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THE
**ISLAMIC
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JANUARY 1960

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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The illustration on the cover is that of the Great Mosque at Damascus, the United Arab Republic. In the background is the city of Damascus. The Great Mosque at Damascus is one of the two oldest and most beautiful specimens of Muslim architecture, the other being the "Dome of the Rock" at Jerusalem. This mosque was erected in the first years of the 8th century C.E.

It is believed that the first instance of a tower being utilized for the purpose of calling the Muslims to prayers seems to have been at Damascus.

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The Islamic Review

JANUARY 1960

48th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

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APOLOGY

Owing to unavoidable circumstances we have been unable to print the Islamic Review to time. We hope that this unfortunate delay will not last for long. The issues of the Islamic Review for the subsequent months are under print.

Manager.

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"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. XLVIII No. 1

JANUARY 1960 C.E.

Rajab 1379 A.H.

THE WEAPON OF PROPAGANDA

The Muslims must not lose their case by default

At a recent meeting held by a British political organization in London a representative of the Algerian National Liberation Movement spoke on the struggle of the Algerian people for freedom and independence. The speaker, a young man, was well-meaning and sincere. But he failed to give the subject a fair treatment and impress an audience that was on the whole sympathetic. The trouble was that he had come to the meeting cavalierly unprepared. His command of the English language was poor and he spoke incoherently and unintelligibly.

The unhappy performance of this Algerian speaker brings to one's mind bitter memories of the Arabs' mismanagement of propaganda for the Palestine cause before 1948 and afterwards. It is common knowledge that the defeat of the Arabs over Palestine was the result not only of bickering among the various Arab Governments and treachery by some Arab leaders, but also of the lack of efficient propaganda for the Arab cause in the outside world. In 1946 public opinion in Britain, for example, was markedly hostile to the Zionists as a result of the many attacks by the Jewish terrorists on the British forces in Palestine. In other parts of Europe, and in the United States of America, public opinion was apathetic, and not decidedly pro-Zionist. But by 1948, almost the entire world had rallied to the Zionist cause against the Arabs. This was brought about by a systematically intense and vigorous propaganda campaign by the Zionists, using all possible media, including such things as full-page advertisements in national newspapers. This campaign was at its fiercest in the United States of America and finally succeeded in making the United States Government adopt such a militant pro-Zionist attitude that

it exerted pressure upon various countries, by threats to withhold American financial and technical aid, in order to win votes at the United Nations General Assembly for a resolution to partition Palestine in favour of the Jews.

It is true that in the Palestine propaganda campaign the Zionists started with a great advantage over the Arabs — they had tremendous financial resources, and many natural propagandists for their cause among the Jewish communities in various parts of the world. But the Arabs did not make full use of their potentialities, meagre as they were, and they tended to shrink to their shells and brood at home about what they considered hostile public opinion in the outside world. Where they did engage in propaganda activities abroad, as for example in London, they were downright inefficient and misguided in their tactics. Many of their spokesmen were like the Algerian speaker mentioned before, good fellows of noble stock, with experience in accountancy or Egyptology, with a good knowledge of French or German (but not of English, the language of the people they would deal with), and often with doctorates in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry from universities in Scandinavian or other countries as safely distant from Arabia as possible. If the Arabs were invited to share a platform with a Zionist speaker in a debate on Palestine at a big hall, they would haughtily refuse because, in their view, "Right cannot stand on the same level as Wrong". They cared little for the fact that if well argued a cause if it was really right could not fail to win the support of an impartial audience in a debate. So in all these cases the Arab cause was lost by the default of the Arabs themselves. Arab spokesmen, however, were always available to address their own very small and

mediocre meetings in picturesque but distant villages. There they dined and had a nice time and came back later with big expense accounts to deplete still further the modest funds allocated for Arab propaganda for Palestine.

Small wonder, therefore, that the unflattering but popular image of the Arabs in the eyes of the West as idle pleasure-seeking people with tents, camels and harems was not sufficiently dispelled to win support for the Arab cause in Palestine, and that the falsehood of the Zionist claims to Palestine was not exposed.

The Arab propaganda in the West for the past fifteen years has been feeble and misdirected. The Arabs have perpetually made the mistake of employing as propagandists people who were untrained, and who neither knew the language nor understood the life and thought of the people to whom their propaganda was directed. And the greater part of their propaganda has been in the nature of preaching to the converted.

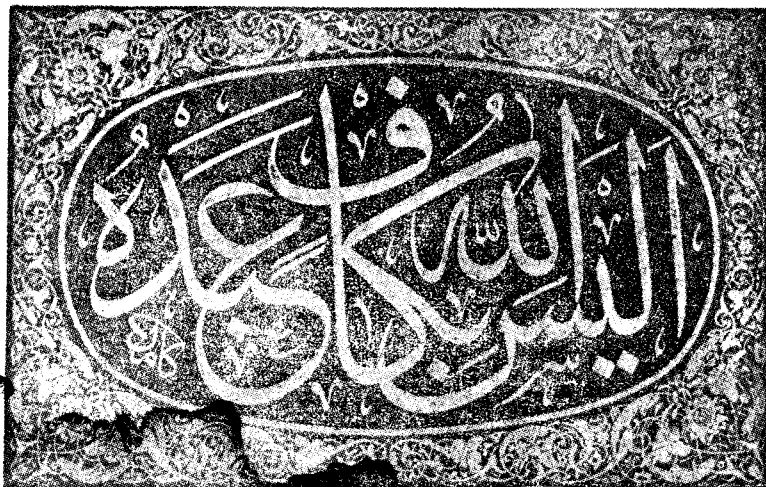
The Arabs' habit of not preaching at all to the non-converted is also evidenced in the great quantity of pro-Arab and anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist material which they publish in the Arabic language for distribution in the Arab countries to very confirmed pro-Arab Arabs. If a pro-Arab book or article were published in a foreign language (and the best pro-Arab publications in the English language, for example, have come from independent and unaided Englishmen) the first thing the Arab propaganda machine would do would be to have the material translated into Arabic for the edification of Arab readers or radio listeners. They would never think of securing wider circulation abroad for such articles or books by reprinting them or translating them into foreign languages and distributing them free or marketing them at a cheap price.

All the mistakes which the Arabs make in their propaganda in the outside world arise from the fact that they do not appreciate the powerful role played by public opinion upon governments in Western democratic countries, including the so-called imperialist countries. Public opinion, which demonstrates itself periodically in parliamentary elections, makes and breaks governments. A government may adopt a certain policy because it has a specific mandate for it from the electorate, or because the electorate has not bothered to express an opinion on that topic one way or

another. But where an electorate does express a clear opinion, a government would rarely go against it. It is likewise a mistake to think that in the so-called imperialist and pro-Zionist countries the people are zealously and irredeemably imperialist or Zionist. It is simply that the other viewpoint has not been put to them effectively to induce them to adopt the other course.

For a long time to come, the Muslim countries will need the goodwill of countries now considered imperialist or pro-Zionist. If they make the peoples of these countries understand Muslim problems better they can hope eventually to make these peoples influence their governments to do justice to the claims of the Muslims. The Zionists, as I said earlier, succeeded in 1946-48 in whipping up public opinion in the United States of America in favour of Zionism to such a pitch that the American Government had to take an enthusiastically firm stand in support of Zionism. By threatening to withhold American economic assistance it first forced Britain to surrender the Palestine mandate to the United Nations, and later coaxed various countries to vote for the partition resolution at the United Nations. Not long ago, the future of American aid to France was under discussion in the United States Congress. Had the friends of the Algerians raised a resounding hue and cry against France because of its misdeeds in Algeria, the American Government might have been induced to adopt an attitude which could have made France change its policy in Algeria. American public opinion, which is traditionally anti-colonialist, could be roused to outspoken opposition to France's policy in Algeria if only the Algerians and their friends were to do the job properly. They spend too much time and money on unnecessary propaganda in the Communist countries, which are natural enemies of an imperialist country like France, and too little on propaganda in the West, to people who need enlightenment about the Algerian cause and whose views can swing the policies of their governments in fateful debates at the United Nations and on other important occasions.

The Muslims cannot hope to solve their disputes with their opponents by force of arms. Their prospects lie solely in evoking support for their just cause from world public opinion. If they are wise they would do well to enlighten the world opinion in a proper way and not in an inefficient and misdirected manner as has been their lot so far.



MUHAMMAD 'ABDUH'S APOLOGETIC FOR THE MUSLIM FAITH

By Dr. 'OSMAN AMIN

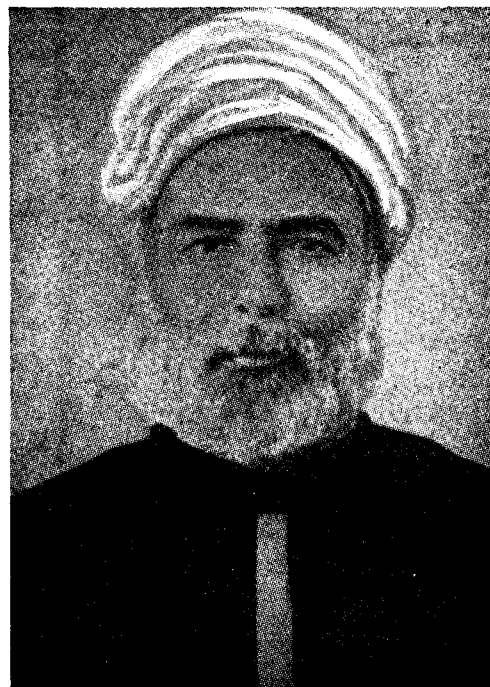
In his exposition of the value of Islam, Muhammad 'Abduh suggests a living apologetic, active and truly humane. Far from seeking to convince those who already believe, he appeals to every man who does not shrink from thinking honestly. Between the traditional method of apologetics and that said to be modern, 'Abduh does not hesitate: he reconciles them in a pragmatic synthesis. With traditional apologetics the Egyptian reformer does not fail to insist on rational proof of facts and the possibility of divine revelation. But impelled by his moralist's temperament, in agreement moreover with modern apologetics, Muhammad 'Abduh puts foremost moral reasons, and fundamental tendencies and superior needs of the soul.

For Islam there is only one God. This religion only knows two states of being above man: that of divinity in which God is, and that of prophecy which He has conferred on those He chose, the Prophet Muhammad being the last of them. Except for these two states, the degrees of perfection are within the power of man; he attains them according to his dispositions, hindered by no obstacle other than the insufficiency of his works or the weakness of his vision. But, before arriving at the conception of a unique, necessary and incorporeal God, humanity has had slowly to climb all the steps representing the rise from ancient religion to pre-eminently monotheistic religion.

This view of evolution¹ is found, according to 'Abduh, to be confirmed by the history of religious thought in antiquity. "The Greeks," he writes, "were originally idolaters. In proportion to the progress made in knowledge of the world, their religious beliefs became detached from primitive materialism and moved towards spiritualism. The Greek philosophers studied the nature of existence and, at the apogee of their civilization, they arrived at the monotheistic conception and at the rejection of anthropomorphic materialism: Pythagoras stopped at the threshold of divine transcendence; Socrates, Plato and Aristotle strove to penetrate the darkness of the original idolatry of the Greek people, and it is thus that they contributed to the advent of the spiritualist doctrine. *The Republic* of Plato shows how the Greek philosopher, to achieve the transformation of the souls of his contemporaries, fought against all forms of paganism, still subsisting in the plays and popular customs, which impeded the realization of the purer ideal of the philosophers." It was the same, continues Muhammad 'Abduh, with the ancient Egyptians. The progress of their sciences led the *élite* among them to foresee monotheism. But the religious leaders, undoubtedly wishing to reserve for themselves the secret of their monotheistic belief and not to propagate it among the masses, "preserved the old forms of the cult and thus re clothed in anthropomorphism the notion of *tanzih* (the transcendence of God over His creatures)".

Thus, resumes the reformer, while ignorance and the weakness of the mind arrest the regard of men at the stage of intermediate beings (*wasat*), the development of intelligence and science "raises the enlightened man to heights from which he may attain a vision of the superior being and a comprehensive perception of the universe: he will then see that all creatures, great or small, noble or humble, visible or invisible, have the source of their existence in the Light of all beings, according to a hierarchy ordered by his wisdom".

In its essence, Muhammad 'Abduh tells us, true religion is the recognition of a single God who is sole master of the universe. It must consequently be monotheistic. It is



precisely the case of Islam, which has come to call humanity to *tawhid*, to pure monotheism and to the highest expression *tanzih* (transcendence).

In the same way that, in Islam, men can only have God as the object of their adoration, they cannot ask help from anyone other than God; for, declares Muhammad 'Abduh, this would then be to commit the sin of *shirk*, that is, the polytheistic heresy consisting in associating with God another natural or supernatural agent, and thus to return to the paganism which reigned before Islam. To pray to God alone, to ask Him for aid in that which is beyond human means, is, therefore, "the very spirit of religion and the finest profession of the monotheistic faith".

As for *tanzih*, 'Abduh does not deny that there are, among the Jews and the Christians, followers of this doctrine denying all resemblance between God and His creatures. But the Egyptian theologian here shares the opinion of the Muslims, according to whom the theologians of these two other religions have distorted the *dogmas* in introducing into them anthropomorphic tendencies establishing analogies between God and man. "Also," declares 'Abduh again, "Islam came to call men to return to the original purity of their religion, and it is against all forms of idolatry that Islam

¹ Please refer to the footnote on p. 13. Ed.

has fought. There is thus a very clear opposition between the *tawhid* (the unity of God) and the *tanzih* of Islam on the one hand and earlier dogmas and beliefs on the other hand."

Monotheistic faith already affirms a preference and poses a question of value. For 'Abduh this value is based, it seems, on three criteria: moral, pragmatic and rational.

(a) First, the monotheistic belief, apart from its truth, represents a moral beauty: "The Most High said through the mouth of Joseph: Is it better to have different masters or to have a single all-Powerful God?" This clearly means, says 'Abduh, that polytheism disperses the efforts of men in the search for communion with the supreme power; that it stirs up fanaticism between the followers of each divinity. But discord and fanaticism result in the rupture of human order, while common belief in a single God plays a unifying part in maintaining, between men, the brotherhood which is the basis of their happiness.

(b) Compared with other dogmas, the *tawhid* (the unity of God) presents undeniable advantages to believers. "He who does not believe in a single God having infinite power and infinite wisdom . . . lives without tranquillity, so great are his fears and his illusions; he sees in the forces of nature so many personalities who shape his destiny and so many gods to whom he attributes the causes of good and of bad in the universe."

In contrast, monotheism has a preponderant influence on religious experience and practices: to believe in a single God often implies the abandonment of old beliefs and customs related to polytheism and to other powers which the single God tends henceforth to replace.

(c) One can, finally, say that polytheism represents, rationally, a lesser value, by reason of its recourse to a multiplicity of principles of explanation, while the monotheistic hypothesis better satisfies the requirements of intelligibility and unity and conforms to what one may call, after Kant, the "law of parsimony". Far from admitting a multiplicity of principles of explanation, the Egyptian theologian everywhere supposes unity between beings and things. Briefly, this faith in a single God ennoble the souls of the believers, frees them from being enslaved by idols, priests and all kinds of charlatans.

Muhammad 'Abduh has always fought anthropomorphic conceptions, as much those of the Muslim Zahirites as those of ancient paganism. Anthropomorphism, according to the Egyptian theologian, appears in history under three distinct forms:

(a) Under the first, it appears as belief in the divinity of certain sensible beings. Ignorance of the laws of the universe disposes men to believe that natural phenomena which affect their senses can only be explained by the divinity of such and such a being or object; they are then eager to please him or to satisfy his desires.

(b) Under its second aspect, anthropomorphism consists in believing that God appears in certain human forms. Thus conceived, it already indicates a step towards understanding. An individual is exceptionally endowed, he surpasses the mass by his intelligence, by his courage or by his extraordinary action; men are then ready to believe that God is incarnate in this man; it is this stage where men are the slaves of men.

(c) Anthropomorphism finally appears as the belief that certain beings may act as intermediaries between God and other men. They believe that God, like kings, has chosen from men certain elect who will be in continual contact with Him and who will have, in consequence, the power to order human affairs. Accordingly, they are venerated, and men

pray to them to intervene in the march of events, to play the part of intercessors between them and God.

Ultimately, declares 'Abduh, all these anthropomorphic beliefs, products of the human mind in a more or less naïve state, make man "the plaything of his imagination, of his masters and of his priests".

Muhammad 'Abduh energetically repels the energy-destroying doctrine of fatalism commonly attributed to Islam. For him, true Islam is the negation of fatalism and the affirmation of free will and the efficacy of human action. Surely, he says, the Prophet of Islam wished to save the freedom of the will and to assign to man the responsibility for his actions. There, not to be doubted, is the orthodox doctrine. The Companions of the Prophet as much as the first Caliphs understood and insisted on it in this sense. 'Ali declared all negators of free will to be heretics. Certainly there are certain deterministic tendencies in Islam: but in what religion are they not found? If we wish to read the Qur'an fairly, in comparing it with the rare texts (of other religions) which have supported liberty, we shall find that it gives as much place to it as they do. If, therefore, the *maktoub* (the "it is written") of certain Muslims has created a belief in the fatalism of Islam, that is surely a gross exaggeration. Fatalism depends more on the particular spirit of races converted to Islam than on the dogma itself. Those who, in our day, still deny free will, are different classes of sufis, who deny it as in Christianity the Jansenists would have done if they had been allowed to do so, as the zealous Calvinists do in our time. This quietism, exclaims 'Abduh, and not Islam, is the great plague of the Muslim countries. In brief, if, according to the doctrine of Islam, God is the author of all things, the acts of man are nevertheless imputable to man.

Islam is not against the development of scientific knowledge

Islam has been accused of being hostile to the development of science and culture: "Incapable of changing itself and admitting any element of civil life, Islam," said Renan, "will tear away from its bosom every germ of rational culture." Animated by the same spirit regarding this religion, Hanotaux affirmed that Islam was an obstacle to science.

For 'Abduh, there is nothing more false than such hasty or partial judgments. In the search for truth, Islam prescribes reason, condemns blind imitation and blames those who attach themselves without discernment to the habits and opinions of their forefathers. How then can Islam, based on the requirements of human nature and of reason, and itself urging its faithful to seek and to reason to develop their knowledge and to perfect their understanding, how can such a faith be incapable of satisfying the demands of science and culture?

History itself testifies that Islam goes hand in hand with science. Two centuries had not yet passed after its appearance before the Muslims were already excelling in all the branches of human knowledge. Eminent Western scholars recognized this; one of them wrote: "Christianity lasted sixteen centuries without producing a single astronomer, whereas the Muslims a few years after the death of their Prophet had begun to cultivate the sciences." Did not the Prophet of Islam say: "Seek to learn science even though you have to find it in China"? This illiterate Prophet, when in exile at Medina, allowed the prisoners from Mecca who could write Arabic to go free as soon as they had taught twelve boys of Medina the art of which he himself and they were ignorant. The religion which declared that "the ink of a scholar is as precious as the blood of martyrs" cannot be accused of obscurantism in its essential nature. It was not

thus when, during the darkest period of European history, and for five hundred years, the Muslims carried, for all humanity, the torch of knowledge. It was then the Arabs who brought together and translated the writings of the Greek masters, which included the geometry of Apollonius, and who wielded the arms found in the logical arsenal of Aristotle. It was they also who developed the sciences of agriculture and astronomy and created those of algebra and chemistry, who adorned their cities with colleges and libraries, as well as mosques and public places, who provided in Europe a school of philosophy at Cordova and a school of medicine at Salerno, etc. In brief, Islam has strongly favoured science.

Tolerance towards fellow Muslims and non-Muslims

The tolerance and benevolence of Islam, whether towards its adepts or towards the followers of other religions, are, according to Muhammad 'Abduh, facts that cannot be doubted. In effect, Islam does not recognize in any of its adepts the power of making a judgment on the faith of a brother in religion. According to a Muslim tradition, the Prophet Muhammad predicted the division of Islam into 73 schools, of which only one would be saved. The Egyptian theologian concludes from it that, not knowing which will be saved, the greatest tolerance is necessary between them.

In the same way Islam has always shown the greatest goodwill towards non-Muslim scholars; in the course of the history of the caliphate, Christians and Jews assumed the highest posts of the State. And the Muslims practised, towards the Christians who were subject to them, as for example in Spain, a greater tolerance than the Christians showed towards the Muslims. It is a fact which impartial historians and orientalisks have had no difficulty in recognizing. And, if the Muslim heads of States had sometimes to make war against non-Muslims, it was for purely political ends, or religion served only as a simple pretext or means. In brief, Islam is as tolerant towards other religions as towards free research. And it is not by war that Islam was spread.

Polygamy in Islam is very restricted

There is one question on which the apologetic of Muhammad 'Abduh takes a very original and meritorious position. It is currently admitted that Islam permits polygamy. The Qur'an, in ruling on the marriage of Muslims, has limited the number of wives to four. "If you do not fear not to be just regarding the orphans, you may marry up to four wives. But if you fear not to observe justice (between them), you will only have one" (4:3). The text of the Qur'an, taken literally, could give the impression that Islam moves in a direction contrary to unity in marriage. It is what has been recognized by the majority of commentators on the Qur'an and by other non-Muslim scholars. However, Muhammad 'Abduh, we shall see, will give this text a significance which is not without interest and which shows, at all events, a strong modernist tendency and a profound moral spirit.

The Qur'an, he says in substance, has not permitted polygamy except incidentally, that is to say, in the course of its examination of the rights of orphans and the prohibition it puts on usurping their property rights by means of marriage. The Qur'an thus draws the attention of Muslims to the fact that if one is afraid to usurp the property rights of a widow, one must not then marry her, for God permits marrying up to four other women. The Qur'an affirms elsewhere that if the Muslim fears not to observe justice between the wives, he must only take one wife. Muhammad 'Abduh then declares that the man whom Islam allows to have more than one wife is precisely he who is so sure of being able to

observe the justice commanded by God, that he will not have a single doubt or the shadow of a hesitation to do so. Muhammad 'Abduh points out also that the Qur'an declares in another verse: "You will not be able to observe justice between the wives even if you take great care to do so" (4:129). "And this," comments Muhammad 'Abduh, "undoubtedly means that the preference which the heart of a man has for one woman is a thing so natural that it is difficult to observe the required justice."

Muhammad 'Abduh, then summing up his opinion on this question, says with remarkable clarity: "He who meditates on the meaning of the two verses will know that the permission for polygamy in Islam is very restricted; it is equivalent to an exceptional measure, which will only be conceded at the extreme limit, to him who needs it, on the condition of his being sure to observe justice."

