (Christmas Day) were taken from the pagans, but even the puzzle of one-in-three and three-in-one was introduced from those very sources. And thus the venerable structure of Mosaic Monotheism was wrecked. Other demoralizing and degrading tenets were also put in like the redemption or the atonement or the begetting of a son by God and so forth. Christianity based itself on the beliefs that man was born in sin, for which mother Eve's (woman's) responsibility was the greatest, and that as he was incapable of obeying the law the loving God planned the sacrifice of His only son to redeem him! In his *Bible Myth*, Rev. J. W. Doane has given in parallel columns forty-eight similarities between Buddha and Christ, as described by Buddhism and Christianity respectively. While Christ was alleged to have said that he came to the last tribes of Israel and to fulfil the law, Paul made an improvement upon Judaic conceptions of God inasmuch as God's sovereignty was no more thought to be confined to His "chosen people" — the Israelites. Another improvement was that the sentiment of love was added to His austere attributes defined by the Jews. But alas! besides the tenets which Paul introduced in Christianity, even the universality of God did not reach to its full limits. If it was extended to non-Israelites, it was limited only to those of them who believed in the "Blood of Christ".

God-idea in Hinduism and Buddhism

It was further limited to those only who were baptised in his name. As to the quality of love in God, even that was degraded almost to a carnal passion so as to beget a son. Thus the Christian God-idea was made much more irrational than was the Judaic idea. When the God-idea in Judaism and Christianity is so defective, it would be no use to dilate much upon the God-idea in other religions. In Buddhism it is alleged to be non-existent, though Buddha himself has come to be worshipped as a god — all-perfect, all-wise. God is only a kind of force in Buddhism. Nirvana is the goal of life. In fact Buddhism was only a cult. It was a revolt against the rigid caste system which the Brahmans has imposed. It was meant to deprive the Brahmans of the power they had obtained even over gods and goddesses who could only be approached through them. Vishnu (400 B.C.) says: "It is only by the favour of Brahmans that gods reside in Heaven" (Vishnu xix, 27). So Buddha individualized religion, i.e., put it into the hands of every individual, of whatever caste, to work up his own salvation by personally shunning this world, and the life in it as an evil, in the circumference of course of the transmigration of soul theory. Buddha gave up his own kingdom and his wife and family to achieve Nirvana. In the Vedas, the God-idea exists only as a very imaginative philosophy which is almost beyond human intelligence to grasp, and the result has been that the Hindu masses have come down to worship hand-made idols and stones. Even the educated among them bow down before trees, animals and rivers. Their god has to be awakened by ringing bells. He is propitiated by the blood of animals. (Human sacrifices, like the custom of burning the Hindu widows alive, have been stopped only by very rigorous secular laws of foreigners.) It might be that ten Hindus among ten millions are able to

grasp, even in these days of enlightenment, the real philosophy of the Vedas. The rest remain in the mire of gross idolatry, in spite of the efforts of their own reformers to preach the Unity of God. The Zoroastrians believe in two gods — one of good, and the other of evil — and the poor, helpless man, the whole universe, was a plaything between these two rivals of equal power, who were constantly at war. It was the unique privilege of Muhammad, son of 'Abdallah (may he continue always to be triumphant) alone, to have given to the world a conception of God which was both rational and spiritual, philosophic as well as scientific, and beneficial to humanity in its progress and development. Muhammad performed many undeniable miracles, but the greatest miracle which he performed and the best proof that he gave of being an inspired Prophet and Messenger was the God-idea which he instilled in the minds of the Arabs and which did not remain confined to one tribe, or one people, or one country, or one generation, but which was acclaimed by all the world for all times.

The Qur'anic conception of God

What the miraculous Prophet Muhammad did first of all was to correct all those derogatory notions which represented God only as a tribal king, or one who begot children, sons or daughters, or who could be approached only through priests of Brahmans. He demolished all those notions that attributed to Allah (God) fatigue, suffering, sexual passions, or human sentiments. The Islamic God is not physical or personal. In reality He cannot be referred to as he, she, or it. The Islamic God cannot be symbolized like the Vedic gods by carved idols or animals, or by the elements, fire or water — or by the planets, the sun or moon; nor can He be anthropomorphized to Him. So there can be no begotten sons or daughters of His, nor can He be represented by Jesus or Krishna or Rama. The very opening chapter of the Qur'an sings his praises as Rabb al-'Alamin. The Arabic word *Rabb* according to the *Taj al-Arus* and the *Arabic-English Lexicon* by W. Lane conveys the meaning of regulating, accomplishing, completing, fostering and nourishing. According to Imam Raghīb Isphahani it means "fostering of a thing in such a manner as to make it attain one condition after another until it reaches its goal of perfection". 'Alamin means the worlds and all the created things that exist. These two words *Rabb al-'Alamin* convey the most distinguished conception of God in Islam. *Rabb* conveys a scientific idea. Long before scientists propounded the theory of evolution the Qur'an proclaimed in the very beginning of the opening verse that this universe has been evolved by an Evolver under set laws, and He is fostering it even now "to make it attain one condition after another" until probably in millions of years "it reaches its goal of perfection". Is the God-idea in any other religion either ancient or Biblical so rational as that conveyed by *Rabb*? Is the God-idea in any religion so universal as that conveyed by *Rabb al-'Alamin*? According to the Qur'an, God is not the God of Muslims alone, nor of this world alone. He is the Sustainer, the Cherisher, the Fosterer, the Evolver of all things in the universe. Verse after verse of the Qur'an gives unique, distinguishing and majestic qualifications of God. The Qur'an, 2:255, runs in the words of one of its English translators of the eighteenth century, George Sale:

"God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Self-Subsisting; neither slumber nor sleep seizeth Him, to Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with Him, but through His good pleasure? He knoweth that which is

past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend anything of His knowledge but so far as He pleaseth. His Throne is extended over heavens and earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto Him. He is the High, the Mighty. Let there be no violence in religion. Now is the right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit; whoever therefore shall deny Taghut and believe in God shall surely take hold on a strong handle, which shall not be broken; God is He Who Heareth, Seeth."

In his note Sale says: "The Cursi (Throne) allegorically signifies the Divine Providence which sustains and governs the heavens and the earth and is infinitely above human comprehension."

There is not a single page in the Qur'an which does not refer to God with one name, one attribute or the other. Chapter 59:22-24 eloquently describes as follows:

"He is God besides whom there is no god: the Knower of the unseen (future) and seen (present). He is the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is God besides Whom there is no god; the King; the Sovereign; the Holy; the Author of Peace; the Granter of Security; Guardian over all things, the Mighty, the Supreme, the Possessor of every Greatness. God is more Sublime than what they (Christians or Hindus) associate with Him. He is God the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner (Artist). His are the most beautiful names. Whatever is in the heavens and the earth declare His Glory and He is the Mighty, the Wise (Scientist)."

A study of the above verses of the Qur'an will convince everybody how sublime, chaste, comprehensive and monotheistic the God-idea is in Islam when compared to that of other religions.

In order to save further the God-idea from being personified or anthropomorphized with human passions or sentiments as other religions had done before, the Qur'an has given a philosophic turn to the God-idea and declared:

"There is nothing as His likeness" (12:12).

And again:

"Vision comprehendeth Him not" (6:103).

Gibbon's remarks in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* on this aspect of the Islamic God-idea are: "The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the Unity of God. The Prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. In the Author of the Universe his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an Infinite and Eternal Being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of His own Nature, and deriving from Himself moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the Prophet, are primarily held by his disciples and defined by metaphysical precision. A philosophic theist might subscribe to the popular creed of Mahometans: a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding where we have abstracted from the unknown substance all idea of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of

Mahomet: his proselytes from India to Morocco are distinguished by the name of Unitarians, and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images."

The Islamic God-idea is helpful in intellectual, political, social, moral and spiritual advancements

The Islamic God-idea is, as Gibbon says, "rational". It does not outrage one's reason or intelligence or any scientific truths. There is no mathematical puzzle, as three-is-one and one-is-three, involved in it. Gibbon acknowledges, "More pure than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses, the religion of Mahomet might seem less inconsistent with reason than the creed of mystery and superstition which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the Gospel".

Undoubtedly, a "philosophic theist" would subscribe to the chaste God-idea expressed in the Qur'anic verses as these:

"Say He, God is one. God is He on Whom all depend. He begets not, nor is He begotten. And He has no peer" (112:1-4).

"And to Him submits whatever is in heavens and the earth willingly or unwillingly" (3:82).

"Say, have you considered your associates which you call upon besides God? Show me what part of the earth they have created, or have they any share in the heavens?" (25:40).

"And call not with God any other god; there is no god but He; His is the judgment, and to Him you will be returned" (28:88).

"God, there is no god but He, the Ever-living, the Self-subsisting by Whom all subsist" (3:2).

"Whatever is in heavens and whatever is in the earth declares the glory of God, the Sovereign, the Holy, the Mighty, the Wise" (62:1).

"And your God is one God. There is no god but He. He is the Beneficent, the Merciful" (2:163).

So pure and unalloyed has been the idea of the Unity of God in Islam that while Christianity and almost all other religions have deified their founders, the mighty Muhammad has proclaimed under the inspiration of his God:

"Say, I am only a mortal like you; it is revealed to me that your God is one God, therefore direct your way straight to Him and ask His pardon and woe to the polytheists, who do not give the alms and are unbelievers in the Hereafter. Those who believe and act aright shall surely have a reward never to be cut off" (41:6-8).

The two verses of the Qur'an that have been quoted above elevate the God-idea to the utmost philosophical height, when they declare that "Naught is as His likeness" and "Vision comprehends Him not".

How then can any created thing, even a highly spiritual or intellectual and powerful human being, represent Him fully in this perishable material body? How can a co-sharer be assigned to Him?

For a belief in God, while other religions are dogmatic, the Qur'an repeatedly appeals to the intelligence of man. It advises man to draw his inspirations and conclusions from nature and its laws even as the greatest German materialist of the age, Ernst Haeckel, whose Monism needs only a little improvement to become the pure Monotheism of Islam, did in these words: "The school of the twentieth century,

flourishing anew on this firm ground (of Monism), shall have to unfold to the rising youth not only the wonderful truths of the Cosmos, but also the inexhaustible treasures of beauty lying everywhere hidden therein. Whether we marvel at the lofty mountains or the magic world of the sea, whether with the telescope we explore the infinitely great wonders of the starry heavens, or with the microscope the yet more surprising wonders of a life infinitely small, everywhere does divine nature open up to us an inexhaustible fountain of aesthetic enjoyment. Blind and insensible have the great majority of mankind hitherto wandered through this wonderland of a world; a sickly and an unnatural theology has made it repulsive as a 'vale of tears'."

The Qur'an appeals to intelligence for a belief in God

The Qur'an has more eloquently and more effectively appealed to the intelligence of man for a belief in God. Read chapters 31:29 and 45:12-13, and particularly the following verses 3 to 18 from chapter 16:

"He created the heavens and the earth with the truth, highly exalted be He above what they associate (with Him)" (3).

"He created man from a small life-germ, and lo! he is an open contender" (4).

"And He created the cattle for you; you have in them warm clothing and (many advantages), and of them do you eat" (5).

"And they are pleasing to you when you drive them back (to home) and when you send them forth (to pasture)" (6).

"And they carry your heavy loads to regions which you could not reach but with distress of the souls, most surely your Lord is Compassionate, Merciful" (7).

"And (He made) horses and mules and asses that you might ride upon them and as an ornament; and He creates what you do not know" (8).

"And upon God it rests to show the right way, and there are some deviating (ways); and if He pleases He would certainly guide you all aright" (9).

"He it is Who sends down water from the cloud for you; it gives drink and by it (grow) the plants upon which you pasture" (10).

"He causes to grow for you thereby herbage, and the olives, and palm-trees and the grapes, and of all the fruits; most surely there is a sign in this for a people who reflect" (11).

"And He has made subservient to you the night and the day and the sun and the moon, and the stars are made subservient by His commandment; most surely there are signs in this for a people who ponder" (12).

"And what He has created in the earth of varied hues; most surely there is a sign in this for a people who are mindful" (13).

"And He it is Who has made the sea subservient that you may eat fresh flesh from it and bring forth from it ornaments which you wear, and you see the ships cleaving through it, and that you might seek of His bounty and that you may give thanks" (14).

"And He has cast great mountains on the earth lest it might be convulsed with you, and rivers and roads that you may go aright" (15).

"And landmarks; and by the stars they find the right way" (16).

"Is He then Who creates like him who does not create? Do you not then ponder?" (17).

"And if you would count God's favours, you will not be able to number them; most surely God is Forgiving, Merciful" (18).

The Qur'anic God-idea sharpens the intelligence of man and helps philosophers and scientists both to solve even those problems which they otherwise find difficult to solve.

Let the scientists take it from us that until they accept

the same attributes for the Author of the Universe, the first Cause, which the Qur'an has attributed to God, they will themselves remain dissatisfied with their theories as to "how and why" of this universe.

Perplexing questions can be answered only by a belief in God and the attributes as conceived by Islam

How did the molecules come into existence? How was energy engendered? What caused the coalition of protons and atoms to produce matter? How were the laws of gravity — the laws of attraction and repulsion — fixed? How were these gigantic and marvellous solar systems set to work? And above all, how was the life-germ which developed into a living, seeing, hearing, feeling and thinking being produced? Who was the creator or evolver of the mind and intelligence? If matter and energy were themselves eternal how was it that every other thing, which they are supposed by certain stupid scientists to have mechanically and accidentally caused to form or develop, was also not eternal? Was such a complex and such a marvellous mechanism as that of an eye developed without any design? Was there an object behind all the creation or was it evolved or developed in vain?

Now, how many of the above questions will it be possible to answer satisfactorily if we do not believe in the self-evident truth that there is One Self-existing, Self-sustaining, All-knowing, All-powerful Being as the following verses of the Qur'an indicate:

"Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth, and when He decreeth a thing He only sayeth to it 'Be' and there it is" (22:117).

"He brings forth the living from the dead and brings forth the dead from the living, and gives life to the earth after its death and then shall ye be brought forth" (30:19).

"And We did not create the heavens and the earth and what is between them in vain" (38:27).

"He said: Our *Rabb* (Evolver and Sustainer) is He Who gave to everything its creation (shape, measure and quantity of materials, etc.), and then guided it (to its goal of perfection)" (20:50).

Take the case of an expert physicist. His conclusion cannot but be that there must have been a "First Cause". Islam says, Yes, there was certainly a First Cause — and calls him *al-Mubdi* — the Great Originator or Beginner who can create something from nothing. But to a biologist the existence of a First Cause alone will not suffice. He is puzzled to know wherefrom came not only this energy but life itself. Sometimes he thinks that it came into existence on this earth accidentally somehow. Then he says it must have come from some other planet. But the Qur'an tells him that it came from *al-Hayy*, the Ever-living, and *al-Qayyum*, the Self-existent. It was created by *al-Mohyi* — the Life-giver. But a philosopher will not be satisfied by either believing only in a First Cause or in a Creator of the life-cell. He would like to know how that life-cell developed in an intelligent being like man. He would like to be assured that there was an intelligent mind behind it all. Islam gives him the assurance that there was One Who possessed the attributes of *al-Hakim*, *al-Bari* and *al-Musawwir*.

In fact, Islam will satisfy not only a physicist, a biologist and a philosopher, but all thinking men — all men of science.

Over and over again, man has been asked in the Qur'an to use his intelligence, to think, to ponder, and to make deductions.

Let a board of scientists meet to solve the problem of the "HOW" and "WHY" of this universe and let them go to the Qur'an when they reach insoluble points. If they find the Qur'anic research difficult, let them study, as carefully and as much without bias as possible, the ninety-nine attributive names of God with all the implications, and they alone will help them in coming to a satisfactory understanding of difficult problems.

For instance, let them study the following names:

Al-Rabb — the Evolver of a thing from stage to stage to its goal of perfection.

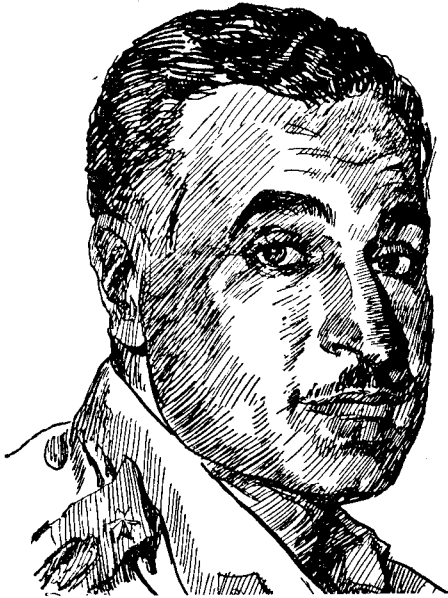
Al-Rahman — the Beneficent, who anticipates the progressing needs and provides them.

Let the scientists consider only these two attributes of God and they will solve some very intricate problems.

Every scientist arrives at the conclusion that everything and every man has been evolved by set laws. But he is at a loss to know by Whom these laws of evolution were framed so as to enable a plasmic cell, which is called in the Qur'an the "life-germ", to develop into a full-fledged man whose intelligence is superior to every other creature in the universe. From where did this miraculous intelligence come? How did life itself germinate? Surely atoms, molecules, protons — unintelligent energy and lifeless matter — even if they could (no intelligent man would say they could) create, by accident, the life-germ, they could not evolve from it a man — they could not evolve even a "fly" without an Evolver, without a *Rabb*. How could anything lacking life and intelligence itself evolve or create a being superior to itself? No! without the Ever-living and Self-existing, Intelligent Evolver — *al-Rabb*, Who not only has given life and soul to "dead" matter and has set laws to evolve, but has also made arrangement of nourishing or cherishing itself, no living thing, much less a human being, could be evolved. The theory of evolution of man reflects even greater credit upon the Creator than that of creation.

