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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The design on the cover is the work of an Egyptian Muslim, Mr. 'Abd al-Sattar, of Pakistani extraction. The design is conceived round the famous Arabic sentence *Allah jallah Jalalu-hu* (God Whose glory be manifest!) and executed in Kufic script.

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نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

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

VOL. XLV. No. 12

DECEMBER, 1957

Jumada 'l-thaniya, 1377 A.H.

Will Arab Neutralism Lead To Soviet Satellitism?

Some people, including genuine friends of the Arab world, express genuine fears that neutralism — which is now essentially a protective and defensive attitude adopted by certain Arab States that are as opposed to Communist domination as they are to colonial or Zionist domination — may, nevertheless, lead in the future to relationships of undue dependence on, and situations of *de facto* domination by, the Soviet Union. In other words, the prediction is made that, even though neutralist Arab countries are today determined to preserve their independence from the Soviet *bloc* as well as from the Western Powers, none the less, the ties and relations which they are now developing with the Soviet Union will, in due course, translate themselves into the exertion of undue influence by the Soviet *bloc* over the Arab countries concerned.

How valid is this argument? How justified is this fear? How accurate are these unhappy predictions likely to prove to be? To answer these pertinent questions all that we, who are not prophets, can do is to look into the future in the light of the present and the past, and to discern trends and factors which may help us distinguish between what is probable and what is improbable in the future.

In the next few lines we propose to venture into the realm of the future, and to attempt to show what we consider to be elements of assurance that the dreaded possibility of Sovietization of the Arab world is unlikely to be realized.

It is evident that the future of the relationships between the Soviet *bloc*, on the one hand, and neutralist Arab countries on the other hand, depends upon the respective strategy of the two parties concerned. It is, therefore, imperative to analyse the factors which are operative in the policies of both the Soviet Union and of the neutralist Arab States, and which are relevant to the appraisal of the outcome of Arab-Soviet relations.

I

(1) As to the neutralist Arab States, their leaders have indicated again and again that their relations with the Soviet

Union have not weakened, and are not likely to weaken, their rejection of Communism as an ideology and as an outlook of life. Nothing that has happened since the advent of neutralism into the stage of the Arab world may be considered, however faintly or remotely, as indicative of softening of the general Arab rejection of Communism as a way of life. This factor, therefore, remains an element of immunity against the introduction of political changes which will entail the voluntary acceptance by any Arab State of Soviet domination.

(2) Another element is the determination of the Arab States to protect and preserve their independence and sovereignty. It ought not to be forgotten that, if some Arab States have accepted to turn to the Soviet *bloc* to find markets for their surpluses or to obtain loans or to import consumers' goods or capital goods or to purchase arms, it was only in order to bolster their economy and to reinforce their defensive capacities from the only source available to them, since the West had refused to furnish them with unconditional economic or military assistance. They turned to the Soviet *bloc* in order precisely to protect their independence and safeguard their sovereignty. It is, therefore, logically fallacious to maintain that it is possible for any country which has resorted to a certain means in order to attain a certain end, to sacrifice this end for that means. An Arab State which accepted arms or economic assistance from the Soviet *bloc*, in order to protect its independence cannot be imagined to be ready, now or in the future, to barter its very independence for that economic aid or military assistance. Voluntary submission by any Arab State to Soviet domination is inconceivable in proportion to the Arab determination to preserve Arab independence which overshadows every other Arab determination and defines and directs all Arab policies.

(3) Another factor that must be borne in mind is that the experience of the neutralist Arab States so far can be safely looked upon as an indication of their future conduct. Here are a few illustrations:

(a) Relations with the Soviet *bloc* have not relaxed Arab opposition to domestic Communism. For

example, the Egyptian Government which concluded the arms deal with Czechoslovakia in 1955 has maintained since then its traditional policy of suppressing Communism at home, and has continued to this day to outlaw Communism and to adopt various measures to prevent its penetration into Egypt;

- (b) Neither Egypt, nor Syria, nor any other neutralist Arab country, has entered into pacts or alliances or submitted to political conditions, in return for the arms it secured from the Soviet *bloc*, or for the trade facilities made available to it by the Soviet *bloc*; and,
- (c) No one can justifiably forget that, in the midst of the gravest crisis in its recent history, during the tripartite aggression of November 1956, Egypt turned down the offers of Soviet and Red Chinese "volunteers".

Thus the inherent Arab opposition to Communism, the staunch determination of the Arabs to preserve, protect and reinforce their independence from any foreign power, all these jointly prove that voluntary submission by any Arab State to Soviet domination is unlikely and inconceivable.

II

The other side of the question, however, is whether the Soviet Union itself will utilize the growing dependence of those Arab countries which receive its arms and which trade with it, in such a way as to impose its domination over them — directly or indirectly, partially or totally.

(1) It seems obvious from an analysis of Soviet strategy and objectives that the Middle East areas of the underdeveloped world are more important to the Soviet Union as an area that was formerly under Western domination, but may be now emancipated from that domination, than as an area that may be incorporated into the Soviet orbit. This does not mean that the Soviet Union would be reluctant to

extend its domination to the Middle East, if it could. But it does mean that, if the Soviet Union has to choose between a neutral Middle East, on the one hand, and a Middle East which is alienated and frightened by Soviet efforts to dominate it, the Soviet Union is more likely, then, to proceed cautiously in the direction of encouraging and promoting further severance of the relations of dependence between the Middle East and the West, than in the direction of efforts to bring the Middle East, against the will of its peoples, into the Soviet orbit.

(2) The Soviet Union cannot be unaware that the people of the Middle East, pro-Western or neutralist, are watching carefully to see the results of the neutralist experiment. To the degree to which they become convinced that neutralism is only the precursor of Soviet efforts to dominate the area, to that degree they are sure to be frightened away from neutralism; and the promotion of new links with the Soviet *bloc* is sure, as a result, to be deterred and discouraged. Soviet awareness of this fact must be a factor which affects the shaping of Soviet plans for the Middle East.

(3) Finally, the geographical facts must be kept in mind. Should the Soviet Union, contrary to the foregoing analysis of its probable strategy, resort to direct or indirect pressure in order to bring some neutralist Arab countries into its sphere of influence, the effectiveness of such pressures will be tremendously limited by virtue of the lack of geographical contiguity and the absence of Soviet forces in the area. The relations between the European satellites and the Soviet Union cannot be duplicated in the Middle East owing to this geographical factor, as well as owing to the other elements which we have already discussed. For example, the threat posed by the presence of organized Communist groups within Czechoslovakia and strong Soviet forces along its borders, which diminished the resolution of Czech patriots to resist the Communization of Czechoslovakia in 1947-8, cannot be duplicated in the case of Syria or Egypt or any other Arab countries.

THE DIVINE DIVAN

26.

When shines the day,
The Belovéd goeth with thee on thy way.
Falls then the night.
Dost see that distant star so bright
Beyond?
Both near and far
His mercy moveth with thee and is still beyond.
Beyond the mighty square of Pegasus,
Beyond the brightness of Orion's Belt,
Beyond the silver-shimmering Sirius,
Or happy Pleiades,
Or lordly Bear, bright guardian of the Pole,
Or changeful Planets, circling round the Sun,
Thy Lord is there,
The Lovéd One.
Then have no fear;
Thy Lord is near.
Bow to His will;
Thy Lord is still
Beyond!

27

What Thou givest, Lórd, is good,
Rightly understood.
What Thou doest, Lord, is good,
Gaze with clearer vision if we could.
The sunshine casts a shadow, helping us to see We are free,
The myriad beauties of Thy mercies.
O Lord of Light, O Lord of Night,
To praise Thy Majesty
In ev'ry dancing moment of eternity.

28

They say that love upon this earth
Is the greatest thing yet brought to birth.
If this be so, then, when we love,
Not only Thy creation here but Thee above,
Then do we swim and sing and thrill in an infinity
Of love with the Belovéd on the shining oceans of eternity.

William Bashyr Pickard.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

الله

نور السموات والأرض

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

A SHORT STUDY OF NATURE

The Qur'an's Emphasis on a Study of Nature
is to establish the Existence of the Great Contriver

By THE LATE KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

"Everything in nature is on its way to evolution, but under some marked course. . . . Had all these heavenly systems no designer they would soon have been disorganized and ruined."

God has arranged for means to satisfy our needs

Are we not equipped with various cravings and needs which we do our best to satisfy? Our whole life is spent in securing means to gratify our natural requirements. All that we call civilization sprang up solely from men's efforts in this direction. To secure happiness and to avert pain is the great problem of life. But is not proper satisfaction of our natural desires the climax of pleasure? Is not an ungratified need a great misery? We cannot ignore the existence of two things in nature: our needs and the existence of means in the universe to satisfy them. We have got ears and eyes: they demand pleasant sights and melodious sounds. Fine arts must come forward to provide them. We want good drinks and delicious eatables, and we have explored the whole world to find them. We experience higher cravings as well, and we spare no pains to meet their demands. We experience feelings of love, mercy and generosity. We must find some occasion for their exhibition, though at any cost. Similarly, do we not possess the faculty for admiration, praise and thanksgiving? Do we not give expression to them when once these sentiments are aroused in our breast? Beneficence and beauty are the only factors to give rise to these noble feelings in us, as they only consummate human happiness. Even a man callous and cruel at heart cannot be indifferent to it. Thus we are in search of beauty and beneficence, and when we secure them our praise and gratitude arise and must find expression. But beauty and beneficence often accrue to us through inanimate things. Do we praise them and express our gratitude to them? To do so would be a foolish act. If the beauty of a fine product of art contributes to our

happiness, we do not look to it for our thanksgiving and admiration, but look up to the one who produced it or supplied it to us.

Is not nature around us the soul source of our happiness? Does it not exhibit beauty and beneficence, even in its smallest particle? Do not its variegated beauties excite our admiration and praise? Is it, then, unnatural to feel grateful after enjoying its blessings? But we never give our thanks to dumb, inanimate things. We always tender our gratitude to some intelligent being who is the maker or supplier of what adds to our happiness. Whom should we look to for showing our gratitude if we have been benefited by all around us? To be grateful is human, to find an object to whom to express our gratitude is natural. Should we praise dumb nature and give our thanks to inanimate matter? We should be untrue to our very nature if we did so. We do need some intelligent being who should claim our admiration and gratitude. It is simply a natural desire. Our very nature looks for an intelligent benefactor to whom we may tender our thanks whenever we derive some benefit. Blessed be the Prophet Muhammad, to whom these mysteries of human nature were revealed. How beautifully the Holy Qur'an brings home to our minds the existence of God in the following verse. It speaks eloquently of the beauty and beneficence evinced in nature, and thus appeals to our sense of admiration and gratitude, which must find expression in favour of some intelligent being, the Author of all:

"All praises and gratitude are due to God, the Creator, Nourisher and Sustainer of all the worlds

around us so necessary for our creation, sustenance and nourishment."

Everything in nature works under a definite system

There is one most striking feature in nature which even a superficial observer does not fail to notice. Everything in nature is on its way to evolution, but under some marked course. It obeys certain laws, and so secures its progress. Its very utility to the whole world around it depends on its submission to the procedure fixed for it. The violation of its law means destruction and loss. Every day the sun rises and sets, with no deviation from its prescribed course. The whole solar system, the atmosphere, the earth and the things thereon are all tending to progress, but under given rules and regulations. The day and the night never overlap each other's province. How faithfully the moon and the stars pursue their course! This universal phenomenon of the law and obedience observable in the whole universe has so beautifully been depicted in the following verses from the Qur'an:

"A sign to them also is the night. We withdraw the day from it, and lo! they are plunged in darkness, and the sun hasteneth to her place of rest. This is the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knowing.

"And as for the moon, we have decreed stations for it till it change like an old and crooked palm branch.

"To the sun it is not given to overtake the moon, nor doth the night outstrip the day. Each in its sphere doth journey on" (36: 37-40).

What a truism — "Each in its sphere doth journey on"! Each component of nature to pursue its own course — no violation, no trespass, but implicit obedience to the fixed unchangeable law. This alone reduces conflicting

elements into one harmonious whole: a cosmos out of chaos! This alone is responsible for all scientific discoveries. Science creates nothing: its whole province is confined to the discovery of laws that guide the forces of nature. Such discoveries were impossible, and futile too, if there be no certainty as to the unchangeable nature of the laws, and the obedience thereto by nature.

Is it design or adaptation? Does not nature follow a prescribed course? Does not the law govern matter? Had its evolution been haphazard, disorderly and unsystematic, one could argue in favour of adaptation in the working of nature, with the law merely as its sequel. But science always finds system, order and regularity as the governing principles in the whole universe, and her discoveries are only discoveries of rules and regulations prescribed to govern matter. It means design and intelligence. The law precedes matter, and hence no adaptation.

Had all these heavenly systems no designer they would soon have been disorganized and ruined. The vast mass of matter rolling in space without disturbing each other's motion demonstrate contrivance and design by the regularity of their motions, and hence the Designer. Is it not surprising that these innumerable spheres thus rolling on from time immemorial do neither collide nor alter their course in the slightest degree? How could such a grand machinery work on without any disorder for numberless years unless it was in accordance with the intention and contrivance of a Supreme Contriver? Alluding to this consummate Divine Wisdom, Almighty God says in the Holy Qur'an:

"Is there any doubt concerning God who has made such wonderful heavenly bodies and such a wonderful earth?" (14: 11).

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ISLAM AND SLAVERY

Did Islam sanction slavery as a permanent institution?

CAPTIVES OF WAR

Alleged practising of slavery in some Muslim countries is repugnant to the teachings of Islam

By THE LATE MUHAMMAD 'ALI

It is not true to say that Islam did not put a check upon the sources of slavery

I have shown previously¹ that consideration of the welfare of society in general as well as of masters and slaves compelled Islam to adopt the method of the gradual emancipation of slaves. Slavery was, therefore, permitted by Islam until it should gradually die out without disturbing social order. But although slavery had thus to be suffered to continue in existence for some time, the evils which resulted from this institution were swept off at once, as shown previously in "Treatment of Slaves". Such is my brief answer to the question which I have set for discussion in this article. There is not a single word in the Holy Qur'an which shows that slavery was sanctioned as a permanent institution. The mere fact that slaves are spoken of in the Holy Qur'an does not warrant the conclusion that slavery is inseparable from Islam. Adverse critics seem to argue like this that since the Holy Qur'an enjoins goodness to slaves, or enjoins their emancipation, or allows the taking of slave-girls as wives in certain cases, therefore it follows that Islam enjoins the Muslims always to keep slaves to carry out these orders. The absurdity of such an argument is too evident to be pointed out.

It will be seen from what has been said that it is an error to regard slavery as an institution so ingrafted on Islam as to be inseparable from it. On the other hand, Islam cleared the way for the utter abolition of slavery and permitted its continuance only so far as its abolition was fraught with evil consequences. It is generally thought that though Islam gave orders for the emancipation of slaves, it did not put a check upon the sources of slavery and did not prohibit the making of new slaves. This is a great error. Leaving aside the Islamic wars, to which I will presently come, there is not a single instance in which Islam reduced freemen to slavery in any one of the ways which were prevalent before its advent in Arabia. Nor is there any provision in the Muslim law which legalizes such a course. The Holy Qur'an nowhere says to the Muslims that they are enjoined or that it is lawful for them or permitted them to reduce freemen to slavery by sale or violence. Nor is any such injunction or permission contained in any tradition of the Prophet Muhammad. When the Holy Qur'an contains the necessary directions as to the emancipation of slaves, as to their good treatment, as to their marriages, and as to their punishment and immunity from punishment, we are safe in drawing the conclusion that if it had permitted the enslaving of freemen, it should have given clear directions as to the cases in which it gave such permission. But since there is no such direction either in the Holy Qur'an or in the traditions, it follows that Islam does not sanction the enslaving of free men.

A free man cannot be made a slave

If it is said that neither does Islam prohibit such a course, I answer that this is not true. The two processes, viz., the

freeing of a slave and the enslaving of a freeman, are opposed to each other, and if one of these is regarded by a man as a deed of virtue, the other must be looked upon by him as an evil deed. Now read the Holy Qur'an and see which of these two is enjoined by it upon all true believers as a deed of virtue. Had not the Holy Qur'an attached that meritoriousness and importance to the freeing of slaves, which it did, the case would have been different. Slaves were emancipated even before Islam and among nations other than the Muslims. But with the advent of Islam, the emancipation of slaves received a new meaning. It was made a religious duty and pronounced to be a deed of great virtue and meritoriousness. Its opposite, therefore, viz., the enslaving of freemen, could not but be considered an evil deed. To make this point clearer let me refer to the injunctions requiring the emancipation of slaves already quoted previously. In one of these, after describing His manifold blessings upon man, God says :

"Yet (man is so ungrateful that notwithstanding all these blessings upon him) he attempted not the steep ; and what shall teach thee what that steep is ? It is to emancipate the slave, or to feed in the day of famine the orphan who is near of kin, or the poor that lieth in the dust " (90 : 11-15).

Now whatever view may be taken of the mere neglect to act upon this injunction, there is not the slightest doubt that to act against the plain requirement of this commandment, enslaving the freeman or robbing an orphan or a poor man of his food, would be, according to the Holy Qur'an, a transgression of its commandments. Similarly on other occasions where the emancipation of slaves is enjoined, it is mentioned along with the giving away of one's wealth, as a deed of charity, "to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer," the observing of prayers, the paying of legal alms and being faithful to one's engagements (2 : 179). Anyone who thinks that the enslaving of freemen is permitted by the Holy Qur'an shall also have to admit that doing the opposite of the other virtuous deeds enjoined here is also permitted. Moreover, as I have said before, the emancipation of slaves is considered by the Holy Qur'an to be an atonement for sins, a deed pleasing in the sight of God, and hence the enslaving of freemen must be considered by the same Book as a sin, a deed offending in the sight of God. It is also worth noting that whereas the Holy Qur'an enjoins that a part of the poor rates should be spent for emancipating slaves, it nowhere says that another part should be spent in enslaving freemen.

The traditions of the Prophet on the emancipation of slaves

If we look at the traditions of the Prophet, the conclusions arrived at gain still more strength. The same stress is here laid upon the emancipation of slaves, and the deed is extolled as one of the highest merit. Not a single tradition narrates an incident in which a freeman was made a slave. Nor do we meet with any trace of a slave market among the Muslims in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Nay, here

¹ See *The Islamic Review* for November 1957.

we have positive evidence that the enslaving of freemen was strictly forbidden by the Muslim law. Abu Huraira reports the following saying of the Prophet : " God says that there are three sorts of men whose adversary He will be on the day of judgment, viz., the man who makes an agreement in God's name and then breaks it, and the man who sells a freeman and appropriates his price (and according to the report of 'Abdullah, son of 'Umar, the man who enslaves a freeman), and the man who employs a labourer to do some work and when he has done it withholds payment of his wages." Here we have additional evidence that Islam forbids the reducing of freemen to slavery. In the *Sahih* of Bukhari, the most trustworthy of all the books on traditions, the only chapter on slaves is headed : " The Emancipation of Slaves and its Excellence ", and in this chapter the reputed author describes the cases of emancipation of slaves and their good treatment. This was what Bukhari understood to be the essence of the teachings of Islam on slaves. This early and trustworthy writing shows clearly what the mission of Islam was so far as slaves were concerned. It was the freeing of those who were already in a state of slavery, and not the enslaving of those who were already free.

Slavery as practised in some Muslim countries is repugnant to the doctrines of Islam

Though much of the law was given to the Muslims after their flight to Medina, yet the law relating to the kind treatment of slaves and their emancipation had been revealed and proclaimed at Mecca. The emancipation of slaves was one of the phases of reformation which Islam took in hand at a very early date. This is a fact which stands in striking contrast to the baseless assertions of the adverse critics who say that the unlawful slavery now prevailing in some Muslim countries cannot be abolished without doing harm to the principles of Islam. The way in which slaves are now made and sold by some Muslims and in some Muslim countries is as repugnant to the doctrines of Islam as the murdering of non-Muslims on the pretence of religion, or as the drinking of wine, all which deeds are strictly prohibited by the Islamic faith.

Captives of war were not made slaves by the Prophet Munammad

Having shown that Islam had put a strong check upon the existing sources of slavery, I now come to a consideration of the cases of the captives made in war. It should be borne in mind that the battles fought by the Prophet were all fought under compulsion as they were only defensive. At Mecca, Islam had, for thirteen years, been trampled under foot, and the Muslims had at last to seek shelter in Medina for the safety of their lives, and to promulgate peacefully the noble doctrines of their religion. But their old enemies, the Quraysh, followed them thither to deal a final blow with the sword. The Muslims met them at the field of Badr, only three days' journey from their new home, Medina, and here they had to fight with the Quraysh, the odds being three unbelievers to every believer. With this great disparity in numbers and with the still greater disadvantage of there being raw and inexperienced youths on the side of the Muslims, the latter had to fight or, as an alternative, voluntarily to submit to death. The result of this unequal combat was, however, a complete victory to the Muslims as had been promised to them years before at Mecca. This was the first battle fought by the Muslims. Some seventy of the Quraysh fell on the

battlefield and about the same number were taken prisoner. This was the first occasion on which the Prophet had to deal with prisoners of war. They were not ordinary prisoners, nor was their only offence an offensive battle. They were the leaders of the Quraysh, who had for years tortured and butchered innocent Muslims because they would not bow before their idols. They deserved to be put to death on account of the heinous nature of their crimes. In fact, such was the view taken, and this the very argument advanced by 'Umar, as narrated in a trustworthy tradition. But Abu Bakr was for releasing them on payment of ransom, and this was the actual course taken by the Prophet. Their release brought fresh trouble to the Muslims in the battle of 'Uhud and that of the Confederates. However, one point is certain, viz., they were not made slaves, nor was any such proposal made by any companion of the Prophet.

This occurred long before the commandment contained in the Holy Qur'an as to the release of the prisoners of war was revealed. This commandment, to which I have referred previously, is contained in the words which read : " And afterwards either show liberality by free dismissals or exact ransoms until the war hath laid down its burdens " (96 : 5). In this verse God has laid down a universal law as to what should be done with captives made in war with the enemy. The Holy Qur'an does not tell us, as the hostile critics assert, that the prisoners of war are to be made slaves, but it states in clear words a comprehensive rule that they are to be set free either as an act of generosity or on receipt of ransom. I do not think that the reasonableness of this most humane law can be questioned by the most prejudiced critic. It must be further borne in mind that this is the only law mentioned in the Holy Qur'an as to the disposal of captives made in war, and there is not a single word leading to the conclusion that the prisoners of war are to be at once made slaves. This noble and humane law holds good in all ages and in all countries, and a better rule cannot be pointed out.