Moreover, the law of inheritance established by Islam proves, in the eyes of Muhammad 'Abduh and his school, the principle is to marry only one wife. For, according to Islam, the portion which is left to heirs is double that left to heiresses. But, while the man's portion of his wife's bequest remains stable, the wife's portion of her husband's is found to be variable if polygamy be admitted; in effect, supposing that a man with two or three or four wives dies, all his wives together will only have the portion of a single one. In this case the rule conferring on the man a portion double that of the woman does not apply to numerous wives. It is therefore probable, says Muhammad 'Abduh, that the religious law is inspired by a wise idea: it is that the man will be bound to provide for the needs of his house and to take his wife in his charge. If the Islamic law had aimed at allowing the man to marry more than one wife, this law would have fixed for each son a greater portion than that of two daughters, and it would have given to the several wives a greater part than that for a single wife. Consequently, this is a proof that polygamy did not originally enter into the intention of Islam; if the law permits it, it is only in case of necessity and in the conditions which limit it and render it an exception which does not come under the general prescriptions.

Such is the sense of the interpretation, by Muhammad 'Abduh, of this embarrassing question. The Egyptian reformer was, of course, aware of the unfortunate consequences that the institution of polygamy could have on the family and, thereby, on the whole nation. That is why he could not refrain from concluding with this short declaration of considerable import: "He who reflects on the evils which result, up to our times, from polygamy, will be convinced that no one can educate a nation where it is prevalent. Polygamy being thus rendered illicit by its harmful effects on the public good, it is incumbent on the State to withdraw this permission and to adopt marriage to the needs of the age."

Islam is centuries ahead of Europe

By means of this pragmatic and lively apologetic Muhammad 'Abduh wished to demonstrate that, by the *tawhid*, and the *tanzih* above all, Islam is far superior to other religions. Thereby, he says, it has emancipated minds everywhere, it has put man face to face with God alone and has taught him not to count on any other intervention. By its humane character, renouncing an ideal of life inaccessible to humanity, Islam is the religion most adapted to the world. By its rationalistic character urging man to "seek the solution of the enigmas of the universe and to deepen his knowledge of himself in guiding himself solely towards reason", by its revindication of liberty, of conscience, of the rights of man, and other "conquests" of civilization, Islam finds itself several centuries ahead of Europe.

A NORTH CAUCASIAN CENTENARY

A tribute to Imam Shamil of Caucasia

By 'ALI KANTEMIR

The struggle of Northern Caucasus for its national liberation aroused the sympathy of the civilized world. Karl Marx was filled with admiration for this struggle and exclaimed, "People, take your example from them! They (the North Caucasians) can show what people can do who want to remain free."

'Ali Kantemir,

Editor of *Arabic Review* (Majallah), Munich, Germany.



One hundred years ago, on 25th August 1859, Shamil, the celebrated hero of the war for Caucasian independence, was captured by Tsarist troops when the fortress of Gunib, in Daghestan, fell after a lengthy siege.

The Russian historian Kovalevsky summed up this campaign by saying that the history of the Caucasian war should be written in blood: he might well have added, "and in tears". The beginnings of this war go back to the year 1763, when Catherine II's troops, without any provocation, attacked the Northern Caucasus, crossing the frontiers marked out by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), according to the terms of which both the Tsarist and the Ottoman Empire undertook to respect the independence of this region. Once this action had begun, no diplomatic representations made in St. Petersburg were able to stop it. Neither the ambitious Catherine nor her successors were willing to call a halt until the Northern Caucasus had accepted a Russian protectorate. Fired by the desire for colonial expansion and for an outlet to the "warm seas", the Tsarist government was determined to yield to no resistance whatever.

The advancing Tsarist armies spread out over a wide front from the Black Sea to the Caspian and formed the Caucasian Line, fortified by Suvorov. During the first phase of the war, the theatre of operations was the Kabarda region, north of the Great Caucasian range, where the defensive efforts of all the North Caucasian peoples were concentrated. In one day alone, five thousand North Caucasians, who became known from their attire as the "knights in armour", met their death in a celebrated engagement with Catherine's troops. Despite these heavy losses, resistance to the Tsarist armies continued, assisted for a while by Bonaparte's invasion of Russia.

However, as soon as she was free from the burden of the Napoleonic Wars, Russia began to transfer her troops to the Caucasian front, as a result of which the war in this area was extended and assumed a more systematic and determined character. The new Russian commander-in-chief was General Yermolov, whose watchword was, "My sword is law for the Caucasus". In 1818, Yermolov established a fortress named Grozny in the land of the Chechens, and from that moment the policy of terrorization was conducted with renewed vigour. The homes of inoffensive Chechens were burned down and the population, even children, put to the sword. Yermolov used to say that every child killed saved the lives of a hundred Russian soldiers. Thus began the second phase in the Caucasian war, which engulfed the territory of Chechnya and Daghestan.

The role of Muridism in Caucasian struggle

It is at this point that Muridism, the religious movement based on the principles of Islam which had sprung up in Bokhara in the fourteenth century, assumed its historical role in Daghestan. At first, the Murids were a religious fraternity of pious Muslims who spent their time in prayer and in the search for truth and spiritual perfection. Far from the maddening crowd, they devoted themselves to the study and teaching of the Qur'an in religious schools known as *madresah*. Under the influence of the events of war, however, the Murids, among whom was Shamil, became seized by anxiety and indignation: heated discussions began which led to the decision to resist the invaders.

Thus the peace-loving Murids prepared themselves for action and addressed themselves to the people, urging them to fight in the "holy war" for the cause of unity. The masses of the people took up this call with enthusiasm, and from

then on their resistance to the invaders assumed a more organized and determined character. Popular religious leaders known as *imams* emerged — first Ghazi Muhammad, who was killed in battle in 1832; then Hamzat Bek, who fell an assassin's victim; finally, Shamil. Elected Imam in 1834, Shamil for twenty-five years carried on the defensive war and simultaneously governed the country, displaying remarkable qualities as a military strategist, political leader and organizer. He succeeded in uniting the inhabitants of the Caucasian mountains and in founding a North Caucasian State based on the principles of Islam. This was divided into districts, each headed by a *naa'ib*, or chief endowed with military and administrative authority.

After its conquest of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, the Tsarist Army made itself master of the Southern Caucasus, thus cutting Shamil off from the outside world. Thrown back on his own resources, he organized the country's finances, the minting of money, the exploitation of mineral resources, the production of gunpowder, and the manufacture of guns and other weapons. At the same time his pursuance of the ideas of equality and social justice and institution of democratic reforms strengthened the bond between him and the people. His régime was indeed based on popular support, and everyone capable of bearing arms followed him to the front.

Karl Marx's appreciation of the struggle of North Caucasians

The struggle of the Northern Caucasus for its national liberation aroused the sympathy of the civilized world. Karl Marx was filled with admiration for this struggle and exclaimed, "Peoples, take your example from them! They [the North Caucasians] can show what people can do who want to remain free." The Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko dedicated some fiery verses to them, including the poem "Fight And You Will Conquer!".

Shamil's army also included some volunteer Polish officers and even some revolutionary-minded Russian officers who had been taken prisoner. All of them proved especially useful in the artillery, where the lack of specialists was most keenly felt.

Even in Russian society, the protracted campaign in the Caucasus failed to gain support. Lermontov, Pushkin, Leo Tolstoy and other writers openly expressed their sympathy with the Caucasians. Hence it is not surprising that the morale of the Tsarist troops was much lower than that of Shamil's army. The North Caucasians knew what they were fighting for, but the Russian soldiers did not — because they could not — have any such feeling of fulfilling a mission. This was the reason why the Russian War Minister, Prince Chernyshev, who was sent by St. Petersburg to the Caucasian front to investigate the situation in 1842, ordered the cessation of hostilities in Daghestan and Chechnya. Chernyshev's decision was, however, soon reversed, and in 1845 General Vorontsov was appointed commander-in-chief. Vorontsov suffered a complete defeat when attacking the village of Dargo, in the mountains of Daghestan, and, under the pressure of Shamil's troops, was obliged to withdraw completely from Daghestan.

These military setbacks enraged Nicholas I, the "gendarme of Europe", who ordered the Caucasian rebels to be "put down or else destroyed". The execution of this order was prevented by the outbreak in 1854 of the Crimean War, which necessitated the transfer of part of the Russian army in order to fight the Anglo-Franco-Turkish coalition.

At the peace conference in Paris which concluded the Crimean War in 1856, the agenda also included the Caucasian question. Lord Palmerston proposed recognition of the

independence of Poland and the Caucasus as buffer States to check Russian expansion both eastward and westward; but Napoleon III, blinded by colonial rivalry with Britain, rejected this proposal. It was this gesture that subsequently led to the establishment of a Franco-Russian alliance of friendship.

Last days of Shamil

The diplomatic failure of the Caucasian question at the Paris conference left the government in St. Petersburg free to embark on the final campaign against the Northern Caucasus. An army of 280,000 men was sent to fight Shamil, who resisted for another three years. But the forces were unequal: the Russian army was now better armed and equipped, while the Caucasians, weary of the protracted struggle, could no longer put up an effective resistance. Retreating little by little, Shamil decided to take a last stand in the fortress of Gunib, where, after a prolonged siege, he finally surrendered to the Russian commander-in-chief, Prince Baratynsky. On the orders of Alexander II, Shamil was taken to St. Petersburg, where he was graciously received by the Tsar. Then he was sent to Kalgua, a city south-west of Moscow, where, again on the Tsar's orders, he was accorded the outward signs of respect befitting a sovereign. At his own request, Shamil was transferred in 1869 to Kiev, and in 1870 he was permitted with his family to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, where he finally settled in the following year.

Shamil's bitter fate is symbolized in an incident which occurred when the Turkish sultan, Caliph and Guardian of the Holy Cities, offered him his hand at a reception. Shamil rejoined: "You should have offered me your hand when it was needed: now it is too late." The struggle for national liberation which Shamil had headed did not, in fact, come to an end immediately after his fall. The war continued, under the command of the *naa'ib* Muhammad Amin in Circassia until 21st May 1864: on this day, the resistance of the Circassians was finally broken by the Russian troops under the Grand Duke Mikhail, brother of the Tsar, and the Circassian *Tejlis*, or parliament, dissolved. "After this final battle," writes Elisé Réclus, "in accordance with the wishes of the liberal Emperor of Holy Russia, the Circassians were expelled from their homeland and their land given over to Russian settlers."

Thus ended the Caucasian drama — a drama that lasted a hundred years. To it, Pushkin wrote the following epilogue:

And the furious cries of war fell silent;
All is at the mercy of the Russian sword.
O proud sons of the Caucasus,
How horribly you fought and died!

On the subject of Shamil there exists a considerable literature written in many languages, in which even his enemies emphasize his remarkable qualities as a military and political leader. It was these qualities that enabled him for twenty-five years to resist the onslaught of a numerically superior and better-equipped army.

Contradictions in the Soviet historiography about Shamil's personality and career

Nowhere, however, can one find so many contradictions in the assessment of Shamil's personality and career as in Soviet historiography. At the beginning of the Bolshevik régime, when the Red Army occupied the Northern Caucasus, ~~Shamil's name~~ was held in great respect and his portrait hung in many public buildings. Shamil and the ~~Muslim~~ movement received a favourable and just inter-

pretation in the writings of the Marxist historian M. Pokrovsky and others. This positive assessment was even reflected in the Soviet textbooks on the history of the USSR published in Moscow under the editorial supervision of Professor Pankratova as late as 1948.

Here Shamil was described as a "brave soldier who led the struggle of the mountain peoples against the Tsarist colonizers". Two years later, however, an "amended" version of the same text-book asserted that "this movement

was a reactionary and nationalistic one, which placed itself at the service of British capitalism and the Turkish sultan".

This judgment, imposed on the Soviet historians by the Communist Party, will hardly succeed in compromising the name of Shamil and the national-liberation movement of the Northern Caucasus. Shamil still lives in the memory of the people as the hero of this struggle, which, indeed, is still going on — against the colonizers of the Soviet Communist régime.

MARCH OF YOUTH

On! On! On!

The drums beat up in the sky,
Beneath the troubled earth doth lie,
Youths of the dawning age do cry:

On! On! On!

Strike at the doors of early morn,
We shall augur a richer dawn,
The shades of dark will by us be torn
And the limits of Vindhyachahl.

On! On! On!

We shall sing the song of life,
Reborn will be this vale of strife,
We shall bring strength, to life
In youthful arms, anew.



On! On! O band of youth!

Lend ear to this forsooth!

At the gates of death,

There's the hope of life for all;

Break, O break the bar,

Onward move, onward — far —

To a life that is for you.

On! On! On!

NAZARUL ISLAM.

The Court of Lions in the Alhambra, Granada, Spain

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What the modern Muslims think*

THE REINTERPRETATION OF ISLAM

By ASAF A. A. FYZEE

After serving the cause of civilization for some seven centuries, Islam came under a shadow. Its spirit was throttled by fanaticism, its theology was gagged by bigotry, its vitality was sapped by totalitarianism. For the last two centuries efforts have been made to free it from its shackles. It is as if Islam lies imprisoned by a tyrannical government where the writ of *habeas corpus* does not run. Let us release this bright spirit of joy, compassion, fraternity, tolerance and reasonableness, and modern man will be happier for its presence.

Introduction

The spread of Islam as an historical phenomenon has been studied with care within the last two centuries. Its progress in 16 or 17 countries and its large following are the results of economic, religious and racial forces. There are about 365 million Muslims in the world.¹ It is now generally accepted that Islam produced a great civilization; that its scholars contributed to literature, science, philosophy, theology, history, law; that in aesthetic conception, Muslims were supreme in architecture, and their artists profoundly influenced painting, music and developed art-crafts such as mosaic, poetry, calligraphy, book-binding, embroidery, dress-making, and the culinary art. And now tardily it has been recognized by scholars that the rise of Islam was not due mainly to the sword in the outstretched arm of the Arab, but to the teaching and personality of Muhammad, the son of 'Abdallah, an Arab, whom Toynbee describes as one of the greatest benefactors of humanity.²

This is a recent opinion; earlier in Europe, Muhammad was regarded as a pagan idol, an impostor, a schismatic and a false prophet.³ This change of opinion is due to the rise of studies in Islam and its languages, and the perception of truth as the end of science. A false prophet applying the methods of force was too simple an explanation for one of the most remarkable civilizing forces in history. With the rise of Gandhi and the independence of India, the sword itself was palpably demonstrated to be a weaker instrument than the spirit of man. Thus gradually the world of scholarship has come to regard Islam as a worthy object of study, and it now regards it as axiomatic that understanding of Islam and the forces it releases is impossible without a thorough study of its religion and law.⁴ European orientalists have, during the 19th century, made considerable progress in this direction; but our greatest debt is due to the Dutch orientalist, C. Snouck Hurgronje, the founder of the "modern" school of the study of Islamic Jurisprudence. He was followed by Goldziher, Wensinck, Bergstrasser, and now, Santillana, Milliot, Schacht and Tyan.

In Islam, law is not distinct from religion. The two streams flow in a single channel and are indistinguishable. They are known as *shari'ah* and *fiqh*, the two aspects of the religious law of Islam. *Shari'ah* is the wider circle, it embraces in its orbit all human actions; *fiqh* is the narrower one, and deals with what are commonly understood as legal acts. *Shari'ah* reminds us always of revelation, that 'ilm (knowledge) which we could never have possessed but for the Qur'an or *hadith*; in *fiqh*, the power of reasoning is stressed, and deductions based upon 'ilm are continuously cited with approval. The path of *shari'ah* is laid down by God and His Prophet; the edifice of *fiqh* is erected by human endeavour. In *fiqh*, an action is either legal or illegal, *yajuzu wa ma la yajuzu*, permissible or not permissible. In the

shari'ah, there are various grades of approval or disapproval. *Fiqh* is the term used for the law as a science; and *shari'ah* for the law as the divinely ordained path of rectitude. It must, however, be candidly confessed that the line of distinction is by no means clearly drawn, and very often Muslim doctors themselves use the terms synonymously; for, the criterion of all human action, whether in the *shari'ah* or in the *fiqh*, is the same — seeking the approval of God by conforming to an ideally perfect code.⁵

Democracy insists that the State is one and that its laws are of equal application. Laws are impersonal and objective rules which the State applies to all its citizens without exception. But religion is based on the personal experience of great teachers; its appeal is personal, immediate and intuitive. While its laws and its ritual and its trappings can be of general application in a community, the inner core of belief is exclusively personal. No State can compel religious alliances as it can enforce its laws. Hence the well-known dictum of the law that before the law, all religions are equal; that the question of a particular belief is an objective fact, to be proved or disproved as any other fact, and that the court cannot be called upon to determine the truth or otherwise of a religious belief. The faith of Islam can teach the belief in one God and His Messengers; but it cannot and ought not to lay down *how* I am to apprehend God and *how* it can enforce such obedience. By "enforce" is meant (a) order the doing of a thing and (b) punish its disobedience. How can a matter of faith be a matter of enforcement by an outside agency? A teacher can teach me; he can inspire me by his example; he can fire my enthusiasm. But how can he make me believe? Thus there is a clear difference between a rule of law which can be enforced by the State, and a rule of conscience which is entirely a man's own affair.

Today in Islam this is the greatest difficulty. *Shari'ah* embraces both law and religion. Religion is based upon spiritual experience; law is based upon the will of the community as expressed by its legislature, or any other law-making authority. Religion is unchangeable in its innermost kernel — the love of God for *His own sake* is sung by Sufis and mystics throughout the world. If *shari'ah* is the name given to this duality, then one of the forces constantly pulls in the other direction. The perception of God is a mystery and man is forever pursuing it. In this pursuit, all men of faith regardless of their particular religion are equal. But laws differ from country to country, from time to time. They must ever seek to conform to the changing pattern of society. The laws of the Arabs cannot be applied to the Eskimos; and the laws of the bushmen of Australia are unsuitable for the fertile basin of Uttar Pradesh, India. Laws are like metals in the crucible of time and circumstance; they melt, they solidify into different shapes — they re-melt and assume diverse forms. This process of evolution is co-terminous with human society. Nothing is static except that which is dead and lifeless. Laws can never be static. India, for instance, is

* The Islamic Review does not necessarily agree with the views expressed in this article. Ed.

changing with the rest of the world before our own eyes. These changes affect our powers over nature, our views on life, our desire to improve the social conditions of men. Our legislature pours out a stream of laws, and these attempt to regulate our dealings in society.

But the mind and conscience of man is free. He must be permitted to believe what he will in respect of the ultimate things in the universe, and he cannot be fettered in his faith and imagination. There is thus a strife in Islam. First, the age-long conceptions of the religious law come into conflict with modern civil law, e.g., insurance or the loans which the Government raises. Insurance and the giving or taking of interest is forbidden by the *shari'ah*, while it is not only permitted but encouraged by the modern State.

Secondly, in order to do away with the rigours of the older law, principles of a newer system are engrafted upon the ancient law of Islam; or a new set of laws replaces the *shari'ah*. An illustration of the former is the Muslim Law of Gifts in India, where the principles of English equity are engrafted upon the *fiqh* (Islamic Law, proper). An illustration of the latter is the Evidence Act in India, which completely replaces the Islamic Law of Evidence. Everywhere in Muslim countries this dual process is at work — *qanun*, the secular law is eating into and replacing the laws of the *shari'ah*. In North Africa, French jurisprudence; in Central Asia, the Soviet laws; in India, the Common Law; in Indonesia, the Dutch law, are profoundly influencing not only the law but the meaning of justice itself as it affects the Muslims.

We have seen that *shari'ah* is both law and religion. Law is by its very nature subject to change. The heart of religion on the other hand is not subject to change, or at any rate, the belief in God is an unchangeable ideal, a perennial quest. If two such divergent forces are made to live together, there will be strife. It is this strife which is the main object of this paper. My solution is (a) to define religion and law in terms of 20th century thought, (b) to distinguish between religion and law in Islam, and (c) to interpret Islam on this basis and give a new meaning to the faith of Islam. If by this analysis any element that some have regarded as part of the essence of Islam perishes, then we have to face the consequences. If, on the other hand, belief in the innermost core can be preserved and strengthened, the operation, although painful, will produce health and vigour in a palsied body which is withering away without a fresh ideal to guide it.

Need for reinterpretation

When we examine the belief of Muslims, we may generally distinguish between the orthodox and the unorthodox. This is not a scientific classification, and we must not proceed upon the assumption that it is possible to classify matters of conscience in a logical manner. There are shades of belief, agnosticism and disbelief. The nature of belief is such that a mathematical or purely formal method of classification would lead to error. Hence a general classification would be (i) orthodox and (ii) unorthodox (or preferably, non-conformist). By the orthodox are meant all those who, whether they believe in or practise the regular ritual of Islam or not, are yet convinced that on the whole the religion as laid down by the Imams, whatever be their creed, is the religion and the ritual which is beneficial for Muslims in our times, and any radical change will lead to danger.

It is impossible, and perhaps undesirable, to go into further details of this group. For instance, some believe sincerely in and practise in large measure the specific ritual, such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, etc. Even if they cannot perform some of the *ahkam* (rules of *shari'ah*), they acknowledge

that they are negligent and that it would be better for them to conform closely to the ancient patterns of ritual. There are some who are perfect in ritual but little in faith or character. There are some of perfect character but negligent of ritual. There are some who have remarkable faith in God and in the regeneration of Islam. And some there are who drift along the stream of life, careless of destiny, unpricked by conscience, but full of childlike faith. All these, and others not mentioned who believe in Islam, in its orthodox formulation and creed, whatever their faith, character and action, and whether they accept the whole of that creed or not, are called "the orthodox".

The non-conformists (or unorthodox, if you like) on the other hand are essentially different. The term "unorthodox" is to be avoided. Strictly speaking there is no "orthodoxy" or "unorthodoxy" in Islam. Only an organized church can lay down canons of orthodoxy, heresy and unorthodoxy. If there is no church, it is difficult to conceive of a heretic or an unorthodox person. But, in a manner of speech, a non-conformist is one who does not believe in the regular ritual of Islam and does not accept the basis of religion as laid down by the Imams. The normal definition of faith is:

- (i) profession by tongue;
- (ii) sincerity of belief; and,
- (iii) action in conformity with the principles laid down by the authoritative legists.⁶

Barring (i) he hardly accepts anything else in its entirety. Sincere profession of faith is the only test of Islam; the faith may be mistaken in certain details; the ritual of Islam in all its details may not be accepted. This constitutes non-conformity. If you accept, but do not act, you are still orthodox; but if you do not accept any dogma or principle other than the belief in God and the Prophet, then you are a "non-conformist".

A fair proportion of the educated Muslims in India belong to this class. Some do not accept the authority of the Imams; some do not think prayer is necessary; some believe that work is prayer; some vaguely talk against religion itself. But the test remains: Do you, or do you not, accept that Islam, as interpreted by the Imams of authority, is on the whole and for the generality of mankind, beneficial and true?

My answer in humility and with respect is in the negative, and therefore I am a non-conformist. I should, however, like to make it clear that I am not a non-believer. A non-believer is one who denies the validity of religion itself or at least challenges some of the basic tenets of religious belief. A non-conformist may deny or question some of the forms and dogmas of religion but he is essentially a religious person. Historical evidence suggests that non-conformists have very often been men of deep religious faith and have been non-conformists precisely because of their belief in religion. I refuse to regard the basis of the existing formulation of faith as either beneficial or true in the world of today, and would like to redefine my faith. It is not my intention to form a new sect and I do not profess to be a teacher. But in this quest and in this adventure, I firmly believe that Islam, as I understand it, has much to offer to the human spirit in the 20th century. I cannot, however, accept its definition, as laid down by the generally-accepted Sunnite Imams or by any of the Shi'ite schools. In the following pages, I propose to examine briefly the principles of reinterpretation, and I sincerely hope that rationalism will grow within the fold of Islam.