In the same way let a scientist, especially an inventor, put this question to himself: Could he invent anything if the material had not been provided beforehand for it? Who provided this material? How and why? Probably there is nothing which has proved so useful to man as the invention of the steam-engine. But could it have been invented or worked so usefully if there were no iron or coal or oil or electricity in store and if man had not been gifted with sufficient intelligence? Instead of being able to use the coal or electricity to his advantage he would have perished from coal-gas and electric currents if he had not been helped by God-given intelligence and reasoning powers to protect himself. If energy could not be produced, if mechanical motion could not be obtained, no steam-engine could be invented. Surely man did not create iron or coal? He did not create energy or electricity. Nor did he create his own intelligence.

The fact is that man, notwithstanding his God-given intelligence, has not been able to create anything at all. What he has done is that he has discovered certain things in nature and brought them for his use and under his subservience, by finding out their properties, created in them to a pre-measured quantity, of doing good and doing harm. Everything depends upon finding out these pre-measured properties, particularly in the case of medicines. When minutely analysed and examined these medicinal herbs have been found to be very elaborate and very delicately and suitably balanced chemical laboratories, manufacturing properties and juices beneficial as well as harmful, sometimes safeguarding even reactions.



Lt.-Colonel Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser

The Philosophy of the Revolution in Egypt

By Lt.-Colonel Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser

(Continued from July, 1954, page 32)

PART III

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ELEMENT OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION IN THE HISTORY OF EGYPT

"As I stood in front of the Ka'bah and felt my sentiments wandering to every part of the world where Islam had extended I found myself exclaiming, 'Our idea of the pilgrimage should change. Going to the Ka'bah should never be a passport to heaven, after a lengthy life. Neither should it be a simple effort to buy indulgences after an eventful life. The pilgrimage should be a great political power. The Press of the world should resort to and follow its news; not as a series of rituals and traditions which are done to amuse and entertain readers, but as a regular political congress wherein the leaders of Muslim States, their public men, their pioneers in every field of knowledge, their writers, their leading industrialists, merchants and youth, draw up in this universal Islamic parliament the main lines of policy for their countries and their co-operation together until they meet again. They should meet reverently, strong, free from greed but active, submissive to the Lord, but powerful against their difficulties and their enemies, dreaming of a new life, firm believers that they have a place under the sun which they should occupy for life'.

I recall I expressed some of these sentiments to His Majesty King Sa'ud. He said to me, 'This is the real wisdom of the pilgrimage'. Verily I cannot visualize a higher wisdom.

When my mind travelled to the 80,000,000 Muslims in Indonesia, the 50,000,000 in China, the millions in Malaya, Siam, and Burma, the millions in Pakistan and India, the 100,000,000 or more in the Middle East, and the 40,000,000 in Russia, as well as the other millions in the distant parts of the world, when I visualize these millions united in one faith, I have a great consciousness of the tremendous potentialities that co-operation amongst them all can achieve: a co-operation that does not deprive them of their loyalty to their countries but which guarantees for them and their brethren a limitless power".

What I have said in Parts I and II

For the third time I return to the philosophy of the Revolution. I revert to it after three months or more, full of rapid events and successive developments. Three months passed during which I did more than once try to find time to record these impressions on the philosophy of the Revolution. My efforts have gone with the winds of successive developments which blew them away and dispersed them in space.

But the wind that blew away my efforts to register these impressions hardly affected the impressions themselves. It is true these impressions were not recorded on paper, but they continued to turn round and round in my mind and react with other impressions already there seeking other details, whether in my memory or in the events of the day, to add to themselves and thus make the picture correct and clear.

But what is the correct and clear picture I would like to draw this time? And what relation has it to the attempts I had made to depict, in the first part of this discourse and

then in the second part, these impressions on the philosophy of the Revolution?

In Part I, I discussed how the Revolution first started within us as individuals, in ourselves as normal types of the youth of our generation. I spoke of the Revolution and its place in the history of our people, and of 3rd July as a day in that Revolution. In Part II, I dealt with the attempts we made as we proceeded along the road to revolution and how our national history has determined that road, whether in our consideration of the past, a consideration full of morals, or in our aspiration of the future, an aspiration charged with hope.

On those previous occasions I spoke of "time", but the "place" also claims its right. Let me therefore speak of "place" on this occasion.

I do not aim at a complicated philosophical discussion of "time and place", but there is no doubt that the world, and not our country only, is the result of the reaction of time and place. In depicting the circumstances of our country, I said we could not forget the element of "time". We cannot forget the element of "place" either.

In simple language, we cannot go back to the tenth century and wear its robes, which strike us as being curious and ridiculous nowadays. Neither can we lose our way in the ideas which appear in front of us — utterly black and without a single ray of light filtering through them. In the same way we cannot act as if our country is a part of Alaska in the Far North or as if we are on Wake Island, which lies distant and deserted in the vastness of the Pacific. If time imposes upon us its evolution, place also imposes upon us its reality. Having discussed time on the two previous occasions, I shall now discuss place.

Our position on the map of the world — our ties with the Arab and Muslim worlds

We should first of all agree upon one thing before we proceed further with this discourse, and that is to define the boundaries of place as far as we are concerned. If I were told that our place is the capital we live in I beg to differ. If I were told that our place is limited by the political boundaries of our country I also do not agree. If our problem, as a whole, is confined within our capital or inside our political boundaries, it will be easy. We would lock ourselves in, close all the doors and live in an ivory tower away as much as possible from the world, its complications, its wars and crises. All these crash through the gates of our country and leave their effects upon us, though we have nothing to do with them.

The era of isolation is now gone. Gone also are the days when barbed wire marked the frontiers separating and isolating countries, and every country must look beyond its frontiers to find out where the currents that affected it spring, how it should live with others, etc. It has become imperative that every country should look around itself to find out its position and its environment and decide what it can do, what its vital sphere is and where the scene of its activity and what its positive role could be in this troubled world.

Often as I sit in my study and think quickly of this subject I ask myself, "What is our positive role in this troubled world and where is the scene in which we can play that role?"

I survey our conditions and find out we are in a group of circles which should be the theatre of our activity and in which we try to move as much as we can.

Fate does not play jokes. Events are not produced haphazardly. Existence cannot come out of nothing.

We cannot look stupidly at a map of the world without realizing our place therein and the role determined to us by that place. Neither can we ignore that there is an Arab circle surrounding us and that this circle is as much part of us as we are part of it, that our history has been mixed with it and that its interests are linked with ours. These are actual facts and not mere words.

Can we ignore that there is a continent of Africa in which fate has placed us and which is destined today to witness a terrible struggle for its future? This struggle will affect us whether we want it to or not.

Can we ignore that there is a Muslim world with which we are tied by bonds which are not only forged by religious faith but also tightened by the facts of history. I said once that fate plays no jokes. It is not in vain that our country lies to the south-west of Asia close to the Arab world, whose life is intermingled with ours. It is not in vain that our country lies in the north-east of Africa, a position from which it looks upon the dark continent wherein rages today the most violent struggle between white colonizers and black natives for the possession of its inexhaustible resources. It is not in vain that Islamic civilization and Islamic heritage,

which the Mongols ravaged in their conquest of the old Islamic capitals, retreated and sought refuge in Egypt, where they found shelter and safety as a result of the counter-attack with which Egypt repelled the invasion of these Tartars at 'Ain Jalout.

All these are fundamental facts, whose roots lie deeply in our life; whatever we do, we cannot forget them or run away from them.

I see no reason why, as I sit alone in my study with my thoughts wandering away, I should recall, at this stage of my thinking, a well-known story by the Italian poet Luigi Pirandelli, which he called "Six Personalities in Search of Actors".

The annals of history are full of heroes who carved for themselves great and heroic roles and played them on momentous occasions on the stage. History is also charged with great heroic roles which do not find actors to play them on the stage. I do not know why I always imagine that in this region in which we live there is a role wandering aimlessly about seeking an actor to play it. I do not know why this role, tired of roaming about in this vast region, which extends to every place around us, should at last settle down, weary and worn out, on our frontiers, beckoning us to move, to dress up for it and to perform it, since there is no one else who can do so.

Here I hasten to point out that this role is not a leading role. It is one of interplay of reactions and experiments with all these factors aiming at exploding this terrific energy latent in every sphere around us and at the creation, in this region, of a tremendous power capable of lifting this region up and making it play its positive role in the construction of the future of humanity.

There is no doubt that the Arab circle is the most important and the most closely connected with us. Its history merges with ours. We have suffered the same hardships, lived the same crises, and when we fell prostrate under the spikes of the horses of conquerors, they lay with us.

Religion also fused this circle with us. The centres of religious enlightenment radiated from Mecca, from Kufa and later from Cairo.

I became Arab conscious as a student in a secondary school — my reminiscences in the Palestine campaign

These were also collected in an environment in which all these historic, spiritual and material factors are closely knitted. As far as I am concerned, I remember that the first elements of Arab consciousness began to filter into my mind as a student in secondary schools, wherefrom I went out with my fellow schoolboys on strike on 2nd December of every year as a protest against the Balfour Declaration whereby England gave the Jews a national home usurped unjustly from its legal owners.

When I asked myself at that time why I left my school enthusiastically and why I was angry for this land which I never saw, I could not find an answer except the echoes of sentiment. Later a form of comprehension of this subject began when I was a cadet in the Military College studying the Palestine campaigns in particular and the history and conditions of this region in general which rendered it, throughout the last century, an easy prey ravaged by the claws of a pack of hungry beasts.

My comprehension began to be clearer as the foundation of its facts stood out when I began to study, as a student in the staff college, the Palestine campaign and the problems of the Mediterranean in greater detail.

I remember one day, after the partition of Palestine was declared in September 1947, the Liberal officers held a meet-

ing, during which they decided to assist the resistance movement in Palestine. The next day I went to the house of Hadj Amin al-Husaini, the Mufti of Palestine, who then lived in Zeitoun, Cairo. I said to him, "You need officers to direct battles, and to train volunteers. There are a great number of officers in the Egyptian army who would like to volunteer. They are at your disposal any time you require." Hadj Amin expressed his admiration of the spirit but he thought he would ask permission of the Egyptian Government before he said anything. He said to me, "I shall give you my reply after I have received the permission of the Egyptian Government". I went back to him after a few days. The answer he received from the Egyptian Government was refusal.

But we did not remain silent. Later the artillery of Ahmad 'Abd al-'Aziz began to hammer the Jewish colonies south of Jerusalem. The artillery officer in charge was Kamal al-Din Husain, a member of the constituent committee of the Liberal officers, which has now become the Council of the Revolution.

I also recall another secret which was most valued by the Liberal officers. Hasan Ibrahim had left for Damascus, where he contacted some officers of Fawzy al-Kawookjy. Al-Kawookjy was then the commander of the forces of Arab Liberation, and was preparing a decisive battle in the northern zone of Palestine. Hasan Ibrahim and 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi planned an audacious idea for a decisive action in the battle for which the Liberation forces were then preparing. The main lines of this plan were based on the recognition of the fact that the Arab Liberation forces had no planes to support them in the battle and tilt the balance of victory in their favour. Had they had a supporting force from the air, which would bombard the focus of the operation from above, it would have been a deciding factor. But where could the Liberation forces get the planes to fulfil this dream?

Hasan Ibrahim and 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi did not hesitate to mention that the Egyptian Air Force should perform this assignment. But how? Egypt was not yet in the Palestine war. Supervision over the armed forces, including the Air Force, was close and alert. Yet despair could not penetrate into the details of this plan. A wonderful movement began in the aerodrome of the Air Force. Tremendous energy for the repair and the preparation of planes was noticeable. Remarkable efforts for training and exercise spread like wildfire among the pilots; and very few knew the secret. Those who did understood that the planes and the pilots were getting ready for the day when a secret signal would come from Syria. They would then fly out to take part in the decisive battle for the Holy Land. They would then proceed to an aerodrome near Damascus, where they would land and wait the repercussions in Egypt and hear the echoes of this movement they had embarked upon; after that they would decide on which course to take. The most likely possibility was that every pilot who took part in the operation would be court-martialled. Many had already planned their lives if circumstances stood between them and their return to the Mother Country for a number of years.

The feeling of the Executive Committee of the Liberal officers, which was emphatically the feeling which every pilot who took part in this daring plan entertained, was neither love of adventure nor a reaction of the sentiment. It was a remarkable consciousness of our fate that Rafah was not the last boundary of our country, and that our sphere of security compels us to defend the frontiers of our brethren, with whom we were destined to live together in one region.

The plan did not materialize then because we did not get the secret signal from Syria. Later, circumstances

necessitated that all Arab armies should enter the Palestine war.

I do not want now to discuss the details of the Palestine war. This is a subject that needs several many-sided discussions. But one strange lesson of the Palestine war I would like to mention: the Arab nations entered the Palestine war with the same degree of enthusiasm. They all shared the same feelings and had known quite well the limits of their security. They came out of the war with the same bitterness and frustration. Every one of them was thus exposed, in its own country, to the same factors and was governed by the same forces that caused their defeat; and made them bow their heads low with shame and humiliation.

I sat by myself several times in the trenches and dug-outs of Iraq al-Manshia. I was then the staff officer of the sixth company, which held this sector, defended it sometimes, and used it for attack often.

I used to walk amidst the ruins all around me, which were left after the bombardments of the enemy. There I travelled far in my imagination. My voyage took me to the sphere of the stars, where I would regard the whole area from my great height above. The picture lay before me at that time quite clear. Here was the place wherein we lay besieged. There were the posts of our company and those of other companies that shared the same lines with us. Beyond were the enemy forces surrounding us. In other places there were other forces of ours besieged also and unable to move, and had space only to manoeuvre on a small scale.

The political circumstances prevailing in the capital from whence we received our orders threw round them all a siege more effective and paralysed us more than anything the enemy, who lay in Falouga, could do to us.

There were also the forces of our brothers-in-arms in the big homeland, in the common interest and the motive that sent us rushing to the land of Palestine. There were the armies of our brethren, which were also our armies; all were besieged by the circumstances that surrounded them and their governments. They all seemed like pawns in a game of chess, powerless and without will, except in so far as the hands of players move them.

All our nations seemed, beyond our rear lines, the victims of a tightly-woven conspiracy which deliberately concealed from their eyes the facts of events and misguided them beyond self-recognition.

From the height of the stars above I used to come down to earth often and feel that I really defended my home and my children. Neither my dreams, the capitals, the States, the peoples, nor history, meant anything to me then. This was how I felt when, in my wanderings, I came upon the children of refugees who were caught in the tentacles of the siege after their homes had been demolished and their property lost. I particularly remember a young girl of the same age as my daughter. I saw her rushing out, amidst danger and stray bullets and, bitten by the pangs of hunger and cold, looking for a crust of bread or a rag of cloth. I said to myself, "This may happen to my daughter". I believe that what was happening in Palestine could happen, and may still happen today, in any part of this region, as long as it resigns itself to the factors and the forces which dominate now.

Imperialism and Zionism

After the siege and the battles in Palestine I came home with the whole region in my mind as one complete whole. The events that followed confirmed this belief in me. As I pursued the developments of the situation I found nothing but echoes responding one to the other. An event may

happen in Cairo today ; it is repeated in Damascus, Beirut, Amman or any other place tomorrow. This was naturally in conformity with the picture that experience has left within me: one region, the same factors and circumstances, even the same forces opposing them all. It was clear that imperialism was the most prominent of these forces ; even Israel was but one of the outcomes of imperialism. If it had not fallen under British mandate, Zionism could not have found the necessary support to realize the idea of a national home in Palestine. That idea would have remained a foolish vision, practically hopeless.

As I put down these impressions, I have before me the memoirs of Hayem Weizemann, the President of the Republic of Israel and its real founder. These memoirs were published in his famous book called *Trial and Error*. They contain certain passages worthy of consideration on account of the particular stamp they bear. I pause at the following: "It was essential," Weizemann wrote, "that a big power should assist us. There were two great powers in the world who could give us this assistance, Germany and Britain. As for Germany, she preferred to keep away and avoid any intervention. Britain was sympathetic and patronizing."

Again I pause as I behold Weizemann saying, "It happened during the Sixth Zionist Conference which we held in Switzerland that Hertzal stood declaring that Great Britain only, of all the States of the world, had recognized the Jews as a nation in an independent form and apart from others. 'We, the Jews,' he continued, 'are worthy of having a home and being a State.' Hertzal then read a letter to that effect from Lord Latterson on behalf of the British Government. In this letter Lord Latterson offered us the territory of Uganda to be a national home. The members of the Conference accepted the offer. After that we suppressed and checkmated this proposal at its early stage and buried it without clamour. Britain again sought to satisfy us. After this proposal we formed a commission of a considerable number of Jewish savants, who proceeded to Cairo to study the territory of Sinai. There they met Lord Cromer, who sympathized with our aspiration to achieve a national home. Later I met Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, who hastened to ask me, 'Why didn't you accept Uganda as a national home?' I replied that Zionism is a national and political movement, but there is also the spiritual side which we cannot overlook. I am certain that if we ignore this spiritual aspect we shall not be able to realize our political and national vision. I also asked Balfour, 'What would you do if somebody would suggest you take Paris instead of London? Would you accept?'"

I also ponder over another passage in Weizemann's *Trial and Error*: "In the autumn of 1921 I returned to London where I was called to supervise the drafting of the covenant of the British mandate in Palestine. The rough draft should have been submitted to the League of Nations in order that it might adopt a resolution upon it. Afterwards the Conference of St. Remo approved the very idea of the mandate.

"Lord Curzon had then replaced Lord Balfour as Foreign Secretary and he was responsible for the drafting of the covenant. With us in London then was the great jurist Ibn Cohen, one of the ablest authors of legal formulae in the world. Eric Adam, Curzon's secretary, also co-operated with us. We had a difference with Curzon, a difference which was the first and the last.

"We had recorded in the draft of the covenant a clause pledging Britain to the Balfour Declaration, and demanding that its policy in Palestine should be on the basis of a national home for the Jews. The text of the clause we wrote was as

follows: 'And the recognition of the historic rights of the Jews in Palestine'. Curzon proposed that this clause should be toned down so as not to arouse the Arabs when they read it. He proposed it should read: 'And the recognition of the connections of the Jews and their historic relations with Palestine'."

I wish to continue quoting from Weizemann's *Trial and Error*, but we know that these old incidents were the first germs of the dreadful repercussions that tore Palestine into shreds and destroyed its very existence.