In the stage of society, however, of which I am speaking, there were other difficulties which were only of a temporary and local nature. Accordingly the Prophet met these in accordance with the requirements of the time. The Holy Qur'an recommended a free dismissal in the first instance of the captives made in war, and if that was considered inadvisable, it ordered their release on payment of ransom. But under the particular circumstances of that time, it sometimes happened that the conquered tribe or people did not care for the return of those who had been made captives by the conquerors and the payment of ransom was accordingly withheld. Of course free dismissal could not be resorted to in all such cases, for that was strengthening the enemy and encouraging him to withhold the ransom under all circumstances. This temporary need was satisfied with a temporary remedy. Such prisoners, instead of being made a burden to the State, were distributed among the Muslims who were bound to keep them in as good a condition as they themselves lived in. No one would seriously contend that they had not lost their liberty. Liberty they had none, as the prisoners of war do not enjoy liberty even today in any civilized country. But apart from the loss of liberty they had no other disadvantage. They were not sent to work in fields as labourers for the conquerors, as had been the practice among all the nations of antiquity and as is practised today. Nor were they allowed to remain quite idle, as such a course should have made them quite worthless in a few years. They did some work and lived as members of the household to which they were attached. And they had under all circumstances the right to obtain liberty on payment of ransom.

The Prophet Muhammad and the prisoners of war

Before going any further it is necessary to explain that the reformation which originated with Islam was gradual and progressive. It struck at the root of all evils one by one, until the reformation was complete at the end of twenty-three years. So long as the Prophet did not receive a revelation abolishing any old practice or institution, he did not interfere with it. Now, as I have shown before, though the injunction requiring the emancipation of slaves, and thus forbidding the enslaving of freemen, had been given at a very early period, the commandment dealing with the captives made in war, who forfeited their liberty by their own deed, was not given till very late in the life of the Prophet. This commandment is contained in the Qur'an, 47:4, which was revealed about or after the time when Mecca was conquered. Now the general practice among all nations of antiquity was that the prisoners of war were all reduced to slavery, and were sometimes even put to death. But even before receiving the Divine commandment, the Prophet showed the utmost leniency in dealing with them though he would have been justified in acting upon the prevalent usage. The captives made in the battle of Badr were set free on payment of ransom, though politically this step only strengthened the Quraysh and subjected the Muslims to further trouble from that quarter. All that can be asserted with any degree of certainty is that out of nineteen battles which the Prophet had to fight, the prisoners of war were made slaves on two occasions only, both times before the revelation of the verse which contains the Islamic law on that point. On both these occasions, the Prophet had to deal with the Jews, with the Banu Qurayza on the first occasion and with the Jews of Khaybar on the second. In all the other battles the prisoners seem generally to have been set free. At least several cases of this kind are recorded. In one case as many as six thousand prisoners were set free without exacting any ransom. The Arab tribes had inflicted so many wounds on the Muslim community that they deserved to be treated as murderers. Wherever they could lay their hands upon the Muslims, they mercilessly put them to death. On one occasion seventy learned companions of the Prophet were murdered in cold blood by an act of treachery. But when being subjected in battles and made captives, they lay at the mercy of the Prophet, he did not punish them according to their atrocious deeds, he did not even take advantage of the established practice of reducing vanquished enemy to slavery, but with a magnanimity which is equalled by none, he set them free, sometimes on payment of ransom, often without.

As I have said above, in two out of nineteen battles his treatment of prisoners of war was different from that in the other seventeen. In one case the Qurayzites of Medina, who had twice played the traitor with the Muslims and had dealt blows which would have destroyed the whole Muslim community had it not been for Divine protection, were dealt with according to their deeds, the traitors being put to death and the rest being reduced to a state of subjugation which for want of a better name must be designated by the name of slavery. But this fate they had chosen for themselves. After they were found guilty of traitorousness and had failed to acquit themselves of the charge, they relied on the judgment of Sa'd, son of Mu'az, and were dealt with in accordance with the verdict which he gave. In the other case, several prisoners were made from the Jews of Khaybar and reduced to slavery. But there is evidence to show that those who could afford to pay the ransom were made free. Besides this the emancipation of slaves was carried on in accordance with the directions of the Holy Qur'an. If these people had been reduced to a permanent condition of slavery, some of them should have remained

with the Prophet of Abu Bakr. But there is positive proof that both of them possessed no slave at all, from which it follows that those who were made slaves in these two battles, were immediately, or soon afterwards, set free.

The Prophet Muhammad and the Jewish prisoners of war

It should not be considered that the Prophet showed severity towards the Jews in dealing with them in an exceptional manner. The Arabs were an ignorant people and possessed no revealed law, but the Jews claimed to possess a law given to them by God. What the Prophet did was that he dealt with them according to their own law in its mildest form. According to the Jewish law the enemy was wholly destroyed, even the women and children being slaughtered. (See Deut. 13:12-18; 20:16, 17; Nu. 21:3; Judg. 1:17, 21:10-12; Josh. 6:24; I Sam. 15:3, etc.) A milder law was that men were put to death while the women and children were reduced to slavery. (See Deut. 23:20-24.) If, therefore, anyone is to blame in the case of the Qurayzites, it is not the Prophet, who accepted the Jewish terms of surrender and dealt with them according to the verdict of Sa'd, son of Mu'az, whom the Qurayzites themselves had proposed as an arbitrator, nor is Sa'd to be blamed for giving a verdict which was the mildest law in the Jewish Scriptures which could apply to the Qurayzites, but the whole blame lies at the door of the Jews themselves who proclaimed even severer laws than this. Similar was the case of the prisoners of Khaybar, they also being Jews. The Prophet was quite justified in dealing with the Jews according to their own laws and the mildness of his temper is shown by the fact that he chose the mildest of all laws for their punishment. Nay, he further softened the severity of this Jewish law by setting free the slaves which were allotted to him and by inducing his followers both by precept and his own example to set them free. The prejudiced Christian critics, who blindly charge the Prophet with cruelty on this occasion, should bear in mind that no one but the Jewish law is responsible for the much-bewailed fate of the Jews, and the Prophet is only to be praised for his introducing mildness even to the severe Jewish law. The Jews had rendered themselves culpable and the punishment given to them was in accordance with their own law.

The laws of Islam as revealed in the Holy Qur'an are universal laws, but anything that may have been done before the revelation of those laws on any particular occasion must be considered to have been done to meet a temporary need and it does not throw any light upon what the true Islamic principle is. The principle must be sought from the Holy Qur'an and from the practice of the Prophet later than the revelation of any particular commandment. Thus we meet with cases of drinking in the early days of Islam, but such a fact should not lead us to the conclusion that drinking is not prohibited among the Muslims. The true Islamic law on this point is contained in the Holy Qur'an which strictly forbids all intoxicating liquors. Similarly the actual law as to the prisoners of war should not be guessed from particular instances, but it is contained in the Qur'an 25:17: "the captives made in war should be set free either as an act of generosity, or, if necessary, on payment of ransom". This is the law which Islam offers as a law of universal application with regard to the prisoners of war.

Conclusion

From the above, the reader would easily see that Islam practically put a stop to all sources of slavery and led to a gradual emancipation of the old slaves. The prisoners of war

were made slaves only in exceptional cases when ransom was not paid and their free dismissal was not politically advisable. But in such cases too, the payment of ransom entitled them to freedom at any time and the ordinary ways of obtaining emancipation were also open to them. Moreover, they were not kept as slaves as in other nations. They were kept as brothers and as members of the household. It is a great misconception that the companions of the Prophet possessed large numbers of slaves. Before their conversion to Islam, the rich among them had no doubt great numbers of slaves, but after their conversion they followed the example of the Prophet in freeing their slaves. In a tradition recorded in the *Sahih* of Bukhari, it is accidentally mentioned that at Medina the *Muhajirs* (the refugees) and the *Ansar* (the helpers) had no slaves to do menial work for them. When the Quraysh in large numbers besieged Medina to crush the Muslims, the

latter had to dig a ditch for their safety. Speaking of that occasion, Bukhari relates the following tradition: "The Prophet (may peace and the blessings of God be upon him!) went out to the place where the ditch was being dug. There he saw the refugees and the helpers digging in a cold morning, *for they had no slaves who should have done this work of labour for them.*" On the other hand, it appears from an account of the lives of the companions of the Prophet that there were large numbers of freedmen among them. For this purpose I went through a part of the *Isabah*, which is an authentic book on the lives of the companions of the Prophet. I read an account of the lives of 134 companions and found that not a single one of these is mentioned as a slave, while at least thirteen are mentioned as being freedmen. I think the reader can see from this brief discussion how groundless the charges are against Islam.

Researches in the Qur'an on Problems of our Life

Object of Life and Creation

Man's Nobler Faculties and their Evolution

By DR. ALLAH BAKHSH

Verses of the Qur'an on the purpose of creation

1. "He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six periods (He is throned above the waters) in order that *He might try you as to which of you is the noblest in deeds*" (11 : 7).

2. "God has created the heavens and the earth with truth (a definite purpose), so that *every soul may be rewarded according to its deeds* and none of them should be wronged" (45 : 22).

3. "All that is in the heavens and the earth glorifies God ; for Him is all the Kingdom and all the praise, He possesses power over all things. He it is Who has created you; however, some of you are unbelievers while others are believers. God is seer of what you do. He created the heavens and the earth *with truth (an aim)* and He has *fashioned you in the noblest form. To Him is the journeying*" (64 : 1-3).

4. "In the creation of the heavens and the earth and in the alternation of night and day, there are signs for *men of wisdom*; men who remember God while standing, sitting or lying down, and who ponder on the creation of the heavens and the earth exclaiming

"*Our Lord, You have not created all this aimlessly. Glory be to You ! Save us from the torment of hell-fire. Our Lord ! we have heard a preacher calling men to the true faith, saying, "Believe in your Lord," and we have accepted him. . . . Their Lord responds to their prayers : "I shall deny no one among you, man or woman, the reward of their labours"*" (3 : 189-194).

5. "*It is not for mere sport that We created the heavens and the earth and whatever exists in between. (On the contrary), We have created them for a higher purpose but most of them know not. The time of Decision (of the account of deeds) is an appointed term for them ; that time when no friend will avail another friend aught, save those on whom*

God has mercy. Truly He is the Mighty One, the Merciful" (44 : 38-42).

6. "He says, 'Brief indeed is your sojourn, if only you were to know. *Do you then think that We have created you in vain* and that you shall not be recalled to us? Exalted is God, the True King. There is no god but He, the Lord of the glorious Throne'" (23 : 114-115).

7. "We have *created not the heavens and the earth and all that exists between them, in vain.* Such, of course, *is the notion of the disbelievers*, but woe to them when they are cast into the hell-fire. *Are We to treat those who have faith and do good deeds like them who are mischief-mongers in the land? Or are We to make the dutiful equal to the wicked?*

"We have sent down this Book to you as a blessing, in order that they may ponder over its verses, and in order that *the wise may take heed*" (38 : 27-29).

8. "We created not the heavens and the earth and whatever lies between them for a mere sport. Had it been our intention to find a past-time, We could have found it in Our presence if ever We did.

"Nay, We hurl the truth against falsehood, so it breaks its head and lo ! falsehood vanishes, while woe is (in store) for you for all your false utterances.

"To Him belongs whosoever is in the heavens and the earth. So those (who believe) in His Presence disdain not to worship Him, nor do they ever feel weary. They glorify Him ever and anon, night and day ; they flag not" (21 : 16-19).

9. "*They are aware about life's superficial aspect only, while about the Destiny, they are utterly neglectful.* Have they never delved within themselves? God has not created the heavens and the earth and whatever is between them, but for a purpose and with a destiny. But most men are deniers of the meeting with their Lord. Have they not gone about the land and realized what were the results of (deeds of) those

who have lived before them? . . . Certainly it was not God who wronged them but they were themselves doers of wrong against their own selves. Evil then was the end of the evil-doers, because they rejected God's messages and made a mockery of them" (30 : 7-10).

10. "Blessed is He to Whom belongs all sovereignty and He has power over all things. He has created death and life in order that He might test you as to which of you behaves best in conduct. He is the Mighty, the Forgiving" (67 : 1-2).

According to the science of psychology there is nothing so deleterious to and deteriorative for the human mind as an aimless existence and nothing so invigorating, healthy and conducive to its happiness as to have a definite object and a destiny for life. The higher the aim, the greater the incentive to exert for its attainment and greater the happiness of its achievement.

The object of man's life

In the above verses, the Holy Qur'an emphatically repudiates a haphazard and a purposeless view of life and creation. The object of man's life is much higher than mere fulfilment of his bodily desires and gratification of his lower passions, if he is to be distinguished from the brutes of the jungle. Moreover, it is the experience of mankind that the higher a soul, the less likely it is to become inwardly satisfied by acquisition of mere material pursuits. Inherently ingrained

in the human consciousness, there is a genuine craving and a quest for something higher and nobler. In the Qur'anic terminology the higher human destiny consists in the performance of "deeds of goodness" or "righteous actions". It is an immutable Divine law that deeds and actions are inevitably followed, sooner or later, by their results. Good deeds must bear their good fruits, while evil actions must result in harmful consequences. Even a casual reader of the Holy Qur'an cannot but be struck by its ever and anon-recurring burden of this great Divine law : i.e., the inevitability or accountability of man's deeds. His actions begin to bear their corresponding good or bad fruits in this very life. A fuller manifestation, however, is destined in the Hereafter. In order to infuse conviction about the law of immutability of consequences of human actions, the Holy Qur'an advances three kinds of evidence :

- (1) An appeal to the higher inner nature of man (30:8) :
- (2) A study of the natural phenomena (30:8) ; and,
- (3) History of previous nations with their record of good or bad deeds, and their ultimate end (30:9-10).

Thus cultivation of his higher and nobler nature and a full frutification of his sublimer faculties, inherent within the human sub-consciousness, is the great ideal which the Divine Book tries to awaken within man through its teachings and exhortations. It is also repeatedly stated in the Holy Qur'an that men endowed with wisdom and insight benefit by the blessings of its teachings.

PREDESTINATION IN ISLAM

In the Qur'an Predestination does not imply Fatalism and Determinism

By HUSEIN ROFE

God does not compel man to a course of action, but leaves him the choice of acceptance or rejection. The Qur'an says : "Surely We have shown him (man) the way—he may be thankful or unthankful" (76 : 3).

Predestination wrongfully understood by Muslims in general

A fatalistic attitude to life is characteristic of many Muslim individuals and groups. Such an attitude has developed from the interpretations and philosophies of various Islamic schools, basing their views on the Qur'an and the Hadith. The most famous of such movements was known as the *Jabriyya*, and its members believed in uncompromising determinism. Deriving their philosophy from identical sources, the *Mu'tazilah*, however, asserted man's free-will. The majority of orthodox Muslims maintained an intermediate view, though the Qur'an itself appears to indicate a measure of human free-will, and the contrary view is predominantly based on a certain Hadith. It was not until the Abbasid period that static fatalistic attitudes became generally prevalent, and many spurious Hadiths were coined at the time. In the earlier period of Islam, when reliance was placed principally on the Qur'an, a dynamic philosophy appears to have been largely responsible for the achievements of the Muslims, and reflects more truly the Qur'anic content.

The Arabic word most closely corresponding to the concept of predestination is *Jabr*. The words in the Qur'an usually cited in favour of such a doctrine are, however, *Qadr*, *Qudrah* and *Taqdir*. These do not strictly imply predestination in the sense of irrevocable preordination, but rather the Divine Creation, as a cosmic order and harmony. This presupposes limitation of the development possible for all living beings : from a hen's egg, a chicken may emerge, but an

elephant will not. Predestination in such a sense is a universally accepted quality of life.

The Qur'an relates the Divine creation of the human soul, prior to the birth of the first man on earth. This soul was composite, with potentialities of evolution and involution, owing to its dual nature which partook of Divine, animal and physical or material elements. In the cosmic hierarchy, man was to be inferior to the angels. Nevertheless, they were ordered to worship him, and expressed their astonishment that God should create a being capable of murder and bloodshed. God replied : "I know what you know not". This verse implies that God had created man with certain capacities of voluntarily contributing towards his own evolution, precisely because he possessed a measure of free-will. In Judaism, the Psalms echo an identical sentiment in words : "What is man that thou art mindful of him? Thou madest him lower than the angels, to crown him with glory and worship". We see therefore how the *Taqdir* of man contained certain possibilities of evolution lacking in the *Taqdir* of angels.

God has given man potentialities. Man benefits from these potentialities according to his own efforts

This concept is again evident in the statements in the Qur'an that Adam, the first man, was a Muslim. Nevertheless, in another verse Muhammad is told, "Today we have

completed for you your religion". The seed of Islam is seen to be present in the first man, but it reaches its ideal development in one of his descendants after many thousands of years. The Qur'an expressly states that a certain charge was laid on mankind, that it might have been allotted instead to the mountains, but was not. Where and how potentialities will come to fruition is a matter of Divine Grace, since even a correct aspiration on the part of man can only manifest through Divine permission: "Man does not will unless God wills". This verse does not necessarily imply that God will oblige man to will in a certain way, but rather that the potentialities at his disposal will be related to his own inner sincerity, as stated in the case of a group: "God will not change what is in a people unless they change it themselves". There is thus an inter-relationship between human aspiration and Divine Grace. Nevertheless, man is constantly reminded of the total and absolute sovereignty of God, whose servant he is. Hence, no amount of human endeavour should infallibly be expected to produce given and predictable results. Where man follows wilfully a forbidden course, he is informed that "God guides whom He wills, and leads astray whom He wills", implying that man's infringement of cosmic laws will result in a distortion of his judgment, and the nature of *Taqdir* will thus incline him in a direction detrimental to his own best interests. Hence, because men are insincere and unrighteous, God causes them to err, and because they err, they are chastised. Through chastisement, they may learn the error of their ways and seek to mend them. In such a case, they are counselled to trust in Divine mercy.

Predestination in Islam does not imply fatalism and determinism

It is thus evident that predestination in the Qur'an does not at all imply fatalism and determinism. Rather did the message of Islam seek to correct the fatalism of the pre-Islamic Arabs, who allowed major decisions in their lives to be guided by physical hazards, as in the divination by arrows, subjecting man's destiny to the laws of a lower order, the purely physical universe. Pre-Islamic beliefs were not, however, entirely and immediately eradicated among the converts, and it is possible that the traditional beliefs in fatalism

regained the ascendancy during the Umayyad dynasty, when many of the classical Arab beliefs and virtues were exalted. Such an attitude, like the Hindu and Buddhist doctrine of Karma, maintains that God will take care of the sick and indigent if He wishes their condition to be changed; this viewpoint is, however, specifically censured in the Qur'an. Man is given opportunities for practising charity, and is repeatedly told that he will be called to account in the next world for what he has performed and neglected. God therefore does not compel man to a course of action, but often leaves him the choice of acceptance or rejection. Nevertheless, He may incline man's heart to submission or rebellion, according to the qualities dominant in the individual. Again we have a Biblical parallel in the statement that God "hardened Pharaoh's heart". In Islam, man is enjoined to pray at least seventeen times daily that God may guide him aright, and not let him swerve from the right path. He is also recommended: Do not follow the passions (self-will), for this will cause you to stray from the right path. Hence he is shown how his own wrong attitude is the chief cause of erring. The inner state of such persons is one of sickness, of total identification with material values, and of such it is said that God has placed a seal on their hearts, i.e., their inner feelings have become coarsened to the extent that no sensitivity to spiritual values persists. They can no more walk straight than a drunkard, since they are equally under the influence of qualities that obscure the reality. God has not eternally decreed error and sin for man, except in so far as no instrument can function correctly with a defective mechanism. Of such it is said: "A veil hangs between us and Thee".

Christian scholars claim to see a contradiction in the Qur'anic verses, and maintain that the Prophet Muhammad became progressively fatalistic. It might be equally maintained that his faith was strengthened through the constant experience of seemingly insurmountable obstacles vanquished through Divine aid and righteous endeavour, leading to the conviction that the Divine Will must always ultimately prevail. Christianity also asserts that all things are possible for God even when seemingly unattainable to man. The Qur'an says: "The outcome of affairs belongs to God".

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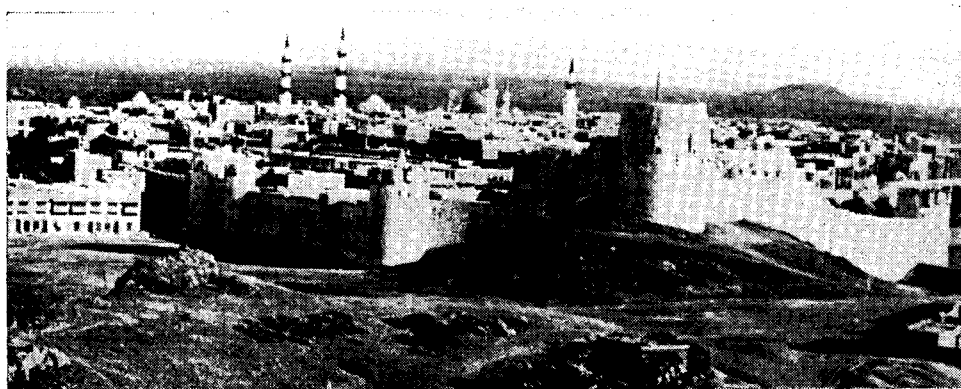
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THE IDEAL PROPHET

Demy Octavo, pp. 274

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

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

By Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq

XIV

184. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

This letter, or better to say part of one, is a much talked-of document setting forth a decree from Caliph 'Umar to destroy a great library at Alexandria that contained thousands of books on philosophy, natural sciences and literature. The document is without any doubt a spurious one calculated to make bigotry and narrow-mindedness popular among the Muslims by showing that no less a personality than 'Umar practised it. It is spurious because not one of the scores of early traditionists ever refer to it. It appears for the first time in the seventh century C.E. and seems to have originated in the fanaticism that seized the Muslims and the Christians during and after the wars of the Crusades. It is spurious because investigation has established that the destruction of the library had taken place over a hundred years before Alexandria fell to the Muslims.

The letter revolves around a story which has been described by two seventh century C.E. writers, the Armenian Christian Abu al-Faraj Ibn al-'Ibiri, and the Egyptian Muslim Qifti, the celebrated author of the *History of Philosophers*. According to it, a Christian bishop of Alexandria who had drunk deep at the fountain of philosophy and whose researches had led him to renounce the doctrine of the Trinity, was held in high regard by 'Amr for his many virtues, one of which was his rational defence of the Islamic principle of the Unity of God. One day he requested 'Amr to hand over to him the great library of Alexandria which

lay closed under the Governor's seal and which comprised many thousand volumes. The Governor, showing his inability to act on his own discretion in the matter, forwarded the request to the Caliph, who wrote :¹

"... As regards the books which you have mentioned (in your letter), (I say that) if they (their contents) be in agreement with the Book of God, then they are useless, and if they disagree with it, they are not desirable. So order their destruction" (*Ikhbaar al-'Ulama' bi Akhbaar al-Hukama* by Qifti (ed. Professor Dr. Julius Lippert), Leipzig, 1930, pp. 354-357; *Mukhtasar Akhbaar Misr* by 'Abd al-Latif Baghdadi (Ibn al-Lubbad), ed. J. White, 1800, only points out that the library was destroyed by 'Umar's orders).

The very wording of the letter betrays its unguine character. It suggests that 'Amr had asked the Caliph whether to retain or destroy the library, which was not the point at issue. What the Governor in fact had or must have asked was permission to hand over the books to the Christian bishop. With that the letter does not seem to be concerned at all.