PRINCIPLES OF REINTERPRETATION

Historical approach

The message of Islam was sent to the world fourteen centuries ago. Does it need reinterpretation? Is it not sent to the whole world and for all time? The answer to both questions is in the affirmative. Even if a message is true, and, in a sense, eternal, it is by the very premises essential to reinterpret it in accordance with the science, philosophy, psychology, metaphysics and theology of the modern world; nay, the sum-total of the world's thinking and its blazing light should be brought to bear upon it.

In the history of man, it is only some 10,000 years ago that he conceived the idea of certain divinities as ruling his destiny. The stars in the sky, the animals in the wood, the birds in the air, the reptiles of earth contained supernatural beings endowed with the power to do harm, and all over the world man worshipped these deities, and by sacrifices and chants and religious practices and ritual and dancing tried to ward off the evil. Some 5,000 years later, that is, only 5,000 years ago, in Mesopotamia or thereabouts, and also in India, man for the first time in recorded history came to believe that it was not a thousand deities, but one Supreme Being, the Brahman, the Absolute, the Creator, Ram or Rahim, by whatever name you call or miscall Him, which was the *one* object of worship. After a prolonged tribulation of the spirit came this great discovery, probably the greatest single discovery in the history of man.† It is greater than the discovery of zero, greater than the discovery of fire, of iron, of relativity, of any known thing. The concept itself is unique; it has a mysterious and compelling power; it revivifies broken spirits, it gives meaning to life, it makes man see that which he cannot see, makes man hear what he cannot hear, makes man know what he cannot know; it does not depend upon science and its changing moods; it is an eternal concept, not liable to change, decay or imperfection. The message has often come to man through the vibrant spirit of a sensitive soul and one among the elect was Muhammad. The history of his quest, his mental agony and final illumination, is to be found in the Qur'án, and the Book is full of that inward perception of Truth which shows practically the history of man's cognition to God.

*When the sun is overthrown,
And when the stars fall,
And when the hills are moved,
And when the camels big with young are abandoned,
And when the wild beasts are herded together,
And when the seas rise,
And when souls are reunited,
And when the girl-child that was buried alive is asked
For what sin she was slain,
And when the pages are laid open,
And when the sky is torn away,
And when hell is lighted,
And when the garden is brought nigh,*

† Many of the wrong conclusions reached at in this article have resulted out of the fundamental mistake by the author, like other modern thinkers (Muslims and non-Muslims alike), that man's belief in One God was a latter growth of his belief in certain deities, viz., stones, trees, animals, stars, etc. The Qur'anic view of the history and origin of religion is that the concept of God was not a "discovery" but a "revelation". Even among the present-day historians the question is still under debate whether or not the worship of God was preceded by worship of nature. According to W. Schmidt, for instance, the worship of God is a "revival" of the earliest religion of mankind, and not a latter-day "innovation". Ed.

*(Then) every soul will know what it hath made ready,
Oh, but I call to witness the planets,
The stars which rise and set,
And the close of night,
And the breath of morning
That this is in truth the word of an honoured messenger,
Mighty, established in the presence of the Lord of the
Throne,
(One) to be obeyed, and trustworthy. . . .*

The belief in the existence of God is based upon experience, it cannot be proved, nor can it be disproved. Therefore, it has stood the test of time. Not so the works of reason or knowledge or science. The postulates, hypotheses, theories and "facts" of science are in their very essence capable of change, but the belief in God is one and unchangeable and immediate and intuitive. As I have said before, to those who believe in it, it is the greatest single discovery of man. It is *not* an invention.

But such truth can only be communicated through an imperfect instrument, language. Language is human, variable, subject to change. No language can be read or understood for more than 5,000 or 10,000 years. We have many writings of man on earth the meanings whereof are forgotten. It is difficult to believe that the language of the Qur'án will be read and understood by man in the year 10,000 A.H. or 10,000 C.E. And philological studies make it perfectly clear that the meanings of words, their nuances and shades, are subject to evolutionary change. No language remains static. The evocative power of words and phrases increases and decreases; it is not a constant factor, it is one of the known variables. Whence it is clear that the very meanings of the words, phrases, idioms, metaphors and imagery of the Qur'án have changed, are changing and will go on changing, until in course of time maybe they can no longer be fully comprehended. But we Muslims believe that the central message will last longer than its language, and that is the belief in God. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away" (Matthew 24, 35). Therefore, to me it is clear that we cannot go "back" to the Qur'án, we have to go "forward" with it. I wish to *understand* the Qur'án as it was understood by the Arabs of the time of the Prophet, only to *interpret* it and apply it to my conditions of life and to believe in it, so far as it appeals to me as a 20th century man. I cannot be called upon to live in the desert, to traverse it on camel-back, to eat locusts, to indulge in vendetta, to wear a beard and a cloak, and to cultivate a pseudo-Arab mentality, just as I cannot be called upon to believe in the details of the prescriptions of the Qur'án. I must distinguish between its real message and the imagery it employs. I must distinguish between poetic truth and factual truth. I must distinguish between the husk and the kernel of religion. I am bound to understand and accept it as a modern man, and not as one who lived centuries ago. I respect authority, but cannot accept it in the matter of conscience.

Islam is based upon the Qur'án, and the Qur'án is to be interpreted in its historical setting and on chronological principles. We must first study the main principles of Judaism and Christianity before approaching Islam. It is only when Judaism and Christianity are understood fully in their historical setting that the message of the Prophet and its meaning becomes clear.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The six principles which are necessary for a modern reinterpretation of Islam are as follows:⁸

- I Study of History of Religions.
- II Comparative Religion of the Semitic Races.
- III Study of Semitic languages and philology.
- IV Separation of Law from Religion.
- V Re-examination of *shari'ah* and *kalam*.
- VI Reinterpretation of cosmology and scientific facts.

I. History of Religion

The science of History of Religions is now recognized as an important discipline in many universities. In a recent paper Professor Joseph M. Kitagawa (Chicago) describes *The Nature and Program of the History of Religions Field*.⁹ He shows that the "History of Religions" was formerly called "Comparative Religion". The Department of Comparative Religion works in close collaboration with the Department of Divinity in the University of Chicago. The establishment of the Haskell Lectureship has strengthened the school and such distinguished names as D. B. Macdonald (Hartford Seminary), A. V. Williams Jackson (Columbia), Maurice Bloomfield (Johns Hopkins), Karl Bezold (Heidelberg), Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (Calcutta), H. A. R. Gibb (Oxford), and Louis Massignon (Paris) have served to build up a learned tradition.

Kitagawa proceeds to explain the nature of the discipline and says :

"Obviously, the History of Religions or *Religionsswissenschaft* does not monopolize the study of religions. Normative disciplines, such as theology and philosophy, and descriptive disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology and others, are concerned with various aspects of religions and religious phenomena. At the same time, the History of Religions is not merely a collective title for a number of related studies, such as the history of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and primitive religion, or the comparative studies of doctrines, practices and ecclesiastical institutions of various religions. In short, the History of Religions is neither a normative discipline nor solely a descriptive discipline, even though it is related to both."¹⁰

Another important statement will be found later :

"The work of the Department of Comparative Religion deals with the study of religious origins, the function of religion in the life-development of the race, the development of individual religions, a comparison of the elements of the great religions and with the validity and worth of religion as a function of reality. Time is given to the history of thought in relation to the various phases of the science of religion itself."¹¹

It is this kind of training and study which should form the background for a true appreciation of Islam. This would be a good beginning for our theological students.

II. Semitic religions

Proceeding from these foundational studies we must try to acquire some knowledge of Semitic religions prior to the advent of Moses. And for such a study Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* should be made the starting point. Later an historical study of Judaism, Christianity and Islam should follow. The affinities between Judaism, Christianity and Islam are so numerous and so fundamental that a separate discipline, *The Comparative Science of Semitic Religion*, can easily be created. Such an integrated and comparative study has become a great necessity at present. We have scholars of Christianity with a good knowledge of Islam. We have scholars of Islam who are familiar with Christianity

or Judaism, and we have scholars of Judaism who have mastered either Christianity or Islam ; and some of the languages. But we have few scholars, if any, who have equal familiarity with the principles, the history and later developments of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. A special aspect of the study would be the hybridization of religious ideals. The Ismaili Khojas are hybrids between Islam and Hinduism ; the Nosairis adopt the Christian dogma of the Trinity and engraft it on a form of Islam ; and there must also be Muslim or Jewish sects influenced by their counterparts. The Qur'an and the life of the Prophet would be clearer if such studies are undertaken in a scientific and objective spirit.

III. Comparative Philology of the Semitic languages

We now come to language and its accurate comprehension. The Arabic language must be studied in its philological affinities. It must be clearly realized that Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, etc., belong to the philological group called the Semitic languages. An expert knowledge of Arabic presupposes some familiarity with the other languages in the same group, and a competent knowledge of the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. On this subject the works of the German orientalists Noeldeke, Brockelmann and others will have to be studied with care, so that we may not be misled by the mistakes and guesses of the medieval Arab lexicographers. A brief glance at a standard work, such as A. Jeffery's *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda, 1938), or S. Fraenkel's *Die aramaischen Fremdwörter in Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), to take two familiar examples, would show what advances have been made by European philologists in the last two centuries.¹² For instance, we must no longer consider *furuq* as being derived from the root *faraqa* (to distinguish), but as coming from a Syriac word *paroqa* meaning "deliverer", for Omar was named "The Deliverer" of the Christians from the tyranny of the Muslims. The title was given by Christians who used the Syriac language in a certain chronicle. Such examples can be multiplied.

IV. Separation of Law from Religion

The separation of *civil* law from the *moral* or *religious* law can now no longer be delayed in Islam. We must in the first instance distinguish between the universal moral rules, such as truthfulness, marital purity, honesty, etc., and the particular moral rules, such as the prohibition of the eating of ham and the drinking of wine. The former are enjoined by all religions ; the latter are not. A difference of emphasis is clearly indicated in such cases.

And then we must deal with law. The first task is to separate logically the dogmas and doctrines of religion from the principles and rules of law. To me it is an axiom that the essential faith of man is something different from the outward observance of rules ; that moral rules apply to the conscience, but that legal rules can be enforced only by the State. Ethical norms are subjective ; legal rules are objective. The inner life of the spirit, the "Idea of the Holy", must to some extent be separated from the outward forms of social behaviour. The separation is not simple ; it will even be considered un-Islamic. But the attempt at a rethinking of the *shari'ah* can only begin with the acceptance of this principle.

Hence, new categories of the legality of actions must be laid down. We have the classical *shari'ah* values [*al-ahkam al-khamsa* — *fard* (compulsory), *mandub* (recommended), *mubah* (permitted), *makruh* (reprehensible), *haram* (forbidden)] ; to them must be added actions which are outside

the realm of *shari'ah* but which, under certain circumstances, may nevertheless be perfectly lawful according to the law of the civil courts; for instance, the application of civil law in Turkey, civil marriage and divorce, company law, the law of insurance, the law of the air, hire-purchase agreements, international financial transactions, involving payment and receipt of interest, government loans, and the like. The sanctity attached to the law administered in the courts of the country and by specialized tribunals, such as those of income-tax or revenue or industrial disputes, may, in the eyes of a Muslim, be of a slightly different character; nevertheless, there should be, and can be, acceptance of the secular law in principle.¹³ This has happened in Judaism. Rabbi Ignaz Maybaum says: "We did not leave the Torah, but the Torah, as far as it is civil and criminal law, ceased to function in our lives the moment we became citizens of the countries of the Western Civilization."¹⁴

One result of such analysis would be on the constitution of a country. According to Islam, God is the owner of everything; He is the true sovereign in a State. Such a theory would be impossible in the modern world, and the only workable principle is as laid down by numerous modern democratic constitutions, namely, that the people of a country are sovereign within their own domain. If religion is gradually freed from the shackles of civil law, and law (*qanun*) is allowed to grow and develop freely, Muslim society is bound to progress as rapidly as is the case in Turkey.

Religion should place emphasis on devotion to God, cleanliness of spirit, orderliness of life, and not be enmeshed in the minutiae of particular do's and don'ts. Apart from everything else, the Islamic virtues of generosity, humility, brotherliness, courage and manliness should be taught by examples drawn from early Muslim history. Additionally, the ethics and morality of Islam should be fortified by the teaching of the ethical and philosophical teachers of the modern world. We cannot make the Qur'an a book "which imprisons the living word of God in a book and makes tradition an infallible source. . ." The Rabbis "do not listen to their conscience, they consult law books."¹⁵ So do the religious mentors of Islam.

V. Re-examination of shari'ah and kalam (theology)

The theology of Islam must be re-examined in all its aspects, and modern philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, psychology and logic should be applied to formulate and restate its essential dogmas. The scholastic theology of Islam (*ilm al-kalam*) in its various aspects has not been substantially restated since the days of al-Ghazali. The current stream of European thought; the great advance made by Protestant thinkers from Luther downwards, and by the scholastics from St. Thomas Aquinas and Suarez down to Maritain and Berdyaev; and the speculations of Jewish and other thinkers of the modern world must be used with discrimination to fortify and restate Islamic theological principles.¹⁶

VI. Reinterpretation of cosmology and scientific facts

Wherever the ancient scriptures or traditions speak of natural phenomena or scientific facts, their dogmatic character should be questioned. The passages should be interpreted and accepted, modified or rejected, in terms of modern science, including anthropology, biology, physics, mathematics, chemistry and medicine. The concepts of the world, time and the universe have changed radically since the days of Copernicus. Islam must take heed of these changes and scientific absurdities should be removed from the fabric of religion.

For instance, great emphasis need not be laid on the virgin birth of Jesus, or the descriptions of Heaven and Hell in the Qur'an.¹⁷ Their literal truth need not be accepted, their poetic truth is cardinal and sufficient. The spiritual beauty and strength of fasting can be emphasized without insisting on its hide-bound prescriptions. Throughout the Arab East, during Ramadhan, the night is treated as if it was meant for feasting, visiting friends, attending music festivals, watching libidinous dances, and wasting time and money. Perhaps an insistence on austerity and elasticity in ritual would be more in consonance with the spirit of the faith.

SUBSIDIARY PRINCIPLES

When a rule is laid down in the Qur'an or *shari'ah*, it is necessary to determine whether it is a rule of law or a rule of ethics. If it is a rule of law, the State should enforce it; if it is a rule of ethics, the State cannot enforce it. Once it is determined in accordance with the foregoing principles that there is a clear rule of law laid down in the Qur'an, the question assumes importance. The law of God, it is said, cannot be disobeyed. This statement, it is respectfully submitted, can no longer be accepted. Law can be changed, but religion is more permanent.

In order to examine a clear dictate of the Qur'an, such as the prohibition of wine or of ham, we must follow a certain procedure. The procedure submitted is as follows:

(1) What was the rule of custom before Islam?

A proper examination of all the existing evidence is necessary as a preliminary to the assessment of the Prophetic reform. A mere reliance on Muslim writers is not enough; we have also to consider pre-Islamic literature, inscriptions, documents (including papyri), evidence from the Semitic dialects, Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic, Greek, Latin and any other sources. The inquiry can only be limited by the resources of 20th century scholarship.

(2) How did the Prophet try to reform it?

The exact circumstances of the origin of doctrines such as *waqf*, food and drink, prayer and ablutions, fasting and alms-giving would be revealing. The true interpretation of Qur'anic verses, studies in the chronological order, with all the *apparatus criticus* of Semitic philology, will have to be employed. The authenticity and antiquity of *hadith* will have to be investigated afresh; the authority of ancient scholars and the Imams cannot be accepted as final, and without reservation.

(3) What were the results of such reform?

The case of women may be taken as an illustration. The law of marriage in Islam, with certain important reservations, is beneficial to women; and so is the law of inheritance. Why is it that almost everywhere in Islamic countries women have been denied rights over immovable property by custom? That is so in India, Indonesia, Egypt, Persia and North Africa. And what is more disturbing is that not only is woman denied her Qur'anic rights but she is considered *inferior* to man and not fit for certain political rights. Travel in Muslim countries demonstrates the painful fact that woman is considered the plaything of man and seldom a life-companion, co-worker, or helpmate. It is not enough to brush this aside by saying that a particular practice is un-Islamic or contrary to the spirit of Islam. It is necessary to face facts, to go to the root of the matter, to give up wrong principles and interpretations, and to re-educate the people. The Qur'anic verse, "Men are in charge of women, because God hath made one of them to excel the other,"¹⁸ should be reinterpreted as

purely local and applicable only for the time being. Its wider application should be reconsidered, and if that is not enough, it should be held to be a rule of social conduct no longer applicable in modern life.

(4) How were the rules interpreted and applied in the various schools of law in the succeeding centuries ?

The above two rules are closely connected. Contemporary sources, particularly independent and critical accounts, will have to be scrutinized to discover what the immediate results were, and the historical evolution of the doctrines will have to be examined. Were the commands obeyed in the letter and the spirit in the succeeding centuries? Were they misunderstood or changed or distorted? Were they used for political or personal ends? These are some of the questions that arise.

(5) What is the present state of the law ? How far does it fall short of the highest norms fixed by modern juristic thinking ? In what way can the rules be amended, repealed, or sustained so as to conform to modern concepts of social justice and to promote the social well-being of the Muslim community as an integral part of society in general ?¹⁹

These are questions having particular reference to law ; a similar process can be applied to theological and moral rules. If the complete fabric of *shari'ah* is examined in this critical manner, it is obvious that in addition to the orthodox and stable pattern of religion, a newer "protestant" Islam will gradually arise in conformity with conditions of life in the 20th century, and cutting away the dead wood of the past. We need not bother about nomenclature, but if some name has to be given let us call it "Liberal Islam".

RESULTS

The greatest gift of the modern world to man is freedom — freedom to think, freedom to speak, freedom to act. This freedom is circumscribed by law. Law says that the freedom of each man is limited by the equal freedom of every other man. Therefore, you cannot speak ill of another man : this would be libel. And you cannot speak ill of the State, for this would be sedition. Criticism is distinguished from libel and sedition. The limits of proper criticism and unfounded accusations amounting to libel and sedition are laid down with precision. But apart from this, the modern age insists on liberty of thought, expression and action.

And what does Islam do, so far as religious doctrine is concerned? It closes the Gate of Interpretation.²⁰ It lays down that legists and jurisconsults are to be divided into certain categories, and no freedom of thought is allowed. Iqbal and Abdur Rahim amongst recent Indian writers have rebelled against this doctrine, and yet no one ventures to face the wrath of the 'ulema. Recently, some two years ago, there were disturbances in Pakistan and an inquiry was instituted. The Chief Justice of Pakistan questioned several 'ulema regarding Islam and its essential tenets. And, according to his analysis, some of the 'ulema were, in the opinion of their fellow-'ulema, unbelievers.²¹ Such is the degree to which fossilization of thought has taken place in our faith. Islam, in its orthodox interpretation, has lost the resilience needed for adaptation to modern thought and modern life. Humayun Kabir, in a recent article, says : "The bewildering complexity of the modern age demands a faith that is rational in nature and universal in content. Those who are theists find in God a natural focus of universal meaning. Even those who are not believers may find purpose in the concept of

human dignity. Truth, beauty and goodness are formulations of values larger and more permanent than the individual self. Identification with them inspires men to acts of supreme courage and sacrifice. Our knowledge of the external world is continually expanding. This must be matched by increasing knowledge about our own selves. Never has the Socratic dictum that knowledge is virtue been truer than today."

And again, "Scientific advancement has placed in man's hand the key to the solution of the problem of want and misery. It is now within our power to conquer hunger and disease. It is equally within our power to destroy human society and, indeed, the physical world. Knowledge as such is neutral. Whether our knowledge will be used for destruction or for creative purposes will depend upon the faith which inspires us. Our faith can no longer be based on revelation or mystery, but it must transcend the limitations of the self. A rational understanding of the nature of the external world and of the human personality, toleration for divergent points of view, and imaginative identification with our fellow men through understanding and compassion are the essential ingredients of a faith which alone can sustain our hopes in the troubled and complex world of today."²²

A striking testimony to the petrification of free thinking in Islam comes from Rabbi Ignaz Maybaum in *The Jewish Mission*.²³ He is a Progressive Jew, and in defending his position he says that the Jews did not leave the Torah ; but the Torah, so far as civil and criminal law are concerned, has ceased to function in the life of modern Jews. "In Islam, not in Judaism, revelation is conceived as law." When modern Rabbis say that not a single law can be abrogated, they are more like the 'ulema of Islam than the teachers of Judaism, the Rabbis. He goes on to say that Islam taught a rational civilization to barbaric masses. "But it does it for a price. Nobody is allowed freedom. Islam is religious totalitarianism." True Judaism cannot do without freedom.

And it is permissible to add that true Islam cannot thrive without freedom of thought in every single matter, in every single doctrine, in every single dogma. Just as Luther broke down the barriers of dogma in Christianity, and Progressive Jewry has sought to bring a reformed Judaism to the Jews, so also Liberal Islam must be recognized and given its place by the orthodox. If orthodoxy is respected by us, how can it be that a liberal interpretation of the faith is considered tantamount to disbelief, *kafir*? It must be firmly asserted, no matter what the 'ulema say, that he who sincerely asserts that he is a Muslim, is a Muslim, and no one has the right to question his beliefs and no one has the right to excommunicate him. That dread weapon the *fatwa* of *takfir* is a ridiculous anachronism. It recoils on the author, without admonishing or reforming the errant soul. Belief is a matter of conscience, and this is the age which recognizes freedom of conscience in matters of faith. What may be said after proper analysis is that a certain person's opinions are wrong, but not that "he is a *kafir*".

Jawaharlal Nehru says : "We have had great religions and they have had an enormous effect on humanity. Yet, if I may say so with all respect and without meaning any ill to any person, these very religions, in the measure that they made the mind of man static, dogmatic and bigoted, have had, to my mind, an evil effect. The things they said may be good but when it is claimed that the last word has been said, society becomes static."²⁴ It is my belief in common with many others that Islam has ceased to be dynamic ; it has ceased to lead people in the right direction in these stirring times and a new interpretation of its tenets is an urgent necessity. The challenge should be accepted by Muslims.

It must be realized that many religious practices have become lifeless ritual ; that large numbers of decent Muslims have ceased to find solace or consolation in prayer and fasting ; that decent books on religion are not being written ; that women are badly treated economically and morally, and that political rights are denied to them even in fairly advanced countries, by the *fatwas* of reactionary 'ulema; that Muslims, even where they constitute the majority in a country, are often economically poor, educationally backward and spiritually bankrupt ; that the beneficial laws of early Islam have in many instances fallen behind the times ; that the futile attempt to plant an Islamic theocracy in a rising modern country or fashion life after the pattern of early Islam is doomed to failure.