Imperialism can be defended by an Arab united struggle

I now revert to what I was discussing, namely, that imperialism is the great force that throws around the whole region a fatal siege a hundred times stricter and more cruel than the siege around us in Falouga or around our armies and our governments in their capitals, from whence we received our orders.

I thus began to believe, after these facts became established within me, in one common struggle, and repeat to myself, "As long as the region is one, and its conditions, its problems and its future, and even the enemy are the same, however different are the masks that the enemy covers its face with, why should we dissipate our efforts? The experience of what followed 23rd July increased my faith in a united struggle and its necessity. The secret of the picture began to reveal itself and the darkness which shrouded its details began to disappear."

I confess I also began to visualize the great obstacles that blocked the way of a united struggle. But I also believe that these stumbling blocks should be removed because they are the work of the one and the same enemy. I commenced lately a series of political contacts with the object of unifying the struggle whatever is the means. I came out of these contacts with an important result, namely, that the primary obstacle in our path is "suspicion". The seeds of that suspicion were sown in us by the common enemy in order to stand between us and the united struggle.

I recollect that one day I sat talking to an Arab politician and a colleague of his. As he replied to me he turned to his colleague to find out the effects of his answer before he tried to discover its result on me. I said to him, "Overcome all suspicion you have and pour out to me all the contents of your heart ; look me in the face and regard me in the eye". I do not mean to lighten the obstacles that lie between us and the unification of the struggle. Some of them are intricate and have roots deep in the environment and the historical and geographical circumstances which involve them. But is it certain that with a fixed amount of elasticity, derived from far-sightedness and not from negligence, we may find the position we should all take without embarrassment or obstinacy in order to carry the united struggle?

I do not hesitate for one moment to mention that our united struggle would achieve for us and our peoples everything we wish and aspire to ; I shall always go on saying that we are strong but the great catastrophe is that we do not know the extent of our strength.

Half the world's petroleum still lies underground in the Arab regions

We make a mistake in our definition of power. Power is not merely shouting aloud. Power is to act positively with all the components of power.

When I attempt to analyze the components of our power I cannot help but point out three principal forces of power which should be the first to be taken into account.



This picture illustrates the point that the Prime Minister of Egypt, Lt.-Colonel Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser, makes about the "third circle of Islam" that surrounds the Egyptians.

Our picture shows His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, on a visit to Egypt, to which country he had repaired to visit the historic and sacred places of Islam. To his left is the Egyptian Minister of Awqaf (Religious Trusts), The Shaikh Hasan al-Bakuri



The first source is that we are a group of neighbouring peoples joined together with such spiritual and material bonds as can ever join any group of peoples. Our peoples have traits, components and civilization, in whose atmosphere the three sacred and heavenly creeds have originated. This cannot be altogether ignored in any effort at reconstructing a stable world in which peace prevails.

As for the second source, it is our territory itself and the position it has on the map of the world, that important strategic situation which can be rightly considered the meeting-place, the crossroad and the military corridor of the world.

The third source is petroleum, which is the vital nerve of civilization, without which all its means cannot possibly exist, whether huge works for production, modes of communication by land, sea and air, weapons of war, whether they are planes flying above the clouds or submarines submerged under layers of water. All these, without petroleum, would become mere pieces of rusty iron, motionless and lifeless.

I wish I could linger a while and discuss petroleum. Its existence, as a material fact established by statistics and figures, is worth making it a model for a discussion of the importance of the sources of power in our countries.

I have recently read a treatise published by Chicago University on the state of petroleum. I wish every one of our people could read it, ponder upon its meanings, and give free play to his mind to realize the great significance which lies behind figures and statistics. This treatise shows for example that to extract the petrol of Arab countries would not cost a great deal of money.

Petrol companies have spent \$60,000,000 in Columbia

since 1916 and did not find a drop of oil until 1936. These companies also spent \$44,000,000 in Venezuela and did not find a drop of oil until after fifteen years.

These companies again spent \$30,000,000 in the Dutch East Indies and did not strike oil until recently.

The final result which this treatise proved is as follows:

The capital necessary for extracting one barrel of petrol in the Arab countries is ten cents; the centre of oil production has shifted from the United States of America, where oil-wells have been exhausted, where the price of land is exorbitant, and where wages of workers are high, to the Arab territory, where the wells are untouched and in a virgin state, where expensive land can be had for nothing, and where labour accepts subsistence wages.

It is a fact that half the world's reserve of petroleum is still underground in the Arab regions, and the second half is distributed among the United States of America, Russia, the Caribbean and other countries of the world.

It is also established that the average output of one well of oil per day is as follows:

11 barrels in the United States of America;

230 barrels in Venezuela; and

4,000 barrels in the Arab region.

I hope I have succeeded in explaining clearly the degree of importance of this element of power.

We can consider ourselves, therefore, powerful, though not in the loudness of our voices whether we cry, wail or appeal for help, but powerful when we sit calm and count in figures our capacity for work, powerful in our thorough understanding of the strength of this bond which links us and which makes our territory one.

None of its component parts could be isolated from the



His Majesty King Sa'ud I

When Lt.-Colonel Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser placed his views before His Majesty King Sa'ud I about the real purpose and philosophy that underlie the institution of Pilgrimage to Mecca — "a universal Islamic Parliament for drawing up the main lines of policy for the Muslim countries" — His Majesty remarked, "This is the real wisdom of the Pilgrimage"

other; none could be as independent as an island, unconnected with the other parts.

The three circles that surround the Egyptians — the circle of the petroleum world, the circle of Africa, the circle of the world of Islam

Such is the first circle in which we must revolve and attempt to move in as much as we possibly can. It is the Arab circle.

If we direct our attention after that to the second circle, the circle of the continent of Africa, I would say, without exaggeration, that we cannot, in any way, stand aside, even if we wish to, from the sanguinary and dreadful struggle now raging in the heart of Africa between five million whites and two hundred million Africans.

We cannot do so for one principal and clear reason, namely, that we are in Africa. The people of Africa will continue to look up to us, who guard the northern gate of the continent and who are its connecting link with the world outside. We cannot, under any condition, relinquish our responsibility in helping, in every possible way, to diffuse the light and civilization into the farthest parts of that virgin jungle.

There is another important reason. The Nile is the artery of life for our country. It draws its supply of water from the heart of the continent.

There remains the Sudan, our beloved brother, whose boundaries extend deeply into Africa and which is a neighbour to all the sensitive spots in the centre of the continent.

It is a certain fact that Africa at present is the scene of an exciting ebullition. The white man, who represents several European countries, is again trying to repartition the continent. We cannot stand aside in the face of what is taking place in Africa on the assumption that it does not concern or affect us.

I shall continue to dream of the day when I see in Cairo a great institute for exploring all parts of this continent, arousing in our minds an enlightening and real consciousness and contributing with others in the different centres of the world towards the progress and prosperity of Africa.

The circle of the world of Islam and our ties with it

The third circle now remains — the circle that goes beyond continents and oceans and to which I referred as the circle of our brethren in faith who turn with us, whatever part of the world they are in, towards the same Qiblah in Mecca, and whose pious lips whisper reverently the same prayers.

My faith in the positive efficacy which can be the outcome of further strengthening the Islamic bonds with all other Muslims became deeper when I went to the Sa'udi kingdom with the Egyptian mission who went there to offer condolences on the occasion of the death of its late king.

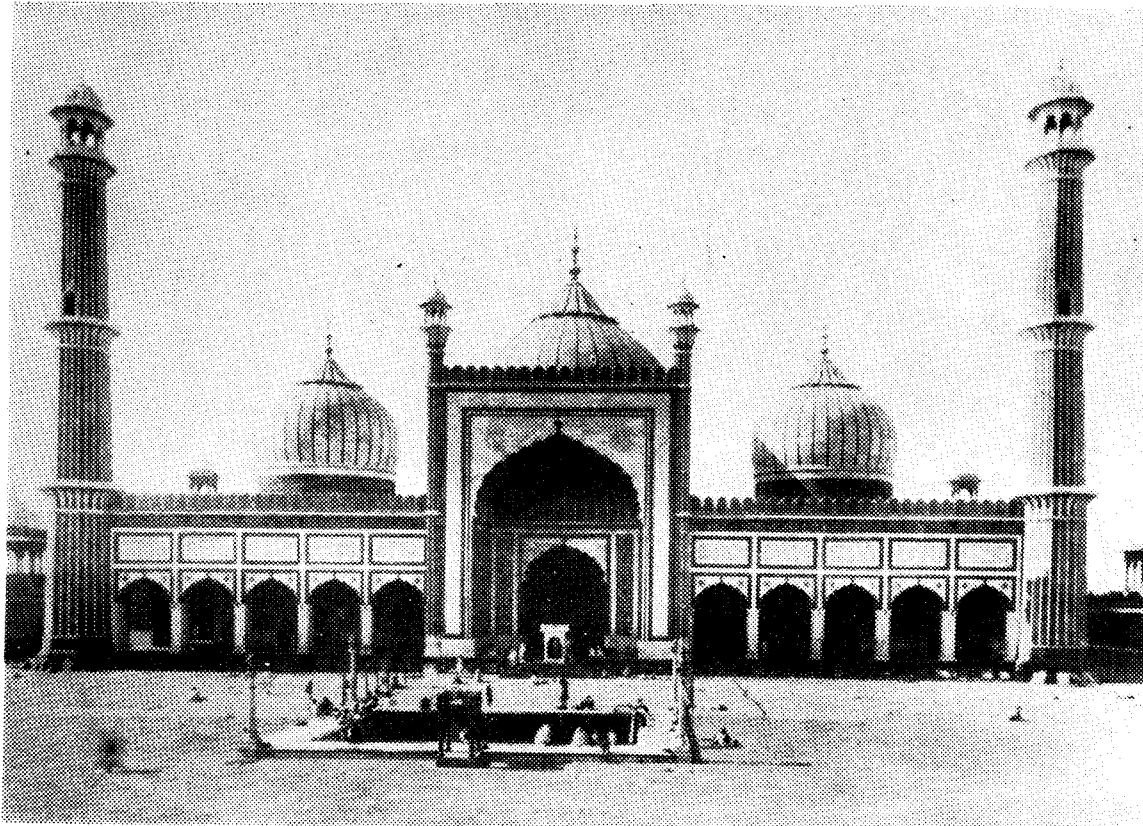
As I stood in front of the Ka'bah and felt my sentiments wandering to every part of the world where Islam had extended I found myself exclaiming, "Our idea of the pilgrimage should change. Going to the Ka'bah should never be a passport to heaven, after a lengthy life. Neither should it be a simple effort to buy indulgences after an eventful life. The pilgrimage should be a great political power. The Press of the world should resort to and follow its news; not as a series of rituals and traditions which are done to amuse and entertain readers, but as a regular political congress wherein the leaders of Muslim States, their public men, their pioneers in every field of knowledge, their writers, their leading industrialists, merchants and youth, draw up in this universal Islamic parliament the main lines of policy for their countries and their co-operation together until they meet again. They should meet reverently, strong, free from greed but active, submissive to the Lord, but powerful against their difficulties and their enemies, dreaming of a new life, firm believers that they have a place under the sun which they should occupy for life."

I recall I expressed some of these sentiments to His Majesty King Sa'ud. He said to me, "This is the real wisdom of the pilgrimage". Verily I cannot visualize a higher wisdom.

When my mind travelled to the 80,000,000 Muslims in Indonesia, the 50,000,000 in China, the millions in Malaya, Siam and Burma, the millions in Pakistan and India, the 100,000,000 or more in the Middle East, and the 40,000,000 in Russia, as well as the other millions in the distant parts of the world, when I visualize these millions united in one faith, I have a great consciousness of the tremendous potentialities that co-operation amongst them all can achieve: a co-operation that does not deprive them of their loyalty to their countries but which guarantees for them and their brethren a limitless power.

I now revert to the wandering role that seeks an actor to perform it. Such is the role, such are its features, and such is its stage.

We, and only we, are impelled by our environment and are capable of performing this role.



The Mosques of Delhi

by
GURBAKSH
LAL

A frontal view of the world-famed Jumu'ah Masjid (the Friday Mosque) at Delhi, India

The Jumu'ah Masjid

Delhi has some of the finest mosques in India. The best and biggest of them all is the *Jumu'ah Masjid* (Friday Mosque), which is in fact one of the largest and finest mosques in the world. This mosque, which was built by Shah Jehan (1628-1659 C.E.), the builder of the world-famous Taj Mahal, stands on high rocky ground about 1,000 yards from the Red Fort.

The *Jumu'ah Masjid* is built on a red sandstone terrace, about 30 ft. from the level of the ground. According to contemporary accounts, six thousand men worked daily for six years to build this mosque, which cost one million rupees. The courtyard of the mosque is reached on three sides by three flights of over thirty steps. On the fourth (western) side of the terrace stands the mosque, three sides of which are formed by open arched colonnades, with a lofty gateway in the centre.

The mosque, which is a perfect specimen of the Byzantine-Arabic style, is about 261 ft. long and 90 ft. wide, and its roof is surmounted by three domes ornamented with alternate stripes of black and white marble and gilt pinnacles. The domes are flanked by two lofty minarets longitudinally striped with white marble and red stone about 120 ft. high and containing 130 steps.

A quality of this magnificent building is that it retains its beauty from whatever point or in whatever light one looks at it. The architect of the *Jumu'ah Masjid*, which is the best of all Mughal mosques in India, was the famous Ustad Khalil, and its present Imam is the descendant of the Imam appointed by Shah Jehan himself.

The Fatehpuri Masjid

The second most important mosque in Delhi is the *Fatehpuri Masjid* at the end of the Chandni Chowk. It was built in the year 1650 C.E. by Fatehpuri Begum, one of the wives of Shah Jehan. This is perhaps the only single-domed mosque in Delhi and its lofty, flanking minarets and huge single dome have an imposing effect from a distance. Three heavy tower-like gateways, with arched entrances and embattled parapets flanked by slim masonry minarets, lead into a high-walled enclosure about 80 yards square. The first object which one encounters on entering the enclosure is the tank in front of the mosque, which is about 16 yards long and 14 yards wide. Between the tank and the mosque is a sandstone paved and walled courtyard, 130 ft. long and 90 ft. wide.

The mosque stands on a plinth $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and is an oblong of 120 ft. by 40 ft. The dome of the mosque is bulbous in shape, and stands on a stone and masonry cylinder about 4 ft. high. It is built of sandstone covered with lime plaster and is painted with longitudinal stripes of black and white.

The Zinat Masjid

Zinat al-Nisa, one of the daughters of Emperor Aurangzeb (d. 1707 C.E.), built a fine mosque in Daryaganj in 1700 C.E. Known as the *Zinat Masjid* (ornament of mosques), it is one of the largest mosques in Delhi. This mosque is built on a terrace which rises about 14 ft. from the level of the ground and which is 195 ft. long and 110 ft. broad, with a tank, 45 ft. by 33 ft., in the centre. The mosque

proper is about 150 ft. long and 60 ft. broad, and stands on a plinth about 4 ft. from the level of the courtyard. Three huge domes, longitudinally striped with bands of black and white marble, surmount the roof of the mosque. The centre dome is 37 ft. high and the side domes are 30 ft. from the roof. The front of the mosque is flanked by two red sandstone minarets, each about 100 ft. high.

The Sunehri Masjid

A mosque of special interest to Delhi is the *Sunehri Masjid* (the Golden Mosque) near the Kotwali in the Chandni Chowk. It was on the roof of this mosque that Nadir Shah sat when he ordered the massacre of Delhi citizens on 22nd March 1739. This mosque was built in 1712 C.E. by Roshanuddaulah, the favourite Minister of Muhammad Shah, one of the later Mughals. It is an oblong of 48 ft. by 19 ft., and stands on a masonry platform about 11 ft. from the level of the ground. It has three gilt domes, and its court, which is paved with sandstone, is about 50 ft. long and 22 ft. wide. There is another *Sunehri Masjid* on the *maidan* in front of the Red Fort on the Daryaganj side. This one is very small and has no gilt on its domes.

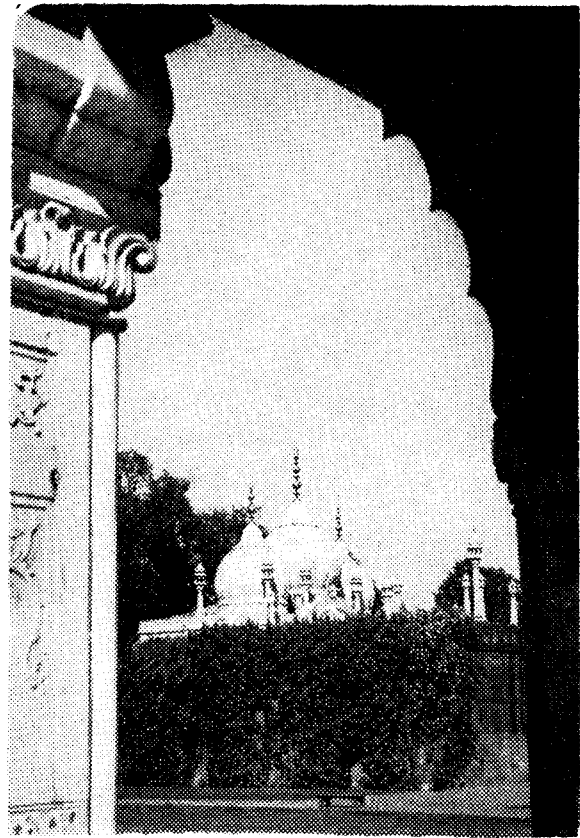
The Moti Masjid

The *Moti Masjid* (Pearl Mosque) in the Red Fort, though very small, is about the prettiest building of its kind in India. Built throughout of marble by Emperor Aurangzeb in 1659 C.E., it was used as the private chapel of the later Mughal Emperors. The court of the mosque, which is 40 ft. by 35 ft., is paved with marble and enclosed by walls about 20 ft. high; the inner face of the walls is covered with marble and the outer with red sandstone. The body of the mosque is about 40 ft. by 30 ft.; it is about 25 ft. high from the floor to the roof, and about 12 ft. more from the roof to the top of the centre pinnacle. Its domes, also of white marble, are more bulbous than those of earlier Mughal buildings and are surmounted by richly gilt pinnacles.