Professor Shibli, of India, and Dr. A. J. Butler, of England, among a host of Orientalists, have on close investigation of the story concluded that it is false. Some of the conclusions reached by Dr. Butler are :

- (1) That on analysis the details of the story resolve into absurdities.
- (2) That the principal actor in the story, viz., John Philoponus (name of the Christian bishop), had been dead long before the Saracens invaded Egypt.
- (3) That the fifth, sixth and part of the seventh century literature contains no mention of the existence of

¹ This letter, which is obviously part of a fuller one, is not to be found in the Bayrut edition (1890) of 'Abu al-Faraj's *Mukhtasar al-Duwal*. See notice of John, the grammarian, p. 175.

* The thirteenth article in this series appeared in *The Islamic Review* for November 1957.

any such library (*The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 424-25).

185. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

Having been disallowed to make Alexandria his headquarters, 'Amr settled his army on the eastern side of the Nile before the fortress of Baabilyoon on an extensive plain that lay between the Muqattam Hills and the great river. Plots were given to the tribes to lay out their houses. In a central place the Governor built the congregational mosque and made himself a pulpit in it to address the audience. This seems to have injured the vanity of some of his companions, who abhorred his sitting higher than themselves. So a grievance was sent to the Caliph, who wrote 'Amr :

"I have been informed that you have made for yourself a pulpit by which you get over the heads of the Muslims. Is it not enough (distinction) for you to speak standing (as ruler) while the Muslims sit (and listen) as your subjects? I urge you to break the pulpit" (Ibn Lahi'ah in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 92).

186. An anecdote describing a similar grievance for a similar reason has been recorded by Ibn 'Asakir in his *History of Damascus*. According to it, a Kindi Arab, 'Arafah Ibn Harb by name, and a Companion, invited a *Dhimmi* (perhaps a Copt, who had caused resentment to many Muslims for his extravagance in changing a dress every day) to embrace Islam. This, or the circumstances attached to it, gave offence to the rich man and he, in a fit of anger, reviled the Prophet. 'Arafah killed him. When the matter came to the knowledge of 'Amr, he criticized 'Arafah's action, reminding him of the pact with the non-Muslims ensuring freedom and security to them. 'Arafah challenged the Governor with the argument that the pact in no way gave them a right to villify Islam or its Prophet. The talk then took a sudden turn, and 'Arafah asked the Governor, and in that he echoed the sentiments of other influential Arabs, not to sit in a reclining posture in his presence (as this gave him and others offence), otherwise he would send a complaint to the Caliph. Ignoring the remonstrance, 'Amr sat as usual and 'Arafah substantiated his threat. 'Umar wrote :

"I have been informed that when you sit with your companions, you recline against a pillow as the Persians do. Give this up. Sit (erect) as long as you are with them (i.e., in the court), and when you enter your house, you are free to sit as you like."

187. This very grievance recurs in another letter. It appears from its context as given by Mada'ini that 'Amr had complained to the Caliph of the trouble he was experiencing at the hands of the people of Misr. What the nature of the trouble was and whether it came from the natives or the Muslims, we do not know.

"Be (as kind and considerate) to your subjects as you wish your chief to be to you. It has been complained to me that you sit in your court in a reclining posture. Sit like others and don't recline" (*Tarikh Dimashq* by Ibn 'Asakir, micro-film No. 16 (from Vol. 13 of a MS. in the Zahiriyah Library, Dimashq), Arab League, Cairo.

188. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

As noted above, 'Amr laid the foundation of his capital, Fustat, on the eastern bank of the Nile. The new city con-

sisted of well-separated sites for individual tribes, offices and the Governor's residence. When the foundation work started, 'Amr set up on the western bank of the Nile a temporary military post to provide cover for his main army, now busy with the construction work, against possible surprise attack by any local or foreign enemy who might be tempted to avail himself of the existing opportunity. When the construction of Fustat was complete, the Governor asked the tribes on the western bank to join him. But they had enjoyed their temporary home so well that they asked the Governor not to press their return and allow them to settle where they were. The place came to be called Jizah, and soon grew into a prosperous city with gardens all round. The Caliph felt anxious when he knew of this new colony on the western side of the Nile and wrote 'Amr :

*"... How did you prefer that (part of) of your army should be dispersed away from you? It was not proper for you to allow a river to intervene between you and any of your companions as you do not know what danger may suddenly overtake them and you may perhaps be unable to go to their help and they may come to harm. So ask them to join you ; but if they refuse to do so owing to their attachment to the place, then build a fortress round them with the public revenues"*² (Ibn Lahi'ah in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 128 ; *Mu'jamu al-Buldan* by Yaqut, 3/192 ; *al-Intisar li waasitati 'Id al-Amsar* by Ibn Duqmaaq, MS. No. 1844, 4/269, Dar-al-Kutub, Cairo).

189. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

Khaarijah Ibn Hudhaafah was one of the foremost and perhaps the most efficient general of 'Amr's army. When the new capital was laid out and military operations in the country almost ceased, the Governor in appreciation of Khaarijah's conspicuous services appointed him as his police-officer. Like other Muslims, he (Khaarijah) made himself a house, but unlike them, he also built an apartment on its roof. This, regarded by many as an innovation, caused resentment, and a complaint to Medina was lodged. Soon the Caliph's courier brought this order to the Governor :

"Peace be on you ! I have been informed that Khaarijah Ibn Hudhaafah has made a room (on the roof of his house), and his motive in doing so is indeed to study the private lives of his neighbours. On receiving my letter, pull down the room. Peace be on you !" (Yazid Ibn Habib in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 104).

190. It is not clear whether the complaint, over and above its being concerned with the protest against the innovation, also included the charge of spying by Khaarijah, or whether 'Umar himself saw in the room a post for watching the acts of neighbours down below. The context of the following version of the letter, however, expressly states that the neighbours of Khaarijah had protested against the watching activity from the window or ventilator of the apartment.

"Put a bedstead near the window or ventilator (lit. side) from where it is complained that the watching is done. Take a man who is neither short nor long (lit. bulky), stand on it, and if he is able to overlook (the houses of the neighbours), then close it up" (Yazid Ibn Habib in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 107).

² Some early part of this letter is given in indirect speech, and is therefore not included in the translation.

191. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

This letter is in response to a note from 'Amr inviting the Caliph's directions in respect of the property of Christian monks dying without leaving heirs.

"Give the belongings of the monks to their offspring if they have any, and if they do not have any offspring, transfer their belongings to the Public Treasury (Bayt al-Mal), as (in this case) the Muslims are their inheritors" (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam in the *Kanz*, 3/152).

192. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

It has been stated by the second century Egyptian historian, Layth Ibn Sa'd, that the Mukaukis (Cyrus), who had, as noted before, concluded a pact with the Muslims, on behalf of the Copts of Egypt, guaranteeing payment of the *jizyah* and a land tax, asked 'Amr to sell to them the land at the foot of the Muqattam Hills for 70,000 dinars (20,000, Ibn Zulaq, p. 36). 'Amr was amazed at what looked to him an exceedingly high price. He said that he could not make any bargain without the prior permission of the Caliph. The request of the Mukaukis was communicated to Medina, and the following reply came:

"Ask him (the Mukaukis) why he is offering such a high price for a land which is unfit for cultivation, has no wells or springs, and is of no use?"

193. The Mukaukis declared in response to the inquiry of the Caliph that the Christians had a sentimental attachment to their land, as their scriptures said that it was the site for the plants of Paradise. The Caliph on being informed of the above statement wrote:

"We think that none but the Muslims can be the plants of Paradise. So make it a burial place for the residents of Fustat and don't sell it at any price" (Layth Ibn Sa'd in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam; *Mu'jam al-Buldan* by Yaqut, 8/126; the *Kanz*, 3/153; *Fada'il Misr* by Ibn Zulaq, MS. No. 3591, p. 36; Dar al-Kutub, Cairo).

194. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

A serious famine visited Medina and the adjoining country in 18 A.H. (639 C.E.) according to the transmitters of Tabari, and 21 A.H. (642 C.E.) according to those of Baladhuri. It is difficult to accept the former date unless we accept the solitary evidence of Sayf that the subjugation of Egypt was complete by 16 A.H. (637 C.E.), as most of the other historians place its conquest in 20 or 21 A.H. (641 or 642 C.E.). The letter in question was addressed to 'Amr when he was Governor of Egypt and obviously in possession of the whole or most of the country, and this could not have materialized before 20 or 21 A.H. (641 or 642 C.E.). Traditionists have painted a lurid picture of the famine. Channels and rivulets which watered the crops and oases of Medina dried up. Traders gave up visiting the capital. Men and cattle were in a state of starvation. Edibles were extremely scarce, and if available at all, sold at prohibitive prices. To make matters worse, 60,000 Bedouin Arabs abandoned their settlements and surrounded the capital crying for food. 'Umar appealed to the Governors of Iraq, Syria and Egypt for help. The first to respond was Mu'awiyah (Syria). He sent 3,000 camel-loads of corn and

a like number of garments. The Governor of Kufah contributed 2,000 camel-loads of corn, and 'Amr despatched by the land route 1,000 camel-loads of flour and 5,000 garments (*Tabaqat* by Ibn Sa'd, Leyden, 3(a)/227-28). Every word of the Caliph's dispatch to 'Amr is symbolic of distress. But it is strange that it makes no reference to the famine. It looks as if he had already informed the Governor of the grim situation and invited help, which the latter had been unable to give.

"In the name of God, the All-Merciful. From 'Umar, Commander of the Faithful, to 'Amr Ibn al-'As. Peace be on you! By my life, (it seems to me) O 'Amr, that if you and those with you are satiated, you would not bother if I and those with me perish. Help! Help!" (Layth Ibn Sa'd in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 165).

195. *Second version.*

"To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.

"O 'Amr, if you and those with you are fat, you will indeed not bother if I and those with me emaciate. Help! Help!" (Layth Ibn Sa'd from another set of transmitters; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 165; Ibn Zulaq in his *Futuh Misr* (pp. 19-20) puts the last words, "Help! Help!" at the beginning of the letter).

196. *Third version.*

"In the name of God, the All-Merciful. From 'Umar, Commander of the Faithful, to 'Amr Ibn al-'As. Peace be on you! Are you going to see me and those with me perishing while you and those with you live? Help! Help!" (*Tabaqat* by Ibn Sa'd, 3(a)/223, and *Ansab al-Ashraf* by Baladhuri (rotograph), 9/620).

In his reply 'Amr promised prompt and generous help, and held out hope of opening a short sea route that would facilitate transport of food grains to Medina. A canal linked the Nile south of Baabilyoon to the Red Sea in the time of the Pharaohs. Boats plied across it carrying merchandise from the Upper and Lower Nile to the Red Sea ports and vice versa. Lying on the Red Sea and about 60 miles south of Medina was a port called Jaar, through which corn and other commodities flowed into Medina, Mecca and the Yemen. This waterway was shorter, quicker and cheaper than the historic highway that passed through the Sinai peninsula. Through neglect it had silted up many years before the Muslim conquest of Egypt. On consultation with his Coptic advisers, 'Amr found that he had committed a mistake in holding out to the Caliph prospects of a sea route between Fustat and Jaar as that would turn Egypt into a permanent supply base for the Hijaz, where famine conditions always prevailed. So he informed the Caliph that on reconsideration the canal proposition had turned out to be impracticable. The prospect of a short, quick and cheap sea route had greatly attracted 'Umar, as it ensured an easy grain supply to the capital and Mecca, where near-famine conditions always existed. The negative dispatch of 'Amr shattered his hopes. He addressed this angry letter to the Governor:

197. *To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.*

"I am in receipt of your letter in which you put forth excuses for not opening the promised sea route. By God,

you must open it or I shall pull off your ears or send someone to do so" (Layth Ibn Sa'd ; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 165).

198. Tabari has given a different version. It is said by his reporters that when 'Amr, after consultation with his Coptic experts, let the Caliph know that the opening of the proposed canal would adversely affect the revenues and prosperity of Egypt, the latter in anger wrote :

"Open the canal and be quick. May God ruin Egypt for the prosperity of Medina" (Sayf in Tabari, 4/224-25).

199. Third version.

"To 'Amr Ibn al-'As. You repent of the promise you made (of opening a canal). By God, if you do not send (food-stuff) by the sea, I shall send someone who will pull off your ears" (Fadha'il Misr by Ibn Zulaaq, MS., p. 20).

200. To please the Caliph and escape his threat, 'Amr sent a caravan of camels with food grains to the Red Sea, where the consignment was transferred to ships which conveyed it to Jaar. He, however, informed 'Umar that the distance between Fustat and the Red Sea was so great that the cost of digging a canal would be enormous. This excuse did not silence the Caliph. He asked the Governor to tell him the actual distance from Fustat to the shortest Red Sea port. 'Amr said it was two nights' journey. Undaunted, the Caliph wrote :

"Dig (a canal) from the Nile to the sea, even if you may have to spend all the revenues of Egypt" (Fadha'il Misr by Ibn Zulaaq, p. 19).

201. To 'Amr Ibn al-'As.

This letter comes from the *Futuh al-Sham wa Misr*, attributed to Waqidi. Its reporters say that after having completed the conquest of Lower Egypt, 'Amr asked 'Umar whether he should first turn to North Africa or Upper Egypt (the Sa'id). The Caliph consulted his advisers on the matter. 'Ali said that expediency demanded that 'Amr should stay in his capital (Fustat) and send Khalid Ibn Walid (?) at the head of 10,000 men to make new conquests. The Caliph welcomed the idea and wrote to 'Amr :

"In the name of God, the All-Merciful. From 'Umar Ibn Khattab to 'Amr Ibn al-'As, his Governor over Fustat and its dependencies. Peace, mercy and blessings of God be on you ! I praise God, besides whom none else is fit for worship, and bless His messenger, Muhammad. Peace, mercy and blessings of God be on you and your Muhajir and Ansar companions ! I read and grasped your letter. When you get this one of mine, pray God for help and get horses ready and send officers to all conquered towns that they may establish Islamic law and teach it to the people. Having done that, invite to war 10,000 men from amongst the Companions of the Prophet and appoint Khalid Ibn Walid as their leader, and send with him Zubayr Ibn 'Awwaam, Fadl Ibn 'Abbas, Miqdad Ibn Aswad, Ghanim Ibn 'Iyad Ash'ari, Malik Ashtar and the flag officers. They should go round to (unconquered) cities and invite men to accept Islam. Those

who accept it will have the same rights and obligations as we, those who refuse will be asked by these generals to pay the jizyah. If they refuse this also, war will be declared on them. Ask them to send, when they lay siege to a city, cavalry to raid the countryside. I learn that there are two cities in Egypt, Ahnas,³ which is not far away from Fustat, and Bahnasaa,⁴ a highly-fortified town ruled by, as I learn, a despotic and blood-thirsty Patriarch named Ptolemy. He is the greatest of all patriarchs and the King of al-Waahat.⁵ Don't get near the Sa'id unless you vanquish the two cities. Fear God, you and those with you, in your private and public life. Do justice to the wronged. Exhort people to pursue good and shun evil. Take the right of the wronged from the wrongdoer. In discharging your responsibility to God, do not care for the reproach of the reproacher. Stay yourself at Fustat and send out armies. If you require reinforcements, let me know. I shall be sending them to you, though the real aid is that which comes from God, the Mighty and Great. I pray Him to grant you help and victory. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Universe" (Futuh al-Sham wa Misr by Waqidi, Cairo, 1935, 2/142).

202. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

A'tham, who records this letter, states that Abu Musa was the conqueror of both Faris and Kirman. This statement finds little support with other historians. Among them Sayf's is an entirely extreme view. He says, as we have read before, that when 'Umar created in 17 A.H. (638 C.E.) seven commands, under the scheme of a general offensive in Iran, for the subjugation of its provinces, including Faris and Kirman, Abu Musa did neither hold any command in any of the two nor did ever bring any reinforcements during military operations there. In between the extreme views of A'tham and Sayf there is, however, a third one according to which Abu Musa had, under directions from Medina, led reinforcements from Basrah to help the hard-pressed Muslim armies in Faris and was instrumental in winning some victories. But even the holders of this view do not credit Abu Musa with any part in the conquest of Kirman (*Futuh al-Buldan* by Baladhuri, pp. 365-66).

"I am in receipt of your letter which tells of the victories you have won by the help and grace of God, the Exalted, and I learn (with pleasure) that the Muslims have become masters of the provinces of Faris and Kirman. I offer many, many thanks to God, the Glorious, for these favours and acquisitions. You state that you are writing this letter from the borders of the desert of Khurasan. Perhaps you are thinking of crossing into it. On receiving this letter appoint over all cities you have conquered with the help of the Glorious God, deputies that are honest, reliable and of good character, and go back yourself to Basrah. . . . Leave Khurasan alone, we don't want to have anything to do with it. I wish there were between it and us mountains of iron and rivers of fire and a thousand walls like the barrier wall of Alexandria" (A'tham, p. 79).

3 Ahnas, a district in the lower Sa'id, not far from Fustat (*Mu'jam al-Buldan* by Yaqt, 1/379).

4 Bahnasaa', a district and town in the lower Sa'id, also a town near al-Waahat within the borders of the Sudan, *Taqwim al-Buldan* by Abu al-Fidaa', European edition, p. 212.

5 Al-Waahat, a group of three districts, succeeding one another, west of the Sa'id. *Mu'jam al-Buldan* by Yaqt, 8/370.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRESS IN IRAQ

THE DOKAN DAM

Oil, water and land

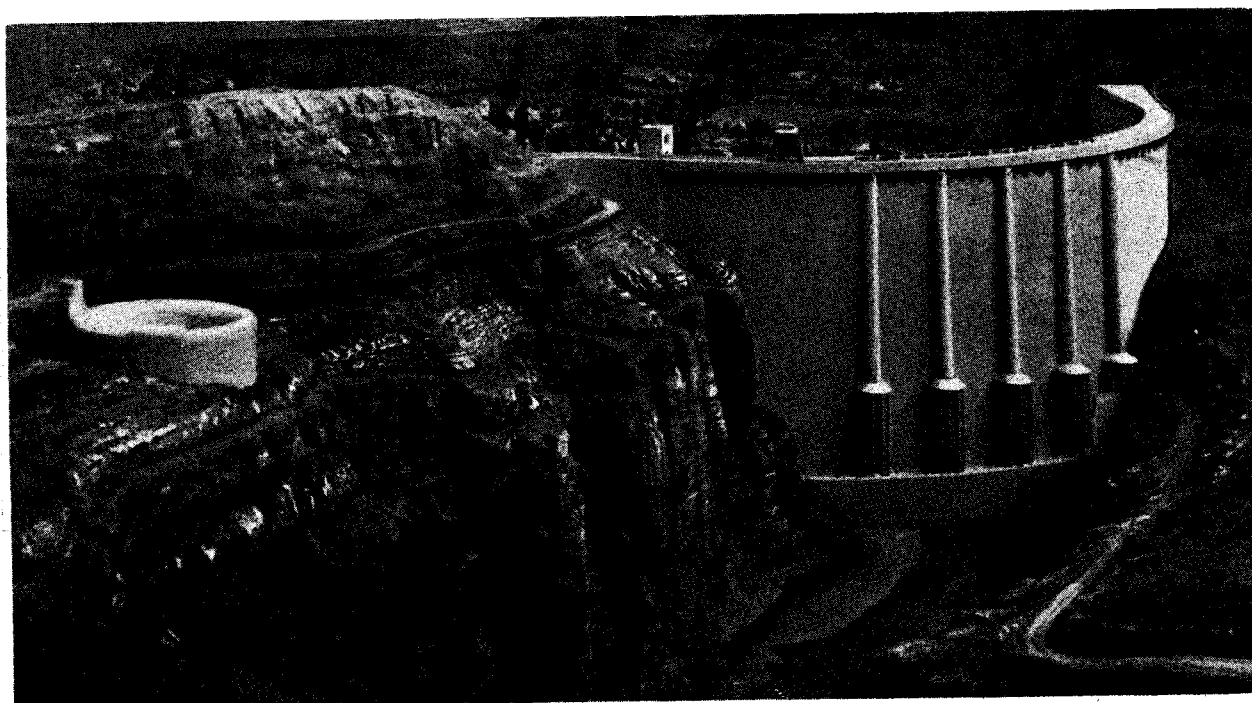
Of all the oil-bearing countries of the Middle East, Iraq is the most fortunate. For she possesses not only oil and the money that comes from oil, but also enough water and cultivable land to make possible the execution of vast works of economic development — development that will transform Iraq during the next two or three decades into a wealthy and economically stable country with a high standard of living and advanced social services for all her people.

This development and the prosperity it is bringing to the country were celebrated in April 1956 by the inauguration of a number of irrigation projects, bridges and roads. A

River control

Water schemes necessarily take the first place in Iraq's Development Plan. This is not only because Iraq is principally an agricultural country with two great rivers — the Tigris and the Euphrates — and a number of tributaries that can provide the necessary water to irrigate the country's cultivable plains. It is also because Iraq's rivers are liable to violent fluctuations which at the peak points can cause terrible devastation by flooding, if uncontrolled. River control schemes in Iraq therefore have two principal objects: (a) the storage and distribution of water for irrigation: (b) the prevention of flood damage. A third but definitely subsidiary object

is the provision of hydro-electric power for the industries.



The Dokan Dam

Photograph of a model showing the reservoir aspect.

similar celebration took place during the Development Board Week beginning on 23rd March 1957.

Modern irrigation in Iraq may be said to have started with the construction of the Hindiyah Barrage on the Euphrates, some 50 miles south of Baghdad. This barrage was completed in 1913, i.e., while Iraq was still a province of the Ottoman Empire, but it fell into a state of such disrepair during the 1914-1918 War that a major engineering effort was required to repair and reinforce it, as well as improve it to meet altered conditions after the war.

This effort was undertaken in 1921 soon after the first Iraqi Government was formed in the country and a modern Irrigation Department organized. It was completed in 1925, and the new Hindiyah Barrage could compare favourably with any similar construction in the world. It had 36 sluices, each 5 metres wide, and a large lock, 8 metres wide, for the passage of river shipping. The barrage made it possible to raise the level of the water beyond it by 6.25 metres.

water for agriculture and to guard the country against the danger of floods.

Four major dams and reservoirs

In this region two great schemes were completed and officially inaugurated last summer, and two are now in process of execution. The first two are those of the Tharthar Depression and the Samarra Barrage on the Tigris, and of Lake Habbaniyyah on the Euphrates (see map on pp. 20-21). Both are prodigious engineering projects that serve the two principal needs of Iraq — protection against floods, and the provision of water for agricultural development.

Tharthar project

Tharthar comes first in importance.¹ The Depression (which lies about 100 kilometres north-west of Baghdad) is a vast hollow of about 100 kilometres in length and has an area of 2,000 square kilometres when filled up to 60 metres

¹ See *The Islamic Review* for August 1955.

above sea level. The double object here was achieved by the digging of a canal to connect the Tigris with the Depression, and by building a concrete barrage spanning the Tigris opposite Samarra, together with a regulator to provide for the irrigation of about 250,000 acres of land in the future.

The canal which takes the overspill of the Tigris into the Depression is 62 kilometres long, and can discharge 8,000 cumecs. The digging of it cost about £6,500,000. When filled up to 60 metres above sea level the Depression will hold more than 65 million cubic metres of water. This filling process will take a number of years (particularly as there will be a certain loss of water through evaporation) and the canals that are to bring the water from the reservoir to the areas of cultivation have not been dug yet.