And finally, that the time for heart-searching has come. Islam must be reinterpreted, or else its traditional form will perish.

In a recent issue of the *Illustrated London News*, I read with great emotion : " Yet at this season we are reminded that close on 2,000 years ago, in a far more cruel age even than ours, a poor Jewish woman, taking shelter for the night with her husband in the stable of an overcrowded inn, gave birth to a Child named Jesus, whose life and teaching changed the course of history, and whom those who knew Him best, and countless millions of others since who have received their testimony, believed to have been divine. ' And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth '. The whole teaching of this Man, whether viewed as divine or human -- and every recorded act of His life and death underlined that teaching -- was that only by love and self-renunciation can men attain to happiness in this world and eternal life in some other. This teaching was partly based on the profound religion and philosophy of the ancient Hebrews, but the greater part of it was completely new and personal to Jesus Himself. It ran counter to the prevailing belief and practice of every State of the Orient and of the new Mediterranean Empire which was bidding at that moment for universal dominion and which already ruled the world into which Jesus was born. Its exposition led its lonely teacher to a felon's death of torment and shame on the Cross and the apparent complete triumph of the forces of cruelty, envy, malice and misrepresentation. And in the hour when, crucified in the place called Calvary, true to His life's teaching, Jesus, looking down from the Cross, was heard to murmur, ' Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do '. " ²⁵

And I said to myself, Islam came into the world by the teaching of an Arab living in Mecca. He was a poor man, working for his livelihood. His name was Muhammad. He married an elderly lady, Khadija, who found him faithful and honest. He was gentle, kind and truthful, called *al-amīn* by his neighbours. He was given to introspection and used to retire into a cave and pray for days. And at forty the call came. God spoke to him and he spoke to us. The Qur'an is a testimony of his faith in God. Muhammad was a man like us ; but the word was the word of God.

*All Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds,
The Beneficent, the Merciful,
Master of the Day of Judgment.
Thee (alone) do we worship ; Thee (alone) do we ask
for help.
Show us the right path,
The path of those whom Thou hast favoured ;
Not (the path) of those who earn thy anger nor of those
who go astray.* ²⁶

The Prophet spoke to us as a man to men ; not as a God to his worshippers. He taught us humility, truthfulness, brotherliness, courage, generosity, fidelity, chivalry. He said, " O people, hearken to my words and *understand* them. Verily, every Muslim is a brother to every other Muslim.... " And the Prophet said, " O Lord, have I delivered Thy Message? " and the people said, " Yes, O God. " ²⁷ The Prophet gave us this noble message, honoured be his name. Let us proceed to *understand* it for today, not as it was in the past, nor as it may be in the future.

I believe in God. I believe that the universe is created by God, and that there is order in the universe. The belief in God and the belief in the orderliness of the universe are the two fundamentals of my faith. I believe that Muhammad, blessed be his name, was a Messenger of God, that he was neither greater nor lesser than the other great teachers of the world. " We believe in God and that which is revealed unto us and that which was revealed unto Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which Moses and Jesus received, and that which the Prophets received from their Lord. *We make no distinction* between any of them, and unto Him we have surrendered. " ²⁸ I am profoundly moved by the teaching of the Upanishads, the Buddha, Moses and Jesus. I respect all religions and faiths. I revere the great doctors of Islam, but do not follow them blindly. My faith is my own, a faith fashioned by my own outlook on life, by my own philosophy, my own experience, my own intuition. I give to every Muslim, and indeed to every man, the right to fashion his own faith -- " To you, your religion ; to me, mine. " I do not believe that the Gate of Interpretation is bolted and barred.

I believe that the Qur'an is a message from God. It is the voice of God heard by Muhammad. Muhammad gave it to us in the words of Muhammad, in the speech of Muhammad, the Arabic language. I believe that in every age, in every clime, these words must be interpreted afresh and understood anew. I believe it is the duty of every Muslim to understand this message for himself. I do revere the great interpreters of Islam, but I crave their indulgence if I cannot fully share their beliefs, for belief is at bottom a matter of individual conscience. I cannot agree that they are the keepers of my conscience.

I believe that law must be separated from religion. I believe that science and religion are discrete things. I believe in truth, beauty and goodness as applied to life. I believe in the virtues of brotherliness, manliness, fidelity, generosity and humility. I believe in prayer, but not in prescribing and enforcing a soulless ritual which has no meaning left in modern life.

As I am a Muslim, I am profoundly affected by the richness and beauty of the " three languages " of Islam. First, Arabic, and then Persian and Turkish ; and all the other languages which sing the praises of the Lord and the love of the Prophet. I am moved by the architecture, the art, the music, the poetry and the craftsmanship of Muslims all over the world. I am aware of a sense of kinship with them which is ever-present in my soul and consciousness. I admire the superb hospitality and the exquisite courtesy of the cultured Muslim. I believe that Islam is a religion for all sorts and conditions of men, for the prince and the beggar, for the ignorant and the learned, for the beginner as well as for al-Biruni and Ibn Khaldun.

The Prophet once passed by certain people and he greeted them and tarried, and said, " What are you? " and they said, " We are believers ". And he said, " And have you any proof for it? " And they said, " Yea ". And he said, " Bring it ". And they said, " We thank God in times of

prosperity ; and we are patient in adversity, and we resign ourselves to our fate." And the Prophet said, "Verily then, you are believers."²⁹ And I claim to be one of these humble wayfarers by the roadside.

Islam is a religion of humanity — not the *only* religion of humanity. It is a way of life. It proclaims the unity of God. It honours all the great prophets. Its teachings are derived from Judaism and Christianity ; Moses and Jesus are prophets of Islam. It inculcates the love of the Prophet Muhammad. He it was who made the barbaric Arab into a civilized man. He was the most lovable of men. He taught brotherliness, humility, charity, compassion, truth and service. He said he was only a man, not an angel or spirit of God. He was a Messenger of God, not an incarnation.

Islam emphasizes that there is order in the Universe. It lays great stress on truth, beauty and goodness, the Platonic values. As to truth, few civilizations have served science and philosophy as Islam has. It produced a magnificent civilization, translated books from the Greek and Sanskrit, and Islamic science was the father of modern science. As to beauty, it advanced art and music and architecture. As to goodness, it proclaimed and *practised* the brotherhood of man. It thus paved the way for the modern concept of democracy. It laid the foundations of International Law.

After serving the cause of civilization for some seven centuries, Islam came under a shadow. Its spirit was throttled by fanaticism, its theology was gagged by bigotry, its vitality was sapped by totalitarianism. For the last two centuries efforts have been made to free it from its shackles. It is as if Islam lies imprisoned by a tyrannical government where the writ of *habeas corpus* does not run. Let us release this bright spirit of joy, compassion, fraternity, tolerance and reasonableness, and modern man will be the happier for its presence.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Louis Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 4th ed., Paris, 1955, p. 428.
- 2 *Civilization on Trial*, London, 1953, p. 156.
- 3 G. F. Piper, *Islam and the Netherlands*, Leiden, 1957, p. 5.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 18, after C. Snouck Hurgronje.

- 5 Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*, 2nd ed., 1955, p. 21.
- 6 This definition is attributed to Abu Hanifa. See also Cadi Nu'man, *Da'a'im 'l-Islam* (The Pillars of Islam), Vol. I, p. 3, Cairo, 1951.
- 7 Marmaduke Pickthall, *Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, London, 1930, Surah LXXXI, pp. 636-37.
- 8 See my two papers : *Law and Religion in Islam*, Journal, Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1953, pp. 29-48 ; and *Islamic Law and Theology in India*, *Middle East Journal*, 1954, pp. 163-83.
- 9 *The Nature and Program of the History of Religious Field*, reprinted from *Divinity School News* (University of Chicago), November, 1957, pp. 13-25.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 12 *Islamic Law and Theology in India*, op. cit., pp. 181-82.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.
- 14 *The Jewish Mission* (James Clarke, London. No date. Preface dated 1949), p. 49.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 16 *Islamic Law and Theology in India*, loc. cit.
- 17 The Qur'an, Surah 55.
- 18 The Qur'an, 4 : 34.
- 19 *Islamic Law and Theology in India*, op. cit., p. 183.
- 20 A standard, orthodox discussion of the subject will be found in Muhammad Rashid Rida, *al-wahyu 'l-Muhammadi*, 5th Edition, Cairo, 1375/1955. For a more advanced and progressive view, falling very short of the thesis advanced by me, see Hasan Ahmad al-Khatib, *Fiqhu 'l-Islam*, Cairo (Sayyid 'ali Hafiz), 1371/1952, especially pp. 343-end.
- 21 *Report of the Inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to inquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953*, Lahore, 1954. Popularly known as "The Munir Report". Discussed in Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton, 1957), p. 230 esp. 233.
- 22 "Faiths for a Complex World," *The American Scholar*, 1957, p. 419 sq.
- 23 London, James Clarke & Co., p. 94 sqq.
- 24 "What is Culture?", *Orient Review*, Vol. 3, No. 5, May 1957, p. 9.
- 25 Arthur Bryant in *Illustrated London News*, December 21, 1957, p. 1068.
- 26 Pickthall's rendering of the *Fatiha*, with slight changes.
- 27 The Prophet's Last Sermon, translated literally, Journal of British Royal Asiatic Society, 1953, pp. 37-38.
- 28 The Qur'an, 2 : 136.
- 29 *Da'a'im*, Vol. I, p. 267.

THE DIVINE DIVAN

71

He is your Lord, Never-Slumbering !
 You pass your life, never slumbering
 The manifold Mercies He sends, Never-Slumbering !
 Or the million-million years, away beyond your slumbering,
 That flow as a mighty river majestic,
 Bathed in serenity.
 Ah ! think of the Glorious-Giver, Majestic,
 Robed in Eternity !
 Think ! think and rejoice for the Loved One is nigh,
 Guiding thee surely with voice that is soft as a sigh
 Of supreme satisfaction.
 Listen and follow His Word with action !
 So shalt thou hear the divine benediction :
 "Rest in thy Lord, Never-Slumbering !
 Ah ! wake and rejoice in His love, never slumbering !"

72

The seasons pass. The winter wears its way.
 Darkness departs and giveth place to day.
 So, far above our world, above our thought,
 Shines the Eternal Radiance with no darkness fraught.
 Ah ! loved God, could we but see,
 We have no other Helper, only Thee.
 Thou art Sufficient for us, our soul's Rest,
 The quietness of unassailable tranquillity.
 Let us, then, grasp this thought,
 Light without darkness fraught,
 Thou art our all, nought have we else, nor do require.
 To do Thy Will, Belovéd, humbly we do aspire.
 Make plain Thy Guidance and bestow Thy Grace.
 These will suffice to sanctify the human race.
 Thou madest man.
 By Thy blest Grace he can
 Attain the full perfection of Thy perfect Plan.

William Bashyr Pickard.

THE SUDAN TODAY

The Sudan is now a free, independent and democratic republic. Yet, during the first half of this century the country was subject to foreign rule under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

The Condominium, theoretically a partnership between Britain and Egypt, was in practice an entirely British administration.

The country's advance to full freedom was by three remarkably swift and clear stages. First came the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement that gave the Sudanese self-government in 1954. Then there was the solemn climacteric of 1st January 1956, when the hoisting of the Sudanese tricolour marked the birth of the new Republic. Finally came the seizure of power by the Sudanese Army on 17th November 1958.

The peaceful *coup d'état*, led by superior army officers, gave the country a completely new government under General Ibrahim Abboud, who became President of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and Prime Minister of the Sudan.

Three Constitutional Orders established the basis of this new régime. The first confirmed that the sovereignty of the Republic was vested in the people, and that all legislation was enacted in their name. The second named the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces as the nation's highest constitutional authority. By the third Order, the Supreme Council delegated all its legislative, judicial and executive powers, and the command of the Armed Forces, to its President.

International recognition of the new Government quickly followed. Among the first to acknowledge it were the United Arab Republic and Great Britain, the two countries who have maintained close bonds of friendship with the Sudan although their long partnership in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium ended in 1956.

In his capacity as President, General Abboud has declared his country's acceptance of its obligations as a member of the United Nations Organization and of the Arab League, and that it will honour all the agreements and conventions into which the Sudan has entered since the achievement of independence.

At home the primary tasks have been declared as preservation of the country's independence, the maintenance of political stability, and the raising of living standards by restoration of the national economy.

In foreign affairs, the new régime welcomes international co-operation. At the same time, however, General Abboud has emphasized that the Sudan will reject anything that is likely to detract from the country's complete independence.

Geography of the Sudan

The Republic of the Sudan is easily the largest of the Arab and African States. With nearly a million square miles under the blue, yellow and green of its national flag, the country's geographical position long ago made it the bridge between the Middle East and Central Africa.

It is an ancient land, with a recorded history reaching back five thousand years. But the modern Sudan is not given to dreaming about her past, eventful as it has been. Now she is looking ahead and building for the future.

As with the plans of other peoples, those of the Sudanese are conditioned by certain immutable factors peculiar to the country. In the Sudan's case these are climate and physiology.

Essentially the country presents a picture of huge rolling

plains and widely scattered hills, contained on the east by the dense mountain heights of Ethiopia and the Red Sea hills, and on the west by the Marra mountains overlooking French Equatorial Africa.

The Republic's southern border is flanked by the Lake Plateau of Central Africa, with Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo her nearest neighbours. Indeed, the Sudan has no lack of neighbours since her frontiers march with those of eight other territories. Due north, well over a thousand miles away, lies her northern border — facing Egypt.

The sands of her north-western frontier run into those of the Libyan Desert while on her north-eastern boundary, between Eritrea in the east and the Sudan-Egyptian border, lies the 500-mile Red Sea coast and Port Sudan.

Although the climate of this giant country is mainly continental, its variations are as remarkable as the range of soils and crops found there.

Dividing the land from north to south is the Nile, the great African river that may well be the longest in the world since it travels considerably over 4,000 miles on its way to the Mediterranean Sea.

The Nile starts its journey in Uganda, drawing most of its water from Lake Victoria (the world's largest freshwater lake). From Nimule, the frontier point at which the river enters the Sudan, its main-stream is called the Bahr al-Jabal. If one were to follow its course from Nimule in the south to Wadi Halfa in the north — where the main Nile enters Egypt — one would cover 2,150 river miles and pass from a green world of luxuriant tropical forest, watered by up to 60 inches of rain, to a waste of sandy desert where rainfall is almost unknown.

On the way one would notice such features as the rapids at Fola, just north of Nimule and one of many potential sources of hydro-electric power; and the amazing Sudd Region where the Bahr al-Jabal follows a winding, 400-mile course through swamplands covering thousands of miles before resuming its journey as the White Nile.

Largely responsible for this scenic variety are the Sudan's two prevailing winds — north and south. While the dry northerlies fan the parched desert areas of Northern Sudan in particular, the southerlies help to produce the regular rainy season in the south. This is when the two airstreams — dry northerly and damp southerly — meet south of latitude 19 degrees.

Local government

The Sudan has a growing population of about eleven million people, some with origins and ways of life fundamentally different from the rest.

For example, while the tribes in the Southern Sudan are of Negro-Hamitic stock and mostly pagan, a great many inhabitants of the North are of Arabian-Hamitic descent and Muslims like the vast majority of their neighbours.

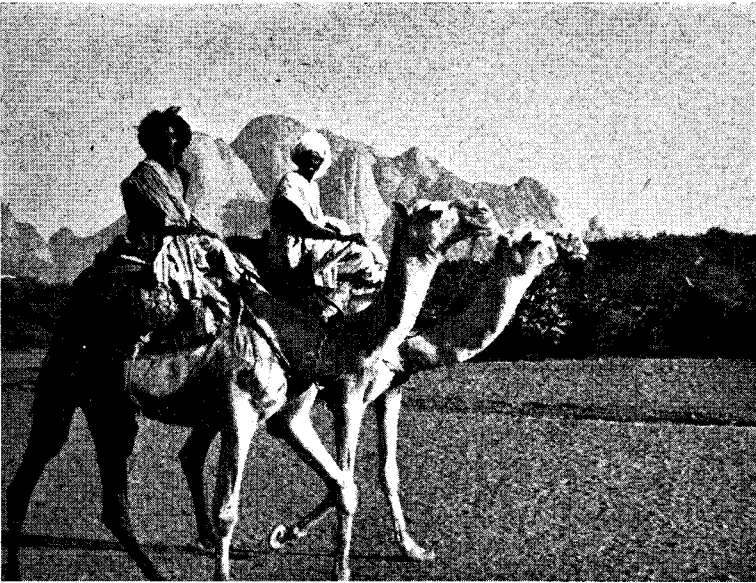
In legislating for the country as a whole the Sudan Government has to consider not only dwellers in the big areas of settled population, but also the wanderers.

Striking examples of the latter are the proud and ancient Beja tribes of the East; the camel and sheep-owning nomadic Arabis of the Central Sudan, and the cattle-owning Baggara of the West.

How to ensure that everybody not only enjoys the benefits of the new order, but also has an opportunity of sharing in the responsibilities and helping to build the nation's

(continued on page 22)

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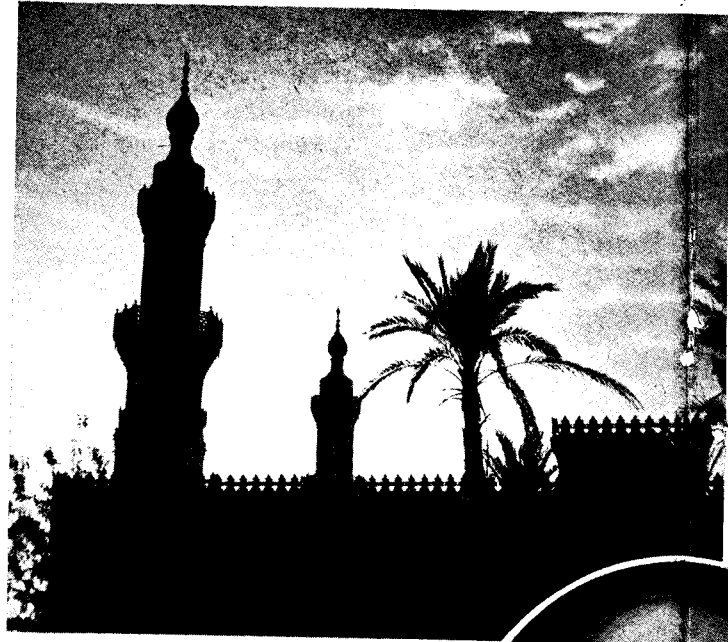


Above: The Hadendawa of Kassala in North-Eeastern Sudan

Centre top left: A Mosque in the Sudan

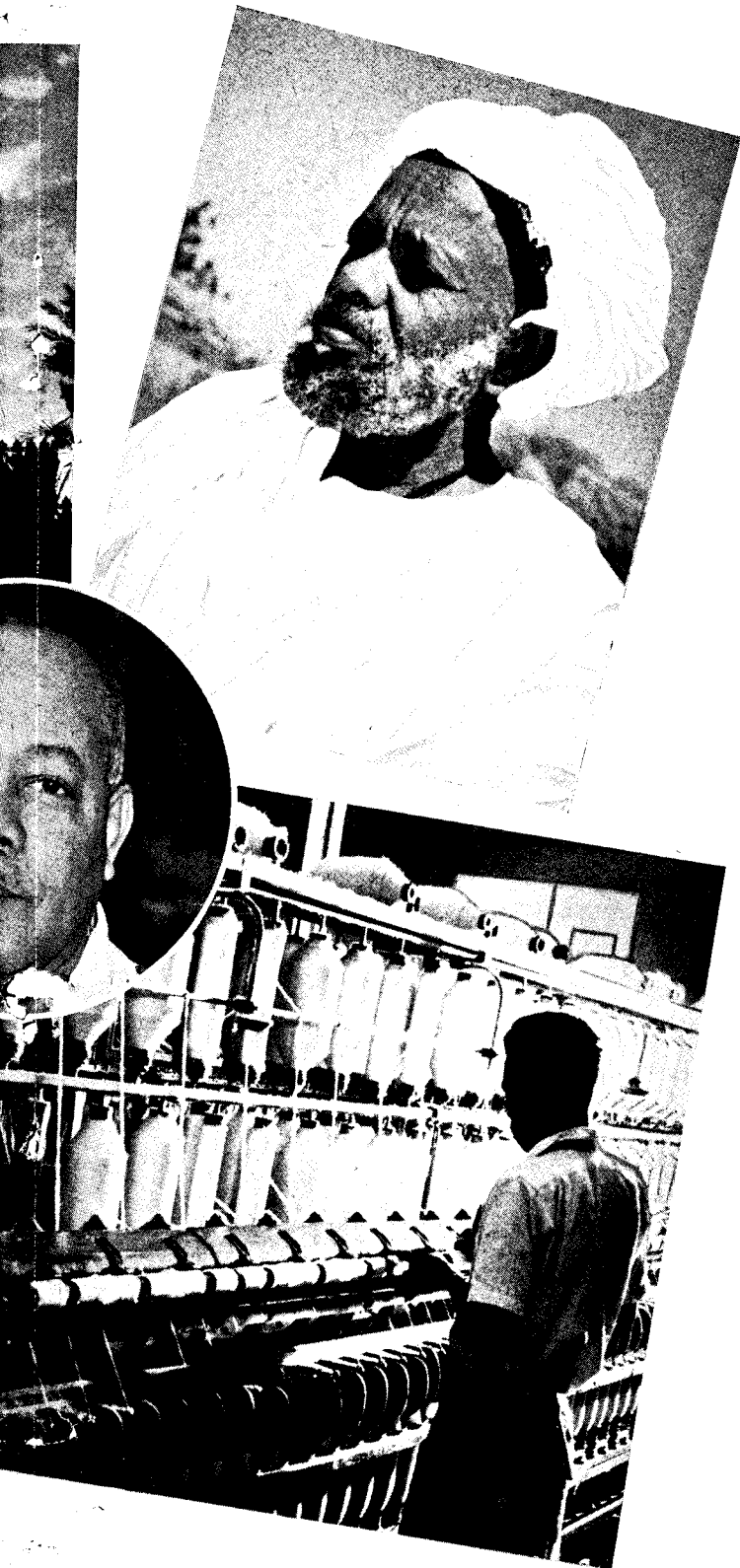
Centre bottom left: Art of the Sudan

Centre: General Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Republic of the Sudan



Students in the library, University of Khartoum

the Sudan



Above: A tropical forest in the Southern Sudan. The Imatong Mountains, on the Uganda border, can be seen in the background

*Centre top right: A typical Sudanese
Centre bottom right: Industrial progress in the Sudan*



A young Sudanese being weighed in a Khartoum Health Centre

(continued from page 19)

future in a democratic way? That was the problem. And the answer was — local government. Fortunately a basis already existed in the form of the old Local Government Ordinance of 1951.

This comprehensive law was only the latest of much earlier moves to decentralize government.

With the establishment of independence the new Republic proceeded to develop the institutions of local government both in the North and the South.

Since then the Council of Ministers has declared that the central government will pursue a policy of consolidation and strengthening of local government.