One of the most beautiful mosques built in Delhi before the time of the Mughals is the one built by Sher Shah Suri (d. 1545 C.E.) in the Old Fort. It is an oblong building 168 ft. long, 44 ft. wide, and 44 ft. high from the floor to the roof, and about 16 ft. from the roof to the top of the dome. In the western wall of the mosque, and corresponding with its five arched doorways, are three recessed arches, richly ornamented with white and black marble and red sandstone carvings, and engraved with verses from the Qur'an. There is a tank in the courtyard of this mosque, and this was repaired by Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan some time ago.

The Kalan Masjid

Perhaps the best example of a pre-Mughal mosque in Delhi is provided by the *Kalan Masjid* (Big Mosque) near the Turkman Gate. It is a relic of Firoz Shah Tughlaq's city of



A view of the Moti Masjid inside the Red Fort, Delhi, India

In its conception of design and architecture this Mosque lives up to its name

Firozabad and was built by his *wazir* Khan Jahan in the thirteenth century C.E. It is an oblong block of building 140 ft. in length and 12 ft. in breadth, and the walls are 6 ft. deep built on ground somewhat higher than that which surrounds it. It is one of the most prominent structures in the city of Delhi and consists of two storeys.

The Quwwat al-Islam Masjid

About the oldest mosque in Delhi is the one known as the *Quwwat al-Islam Masjid* (the Mosque of the Might of Islam) near the famed Qutb Minar. Begun by Qutb al-Din Aibak (d. 1210 C.E.) in 1191 C.E., this mosque was the *Jumu'ah Masjid* of the sultans of Delhi for almost two centuries, and additions to it were carried out by Altamash and 'Ala al-Din Khilji (1295-1315 C.E.). In the centre of its courtyard stands the well-known Iron Pillar belonging to about 500 C.E.



The desert that was



The desert that blossomed

A DESERT THAT BLOSSOMED

or

THE ARAB DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY, JERICHO, JORDAN

The history and original aims of the Arab Development Society

This is the story of the Arab Development Society of Jordan, and of its President and driving spirit, Mr. Musa al-'Alami. The story tells how the determination and vigour of one man made a desert blossom and gave a home and a hope to destitute Arab refugees from Palestine.

The Arab Development Society was formed in Palestine in 1945 as a non-profit organization with the object of raising the social, economic and educational standards of the Arab villages in Palestine. Its purpose was to help increase the income of the peasants from their lands by offering them the services of experts, improving their seed and stock, employing modern agricultural machinery, promoting new methods of farming, and organizing co-operative societies for the better planning of cultivation and for better marketing. The Society also aimed at removing illiteracy from the villages, by opening schools for the children and night classes for the adults. It also sought to improve living conditions in the villages by remodelling and repairing houses in order to make them healthier and more hygienic; and where possible by building model villages in different areas for the guidance of the peasants and instructing them in the planning, building and organizing of a village.

The Society prepared a five-year plan of action for which £1,000,000 was needed annually.

The Arab Development Society submitted its plan to the Arab League and asked for its support. The League approved the Society's plans, and in November 1945 passed a resolu-

tion calling upon all Arab States to contribute to the Society's funds. But this resolution was never fully implemented. Of the seven Arab States who are members of the Arab League, only Iraq made any financial contribution to the Society, amounting to £250,000. The Society carried out a survey of over 350 Arab villages in Palestine, established committees affiliated to the Society in scores of villages to give advice and help to the inhabitants in development projects.

In 1947, with £50,000, it bought more than 5,000 *dunums* of land (i.e., 1,250 acres) in the Jenine district for the purpose of building a model village. As a result of the Partition of Palestine it lost this land to Israel.

The war in Palestine and the Society's new aims

The war in Palestine as a result of the United Nations resolution, and the emergence of Israel, resulted in almost 800 of the 990 Arab villages in Palestine being lost to the Jews, and wiped out the greater part of the investment made by the Society. 1,056,000 Arabs were driven from their homes and made destitute.

In the face of this tragedy the Society set before it a new task. With the meagre resources at its disposal it sought to settle and organize the Arab peasants who were uprooted from Palestine and to create, in what remained of Palestine in Arab hands, the conditions of settled life for them.

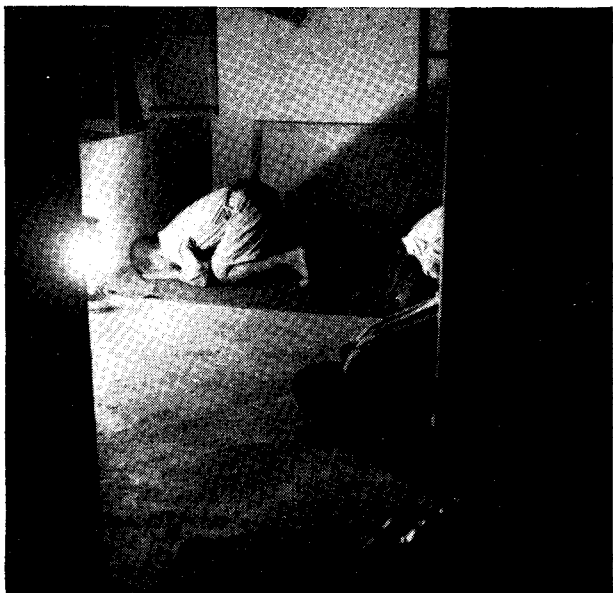
The Society obtained Government permission to enter into, and reclaim, 2,000 acres of land near Jericho, seven miles north of the Dead Sea, and 1,000 feet below sea-level.

THE ARAB DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY

The promise of a future of wh...

THE Y
Physical T

Religious Education



Spiritual Education is not neglected

Left — The picture shows a young Arab refugee from Palestine leading his colleagues in prayer at the Training Centre of the Arab Development Society's flourishing settlement near Jericho in the Jordan Valley.

★

Centre—The Arab Development Society began its search for water in 1949. Five months' drilling with an ancient drilling rig resulted in a near-miracle: fresh water was found. The water meant irrigation and development for the Jordan Valley. It also gave promise of homes, farms and, what was most important, the possibility of settlement for thousands of destitute refugees who were uprooted from their homes in Palestine by the Zionist aggression. Our picture shows a group of boys in a swimming pool at the settlement dashing happily to greet the Society's President, Mr. Musa al-'Alami.

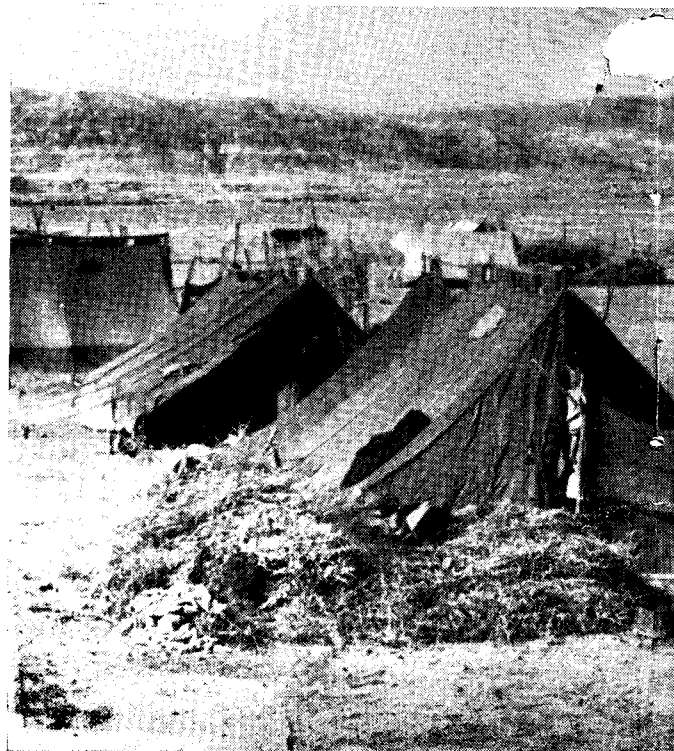


Below — The garden in front of the ten-boy living units is a joint effort of the house. The food grown goes on the Training Centre's dining table, where it is consumed and ate by all. Experimenting with crops, fertilizers and irrigation methods goes on continually. As a stimulus to co-operative effort a periodic award — a small silver cup — is given to the house rated highest in cleanliness, deportment, garden productivity and initiative. Wrist watches are also given to the boys as rewards for high individual contribution to the Centre's life.



HOMES

Below — These tents of rags were, a thousands of Arab refugees from Pdesi from exposure to the severe weather. C January 1950 before ther



ARAB DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY, JERICHO, JORDAN

of which they had been deprived

YOUTH

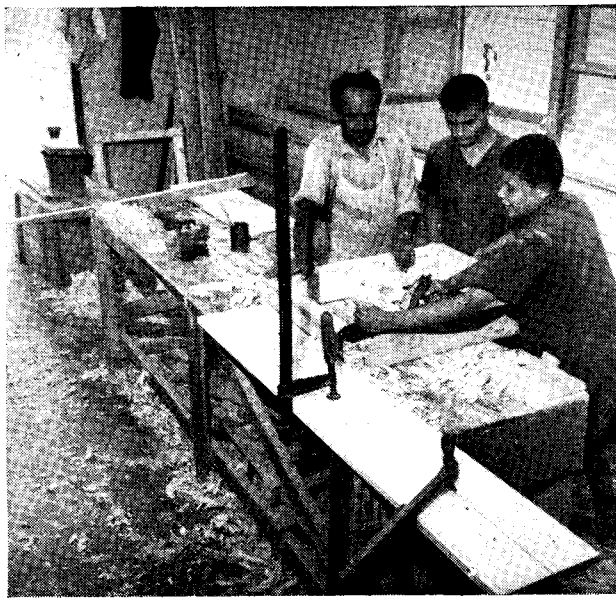
Technical Training



Right — Skilled craftsmen living in neighbouring refugee camps are hired by the Society to train the boys in farming and village crafts. From these trade courses come many of the boys' requirements: shoes, shirts, trousers, furniture for their houses, even their own bread. The settlement is self-sufficient in dairy products and vegetables and fruit, and it sells an appreciable quantity of these products and earns money for further expansion projects.

School, in the classroom and in the field, goes on six days of the week, twelve months of the year. Classroom effort includes the three R's, geography, English, natural sciences and agricultural theory. The Training Centre is run on truly democratic lines, and the older boys play an important role in its administration. Meetings between members of the Society and the elected representatives of the boys are frequent, and the boys' views are heard on almost every subject, from school holidays to bathroom fixtures

Training in Arts and Crafts



HOUSES

These were, and still are, the homes of many from Palestine. Many hundreds died in them in the winter of 1948. Our picture shows refugee homes in Jordan where their new houses were built



Below — A general view of the Arab Development Society's settlement in the Jordan Valley near Jericho, which was started in 1950. The Settlement has 90 houses, school rooms, a dining hall, workshops, a poultry farm and 9,000 huts, etc. On land which until 1950 had been officially classified as "dead and waste" now thrive 100 refugee boy orphans; and more than 3,000 other refugees benefit for the labour they do on the project.





The President of the Arab Development Society, Mr. Musa al-'Alami, with some of the boys of the Settlement

Musa al-'Alami

In this part of Palestine, which had for centuries been regarded as "dead and waste", there flourishes today a settlement of several hundred people who had been uprooted from their homes as a result of the Zionist aggression in Palestine. The birth and success of this project owes much to the unique zeal and determination of one man — Mr. Musa al-'Alami, an Arab lawyer from Jerusalem, some-time Director-General of the Arab offices in London and Washington, and now President of the Arab Development Society of Jordan. He wanted to do something realistic to aid orphaned Arab refugee boys and train them as pioneers of rural development in the Arab world. He refused to accept the verdict of "experts" who condemned his project as "impossible"; and with a very modest capital at his disposal he started his experiment. In the land where he was told there was no water he found abundant supplies of water; and in the soil which he was told was too saline for vegetation he is today growing a variety of excellent crops. Three healthy crops a year of salt-absorbent crops such as barley, tomatoes and onions are being grown, and the land is being simultaneously reclaimed for other crops by flushing it.

The settlement contains some ninety houses, a school, workshops, warehouses, a clinic, an electric power plant and an ice plant, where young Arab refugees are trained in agriculture and crafts. But above all there are on the settlement today people with hopes for the future.

An average of 400 heads of families from among the refugees work on the land. A training centre for 100 refugee boy orphans with a staff of 40 persons and their families live there permanently.

The Society and Mr. Musa al-'Alami have vindicated their theories. Today the Arab Development Society's settlement is an oasis humming with vigour and hope. Ten pump houses are feeding thousand of gallons of water a minute to orchards

and fields in which grow banana plants, citrus trees, vines, date palm seedlings, pine saplings, grain, cotton and vegetables.

The Arab Development Society has pointed the way to vigorous rural development in the Arab world

The success of the Arab Development Society's venture has drawn the attention of international experts engaged in endeavouring to settle the Arab refugees to the possibility of developing the Jordan Valley for economic cultivation on a large scale.

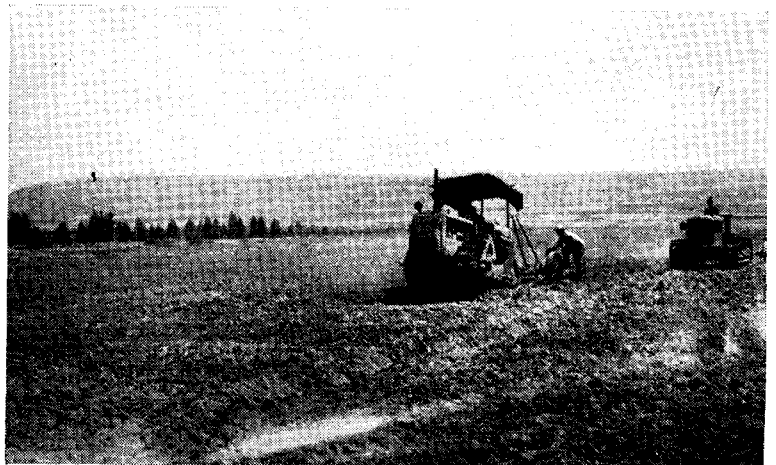
The Society has proved that the cost of settling these refugees in this manner is 30 per cent less per family than what the international experts had estimated. It is maintained that at least 500,000 refugees can be settled in the Arab-held area of Palestine.

The success of this project has shown that a great deal can be done by actions rather than words. It has also demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that a large part of the Arab refugees from Palestine can be settled in Jordan and rescued from their pitiable plight. The

Society has made a beginning, but it has a long way to go before it can solve to any extent the colossal refugee problem.

So far the Society has received in financial help £250,000 from the Iraq Government (in 1946), \$149,000 from the Ford Foundation (in 1953), and \$4,000 from various small contributions (in 1954). The Arabian-American Oil Co. has contributed various kinds of machinery, in particular a well-boring machine.

The Society, however, needs more money if it is to make an appreciable contribution to the solution of the human problem of the Arab refugees and rescue them from the pools of idleness and misery in which they are now rotting. The cause which it is championing is one which deserves the material support of rich Arab countries which are now receiving millions of pounds a year in oil royalties.



Modern farming methods are being used at the Arab Development Society's Settlement. At its Training Centre several of the older boys are also specializing in the operation, servicing and repair of farm machinery



In his characteristic oratorical pose, the Tunisian leader, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, is swaying the audience. Mr. Bourguiba, whom the French Colonial authorities have been keeping under house arrest for the last two years, is now in France.

THE TUNISIAN PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

A Lesson for the French Imperialists

By ABU MUHAMMAD

The moral of Dien Bien Phu

The struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world against Western imperialism has been progressing steadily since the beginning of this century. The call for freedom from foreign yoke has been getting louder, as the champions of freedom and independence have scored one success after another. And in both Asia and Africa, this campaign has been increasing its pace and growing more vigorous and determined.

The fall of Dien Bien Phu to the Viet Minh forces on 7th May 1954 has been the most outstanding and significant event in the struggle against Western imperialism in general, and against French imperialism in particular. The Viet Minh forces have vanquished their enemy and humbled him in a most decisive manner. Their victory was not simply a victory against the French, but a victory against the Americans and the British, who had stood on the side of the French in this struggle and gave them moral and material support. By their victory, the Viet Minh have shown that the forces of imperialism are by no means magically invincible.

And they also showed that freedom can only be bought from the French by blood, not by protracted negotiations at conference tables.

The result of the battle for Dien Bien Phu should give a lesson to the French and their fellow imperialists in Asia and Africa in this modern world that the days of imperialism are numbered. No longer will the oppressed peoples of the world take it for granted that they are for ever to remain helplessly submissive to their foreign rulers. The traditional methods of guile, and, as a final resort, force, to keep a people down have now been exposed as helpless and useless weapons when faced with the determination and zeal of a people who believe in freedom and human rights. The march of events in Indo-China should also make it clear to the French that their belief in their supremacy over the people they conquered many years ago is a farce. Colonized and oppressed peoples who have swallowed insult after insult from the French imperialists will not for ever remain quiet. The worm can turn . . . and it is now turning in no uncertain manner.

A broken promise

These elementary facts were recognized on paper by the Western imperialists after World War II. They said that the time had come for doing justice to their subjects in Asia and Africa. They subscribed to a Charter of Human Rights which professed to concede that the people of this world, irrespective of their race, colour or creed, were entitled to certain elementary rights, including the right to self-determination. They agreed that the enjoyment of democratic rights was not an exclusive privilege of the people of the West, and that colonial peoples were entitled to share in the fruits of victory against Nazism and Fascism. The end of World War II was held out as the beginning of a new era of co-operation and friendship between the colonial powers and the colonized peoples of the world.

But it was not long before this promise of a better relationship between the colonial powers and the oppressed peoples of the world was shown to be another trick designed as a soporific for colonial peoples with a view to preparing them for another dose of exploitation and oppression by the imperialists. For these imperialists there was too much to lose and very little to gain in conceding the rights of the colonized peoples.