Hillah Regulator

In 1930 a regulator was constructed on the Hillah River, a branch of the Euphrates some 25 miles south of Hindiyah. Through this new regulator

150 cubic metres of water passed every second — in other words a volume sufficient to irrigate an area of approximately 400,000 acres. A number of other regulators were constructed and canals dug in the provinces of Baghdad, Hillah, Dulaim and Diwaniyah, between 1930 and 1951, as a result of which the cultivated acreage of these provinces rose to over 800,000.

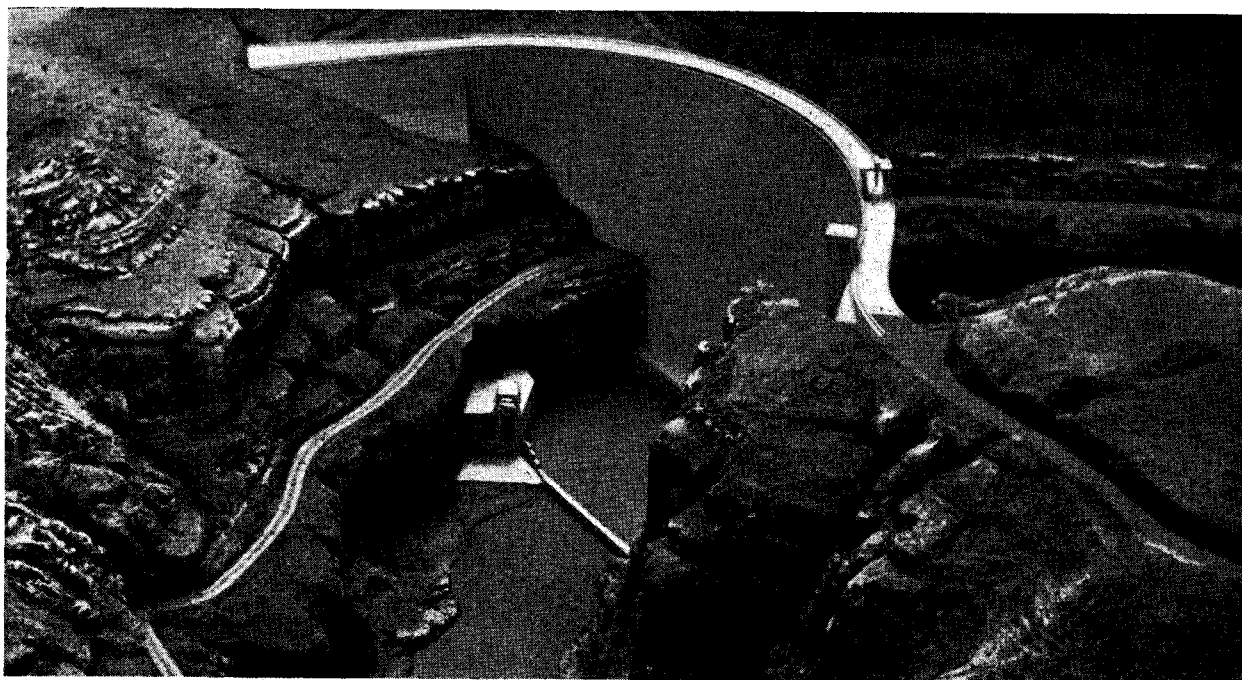
Habbaniyyah project

This project, based round the Habbaniyyah Lake, is a very old one, and some authorities believe that the Babylonians used it to ease floods on the Euphrates. In modern times the idea that it could be used for this purpose was first suggested in 1911. It consists of a concrete barrage across the Euphrates near the town of Ramadi and a number of major regulators. The barrage raised the level of the Euphrates and increased the storage capacity of Habbaniyyah Lake to 3,300,000 cubic metres. Ultimately the water will irrigate 600,000 acres. Approximately 170,000 of these are included in the major irrigation scheme at Musaiyab on the west bank of the Euphrates near Hindiyah. By far the greater part of this area is Government property and to it will be applied the law governing the development and exploitation of public lands — in other words it will be distributed among small farmers in plots of about 35 acres each.

The method of cultivation to be followed under this scheme will be the intensive one and not the present two-year rotation system. In order to preserve the soil and maintain its quality the scheme is to have a complete network of drains, the principal of which will be 40 kilometres long. This main drain will pour into the natural depression that separates the Euphrates and Tigris irrigation basins. The total cost of the project was more than £4,500,000.

Kut barrage

This barrage was built on the Tigris between 1934 and



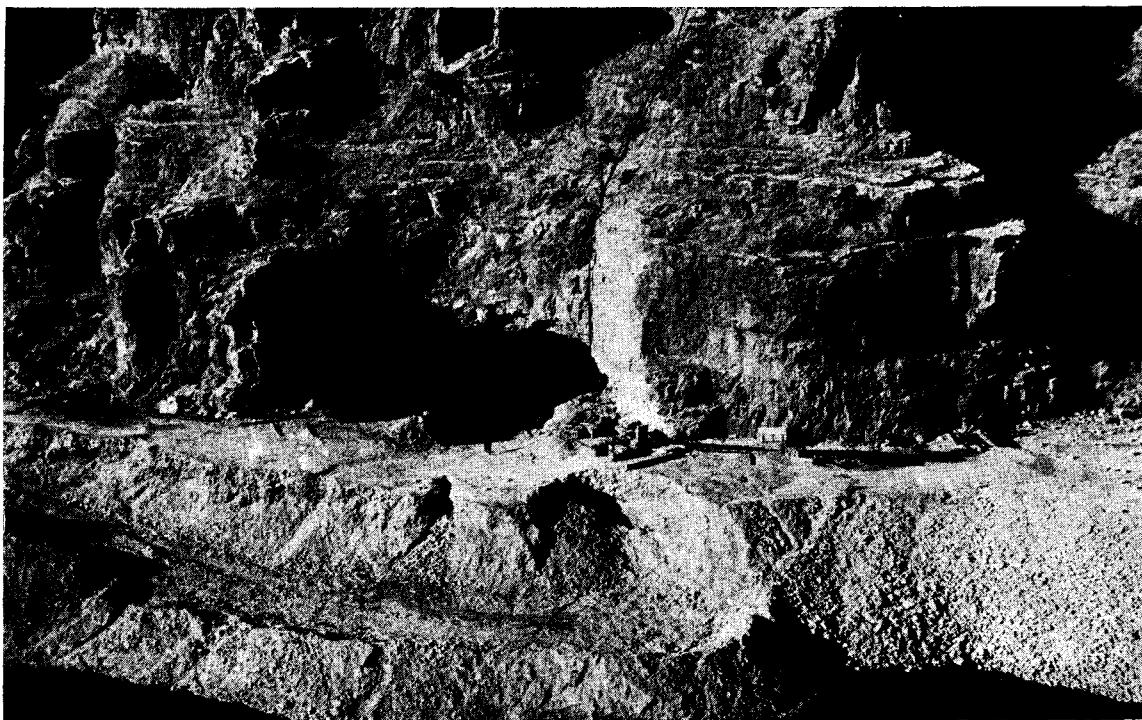
The Dokan Dam

Photograph of a model illustrating the power-house aspect.

1939 with the object of controlling the waters of the Tigris at Kut and using them to develop and exploit the large agricultural lands lying on the banks of the Gharraf River. The barrage has 56 sluices, each 6 metres wide, and has a large lock 80 metres long and 16½ metres wide for the passage of river shipping. It has made possible the raising of the level of the water beyond it by 8.6 metres. Several canals have been dug and regulators built to serve the area irrigated by the barrage.

The Dujailah project

The object of this project was to revive the agricultural lands lying on the right bank of the Tigris at Kut, and confined between the Tigris and Gharraf River. The building of the Kut Barrage made possible the Dujailah project, which consisted of the digging between 1937 and 1949 of the main Dujailah Canal of over 51 kilometres long and three secondary canals which irrigate a total of nearly 200,000 acres (some by gravitational flow and some by pumping). Here, too, the reclaimed land was parcelled out in small holdings among the peasant population in accordance with the Public Lands Development and Exploitation Law. Work is now proceeding on the drainage system for this area, and drainage stations are being set up to pump up the water from the main drains and pour it into the neighbouring swamps.



The Construction of the Dokan Dam

The mouth of the diversionary tunnel bored through the left bank of the Dokan Gorge through which the waters of the Lesser Zab River will be diverted while the Dokan Dam is being constructed on the river bed.

Tigris branches in Amarah

The Tigris branches out into six channels, some of which come from its right bank and some from its left, and all of which ultimately flow into the numerous marshes that are to be found in Amarah province. Regulators have been constructed on several of these Tigris branches, both for irrigation purposes and in order to facilitate river traffic. Also, irrigation by means of pumps is widely resorted to during the summer. About 400 pumping engines are to be found on the banks of the Tigris and its branches in Amarah province with a total horse-power of 15,000. About 200,000 acres are irrigated by these pumps.

The Hawijah project

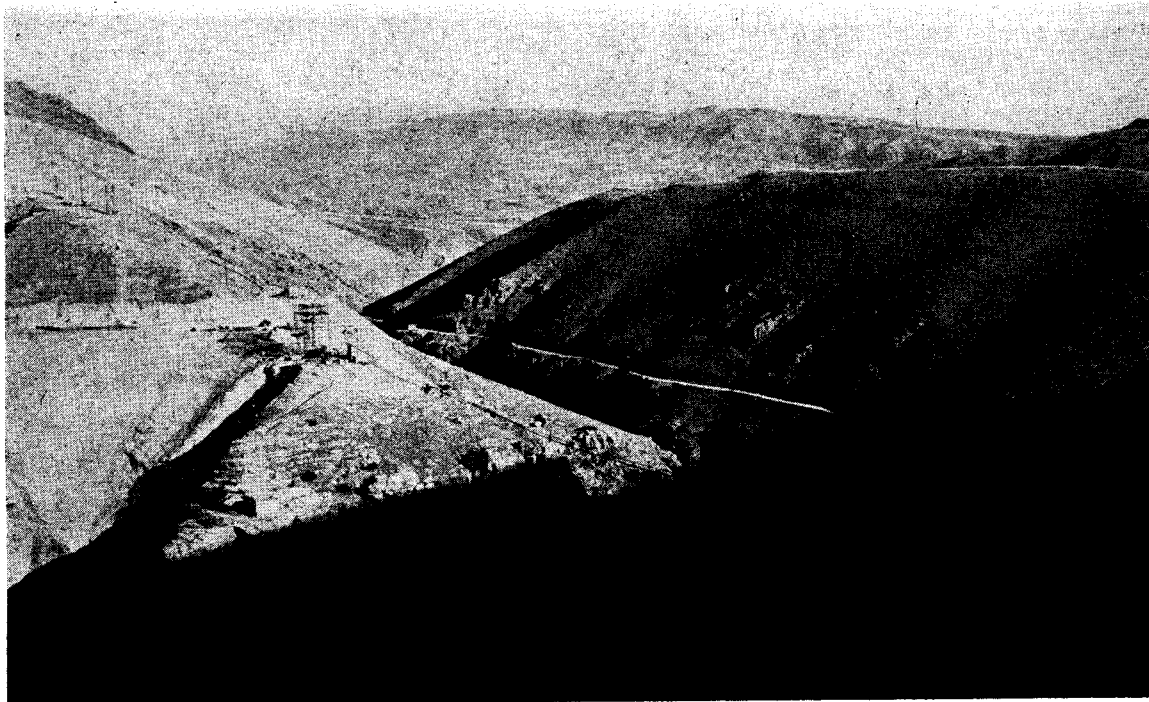
The main canal and its subsidiaries (together with the necessary drains) were dug between 1936 and 1951 (the work being seriously interrupted during the war period) and regulators constructed on the canals

making possible the irrigation and reclamation of about 140,000 acres on the left bank of the Lesser Zab River, one of the principal tributaries of the Tigris. In this area, too, the Government is dividing the land into small holdings and distributing it among small farmers.

The Diyalah Dam

The first dam on the Diyalah River (another of the main tributaries of the Tigris) was built in 1928. It was improved and rebuilt several times, and the final structure, known today as the Diyalah Weir, was completed in 1940. The level of the water behind the weir was raised by 2.5 metres for the

period of storage in the summer. This project was largely responsible for preserving and developing the agricultural wealth of Diyalah province, which is the main centre of fruit growing in Iraq, apart from producing a large variety of both winter and summer crops.



The Construction of the Dokan Dam

This dam will be built up layer by layer across the Gorge at this point on the river to a height of 385 ft. A huge artificial lake covering an area of 104 square miles will be built up behind the dam. It will have a storage capacity of 6.8 milliard cubic metres of water — which will be used for farmland.

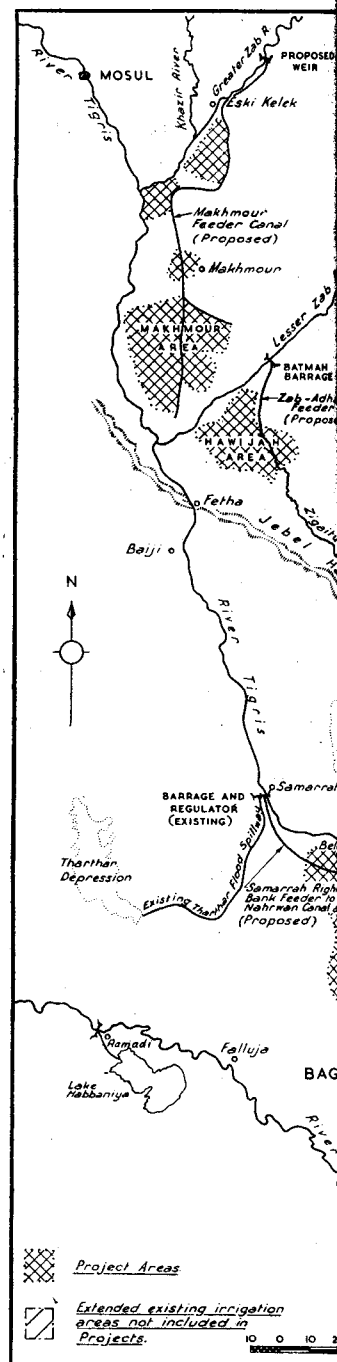
IRAQ

Barrages

Populati

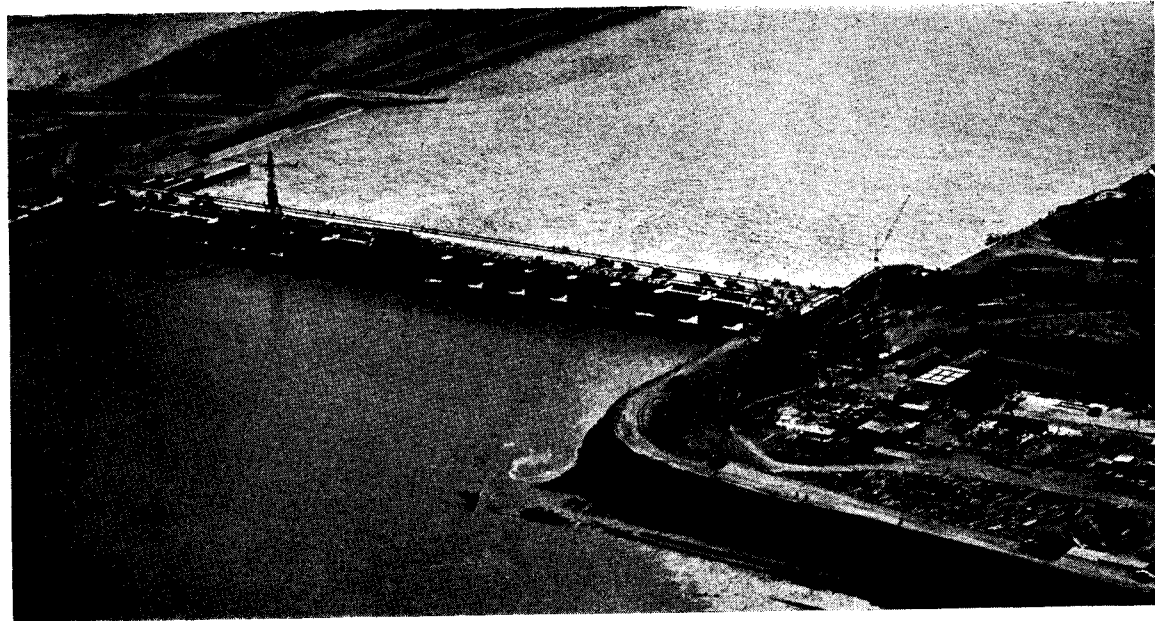
Area: 172,0

The Samarra Barrage on the Tigris
(looking upstream)

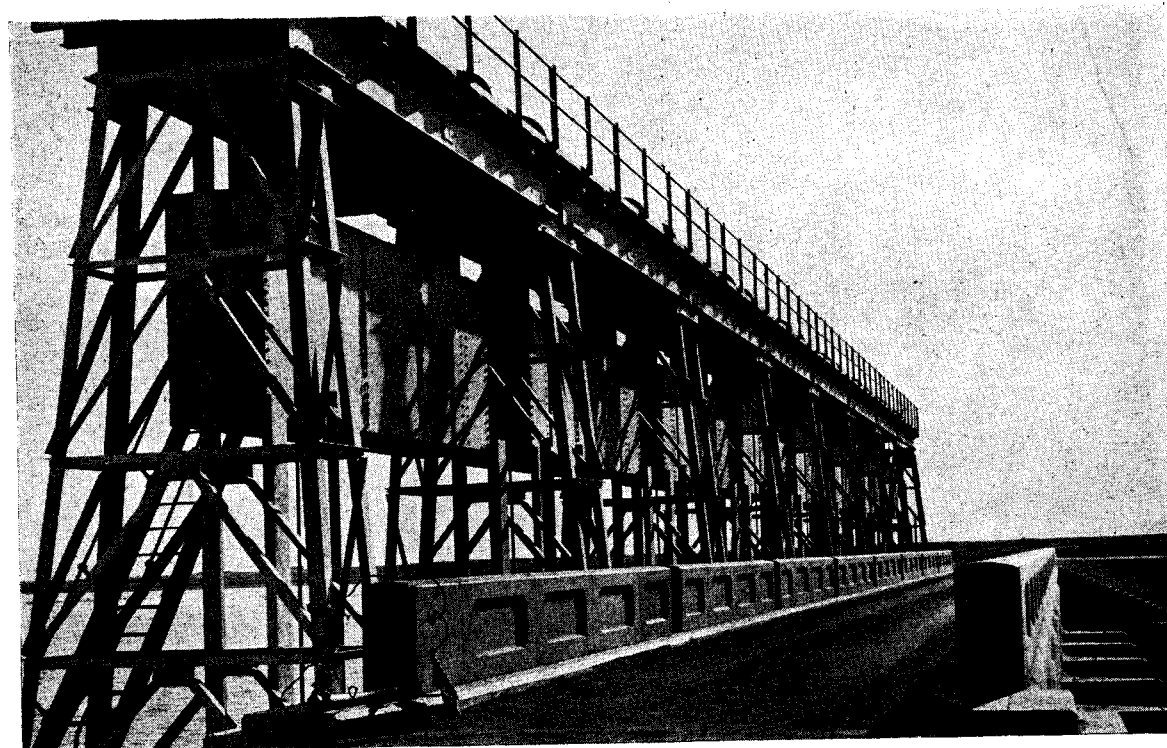


The Garas Dam at Kut
Part of the control system

square miles



Wadi Tharthar Scheme on the Tigris
The Barrage (looking downstream)



The Musarraḥ Regulator at Habbaniyyah

More than 500,000 acres depend for their irrigation on the canal fed by the Diyalah Weir.

The Derbendi Khan Dam

This dam, which is being constructed on the upper reaches of the Diyalah River, will have a storage capacity of 3.5 milliard cubic metres and its chief purpose will be to irrigate the river valley of the Diyalah River. The height of this dam will be 125 metres. The project will cost more than £16,000,000.

The Dokan project

This project, which is in process of execution, and has not yet been completed, is for a dam on the Lesser Zab River, lying a short distance north-east of the town of Sulaimaniyyah. The storage capacity of this dam (which is to be built to a height of 116 metres) will be 6.8 milliard cubic metres — a volume of water sufficient to reclaim 250,000 acres of land, in addition to irrigating further areas in the summer season. The dam will cost more than £13,000,000 and will be completed by 1959. It is hoped that the dam will also be used for generating hydro-electric power in the future. His Majesty the King of Iraq laid the foundation-stone of the Dokan Dam on 27th March 1957.

The inception of this project — one of the major works for river control and irrigation now in process of execution in Iraq — goes back to the year 1951 when Messrs. Binnie, Deacon and Gourley were appointed by the Development Board as consulting engineers for the project.

When all the necessary studies and surveys had been made by this firm, initial plans were prepared for an arched concrete dam at the place chosen as a result of the studies and surveys made. The Dokan Gorge was chosen out of four possible sites on the Lesser Zab. The choice was confirmed from the geological point of view after the necessary borings had been made on the spot.

In view of the difficulties involved in the drawing up of plans for an arched dam, and of the responsibility involved in the execution of such a vast project, the Development Board approved the recommendation of the consulting engineers that their plans should be subjected to examination in accordance with the latest methods of calculation. And as an additional precaution these plans were submitted to a body of world-famous experts on the building of dams. The experts visited Iraq in due course, studied the plans of the site, and submitted their recommendations to the Development Board, which referred them to the consulting engineers for such readjustments in the plans as were deemed necessary.

The final plans were prepared by the consulting engineers both for the dam and its ancillary works early in 1953, and

the invitation to tender was issued on 2nd May of that year. Eleven tenders were submitted. The lowest of these (for £8,817,131) came from the French group of firms Dumez-Ballot of Paris, who were accordingly awarded the contract. The works provided for under this contract included the following:

- (1) The construction of the arched dam to a height of 116 metres and a length of 360 metres, with five steel-lined openings of a diameter of 3.65 metres for the passage of water and the generation of electric power. The storage capacity of the dam will be 6.8 milliard cubic metres of water.
- (2) The construction of a tunnel 12.5 metres in diameter on the left side to divert the river for the length of the period during which the dam will be under construction. This tunnel will also be used as an outlet for excess water after the building of the dam.
- (3) The construction of another tunnel of a diameter of 11 metres for the overflow of flood water.
- (4) The construction of two further, low-level tunnels, each 3 metres in diameter, for maintaining irrigation supplies when the reservoir is drawn down.

Apart from these major works there are a number of secondary works involved in this project. These secondary works include the following:

- (1) The construction of sluice gates and regulating valves.
- (2) Lining sections of the tunnels with steel.
- (3) The construction of a diesel-electric power station for local electricity supply.
- (4) Filling fissures and cavities that are to be found on the site of the dam with cement grout. Approximately £3,000,000 is being spent on this sealing work, which is being done jointly by Cementation Co. of London and S.I.F. of Paris.

The water stored by this dam can be used for irrigating a total area of over 1,500,000 acres of State land in the most fertile part of Iraq. It is expected that this area will be divided into smaller holdings and distributed to small farmers.

In addition, the area to the north of the dam, near Sinjar, will be divided to settle 4,000 Kurdish farmers whose land will be inundated by the reservoir.