Education

Technical institutes

A key link in the bright chain of Sudanese education is the Khartoum Technical Institute. The buildings and workshops of this institution have risen in Khartoum's Mogren area, about a mile from the centre of the capital.

The Institute offers impressive evidence of the Republic's determination that the challenge of national independence will be met at all levels. KTI has seven departments, covering art, commerce, civil engineering and building, mechanical and electrical engineering and general and further education.

The seventh department is the Secondary Technical School. Although an integral part of the parent body, the school functions in general as a separate unit. The Secondary Technical course lasts four years and prepares students for the Sudan (Cambridge School Certificate) in general and technical subjects.

There are now twelve Secondary and Intermediate Technical Schools spread throughout the Sudan. They are under the direction of the Ministry of Education, which is going ahead with plans to double the number of all schools available in the country.

Universal education is the target, and despite the enormous problems involved the Ministry has already opened a record number of schools since the new Republic was born on 1st January 1956.

At the Khartoum Technical Institute, well-equipped specialist rooms in the School of Engineering block include hydraulics, tele-communications, electrical laboratories and drawing offices.

The three-year post-secondary courses on railways, irrigation, local government and agriculture reflect the country's pressing demand for Sudanese technicians to meet the problems involved in developing a vast and ever-thirsty land.

An important part of the Institute's share in the nationwide expansion of technical training is the provision of teachers, especially for the southern provinces where they are badly needed.

The University of Khartoum

Although Khartoum University only attained full status in July 1956, its origins and high academic tradition are much older than those of Bakht al-Ruda since it stems firstly from the Gordon Memorial College, opened in 1902, and secondly from the 1951 amalgamation of that college with the Kitchener School of Medicine, founded in 1924.

The two bodies became the University College of Khartoum and by special arrangement degrees were conferred by the University of London.

This arrangement ended when an Act of the Sudanese Parliament brought the new University into being with its own chancellor, vice-chancellor and other officers, and gave

it complete autonomy in the management of its affairs.

Now the university's full range of buildings and facilities for student activities compare favourably with those of older foundations elsewhere.

The Sudan is an Arab country and Arabic is the national language, but save for the Departments of Arabic and Islamic Law, the University, in view of certain practical and academic considerations, has adopted English as the most convenient language of instruction in the various faculties which include agriculture, art, economics, engineering, law, medicine, science and veterinary science.

To ensure that all will have opportunities of participating in this aspect of the nation's progress, Khartoum University is open to women undergraduates who work side by side with the men.

The military coup d'état and the Sudan Defence Force

The Sudanese Army is the successor of the Sudan Defence Force (S.D.F.). This force was formed in January 1925, from certain purely Sudanese units of the Egyptian Army, which was evacuated from the Sudan as a result of the mutiny and political unrest of the previous year.

The chief function of the new force was to maintain internal public security and its activities were restricted to occasional patrols by small forces. It was in fact, though not in name, an Armed Constabulary force, which was responsible for the internal security of the country and also for guarding the frontiers.

In spite of its small numbers, the S.D.F. proved itself to be an adequate, efficient and well-disciplined force.

After the establishment of self-government the Sudan Government deliberated on the shape of the new Army and produced a plan which was to be carried out in stages and in which the quality of the force was the prime consideration.

Thus one of the first achievements of the independent Sudan was the expansion and development of the Sudan Defence Force into the new Sudanese Armed Forces. These forces had to shoulder alone the burden of defence and security and at the same time to maintain the prestige and integrity of the country after the foreign forces had withdrawn.

The national characteristics of the Sudanese contributed to the creation of the new balanced force, which was organized in modern formations (companies, battalions and brigades). This force was mobile and flexible and was thus able to move to any operational area within the Sudan and yet leave behind enough troops to meet internal security demands.

The political parties which had governed the Sudan during the previous years had proved incapable of their task. They brought the country to the brink of disaster and dissolution. Corruption was rife and an economic crisis imminent.

On 17th November 1958 the Army, which was on the alert, suddenly intervened and declared the abolition of political parties. The *Qa'id al-'Amm* (Commander-in-Chief), General Ibrahim Abboud, assumed the Presidency at the head of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, and the Premiership of the Government.

The new military régime assumed control of the country smoothly and without bloodshed. This was a remarkable achievement, unanimously acclaimed by all the people of the Sudan. The way has thus been made clear for further development and prosperity.

New currency and economy

Nations wishing to exercise the fullest control over their economy must have their own national currency.

When independence came in 1956 the Sudan was using Egyptian money and some British coins. But a new chapter in her economic history began in April 1957, for in that month the Sudan's own currency was first brought into circulation.

Under the 1956 Currency Act one Sudan pound has a par value of 2.55187 grammes of fine gold. As the standard unit of monetary value, the pound is divided into one hundred equal parts. Each unit is called a piastre. The piastre itself is composed of ten equal units called milliemes.

Altogether five note denominations are now in circulation. They are the 1, 5 and 10 pound values, and those of 25 and 50 piastres respectively.

Now the Republic not only has its own currency, it also also has its own mint. Situated in Khartoum, the buildings of this brand new institution were erected by the Sudan Ministry of Works.

Possession of her own national currency has enabled the Sudan to take her place as an independent member of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and similar world agencies. Most important of all, it has given the Republic effective control of its economic policy.

With the attainment of independence, it was made clear that top priority in the nation's development programme must be given to building the Roseires Dam, the Managil Cotton Scheme Extension and the vitally necessary railway extensions to the Southern and Western Sudan.

These projects retain their importance, but to expedite the restoration of national economy and stability various urgent steps are being taken by the Government. General Abboud announced in January 1959 that these included immediate action on the Sennar Dam hydro-electric scheme.

Since Africa will never be able to supply enough coal for the rising demands of industrial and other power users, Nile hydro-electric projects figure largely in the Sudan's programme.

General Abboud also announced :

- (1) the establishment of two sugar factories ;
- (2) steps to develop coffee growing in Southern Sudan ; and,
- (3) plans to give the Sudan its own merchant fleet, starting with the purchase of four ships.

These measures are all in harmony with the Government's declared economic policy of raising the national standard of living by developing the country's resources to the fullest extent.

As with most other nations, one of the Republic's greatest needs is — capital. To assist foreign investors, as well as those at home, the Government has provided a full economic and trade information service.

Special investment incentives include business profit tax relief, the reduction of import duties on raw materials and preferential railway tariff rates.

Irrigation

The Sudan is still primarily an agricultural country and although rainfall helps to produce some 80 per cent of her crops, the farmer's biggest problem continues to be water.

For centuries the people have cultivated their land with the aid of the manually-worked *shadoof* — a pole with a bucket at one end and a weight at the other. The animal-driven Persian water wheel or *saaqiya* served the same purpose.

Today the *shadoof* and *saaqiya* are still in use, but now they are helped by some 2,000 mechanical pump schemes raising water from the Nile and its tributaries. More than a

million acres of land are being cultivated by pump irrigation alone, and the Republic anticipates extension of the method to another 1½ million acres.

These pump schemes are complementary to the great Jabal Aulia and Sennar Dam projects, of which the latter has done more to revolutionize Sudanese agriculture than any other single enterprise.

Over three miles long, the Jabal Aulia Dam is on the White Nile, 25 miles south of Khartoum. Containing above three thousand million tons of water, it was completed in 1937 and among the many pump irrigation projects it supplies are those run by the White Nile Schemes Board for the Sudan Government.

The Sennar Dam, two miles in length and impounding nearly one thousand million tons of water, stands on the Blue Nile 150 miles to the south of Khartoum. The Blue Nile enters the Sudan from Ethiopia where its main source, Lake Tana, is situated. Long famous for its annual surging floods, this mighty partner of the White Nile acquired a vital new significance for Sudanese agriculture when the Sennar Dam was completed in 1925.

This is because the Sennar brings Nile waters direct to the great Gezira Cotton Irrigation Scheme and in contrast to the other watering methods used, the dam works on the gravity principle. A main canal is fed with the reserves that are locked up by the dam from July to March and the water eventually reaches the fields by way of a complex system of irrigation points.

With the Sennar Dam supplying the water to some 1,800,000 acres of the Gezira and Managil Extension Schemes the Sudan is already going ahead with plans that will give the country a total of 6½ million acres under controlled irrigation. The first step in this direction is another great new reservoir.

This will also be on the Blue Nile, at Roseires, about 100 miles from the Ethiopian border. The Roseires Dam will impound an estimated three thousand million tons of water and is expected, with the Atbara River and Jonglei Canal schemes, to bring a total of four million acres under gravity irrigation.

Cotton

Cotton has been grown in the Sudan for many years. At first, to water their dry land, the people relied upon flush



Spraying cotton crops with insecticide

irrigation. This was about the year 1900.

Typical examples of this primitive form of agriculture still flourish in the Gash and Tokar Deltas of Eastern Sudan, where a single flooding from rain-charged rivers brings the rich silt from which cotton and food crops are grown.

However, it is the Gezira Irrigation Scheme that has given cotton its importance to the Sudan. By transforming an area between the Blue and White Niles south of Khartoum into a million acres of fine cotton fields and food crops, the builders of the Sennar Dam gave the nation the world's largest irrigation cotton project under one management.

From the first a unique feature of the Gezira Scheme has been its tripartite character. Today this is reflected by the arrangement that links the cotton farmers as tenant-cultivators in an equal partnership with the Government, which provides the land and is responsible for dam construction and maintenance, and the Sudan Gezira Board, a public corporation that administers the scheme, makes loans to the tenants when necessary, and markets the produce.

The long staple type of cotton grown in the Gezira is renowned as one of the finest in the world. But once it seemed that the scheme might be destroyed. This was when disease struck the crops. Fortunately, agricultural scientists quickly identified the trouble as diseases they had detected and studied for years before the Gezira blossomed.

Drastic action not only removed the danger, but in doing so revolutionized the scheme by introducing a new, more robust strain of Sudan cotton, and completely changing the cultivation techniques.

Besides the old Gezira Scheme, Gash and Tokar long staple cotton is now grown on the first phase of the Managil Extension amounting to 66,000 acres — the total area of the Managil Extension will eventually be 200,000 acres — and on about 200,000 acres of private estates.

So the total area actually under staple cotton amounts to about 600,000 acres.

Short staple cotton is grown mainly on the rain lands — an area of about 200,000 acres.

The Research Division of the Ministry of Agriculture is now responsible for all agricultural research work in the Sudan, the various comprehensive research stations and for the country's share in such international projects as locust control.

Spraying cotton crops from a helicopter is one of the latest methods adopted by the Republic in its perpetual fight against the cotton leaf hopper (*Jassid*) and other pests. The cultivation of cotton follows a strict rotation, with each tenant farmer planting and harvesting *durra*, millet (the nation's staple food) and fodder crops for his animals, in addition to cotton.

Cotton accounts for more than 60 per cent of the exports of the country and although it will continue for some time as the main cash crop, the Sudan is actively engaged in seeking supplementary cash crops.

Gum arabic

Gum arabic is the second most important export commodity of the Republic of the Sudan. It exudes from hashab (*Acacia senegal*) trees, on tapping. From Port Sudan it goes all over the world, but mainly to Britain and the United States of America. It is the highest dollar earner in the Sudan's export trade. It is used in confectionery, printing, chemicals and textile industries and countless other purposes.

The gum arabic industry is carried out on private enterprise basis. The Governors of the respective provinces organize the allocation of gum gardens and supervise the

gum markets. The Forests Department of the Sudan has recently established a Research Division to conduct research into gum production and culture and to carry out extension



"Tears" of gum arabic being collected from an acacia tree

work to increase quantity and improve quality. The Sudan produces about 92 per cent of the total world production of gum arabic. The annual production is about 50,000 tons — worth now about £5,500,000.

Port Sudan and trade

Most of the Republic's imports and exports pass through Port Sudan. Although it is the nation's only international seaport from a trade viewpoint its position on the busy Red Sea coast could not be better. Indeed, the majority of shipping entering the port consists of ocean-going vessels from all over the world.

The Republic's main imports arrive at Port Sudan and include cotton piece goods, machinery, sugar and petroleum products.

Cotton still dominates the country's long list of exports and is closely followed by such traditional cargoes as gum arabic and dura millet. While there is no doubt that cotton will maintain and improve its commercial position, it is equally clear that the pattern of Sudanese exports is altering as the nation's industrial resources are developed.

The eight cotton-ginning factories owned by the Sudan Gezira Board constitute the world's largest single ginning project. But the Government is determined to strengthen the nation's economy with a diversification policy. Plans for the immediate future include hydro-electric projects on the Nile that will make abundant power available for new industries.

Meanwhile, investigation of the Sudan's mineral resources has confirmed that they include tin and considerable quantities of copper, in addition to the valuable deposits of gold, silver, iron and manganese previously mapped.

Government planning recognized the fact that the Sudan is an under-developed country with scope for the successful growing of rice, rubber, jute, coffee and sugarcane, in addition to the traditional crops. A big forest reservation programme has also been approved.

Livestock

The Sudan is remarkably rich in livestock. Not only has she growing wealth in cattle, sheep, goats, camels, donkeys and horses, but her inland and coastal waters are known to contain over a hundred varieties of fish — many of importance as potential additions to her food supplies and to the existing fish export trade.

Sudanese riverain cattle stocks include some of the finest breeds found in Africa and Asia. In addition to the export of meat and live cattle, sheep and camels, the Sudan has developed an expanding international trade in hides, and sheep, goat and crocodile skins. Much of the credit for this belongs to the Ministry of Animal Resources campaign for better hides and skins.

Health

The provision and maintenance of health and medical services present in the Sudan special problems unknown in more temperate zones. Two things in particular have helped the Republic to meet these problems — and to care for a growing population while doing so. First is the sound medical tradition inherited from the old Kitchener School of Medicine, and second is the steady progress made by the Republic in health matters generally.

Appropriately the most striking example of the latter is in the capital. It is the new 362-bed Khartoum Hospital. Besides being the largest and most up-to-date in the Republic, this teaching institution is the centre of medical training in the Sudan. In the immediate vicinity of the new Khartoum Hospital there exists the old Khartoum Hospital, which consists of 251 beds; a total of 613, both functioning as one unit.

A new Midwives' Training School in Kassala, five dental clinics, a 40-bed maternity hospital at Omdurman, and nine other hospitals were all built during the first two years of Sudanese independence.

Co-operatives

As soon as the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces assumed power it took immediate steps to lower the nation's rising cost of living. In this task it found a particularly valuable ally in the co-operative movement, which now has hundreds of societies flourishing in the country.

A remarkable feature of this movement is that it only started a few years before the Second World War. It began quite spontaneously when farmers in the Northern Sudan realized that their agricultural methods, depending as they did on Nile water raised by *shadoof* and *saaqiya*, were inadequate for the work of providing their growing population with a livelihood.

There was only one answer — pump-irrigation. But the cost of this was far beyond any one farmer's purse. And then, from returning kinsfolk, they heard about the benefits that co-operation had brought to their neighbours in Egypt. Being enterprising people, the Northern farmers lost no time in pooling their slender resources and forming a local co-operative society.

Co-operative agricultural pumping schemes along the Nile are now an important part of the movement which covers the widest area of activities ranging from marketing and credit societies (making loans to farmers and selling their crops) to the Co-operative Wholesale Union (the movement's wholesale agency).

These organizations are actively encouraged by the Government and receive Government financial aid, and it is clear the co-operative societies have an increasingly valuable part to play in developing not only the Sudan's great agricultural potential, but also her new manufacturing enterprises.

There are plans for a number of agricultural projects which will be capable of development on co-operative lines.

The movement has brought great benefits to Nile fishermen who first discovered its value when — by selling their dried fish through a co-operative marketing scheme — they nearly doubled their income.

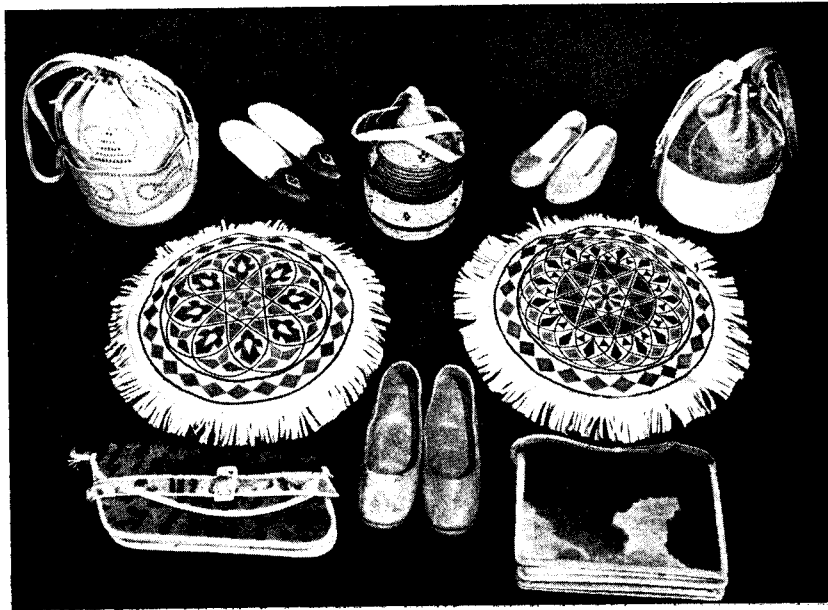
Local crafts

Gold was first discovered in the Red Sea hills of the Sudan about 5,000 years ago. Subsequently it was mined under the Egyptian Fifth Dynasty. The trade became so valuable that a Governor of the "Gold Country of Coptos" was appointed about the year 1450 B.C.

The Sudan still has her gold deposits and her craftsmen continue to practise the ancient skills inherited from their distant ancestors. The exquisitely fashioned ornaments of the Sudanese gold and silversmiths are typical of the high standards maintained by the country's handicraft workers in general.

The same careful work is found among the ivory carvers of Omdurman, who will transform the great yellow tusks of a wild elephant into beautifully designed necklaces, intricately carved cigarette boxes and a variety of small and delicate ornaments. Ivory is also used for the handles of some of the fine ostrich feather fans that are still made.

The Sudan has a considerable reputation for her leather goods, including ladies' handbags, belts, shoes, slippers and Oriental cushions.



Examples of leather and skin goods produced by Sudanese craftsmen

THE QUR'ANIC ECONOMICS

Is Qur'anic Social Order an Utopia? Freedom from Hunger and Worry

By G. A. PARWEZ

It is important to note that by assuming control over the means of production and thereby meeting the basic needs of life, an Islamic State does not become at par with a Communistic State. There is a world of difference between the two. A Communistic State has no inviolable principles to guide or control its activities. An Islamic State is, however, bound irrevocably by inviolable principles given by the Qur'an

The writer of this article

The importance of food in man's life

At birth the newly-born cries for milk to fill its tiny stomach; at the death-bed the dying is helped with something to trickle down his gullet; after death he is said to have exhausted his measure of worldly sustenance. Provision of food is all along a big problem, bigger than any other problem in life. The quantum of food procured determines the success or failure in life. The same is true about nations, for whom the problem of food forms the greatest urge for national effort and international struggle, so much so that according to Marx, human history can be interpreted properly only from the angle of economics. Marx may or may not be right, but the problem of food has now assumed so much importance that the future historian will find no better expression for describing the present age than the Age of Economics. It is a hard reality that economics hold unquestioned sway in the national as well as the international field, whether in the sphere of culture or civilization or in social relations or politics. The two power blocs into which the world is divided today distinguish from each other ostensibly by their form of government — totalitarian or democratic — but really by their respective economic orders. The problem of food has assumed the position of a control-room for directing most of the individual and the national activities of the peoples of the world.

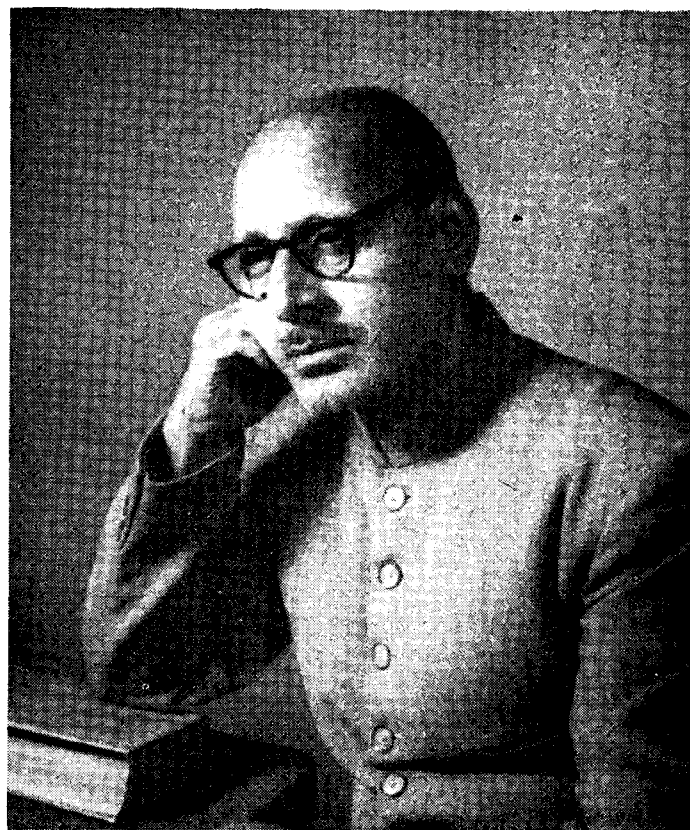
Food and religion and the Qur'an

For a solution of the problem man knocked at the door of "religion",¹ and the response he got was that religion was meant to secure salvation after death and was not concerned

1 The term does not include Islam, which is *Deen*, a way of life.

2 Some words used in Oriental languages to designate a saint.

3 A Sanskrit word meaning "God".



with the problems of life here on this earth. The world of matter was so much filth and deserved to be hated and shunned by all God-fearing people. The response is a tacit admission of inability to tackle the problem. Religion had, therefore, to sidetrack the issue, depict life as loathsome and adopt a line of escape from life's realities. Even the most earnest devotee of God who might have cut himself off from the world cannot, while he lives, help filling his stomach. Out of habitation he may go to live in jungles or mountains, but he cannot leave behind his stomach. It sticks to him. He might fill it only once in twenty-four hours, but fill it he must. *Rishis, munis, pirs, faqirs*,² all feel the pinch of hunger. No one can survive without food, whether he be an incarnation of *Ishwar*³ or the beloved of God. For religion to say that it is not interested in the problem of food is not merely a denial of truth but positive fraud. The flag-bearers of religion show indifference to the problem because they are fed by others and have not to work for their food.

Islam, which is not a religion in the ordinary sense of the term but is a way of life, has an entirely different and realistic approach towards the problem of food. The Qur'an faces the problem squarely, boldly and rationally, and has offered a solution most conducive to the well-being of man, a solution which will pull out a groaning humanity from the hellish fire flaming all around.

The importance which the Qur'an attaches to the problem can be judged from the fact that in its view a people having abundance of food are the gifted ones, and those suffering from hunger victims of God's wrath. We read in the Qur'an 16:112 the example of an habitation which lived peacefully and securely by receiving sustenance richly from everywhere, but then showed ingratitude for these gifts of God, and in consequence thereof He made them taste of hunger and fear.