And so it was inevitable that there should be a showdown between the colonial powers and the colonized peoples. Of the colonial powers, only France was determined to hold out very stubbornly against the march of the colonized peoples and against the march of time, too. And in the course of her stand against the people she had colonized, both in the Far East and in North Africa, France has committed one dastardly act after another.

The change in Tunisia that was no change

In Tunisia, M. de Hauteclocque, who earned fame and opprobrium in 1952 by arbitrarily arresting the members of the first all-Tunisian Cabinet, was in September 1953 replaced as Resident-General by M. Voizard, a former administrator of the French zone of Austria. M. Voizard came to Tunisia with a very broad smile. On his arrival he stressed the importance of co-operation between the people of Tunisia and the French authorities as a means of securing the prosperity and happiness of the people of Morocco. Soon afterwards, the Bey of Tunisia signed decrees for "reforms" in the country's administrative system. A new Tunisian Cabinet was formed, and charged with the carrying out of these "reforms".

But the people of Tunisia were not to be deceived so easily. They recognized these alleged reforms for what they were. They knew before long that these "reforms" were nothing but another trick out of the bag of French imperialism. A group of enthusiastic young Tunisians thus rallied together and formed a front for the defence of the freedom of the people of Tunisia. They called themselves the National Liberation Front. Their task was to demonstrate to the people of Tunisia that the "reforms" they were promised were nothing but shackles to tie them up further with French imperialism and to strengthen the roots of the French *colons* in Tunisia and tighten their hold on the resources of the country. They urged the people of Tunisia not to be deceived by the charming smile of M. Voizard, and not to be distracted by sweet words from the pursuit of their national aspirations.

The French authorities reacted to the National Liberation Front by outlawing it. It thus had to go underground. The newspapers, which had given some space to airing the

views of the National Liberation Front, could not continue to be a forum for these views. And so the National Liberation Front had to resort to other means to make itself heard. Gunpowder was the obvious resort.

Government-sponsored terrorism

But if the Tunisian nationalists were determined, so were the French colonialists. The French are not so easily deflected from their target. The prize they are seeking — the incorporation of Tunisia in the French Union — is far too valuable and luscious to be given up. So there was bound to be a bitter clash between the French authorities and the Tunisian National Liberation Front.

The French responded to the campaign waged by the Tunisian National Liberation Front by a show of force. They formed a terrorist organization known as the "Anti-Terrorist Group", which, they said, was formed for the sole purpose of suppressing the "nationalist terrorists". This terrorist organization, with the tacit approval and connivance of the French authorities, began a wave of assassinations. Peaceful and innocent nationalist leaders were assassinated in the streets and in their homes. The culprits went scot free, and the French authorities did nothing to trace the assassins.

An unhappy affair

The disturbing feature of the recent developments in Tunisia is that the Government-sponsored terrorism has inevitably called for retaliation by the National Liberation Front on an equally wide scale. The murder of innocent nationalist leaders has been followed by the murder of innocent French *colons*. It is a thoroughly unhappy affair.

It is most unfortunate that events in Tunisia should have taken this sad and nasty shape. The assassination of innocent people — whether it be by the henchmen of the French authorities or by the Tunisian nationalist extremists — is a thing to be severely condemned in no equivocal terms. But while condemning unreservedly the resort to terrorism in Tunisia, one cannot help but apportion a good part of the blame for this affair to the French authorities. There would have been no need for terrorism, and no possible provocation for it, had the French authorities seen fit to submit to the just nationalist claims of the people of Tunisia. In Tunisia there is room for both the French *colons* and the indigenous inhabitants to live peacefully side by side on the basis of mutual co-operation and trust.

The retaliatory measures taken by the Tunisian Liberation Front to assassinate a few French *colons* has had severe repercussions. The French Government has been accused of being far too lenient with the Tunisian nationalists. Voices have been raised high in Paris claiming that the French authorities in Tunisia were failing in their duty to protect French life and property there. It was argued that the policy of leniency and negotiation, which the new French Resident-General was alleged to be following, was futile. The Tunisians could not be trusted, it was argued, and they must be handled with severity and without mercy. France, it was further argued, must never relinquish any of its "rights" in Tunisia.

This campaign of the French *colons* and their supporters in Paris has succeeded. The French authorities in Tunisia have begun to show their teeth in anger to the Tunisian nationalists. French troops have been rushed in from France and Algeria and stationed in positions around Tunisian towns and cities. Fire-arms and ammunition were distributed

freely to the French *colons* in Tunisia. The tone of the French authorities, which, since the arrival of M. Voizard, was apparently smooth and friendly, began to be fierce and threatening. The whole of Tunisia has now been transformed into an armed camp ready for an imminent battle. So thorough were the French authorities in their preparation for a showdown with the Tunisian nationalists that they have taken measures against the possible infiltration of nationalists from Algeria to rally to the support of their brethren in Tunisia.

How the tension in Tunisia can be eased

The present attitude of the French authorities in Tunisia will only make matters worse. It is most unlikely to ease the tension which was first set in motion by the misguided policy of the French authorities at the instigation of the *colons*.

The Bey has strongly condemned the policy of terrorism, and has for long striven hard to bring about peace and tranquillity in Tunisia. The French authorities have made it clear that they will deal without mercy with those concerned with acts of terrorism. And all right-thinking people amongst the Tunisians have expressed their outspoken condemnation of terrorism as a means of securing the national claims of the people of Tunisia.

But all this will be of no avail, and will not succeed in putting an end to the present wave of terrorism and tension in Tunisia. The real solution is in the hands of the French authorities themselves. It lies in the abolition of the decree of April 1952 authorizing the so-called reforms in Tunisia, which have been exposed by the nationalist leaders as a trick aiming eventually at the inclusion of Tunisia in the French Union, and thus putting an end to its hope for self-government and freedom. The French authorities must endeavour to carry out negotiations with the real representatives of the Tunisian people for a solution of the country's problems. They must also see to it that the Bey is allowed to maintain close contact with the representatives of his people, and to consult them in their affairs — in the truly Islamic fashion — on the lines indicated in the Bey's speech of 15th May 1951 at Catharge, when he announced that he desired to grant the country immediately a democratic Constitution, and a purely Tunisian Government, and that he had directed his Prime Minister, Mr. Chenik, to seek an agreement with France on these questions.

The people of Tunisia will not retreat. They have been attacked, and they are now trying to repel aggression by the best means at their disposal. It was the French imperialists who started this affair. If the French see reason, and recognize the fact that the people of Tunisia have some just claims which cannot be dismissed out of hand and without proper consideration, they will have gone a long way towards finding a lasting solution to the Tunisian problem.

Where are the French going ?

One wonders what lies in the mind of the French Government, and what exactly are their designs for the future of North Africa. Do they really think that the people of North Africa will for ever remain quiet and dumb, and not move a finger, while the oppressed people of the world have woken up from their deep slumber to claim their lost rights? If the French think that the people of North Africa have not learnt a lesson from the struggle of the oppressed people in the other parts of Africa and in Asia, then they are decidedly mistaken.

The best advice that can be given to the French in the present circumstances is that they should stop awhile and think. They can benefit much by following the example set by the British in withdrawing tactfully and diplomatically from colonial hot spots, just in time to save themselves from a bloody clash with the colonized people entailing a loss of face. If the French do not see this in time, they will find by bitter experience that they are stubborn irrationalists. Once an oppressed nation has started on its determined march, nothing will stand in its way, not even the sharp weapons of the French and their military might.

There is still time

There is still time in North Africa for the French to reconsider their policy and seek the friendship and trust of the indigenous inhabitants. Even at this eleventh hour, the banner of peace and tranquillity can be made to fly over Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. But the price which the French will have to pay for this peace and tranquillity is a realistic policy of tolerance and understanding towards the people of North Africa. They must give proof of their desire to accept the Charter of Human Rights by conceding the just claims of the people of North Africa.

A policy of repression will never pay good dividends. This is a fact which the French must understand before anything else. It will not be in the interest of either France or the people of North Africa if this part of the world were to be turned into a bloodbath. But if this should come to pass, it is significant to note that the French will be the bigger losers.

The world is changing fast, and we are all having to adapt ourselves to this change. But one thing has stood out bluntly as unchanged. It is the French colonial policy. The world will be a happier place, and the horrible shadow of war and blood will be farther from us all if the Government, the political parties, the Press and public opinion in France were to become more realistic and less desirous of perpetuating an era of history which has gone — and gone for good in almost all the civilized corners of the world. Imperialism is dying — will France not understand this?

The fall of Laniel's government

It was natural that the shock caused by the fall of Dien Bien Phu should bring the wrath of the French people upon those responsible for their foreign policy. M. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, had been committing one blunder after another in his vague and uninspiring foreign policy. The French nation now thought that it had had enough of him and his policy. It got angry against the whole Cabinet of M. Laniel. The French people could now see that France progressed little, in both the domestic and foreign spheres, during the time that these men were at the helm of the French ship. The country was faced with a severe domestic economic crisis of a very menacing nature. French forces had been humiliated in Indo-China, which was soon to be lost for ever to France. There was also the threat of imminent trouble in Morocco and Tunisia. Added to all this was the fact that the French Government was known to be bargaining French independence to the United States of America in return for economic and military help from the latter. There was trouble everywhere and little in the way of practical solutions to brighten a dark and gloomy picture.

Dien Bien Phu was the last straw. It was a wound which cut very deep in the heart of the French people as a whole. The Geneva Conference, attended by the Great Powers,

including Russia and Communist China, did not in the beginning appear to make any progress towards finding a solution for the problem of Indo-China.

M. Bidault, who attended the Conference, failed to make an impression on the people of France as a man likely to succeed in saving the honour and integrity of France in international circles and salvaging Indo-China for the French empire. Hopes of an honourable truce in Indo-China appeared to be fading. France certainly did not want the fighting in Indo-China to continue. Military experts had given the opinion that it was absolute folly on the part of France to continue the war there — she was bound to lose, and lose heavily in it. M. Laniel and M. Bidault, however, had other views. They thought it a good idea to get the United States of America involved directly in the conflict with the Communists in Indo-China, and thus turn Indo-China into another Korea and another threat to world peace in this atomic age. And the ominous thing was that the United States, through Mr. Foster Dulles, its Secretary of State, appeared to be willing to play the game of Messrs. Laniel and Bidault. It was only the determination of Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Minister, who saw things in a different light, that saved the Geneva Conference from taking decisions which would have threatened in no small measure the peace of the world and made the spark of Indo-China light a fearful flame. This state of affairs increased the tempo of events in France.

M. Mendés-France and North Africa

M. Mendés-France, the leader of the French Radical Party in the National Assembly, and a former minister, spoke in very strong terms against the Government of M. Laniel. He deplored the Government's lack of any clear progressive policy with regard to Indo-China as well as North Africa. He foresaw catastrophe for the French empire if the Government of M. Laniel were to stay in office for any length of time.

Enough support was found for the views of M. Mendés-France that a vote of no confidence in M. Laniel's Government was passed by the National Assembly by a majority of 13. M. Laniel's Government then tendered its resignation.

After the usual wrangle and uncertainty in France, M. Mendés-France, who was invited by the French President to form a Government, succeeded in forming a Cabinet on 19th June 1954.

On assuming his office, Mr. Mendés-France declared in the French National Assembly that "the accomplishments of the tasks that I have enumerated must go hand in hand with the re-establishment of peace and security in the two countries of North Africa, which, even at this moment, suffer from fanaticism and terrorism. Morocco and Tunisia, to whom France has opened the roads of commerce, social and political progress, must not become areas of insecurity and agitation on the flanks of our Algerian *départements* — this I shall never permit. But I add with equal decisiveness that I shall not tolerate any further hesitation or reticence in fulfilling the promises which we have given to these peoples who have placed faith in us. We have promised to put them in a position to conduct their own affairs for themselves. We shall keep this promise and are prepared in this spirit to resume negotiations which have unfortunately been interrupted. I am certain that it is possible to reconcile the existence of common structures within the framework of the French Union with the functioning of the proper institutions of each of those two countries."

The policy of the new French Government with regard to North Africa are vague. The "reforms" to which M. Mendés-France refers have already been condemned by the North African nationalists as dangerous dope not aimed at improving the lot of the indigenous inhabitants of these countries. His promise to deal harshly and severely with the North African "terrorists" may please the French *colons* there. But the shedding of more nationalist blood by the French authorities is not likely to ease the situation, which is already beginning to get worse.

THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL STABILITY IN SYRIA

By F. KARDOSH

Discord in the political parties

Following the overthrow of Adib Shishakly towards the end of February 1954, it was thought that Syria had found its way to stability inasmuch as the dictatorial régime had ended, and its politicians had returned to power; further, the members of the armed forces had returned to their barracks after six years of intervention, or rather domination over the political life in the country.

Hardly had the battle been won against the deposed President Adib Shishakly than serious division sprang up in the ranks of these political parties and independents who had

struggled as a "single unit" for the overthrow of Shishakly's régime. The political parties were the National, the Populist and the Resurrection Arab Socialist. The disagreement between the leaders of these political parties was over the shape of the future Government which should be entrusted with the conduct of the country's affairs during the transition period. The Resurrection Arab Socialist Party declined to participate in the Government. Consequently, a coalition Government was formed by Mr. Sabri 'Assali, a Nationalist, from the National and Populist Parties, as well as from the Independents. Four ministerial portfolios were allocated to each group.

The Resurrection Arab Socialist Party made public their reasons for non-participation in the Government at a session of the Syrian Parliament held on 17th March, which day was set aside for a debate on the Government's statement of policy. The Resurrection Arab Socialists told the Chamber of Deputies that their party had declined participation in the Government because they considered it unqualified to bear the "heavy responsibilities of the transition period, and in order to ensure freedom of the coming general elections". These representatives threatened to resort to the "Parliament of the Street" should the Government deviate from the constitutional path. This "warning" was interpreted then to mean that the leaders of the Resurrection Socialist Party would create trouble for the Government through whipping up public enthusiasm against the Government.

Replying to criticism of the Parliamentary representatives of the Resurrection Arab Socialist Party, the Prime Minister, Mr. al-'Assali, disclosed that they had pledged their participation in the Government under certain conditions. They asked, he said, that the portfolios of the Ministries of the Interior, Defence and Foreign Affairs be assigned to the nominees of their party. This condition, the Prime Minister said, was unacceptable because it was considered prejudicial to the interests of the country.

Despite the opposition raised by the Resurrection Arab Socialist Party representatives, the Government won an almost unanimous vote of confidence — eighty-five votes in favour, five against, and one abstention.

The Premier, Mr. al-'Assali, in his statement said that the restoration of full democratic constitutional life was the aim of his Government, and that to achieve this his Government would conduct the general elections at a date not later than the second half of May. He added that "we will ensure unconditional freedom at the general elections, allowing the Syrian people to express their true wishes".

Further, the Premier assured the Chamber of Deputies that his Government would submit draft legislation to make possible the maintenance of equilibrium between the Legislature and the Executive.

Another most important responsibility which rested on the Government was the liquidation of the legacy of Shishakly's régime. Aware of this fact, Mr. al-'Assali assured the Chamber that his Government was determined to institute adequate constitutional measures to bring to book the deposed President Shishakly and his collaborators. As to foreign policy, the Prime Minister said that in view of the transitional character of his Government it would maintain its friendly relations with foreign powers but would not enter into any binding commitments.

The vote of confidence granted to the Government indicated that it enjoyed the support of the following political parties, who, although not represented in the Government, hold seats in the Syrian Parliament:

- (1) The Arab Socialist Co-operative, led by Mr. Faisal 'Assali ;
- (2) The Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party, led by 'Isam Mahayiri ;
- (3) The Muslim Socialist Front, led by The Shaikh Mustafa Siba'i, the guide of the Muslim Brotherhood of Syria ; and,
- (4) The Independents.

The people's demands

As soon as the Government started work to achieve its objectives, it was faced with increasing demands from almost all sections of the Syrian people.

Virtually, all representations submitted to the Government carried a warning that unless the demands were met within a prescribed period, the petitioners would go on an indefinite strike. Often these warnings were translated into deeds. The Government had to acquiesce on a number of occasions. This led the Communists and other trouble-makers to exploit the "freedom" granted by the Government. The Government, having become aware of these ill intentions, issued strict orders to the Security Forces to foil any attempt at unlawful demonstration. But this did not prevent the Opposition leaders from indulging in these tactics. The most serious labour strike took place in Aleppo, Syria's largest industrial centre. The strike followed the presentation of draft amendments to the Labour Code by the Parliamentary representatives of the Resurrection Arab Socialist Party. The strikers demanded immediate approval of the draft amendments, a rise in wages, etc. The Security Forces had to intervene in order to restore order.

Although this attracted a considerable part of the Government's attention and energy, it succeeded in getting enacted legislation aimed at the realization of the declared objects of the Government itself. The following constitute the main part of the legislation put into effect by the Government:

- (1) Legislation making possible the trial of the deposed President Adib Shishakly, Colonel Fawzi Selo, the former Head of State, and their collaborators ;
- (2) The Reward and Punishment Law, which ordered the former Head of the State, the members of the Parliament, and officials who had received extraordinary promotions, to repay to the Treasury an amount equal to the total remunerations received during the "unconstitutional régime" ;
- (3) The Press Law, which is aimed at the liquidation of Shishakly collaborators from the ranks of the Press ; and,
- (4) The establishment of a special committee to assess damages suffered by the people as a result of Shishakly's actions in order to compensate the victims.

Al-Ghazi's Government and the electoral law which bars women from being elected to Parliament

While the Opposition was gaining momentum, interested quarters urged the President, Mr. 'Atassi, to use his influence to convince the Government to widen the "coalition" so as to allow the representatives of the Resurrection Arab Socialist Party to participate in the Government. The President approached the Premier, Mr. al-'Assali, but the latter refused to make any reshuffle. Mr. al-'Assali argued that the country should not be subjected to unjustified "quakes" and ministerial crises. In this the Populist and Independent ministers supported him.

Consequently the Opposition increased its pressure to achieve its goal. New factors which had now entered the arena indirectly helped it. The former collaborators of Shishakly, who would suffer as a result of the application of

the recently enacted legislation, rallied their forces. They issued circulars alleging that the al-'Assali Government was unconstitutional. They resolved to put up a stiff resistance. The Premier continued to face the Opposition. However, he felt that the ground on which he fought was getting softer and softer, on account of the lost harmony among the Cabinet ministers. As a result of the new situation he submitted his resignation on 11th June 1954.