Other farm families in the Dokan Dam area will benefit from the giant reservoir, which will not only store otherwise disastrous flood water, but will also provide water for all-the-year-round cultivation through irrigation.

NEW BOOKS TO READ

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THE PATTERN OF PAKISTAN'S CULTURE

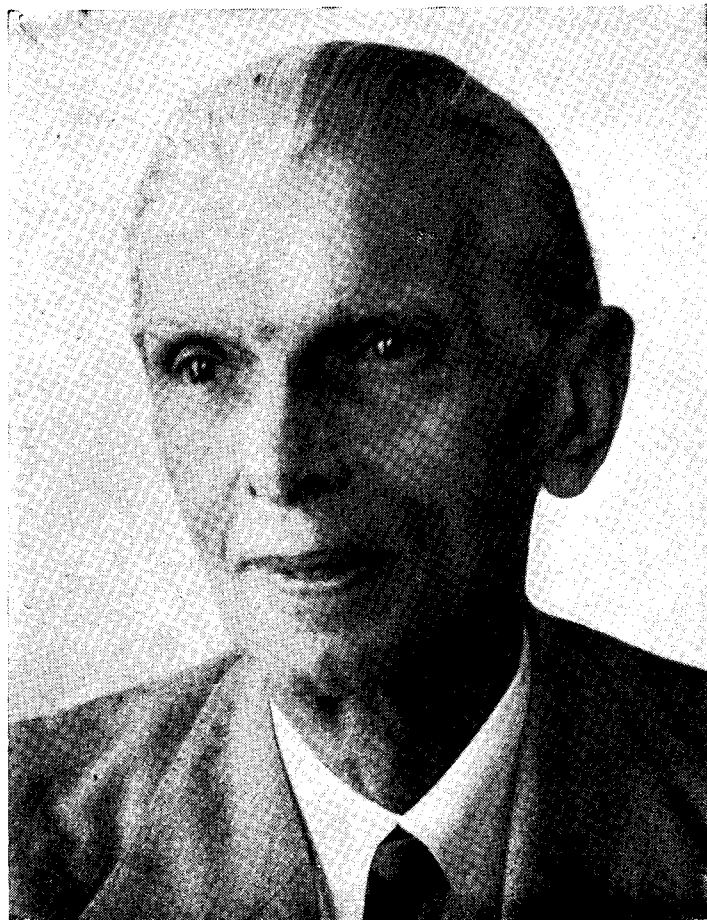
Pakistan, Islam's legacy in India,
is the largest Muslim State
in the world

By AFZAL IQBAL

Islam's advent into India in the seventh century C.E. created a community fundamentally opposed to the Hindu conception of life

These lines are an attempt at the description of a panorama of Pakistan's culture. The first question we have to ask ourselves is: What can be the cultural tradition of a country which is barely ten years old? That is a pertinent question. I will do well, therefore, to start with stating that Pakistan as a sovereign entity in the comity of nations is indeed an infant, but the territories which have now acquired a new name have their roots deep in antiquity. Sind and Punjab enjoyed a high level of culture centuries before the sub-continent of India came to know the Aryan way of life, when Taxila became a great centre of Buddhist and later of the Indo-Greek civilization. This cradle of civilization came into contact for the first time with Muslim civilization at about the time when Islam found its way to Europe early in the eighth century. In fact, Muhammad Ibn Qasim, the seventeen-year-old General, occupied Sind almost simultaneously with the conquest of Spain by that youthful Berber General Tariq Ibn Ziyad.

Meanwhile the liberalizing influence of Islam, which gave Europe its Renaissance, was subjected to the forces of the Inquisition in Spain, resulting in the total extermination of Muslims by the fifteenth century, the tolerant spirit of the East made it possible for Islam not only to flourish in India, but to leave behind a legacy in the form of the largest Muslim State in the world today. It is a painful study which brings out in sharp contrast the spirit of the Inquisition and the Crusades prevailing in the West at that time and the Eastern way which made it possible for various cultures to live and let live. However, that is a subject on which one needs dwell separately in some detail. It will be enough to point out that Pakistan owes its existence to the introduction of Islam in the Indian sub-continent in the eighth century. The Muslims ruled there till the British displaced them completely, after what Pakistanis and Indians call the War of Independence and what Europeans call the Mutiny, in 1857. Exactly one hundred years ago Muslims in India fell from power. The blow was both sudden and stunning. No wonder the Muslims were completely stupefied. Tortoise-like they withdrew into



*The founder of Pakistan, the late Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah
(d. 1948 C.E.)*

their shell, but while they brooded on the loss of an empire, the Hindus of India, encouraged by the British, stole a march over them and captured the Civil Services and the trade and held the arteries of national life well under their control. The Muslims awoke to the realization of their handicap some decades after the event. By this time the Indian National Congress, founded by an Englishman, was deeply entrenched. The British rulers were suspicious of the Muslims from whom they had wrested political power, the Hindu compatriots were determined to avail themselves of an opportunity which vaguely suggested at that time the possibilities of their being able to revive their ancient empire. In a country of 400 millions, 100 million Muslims seemed to be condemned to a life of an eternal minority. This was an inevitable concomitant of the acceptance of democracy. The majority must have its way, and yet the minority of 100 million Muslims certainly was a most unparalleled minority in the democratic world. Were they, then, to resign themselves stoically to the dismal fate that seemed to await them, or were they to make an effort to assert their individual identity as a Muslim nation; for, indeed, by every standard they were a nation and not a minority? They had a way of life distinctly different from the Hindu way of life. While the Hindus believe in the caste system, the Muslims are democratic to the core and there is complete equality between one Muslim and another. The Hindus and the Muslims in India were two nations, with their own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and

nomenclatures, sense of values, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions. The hero in Hindu history was the murderer of Muslims and the Muslim heroes were dubbed by Hindus aliens, conquerors, the meddlesome freaks who could not be forgiven for forcing their way in the pages of Indian history.

The Muslim thinker Muhammad Iqbal formulated the theory of a division of India which would make it possible for the Muslims of India to live according to their own outlook on life

The differences between the two were so great that one man's meat was literally another man's poison. How then could the Muslims be thrown together with the Hindus in India for all time to come to live under a permanent majority rule of the Hindus without a serious threat to their own way of life, which they had developed over a period of a thousand years? Yet no practical solution of this formidable tangle was in sight until in 1930 Dr. Iqbal, the veteran statesman, sage and seer, in his presidential address to the All-India Muslim League, formulated for the first time the theory of a division which would make it possible for Muslims to live freely according to their own beliefs in areas in which they were in a majority. His speech created a mild flutter in the political dovecotes, but generally it was taken as a poet's dream, impractical of realization in the political field. It was not, however, till March 1940 that the Muslim League adopted Pakistan as its goal and strove for its achievement. Mr. Jinnah fought for it with the same tenacity of purpose and single-mindedness with which some years earlier he had striven for Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. Jinnah, who was known as the indefatigable ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, now set about the task to achieve the same purpose by allowing the two communities to live and develop freely according to their genius in their own respective spheres. It was a tortuous struggle. He had to fight the intransigent British and the Hindus at the same time and yet he had no soldiers, no bullets, no party funds, literally no organization, no press. All he had was a burning sincerity of purpose and an unflinching faith in the righteousness of the cause which he so eloquently espoused. The Muslims, who had been so completely stupified a hundred years ago, discovered in Jinnah for the first time a man who gave form to their thoughts, and the response was spontaneous and stupendous. The movement became so formidable that the partition of India came in August 1947, much earlier than many people had expected.

The raison d'être of Pakistan

This then was a new home for the 60 million Muslims who were now free to pursue their own way of life according to their own faith. Why did they seek this new home? What kind of a home was it? The two wings of the country were a thousand miles apart, the two wings of the country spoke different languages, but the one thing which brought them together and which inspired them into struggle and sacrifice was the common bond of Islam. Pakistan is, therefore, an ideological State which has come into existence in order to make it possible for the 60 million Muslims living in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent to pursue their faith and develop their way of life freely according to their own individual genius. They could not for ever be kept in the leading strings of a brutal numerical majority, and in discovering their needs, they discovered a need of the division of the geographical territory in which they lived for over a thousand years with the Hindus, but most of the time as a

ruling community. As a cultural movement, Islam in Pakistan rejects the old static view of the universe and urges a dynamic view. As an emotional system of unification it recognizes the worth of the individual as such and rejects caste or blood relationship as a basis of human unity. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones, and since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature. The ultimate spiritual basis of life as conceived by Islam is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a concept must reconcile in its life the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life. Eternal principles do not exclude all possibilities of change, because such a view will tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature, and yet it was this view which explains the immobility of Islam during the last 500 years. The Muslims in Pakistan who are responsible for founding the first Islamic Republic in modern times are, therefore, up against a formidable task. They are conscious of the importance of the principles of movement in the structure of Islam, which they are determined to rescue from the stagnation into which it has fallen through the failure of its leaders to exert in the intellectual sphere, and yet this is no signal for an irrational parting with the past. They are conscious of the fact that they must build on their past, which must not be allowed, however, to act as a sinking weight; they have a glorious vision of their future, and the temporary pangs of the present, which merely mark the usual pangs of birth, cannot possibly deviate them from the path they have set themselves.

The basic principles of the Constitution of Pakistan

And what is this path? The basic principles of the Constitution which they adopted on 23rd March 1956 embody the essence of democracy. These principles are:

- (1) Supremacy of the will of the people as embodied in the parliament of their chosen representatives;
- (2) Religious freedom, namely, freedom of faith and worship; and,
- (3) Individual liberty, which includes equality before law, freedom of speech and protection against unlawful arrest, and finally the security of property rights.

These fundamental democratic elements effectively secured in the Constitution are enforced by the provision for an independent judiciary. There is hardly any facet of the national life of Pakistanis — all their hopes and aspirations — which is not reflected in their Constitution. There is hardly a valid demand of the people of Pakistan that has not been met in it. It ensures to minorities not only equality as citizens but equality of opportunity to develop their culture and to practise and propagate their religion. The freedom which Muslims demand for themselves is fully assured to their compatriots from other communities. While the Constitution demonstrates the unity and solidarity of the nation, it recognizes the inexorable incidence of geography which divides East and West Pakistan by over a thousand miles of foreign territory. It provides for the maximum of provincial autonomy consistent with the integrity and stability of our country. The association of Pakistan with the British Commonwealth of Nations is voluntary. Pakistan is a republic, and while it does not recognize the Queen of England as its sovereign, she is to Pakistan, as head of the Commonwealth, a symbol of the free association of independent nations which form the Commonwealth on a basis of

complete, free and voluntary equality. It is a slender silken thread which ties together the Commonwealth community.

Pakistan's role in the world of Islam of today and tomorrow

Pakistan is pledged to develop an Islamic way of life at home and to support every movement of freedom abroad, particularly those in Muslim countries with whom they have indissoluble links of religion, culture, ideology and history. They do not believe in an over-organized society, where the individual is crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul. The Muslims have no false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection. "The verdict of history," as a modern writer happily put it, "is that worn out ideas have never risen to power among a people who have worn them out." The Muslims of Pakistan agree with Iqbal, therefore, when he suggests that the only effective power that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. The tendency of over-organization by a false reverence of the past is contrary to the inner impulse of Islam. Here I would take the liberty of quoting at some length from Iqbal (*cf. Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, Oxford 1934), who has contributed so much to the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, a task which has to be pursued with the clearest of vision and the greatest of determination in Pakistan, which has happily provided the world of Islam with a laboratory in which these bold experiments at reinterpretation can be freely carried out.

"... In Islam the spiritual and the temporal are not two distinct domains, and the nature of an act, however secular in its import, is determined by the attitude of mind with which the agent does it. It is the invisible mental background of the act which ultimately determines its character. An act is temporal or profane if it is done in a spirit of detachment from the infinite complexity of life behind it; it is spiritual if it is inspired by that complexity. In Islam it is the same reality which appears as Church looked at from point of view and State from another. It is not true to say that Church and State are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islam is a single unanalysable reality which is one or the other as your point of view varies. The point is extremely far-reaching and a full elucidation of it will involve us in a highly philosophical discussion. Suffice it to say that this ancient mistake arose out of the bifurcation of the unity of man into two distinct and separate realities which somehow have a point of contact, but which are in essence opposed to each other. The truth, however, is that matter is spirit in space-time reference. The unity called man is body when you look at it as acting in regard to what we call the external world; it is mind or soul when you look at it as acting in regard to the ultimate aim and ideal of such acting. The essence of 'Tauhid' as a working idea is equality, solidarity and freedom. The State, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realize them in a definite human organization. It is in this sense alone that the State in Islam is a theocracy, not in the sense that it is headed by a representative of God on earth who can always screen his despotic will behind his supposed infallibility. . . . The ultimate reality, according to the Qur'an, is spiritual, and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunities in the natural, the material, the secular. All that is secular is therefore sacred in the roots of its

being. . . . There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of spirit. All is holy ground. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it: 'The whole of this earth is a mosque'. The State, according to Islam, is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization."

The task of the State of Pakistan and an estimate of what it has achieved during its short life of ten years

In order, therefore, to realize the spiritual in a human organization, the State has to wage war on ignorance, disease and poverty. With 42 million people living in East Pakistan,



The formulator of the theory of a division of India, the late Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938 C.E.)

an area of 5,400 square miles, Pakistan has the highest density of population in the world, and with the rest of the population living a thousand miles apart, the problems that one has to face are indeed immense. There is a sub-human standard of living; people are under-fed, under-clothed, under-nourished; they are under-developed in every sense of the word today, and yet this state of affairs cannot be allowed to last very long, for it offers a challenge not only to those who live in that region, but to the whole world. Prosperity, like

peace, is indivisible, and no nation can live today in splendid isolation, oblivious of conditions obtaining elsewhere.

In the ten years that Pakistan has lived as a free and an independent State, its record of achievement has been something to be proud of, particularly when one remembers that it literally started from scratch in 1947. I hate to bring in figures, but in order to give an idea of the strides that have been made in different fields of endeavour, I shall crave your indulgence to quote a few :

In 1948/9 the capital expenditure on development was Rs. 108.7 million.

Ten years later, the development expenditure was Rs. 1,607.2 million.

This will give one an idea of the pace of development, but this is not enough. The Pakistanis have to do in two decades by way of industrializing their country what took Europe two centuries. It is that urgency, that speed, which is the essence of the problem, and yet in their eagerness to accelerate industrialization they cannot ignore agriculture, which is in fact their largest industry, on which depends 80 per cent of their people for employment, and which contributes 60 per cent of the national income and brings in 89 per cent of the foreign exchange. In 1947, Pakistan had no jute mill, although it is the largest producer of jute in the world. By 1957, Pakistan had 14 mills, and in addition to meeting its own national requirements was exporting manufactured jute. In the cotton industry it has today 104 large mills, whereas ten years ago it had only 17 small-sized units. It had no paper mill whatever when it started. It has three today, with a total capacity of 45,000 tons, which is enough to meet its own requirements. The power supply in 1947 at its disposal was 110,000 kilowatts. Today it has brought it up to 416,000 kilowatts, and the process of development continues. In 1947 it had only 3,000 doctors, whereas in 1957 it had 7,500.

Pakistan is working its five-year plan, the targets of which are briefly :

- (1) Two million new jobs ;
- (2) 13 per cent increase in production of food-grain ;
- (3) V-aid to 26,000 villages ;
- (4) Irrigation of 3,000,000 acres of fallow ground ;
- (5) Net addition of 580,000 kilowatts of electric power ;
- (6) 250,000 new housing units ;
- (7) Construction of 1,800 miles of new roads ;
- (8) Setting up of iron industry — based on indigenous ore.

A 15 per cent increase in national income is expected by the end of the plan period. Allowing for 7.5 per cent increase of population at the end of the plan, Pakistan's *per capita* income will go up by 7 per cent.

Pakistan's pattern of culture

It will be clear from the above short description that the pattern of Pakistan's culture is that of a newly-emancipated country, which is struggling hard to find its place in the comity of nations, consistent with its traditions, history and associations with a particular civilization. It is essentially a progressive culture which, while seeking to retain the fundamentals of tradition, is striving hard at an adaptation with the fast-changing world. As a Sovereign State it is but an infant, but it has already made a demonstrable contribu-

tion to the maintenance of peace in a highly-explosive region and it has certainly become the bastion of a new Muslim culture which has its feet on the ground, but is not afraid of an imaginative and bold interpretation of a religion which has been associated by those who had a superficial knowledge of it, with fatalism, with forces of reaction, with everything which hinders growth and development.

With an unflinching faith in God and in her own destiny, Pakistan, without being presumptuous, is playing a role in the preservation of peace in a particularly pregnable area. Peace is its watchword, peace is the word with which its people greet each other and peace for them is not the palliative of pandering to the passionate pleas of passive resistance. Peace is not merely a process of preservation, it is a positive act of creation, in fact, a culmination of a series of acts aimed at a wholesome integration of society in which the individual is assured of all freedoms to realize and bring into play the highest of his hidden potentialities. It is towards the creation of such a society that Pakistan has dedicated its energies. With faith, discipline and unity as its slogan it is working to see a synthesis of cultures in which the dignity of man is the pivotal point — a culture which breaks down the barriers of race, caste and colour, a culture which makes it impossible for the rich to exploit the poor, a community which does not create class consciousness, but seeks to eliminate it by levelling up the poor without trying to exterminate the rich, a society in which premium is placed on knowledge and faith, and where men and women are working together to rekindle a fire which will give warmth and happiness to humanity.

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- (a) Solar (*Shamsi*) and Lunar (*Qamari*) year dates are shown in two different colours, black and green, in squares printed on one page to each month.
- (b) Dates of principal Muslim and National holidays in the various Muslim countries of the world are shown.
- (c) The Calendar Card bears an illustration of the Ka'bah with the superimposed words, Muhammad, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali, written in exquisite Arabic calligraphy.

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The Muslims in the South Seas and the beginning of the Portuguese challenge

By ALAUDDIN ISMAIL SAMARRAI, B.A.

The Arabs' domination of the South Seas sea routes before and after the rise of Islam

From before the dawn of history the Arabs had been the carriers of the merchandise of the East across the Indian Ocean. Arabia and the Arabs were familiar to classical writers, because the country lay across the path of the Greeks and the Romans to India and China. Moreover, the Arabs were the middlemen of the South Seas, as the Phoenicians had been of the Mediterranean. The commodities that the West had obtained from the Arabian merchants were regarded as products of Arabia because the merchants had guarded jealously the secrets of their sources in Abyssinia and India, and their monopoly of trade was strict.¹

After the rise of Islam the name "Arabs" was applied, however, indiscriminately, to all those who had accepted the Muslim faith. The Arabic language was the language of the Qur'an, and therefore all rituals were conducted in Arabic by all Muslims, whether Arabs or not.

The ancient monopoly of trade again fell into the hands of the "Arabs" after the rise of Islam. In a short time Islam had extended its domain over an area extending from the Atlantic in the west to the borders of China to the east, so that the routes of trade between India and Christian Europe fell altogether in Muslim hands.

There were three routes by which Eastern merchandise was conveyed to Europe :

- (1) By way of the Oxus and Caspian to the Black Sea ;
- (2) By the Persian Gulf through Mesopotamia and Syria to the Levant ; and,
- (3) By the all-sea route to Egypt.²

It might also be mentioned that the teachings of Muhammad had contributed to activate the zeal of the Muslims in commerce. The Arabian Prophet had "recommended commerce and agriculture as meritorious in the sight of the Lord".³

Aside from military and political expansion, the Muslims had pushed themselves ahead by way of establishing Muslim colonies in the form of trading centres. Thus were the majority of Muslim colonies on the African coast, India and the East Indian archipelago. Even after the dissolution of the Muslim empire, the traffic of Eastern goods continued to be monopolized in Muslim hands. "Not only did they monopolize the seaborne traffic, but they also, in Southern India, distributed the merchandise thus brought to the consumer on land."⁴

In matters of government the Muslim settlements had differed from one place to another. While on the Indian coast the Muslims found and accepted a settled polity, on the African coast, on the other hand, they formed independent, self-governing colonies, sometimes almost republican in form.⁵ Barabosa, who visited those regions in the early part of the sixteenth century, had reported that Brava "has no king, but is ruled by elders, and ancients of the land, who are the persons held in the highest esteem, and who have the chief dealings in merchandise of divers kinds".⁶ The Muslim colonies, therefore, were mainly commercial centres. Those centres had occupied the coastal regions only and traded with the heathen of the interior. Not until several centuries

later did Islam introduce itself to the peoples of the interior, and in many regions it never did. Islam, as a matter of fact, "followed exactly the trading and shipping routes of south-eastern Asia".⁷

The spread of Islam in the East Indian archipelago brought about by the Muslim merchants of Gujerat

As early as the tenth century or before, commercial relations had existed between the Muslims and the East Indian archipelago. A Muslim author, Ibn al-Faqih (902 C.E.), has mentioned the parrots from the Sumatran forests which were able to speak, if they were taught, Arabic, Persian, Greek and Hindustani.⁸ Another Muslim author of the tenth century, al-Mas'udi, gives a general description of the Indian archipelago, reporting the products of that region : spices, perfumes, camphor, aloes, cloves, sandal-wood, betel-nuts, mace and the like.⁹ Al-Mas'udi mentions also an island in the archipelago where the *Dajjal* (the Islamic anti-Christ) was believed to have dwelt. These islands were also reported by the writers of the *Arabian Nights* in the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor.

The spread of Islam in the East Indian archipelago had been brought about by the Muslim merchants of Gujerat on the Indian coast. From the ninth century on, Persian merchants came to seek fortunes in Gujerat, bringing with them the religion of Islam, which by the thirteenth century "had gained the upper hand in that part of India".¹⁰ In Gujerat the city of Cambay, which was prominent in the time of Ptolemy, emerged once more, at the hands of the Muslim leaders, to prominence. The spread of Islam in India is attributed to the Islamic doctrine of social equality. This doctrine had undoubtedly attracted a large number of the outcast population of India : by accepting Islam these outcasts were put at once on a social equality with the best men in the land.

It was from Gujerat that Islam was introduced to Sumatra by those merchants who frequented Sumatra and went even as far as Canton in China. In the archipelago the new faith was embraced not only by the lower classes, but many ruling families accepted Islam, and by doing so they drew to Islam all their followers. The Islamic religion had provided those merchant-kings a pretext for combining business and piety. The Qur'an taught them : "So obey not the disbelievers, and strive against them a mighty striving with the Qur'an."¹¹ To them this verse was probably one of the most interesting parts of the Qur'an.

The Islamization of Malacca in 1414 C.E.

