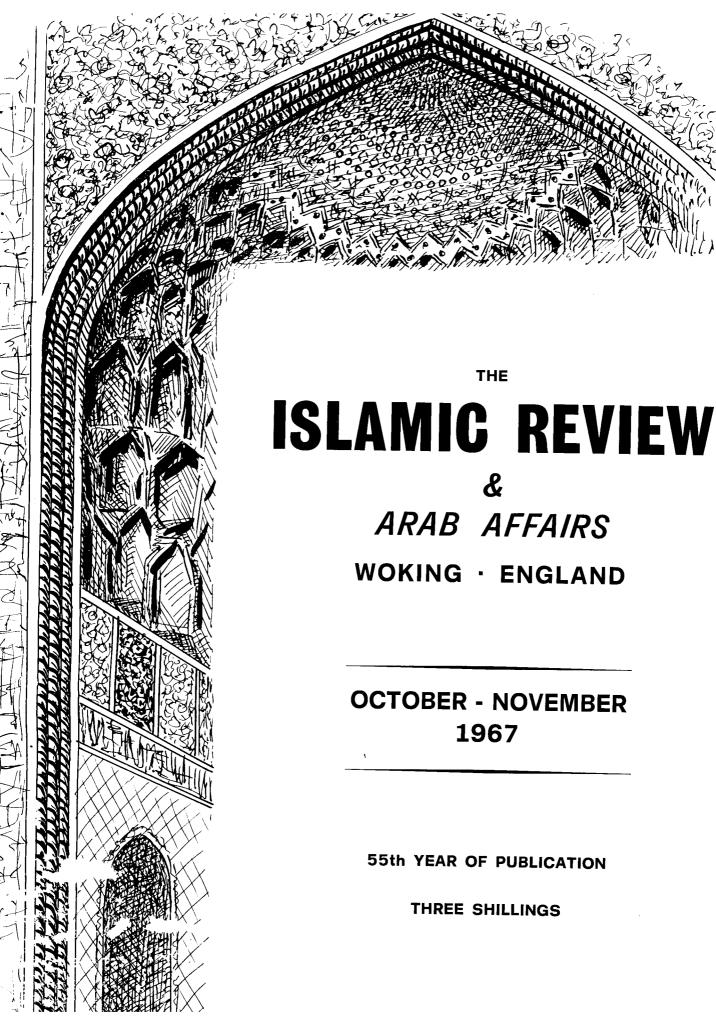
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"Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but he is the Messenger of God and the Seal (last) of the Prophets. And God has full knowledge of all things"

(The Qur'an, 33:40)

"There is no prophet after me" (The Prophet Muhammad)

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Rajab-Sha'ban 1387 A.H.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE WORLD OF ISLAM

Why have not the Zionists been Trounced for their Misdeeds?

When the Israelis proclaimed the annexation of the city of Jerusalem on 28 June 1967 a Christian Arab friend of mine told me, "I am glad the Jews have done it after all." This somewhat startled me. I knew very well that the Arabs, both Muslim and Christian, were implacable in their enmity to Zionism. This was natural enough, because the Zionists had at no time made any real distinction between Christians and Muslims amongst the Arabs of Palestine. They both suffered equally, both were expelled from their homeland, and both were denied the right to return. The Zionists had at one time tried to drive a wedge between Muslim Arabs and Christian Arabs, but found this impossible, for the simple reason that the Muslims and the Christians had, through their prolonged struggle against imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East, become irrevocably united.

In any case, I knew that this Christian Arab friend of mine was no compromiser with the Zionists and had been most outspoken and active in his defence of the Arab nationalist cause. So I asked what he meant by saying he was happy the Israelis had annexed Jerusalem. He told me that he was happy because he thought that by annexing Jerusalem the Israelis had demonstrated beyond the slightest doubt their vicious designs not only against the Arabs but against Islam as a whole, and their contempt for the feelings and pride not only of the Arab nation but of the Muslim nation as a whole. My friend said that now that the Israelis had so dramatically and unmistakably slapped the Muslims in the face the Muslims will have to wake up. The taking over of one of the holiest shrines of Islam in such arrogant and unjust manner would be a sharp and strong electric shock that would jolt Muslims everywhere and awaken them to the reality about Israel and the designs of Zionism. Now the Muslims could see that Zionism was not only the enemy of the Arabs, but the enemy also of Islam. If the Muslims had in the past been wavering in their support and enthusiasm for the Arab cause, and had not responded to the call of brotherhood and come to the aid of the Arabs, the position had altogether changed by the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem. It was no longer a question of coming to the aid of your brother Muslim, with whom your actual and practical ties may not have been very strong, it had become a question of the world of Islam defending itself against Zionism, rather than defending brother Arabs.