Despite the eight days of almost continuous negotiations between the political parties under the supervision of the President of the Republic, the party leaders failed to agree to the formation of a Coalition Government. As an alternative the President suggested the formation of an extra-parliamentary Government. The party representatives maintained that the neutrality of candidates should be subject to a veto by them, and also that the members of the future Government should not stand for Parliament. Here the Independent members who claimed to control the forty-eight votes in the Parliament threatened to withhold their vote of confidence from any future Government if they were not consulted beforehand in its formation. Their request was ceded to. This made the recruiting of possible candidates for the future Government difficult, and also led the Independent members to waive the "candidature restriction" at least in so far as the future Prime Minister was concerned.

On 19th June, Mr. Sa'id al-Ghazi formed a six-man Cabinet, reserving for himself the portfolio of Minister of Defence. The same day Mr. al-Ghazi presented to the Parliament his statement of policy and received a vote of confidence. His statement of policy, the shortest ever presented by any government, said the only mission of the Government was the conduct of the general elections with absolute freedom and equitable application of law and order. In order to speed up carrying out the general elections he appealed to the Parliament to expedite revision of the electoral law and to approve reducing the "periods" prescribed by law for the organization of the general elections. The Parliament responded to Mr. al-Ghazi's appeal and started convening daily meetings in order to finalize the revision of the electoral law with the least possible delay. It seems there would be little change in the provisions and principles embodied in the 1949 electoral law. The law provides for the establishment of constituencies of 30,000 electors. Further, future candidates would not be required to be in possession of the elementary education certificate to become eligible for election. To be able to read and write would be a sufficient educational qualification.

In contrast with this relaxation of restrictions on educational qualifications, the Parliament refused to widen the right granted to Syrian women. According to the provisions

of the electoral law, only educated women are entitled to elect but not to be elected.

Five political parties as well as Independents would contest the 114 Parliamentary seats. The political parties are the National, the People's, the Syrian Socialist Nationalist, the Arab Socialist Co-operative, and the Resurrection Arab Socialist. The Populists are in a majority in the present Parliament. They hold 46 seats.

Who will win the coming general elections?

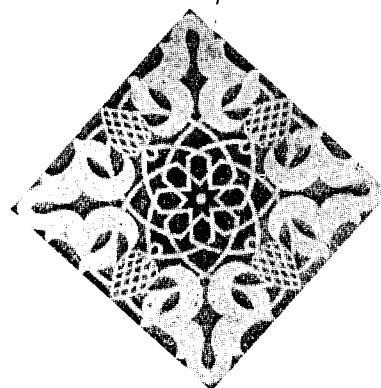
The Populists say they are sure of capturing the majority in the future Parliament. In fact, they are likely to achieve this aim. The Nationalists would come next, being followed by the Resurrection Arab Socialist Party, whereas the Arab Socialist Co-operative and the Syrian Socialist Nationalist would occupy a few seats each. The Independents would capture a considerable number of parliamentary seats, say about 35. It should be remarked here that the Syrian people have adopted the "bystander's" attitude, as a result of experience since their independence in 1945. During the immediate post-independence period they experienced a democratic régime, which was followed by a military rule under the late Husni Za'im, and later combined military-civil rule during Hinnawi's régime.

The causes for the apathy of the Syrians to politics

The combined military-civil régime was ended by the deposed President Shishakly, who declared himself "dictator". This experience has caused the common man to become indifferent, and to receive all events with apparent apathy.

When the Army returned to their barracks on the February anti-Shishakly revolt, the politicians and party leaders reappeared on the stage with many a disadvantage. They returned to the stage weak both materially and morally because of the long period of inactivity. It may here be recalled that Mr. Shishakly had dissolved all political parties in 1952. Now they have to re-organize their ranks and mobilize their latent forces. In view of the evident apathy on the part of the common man, the period which elapsed since the overthrow of Mr. Shishakly last February was insufficient to awaken public interest. It will take some time before normality of relations between the leader and the people is restored. At any rate, much depends on the way in which the party leaders handle the country's affairs during the present transition period.

Until now their actions have been open to criticism. It is being said that the time was opportune to thrash out differences and drop personal ambitions and rivalries in the interests of Syria. Such a measure offers the best course towards regaining the stability which the country lost in 1949.





Adult education in Pakistan

THE Educational System of Pakistan

THE LEGACY OF FOREIGN
RULE

By
Dr. RAZIUDDIN SIDDIQI

I. The Educational System that Pakistan inherited

The pattern of the educational system of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent

The present educational pattern of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent evolved during the one hundred years preceding the declaration of independence in 1947. The organization of school and college education followed more or less the same lines as were laid down in England during the nineteenth century.

Before the age of five or six years, the children were left alone; neither the State nor the parents themselves took any steps to start their education. The idea of kindergarten or nursery schools took shape only in the second quarter of the present century.

At the age of five, children of those parents who could afford the expenses were sent to school. Education was neither free nor compulsory; it was left entirely to the discretion of the parents. The schools were usually of the general academic type, established and managed either by Governments or municipalities, public organizations or private individuals. They were divided into three well-defined stages: Primary School (four or five years), Middle School (three or four years), and High School (two or three years). For a long time there was no obligation to complete any of these stages. Parents could and did withdraw their children as they wished. Later on it became more or less a convention that the children living in villages and belonging to the peasant or artisan families completed the primary stage; those residing in towns and aspiring to the lower strata of official or commercial jobs went up to the lower secondary or middle stage, and finally only those contemplating studies or intending to take up clerical jobs went through the higher secondary stage. The medium of instruction at all stages was at first English, but later on this was replaced by the regional language.

As already mentioned, the whole school education was of the general academic type. Only one or two decades before 1947, a few vocational or technical schools were established and the movement for giving some practical bias to education started.

Apart from these schools of the English type which were supported and encouraged by the rulers and patronized mainly by those looking forward to entering Government service, there existed a good number of educational institutions of the older type prevalent before the advent of British rule. These *Maktabs* and *Dharam salas* catered mostly for those wishing to specialize in religious education and in classical learning.

The following table gives, according to the statistics of 1941-42, the total number of pupils in general schools for the various Provinces of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent:

Province	No. of Pupils	
	Muslim	Total
North-Western Frontier Province...	84,772	107,111
Punjab	476,556	1,004,560
Sind	74,752	150,184
Bombay	148,251	1,287,278
Madras	245,353	1,330,885
Central Province	12,108	99,025
Orisa	6,548	259,692
Bengal	1,516,720	2,892,633
Assam	109,203	411,596
Bihar	120,083	904,964
The United Province	240,071	1,399,501

The number of students receiving vocational, technical,

commercial, agricultural or other special type of education in schools in various Provinces in 1941 is given below :

Province	No. of Pupils	
	Muslim	Total
North-Western Frontier Province...	116	139
Punjab	1,157	11,608
Sind	985	2,200
Bombay	1,510	46,115
Madras	2,120	34,181
Central Province	308	3,750
Orisa	327	3,121
Bengal	32,228	197,583
Assam	17,719	48,477
Bihar	4,680	20,940
The United Province	9,791	63,265

The colleges in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent

About 10 per cent of the students finishing high school went up to college, which had a four years' graduation course, divided into two stages: Intermediate and Bachelors' degree course.

All these colleges were affiliated to some University, of which there were twenty in the whole country up to the time of Partition. Except the 'Osmania University of Hyderabad-Deccan, the medium of instruction and examination in all the Universities and colleges was English. One subject, English, was compulsory, and three subjects, either from the arts side or from the sciences, had to be taken as optionals. This was the Pass Degree Course, which was popular everywhere. Some Universities had a separate honours course which required three years' study after Intermediate. Those intending to take up engineering or medicine migrated to the respective colleges after Intermediate. Those wishing to specialize in any of the arts or science subjects continued at the post-graduate departments at the University.

For imparting and controlling higher education there are Universities established by an Act of the Legislature concerned. These are autonomous bodies, financed by the Governments but not controlled by them.

At the time of Partition, there were only two full-fledged Universities in Pakistan — that of the Punjab and of Dacca. The former is one of the oldest Universities of the sub-continent, established in 1882. It was one of the largest and most flourishing Universities in undivided India, and it has struggled hard to keep its tradition even after the Partition. The other already existing University of Pakistan, namely the University of Dacca, was established in 1921, and built up a wide reputation as a great centre of learning and research.

Just before the Partition, the Province of Sind had established a University of its own, but it had remained only an examining and affiliating body without making any direct contribution to advanced studies.

Just as in the primary and secondary schools, so also in the colleges and Universities, the majority of teachers were non-Muslim and almost all of them migrated to India when independence was declared.

This is a rough picture of the state of education in Pakistan when it came into existence in 1947.

The pattern of education in Pakistan

Immediately after the declaration of independence the country was faced with several problems in the sphere of education, as in other spheres of its national life. The

majority of teachers in schools and colleges were Hindu and they migrated to India. There was thus an acute shortage of teachers at all stages. On the other hand, about ten million Indian Muslims came over to Pakistan, and the number of pupils in schools and colleges rose enormously. In addition to this, many school and college buildings were destroyed or damaged during the disturbances following Partition, and a good deal of educational material such as books and scientific equipment was irreparably lost. In many cases the educational buildings were occupied by the immigrants, who could not vacate them as there was no other shelter for them. The whole educational life of the country was therefore threatened, and it was obvious that only some heroic measures could save the situation. Fortunately, the people as well as the various Governments realized the peril, and rose to the occasion. They had to organize everything from scratch. Many makeshift arrangements had to be made in the beginning, so that the work of teaching and training should not stop altogether. Most of the teachers had to do, and in some cases are still doing, double the amount of usual work, and had to take the classes in shifts. This was particularly the case in Karachi, the federal capital, where the population rose from 400,000 to 1,200,000 within a short time. The position in other big towns like Lahore, Dacca, Multan, Peshawar and Hyderabad was not much better.

Education is a provincial subject in Pakistan, that is, it is the responsibility of the Provincial Government to arrange for the education of its citizens. The four Provinces of the Punjab, Bengal, Sind and the North-Western Frontier have their own Education Ministers. The States of Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Swat, Kalat and others also have more or less well-organized Education Departments. Baluchistan and the Tribal Regions are looked after by the Central Government. The education of the federal capital of Karachi, which had been managed by the Central Government, has been handed over to the Chief Commissioner. Thus all parts of the country have now suitable organizations to look after the education of the citizens.

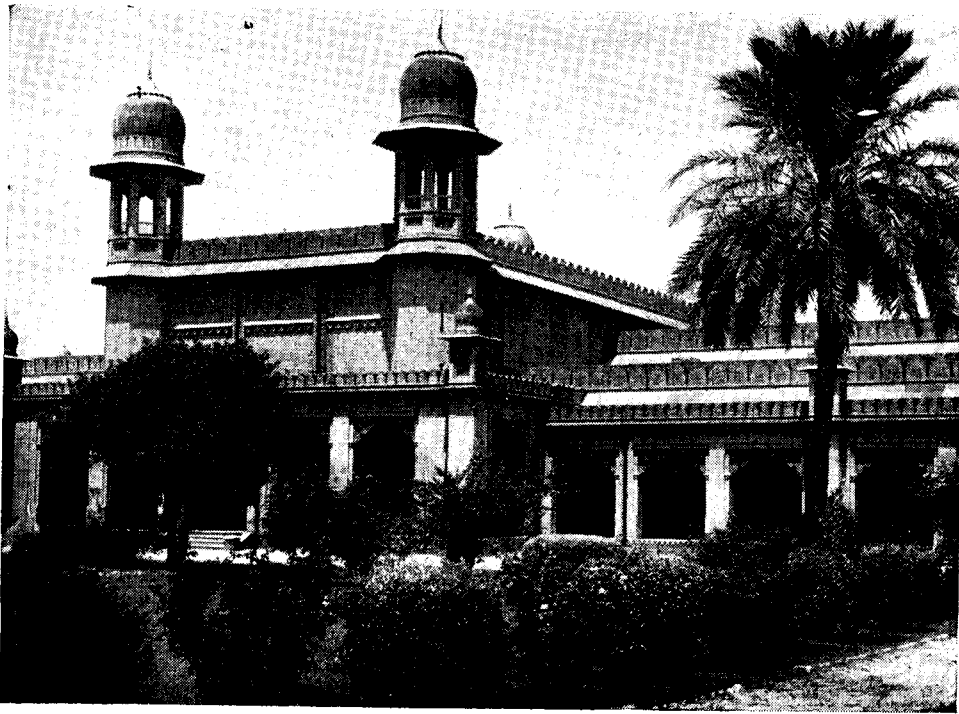
The Education Ministry of the Central Government performs the function of advising the various units, and of co-ordinating and supervising the work done by them.

Apart from the Secretariats and Directorates of Education at the Centre as well as in the various Provinces, a number of consultative and advisory bodies had to be created in order to get the opinion and advice of expert educationalists in planning and developing the education of the country. The Central Advisory Board of Education and the Inter-University Board, and the Council of Technical Education, were established by Acts of the Central Legislature. A high-powered Universities Grant Commission was appointed to go into the requirements of the Universities, and recommend suitable grants to each individual University. The Provincial Governments also appointed various committees of experts to advise them with regard to the different educational problems.

As already remarked the number of suitably qualified and experienced people was very small, and often one and the same person had to work in the various central and provincial committees in addition to doing his full-time job in some educational institution or office.

Pakistan's aim in the scheme of its educational development

Soon after its creation, Pakistan became a member of the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies,



*The Agricultural College at
Lyallpur, the Panjab, Pakistan.*

*The Research Institute of this
college has earned for itself a place
of distinction in agronomy*



including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. A National Commission for co-operation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was also formed and advantage was taken of these international and national organizations to solve the educational problems of the country.

With the concentrated work of all these departments, boards, committees and organizations, the educational structure of the country began to take shape. The first task in this connection was that of stock-taking — a survey of the existing conditions. This revealed universal shortage of all kinds of educational facilities. The sub-continent was already one of the very backward regions of the world in the matter of education, and the conditions created by Partition had made it still worse. The influx of millions of people, the majority of them of school and college-going age, made the condition still more acute.

Immediately, therefore, steps were taken in all Provinces to rehabilitate the old schools and colleges and establish new ones. Classes were held in several shifts to cope with the enormous increase of students. Adequate measures were adopted for training school teachers in large numbers. Education was given high priority along with defence and law and order in the Central and Provincial budgets. A number of new Universities were established in order to provide suitable teachers for the schools and colleges. Educational materials, such as books, journals and scientific equipment, was imported in large quantities from Europe and America. Young men and women were sent in considerable numbers for training abroad. A Six-Year Plan was formulated to give effect to a considered policy of all-round educational development.

It would not be out of place to give here a short account of our policy in this scheme of educational development. The fundamental aim before the authorities in this matter has been to ensure that each and every individual gets the best

and highest education and training commensurate with his capabilities. Islam lays down the acquisition of knowledge as an integral part of the duties of every individual Muslim of either sex. It is a unique and distinguishing feature of this religion, which enjoins its followers to think and know for themselves. It has been explicitly laid down in the Qur'án that "God exalts and elevates to higher ranks only those who are believers, and who have been accorded knowledge".

In compliance with this injunction, education is being made as widespread and as cheap as possible. The North-Western Frontier Province has taken a lead in this direction by making education free for all boys up to the secondary school stage, and for all girls up to the high school stage. Even in other Provinces, the tuition fees in Government and municipal schools are almost nominal. The North-Western Frontier Province is providing educational materials such as books free of cost to all children.

The pernicious effects of foreign rule on education in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent

In the past, the choice of undergoing a particular kind of education and training has been the concern of the individual. This is as it should be; freedom of learning has been the cherished possession of mankind. It is found that among free nations the individual choice is such that not only abstract learning of the humanities and literary subjects, but also the various sciences and technical subjects are adequately represented. In the undivided India, however, the foreign rulers needed office clerks and petty officials in a very large number, and the exigencies of the situation demanded the creation of a system of education which catered for such persons. Hence there was a spate of semi-educated clerks who could carry on official correspondence only, but who were not equipped to take any steps for the development of the country.

It seems to me that the people who took a leading part



Girl students of the Fatimah Jinnah Medical College, Lahore, Pakistan.

This college takes 100 women candidates every year



in the struggle for freedom and in awakening the spirit of nationalism among the masses were either people like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who were educated in the older system, or like the *Qa'id-i-A'zam* Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who were educated abroad in free countries.

Later on when national consciousness was sufficiently aroused, more and more people started taking law and politics in colleges and universities, as these subjects were supposed to be useful for a political career. Moreover, compared with sciences and technical subjects, they were easier from the point of view of passing examinations. When the whole energy of the people was devoted to the national struggle, it was perhaps understandable that they should avoid subjects which required a lot of time and hard work. It was not surprising, therefore, that India had an abundance

of poets, lawyers and politicians, but very few scientists and technicians.

This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue when the country was free. Pakistan had to manage its own affairs. In planning education on a national scale, it was necessary to take account of national requirements. The needs of the country required that for some time to come the resources and energies of the country should be devoted to scientific and technological education in a much greater proportion. The Prophet of Islam had called knowledge his weapon. It is the weapon with which we fight ignorance and poverty. It is the sole guarantee of evolution and progress. The people of Pakistan realized that in order to fulfil these conditions our education must be mainly a scientific and technical education for the immediate future.

II. School Education

An outline of what Pakistan is doing to suit its educational system to the requirement of our age

It is realized that we are living in a highly competitive age, and our survival, let alone our progress, depends upon how far we conduct our affairs in a planned and organized manner with the utmost economy in effort and efficiency in execution. Each kind of work must be done by a person who has the natural aptitude for it, and who has acquired the minimum essential specialized training to do it skilfully. Various systems of intelligence tests are being evolved and applied to ascertain the capabilities of each student, and every effort is being made to give him a correct vocational guidance, so that he may get himself properly trained for that vocation, and may go on to do the work for which he is best fitted by nature and by education and training.