A common slogan among religious circles is that Divine commandments should be obeyed since their disobedience brings on Divine wrath. They say that the defaulters will, after death, be thrown into hell, where they will taste the fruit of their disobedience. It is true that there are heaven and hell after death, but according to the Holy Book the untoward effects of disobeying God's laws begin to manifest themselves here on this earth in this life as well. Says the Qur'an, 20:124, "Whosoever turns away from Our code of life shall live a life of scarcity". In other words, scarcity of food is the direct consequence of violating Divine laws.

There is an impression widely held by Muslims that God tries the good by subjecting them to various hardships: little to eat, little to clothe with, poverty, want, helplessness and the like; that the good have to lead here a life of extreme poverty and want, but that in the hereafter they will enjoy a glorious and pleasant life. The Qur'an discredits this impression. It concedes that in the life of nations there may be occasions like wars or natural calamities when they have to face toil, sweat and tears, but they are short-lived and pass away after a time. But if want and poverty and a life of misery become the normal feature of a people, they should not deceive themselves that the ills are the lot of the good in earthly life and that in the Hereafter they will have a magnificent and prosperous life. Immediately after saying, "Whosoever turns away from Our code of life shall live a life of scarcity," the Qur'an adds, "He will on the day of *Qiyamah* (Resurrection) rise blind" (20:124). The inescapable consequence of going against God's laws is scarcity of means in the present life and humiliation in the Hereafter. Life is, according to the Qur'an, a continuity from the present to the future stages of existence. Therefore, actions which lower and disgrace one here cannot prove in the Hereafter exalting or exulting. The clear verdict of the Qur'an (17:72) is, "One who is blind here will be blind in the Hereafter and a worse strayer", or in the words of Iqbal:

"One has no right to the joys of *tomorrow*,
Who strives not nor shines *today*,
A nation is unfit for the *morrow's* struggle,
In whose destiny there has been no *today*."

A people's life Here determines their life in the Hereafter. If in the Here it has not plenty of means but suffers from want and is forced to place a beggar's bowl before others, it cannot aspire to a share in the abundance of the Hereafter. According to the Qur'an, heaven and hell begin to manifest themselves in this life and continue into the Hereafter as an unbroken serial. It depicts human life in the parable of Adam. While in heaven, Adam was assured that he would suffer neither hunger nor nakedness nor thirst nor exposure to weather. The outstanding features of the heavenly life were that no one there lacked the basic needs of life: food, water, clothing and shelter (20:118). "Adam and his wife" were "free to eat as much as they wished from wherever they chose" (2:35), suggesting that the means for sustaining life there were for everyone and in plenty. Man lost his heaven-on-earth through running after individual gain and, for regaining it, the Revealed guidance is "one who follows Divine guidance will neither fail in his efforts nor experience hardship in securing sustenance" (20:123).

Two concepts of human life

Revival of this heaven-on-earth for the children of Adam through the establishment of the Qur'anic social order is the ultimate goal of the Qur'an. Before coming to the "know-how" of the Qur'anic social order there is a point which needs to be understood clearly: whether a solution of

the problem of food is an end in itself or if it is only a means for a higher end. The point forms the basis of the entire superstructure of human society.

According to one concept, human life begins with the birth of a child, who grows, learns to work to sustain himself, marries, procreates, prepares his children for earning a living and then dies and comes to a final end. This story is very much like the story of any animal which while alive goes through identical stages. The Qur'an brands this way of life as *kufr* and says:

"And those who do *kufr* (literally denial) avail themselves of material things and eat as do the animals, their abode is hell" (47:12).

The Qur'anic concept of human life

The theory on which is based the Qur'anic social order

According to another concept man is something more than his physical body; he has besides physical body a Personality, which enables an individual to lead in the Here an upright and prosperous life and in the Hereafter lives on and on through further evolutionary stages of life. The essential requirement for the development of human Personality is the establishment of a social order which should guarantee the human race complete protection against hunger and fear. Such a social order signifies human level of life. According to the Qur'an a people cannot attain a human level of life until it is free from the constant worry about filling its stomach. The Qur'an advocates, therefore, the establishment of a social order which will take away from the individual his anxiety for procuring food and thereby enable him to apply his innate potentialities towards attaining the higher values of life.

The establishment of such an order may seem attempting the impossible, but the Qur'anic social order does perform the miracle. In taking over the responsibilities which God has assumed towards man the order assures every individual, "We are responsible for feeding you and your children" (6:152). The assurance is not restricted to mankind only; it extends to every living thing because according to the Qur'an (11:6), "There is on earth no one moving with life the responsibility for whose sustenance has not been assumed by God." The manner in which the Qur'anic social order or the Islamic State discharges the responsibility will be appreciated by the declaration of the Caliph 'Umar (d. 6—C.E.) that: "If on the far away banks of the Tigris even a dog dies of hunger then, by God, 'Umar will have to answer for it". The acid test for a State to be Islamic is that it makes itself responsible to see to it that every citizen, and every animal roaming within its geographical limits, is provided with the sustenance he needs.

Control of the sources of food belongs to God only

How will the State discharge this immense responsibility of feeding the people? The sources of sustenance and the means of production belong initially not to any individual but to God Who has chosen to assume the responsibility of "sustaining every one moving with life on this earth". The fulfilment of God's responsibility within the limits of Time and Space, among mankind, needs human agency which should be there to receive what is due from man to God and to give what is due to man from God. The Agency (called the Islamic State), is, without assuming any rights, a mere functionary introducing and enforcing Divine Laws in human society. What belongs to God is placed in the hands of the Islamic State to be used for the purpose He has prescribed and willed, i.e., discharging the responsibilities which He has assumed towards mankind. The answer to the question, there-

fore, is that the natural resources placed under the control of the State will enable it to discharge the responsibility. The sources of production will be placed under the control of the State and will not belong to it. The question of ownership of the sources, whether by the State or by individuals, has no place in the Qur'anic social order.

Land, according to the Qur'an, should remain under collective control

Among the sources of production land enjoys the basic position. It produces food and supplies all the raw materials needed for industry. The verdict of the Qur'an (55:11) is that "God made land for the sustenance of mankind" and that it should be so administered that it "remains available for the needy in an equal manner" (41:10) because "it is a provision for the hungry" (56:72) and should be utilized for that purpose. The purpose will be achieved by land remaining under the collective control of society; it will be defeated if individuals are allowed to own land severally.

This is how the Qur'an (56:64-73) expounds its views :

"Think of the seed you sow. You plough and prepare the land and then scatter the seed in it. Thereafter is it you who makes the seed sprout or is it We who germinate the seed? Did We wish it not to flourish We would have by drought turned the crop into a crushed heap leaving you aghast saying we have been undone : along with the crop we have been deprived of the seed also.

"Think of the water you drink to sustain life and with which you irrigate crops. Who pours it from the clouds? You or We? If We willed it We might have made it bitter and unfit for drinking or for growing crops. But the sweet water you appreciate not.

"Think of the fire you light. Who grows the tree, the source of fire-wood? Do you do it or is it We who grow it?

"Think of the things We have mentioned. They have a lesson for you. (They are supplied initially by Us ; you just put in there a little labour of your own. Therefore, in the produce your share is limited to your labour, the rest reverting to Us) which We have intended to be sustenance for the hungry. (Touch not, therefore, this surplus as something your own but keep it open for those for whom it is intended)".

The Qur'anic idea has been put into verse in the following lines by Iqbal :

Who nourishes the seed in the darkness of earth?
Who raises the clouds from the wavy seas?
Who sets in motion the favouring western winds?
Who owns the earth, whose is sunshine?
Who has filled the wheat spikes with pearly grains?
Who has taught the seasons the habit of change?
Village Lord ! "This land is not yours ; neither
yours nor your ancestors" ; no, no, it is not
yours, it is not mine.

The Qur'an on wealth in general

What the Qur'an has said here about produce from land it has reiterated elsewhere about wealth in general. It has presented Korah, the votary of Mammon, as the symbol of capitalism. Korah said, "My wealth has come through my personal attainments and individual skill" (28:78). The Qur'an says (39:49) : "This mental attitude is mischievous, but the majority of people do not realize it." They say whatever a man earns is the outcome of his personal attainments. There are, however, several factors which contribute towards

the earnings but are beyond an individual's personal effort, namely, inborn capabilities, provision of facilities for education and training, effects of environment, efficiency of social administration, availability of opportunities and so on.

The practical aspect of the social order envisaged by the Qur'an

This is the theoretical aspect of the problem ; its practical aspect has been tackled by the Qur'an with equal clarity.

Once the State assumes the responsibility of providing the basic needs of life and the means for the development of personality the question of individuals *owning* wealth becomes redundant. The Qur'an expresses the relationship between the individual and the State in the form of a mutual pledge according to which the individuals surrender their life and belongings to God (that is the State established for fulfilling the responsibilities towards man assumed by God), and in return the State guarantees them *al-Jannah* (the Garden) (9:111) in which, as already explained, the basic needs of life are supplied in plenty so far as it (*al-Jannah*) concerns the present life. The pledge is not merely a theoretical proposition but is an essential condition for the membership of the Qur'anic social order of which he alone can become a member (or become a Muslim), who takes the pledge willingly without compulsion. In pursuance of the pledge the individuals retain, out of their earnings, only as much as would suffice for their immediate needs and keep the surplus open for the nourishment of their fellow-beings, and expend it as the State directs. The Qur'an (2:219) first poses the question "How much shall we out of our earnings keep open for use by others?" and then answers it by saying, "All that is surplus to your needs". By withdrawing surplus money from individuals the Qur'an strikes at the root of capitalism, which owes its existence to surplus money.

Why surrender surplus ?

Here arises a rather ticklish question. If individuals in a society are convinced that whether they work or do not work their needs will be met, and when they realize that if they work hard and earn more they will not be allowed to enjoy their savings but will have to surrender them to society, what incentive can there be for them to work and work hard? There is no logic by which they might be induced to sweat and toil for the general good. Society will then have shirkers and swindlers, production will fall and national wealth will dwindle. Communism spurred the poverty-stricken and the penniless workers to rise and snatch away from the wealthy their wealth. They did it and when the wealthy had gone, along with them went the feelings of hate and revenge which had aroused the have-nots to action. In Russia the Government has been forced to find an incentive for work for its people. This basic weakness of Communism encourages capitalism to assert that unless individuals are assured that whatever they earn will remain their property they will not work to capacity and the only workable social order is the capitalistic order, which allows free and unlimited play to private enterprise. A moment's thought will, however, show that the plea that in a capitalistic order the individual earnings, the whole of them, remain their property is a delusion. Communism appropriates the workers' excess earnings by the direct process ; capitalism does the same thing indirectly by means of taxation. Neither process is free from compulsion since the earner parts with his excess income under duress whether the State be Communistic or capitalistic.

The Qur'anic incentive

The vital question is whether there is any incentive which will, on the one hand, make the worker exert himself

to his utmost and, on the other hand, help him offer voluntarily to the State his entire surplus income. According to Professor Hawtrey (quoted by E. H. Carr in *The New Society*, p. 60), what distinguishes one social order from another is the nature of incentive for work which it provides. The Qur'anic social order alone provides such an incentive.

As already stated, the aim of life according to the Qur'an is the development of human personality. The law for the human body is that it develops by whatever it takes in and assimilates. A should eat and B should grow is an impossibility. But the law for human personality is that it develops by whatever is given away for the development of others. Therefore, the more one gives away for the development of others the greater will be the development of his own personality. Therefore, one who would develop his personality will work hard, earn the most he can, spend as much as will meet his essential needs and give away the rest for the development of others. Such a person would need neither a rod nor a sermon to spur him to work, nor expect any return or even thanks from those to whom he gives because he feels convinced that he gives away not to oblige anyone but to assure his own good. In the words of the Qur'an he says, "Whatever we provide for your sustenance is in fulfilment of God's law that in giving lies the development of human personality; we expect nothing from you either in return or by way of thanks" (76:9). They are so anxious about developing their personality that they "give others preference over themselves even though they may be hard up themselves" because they know that "crops ripen of those only who do not struggle for personal gain by over-riding others" (59:9).

These are the kind of people who will assume responsibility for establishing the Qur'anic social order in the world. They are *Mu'minoon* or Muslims in the true sense of the word. They undertake the hardest work to the utmost capacity for they know that "man has a right only to what he strives for" (53:39). Exertion without a stop is the rule of their life and out of what they earn by continuous effort they keep only as much as would suffice for their needs, passing on the rest to the State for use towards fulfilment of God's great responsibility of universal nourishment. In meeting the needs they neither overspend nor spend without purpose, because they know that "God loves not those who overspend" (6:142) and that "wasters belong to the devil's family" (17:27).

The Qur'anic social order not only offers a workable and satisfactory solution of the economic problem but eliminates also the social evils arising from individual grabbing. Having his needs met no one would care to engage in the unsocial activities which he has to pursue in the present social order to earn his livelihood. Since he would not retain surplus money, which would be made over to the State, there will be no incentive for black-marketing, hoarding, smuggling or fraud. The tension which now exists between the landlord and the tiller, between the worker and the mill-owner, between the house-owner and the tenant, between the seller and the buyer, will disappear. So will litigation over inheritance and monetary transactions become a thing of the past. Saved from the worry of securing his daily bread everyone will be free to attend to activities which help make man and ennoble life.

Is the Qur'anic social order an Utopia ?

Is the Qur'anic social order an Utopia or the mere musings of a poet? With selfishness ingrained in human nature, there is little hope of his eschewing it and becoming as pious

as the order pictures him to be. Will not man be what he has been all through?

This view, according to the Qur'an, is mistaken. Man's nature is not bad; in fact, he has no nature at all. Animals have a nature and so have things in the vegetable and the mineral kingdoms. Their nature is determined and they cannot change it. On the other hand, man has capabilities whose development in the highest way makes him "good"; indifference towards his innate capabilities makes him indifferent or "bad".

In an unhealthy society the younger generation is brought up on wrong lines, and as the process continues for a few centuries heredity and environment help produce persons who are selfish and dishonest. The responsibility for the lapse is clearly ours, but we shift the blame to the working of "human nature". If we bring up children with healthy conceptions of life and continue the process for a few generations, the result will, in spite of the alleged "human nature", be a society full of health and life.

The Qur'an lays great stress on the right training of those who have to become the pioneers in the establishment of the Qur'anic social order. The training consists in making the order the ideal of life, creating a favourable mental atmosphere and educating children on the right lines. As the mind of the rising generation conforms to the Qur'anic pattern the order will be introduced, step by step, until the final stage is reached. The Holy Book supplies the complete "know-how" for the final as well as the transitory stage. Steps pertaining to the *transitory period* help draw the ultimate goal perceptibly nearer. Inducement to "give" (*Khayraat/Sadaqaat*), condemnation of greed and parsimony, prohibition of interest (*Ribaa'*), opposition to hoarding, laws of inheritance, all relate to the transitory stage. The Qur'an says, "Those who amass gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of God (i.e., for the development of mankind according to Divine Laws), warn them of an agonizing doom" (9:35). Elsewhere it says your ruination has come because "you collect inheritance and consume it and with the help thereof cherish to attract what others have" (89:19-20). Yes, your ruination is due to your attitude that you "take with even balance and give less with an uneven balance" (83:2-3). The Qur'an advises the exchequer so to distribute wealth that it "should not circulate among the rich only" (59:7). It tells the hoarders that they should not assume that what they have has been "acquired through their own personal attainments and individual skill" (28:78), and that they are free to spend it as they please. These and similar provisions in the Qur'an have a value for the transitory stage, but once the Qur'anic social order is finally established and the needs of everyone are satisfied and an individual's surplus money is surrendered, the necessity for applying the provisions will cease to exist in the same way as the availability of water makes the Qur'anic injunction about *tawammum* inoperative. This is how the Qur'an trains the pioneers to bring about by stages the establishment of the Qur'anic social order.

It does not mean, however, that if pioneers are not forthcoming to bring in the Qur'anic social order, things will be allowed to drift aimlessly. There is a struggle between right and wrong going on constantly, and the process of replacing an unhealthy social order by a healthy social order, according to Divine Laws, is in continuous operation. In the long run right must overcome wrong; but the process is slow, so slow that in the words of the Qur'an a day of the struggle carried on according to natural laws is equal to a thousand years of ours. As an illustration of slow achievement of natural laws consider the verse "Don't they see how We are

curtailing land in the hands of the big? These things are determined by Divine Laws, which no one can upset or modify and which begin reckoning the results forthwith" (13:41), the final summing-up taking, according to our counting, centuries to complete. Feudalism has, in fact, taken centuries to die a natural death. The pace can be quickened, however, if man so wishes, by his co-operating with and assisting the Divine Laws in their working. Then the two become complementary, man helping the working of Divine Laws and the Laws assisting man in his efforts (47:7). The co-operative effort will help supplant the unhealthy social order with the healthy order not in centuries but in days. The Messenger of God, Muhammad, and his Companions did it and brought about in a short span of time a tremendous change unequalled in history, the why of which remains to this day a perplexing conundrum for the historian. Later on the professed followers of the Prophet Muhammad reverted to the social order which the Qur'an had obliterated and replaced and ceased to co-operate with Divine Laws. The momentum which the co-operation gathered has vanished and the Divine Laws move on by themselves at

their normal speed unmindful of the non-co-operative attitude of Muslims which unfortunately persists to this day.

The Qur'anic social order and Communism

In the Qur'anic social order :

- (a) *the State becomes an agency for introducing among the people the Qur'anic way of life ;*
- (b) *the basic duty of the State becomes provision of means for the growth and development of the human body as well as personality ; and,*
- (c) *by introducing among the people the Qur'anic way of life, and by attending to its basic duty the State becomes an Islamic State.*

It is important to note that by assuming control over the means of production and thereby meeting the basic needs of life, an Islamic State does not become at par with a Communistic State. There is a world of difference between the two. A Communistic State has no inviolable principles to guide or control its activities. An Islamic State is, however, bound irrevocably by inviolable principles given by the Qur'an.

What They Say About Us ...

In speaking on "The world situation with regard to Religion" at the World Congress of Faiths, Younghusband House, London, on 12th December 1959, Mr. Kenneth Walker, F.R.C.S., had the following to say about the Islam of today :

"Islam is one of the great world religions and something must be said about it. In those parts of the world in which the Arabs have come into contact with the customs and the views of the West, as in the great oil towns and cities, the influence of their own religion has declined. It would be true to say that the character of the Moslem in these great centres of wealth has deteriorated badly ; he has acquired the bad habits of the West and has retained all of his own weaknesses. It is significant that the Dervishes have been banned in the Middle East, for they formerly constituted a useful link between the public and Sufism, the mystical branch of the Moslem faith."

Professor Arnold Toynbee on the role of Islam in the modern world

Professor Arnold Toynbee paid a glowing tribute to the virility and force of the Islamic ideology, leaving a "lasting impact of its science and philosophy on the future course of Western civilization".

Speaking at the Jamshed Memorial Hall, Karachi, Professor Toynbee said :

"The outburst of Arabia under Islam was a challenge to the great civilizations of that time. The Islamic civilization broke the ascendancy of the Imperial Christian Church on the one hand and the Zoroastrian civilization on the other."

"Islam was not only a religion but had a political mission also, and that its dynamic force was inherent in its

principle of monotheism which shattered the forces of polytheism and idolatry which had infiltrated in other religions.

"Muslim scientists and philosophers not only assimilated the Greek knowledge but also produced original works which were later given a serious study by the Western scientists in the sixteenth century, when Europe was in a very feeble state of civilization."

The renowned historian exhorted the followers of the three great religions of the world, i.e., Judaism, Christianity and Islam, to shun prejudice and tolerate each other for the good of humanity. He said that the three religions represent one aspect of the same dogma, i.e., monotheism.

"Islam has made a tremendous contribution for the welfare of mankind. Its universality had broken the geographical and linguistic barriers and united different communities into a single family, which was in itself a unique achievement."

"Religion was indispensable for human beings, and without it the existence of man was not possible. Religion was essential for solving the most complicated problems of the individual and the society. In modern scientific advancements, religion has still to play a better and important role for the preservation of the personality of man."

PEN PALS

Hassan Baba (Trader), Levuma Kandui, via Blama, Sierra Leone.
Special interest : Study of the Qur'an and contacting Muslims in foreign lands.

Nordin Bin F. Mohamed, 49 Jalan Seynum, Johore Bahru, Malaya.
Wants to correspond with English Muslims.

SPIRIT AND MATTER RECONCILED

By AMIN AHMAD



The soul or "self" is born free from evil, the evil coming to it from outside, by accretion from environment or by bad education. If both environment and education are right, the child will retain its natural soundness and be a righteous person and will continue so unless he chooses to change his course

In Islam spirit and matter reconciled

The Islamic Call is an adequate answer to the materialists who deny resurrection and say, "And naught destroys us save time". It maintains that there is a second life for which every individual and every community should work, where every-one shall be judged according to what he had done in this life, be it good or be it evil.

"And whoso doeth good an atom's weight shall see it then, and whoso doeth ill an atom's weight shall see it then" (The Qur'an, 99 : 7, 8).

This line of true belief would naturally deter wrong-doers and mischief-makers as far as they would be deterred at all from their evil way. At any rate, it should deter others from following in their footsteps. In case one is tempted to do some private or public evil and he remembers the Last Day in time, the probability is that he will resist the temptation for fear of dire punishment or for hope of future bliss.

It may be contended that civil criminal laws are deterrent enough, but experience shows that people generally try to evade such laws, either through lack of evidence or through latitude of interpretation, while hardened criminals who would not fear any man-made laws, however stringent, will submit without difficulty to Divine laws for fear of hell fire and Divine vengeance. Then there are those who toil for their living in mines and quarries under trying conditions of heat and cold. Such hard toilers, unless provided with true consolation and genuine hope, are apt to develop ungovernable hatred and rage against the privileged rich, which will lead to social strife, if not to open revolt.

For such, Islam is a true healer and consoler, emphasizing to them the great truth that the future in the Hereafter will be determined by the eternal principle :

"Truly, the most worthy of honour in the sight of God is he who feareth Him most" (The Qur'an, 49 : 13 in part).

Paradise is not restricted to this or that class of society, but embraces all who believe and do good, irrespective of wealth or poverty, colour or race.

The Islamic Call has thus laid the foundation of peace and friendship between classes in place of probable strife and anarchy. It gave the spiritual side of life the predominance over the material side, and effected social cohesion in the Islamic community, making of its members brothers in Faith co-operating for the love of God in good work and piety, not in sin and aggression.

Islam is unique amongst religions in general in its full appreciation of man's nature, the needs of the body and the spirit being equally recognized by it

Islam is unique amongst religions in general in its full appreciation of man's nature, the needs of the body being recognized as well as the needs of the spirit, a fact which accounts in large measure for its continuous and silent ascendancy with time. The nature of life in this world disagrees with asceticism and torment of body. The Prophet Muhammad himself was required by God not to go to the extent of self-torment in his active zeal and devotion to the mission, as may be seen from the Divine words.