At the end of the thirteenth century a Javanese nobleman had fled from his home and settled in the little village of Malacca. This village soon became the refuge for those pirates who were operating in the straits between Sumatra and the continent (the Straits of Malacca). The rulers of Malacca thrived first on plundering the ships that were sailing between India and Indonesia, thus obliging them to stop and pay "customs dues". Soon, however, the shipping merchants, realizing that Malacca was a good mid-way station and within easy reach of Java, stopped there voluntarily. So,

in a few years Malacca became the principal port of the archipelago. The rise of the kingdom of Malacca took place at the same time when the Chinese Empire under the Ming dynasty rose to power. The ruler of Malacca, realizing the futility of resistance, submitted immediately to China, and by doing so he secured for Malacca Chinese protection. In 1414 C.E., Muhammad Iskandar Shah ascended the throne of Malacca. His name clearly shows that he was a Muslim; and so Malacca was converted to Islam in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.¹² The Islamization of Malacca took place at the hands of the Gujerat merchants, who profited from the spread of Islam, among other things, by selling tombstones with Arabic inscriptions on them. From Malacca Islam spread to Java. Islam came to Sumatra at an earlier date. Marco Polo had reported that the inhabitants of the little Sumatran town of Perlak were Muslims. But the oldest Muslim inscription in Sumatra dates from the year 1297 C.E., and was found in the village of Sumadra, not far from Perlak.¹³

The Islamization of Malacca had perfected the Muslim monopoly of the Eastern trade: Malacca commanded the narrows between Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, in which all the traffic of India and China was concentrated; Ormuz, ruled by a Muslim dynasty, commanded the narrows through which the trade of the East with Europe via Persia and Mesopotamia had to pass; and Jedda was to the Red Sea what Ormuz was to the Persian Gulf.

The trade in the spices of the East and the Arabs

From early times the Indian archipelago has supplied the world with cloves. This plant was originally a native of a group of islands known as the Moluccas. "The tree grew in five of these islands, namely Ternate, Tidore, Mutir, Michian and Bachian."¹⁴ In 1322 C.E. Sida Aarif Malamo succeeded to the throne of Ternate, and a confederation of the Moluccas was formed. At the same time Javanese and Muslim traders, who came to the island in search for cloves, settled there. In 1350 C.E. Molomat Cheya ascended the throne and received instructions from an Arab adventurer "in Arabic and in the art of building ships".¹⁵ In 1486 C.E. Zainalabdin, who extended the sovereignty of the island to Bcuru, Amboyna and Ceram, embraced Islam "and is properly regarded as the first Muslim sovereign."¹⁶

The trade in the spices of the East was most profitable to the Sultan of Cairo. The Sultan had monopolized for himself the trade in pepper by requiring the Red Sea merchants (who resided in Jedda and had their factors in Calicut) to make one-third of their imports to consist of pepper; this amount had to be sold to him in Jedda at Calicut prices. On the balance of the goods they would pay 10 per cent *ad valorem*, and again on the balance after deducting this amount they had to pay 4 per cent more. The Sultan did not pay them the price of the pepper in money, but required them to buy from him copper in Jedda at Calicut prices.¹⁷ In spite of all these restrictions and others the profits of the merchants were enormous indeed.

The rise of the sea power of Europe — 1488 C.E.

While this was the situation in the Muslim world, a curious movement was in the process of formation in Christian Europe: the movement of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal. Retired from a military career, Prince Henry devoted himself to scholarly studies, the objective behind them being to establish relations with any Christians who might have lived beyond the Canaries and Cape Bojador, and to find a Christian king who would help to fight the Muslims. In his lifetime the population of Cape

Bojador and Cape Verde was doubled, and after his death in 1460 C.E. others continued his cause, and the Cape of Good Hope was rounded in 1488 C.E.¹⁸ It became apparent later that the aim of the whole movement was the establishment of an all-sea route from Europe to India to snatch the monopoly of the Eastern goods from Muslim hands.

On 8th July 1497, three ships left Portugal under the command of Vasco da Gama, and on 17th May 1498 they anchored off Kappat, to the north of Calicut.¹⁹ The news of the harsh treatment the Portuguese had meted out to the Muslims whom they found in their way had preceded da Gama to India, immediately predisposing against him the powerful body of Muslim merchants on the Malabar coast. The sovereign of Calicut (the Samuri) was an infidel; but he was on good terms with the Muslim merchants on account of the profits their existence had poured into his domain. The Portuguese, however, had their objective clear in mind — to wrest from the Muslims their commercial advantages.

Due to the ignorance of the Portuguese of the life in the lands they had come to, they found their goods were not suitable for the Calicut market. Moreover, da Gama had no presents to offer to the Samuri, and the latter was thus displeased.²⁰ Another incident which caused a more serious friction between the Samuri and the Portuguese was the failure of the latter to pay customs dues for their factor in Calicut and his merchandise. The Samuri seized them, and in retaliation the Portuguese seized a dozen natives; even after the factor and the merchandise were returned, da Gama sailed away with five natives.²¹ This gives an idea of the attitude of the Portuguese when they came to roam the South Seas.

No time was wasted after Vasco da Gama returned to Portugal. On 9th March 1500 another expedition, composed of thirteen vessels, left Portugal under Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Some of his ships were lost, but he reached India on 13th September.²² Cabral had an unfavourable time in Calicut. On 17th December he left for Cochin, where it was more suitable than Calicut, "and the magnificent inland communications it had with the pepper country were unlike anything obtaining at its rival".²³ This was the beginning of the enmity between the Samuri and the Rajah of Cochin. The Portuguese gave their support to the Rajah, while the Muslims stood in defence of the Samuri. Cochin, however, was at a great disadvantage: it depended solely upon the Muslim traders for importing and distributing the bulk of food. By treachery the chief merchant, Muhammad Makkar, was taken hostage and was blackmailed to co-operate with the Portuguese.²⁴

The role of Alfonso d'Albuquerque in fostering the Portuguese power in the South Seas

The honour of fostering the Portuguese power in the South Seas goes undoubtedly to Alfonso d'Albuquerque. Wherever he went, building a fortress was an important task for him to perform. In 1507 C.E. he succeeded in reducing Ormuz to subjugation; but dissension in his forces forced him to withdraw to Socotra. Eight years later his attempt was more successful, but death finished his career soon afterwards.

In 1510 C.E. Albuquerque entered Goa, and after a Muslim uprising against the Portuguese, Albuquerque killed most of the Muslims, saving the beautiful women to be married to the Portuguese, and the children to be turned Christians.²⁵ The capture of Goa had secured for the Portuguese the first bridgehead on the continent, and Albuquerque decided that Malacca should be the second. On

10th August 1511 C.E., he attacked and occupied Malacca, and built a fortress, using Muslim gravestones as its building material.²⁶ After the conquest of Malacca, many Muslim traders had transferred their headquarters to Brunei, on the north coast of Borneo, to avoid the Portuguese-controlled empire.

The sudden appearance of Magellan's ship *Victoria* in the Moluccas had warned the Portuguese that it was high time they strengthened their position in the spice islands. The princes of both Ternate and Tidore requested the Portuguese to make their headquarters on their islands. The Portuguese chose Ternate and a treaty was concluded.²⁷ It is curious to note that the princes of Ternate were traditionally more fanatical Muslims than those of Tidore, but the economic advantages the prince had expected to get from dealing with the Portuguese made him conclude the aforesaid treaty.

In the Banda Island the Portuguese were less successful. These democratic republics had resisted the intrusion of the Portuguese and did not allow them to monopolize the spice trade.²⁸

The hostility of the Muslims of northern Java made the route between Malacca and the Moluccas unsafe for the Portuguese. The normal route followed the coast of Borneo, crossed the Java Sea, where Gresik (near the present Surabaya) was an important stopping place, and went from there along the south coast of Celebes to the Moluccas.²⁹ The only effective counter-policy seemed to be the rapid propagation of Christianity. To this aim missionaries were sent who succeeded in converting a large number of the population to the Christian faith. But due to lack of appropriate numbers of priests, religious instruction was weak and the Christian settlements remained precarious.

The huge profits made by the Portuguese lured other European nations to the East Indies, and soon the Portuguese were no longer the only exploiters of the region.

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DOCUMENTATION

WHO STARTED THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR?

Israel contends that it was the Arabs who started the Arab-Israeli War of 1948.

This Israeli charge is usually based on the fact that, on 15th May 1948 — a few hours after the proclamation of independence of Israel, and the termination of the British mandate over Palestine — the armies of the neighbouring Arab States had crossed the borders into Palestine.

That is a fact which no Arab denies.

The question, then, is not whether or not the armies of the Arab States did not enter Palestine on 15th May 1948, but whether or not their entry into Palestine was preceded by acts of war in which Israel, and Israel alone, took the initiative.

These few lines are being written to establish this assertion, and to prove it by reliance solely on statements made by the Prime Minister of Israel as well as on official Israeli legislation and enactments.

It is a well-known fact that from the very outset of British rule Palestine had been the scene of disturbances and turmoil. The Arabs learnt of the Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917 only to rise in their first insurrection within a few months of its publication, in an effort to resist the British policy of turning Arab Palestine into a "national home for the Jewish people". In the spring of 1920, the first anti-Zionist Arab insurrection took place, and was followed by other insurrections in 1922, 1929, 1933 and 1936-1939. The last of these Arab revolts was suspended as soon as World War II started, not because Arabs acquiesced

in the British policy of Zionizing Palestine, but because their leaders felt that the circumstances of a world war demanded the suspension of a local revolt.

When the war ended, it was the Zionists who rose in revolt, resisting the British "White Paper" which had virtually purported to put an end to the vigorous implementation of the Balfour Declaration.

When the Zionist revolt of 1945 spread, and there were indications that Britain was ready once more to compromise with Zionism, the Arabs too resumed their anti-British and anti-Zionist insurrections.

Thus, by the beginning of 1947, Palestine had become a scene of "free-for-all" disturbances, in which Arabs, Zionists and British traded blows, each with the two other principals in that diabolical triangle.

These facts are well-known to every student of the history of Palestine during the British mandate.

Equally well-known is the fact that when the British decided in 1947 to pass the thorny problem of Palestine to the United Nations, the country was far from tranquil and peaceful. On the contrary, it was the civil strife within the country which had prompted Britain to unburden itself of the problem at all.

Disturbances continued unabated throughout the period when the United Nations committees and Assembly were dis-

cussing the problem, and even after the Assembly had adopted the Partition Resolution of 29th November 1947. Rather than come to a sudden stop on that day, disturbances went on — perhaps with an added vehemence.

Bombs continued to be thrown into crowded cafés; buses continued to be ambushed on the highways; and snipers' activities went on as usual. This had been part of the facts of life in Palestine for years — and there was nothing new in its happenings after 29th November 1947.

When Israeli spokesmen say that an Arab bomb exploded in a Zionist-crowded café in Jerusalem on 2nd December 1947, and that this event constituted the beginning of the Arab-Israeli hostilities, one doubts whether they themselves take their statement seriously. Far from being the beginning of a new trend or a new pattern, this event, and many others besides it, were manifestations of the self-same pattern which had been unfolding itself for years on the soil of the Holy Land.

A new pattern did reveal itself a few weeks later, however. This was when the familiar events of bomb-throwing and bus-ambushing and sniping gave way to organized, planned attacks on villages and towns and cities, leading to the occupation of these localities, the extermination or expulsion of their inhabitants, and the establishment of firm military control over the "occupied territories". These were acts of war, not acts of terrorism.

And it is undeniable that such acts did occur before 15th May 1948; that they were perpetrated exclusively by Zionist forces; that the Zionist forces which perpetrated them did so upon the instructions, or with the concurrence of, the official leadership of the Zionist community, and their deeds were retrospectively exonerated and retroactively benefited from by the Israeli Government; and that all this took place before one single soldier from one Arab army entered Palestine.

If any proof is needed for the veracity of these assertions, it may be found in the declarations of the Premier of Israel, Mr. Ben-Gurion. Many such declarations may be found in his book, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*. "Until the British left, no Jewish settlement, however remote, was entered or seized by the Arabs," he says on page 530, and continues to assert that by that time the Haganah, which was the official arm of the Jewish Agency and the precursor of the Israeli Army, had "captured many Arab positions and liberated Tiberias and Haifa, Jaffa and Safad". On page 296 he admits that his forces started capturing Arab localities "as April began", and on pages 291-292 he boasts that by 14th May 1948, the State — which came into existence on that day —

had already been made "larger and Jewish by the Haganah".

These statements of the Israeli Prime Minister prove that a new pattern was established in the spring of 1948 — before the entry of the Arab armies — which differed sharply from the pattern of bomb-tossing and bus-ambushing which had prevailed in Palestine for years, both before and after the adoption of the Partition resolution; and they also prove that it was the Zionists who did all the attacking and occupying in the new war between the organized Zionist community and the less-organized Arab community of Palestine.

These attacks were perpetrated either by the Haganah, which was the official military arm of the organized Zionist community, or by the unofficial terrorist groups, such as the Irgun. The leader of the Irgun, however, has written in his book, *The Revolt* (pages 163-165), that some of the attacks his forces made on Arab villages, which ended in their occupying the villages and massacring the inhabitants, were made upon orders from the Haganah. And there are at least three official laws on the Israeli statute-books admitting that the military operations were planned and ordered by the various branches of the Jewish Agency (which was officially recognized by the British Government and the League of Nations as the established representative of the Zionist community). These laws also bestow upon every person who took part in the attacks the status of "member of the Armed Forces" and a number of privileges emanating from that status. (See, for example, Law No. 49, section 1, paragraph B; Ordinance No. 4, section V; and the Nationality Law, section VI).

It must be added that these officially inspired and officially conducted acts of war, attack and occupation, were aimed not only at Arab villages and cities which lay in the areas given by the United Nations to Israel, but also at cities which lay in the part of Palestine reserved by the United Nations for the Palestinian Arab State. Jaffa and Acre are two such cities; the former fell on 26th April and the latter on 5th May. That is why Mr. Ben-Gurion said, in one of the statements quoted earlier, that Israel had already become "larger" on the day it was established — namely, before the Arab armies entered Palestine.

When the Arab armies went into Palestine on 15th May 1948, a war had already been launched by the embryonic State of Israel against the embryonic Arab State of Palestine; the Partition resolution had already been violated by pre-natal Israel; the population of whole Arab communities had already been either exterminated or expelled. And all this is proved by the very admission of the Israeli Prime Minister and Israeli laws.

WORLD ISLAMIC COLLOQUIUM AT LAHORE, PAKISTAN

World Islamic Colloquium

An International Islamic Colloquium was held in Lahore from 30th December 1957 to 8th January 1958, sponsored by the Pakistan Government and organized by the University of the Punjab. Leading scholars in Islamics from Muslim and non-Muslim countries were invited to participate.

The primary objective of the Colloquium was to bring together outstanding scholars on Islamic subjects from all over the world with a view to discussing and thereby clarifying some of the many cultural and social problems with which the world of Islam was now confronted.

The Colloquium concentrated itself on these problems from the viewpoint of contemporary Muslim life. Each of the ten days of the symposium was devoted to the discussion of a particular topic. These topics were as follows:

- (1) Islam's Potential Contribution to World Peace.
- (2) Islamic Culture: What Do We Mean By It?
- (3) Economics in the Social Structure of Islam.
- (4) Landed Property and Land Tenure of Islam.
- (5) The Role of *Ijtihad* and the Scope of Legislation in Islam.
- (6) Islam's Attitude Towards and Relations With Other Faiths.
- (7) The Islamic Concept of State.
- (8) The Attitude of Islam Towards Science.
- (9) Islam's Influence of Western History and Culture.
- (10) The Challenge of Modern Ideas and Social Values to Muslim Society.

All the papers read at the Colloquium will be published in several languages and will be circulated amongst institutions of learning all over the world.

THE GULF OF 'AQABA AND THE STRAIT OF TIRAN*

Are the Gulf of 'Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran international waterways?

The Definition of a Territorial Sea

By DR. OMAR GHOBESHY

The three-mile limit is not based on uniform international practice

There have been recent attempts and endeavours to misinterpret principles of international law relating to straits and gulfs. These efforts, to all intents and purposes, would displace and infringe upon established rules which have so long been embedded in the law of nations that nothing but the most cogent reasons ought to shake them. International law is not derived from or based on unilateral assumptions and expectations, such as those advocated by Israel in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Nor may any statement of policy by a few members of the United Nations create rights and impose obligations under international law.

The statements of the representatives of Britain, France, the United States and some members of the British Commonwealth, that the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of 'Aqaba constitute international waterways, reflect the point of view of these governments, but do not bind the rest of the community of nations who, in practice, are opposed to this interpretation of the law of nations. In fact, the powers who championed the international character of the Gulf of 'Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran today belong to a world minority who still do not recognize the extension of territorial waters beyond the three-mile limit. Consequently, they always favour a narrow interpretation of the limit of territorial waters.

Many writers on international law have held that the three-mile rule is not traditional, and its validity today and its rigid application is a matter open to question. Even Israel has abandoned the so-called Commonwealth system which was applied during the British Mandate on Palestine, and now claims a six-mile limit. It follows that the limitation of territorial waters to three miles is not based on uniform international practice since, beside the three-mile limit, international law also recognizes other limits, i.e., four miles and six miles.

A study of current legislations, as collected by the Secretariat of the United Nations and similar other organizations, shows that Egyptian Legislation gives to Egypt jurisdiction over the sea around its coasts, extending as follows :

- (1) Territorial waters, 6 miles ;
- (2) Security, 12 miles ;
- (3) Navigation, 12 miles ;
- (4) Health control, 12 miles ;
- (5) Customs, 12 miles ; and,
- (6) Fishing, 3 miles.¹

Mr. François, Special Rapporteur of the International Law Commission, after reviewing the writings of jurists, the

practice of States, and certain decisions of courts, agrees with those writers who argue that there is no established rule of international law limiting the extent of the jurisdiction of the coastal State over its adjacent waters. He therefore proposed that the breadth of the belt of sea should be fixed by the coastal State, but may not exceed six marine miles.² In its report covering its eighth session, the International Law Commission stipulated in Article 3: "The Commission recognizes that international practice is not uniform as regards the delimitation of the territorial sea ; the Commission considers that international law does not permit an extension of the territorial sea beyond twelve miles."³

It is unequivocal that Egypt's sovereignty over the limit of its territorial sea coincides with the evolution of the modern law of nations. Egypt claims six miles for territorial waters, and, for various reasons, she claims six miles for a contiguous zone. This attitude is reasonable and not exaggerated if we take into consideration the insistence of certain States in Latin America of the extension of their territorial sea for a distance of 200 miles.

The Strait of Tiran falls exclusively within the territorial sea of Egypt and Su'udi Arabia

Since Su'udi Arabia also maintains a six mile belt for its territorial sea, the Strait of Tiran, which is nine miles wide, falls exclusively within the territorial sea of Egypt and Su'udi Arabia. Navigation through the Strait and boundaries of the territorial sea should be determined by agreement between Egypt and Su'udi Arabia. Freedom of navigation through the Strait is derogatory to the right of the littoral State or States to exercise their sovereignty. This is evident from the fact that the Straits were considered by the International Law Commission under the Draft Articles of the Régime of Territorial Sea and not in those dealing with the high seas. This will contradict Israel's assertion : "It is quite immaterial whether the Strait is or is not within the waters classed as territorial sea of one or more of the littoral States, or what is the legal nature of the waters."

The status of the Gulf of 'Aqaba

We proceed from here to examine the status of the Gulf of 'Aqaba. The Gulf is 19 miles wide and is surrounded by the coasts of Egypt, Su'udi Arabia, Jordan and Israel. There is no international agreement regulating navigation in the Gulf of 'Aqaba. In the absence of an international treaty, gulfs are subject to the rules of customary international law. But international law is so deficient on gulfs and bays, the coasts of which belong to more than one State, that the International Law Commission was led to conclude in its commentary on Article 7 that "the Commission felt bound to propose only rules applicable to bays, the coasts of which belong to a single State. As regards other bays, the Com-

* Courtesy, the Editor, *The Egyptian Economic and Political Review*, Cairo, International Edition, Vol. 3, Nos. 7 and 8, for March 1957.

mission has not sufficient data at its disposal concerning the number of cases involved or the regulations at present applicable to them".

Under these circumstances, is it possible to advance the theory that in the absence of an international agreement, gulfs and bays are subject to the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the coastal State or States? This very point was emphasized by the representative of Egypt in the Security Council on 12th March 1954, when he stated that international law affirms that gulfs are subject to the jurisdiction of the coastal States and "in that respect they are accorded the same treatment as national and territorial waters, except of course where such gulfs are subject to the provision of special international conventions".⁴ This view is supported by Higgins and Colombos, who gave the general rules governing bays and gulfs as follows:

"The rights of jurisdiction of the littoral State over its territorial gulfs and bays should be considered to be the same as its national waters. The State is therefore entitled to reserve fisheries to its own subjects and to prescribe and regulate the admission and sojourn of foreign vessels therein, under the same conditions."⁵

Some relevant considerations which Israel's claim to navigation in the Gulf of 'Aqaba raise

It is naïve to demand a legal right of navigation in the Gulf of 'Aqaba to all nations, including Israel, without agreement among the coastal States. There are other intricate problems which could not be ignored. What are the legal rights of the coastal States regarding security, protection, fisheries, continental shelves and other related questions which will no doubt arise in the future? Are these important and legal matters to be determined as political questions by an outside power whose action is based totally on expediency rather than law? What if one or more of the coastal States extends its territorial waters to 12 miles, which is the maximum accepted by the International Law Commission? Is it feasible that a court of law would uphold Israel by branding as illegal Egypt's action to bar Israeli shipping to the port of Elath when Israel's legal title over its boundaries is not yet defined by a peace treaty and when her title is exclusively based on the illegal and now defunct right of conquest? Has an unrecognized State a legal right of navigation in the territorial sea of the State which does not extend diplomatic recognition to her? Has a State the right to navigate through the territorial sea of another State when a state of war exists between them?

Israel claims in its *note verbale* of 21st March 1956 to the Secretariat of the United Nations that:

"The right of passage for the ships of all nations, and quite regardless of their cargo, is and must remain absolutely

unqualified, and the littoral State or States have no right whatsoever, so long as the matter is not regulated by Convention, to hinder, hamper, impede or suspend the free passage of those ships. The same rule is also true as regards warships."⁶

Israel carries this extreme view further when she insists on the right to shoot her way through the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of 'Aqaba. If this view is accepted, it will carry with it great implications, and will set a very dangerous precedent by which a State can force its ships through the territorial seas of another State and threaten the security and commit an act of aggression against the coastal State on the false assumption that she is exercising the right of self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter.

It is the opinion of the writer that the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of 'Aqaba are subject to the sovereignty of the coastal States, but by treaty or international usage other States may acquire rights of navigation over them. Under these circumstances, there is no strictly legal right of passage through them. This seems to be the rule accepted by the British Foreign Office in a similar case in a memorandum prepared in 1920.⁷ The three Arab coastal States should begin negotiations and subsequently should take the initiative of drafting a treaty regulating navigation in the Gulf of 'Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran. This treaty should be primarily concerned with the security of the coastal States and permitting innocent passage through the Strait and the Gulf. The treaty could be open for adherence by interested States. Another solution to this question is to submit it to arbitration or to refer it to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion by a competent organ of the United Nations. The decision of the court in the second case would not be binding but it would establish precise and clear principles which could be applied in the future or would be incorporated into a legally binding treaty.

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WHAT THEY THINK OF US . . .