Apart from the schools of a general academic type, the Central as well as the various Provincial and State Govern-

ments are establishing vocational schools, agricultural schools, commercial schools, technical schools and polytechnics at different centres, and students are being diverted to these schools at various stages, i.e., after completing the primary, lower secondary, higher secondary or the intermediate stage. Young boys are being attracted to these schools in an increasing number.

The Government of Pakistan took all the necessary steps to send suitable persons in sufficient numbers to Europe and America for the necessary training in organizing and managing these technical and vocational institutions. They are now returning and are available for the purpose. But the problem is not yet completely solved. We require more trained teachers and still more schools of this type with adequate buildings and equipment. Above all, the general public should realize more fully the importance of sending their children for training in the various technical and vocational schools.

A new departure in the educational system is the opening of a Pre-Cadet Military Wing in the Islamia College, Peshawar, and in the Punjab, last year. A number of promising young boys who have just passed their matriculation are selected to undergo full military training at the same time as they are studying for the usual intermediate examination with the rest of the students in the college. It is expected that this arrangement would lead to the proper physical development of the young boys along with the intellectual development. It is also calculated to produce suitable types of young men, from amongst whom selection could be made for recruitment of officers of the defence services. The Punjab University is completing a scheme by which compulsory military training will be introduced in all the colleges of the Province.

The Inter-University Board of Pakistan has before it a scheme to search for national talent. This scheme envisages the selection of the most intelligent and talented young boys at an early level, i.e., after matriculation, and then educating and training them for various civilian purposes entirely at the expense of the State. In the present state of our society when the financial conditions of the parents determine the character and duration of the education of the young generation, irrespective of the needs of the country, such heroic measures by the Government are not only desirable, but unavoidable.

For this very reason, the various Provinces have established and are establishing public schools on the models of the famous Eton and Harrow schools of England, so that from their early childhood the young boys may be equipped with the physical, intellectual and moral qualities necessary for leadership in the various spheres of national life.

Islam does not allow the sharp division of an individual's

existence into a religious and secular life, as believed necessary by the people following other religions. There is no priest-class among the Muslims. Non-observance of this essential principle of Islam has been one of the main factors in the deterioration of our condition in the past. On the one hand the general body of Muslims were educated in secular schools and knew very little of the fundamental principles of their religion. For even a little bit of information about their faith they were entirely at the mercy of the "Mullas" (a Persian word now used disparagingly to describe those who are versed in religious cant.—Ed., *I.R.*). On the other hand, the "Mullas" studied in religious institutions which were completely divorced from all modern knowledge. This was affecting adversely the national life at absorbing atheistic or agnostic tendencies more and more, and instead of proving a source of strength to the community, were undermining its very existence. The "Mullas" were becoming more and more ignorant, fanatic and narrow-minded, thus bringing the religion itself into disrepute and contempt.

It was necessary, therefore, to evolve a new system of education, or rather to revive the older system of the early days of Islam in which all knowledge was one, and there was no artificial distinction between religious and non-religious knowledge. The Government of Bahawalpur has adopted this integrated system, and reorganized the *Jami' 'Abbasiyyah'* on these lines. The *Qa'id-i-A'zam* Memorial Committee is establishing a Dar al-'Ulum at Multan on the same lines. At the higher level, the University of Peshawar has established a faculty of Islamiyyat where the students of Intermediate and B.A. are studying Arabic and English as well as *Tafsir* (Commentaries on the Qur'an), *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), and other social sciences simultaneously.

III. University Education

So far I have described the development of school education in Pakistan. Let me now turn to the higher education. I have stated earlier that there were only two full-fledged universities at Lahore and Dacca at the time of Partition. Obviously these two universities were not sufficient for the needs of such a vast country. Necessary steps were, therefore, taken to establish more universities at suitable centres. The University of Sind, which was established at Karachi a little before Partition, and which was an examining body only, was shifted to Hyderabad-Sind, and developed into a full-fledged teaching, affiliating and examining body from October of that year. The University of Karachi, sponsored and financed by the Central Government, was started in 1951, and in addition to holding examinations and affiliating the local colleges, has now assumed full responsibility for the conduct of honours and post-graduate instructions. Finally, the Rajshahi University has been established in East Pakistan only recently, and is still in the process of organization and development. Four new universities have thus been created *ab initio* during the last six years, and proposals are being examined for another university at Rawalpindi.

The University of the Punjab, which is the oldest university in Pakistan, suffered at first a great set-back at the time of Partition, due to the migration of a large number of its teachers. This deficiency was, however, gradually

made good, and not only was the old level restored but the existing departments were strengthened a great deal, and several new teaching departments were added. Among these are the Departments of Islamic Studies, Urdu, Geology, Physics, Statistics, Mineralogy and Encyclopaedia of Islam. Modern European languages started by the university include French, German, Russian and Spanish. Various Post-Graduate Diplomas including Public Health, Radiology, Tuberculosis, Journalism, Fine Arts and International Affairs were instituted. Post-Graduate studies and research work is carried on under each subject.

During the short time, the Punjab University has thus developed considerably and grown bigger than ever. It has the following eleven faculties:

Arts, Oriental Studies, Law, Science, Medicine, Agriculture, Commerce, Engineering, Veterinary Science, Dentistry, and Education.

It maintains three colleges and 19 teaching departments of its own, and affiliates 48 colleges, out of which 19 are in Lahore.

A new constitution is being framed for the university in order to bring it in consonance with the conditions prevalent in the country. It is contemplated to set up a separate statutory Board of Secondary Education to take on the responsibility of syllabi, conduct of examinations and regulation of standards at the pre-university stage. It is envisaged further that the University of the Punjab should

¹ The Abbasiyyah University.

be federative for colleges in Lahore and affiliating for those in the districts.

The University of Dacca was established in 1921 as a residential teaching university and had a flourishing school of research in Physics, Chemistry, Arabic, History and other teachers and students from this university as from the Punjab University. The university has appointed several distinguished foreign scholars on its staff. It has some unique features, such as a full-fledged department of soil science, which is not found in any other university of the country so far. Many of its *alumni* have returned to it after advanced and research training in Europe or America, and are now carrying on the work of the various departments. It has the following faculties:

Arts, Science, Law, Education, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, and Commerce.

It maintains all usual teaching departments under each faculty.

All higher education in the North-Western Frontier Province was under the Punjab University up to 1950. Since the inception of Pakistan the Provincial Government had been giving a good deal of thought and devoting a considerable part of their financial resources to the development of education. During the centuries of foreign occupation this Province was considered mainly as a recruiting ground for military personnel and the education of the people was, therefore, more or less neglected. The first duty of the authorities after Independence was to make up this deficiency. In order to give an impetus to higher education they decided to establish a University at Peshawar. It started functioning in October 1950. All the colleges within the territorial jurisdiction of the North-Western Frontier Province and the tribal areas were affiliated to the new University. All examinations from matriculation up to M.A., M.Sc., B.T., L.L.B., B.Th., Honours in Pushto and Urdu, B.Ag., and B.Eng., have been conducted by the university since 1951. All teaching at the post-graduate level and of professional and technical subjects was taken over under the direct control of the university. From the very beginning it was envisaged to be a residential university. Several hundred acres of land in the valley of the Khyber mountains adjacent to the beautiful Islamia College were procured and spacious and modern buildings for the university hostel, engineering college, staff quarters for professors, readers, lecturers, and administrative officers were constructed. The science laboratories are nearing completion now, and arrangements are being made for the construction of the Senate Hall, the Library, the Agricultural College, and more residential quarters during the current year.

The university has the following faculties: Theology, Oriental Learning, Arts, Science, Engineering, Agriculture, Education, and Law.

It has so far established the following post-graduate or professional teaching departments under its direct control:

Mathematics, Economics, Arabic, English, Education, Law, Electrical Engineering, and Mechanical Engineering. The following post-graduate departments were opened from the beginning of the new academic year in October 1953:

Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Agriculture, and Pushto language and literature. The number of affiliated colleges is increasing rapidly as new colleges are being opened in important towns. Under the enlightened policy of the Provincial Government, the University is making rapid progress, and is attracting scholars as well as teachers not only from all parts of Pakistan but also from foreign countries. The founders of the University have constantly kept before themselves the injunction of the *Qa'id-i-A'zam*

Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, that it should become an important centre of learning not only for this country but also for the whole of the Middle East.

The Universities of Sind and Karachi

The University of Sind shifted from Karachi to Hyderabad in 1952, and began expanding its activities to include post-graduate teaching in addition to the affiliation and examination work it had been doing previously. It is still in a process of organization and expansion. Its place in the federal capital was taken over by the University of Karachi, to which all the colleges situated within the city are affiliated, although the Government colleges, such as the D.J. Sind College, the Commerce College, the Law College and the N.E.D. Engineering College, are still under the administrative control of the Sind Government.

Since the University of Karachi is financed by the Central Government, it has ample funds at its disposal. For the present it is housed in a number of small buildings in a congested part of the city, but a vast piece of land is being acquired for it outside the city, and plans are being prepared for permanent buildings.

In 1951 the University sent a Purchase Mission to Europe to arrange for scientific apparatus, equipment and books for the various departments. Teaching staff was recruited last year, including some highly-paid foreign professors. All teaching at the Honours, M.A. and M.Sc. level has been taken over by the University, leaving the ordinary under-graduate teaching to the colleges. It has the following faculties: Arts, Science, Law, Engineering, Medicine, Education and Commerce. There are the usual departments under each faculty.

Being situated in the federal capital, under the vigilance and patronage of the Central Government, and being visited by distinguished visitors from abroad, this University is always in the limelight, which is, perhaps, not an unmixed blessing. However, it bids fair to become a flourishing and popular centre of learning in the country.

A unique feature of this University is the Urdu College affiliated to it. This college is financed by the Central Government and managed by the well-known Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu. It imparts instructions up to the B.A. standard in Urdu. The University allows the students of this college to answer their papers in Urdu in all the examinations. This is providing a relief to those who do not wish to waste their time or energy in learning through a foreign language. At the same time it will help the authorities in determining whether education through the medium of the national language could be extended to other areas of the country without impairing seriously the standard of knowledge.

This, in brief, is a general survey of the system of education in Pakistan as it stands today. Many revisions and reforms, such as the separation of Intermediate from the University, the institution of a three-year Degree course, the establishment of Technical Universities, the organization of inter-University teaching, etc., are being planned, and some of these may be put into effect shortly. But I think it is rather premature to report upon them just now.

I have refrained from going into details in this first communication, nor have I dealt with the organization and development of research, which requires separate treatment. I have only tried to give a rough sketch of the educational trends in the country, and to show that its people are beginning to realize the supreme importance of education for national existence and progress.

ISLAM AND JAPANESE RELIGION

By HUSEIN ROFÉ

Mr. Husein Rofé, an English Muslim (third from left, front row) with some of his students at the Japanese Institute for Islamic Cultural Research in Nippon University, Tokyo, Japan



The conception of God in Shintoism

The majority of the 85,000,000 Japanese, who, since the defeat of their nation, have been restricted to existence in the four main islands, are followers of the Shinto faith.

Shinto manifests in two forms, State Shinto and private Shinto. The name derives from two characters meaning "Divine Way" and may also be read in colloquial Japanese as "Kami-no-michi". The word "Kami", by which the Japanese usually translate "God", is rather an impersonal force of the nature of "Mana", which can manifest through countless media. To try to indicate God as superhuman Divine authority, the word "O-kami" or "Great Kami" may be used instead. Japanese has, however, no word corresponding to the term "Allah". Rather is "Kami" a characteristic of polytheism, since in the ancient Shinto chronicles of Japan, which trace descent of the race from solar spirits, hundreds of Kami are catalogued, in the nature of classical mythology, each having its separate sphere of influence. This function can even be noticed in popular Mediterranean Christianity, where each saint extends his patronage over a particular field.

State Shinto sought to utilize the ancient principles of worship for national ends, and associated the dogmas of divine descent with racial invincibility, wilfully ignoring the scientific data of anthropology which proves the Japanese origins to be a mixture of Mongolian and Indonesian elements. Nevertheless, traditional feudalistic respect for aristocratic authority was impressed by the unbroken line of imperial ancestry, involving one of the most ancient genealogies preserved today.

Such emphasis on blood relationship, associated with a particular geographical location of a sedentary population and various ritualistic practices, developed among the Japanese people that consciousness of being a Divinely-favoured people which is paralleled by Jewish belief. Analogical ideas develop especially among nations whose culture is unduly isolated from other civilizing currents. National faiths are the relic of a bygone age of gregarious exclusiveness, and correspond to a stage in human development when the individual consciousness is barely developed. Thus, the individual, functioning psychically through the animal energies, cognizes his own self only through group-

consciousness, and requires the co-operation of priest and congregation in order to make contact with Divinity.

The ideals of Christianity and Islam have not as yet touched the race-conscious Japanese masses

It was the glory of the mission of Jesus to free man from this attachment to blood-relationship, substituting the higher ideal of spiritual ties. Hence he announced that he came not to bring peace but a sword, and to set every man against his brother. But of course his mission was originally for the House of Israel, and the children's meat was not to be cast to the dogs. It was Muhammad who gave humanity the final dispensation of religious education, proclaiming the human race as one family, and destroying the consciousness of national privilege, teaching that it was a sin to consider a Negro believer as an inferior, and exalting spiritual talents above pride of caste.

We see, therefore, that the national religion of the Japanese masses has now evolved to a grade of spiritual consciousness analogical to the Jehovah worship of the Mosaic code, while the ideals of Christianity and Islam have not yet touched these masses. Nevertheless, the psychic shock suffered by the nation following the defeat of the nominally elect race of Yamato has produced a demand for reappraisal, similar to the Jewish consciousness of national degradation and Divine punishment during the Babylonian captivity.

We note, therefore, since the war, that Japanese youth everywhere is obsessed by the ideal of world peace, yet consciousness of racial superiority is still so dominant that there is now widespread belief that Japan has a special Divine mission to lead the world towards the achievement of universal peace.

Psychic confusion gives birth to new religious movements

Psychic confusion is so great that an innumerable quantity of new religions have sprung up all over the country during the last decade, and they acquire adherents who may be numbered in tens of thousands, largely because of the very audacity of their claims. Only a month ago, the founder of one such sect declared publicly in front of representatives of many foreign countries and various religions his conviction

that "however wide the world may be, there is no one who would be able to bring about world peace but himself".

When we examine the content of such movements and their power to influence the masses, we find that they are usually based on a low grade of mediumistic shamanism and clairvoyance. Yet clairvoyance is a displacement and not necessarily an evolution of the normal spiritual consciousness, as was long ago pointed out by the German thinker, Count Keyserling. It is the failure of the masses to distinguish between psychic and spiritual gifts which enables such spiritually immature and deluded false prophets to exploit them for personal advantage.

It is, therefore, obvious that, in a country where the masses are striving for new religious ideals, and will blindly seize on any new ray of hope, opportunities should be made available for their higher evolution. Having sensed the need for something new, they are accepting anything just because it happens to be new, in an uncritical manner. Buddhism in Japan has usually been an accessory of Shinto practices, rather than a separate faith, and many are dissatisfied by its lack of practical guidance for social requirements.

Christianity in Japan

The more evolved souls among the Japanese have often taken to Christianity, which had once been vigorously persecuted and stamped out, but has been again actively propagated since the country was opened to foreign influence in 1868. Nevertheless, this faith is frequently associated by the Japanese with the penetration of Western influence, and he notes only too often the difference between the Christian ideals and the selfish designs of the Western powers, striving to subject his country economically. Rather than treat him as a brother, the occidental has developed an inferiority complex and resentment in the Japanese, who sees the abysmal discrepancy between the true Christian ideals of sexual purity and the increasing quantity of illegitimate children fathered by the American occupation. Things have come to such a pass that it is difficult for a Japanese to get married today; the women are so impressed by the easier life which American company can afford them. Hence the very land which should lead the Japanese nation towards Christianity is unable to do so, because of its own unfitness to live up to its religious ideals. Japan consequently blames America not for winning the war but for the moral degeneration of her own youth, which has been the direct result of the American occupation. Christianity, therefore, is unlikely to obtain general acceptance in Japan while the most familiar Christian representatives tend to lower the moral standard of the country rather than to raise it.

Islam and its future in Japan

While a century of relations between the Christian powers and Japan has given the people an opportunity to learn something of Christianity, no similar contacts have existed with the Islamic world. There are about 100 Japanese Muslims, who have chiefly been influenced by the ideas of the small group of Central Asiatic Turks who have settled in Japan. There are mosques in Tokyo and Kobe. There is no organized Islamic propaganda in the country, no missionary organization, and not even a Japanese translation of the

Qur'án from the Arabic original. Such translations as do exist were made from German or English versions, hence their accuracy is questionable. No popular literature about Islam exists in Japanese.

It should be obvious from the foregoing that Japan today presents very interesting virgin soil for the introduction of Islamic ideas. Such an opportunity has never previously been made available, while at this moment of psychic confusion it could be particularly welcome and fruitful. The dynamic and receptive qualities of the Japanese character, and the present desire of the Japanese people to establish bonds of friendship with the Middle East for commercial purposes, are additional factors which should be remembered.

In connection with the possibilities of Tabligh in Japan, I cannot do better than to quote an extract from a realistic and practical article entitled "The New Interpretation" by Lt.-General Rashid which appeared in the *Islamic Literature*, Lahore, Pakistan, for February 1953:

"When fresh stocks of people come within the fold of Islam, they will help us to regain our vigour. They will open new channels of action and interpretation, being equipped with the latest knowledge of the West. . . . We want people with advanced scientific ideas to come within our fold. . . . There are nations today who have despaired of religion, and are frightened to go anywhere near it. Here are the fertile fields for our work. The message of the Qur'án will invigorate them. It will set them thinking as to what an all-absorbing force this simple religion is. And how easily it meets with the requirements of our everyday life."

When Lt.-Colonel Rashid wrote this article he was thinking chiefly of the Western nations, but I think that Japan is an even more fertile field today. Added to this, it is the Japanese desire today to co-operate with the Asiatic powers to mutual advantage, in order to resist economic and political dependence on the West. How wonderful if the Islamic crescent could sweep from Morocco past Arabia and Indonesia through to Japan!