"We have not revealed unto thee the Qur'an that thou shouldst be distressed. But as a reminder unto him who feareth (God)" (The Qur'an, 22 : 2 and 3).

Islam in fact makes it legitimate to enjoy the good things of this world with moderation, including reasonable adornment. In God's words :

"O Children of Adam! Look to your adornment at every place of worship, and eat and drink but be not prodigal. Lo! He loveth not the prodigal" (The Qur'an, 7:31).

And again :

"And seek the abode of the Hereafter in that which God hath given thee and neglect not thy portion of the world" (The Qur'an, 28:77, in part).

And yet again :

"Say: Who hath forbidden the adornment of God which He hath brought forth for his bondmen, and the good things of His providing? Say: Such, on the Day of Resurrection, will be only for those who believed during the life of the world" (The Qur'an, 7:32, in part).

The Prophet Muhammad expresses the same truth clearly when he says :

"The best of you is he who does not forego this world for the next, or forego the next world for this. The best of you is who takes from this and that."

Islam, unlike Christianity, pronounces human nature both free from evil and bad

This sound standpoint which takes both sides of man into due consideration is unlike the Christian standpoint, for instance, which misconceives the nature of the physical body, taking it to be purely evil as the result of Adam's fall, and consequently has to be purged through torment and cruel oppression. Christianity thus considers man to be tainted with evil. But not so Islam. Islam pronounces human nature to be free from evil at birth, being capable of both evil and good according to environment and education. In the words of the Qur'an, 91:7-10:

"And (by) a soul and Him who perfected it and inspired it (with conscience of) what is wrong for and (what is) right for it. He is indeed successful who causes it to grow. And he is indeed a failure who staineth it."

Also the Prophet says :

"Every child is born with sound nature, but his parents make of him a Jew, a Christian or a Magian."

The soul or "self" is thus born free from evil, the evil coming to it from outside, by accretion from environment or by bad education. If both environment and education are right, the child will retain its natural soundness and be a

righteous man or woman, and will continue so unless he chooses to change his course. We read in the Qur'an, 90:8-10:

"Did We not assign unto him (man) two eyes, and a tongue and two lips, and guide him concerning the two highways (the two highways are the ways of good and evil)."

Recent psychological researches accord well with this Islamic view. The future life of the child is largely determined by his upbringing and environment influences, and not by hereditary factors. Certain modern schools of psychology, notably that of Adler, the leading individual psychologist, confirm this view. Valentine, the author of *The Difficult Child*, states that a child is admittedly deeply affected by his environment in respect of traits of character. As to the view of Christianity with respect to torment of the body, certain Christian savants condemn it, maintaining that pain in the end will conquer, mastering us instead of our mastering it. As pointed out by Aldous Huxley in his book *Means and Ends*, some see in sickness insurmountable obstruction in the way of devotion to God and hence to be counted a sin.

When Islam allowed private property and permitted free activity of work or trade, it did not overlook the right of the poor to a share of the world's good things (the Qur'an, 51:19). The early Muslims attained great wealth, but were not given to luxury or excess in disregard of God or the life hereafter. They could not overlook such utterances of the Prophet Muhammad as :

"Develop a certain amount of austerity, for plenty is not permanent."

"We never eat unless we are hungry, and when eating we avoid excess."

It was this deep spiritual attitude that made 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz reject the complaint of his Commissioner in Egypt that the tribute was getting smaller because the number of converts to Islam was getting bigger. His written answer to the Commissioner is quite remarkable in its trenchant rebuke and because it strikes the keynote of the Islamic attitude :

"Exempt from tribute those who join the faith, shamed be your opinion! God sent Muhammad (the peace and blessings of God be upon him!) as a Guide and not as a tax collector. Would to God that no tribute be due, but 'Umar (meaning himself) is too unfortunate to have all people converted to Islam in his days."

THE MUSLIM FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND IN GLASGOW

It will perhaps not be an exaggeration to say that the Muslim Foundation for the Blind, 20 Thistle Street, Glasgow, is the only voluntary Muslim organization of its kind in the world devoted to the cause of acquainting the blind with the teachings of the faith of Islam. Its founder, principal, and author of its publications, is a hard-working, enthusiastic and zealous Scottish Muslim, Mr. Abdul Haque Pinder, C.B.I., M.B.S.

It was not until 1941 that deaf and blind friends throughout the world were able to read verses of the Qur'an and a wide range of literature dealing with Islamic subjects. Since then Mr. A. H. Pinder has ceaselessly transcribed Islamic literature into Braille.

To gain support for the cause of his Mission, Mr. Pinder has also undertaken long journeys to various Muslim centres in Great Britain, in spite of the fact that he suffers from this disability himself. He justifiably is proud of possessing over

a hundred letters of praise from prominent Muslims in this country. Among them are letters from a former High Commissioner for Pakistan and the wife of the former President of Pakistan.

Mr. Pinder has a message for the deaf and blind Muslims in this country. To quote his own words: "If there were blind Muslims in any of our communities (in Great Britain) I should be very happy to do all I could to help them to overcome the handicap of physical blindness by transcribing literature into Braille and coaching them when and where possible. The only way in which I have been able to help those who dwell in the world of the blind is to produce and distribute Braille books portraying every aspect of the life and work of the faith of Islam."

Mr. Pinder deserves every praise and help in his noble work.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE CRIME OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL

Partition of Palestine into two States—Jewish and Arab—was recommended in the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in November 1947. It is no secret that in rounding up the necessary two-thirds vote for this resolution the United States played a dominant role.

Mr. Donald C. Blaisdell, Professor of Government, the College of the City of New York, who served for ten years in the Department of State of the United States of America, under the title of "American Policy for the Near East" appraises the responsibility of the United States of America in the establishment of Israel and its continued existence as a political entity in the following words:

"... In an effective but often unacknowledged partnership with government officials in (the United States) Congress and in the Executive Branch they work out the shape policy takes in the form of legislation, administration and adjudication. The rank and file of the organizations which they represent are so absorbed with personal affairs that they are all too ready to ratify the proposals of their leaders. The mass of the population, usually unaware of the political activities of these group leaders, are brought into the process only indirectly, at infrequent intervals, and most inadequately when they are consulted at elections.

"All too often the substance of policy has its origin in the programmes, aims or objectives of these groups. To make policy in response to the pressures exerted by every racial, religious, economic or social group is perhaps understandable in normal times. A case can be made for the position that this is the American way. But in times of crisis, policy which embodies hastily made, incomplete and inequitable solutions may exact too high a price. The days we live in are such times. In the interest of the nation we should recognize the inadequacies of the process of making policy on the assumption, acquiesced in rather than consciously adopted, that we serve the nation when we absorb into programmes and policies the less-than-national purposes and aims of the most politically successful group of the moment.

The policy and action of the United States of America towards Israel is in a class by itself

"Consequently, reformulation of our policy towards Israel presents unique difficulties. To the usual problems confronting the President and the State Department are added others which place our policy and action regarding Israel in a class by itself.

"The Government of Israel has a following in the United States differing in relative size from that of any other government. Of the total estimated Jewish population of the world of 11,908,433, some 5,430,000, or over 45 per cent, are in the United States. Nearly half of them (2,050,000) are in New York City with 57,000 more in its environs. In Boston there are 140,000 Jews; in Chicago, 282,000; Los Angeles 400,000; and in Philadelphia, 227,000. Hence these cities, along with New York, are of more than ordinary political importance because of the myth, carefully cultivated, that

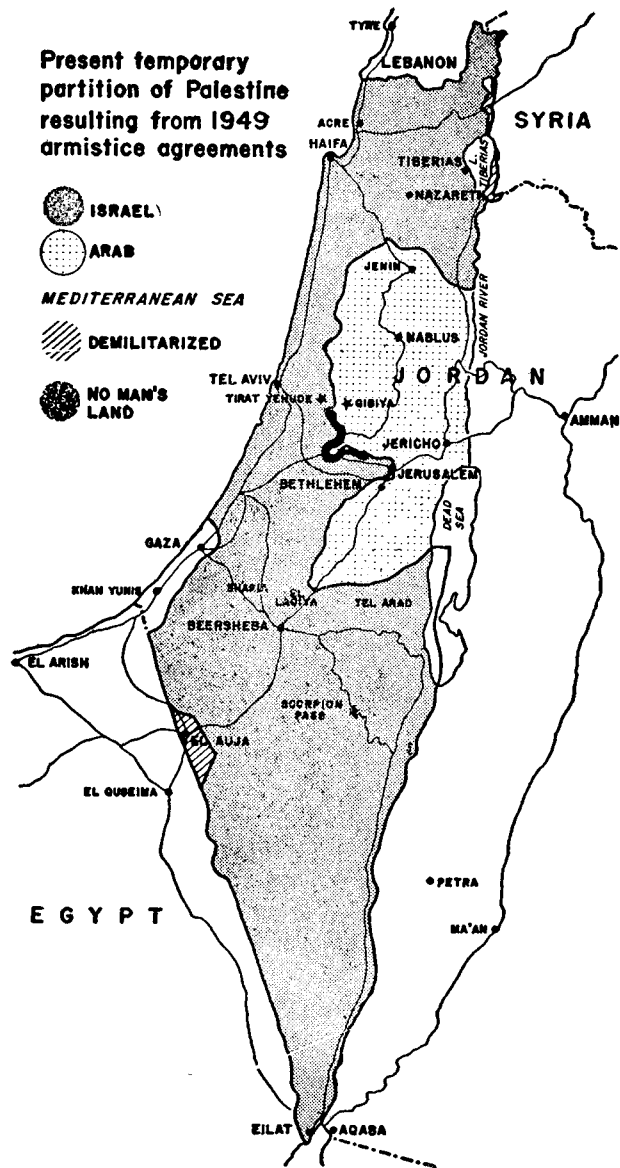
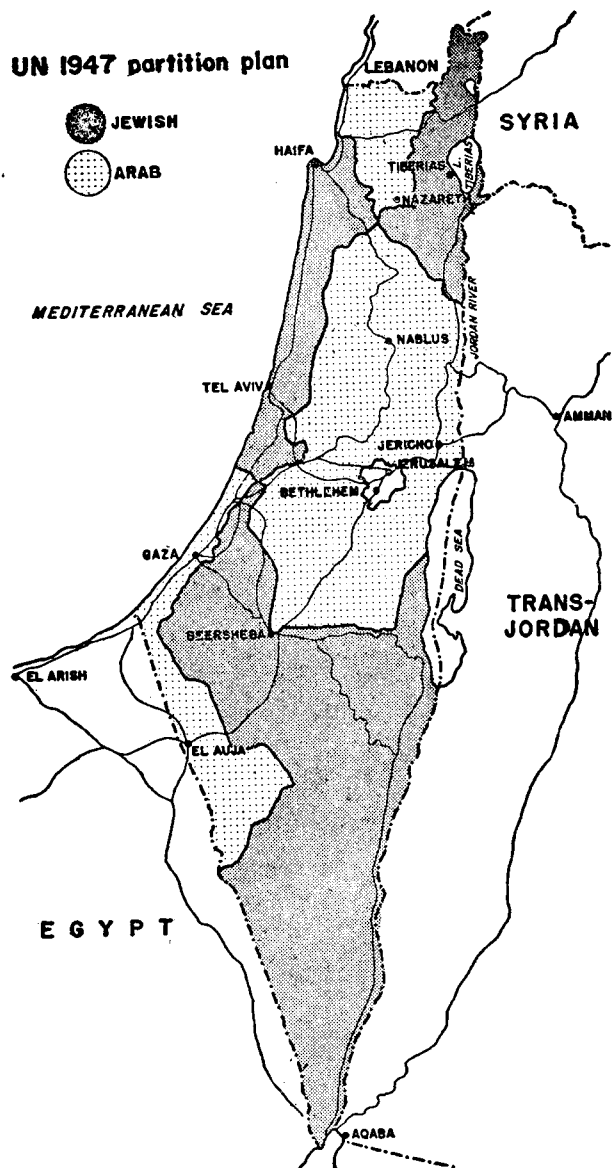
Jews vote in blocs, hence, candidates for public office must cater to these blocs.

"Not only the size but also the historical background of the Jewish following creates peculiar problems for the United States. All Jews everywhere, but particularly those in the 4,079 congregations in the United States, are regarded by Israel as adherents of Judaism who ought to be Zionist in their political loyalties. The 'ingathering of the exiles' is the avowed policy of Israel, a policy towards the adherents of a particular religious faith asserted by no other government and tolerated by the United States to the advantage of no other government. Moreover, because of the common religious and cultural backgrounds of Judaism and Christianity, Israel is able to exploit the sympathies of many who adhere to the Christian denominations and sects in the United States, a moral force of significance for American policy not enjoyed by any other foreign government.

"Nor does any other government think of its constituency in the United States as a reservoir of immigrants. In a manner without parallel in modern times contemporary Zionism as applied by Israel regards every Jew outside of Israel as a potential immigrant. Before 1948 the demand for control of immigration into Palestine disrupted international politics more than any other Zionist aim. It has dominated Israeli policy ever since. Speaking in Miami in March 1959, Israel's Foreign Minister stated that the 'foundation of the State of Israel is its sovereign right to determine its own immigration laws'. Israel will not 'permit anyone to dictate how many Jews we shall admit'. As a result the population of Israel has grown to an estimated 2,000,000, of which 850,000 newcomers had been received in 1957 with an additional 400,000 immigrants planned through 1962. This combination of intransigency with the claim of extra-territorial jurisdiction over all Jews, everywhere, presents American policy makers with unprecedented problems.

"Israeli claims, however, do not stop here. If Jews in America will not go to Israel voluntarily, or if they cannot be persuaded to do so, they must at least contribute to the support of those who do respond to the plea to come 'home'. Private financial aid, voluntary and otherwise, rendered Israel governmental and private agencies runs into many millions of dollars. In a recent six-month period the American Jewish Agency for Israel reported spending for the account of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem \$21,187,792.04. These funds are raised from contributions which are tax exempt, since they are made to so-called charitable and philanthropic organizations.

"Sums raised thus should not be confused with those raised through the sale of State of Israel bonds nor those received from the United States Government. Proceeds from the former total in all not less than \$366,000,000, of which



\$46,540,650 is reported by the Israel Bond Organization as having been raised in 1958. Much larger sums have gone to Israel as U.S. Government grants and loans. Official figures show that a total of \$666,500,000 has been made available in these ways to Israel since its establishment. It is doubtful whether any other government is so dependent on the United States and its citizens, Jewish and non-Jewish, for its very existence.

"In two other respects the situational factors affecting U.S. policy towards Israel are unique — Israel's origin and the disproportionate weight of Zionist as compared with other pressure on America.

"Although Israel is not the only State to have come into existence through United Nations action (Libya is another and Somalia is due in 1960), nevertheless the circumstances of Israel's origin and the part of the United States in it are still unique.

"Partition of Palestine into two States — Jewish and Arab — was recommended in the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in November 1947. It is no secret that in rounding up the necessary two-thirds vote for this resolution the United States played a dominant role.

Behind the scenes activities

"Of equal significance is the behind-the-scenes influence of the United States in 1948 in Paris. There, in an atmosphere of crisis engendered by the assassination of the United Nations mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, and of tension arising out of the Soviet blockade of Berlin, the United States handed the Palestine refugees, their leaders, and the leadership of the Arab States what has become their most powerful political weapon in both domestic and international politics. Either repatriation to Israel or compensation for their property was held out to the Arab States as the quid pro quo for support of a resolution designed to pacify the Israeli-Arab conflict. Also included was the provision for a conciliation commission. Both features owe their origin to the United States. Thus America shouldered an additional responsibility for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute on an equitable basis.

"Because of the complex and peculiar background and relationships sketched here it is unusually difficult to identify the American interests involved and to disentangle them from Zionist and other interests. Methods suitable for formulating policy for other countries and other areas are not well suited

for the Near East. Likewise, tests which are valid in other situations are of only limited value here. Critics of foreign policy in general often complain that the State Department overlooks the larger interests of its constituency — the American people as a whole — in its preoccupation with the interests of the foreign offices of other States. In the case of Israel this is unfortunately only too true.

Pressure of Zionist propaganda on American Government

"If the Department is not a clientele agency in the sense that other federal government departments are, such as Agriculture, Interior, Commerce and Labour, in another sense it represents the most powerful clientele of all, the minority (between three and four per cent) of the American people for whom American Zionist leaders presume to speak. No minority of Irish, of German, of Polish, Italian or Greek extraction has been able to manipulate policy to its advantage as have the Zionist leaders of American Jews. Nor does there appear to be any politically feasible means by which the American Government can place the claims of its importunate clientele in proper perspective. Like American Jews who are presumed to be members of Israel's American clientele and are never allowed to forget it, so the American Government, Congress and Executive Branch alike, is never permitted to free itself from the pressure, propaganda and power emanating from the same Zionist sources.

"It is a well-known human failing, which operates in politics as in other human activities, to allow the most recent event in time to obscure, if not to wipe out entirely, the memory of earlier events, particularly if the earlier events entailed responsibilities. Nations, like individuals, are prone, too, to shift such responsibilities to other shoulders, in this instance, to an organization such as the United Nations. United Nations resolutions are the repositories of many such unredeemed pledges and obligations.

"Dramatic incidents in the Near East, however, such as Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal; the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt; the Iraq revolution of 1958; and U.S. Marines in the Lebanon, should not be allowed to erase from the conscience and the memory of the American people the peculiar factors surrounding the formulation of our policy towards Israel nor the peculiar responsibility the United States has for Israel's continued existence. The unresolved question of the future of the Palestine refugees will not allow us to forget America's unique responsibility, even if later events overshadow our memory of what caused it.

The fate of Palestinian refugees

"Americans of goodwill should now importune their Government to rethink our Near Eastern policy. Presumably some thought is already being given to Palestine refugee aid. In the 1958 General Assembly debate the United States served notice that America would not support continuation of the relief and works agency beyond its present mandate (1960). Should the United States then offer visas to the Palestine refugees, or to 100,000 of them, to start a movement to remove them from the Near East and from politics? Congressman Emanuel Celler is reported to have made such a suggestion some time ago. In examining this thought the most important question to be asked is, would it be in the interests of the United States?

"Should the United States bid the United Nations look into the source of many of the troubles in the Near East —

Israel's immigration policy? It should be remembered that the World Court, predecessor of the present International Court of Justice, held that nationality — once thought to be a subject, like immigration, wholly within domestic jurisdiction — is a proper subject for international legislation. If this be true in a case where international action was not involved, it is even more so in a case such as that of Israel in which United Nations action sanctioned its establishment. Again, the answer should be sought in terms of whether, and if so, to what extent, the national interest of the United States would be served.

"Should not the United States, as a matter of national interest, look at the effect on the Near East and on our policies there of the provision of the internal revenue code allowing agents of foreign governments, even though registered with the Department of Justice, to be used for generating propaganda in the United States for foreign governments and for funneling tax exempt contributions to charitable organizations through these agents for foreign governmental purposes? Why should a foreign government admittedly engaged in propaganda attempting to influence American policy, receive the benefits of tax exemption for contributions when similar contributions to domestic groups, likewise attempting to influence policy, do not receive such treatment?

"Should the United States continue to regard the requirements for economic development of the Near East primarily in economic terms? Or should not the financing of regional development as proposed by the United States be recognized as a political matter? Would not chances for acceptance by Near East governments be improved if the United States were to base its policy on a recognition of the political nature of economic development and propose a package programme under United Nations auspices? For example, the financing of a regional economic development authority might be made to turn on a less rigid Israeli immigration policy, on granting visas to Palestinian refugees, and on the principle of making American aid to Israel vary inversely with the amount of voluntary aid raised here. In any event, the answers to these questions might well be found in a concept which maximizes the national interest of the American people as a whole rather than the nationalism of one State, Israel, as at present.

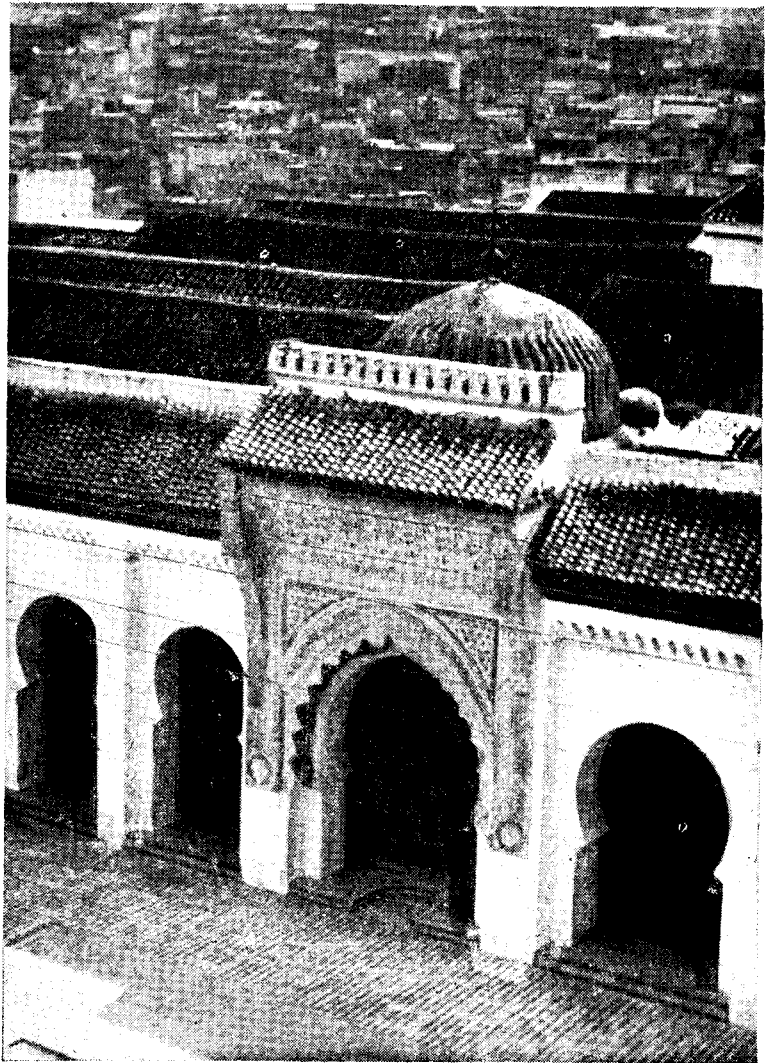
"The easing of tensions in the Near East can most readily be accomplished by adopting and putting into effect a package policy which gets rid of the Palestine refugee problem. Exploitation of the miseries of these people by Near East politicians for their own purposes should not be allowed to prevent the United Nations nor the United States from dealing boldly with the problem. Soviet ambitions should not be allowed to use the Palestine refugees for the purposes of Soviet imperialism. Israel's proposal to shift to international capital (that is, the United States) its obligation to finance repatriation of refugees to Israel is neither generous nor just. If the continuance of the 1948 General Assembly resolution on repatriation or compensation keeps alive vain hopes of the refugees in the face of continued Israeli defiance of the United Nations, then perhaps modification or cancellation should be sought on the initiative of the United States." (The Council News, Volume 13, No. 5, published by the American Council for Judaism, New York, U.S.A.)