"... Islam, a noble belief, has sunk into a slough of aridity"

"... It is fashionable nowadays to proclaim Islam the most tolerant of faiths, to compare the chivalry of Saladin with the frequent barbarity of his opponents, and to exalt the climate of opinion which allows so many minorities to flourish within the Muslim countries. I do not altogether accept this view, and I would suggest that one of the Western apologists for Islam make the journey (not in disguise) to the Holy Places of the Hejaz, where he would probably be torn into a million tolerant pieces. No great religion spews up so many vicious extremist groups as does Islam, and no religion of my experience is animated by so constant an undercurrent of intolerance. A driving force of great malice and ambition characterizes such movements as the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt and the parallel Fedaiyan Islam of Persia, and it is this very malignant dynamism that makes them politically important. Nasser's principal organized opposition comes from the Muslim Brotherhood. Except for the Communists, the Fedayeen form the most potent opposition group in Persia. I cannot believe that they represent any very widespread popular feeling, but it is just possible to conceive a Middle East united by a series of governments of this temper, as the desperate units of Arabia were united 30 years ago by the flaming puritanical zeal of Ibn Saud. If you think this fanciful, remember that in 1956 the most obvious alternative to military government in Egypt is government by the Muslim Brotherhood.

"Extremism apart, it does not seem probable that the force of Islam can again unite the Middle East. The strongest binding factor in the religion has always been the Sharia, or Muslim Canon Law, at least as important to the development of the Middle East as English Common Law has been to the Anglo-Saxon community. It is therefore interesting to see how many of the major Middle Eastern States still recognize the Sharia as the law of the land. In Saudi Arabia and the Yemen it remains supreme. In Syria and the Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Persia, it remains valid only in personal or specifically Muslim matters. In Egypt, the pace-maker of the Middle East, the Sharia Courts were abolished altogether in 1955. Among the intellectuals and administrators of the region the movement is indisputably away from Islam as a code of State conduct. The idea of pan-Islam is all but dead. Who can conceive Pakistan merging her fortunes with Morocco? Or even less likely, Persia with the Yemen? Most of the Arab progressives would, if they dared defy the influential orthodox and the simple faith of the innocent, be protagonists of secularism in governments.

"In 1955 there was a cause célèbre in Egypt which well delineated the tug-of-war between orthodoxy and liberalism. Nasser has been shrewd enough to foster even the more hide-bound proponents of old-fashioned Islam, and the ancient university of al-Azhar still plays an active, if sometimes risible, part in Egyptian affairs. There was therefore an incredulous and violent reaction when one of its professors suddenly published an article expressing the view that fasting during Ramadan was not a sine qua non for entry into Paradise. Egypt (and the Islamic world) was convulsed by this heresy. The brilliant cartoonists, all on the side of modernism, made caustic fun of the fogeys of al-Azhar. The celebrated novelist Taha Hussein came out on the side of

the heretic, but later recanted. The daughter of the Rector of al-Azhar let it be known that she disagreed with her father's conventional ideas on marriage. Al-Azhar was described in one newspaper as 'a cemetery for freedom of thought'. The Rector summoned the lecturer before a disciplinary council, the nearest thing modern Islam can offer to the panels of the inquisition or the congressional committee. The lecturer sued the Rector for libel, in Egypt a desperate step indeed.

"The denouncement was especially interesting, for the brave sheikh, who had by then established himself in the popular mind as a young giant-killer defying the ogres of orthodoxy, suddenly and completely surrendered. Perhaps the Revolutionary Government, with its eyes on its allies in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, had given him a discreet warning. Perhaps it was apparent, in some subtle way, that the powers of al-Azhar were still more formidable than the modernists. Perhaps the sheikh simply needed the money. Whatever the reason, he recanted absolutely. His original article had contained 'printing errors'; he withdrew his action against the Rector; he had been, in short, wrong. 'I am not infallible,' said the sheikh abjectly.

"Throughout this affair there was little doubt where the sympathies of the literate public lay. The faith of Islam, with its insistence on predestination and its origins in the paganism of Arabia, is perhaps proving less compelling to the young educated Arab than is Christianity to his opposite number in Europe. Before many generations have passed, we may expect to see a Middle East drilled by the familiar religious apathy of the West. Already Islam, in many ways a noble belief, has sunk into a slough of aridity and produces no flowering of thought or craftsmanship, no grandness or freshness of inspiration. There are those who say, indeed, that the Arab renaissance can never come about until the shackles of this deadening religion are loosened; my own feeling is that it is decaying fast, and will soon no longer be a major political factor in the affairs of the Middle East (but I would prefer not to argue the point with the *Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood*)."—*The Markets of Seleukia*, by James Morris, Middle East Correspondent of *The Times*, London 1957 (pp. 193-195).

The Miracle of Islam

Dr. André Migot, a Frenchman who has made his mark in travelling widely in India and Tibet, Indo-China and China has the following observations to make on the mental transformation Islam's outlook on life brings about in those who embrace it:

"I was surprised to find, guarding the foot of a pass, a little Chinese military outpost consisting of two tents housing a small detachment of soldiers; they were Chinese Moslems, or Tungans, and looked more like Turkis than Chinese. I noticed, not for the first time, how Moslems seem to acquire physical characteristics which submerge or standardize their racial characteristics; whether they are natives of China, India or Central Asia, they all have a look of belonging to the same family."

(*Tibetan Marches*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England 1957, p. 208.)



Book Reviews

DYNAMIK UND DOGMA IM ISLAM. By Dr. J. Hans. Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland, 1957. Pp. 80.

The author, who is an Austrian, is continuing his studies devoted to Islamic problems in his most recent monograph under review. He started in 1937-8, when he wrote in Egypt his book on the *Financial World of Islam*. This was followed by an analysis of the economic and social forces inherent in Islam in 1952, *Homo Oeconomicus Islamicus*. His latest book was finished after extensive studies in the Oriental libraries of Vienna, Rome and Geneva, where he exploited the wealth of information contained in the libraries of the United Nations and the International Labour Office.

Dynamik und Dogma im Islam is an up-to-date survey of some important legal, social and international aspects of modern Islam. It is an interesting attempt to show — from the Western point of view — how far modern trends and evolutions are reconcilable with the Islamic doctrine. The author, who has a fair knowledge of the Arabic language, repeatedly quotes from the Qur'an as well as from modern Muslim and Western writers.

The book is divided into five chapters.

The first chapter ("Religion and Legal Order") deals with the sources of Islamic law and the introduction of Western law in the Muslim countries.

The second chapter ("Public Law in Theory and Practice") is devoted to the principles on which an Islamic State ought to be based according to the Qur'anic dictates. It is followed by a statement to the effect that feudal and autocratic systems are not compatible with the doctrine.

"Struggling for New Forms of Government" is the title of the third chapter. It contains an interesting reference to some reform suggestions of the late Aga Khan. It describes the Turkish State ("Kemalism"). It deals with Islam as the *raison d'être* of Pakistan; Indonesia's State philosophy of "Pantjasila". It gives a rather detailed comparison of the constitutions of Pakistan and Egypt, both enacted in 1956, and describes the recent evolutions in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. A brief description of the attempts is given showing how Arab nationalism is being reconciled with Islamic universal conceptions.

The fourth chapter ("Upheaval in the Social Structure") deals with social and labour problems, both from the dogmatic and modern aspects. The feminist movement is dealt with as well as trade unionism. An "Epilogue to Slavery" is added.

The fifth chapter deals with the international aspects of modern Islamic evolution; the doctrines of *Dar al-Islam* and of the *djihad* are explained. Muslim relations with the United Nations are dealt with; Islamic contacts (diplomatic) with the Vatican are briefly mentioned. This is followed by an analysis of the Asian-African solidarity as manifested in the Conference held in Bandung in April 1955. Finally, it is explained how the *ribaa'* principle retarded the Muslim access to international finance until the Bretton Woods Conference (1944) paved the way to it.

A TOUCHING EPIC OF THE KAZAKH EXODUS FROM SINGKANG

KAZAKH EXODUS, by Godfrey Lias. Published by Evans Bros. Ltd., London 1956. Price 15/-.

The touching fate of some 2,000 Kazaks who fled from Communist rule in Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union and Singkiang in Communist China is the subject of Mr. Lias's book. Mr. Lias is a former British soldier and Foreign Office official. He is also an experienced journalist, a correspondent of *The Times*, *The Economist* and *The Christian Science Monitor*. We are grateful to him for giving us a detailed account of the past history of these Muslims, the incredible hardships they went through and their final epic-making journey through Tibet to Kashmir. On his visit to Turkey, where he interviewed these survivors, the author was accompanied by a language expert, and they were able to record a great deal of information in the Kazakh branch of the Turkish language.

This book deals with the customs and the habits of the Kazakhs. A great deal of the narrative is recounted in dialogue form. There are some vivid accounts of the habits of the Kazakhs, of their marriage customs, their training in horsemanship and their training of eagles (in lieu of falcons) for hunting purposes. It is estimated that as a result of the attacks made on the Kazakhs by Russian and Chinese Communists, these courageous descendants of Chinghiz Khan lost about 100,000 people in their heroic attempts to defend their territorial and personal independence. Unfortunately Osman Batur, the great military leader of the Kazakhs, was captured at the beginning of the retreat to Kashmir after holding out for years. He was brutally tortured and humiliated before being publicly executed. His son, Sherdirman, was still holding out against the Chinese Communists in Singkiang as late as 1953, two years after the flight of the Kazakhs to Kashmir. Muslim opposition to the centralized Communist rule in China had apparently induced the Peking Government to set up an "Autonomous Uighur Republic of Singkiang" in 1955. About the same time as the execution of Osman Batur, Janim Khan was captured at the battle of Gezkul in 1950 and was brutally tortured before being executed by the Chinese Communists. His son, Daleel Khan, escaped and joined forces with Sherdirman. These two appear to have been the last two Kazakh leaders to hold out. Little is known of their fate.

But to revert to the narrative of Mr. Lias, it is told in a dramatic and descriptive style and the reader's interest is kept throughout. The grandeur of the epic is maintained at a high level.

Mr. Lias does well to point out the immense influence the Kazakhs and their Mongol ancestors have had on their impact with the peoples of Russia, China, the Indian sub-continent and even Western Europe. He mentions Chingiz Khan, Tamerlane, the Moghul emperors and Atilla as descendants of the Altai Mongols and Kazakhs. The Mongols spread eastwards and the Kazakhs westwards into what is known

now as as Soviet Kazakhstan, "an area as big as the whole of Europe on the right side of the Iron Curtain". The Kazakh territory stretches from the Altai mountains to the Tien Shan mountains. Here, Mr. Lias tell us, "lie rich deposits of gold, wolfram, coal, copper and other metals, probably including uranium. Moreover, both the Altai and the Tien Shan and their subsidiary ranges support very many cattle and sheep". It is therefore hardly to be wondered at that the Russians and Chinese were bitterly engaged in trying to achieve the conquest of this territory to the detriment of the Kazakhs and the neighbouring inhabitants of Outer Mongolia.

The only possible policy for the Kazakhs, of whom there were 800,000 in this territory, was to play off the Russians against the Chinese, and vice versa. But we are clearly shown in this book that once the Chinese Communists were firmly entrenched, this was no longer possible. Naturally the Kazakhs stayed on as long as they could, so that eventually they were hard-pressed in their retreat across Tibet, where they were ceaselessly harrassed by the Tibetans and Communists. Only 2,000 reached the hospitable land of Turkey after a stay in Kashmir and a long frustrating period of negotiations with the Indian frontier officials. The journey lasted 193 days.

Apart from an excellent literary account of the period 1899-1951, *Kazak Exodus* gives a considerable amount of very valuable material about the behaviour of the Russian and Chinese Communists and their methods of infiltration. Mr. Lias, who has lived in and written several works on satellite Czechoslovakia, is obviously well-versed in Communist, or rather Stalinist, tactics.

It may be as well to summarize the political information given to us. Osman Batur, the heroic leader of the Kazakhs until his brutal death in 1951, seems to have been one of the greatest Muslim heroes of all time. He was a man of gigantic strength and amazing courage, and resembled the great English King Henry VIII in appearance. He used to charge the Russians and Chinese single-handed on horseback firing a machine-gun. He was born in 1899 on the borders of Mongolia and Russian and Chinese-occupied territory in the Kuk Togai territory of the Altai. His father was a nomadic farmer who harvested his wheat in the summer and then retired to pasture his flocks and herds in the mountains.

As a youth Osman Batur was trained by a former warrior chief, Boko Batur, who was engaged in a *Jihad* against the Chinese officials. The Russians armed the Kazakhs and encouraged them to stir up trouble against the Chinese in Singkiang. There was a strip of territory 200 miles wide between the two empires. The Soviet Army occupied this territory in 1946-47.

Boko Batur called a war council of the Kireo Kakazhs (known as a "Hur Altai"). His force of some 10,000 warriors was defeated near Kukuluk, to the south of the Tien Shan mountains, by the Chinese.

Boko Batur sent Osman home to his father and then retreated across the Thirsty mountains to Gezkul, only to be finally defeated in a pitched battle on the shores of Lake Achik-kul. "His irregulars were no match for the Chinese regulars when it came to a pitched battle." This book gives repeated cases of this contention. The superb Kazakh horsemen were adepts at the flanking cavalry assault and ambush. They were quick to retreat with their herds and families across almost impassable mountains and deserts. But they were unable to capture heavily fortified towns and positions, and their armament was of the most primitive order.

It is essential to use the numerous maps and plans which illustrate this in the narrative. They add greatly to our scanty knowledge of Kazakh lands.

After the Russian Revolution the Naiman Kazakhs to the number of about 100,000 fled to Turkistan through Khuldja, past the Tarbagatia mountains or along the valley of the Black Irtysh or from the Altai uplands. Lenin introduced a more liberal national policy, but during the Stalinist collectivization at least 250,000 Kazakhs fled over the Soviet border rather than be expropriated and forced to work in the mines and factories. During the governorship of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in 1933 many of these Kazakhs who had been pursued by the Russians into East Turkistan, returned to Kazakhstan, but some went to Tibet and to India.

Ali Beg (b. 1908) and Hamza (b. 1922), the two principal lieutenants of Osman Batur, who eventually escaped to Kashmir and Turkey, were born on the banks of the Kizil Uzun (Red Stream). The chief town of the district was Manass, with a population of 40,000. It was fifty miles from the capital of Sinkiang, Urumchi. The Manass River changes its course every fifty years and runs into marshes where the reeds are 20 ft. high and provide excellent cover for men on the run. Manass is situated beneath the Tien Shan, or Celestial mountains. Kizil Uzun is a tributary of the Manass River.

Ali Beg's father, Rahim Beg, was "a tribal official whose business was not to fight the Chinese but to argue with them and perhaps to bribe them to abate their demands for taxes". Yunus Hajji Hamza was brought up by his uncle, who had been the captain of a "hundred" under his brother, Boko Batur. Yunus Hajji joined forces with the Muslim Chinese General Ma Chung-yin in Turgan in 1932. This Chinese Muslim had revolted in 1929 after the death or murder of the Governor of Singkiang, Yang-Tseng-hsin, who was a bitter enemy of the Kazakhs, Turkis and Chinese Muslims in 1928. Osman Batur, who was a Kazakh nationalist, refused to join this Pan-Islamic alliance.

The capital, Urumchi, repulsed General Ma in 1932 as its Governor. General Chin Shu-jen was backed by the Soviet Consul Apresov, and the organizer of the hated secret police, a Russian named Pogodin. White and Red Russians worked together against the Muslims. But the Soviet authorities at the same time armed Osman Batur, Yunus Hajji, the Kazakhs, Turkis and the Chinese Muslims as they wished to keep the Governor of Singkiang dependent on them. General Chen was overthrown in 1933 and his successor depended almost entirely on the Soviets for support. In the meantime General Ma had been encouraged to besiege Urumchi in order to force the new Governor, General Shen-ta'ai, to have recourse to Moscow for armed support.

About this time 13,000 Chinese soldiers fled from Japanese-occupied Manchuria into Kazakh territory, and the Kazakhs were faced with yet another invader.

Of the Russians, Mr. Lias states that they "were speaking with 'two mouths', as the Kazakh saying goes. Each mouth had an entirely different language. One spoke through 'advisers' in Urumchi in the name of the Chinese Governor, Sheng, and gradually changed the administration of the province into a Communist one. The other mouth secretly whispered rebellion against the provincial authorities into the willing ears of the local races through traders and Russian agents who promised to help in driving the hated Chinese out". The Kazakh leader, Yunus Hajji, failed to train the Kazakhs to fight a pitched battle, but later on, the Soviet Government successfully trained Kazakh satellite troops in Kazakhstan and at Khuldja in Singkiang.

In 1934 the defeated General Ma fled to Soviet-occupied Turkistan and disappeared. Hussein Tajji retired across the Gobi Desert and the Takla Makan Desert to Gezku with 15,000 Kazakhs.

Russian influence continued to increase in the northern Chinese provinces of Kansu in Singkiang and Chinghai and a road was built through Manass and Lianchow to Chiungking with the "help" of 100,000 Kazakhs and Turki conscripts.

The Kazakhs were beset by the "Red Beards", heavily armed Chinese warriors in Soviet uniforms, who raped the Kazakh women, murdered and stole. Unable to match their skill in pitched battle, the Kazakhs ambushed the "Red Beards", with inevitable reprisals.

In 1939 General Sheng pretended to relax his dictatorship and set up Kazakh officials locally, only to round them up with the secret police on the grounds that they were members of the *Halk Azad-lik Aluremo*, or People's Freedom Party, a pro-Soviet organization which was a legal organization. Three well-known nationalist leaders were tortured to death, Ismail Hajji and Baimullah, the Kazakhs, and Gegen, the Mongol "Living Buddha".

In 1939 religious instruction was abolished in the Muslim province of Singkiang. Ali Beg was kept under arrest in Urumchi for eighteen months. Yunus Hajji and Hamza came to Urumchi for a conference convoked by General Sheng. They lived under constant fear of arrest, for white boxes were placed at street corners and the inhabitants were invited to denounce anonymously each other. The people arrested as a result of these denunciations wracked their brains to think up all possible sources of their arrest and promptly denounced everybody they knew, with the result that many innocent people were arrested.

Three thousand people attended Sheng's conference and eighteen were arrested, including Yunus Hajji. They were never seen alive again. The other delegates were told to ask their tribesmen to disarm and were sent home in 1940-41.

Ali Beg was finally released after pretending to be indoctrinated by Sheng and appointed Ming-Bashi, or local governor, of the Manass district. Sheng made his peace with the Kuomintang Government of General Chiang Kai-Shek, as he was worried at the Russian defeats by Germany in 1941. He was appointed Minister of Agriculture after the reunification of Singkiang province with the Chiungking Government.

The Anti-Imperialist League was dissolved in 1943. British and American consulates were set up in Urumchi once more (all Europeans and Americans had been expelled in 1939).

Meanwhile the Russians fraternized with the Kazakhs, who preferred them to the Chinese "Red Beards". But the Soviet troops and engineers were withdrawn in 1943.

Sheng was replaced in 1943 by a provincial Governor, Wu Chung-hsin, who appeared to be conciliatory in his relations with the Kazakhs, Turkish Mongols and Uzbeks. Hamza became the official theoretical political writer of the Kazakhs and denounced the Chinese Communists.

Meanwhile Osman Batur was proclaimed Khan of the Altai Kazakhs and Mongols at Bulghu on 22nd June 1943. He had practically cleared the Chinese out of their area.

The Mongol delegate to this meeting was Marshal Choi Balsan, the head of the Communist Republic of Outer Mongolia. The two Kazakh delegates from Soviet Khazakhstan were called Kassin and Sultan.

The Mongolian marshal attempted to influence Osman Batur to set up an independent State with Soviet backing, and "hinted that the Russians might allow him to incorporate Siberian Altai if he co-operated with them". Kassin warned him about the fate of the 3,500,000 Kazakhs living under Soviet rule. Later Kassin was arrested and executed by the Russian Communists. Osman Batur rejected the Soviet overtures.

In order to embarrass the Chinese, the Russians armed 25,000 Kazakhs under a non-Kazakh, Ali Han Ture, in Khuldja, on the road between the capital of Soviet Kazakhstan Alma Ata and Urumchi in November 1944. Ali Han Ture attempted to get Osman Batur and Ali Beg to support his revolt. Later on his force of Kazakhs was used as a quisling pro-Russian anti-Kazakh army. On 3rd July 1945 the pro-Russian Kazakhs massacred all the Chinese in Khuldja five weeks after the signing of the Sino-Soviet Pact.

For a short time all the Kazakhs united against the Chinese under the leadership of Osman Batur. But the pro-Russian 25,000 strong army had a vast superiority in equipment and arms.

The Kuomintang Government, faced by this powerful coalition, came to terms and on 6th January 1946 an agreement was signed at Ili whereby a local government was formed under the Chinese Chairman, General Chang Chih-shung, containing 18 non-Chinese and 12 Chinese. The local army of six regiments was largely recruited from amongst the Kazakhs.

The Russians were displeased with the growth of the local nationalism and the agreement with the Chinese. Ali Han Ture was kidnapped by Soviet officers and appears to have been liquidated on the trumped-up charge of "pan-Turanism".

The Russian then proceeded to incite the Mongolians to invade the Altai district, which had formed a part of their country until Outer Mongolia was separated from China in 1922. The Russians also took an active part in the invasion on 7th September 1946. The Kazakhs united with the Chinese nationalists to repel the invaders, but Osman Batur was driven into the Baitik Bogdo mountains by the Russians, who armed and drilled the Kazakh army in Khuldja so that within a year it became a disciplined force.

For a time in 1946-47, Ali Beg Hamza and another Kazakh, Janim Khan, co-operated with the Chinese in Urumchi and the Turki leaders Mahsud Sabri, the new head of the provincial government, and Muhammad Emin Bugra. Janim Khan was made Minister of Finance and another Kazakh, Saalis, Secretary-General of the Government. The Kazakhs were given some arms by General Sung Hsi-lien, the Chinese Commander. Hamza was placed in charge of the Khuldja area and Kainesh in charge of the Kazakhs in the Tarbagatai area.

Meanwhile Osman Batur was forced to evacuate the Altai and to retire to Kizil Chala Bel, near Kucheng. The Communist Kazakhs were still sending delegates to Urumchi and were ostensibly friendly to the provincial government. They attacked the nationalist Kazakhs, but three Communist regiments out of nine went over to the nationalists (8,000 men) and the Communists were repelled. The Russians then planted informers in the Kazakhs headquarters. The Kazakhs were incorporated into the Chinese nationalist army. In 1948 Sherdiman, son of Osman Batur, and Hamza went to Nanking to see General Chiang Kai-Shek, whose Minister of War, General Pai Chung-hsi, attempted to organize a united

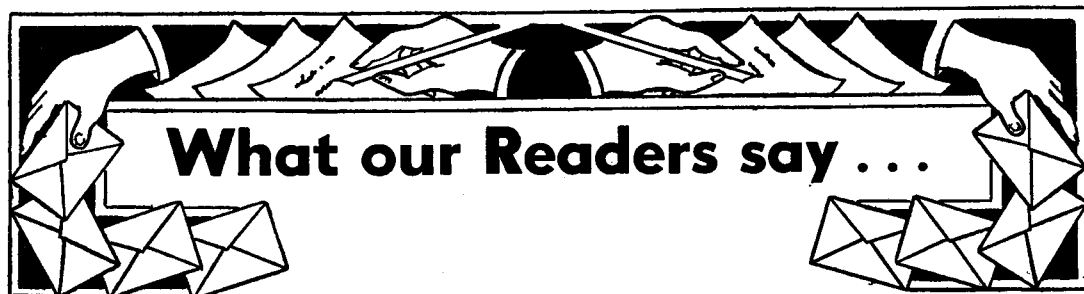
front of Muslims, Kazakhs, Turkis and Tungan against the Western flank of the Chinese Communists.