Japanese Institute for Islamic Cultural Research

On the Japanese side, there are already several experiments being made to offer the hand of friendship to the Muslim nations. In Tokyo, there are already three Japanese Islamic societies, though perhaps the motives are largely commercial in some cases. The Japan-Arab Association under the direction of Mr. S. Hara, a prominent and well-known member of the Japanese Diet, has now changed its name to the "Japanese Institute for Islamic Cultural Research".

This institute is now sponsoring lectures which the writer of these lines is giving four evenings weekly at Nippon University in Tokyo on Islamic culture. Costs are being subsidised by the institute so that every university student may attend free of charge, though fees are chargeable to outsiders. Further, this institute is anxious to invite ninety students annually from the Arab lands and Iran for three-year scholarships at Japanese universities. Its other projects involve a very ambitious programme of interchange of cultural relations between the Middle East and Japan.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

Lectures

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, M.Sc., Ph.D., Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, addressed members of the Sanctuary of St. Francis, 21 St. Peter's Road, St. Margaret's-on-Thames, Middlesex, on Sunday 9th May 1954. The subject of the talk was "What do we really believe?" The Chairman, Mr. A. H. Kings, introduced the speaker, who dealt at length with the beliefs of Muslims, with a special reference to the purpose of life on this earth and the destiny of man. The talk was followed by a social gathering, when tea was served, and at which members of the audience had informal discussions with the Imam.

The World Congress of Faiths, founded in 1936 by the late Sir Francis Younghusband, arranged an "Annual Service for Believers of All Faiths" at Kingsway Church House, London, W.1, on 19th May 1954. The Revd. Arthur Peacock, a Unitarian Minister, conducted the meeting, and the Revd. E. F. Carpenter, M.A., Ph.D., Canon of Westminster, delivered the sermon on "The Spirit of Dedication". Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, was asked to give a reading from the Qur'an. The Imam selected the following passages from the Qur'an which deal with: (1) the unity and glorification of God (59:22-24); (2) freedom of conscience (2:255-257); (3) the spiritual unity of the human race (2:130-136); and (4) the famous prayer of Muslims (1:1-7).

The audience consisted of about 350 persons representing about half a dozen different religious faiths.

On Friday 29th May 1954, a young Pakistani Muslim associated with the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, spoke to the United Nations Association at Camberley, Surrey, on "The Role of Pakistan in the Modern World". Mr. Bashir Ahmad pointed out that Pakistan's role in the world must be taken in the context of the United Nations Charter. For this reason, the speaker said, the primary aim of Pakistan, in the words of the preamble of the United Nations Charter, was "to promote social progress and better standards of life" for its people, and secondly "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security". Mr. Bashir Ahmad further stressed that the economic development of the country and social changes being brought about were aimed at raising the standard of living of its people, and that in foreign affairs Pakistan's incessant campaign against the colonial powers was aimed at removing a potential threat to world peace.

The Festival of Fitr at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

The 'Id al-Fitr, the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast, was celebrated at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on 3rd June 1954, when more than 1,500 visitors from all over Britain assembled on a cloudy morning, which to the joy of all had cleared up by mid-day. This large concourse of Muslims on a weekday and in the uncertain weather of Great Britain has truly earned for the Shah Jehan Mosque, Surrey, the description of being the veritable centre of Islam in Great Britain. Muslims from practically all countries and nationalities ranging from the farthest East to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean came together for the love of worship of

the Great Unseen Being. Men and women, the rich and poor, the high and low, all prayed together under a huge marquee, bedecked with multi-coloured flags of about two dozen Muslim countries, and erected on the pine-skirted spacious lawns of the Shah Jehan Mosque.

The 'Id prayers were led by Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, M.Sc., Ph.D., the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking. The Imam in his sermon referred to the significance of fasting and to the great importance of religious education. He made an appeal to the Muslims as well as non-Muslims alike to develop a noble and exemplary character which should produce men and women whose integrity and sincerity of purpose should be unquestionable. He pointed out the need for awakening God-consciousness and God-realization, without which no true character and lofty morals could be developed. He also mentioned the marvellous achievement of Islam in the creation of effective fraternity of the human race.

After the prayers all the visitors were served with luncheon. A special mention must be made of the generous co-operation which Major Faruq Farmer, a British Muslim, gave to the Imam and his colleagues in arranging and supervising the serving of food to such a large number as 1,500. The Muslim community is really grateful to him for this help.

Among those who joined the congregation were Mr. A. Farisi, of the Iraqi Embassy; His Excellency the Korean Minister and Madame Myo Mook Lee; the Liberian Ambassador and Mrs. Cooper; the Honourable Mr. Tafazzul 'Ali, Minister of Commerce, Pakistan; Pakistan's Ambassador for Belgium; the High Commissioner for Malay in London; and representatives from Jordan, Pakistan, India, etc.

Palestine Day

In collaboration with the World Muslim Conference, Karachi, Pakistan, which organized the Palestine Day on 28th May 1954 — the last Friday of Ramadhan — at a Friday gathering of Muslims in London, the following resolution about Palestine was passed, and later the self-same resolution was confirmed at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, after the 'Id prayers.

RESOLUTION

1. This gathering fully recognizes the lawful rights of the Arabs in Palestine. It urges all possible action towards the restoration of properties in Palestine to their rightful owners, and towards the return of the refugees; and towards protecting the lives of the innocent from the brutal attacks of the "Israelis", and the strengthening of the Palestinian National Guard, with financial assistance from Muslims all over the world.

2. This gathering urges the Muslim Governments to put extensive political and economic pressure on those countries which have interests in the Muslim world, and which at the same time support the aggressive State of Israel.

3. This gathering also urges Muslims to use every available opportunity to suppress Zionist propaganda, and to enlighten international public opinion on the true nature of the Palestine problem.



THE ARMED PROPHET—TROTSKY (1879-1921), by Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press, London, 1954. Price 35/-.

This first volume deals with the life of one of the most provocative and certainly one of the greatest personalities of this century, and whether you love or hate Trotsky, it is a vital book of tremendous interest dealing with the most thrilling events of the century. This book should be read by every Oriental, as it deals with physical and theoretical matters of vital importance for the Asiatic and African peoples. Trotsky was one of the finest intellectual and political theoreticians as well as one of the greatest men of revolutionary action. Although Lenin created the Bolshevik Party without which there would have been no revolution, Trotsky organized the insurrection and led the Bolshevik armies to success in the civil war. His thrilling speeches, his pithy invective and his courageous actions contrast with the more timid brethren such as Zinoviev and Kameniev. All these episodes, the period before the 1917 Revolution, the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, the Kronstadt revolt, the Polish campaign and the first years of conflict with Stalin are recounted impartially and objectively. It is a great book.

LAYAR TERKEMPENG (Full Sails), by Takdir 'Alishahbana ; *BELENGU* (Shackles), by Armijn Pané.

Two of the best-known modern Indonesian writers are Takdir 'Alishahbana and Armijn Pané, formerly joint editors of the *Pudjangga Baru* (New Writer). Both of them believe that the present generation will form its own cultural pattern, in which certain values are pre-eminent, but they differ in many respects.

Takdir favours an international-Western approach, regarding the past as pre-Indonesian and outmoded. Indonesian culture must be dynamic and individualistic in order to achieve progress. He has said, "All the literature of the world is the literature of modern Indonesia".

Takdir's radical Western approach is not shared by Armijn, who contends, in company with many other modern writers, that the dynamic spirit is not a Western monopoly but is possessed by every nation at certain stages of its history. Thus he holds that "Western life serves only as a re-agent and source for new cultural elements in the building of a new culture. The old culture cannot be entirely wiped out ; its influence remains".

The difference between these two writers may be illustrated by reference to *Layar Terkempeng* (Full Sails) by Takdir (1937) and *Belengu* (Shackles) by Armijn (1940). Both stories have as their background the well-to-do and educated Indonesian way of life in the thirties. Takdir chooses as his heroine a leader in the Indonesian women's

movement and contrasts her independent rational character with the motherly nature of her sister.

Armijn describes the struggle between East and West in the psychology, and attitude of life, of an educated Indonesian doctor and the consequences of a Western education without an Eastern cultural background, the struggle between the past and the present, as manifested in the ideas of the young and the old.

The story of *Full Sails* is quite simple. It tells of two sisters who happen to fall in love with the same young man. He is attracted to the sweet and motherly younger girl, Maria, and after the usual courting they become engaged, while the elder, Tuti, being of a rational and independent nature, did her utmost to conceal and stifle her unrequited love.

Before the marriage takes place, however, Maria becomes fatally ill. On her deathbed she expresses the wish that her fiancé should marry Tuti, a wish which both parties are by no means reluctant to comply with.

It is through the words and actions of Tuti that Takdir conveys to his readers his ideas of how a person can find self-emancipation in a voluntary and conscious binding to a community. Tuti is sketched as a serious-minded young woman, who before falling in love with Yusuf has turned down offers of marriage because she believes that it is an impediment in her work for the emancipation of women and as a leader of women's organizations.

At the end of the story she realizes that only in her newly-found relationship to society, in a marriage of her own choice, can she find a really harmonious and satisfying life.

The story of *Shackles*, which has been described as the first psychological novel in Indonesia, centres round the problems arising from the marriage of Sukartono, a doctor with an artistic nature, and Sumartini (Tini), a girl who has a completely Western education. Though they seem ideally suited the marriage soon drifts.

Sukartono finds out that she has had a previous love affair. In fact, it was with a young college student who had been at school with Sukartono. Not knowing the identity of her previous lover, Sukartono readily forgives her, but a guilt complex prevents Tini from loving her husband or performing her household duties properly.

Sukartono turns for consolation to Yah, a notorious *krontjong* singer, who has loved him from childhood. Tini meets Hartono, the young college student, but the realization that their love is dead brings no solution. Tini finds out about Yah and woman-like wishes to see her. They meet and both agree to give Sukartono up. Tini seeks satisfaction in life by devoting herself to social work, Yah by going abroad and Sukartono by applying himself to his medical research.



SIR SAYYID AHMAD'S WORKS

Aligarh Ahmadiya Society,
Union of Burma,

P.B. No. 1063,

Rangoon, Burma.

15th May 1954.

Dear Sir,

We have formed the Aligarh Ahmadiya Society, Burma, in memory of the late Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Muslim University, Aligarh, India. We have published a pamphlet in English and sent articles on the life and works of Sir Sayyid to some local Burmese and English journals and they have been published.

We believe that Sir Sayyid's works will appeal to the mind of the intelligentsia and guide it towards a progressive way of thinking. We wonder if *The Islamic Review* would publish some of the writings of the great Sayyid in its pages. We believe it will be of much benefit to the Muslims today.

H. KHAN,
President.

(The Editor will be grateful for guidance and selection of the matter by those who are well-versed in the writings of the late Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan.)

* * *

AN ENGLISH MUSLIM'S PROTEST AGAINST THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION'S IRREVERENCE TO ISLAM

33 Larpent Avenue,

Putney, London, S.W.15.

30th June 1954.

The Director-General,
British Broadcasting Corporation,
London, W.1.

Dear Sir,

I have noted on several occasions recently that there have been instances, both on sound radio and television, where the religion of Islam has been insulted. This has caused very great hurt to thousands of Muslims, both English and foreign, the majority of whom are either British subjects or members of the British Commonwealth.

In these days when attempts are being made on every side for mutual understanding between nations and races, it seems rather strange that the British Broadcasting Corporation should go out of its way, apparently, to stir up ill-feeling between members of different creeds. Islam is the greatest monotheistic religion in the world today, and attempts by a body such as yours to proselytize followers of this great religion to a more primitive religion, i.e., Christianity of one form or another, are not viewed with favour.

It would seem that the British Broadcasting Corporation is extremely biased in its presentation of "religious" programmes to the public, but it should bear in mind that,

especially with regard to "sound" radio, talks and services such as these are heard all over the world, and any belittling of the Muslim religion does militate against closer ties of friendship and brotherhood with these peoples.

It would at least be equitable if the other great religions of the world could have the opportunity of presenting their point of view — and I am sure they would not have the bad taste to impute such vulgar attributes to other religions as was the case during the religious service from All Souls' Church last Sunday evening, 27th May 1954, when the verse of a hymn was flashed on to the screen reading "... where Islam's sway broods darkly o'er the earth".

The English people are traditionally honest and decent, and lovers of fair play, and we have previously been led to believe that the British Broadcasting Corporation represents all that is good in England, but I am beginning to have my doubts.

Yours faithfully,

al-Haj 'ABDEL KARIM HERBERT.

* * *

IN SEARCH OF ISLAM

c/o N. B. Mahomed, Esq.,

16/17 Lai Chi Kok Village,

Castle Peak Road,

Kowloon,

Hong Kong.

Dear Sir,

It is with great sincerity that I ask for your help and guidance. The words come from deep down in my heart when I say that I, a Christian of twenty-seven years' standing, wish to embrace Islam and accept it as my religion.

Through careful study of some copies of *The Islamic Review*, and having read *Wisdom of the Prophet Muhammad* by Mohammad Amin, I have come to realize that the teachings of Islam are so akin to the teachings of Christianity, yet at the same time more full and satisfying to my own soul, that I feel the time has come for me to begin life anew as it were, to accept and take all the responsibilities that Islam demands.

For me to attain this end, there is much I must do and learn. I have at my disposal at present two other books, namely, *The Message of Islam*, by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, and *Towards Understanding Islam*, by Sayyed Abul-'Ala Maudoodi (as translated by Dr. Abdul Ghani), and a pamphlet, *Zakat in Islam*, by al-Haj Qassim 'Ali Jairazbhoy. These will be a very useful aid; yet there arise many important questions in my mind, and it is for an answer to these questions that I am seeking your advice and help.

First, what must I do before I can be fully accepted into the Muslim Brotherhood? Secondly, what procedure must I adopt in order to become a Muslim? And thirdly,

how can Islam help me to become a better citizen and of greater help to the community?

In closing, I wish to make it quite clear that I have given this matter long and careful thought, and that it is my earnest desire to become a true believer. I am not turning my back upon Christianity, but rather taking a step further to a faith which to my mind is the embodiment of God's purpose to mankind.

Yours faithfully,

H. K. WALTON.

(To become a Muslim you must declare your faith in the unity of God and in the messengership of the Prophet Muhammad (Ashhadu anla Ilaha illa 'l-Lah wa-ashhadu ana Muhammadan 'Abd hu wa Rasulu-hu). No special formalities are required for this conversion, but the declaration must be made in the presence of two witnesses. In order to become a better citizen you should make a careful study of the Qur'an and other treatises on Islam, and try to live up to the precepts and commandments of God Almighty and His Prophet as mentioned in the Qur'an and the Hadith [The Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad].)

* * *

"A CALL FOR INTROSPECTION"

Abbas Manzil Library Publishing House,
Allahabad, India.

26th May 1954.

Dear Sir,

This letter is prompted by *The Islamic Review* for April 1954, wherein appears a Call from the Council of the Academy of Islamic Studies, Hyderabad-Deccan, India, under the caption of "A Call for Introspection". It appears to me that there is a confusion in the minds of the proponents of the Call in the matter of understanding the nature and position of the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad simply because they ignore the fact that the Traditions are divided into categories: the *Sunnah* (the Way of the Prophet) and the *Riwayaat* (the Narration). The confusion has also arisen because some of the collectors of the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad have identified the *Sunnah* with the *Riwayaat*, whereas they are quite contradistinct. The collectors of some of the six standard books of the Traditions have named their Collections as "Sunan", which in fact is a misnomer, for they should have been named *Riwayaat* (Narrations). These collectors have attributed to the Prophet through a chain of narrators covering a period of ten generations certain words and actions. This means that a period of more than one century had to elapse before these collections were prepared. In this mass of the *Riwayaat* (Narrations) there is what is known as "ahad", which all theologians have accepted, if I may be permitted to use the phrase, with a pinch of salt, their rejection or acceptance depending on the whims and choice of the particular religious scholar. For instance, the narrations about Mahdism and Mujaddidism have been avidly taken up and exploited by persons who had the ambition of becoming Mahdis, although we know full well that the whole mass of traditions behind the idea of Mahdism, etc., is based on patently spurious sayings imputed to the Prophet Muhammad by well-meaning people who as partisans of the cults that had sprung up on account of the political rivalries of the supporters of 'Ali and others in early Islam had sought support for their personal views in the words of the Prophet. Besides, a great part of these *Riwayaats* is merely the reflection of

the minds of those converts to Islam who had inadvertently brought their own traditions into Islam. For instance, the one month of fasting and five times of prayer were the practice of the *Majus* (Magians) of Persia, and when they were converted to Islam they, in spite of the fact that the Qur'an lays down, as far as I can see it, unequivocally three times of prayer and ten days of fasting, neither changed their usage nor allowed the Arabs to supersede them, so that down to the days of the Caliph 'Abd al-'Aziz, to give but one example, the times of prayer were disputed.

Another example is of the views of the Jewish proselytes who are responsible for all those traditions which tell us the apocryphal stories of their prophets and patriarchs and for many injunctions which are Jewish in origin, and are also enunciated by Muslim legists, for instance, about the stoning of adulteresses and witches, the drawing of pictures of human beings on paper or stone, the doctrine of the abrogation of stoning of the apostates, etc.

I would, therefore, ask Muslims to attach to the *Riwayaat* (Narrations) the same value as they do to the stories in the history of a people, and not to base any religious doctrine of Islam on them. But the *Sunnah* is a different thing. The *Sunnah* is the practical demonstration by the Prophet of the way a prayer, pilgrimage or fasting is to be performed. The *Sunnah* has come down to us from father to son, and forms the daily religious practice of Islam. This requires neither collection nor codification, nor preservation. What is really needed is to hold fast to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* alone and place the *Riwayaat* (Narrations) outside the religious code.

Yours sincerely,

S. M. AHMED, P.C.S. (Retd.),
Honorary Secretary.

* * *

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There is in South Africa a great need for Islamic literature in English for the education of Muslim children of school age. The majority of these children do not understand Arabic, and only very few of them take any interest in Urdu literature after they leave their Muslim *madrasah* and enter upon their secular education.

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