MOROCCO

A glimpse into her past

If a number of its most precious volumes had not disappeared with the passage of time, there is little doubt that the Qarawiyyin Library would have been the greatest institution of its kind in the world. However, even today the Library still possesses a considerable number of manuscripts and books, the exceptional rarity and beauty of which excite the admiration of scholars from many lands

The Qarawiyyin University at Fez, Morocco



The Arabs arrived in Morocco in the year 682 C.E. Before that Morocco had seen the Phoenicians and Carthagians sail up from the East Mediterranean and establish trading settlements along the coast. Still later the Romans had come for a brief period and built a number of cities such as Volubilis, Lixus or Shellah, vestiges of which are still to be seen today.

The Arabs, however, came first and foremost as missionaries of the Islamic faith and their arrival changed the history of Morocco, as of all North Africa. Thousands of Moroccans flocked to the banner of the first warrior missionaries and embraced the new faith with fervour. When in the 8th century Idris Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali arrived in Morocco to teach the faith, he was welcomed by the people living in the ancient city of Volubilis and was later proclaimed first Muslim king of this country.

When Idris commenced the task of building the city of Fez, he constructed two distinct quarters, each surrounded by a wall, on either side of the river. On the left bank dwelt the founder himself with his chiefs and warriors. On the right bank lived his followers and disciples from the countryside.

Not long afterwards the city received an important addition to its population: eight thousand families fleeing from the tyranny of the Caliphs of Cordova sought refuge in Fez. Idris II installed these new citizens in the quarter on

the right bank which bears their name today — Wadi al-'Andalus.

Later, three thousand Arabs arrived from Kairouan, Tunisia and gave their name to the quarter on the left bank, still known as Wadi al-Kairouan.

In the 9th century the Almoravides united both parts of the city and surrounded them with an outer wall. Under the Almohade dynasty, Fez reached the apex of its glory and became the great religious, intellectual and commercial centre of North Africa. Its industries multiplied and flourished.

Along the banks of the river the windmills, tanneries, potteries and the workshops of the coppersmiths and countless other craftsmen sprang up in hundreds.

Under the Merinides (15th-16th centuries) Fez with its population of 200,000 became the capital of a vast empire which included all North Africa and Andalusia. There the succeeding Sultans raised sumptuous palaces, mosques, public baths, hostels and magnificent *medersas* or colleges to which flocked students from many lands, drawn by the world-wide renown of its university.

Towards the middle of the 16th century, the Sa'diyan sultans took possession of Fez, but for their capital they chose Marrakesh. As a result the prosperity of the old Idrisid city underwent a decline. However, under the Alawites, who succeeded the Sa'diyans in the 17th century, Fez once again found favour with the ruling sultans and remained the capital

of Morocco until 1912, when for the first time in eleven hundred years the country fell under foreign rule.

The Qarawiyyine University

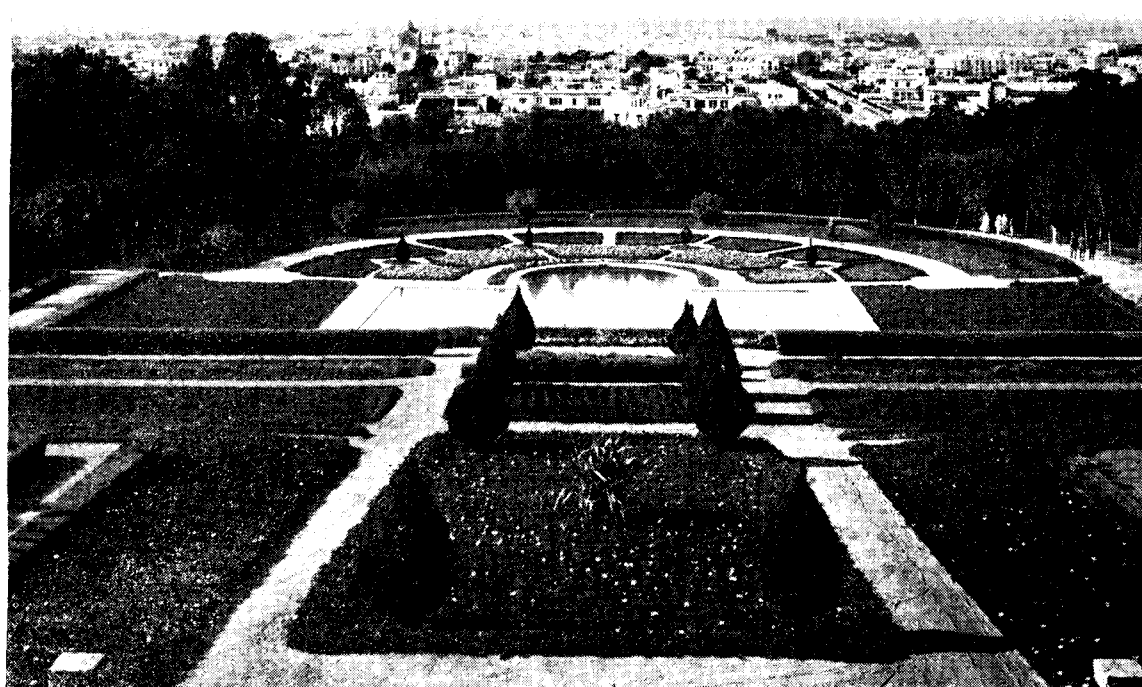
The Qarawiyyine Mosque owes its creation to the piety of two young sisters, Fatimah and Meryam, whose family came from Kairouan in Tunisia. Its foundation dates from the first day of the month of Ramadhan in the Muslim year 245 (30th November 859 C.E.).

On the site chosen for the first sanctuary, Fatimah was fortunate to find quarries of stone and sand and a spring whose limpid waters were to supply the famous university for centuries to come.

The original Qarawiyyine Mosque was a modest sanctuary consisting of four naves, a small court planted with

services for the dead. There too every Friday afternoon is held the famous book market where tomes and manuscripts are sold by public auction.

The Almoravides gave a rich and dazzling form of decoration to the part of the mosque surrounding the *Mihrab*. Under the Almohades and the Sa'diyans the patio was adorned with many basins and fountains. Today the Qarawiyyine possesses fourteen great gates, two of which are reserved for women. In former times others were only entered by persons coming to the mosque to make a legal oath. The great mosque now covers 1,600 square metres and may receive a congregation of 20,000. Famous from the Middle Ages as a centre of culture not only in the Arab world but throughout Europe, the Qarawiyyine University has been treasured and



A general view of Rabat, the capital of Morocco

trees and a *mihrah* (niche denoting the direction towards which the Muslim must turn to pray), and a low minaret.

However, with the rapid growth of the population of Fez it soon became necessary to enlarge the mosque, which was extended first on its east and west sides and lastly to the north. As a result of these extensions, the original courtyard is now enclosed within the prayer hall. The old minaret has been replaced by a new structure built in accordance with the principles of Zenete architecture, which laid it down that the tower should be equal in height to the perimeter of its base.

This famous mosque was destined to undergo many other transformations. No sooner had the Almoravide Sultan 'Ali Ibn Yusuf Tashfine succeeded to power than a new urge to extend the mosque possessed the ruler. These works affected the south side and particularly the *Mihrah*. Three new naves were added, which increased the number to ten. Three gates — the Gates of Departure — on the north side gave entrance to the funeral mosque in which are held the

embellished by all the dynasties which have ruled Morocco

If a number of its most precious volumes had not disappeared with the passage of time, there is little doubt that the Qarawiyyine Library would have been the greatest institution of its kind in the world. However, even today the Library still possesses a considerable number of manuscripts and books whose exceptional rarity and beauty excite the admiration of scholars from many lands.

It was the Merinide Sovereign Abu Yussuf Ya'qub (1259-1286 C.E.) who ordered the creation of the first library at Qarawiyyine and the installation at the Medersa Seffarine of the system of shelves on which were ranged the great collection of volumes presented by the Spanish King Don Sanche in 1287 C.E.

Among the most precious possessions in this library are the Averroes treatise comprising 638 pages, of which 319 are made of antelope skin, and the book of al-Mansur the Golden, each page of which measures 50 centimetres but contains only 11 lines.

The Library also contains numerous Arabic translations of foreign works which bear witness to the breadth of the cultural activities of the time. Among these is the translation of the works of Aristotle and the classical treatises on medicine and pharmacy. Also preserved at the Library are the precious archives relating to the history of Muslim Spain.

Today, as for centuries past, students still follow courses under the doctors and teachers of the Qarawiyyine University. Many of Morocco's most distinguished men of today, such as Mr. 'Allal al-Fasi, leader of the Istiqlal Party, are former graduates of the University.

Six great dynasties have succeeded each other in Morocco: first, the Idrisids (788-194 C.E.) to whom we are indebted for Fez, the creation of the Qarawiyyine and the spread of Arabic culture. The Almoravides (1053-1147 C.E.) laid the foundations of Morocco's religious and national unity. Yusuf Ibn Tashfine, the first ruler of this dynasty, founded Marrakesh and brought with him from the desert an austere faith and the art of constructing waterways and irrigation canals.

Under his reign, Morocco enjoyed great prosperity and a flowering of her civilization. The Almoravide rule reached its climax in 1119 C.E. when the Princes of Fez, recognized as the Sovereigns of Spain, added the Balearic Islands to their possessions.

The Almohades (1125-1248 C.E.) gave this country one of its greatest kings, 'Abd al-Mu'min. He soon became master not only of Morocco but also of Cordova and Granada. Later he extended his realms to include central Maghreb (Algeria, Tunisia) and Barqa (Libya). A great statesman endowed with tremendous power of organization, under his rule peace reigned throughout his kingdom; the arts flourished and Morocco knew one of the most glorious epochs of its history. 'Abd al-Mu'min created a national taxation system and carried out a cadastral survey of all North Africa. This dynasty reached the height of its powers under the rule of his grandson — Yaqub al-Mansur, renowned for his brilliant victory over the Spaniards at Alarcos (1195 C.E.). It was at

this period that culture and the arts received that characteristic imprint which is now called Andalusian — particularly in regard to architecture and music. Moreover, the ship-building yards of Salé and other ports produced a fleet which dominated the Mediterranean, agriculture was fostered, Moroccan industries flourished and were traded on the principal markets of that age. Ceuta became famous for the production of paper, which later found its way to Europe. The monumental walls and gates of Rabat and al-Ksar, the world-famous minarets of the Giralda at Seville, the Hassan Tower at Rabat and the Qutubiyya at Marrakesh stand as reminders of the great era of Almohade rule.

Under the reign of the Almohades, North African trade and commerce were by no means confined to Spain. Tunis, Bougie, Constantine, Oran, Tlemcen and Ceuta exchanged their wares on the markets of Pisa, Genoa, Venice and Marseilles. It was the Muslims who first adapted commercial practices to the necessities of an expanding international trade — practices which were later imitated to a large extent by the Christians.

The Merinides (1269-1465 C.E.) brought about a revival of the south, and Marrakesh once again became a great trading centre with many parts of Africa. Under the Sa'diyans (1549-1654 C.E.), of whom Ahmed al-Mansur was the most distinguished ruler, new relations were established with Europe and it was at this period that Morocco became known to the West as "the fortunate empire".

The Alawite Dynasty (1660 C.E. to the present) maintained national unity intact, assured order and security throughout the kingdom and established diplomatic relations with many foreign countries. Meknes became the Alawite capital under the reign of the Moulay Isma'il (1672-1727 C.E.), and it was under the guidance of the ruling Alawite monarch, His Majesty Muhammad V, that in the twentieth century Morocco emerged once again as an independent State and assumed her place among the free nations of the modern world.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

The Woking Muslim Mission & Literary Trust

The usual activities have been carried on by the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Woking, Surrey. Saturday gatherings are regularly held at 18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, London, S.W.1, from 5 to 8 p.m., where Mr. Abdul Majid, Editor of *The Islamic Review*, leads discussion on subjects concerning Islam and the Muslim world.

On Sundays small gatherings are held at the Mosque, where at about 2.30 p.m. the Imam gives a talk on some Islamic subjects based on the Qur'an.

Friday Prayers are held at the Mosque, Woking, at 1.30 p.m., and at 16 Chesham Place (Tube station Knightsbridge), London, at 1.15 p.m.

On Sunday 22nd November 1959, *Maulana* Muhammad Yakub Khan, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, was given

a farewell party which was attended by about 50 persons. After his stay for about a year in England the *Maulana* left for Pakistan on 29th November 1959. A few days before his departure Mr. Muhammad Yahya Butt, Assistant Imam of the Mosque, Woking, was transferred to the Mosque at Berlin as Imam. Mr. S. Muhammad Tufail, M.A., has taken charge of the Mosque at Woking as officiating Imam.

Mr. S. M. Tufail was invited to speak to a church gathering on Wednesday 25th November at Coulsdon North, Surrey. The Rev. J. N. Ward took the chair. After the lecture there were many questions relating to the Muslim doctrines of faith and Christianity. The Muslim Association of Loughborough College, Loughborough (Midlands), also invited Mr. Tufail to speak to a gathering of the students. Mr. A. H. Uppal presided over the meeting. Mr. Abdul Majid, Editor of *The Islamic Review*, was also asked to address various meetings in London during the months of November and December.



SHORT BOOK NOTICES

THE QUR'ANIC SUFISM, by Dr. Mir Valiuddin, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Barrister-at-Law, Professor of Philosophy, Osmania University. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, India. Rs. 10/-.

"As a student of philosophy and as a professor of that subject for years at the Osmania University, it was open to Dr. Mir Valiuddin to have spread the subject on a wide metaphysical canvas and institute comparisons. He has, however, very rightly confined himself to presenting the view, as has appeared to him, of the mystic heritage which, undisturbed by the disturbance of history, has continued from the earliest times to mould and shape the life of many a godly man and woman in Islam.

The work is intended to present what the author believes to be the contribution of the Qur'an to mysticism, and has therefore a value to all seekers of knowledge on that subject."

AN INTRODUCTION TO SUFI DOCTRINE, by Titus Burckhardt, translated by D. M. Matheson. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore, West Pakistan. Price Rs. 6/-.

"All too many Muslims today are ignorant of the true nature of Sufism or have come to think of it as something extraneous to Islam resulting from borrowing from outside sources long after the days of the Prophet. This book will go a long way to enlighten the reader on the subject.

The author is already well known to readers of French or German for his translations of and commentaries on texts of Ibn 'Arabi and 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili, and he writes not from a scientific or orientalist point of view, but from that of *Tasawwuf* itself and with deep understanding."

TUNISIA UNVEILED, by Thomas Hammerton. Published by Robert Hale Ltd., 63 Old Brompton Road, London, S.W.7. Price 18/- net.

"After three thousand years of occupation by Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Normans, Arabs, Spaniards, Turks and Frenchmen, Tunisia is setting out today, for the first time, to shape her own destiny. This book tells the story of her first days of independence and portrays the country as the author recently saw it.

Tunisia presents an interesting contrast of modern outlook and almost Old Testament primitiveness. This the author describes with sympathy and a lightness of touch which makes entertaining reading. At the same time, his detailed description of the many attractive places to be seen by the visitor, the beaches, the oases, the native bazaars, the mosques and a host of other attractions, together with practical information about how to reach them, may well tempt those in search of 'of-the-beaten-track' holidays to see Tunisia for themselves."

A SURVEY OF NORTH-WEST AFRICA (THE MAGHRIB). Edited by Nevill Barbour, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto. Price 35/- net.

For three centuries before the French conquest of Algiers in 1830, the Barbary coast was known to Europe mainly as the haunt of privateers who menaced Christian shipping. Today the Maghrib, as its inhabitants call it, is developing with the same rapidity as the rest of the Arab world of which, as its name indicates, it is the western portion. The Saharan hinterland has recently been found to contain highly important resources in oil and natural gas, as well as a veritable mountain of iron ore of the finest quality and many other valuable minerals. Algeria, the scene for four years of an Arab and Muslim rising whose object is to restore the country's sovereignty as an independent State, has recently been the scene also of a rising on the part of the European and Christian population; this has succeeded in imposing a new régime on France, in an effort to perpetuate European rule in this North African country. How are these surging forces to be canalized into fruitful channels? How are the Muslim masses, at present under-nourished, under-employed, and virtually without education, to be given food and work and knowledge? Who should profit in the first place from the wealth of the Sahara — the French or the North Africans? What will the relations of independent Barbary be with the Europe of tomorrow? These are some of the questions discussed here.

ELEVEN YEARS OF BIBLE BIBLIOGRAPHY (The Book Lists of the Society for Old Testament Study, 1946-56). Edited by H. H. Rowley, D.D., Theol.D., F.B.A., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature, University of Manchester. The Falcon's Wing Press, May 1958. Price \$7.50.

Eleven Years of Bible Bibliography is a comprehensive listing of books dealing with the Old Testament, compiled by the Society for Old Testament Study. Covering the years 1946-56, it contains, in yearly sequence, short notices of publications bearing on the Old Testament; a composite index for the entire eleven years, and a short description of each title, indicating the area with which each book deals as well as the quality of the book. Headings under which books are listed include "Religion and History", "Text and Versions", "Post-Political Judaism" and, in 1956, "The Dead Sea Scrolls".

MIDDLE EASTERN CAPITALISM. Nine essays by A. J. Meyer, Harvard University Press; London, Oxford University Press. Date of publication January 1960. Price 30/- net.

These nine essays give the Western reader a long-needed survey of the role of capital in under-developed countries.

Focusing on the course of economic growth in the Middle East, Mr. Meyer surveys the problems that face both governments and private investors: changing world patterns of supply and demand, inter-regional conflicts, internal political strife, the lack of skills and technology, and population pressure. In so doing he cites pertinent case studies — Turkish land reform, the economy of Cyprus, the innovating influence of the oil companies — and includes suggestions about Western economic policy.

Mr. Meyer has lived for eight years in the Middle East, as professor, administrator, economic consultant, and (in the summer of 1950) Director of the Gaza Strip. While avoiding doctrinaire prescriptions and easy generalizations, he sees definite hope for strong and enduring ties between the Middle East and the West.

THE LINGUA FRANCA IN THE LEVANT. Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin. By Henry and Renee Kahan, University of Illinois, and Andreas Tietze, University of Istanbul. Published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1958. Price \$15.00.

"The present study on the *Lingua Franca* in the Levant has a double purpose: the interpretation of a certain (semantically and historically well-defined) area of the

Turkish vocabulary, and the demonstration, in the form of brief etymological sketches, of the linguistic-cultural unity of the Mediterranean. The study takes as its starting point the Western and Greek nautical elements in Turkish: these are illustrated as fully as possible. The end point is the Mediterranean distribution and history of each of the terms. In gathering of the non-Turkish material we have paid particular attention to the Arabic, Dalmatian and Greek cognates of the words under discussion, in order to present a more detailed picture of the Eastern (and Southern) Mediterranean than has been possible heretofore. The double orientation, at once Turkish and Mediterranean, of the study is reflected in the composition of our group of workers and in the method followed in the elaboration of the study. Andreas Tietze, the Turkologist, collected nautical terms used in Turkish that were not, in his opinion, of Turkish origin; from these, Renee Kahane drew up a list of the terms that were, in her opinion, Italian or Greek in origin; for each term on this list Tietze gathered as abundant Turkish technical and literary records as possible; the Kahanes outlined briefly the history of each term in the Mediterranean, trying (often in vain) to establish its ultimate origin and sketching its distribution throughout the Mediterranean, from Portugal to Greece, with Tietze adding the corresponding Arabic material."

What our Readers say...

ISLAM IN HOLLAND

Ruychrocklaan 54,
The Hague.
25th December 1959.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will find space in *The Islamic Review* for the following report of our activities about Islam in Holland.

A meeting was held on 16th October 1959 in Hotel Polen Amsterdam, where Mr. R. L. Mellema, of the Royal Institute of the Tropics, Amsterdam, gave an interesting talk about the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Mr. S. Muhammad Tufail, who had recently returned from Pakistan, presided over the meeting. Sh. Mian Muhammad, of Lyallpur, Pakistan, was also present at the meeting and was later introduced to the audience. After the speech, time was given for discussion. Another meeting was arranged on 27th October 1959 at Diligentia, the Hague, where Mr. A. van Onck spoke for half an hour about the principles and general teachings of Islam. A heated discussion followed in which some Christian priests also took part. This meeting was followed by yet another three meetings held on 16th and 26th November and 3rd December 1959. Leaders of various religions were invited to express their opinions on problems concerning morality, sin and redemption. These meetings excited a great interest among the people of the Hague and were all well attended. Dutch papers *Haagsche Courant*, *Haagsche Dagblad* and *Het Vaderland* published reports about these meetings in their columns. Following are the names of the speakers who took part in these inter-religious discussions:

Rev. J. van Rossum (Christian), Mr. G. A. Bashir (Muslim), Rev. P. Lugtigheid (Christian), Mr. A. van Onck (Muslim), Mr. J. Bloemsma (Buddhist), Rev. H. Osenbruggen (Baptist Christian).

Another inter-religious meeting was held at Amsterdam on 16th December, which was presided over by Mr. R. L.

Mellema. The subject of discussion was "The teachings of Moses, Jesus and Muhammad for the modern man". Mr. H. van Praag, Dr. S. van der Woude and Mr. A. van Onck represented Judaism, Christianity and Islam respectively.

On 18th December 1959 a debate took place in Amicitia, the Hague, between a famous Dutch clergyman, Rev. J. Smink, and the writer of these lines, Mr. G. A. Bashir, about the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The hall was full to capacity. Most of the people present felt that Mr. Smink could not bring solid arguments to prove his case.

Besides these public meetings small gatherings have been arranged from time to time at 54 Ruychrocklaan, the Hague, and Stadionplein 11/2 Amsterdam Z.

Yours faithfully,
GHULAM AHMAD BASHIR (H.A.).

* * *

ISLAM IN SCANDINAVIA

(Extract from a letter by Mr. A. Salam Madsen, Høby Sj., Denmark.)

"We have organizations in the three Scandinavian countries, headed by the missionary in Norway, Mr. Kamal Yousuf, H.A (Tromsøgt. 19, Oslo). A plot of land in Oslo has already been purchased for building a mosque. Since January 1959 we have been editing the monthly *Oktiv Islam* (edited by G. H. Eriksson, Bältgatan 4, Stockholm), which has been appearing regularly with the articles in three Scandinavian languages. In Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, Friday services are held at rather regular intervals, and all 'Ids are celebrated. In Denmark several meetings were arranged by various societies, where I spoke on the fundamentals of Islam. I was also twice interviewed by the two daily Danish newspapers. Sometimes I am asked to speak on the "Statsradiofonien" (State Broadcasting). We have also translated and printed small booklets on Islam and Christianity."

List of Books on Islam and Allied Subjects (continued)

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| Golden Deeds of Islam, by M. Yakub Khan. Cr. 8vo, 132 pp. | | 5 | 0 | Teach Yourself Arabic, by Professor A. S. Tritton. 294 pp. | | 7 | 6 |
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