General Pai was, however, thwarted by defeatist and chauvinist elements at Nanking. A new commander, General Tao Tzu-yo, was appointed in Sinkiang, and attempted to disarm and disown the Kazakhs. The Kazakhs and Turkis closed their ranks. But the Chinese General Tao and Sabri's successor, Burhan Shahedi, and General Chang, Commander of North-West China, all anticipated the Communist victory and proceeded to do as little as possible to prevent it. On the other hand the Commander of the Tungan Muslim Chinese, General Ma Cheng-hsiang, co-operated loyally with the Kazakhs.

Subsequently the Turki-Kazakh alliance broke down. The Kazakh fighting strength was reduced from 40,000 to 15,000. Urumchi fell to the famous Eighth Route Army of the Chinese Communists.

Ali Beg retired to Kukulul, where he was attacked by the Communists from October to December 1949. Retreating to Gezkul, they regrouped with Osman Batur's troops, but he delayed their retreat to Kashmir via Tibet as he could not accept the inevitable, and when he finally concurred in 1951 it was too late as he was captured by the Communists while rescuing his daughter on 1st February 1951. Janim Khan was also made a prisoner. Ali Beg and Hamza carried out their miraculous escape and arrived at the Kashmir border after 193 days.

Mr. Lias has done a great service to the Muslims by his painstaking account of this great epic. But the dramatic story of hardship must be read to give some idea of the bravery and determination of these Muslim warriors. This book covers a gap in modern Muslim history and the struggle against Soviet and Chinese Communist imperialism.



MUST ONE SAY ONE'S PRAYERS IN ARABIC?

London, S.W.1.

12th December 1957.

Dear Sir,

It was with interest that I read Mr. A. R. Hunwick's letter in *The Islamic Review* for October 1957 on his dilemma which presents itself to every non-Arabic-speaking newcomer to the fold of Islam. I wonder if the views of one of the great religious thinker-sages of Islam would help him clarify his position in the matter of saying his prayers in Arabic or otherwise?

In discussing the desirability of the *Ijtihad* as advocated by the Turkish poet-philosopher Zia Gok-Alp, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, who in my opinion supports the views of Zia Gok-Alp (who says that if the aim of religion is the spiritualization of the heart, then it must penetrate the soul of man, and it can best penetrate the inner man only if its spiritualizing ideas are clothed in his mother tongue), says in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Oxford, 1934:

"For reasons which will appear later, the poet's *Ijtihad* is open to grave objections, but it must be admitted that the reform suggested by him is not without a parallel in the history of Islam. We find that when Muhammad Ibn-i-Tumart — the Mehdi of Muslim Spain — also a Berber by nationality, came to prove and established the pontifical rule of the Mawahidin, he ordered for the sake of the illiterate Berbers that the Qur'an should be translated and read in the Berber language; that the call to prayer should be given in Berber and that all the functionaries of the Church must know the Berber language."

Yours sincerely,

IQBAL AHMAD.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD *HANIF* IN THE QUR'AN

2 Avenue Elmers,
Surbiton,
Surrey.

31st October 1957.

Certain Western scholars are unable to understand the meaning of the word *Hanif* that occurs in the Holy Qur'an. Western scholars presume that Muhammad was ignorant of the meaning of the word *Hanif*. Consequently they interpret this word in a very distorted way. They claim that a variant root, *Hanatha*, is also found, and that one of the meanings (apparently irrelevant) is "to bend". Perhaps you would be interested to hear the results of my own modest research.

On several occasions I have mentioned in articles contributed to Islamic journals of Britain and Pakistan that a knowledge of Assyriology can throw additional light on obscurities of the Qur'an. I can give you examples of this at a later date if the subject interests you. For the moment I should merely like to mention the following:

Since Abraham originated from Mesopotamia, if he and his descendants settled in Arabia, it is likely that Accadian or Assyrio-Babylonian, a kindred Semitic language, may be able to shed light on references to the "religion of Abraham" said to have been brought to Arabia, especially as the influences of the later Prophets Moses and Jesus have effected the Arabic vocabulary through the languages of their founders, respectively Hebrew and Syriac (Aramaic).

Certainly in both Hebrew and Syriac, the root HaNaPa gives the meanings: to be polluted, profaned, godless, hypocritical, a heathen (cf. Crossman: *Hebrew-English Dictionary*, and Brockelmann, *Syriscche Grammatik*). The same meaning is incidentally also found in Accadian.

But when we look up the alternative root, HaNaTHa, I find no traces of it in the two North Semitic tongues, but it does exist in Accadian. Naturally, TH changes to SH, as in the number "three", which is "salasu" in Accadian.

In Carl Bezold's *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, p. 124, the following extract appears:

Hanasu: Sich beugen (vor: *ina eli*).

This means that the form with long "a" after the second root means to "bow" (lit.: *to bend oneself*). The additional information shows that this is found in texts before the words "*ina eli*" (to God). Hence Accadian "*Hanasu ina eli*" would correspond to an archaic Arabic "*Hanatha ila-llah*". It is clear, therefore, that the Accadian meaning is "to prostrate oneself", which is quoted as a characteristic of some Hanifs. Is it then unreasonable to suggest the true meaning in the Qur'an as follows: "One who engaged in prostrations and was not of the polytheists"? This would make sense of the Qur'anic text without the need to formulate theories as to misuse of Syriac words, and the implication that the Prophet Muhammad was ignorant of the true meaning. It would also appear to fit the context better than any of the recognized translations, and would have a sound philological basis. If the premise that Abraham and Ishmael visited Arabia and performed their devotions there is accepted, we would presume that a word equivalent to *Sajdah* existed. We would also presume that they spoke Accadian (which may even be considered archaic Arabic?). The root *Sajada* does not appear in Accadian dictionaries, while the exact equivalent is shown to be the root *Hanasu*.

Yours sincerely,

HUSEIN ROFE.

* * *

THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE AND THE MUSLIM PRAYER

105 Savile Park Road,
Halifax,
Yorkshire.

25th November 1957.

Dear Sir,

Assalamu 'alaikum

Mr. A. R. Hunwick, whose letter appeared in the October issue of *The Islamic Review*, has raised a very interesting and urgent problem for the attention of Muslims. It is interesting because it is a double problem, and urgent because its solution will have a tremendous effect on the spiritual tenor of Muslim life. Along with the writer of another letter in the same issue he reflects the growing confusion of Muslims faced by modern materialistic thought. This raises yet another problem, that of creating a workable solution from the strength of orthodoxy and the absolute necessity for reinterpreting the Qur'an according to modern conditions. At the moment I wish to confine myself to the problem raised by Mr. Hunwick. There are two aspects of the subject in question:

- To adhere to the Arabic form of worship at the cost of understanding what is said in the prayer; and,
- To sacrifice Arabic so that whatever is said in prayer is clear and explicit.

The impasse comes when we realize that neither can be sacrificed.

To begin with, it is obvious that unless the words and meaning of a prayer are understandable, the prayer will be ineffective. The Qur'an condemns those who say their prayer unwittingly. In another verse the Qur'an says: "And be not of the unmindful" (7: 204); "so that you may know what you are saying" (4: 46). The Prophet is reported to have said that only that part of prayer which is understood is valid.

About those who are oblivious of the meaning of prayer, the Prophet has said, "How many (who) stand up (in prayer) have as their portion from the worship only fatigue and misfortune?" From paramount authorities I turn to al-Ghazzali, a great theologian of Islam, whose work on the subject of prayer is monumental. He says: "Then either the object of it (prayer) is its being an address and a conversation, or the object of it is the letters and the sounds for the sake of testing the tongue by the exercise. There is no doubt that this character of worship is invalid, and it becomes beneficial utterance only when it expresses what is in the mind and it becomes such an expression only by the presence of the heart. What is then the request of 'Guide us in the right path' if that mind is without comprehension of its meaning, oblivious whether it is a request or a statement?"

It is thus clear, beyond argument or discussion, that according to the best authorities, understanding of each word of the prayer is essential to secure the full benefits of worship.

However, even though it is of slightly less importance, the preservation of Arabic as a medium of religious expression throughout the world of Islam is essential. It is undoubtedly one of the chief mainstays of cohesion and unity within the diverse community of Islam, as Latin has also proved to be in the Church of Rome. It is an effective check on variances and provides a common expression of a man's most precious thoughts. Secondly, it is the language of the words of the Qur'an, which twisting and rocking like waves in the air, thrills the heart of every Muslim, whether he is a Turk or a Chinese. The significance which Arabic has as a sacred language in the heart of the non-Arab Muslim is apparent in the recent return to the use of Arabic for *Adhan* in Turkey.

So we see the urgent need to retain and encourage Arabic.

The two points are now clear. But in making them clear we have created the very problem which irks the minds of Muslims. If a Muslim is not an Arab and has no knowledge of the Arabic language, how is he to say his prayers in the beloved tongue and at the same time validate his prayer by understanding it? The problem is seemingly insoluble since it is clearly not possible for all non-Arabs to learn Arabic. As a Muslim I would like to put forward a solution that has occurred to me. I submit that it is within the capabilities of every ordinary human being to learn by heart in his own language the meaning of the Arabic prayer. To learn what each Arabic word (and there are not so many in the prayer) means in his own mother tongue, so that when he repeats the Arabic he will consciously translate it in his heart, thus giving even more attention and care to his prayer. I would welcome the opinions of other Muslims on this subject, and especially those of the 'Ulama.

Yours in Islam,

'UMAR H. AUSTIN.

ROBERT GRAVES, *JESUS IN ROME*

Berwyn,
The Park,
Great Barton,
Bury St. Edmunds.
12th November 1957.

Dear Sir and Brother-in-Islam,

Assalaama 'alaikum

Whilst glancing through the September 1957 issue of *The Islamic Review*, I encountered a review of Robert Graves' and Joshua Podro's work upon *Jesus in Rome*, wherein Mr. Graves devotes a full chapter to that great Muslim work *Jesus in Heaven on Earth* by K. N. Ahmad.

I claim to have introduced Mr. Graves to this work, and I am glad to see he procured it.

I enclose a letter from Mr. Graves to myself which will substantiate my statement. It also discloses the fact that he had quite missed the disclosure, as in Romans II, of Paul's bare-faced infamy in confession of his wilful lying, viz., "in my lies have abounded," etc. Mr. Graves bitterly regretted his missing this so potent an exposure of Paul, when writing his work *The Nazarene Gospel Restored*.

Faternally yours in Islam,

AHMAD P. ROBINSON.

Guillermo Massot,
73-Pray 2a,
Palma de Mallorca,
Spain,

Dear Commander Robinson,

About blood — the fact is that early Israelites took over blood sacrifices from the Canaanites, whom they conquered; and even human sacrifices, as the story of Isaac makes plain. But they reacted first against human sacrifice. The Romans eventually did the same despite their cruelty in the amphitheatre and their frequent massacres of captured townsfolk — as this same story makes equally plain — and then against blood-sacrifice (Isaiah 1:2, etc.) of animals. Yet the memory of how the elders were purified with bull's blood by Moses in the wilderness could not be eradicated and every Jew had to eat a part of the Paschal lamb which was sacrificed and blooded on the great altar, though the blood "which is the life ye shall not eat" (Genesis 9:4). (This Genesis text is probably late, say 500 B.C.)

The eating of the raw flesh with the blood was practised at initiating ceremonies by the Orphics, the noblest of the ancients; but thereafter they might never repeat the performance. Paul may, therefore, have borrowed the imagery from the Orphics, not the Mithraists, though I agree that his "soldier" metaphors are Mithraic, not Orphic.

You may not believe it, but somehow the key text in Romans to which you have called my attention had never sunk in! I have just been reading that passage and how, how it stinks! If only I had met it before, in time to build it into the argument! This part of the book is almost wholly my work, because Joshua Podro knows almost as little Greek as I know Aramaic.

However, better late than never! . . .

I shall write to Woking for that book; the orthodox Muslims have a very crooked historical notion about Jesus, but if you say there is something there, I will buy it.

I forget whether I told you that my lawyers are having a wrangle with the *Times Literary Supplement*. The point at issue is a libel of Joshua and me which their anonymous reviewer made some weeks ago in the course of a correspondence argument; the editor closed down the correspondence at that point and left the libel in the air. It all depends on the Greek text of Galatians 14:4, which we are accused of unethically falsifying, although we can cite a number of early codices in which our prepared reading occurs. The question is whether Paul is confessing to a temptation felt by himself in his flesh or probably referring to a trial of the Galatians' patience with some physical infirmity of his own. Touch Jesus, and

these ecclesiasts don't mind; touch Paul and you touch the apple of their eye.

My next book will be *The Greek Myths*, a 1,000-paged low-priced book for *Penguin Classics* — giving all the variants of the various myths with archaeological and anthropological comment. I have to deal with a terrible amount of human sacrifice and even ritual cannibalism which lasted in Arcadia till Roman times. It is already in print.

Most gratefully yours,

ROBERT GRAVES.

* * *

AN APPRECIATION OF THE WORK OF
THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

P.O. Box 480,
Ibadan,
Nigeria.

24th November 1957.

Dear Sir,

While going through *The Islamic Review*, I came across the list of books you publish every month. I found the book *Jesus in Heaven on Earth* mentioned in it. I wonder if you could kindly send me a copy.

I would also like you to help me in obtaining published information about the men who worked hard to establish your mission in 1912-13. Men like the Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, Professor Haroon Mustapha Leon, Lord Headley, the Maulavie Sadar-ud-Din, and several others. These stalwarts of Islam kindled the light of Islam at the Woking Mosque.

Through *The Islamic Review*, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din fought bravely to his last, for the sole purpose of seeing Islam well-established in the heart of the British Empire.

Yours faithfully,

OLAWALE AKERELE.

* * *

MISSIONARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST MUSLIMS IN
SOUTH AFRICA BY DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

172 Prinsloo Street,
Pretoria,
Transvaal,
South Africa.
1st May 1917.

Dear Sir,

. . . Lately the Dutch Reformed Church has started a missionary campaign amongst the Muslims living in this part of the world. We are trying to meet this challenge. For this purpose, we are obliged to turn to you for assistance and help. We intend establishing a missionary centre of our religion here.

We have written to the Editor of the *Reader's Digest* for copies of the article "Islam—The Misunderstood Religion", which was published in the *Reader's Digest* about two years ago. We wonder if you could supply us with 1,000 copies of your March 1957 issue in which you printed an article, "Islam—A Religion and a Way of Life," by Dr. Omar A. Farrukh.

Recently a question was put to us by a Baptist Christian. He enquired why the Prophet Muhammad married several wives when the Qur'an allows only one wife. Please send us a detailed reply by Air Mail. We have *The Prophet's Marriages* by the late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali. If you think it contains sufficient reply to the questioner, we will give him that book to read.

We had a discussion with members of the Dutch Reformed Mission. They have left a list of questions with us. We will forward them to you in a few days' time.

Yours in Islam,

C. H. ABED.

* * *

PEN PALS COLUMN IN *THE ISLAMIC REVIEW*
HELPS MUSLIMS OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO
UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER

45/1 Urdu Road,

Dacca,

East Pakistan.

19th November 1957.

Dear Sir,

I am a regular reader of *The Islamic Review*. Through your magazine I have been benefited by knowing many details on different Islamic subjects, contributed by scholars from different parts of the world.

I find it interesting to read the particulars of "Pen Pals" printed in your magazine. By doing this you give an opportunity to people of different places to know and understand each other. That is not all. It brings them together, though they live thousands of miles away from each other, beyond seas and rivers.

Yours sincerely,

REAZUDDIN AHMED.

* * *

ARABIC LANGUAGE IS NECESSARY FOR
UNDERSTANDING THE RELIGION OF ISLAM

Land Office,

Kulim, Kedah,

Federation of Malaya.

25th July 1957.

Dear Sir,

... The Prophet said *Ta'allamu al-'arabiyyah wa'allimuha al-nasa*. This confirms the belief that the learning of the Arabic language is an obligation that should be undertaken by every Muslim. I quoted this tradition, which was read to me by my teacher, who wanted to stress the significance of learning this language in order to understand God.

Yours faithfully,

Ahmad Bin Haji Abdullah Waksa.

* * *

ON THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERPLANETARY
TRAVELS — THE QUR'AN ANSWERS

Abbas Manzil Library,

7 Dr. Omar Sherif Road,

Bangalore 4.

29th November 1957.

Dear Sir,

There are some verses in the Qur'an which read in the present context of scientific discoveries and speculations only reveal an extraordinary mind as to their source. I give here a few verses:

"Neither is it permissible to the sun that it should overtake the moon, nor can the night outstrip the day, and all float in the sphere. And a sign to them is that We bear their offspring in the laden ship and We have

created for them the like of it what they ride on" (36: 41).

That all heavenly bodies "float in the sphere" is a very commonplace theory of astronomy now, but was it so in the Arabia of the sixth century C.E., or for that matter to the fourteenth century all the world over? And what did the latter part of the verse indicate to the Arabs of those days? For whom was the sign meant when it says, "We bear their offspring in the laden ship and We have created for them the like of it what they ride"? "They" in this verse must mean some other people. One cannot but come to the conclusion "they" refers to the inhabitants of planets! Lest I am accused of reading far-fetched meanings in this verse let me quote a few other verses from the Qur'an:

"And one of His signs is the creation of heaven and earth, and what He has spread forth in both of them of the living things" (42: 3).

One can understand "the living things" in earth. But why "heaven"? Perhaps one might say that the living beings in heaven refer to angels, but that this is not so we step aside to let the Qur'an speak on this:

"And the living beings (*min Daabbatin*) in heaven and in the earth and the angels bow to God" (16: 51).

And now about the possibility of inter-planetary travel. I am sure this subject was not even conceived some centuries ago, least of all its possibility, but to think of Arabia of the sixth century C.E., where a mere mention of it would have created uproarious laughter and the speaker might have been dubbed insane. But again let the Qur'an speak:

"O assembly of Jinns and mankind! If you are able to pass through the confines of heaven and the earth, then pass through them! You cannot pass through save by authority" (55: 32).

The Qur'anic word in the verse is *sultan*, which has been translated as "authority". The Qur'an does not say that to pass through the confines of heaven and earth is an absolute impossibility. What it says is that it may be possible if you are armed with an "authority". Whose authority? God's or man's? Perhaps both; the authority of man is science and invention, and God only helps those who help themselves.

And the last sentence too is a Qur'anic verity. There are two verses for it:

(1) Verily God does not change the condition of man unless and until he himself changes it.

(2) There is nothing for man unless he strives for it.

It is significant that the last precept has been adopted by a people who have pioneered in sending a satellite as a stepping-stone to inter-planetary travels! We can only say, let the blessings of the Qur'an be on them. In both, the going out of the confines of heaven and earth and reforming the society on socialism have Qur'anic support.

Yours truly,

S. M. AHMED.

PEN PAL

Mr. S. H. Abdul Careem, 107 & 109 Bazar Street, Chilaw, Ceylon. Age 23. Wishes to correspond with friends of either sex in all parts of the world, especially from the U.S.A., Egypt, Pakistan, India, Turkey, Indonesia and Malaya. Interests: Exchanging views on Islamic thought, international affairs and education. Please correspond in English.

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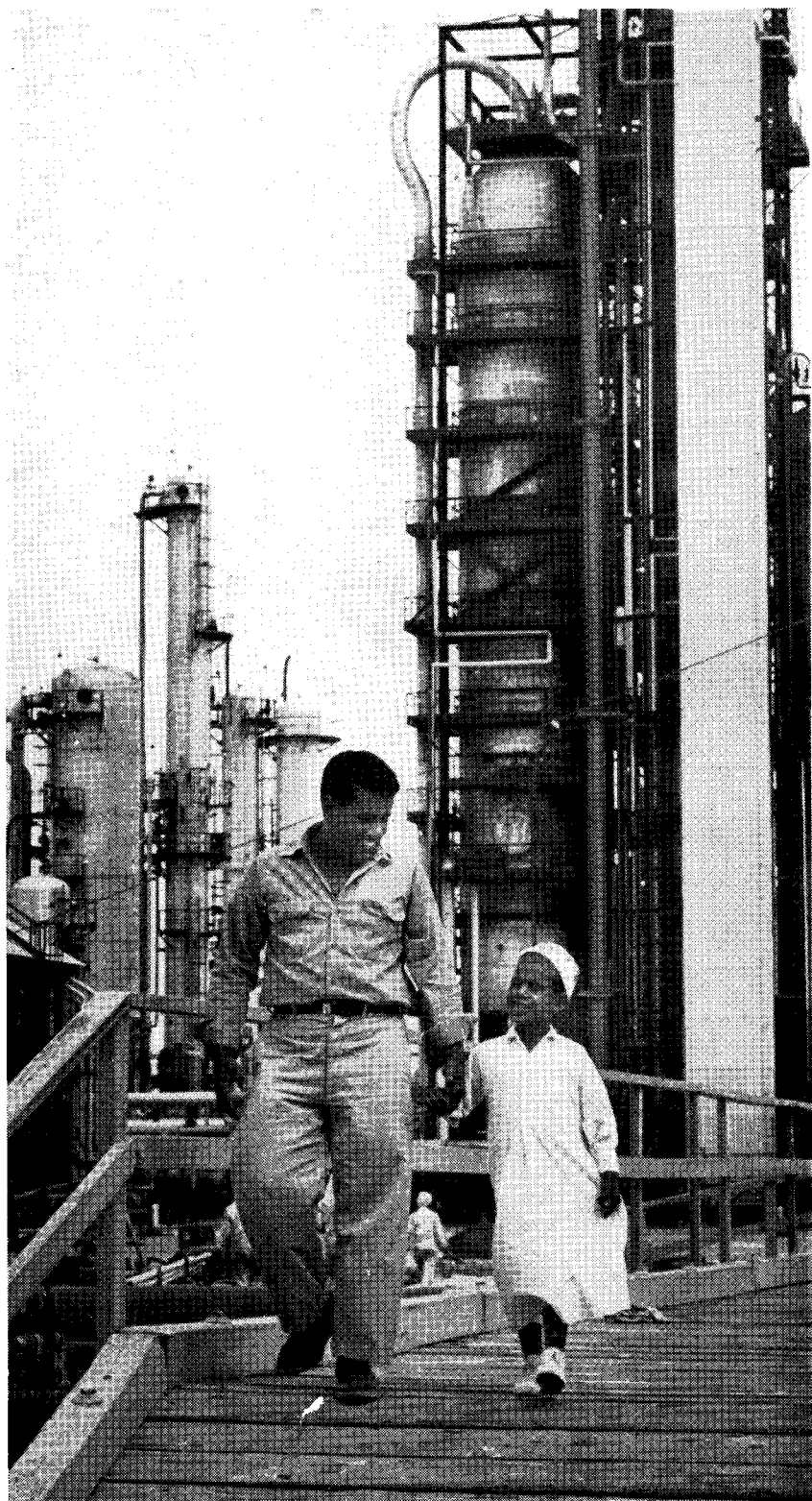
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