The unity of Islam

The argument continued: Did not Islam preach that the Muslim nation was but one nation, and that the entire nation responded and reacted to anything affecting any part of it? In other words, no part of the nation of Islam was remote from the main body, and all the people of Islam stood or fell together. If any cynics or falsifiers had in the past dubbed this an "academic" or "theoretical" proposition, they could not do so after the annexation of Jerusalem. The Israeli act was not directed solely against the Arabs, for Jerusalem was revered by the world of Islam, and beloved of all Muslims. The Israelis were not usurping something exclusively Arab, but rather something characteristically Muslim. Although Jerusalem was also sacred to the Christians, the Christian world did not appear to be unduly perturbed by the Israeli annexation, and political bias against the Muslims and the Arabs, and in favour of the Zionists, was likely to prevent the Christian world from taking any practical steps against Israel in this connection.

It was now going to be altogether different, my Christian friend told me. No longer will the Muslims be lukewarm or wavering in their hostility towards Zionism. Now the world of Islam would rise like one man, to protest against the insult directed against the world of Islam by the annexation of Jerusalem, to demand the restoration of Muslim and Arab rights in Palestine, and to undo firmly the harm inflicted by Israel against Arabism and Islam. Now the cause of the Arabs would be the cause of all the Muslims, and no Muslim can possibly make any mistake about the identity of interests between the Arab and non-Arab sections of the world of Islam. By annexing Jerusalem the Israelis have made their biggest mistake. About 450 million people, most of whom live in independent Muslim states, would be on the march. Faced with this the Israelis would quickly find out that they had bitten more than they could chew, and would promptly disgorge their ill-gotten gains.

All this sounded logical, and very convincing. Great things were expected of the world of Islam. Have they materialized? In July 1967 the United Nations condemned Israel's annexation of Jerusalem. Israel took no notice. No practical steps were adopted by the U.N. to give effect to its decision. Indeed, some Western powers, while paying lip service to the U.N. resolution on Jerusalem, have acted contrary to it by allowing their representatives to attend celebrations, etc., held by the Israelis in Jerusalem, and by dealing with the Israelis in various ways as if they were sovereign in Jerusalem. No Muslim state has effectively protested against this. Indeed — and here is the supreme irony and the most alarming aspect of the whole affair - some Muslim states, or states with significant Muslim minorities, have continued to have diplomatic, consular or trade relations with Israel. It was "business as usual" between Israel and these states after the annexation of Jerusalem. That there should have been any relations between Israel and these states, when Israel had sinned so grievously against the Arabs during the past twenty years, is unpleasant enough. That after the June war and the annexation of Jerusalem there should continue to be any contacts between Israel and these states is, to say the least, shocking and almost criminal.

The Muslims in deep slumber?

What is happening to the world of Islam? Are we dead, as some of our friends and our enemies are saying? Or are we in deep slumber and require a more terrific blow toawaken? Muslim airmen, sailors and soldiers should be training to go to Palestine to redeem Arab and Muslim rights. Muslim states should be collecting money, in taxes and voluntary contributions, to buy weapons to protect Islam and the Muslims (and this includes Arabism and the Arabs). The world of Islam should be stocking up armaments with which to bring our enemy to heel. And not only that. The Muslim states should use every means available to them to exert pressure in the right quarters to ensure support for the Muslim and Arab case. Our relations with states should be governed solely by their attitude towards our national aspirations and our vital interests. We must make other states understand that we would not seek friendship with them, or continue to be friendly, if they demonstrate support for our enemy's unjust actions against us. We must utilize every device to impress upon all states the justice of our case, and induce them to support us. This, indeed, is what the Israelis have been doing all the time. Their tactics have paid dividends, very handsomely so far. The method they have used can serve us even more profitably. The Muslims are, after all, a sizable section of mankind. They are not without significance in the economic, political, strategic and other spheres, and they can play a very important and decisive role on the international stage. If the Muslims consolidate their resources and efforts they can be more than a match to the Zionists. We are not destined to lose in this struggle, and we can, in fact, win decisively and quickly if we make up our mind to stand and fight for our rights and not accept the pain and humiliation which the Zionists and their supporters have so callously inflicted upon us.

If we fight we will win

One of the most distasteful realities of international life today is the domination, nay, terror, practised by American capitalism and world Zionism, and the apparent dejection and helplessness of the world of Islam. Things need not be this way, if only the Muslims were to make a realistic assessment of themselves and of their role in the world. The Zionists have usurped the homes and property of the Palestinian Arabs; they have invaded and continue to occupy vast areas of the territory of Arab countries; they oppress and murder defenceless Arab men, women and children; they wreak havoc upon Arab countries by bombing and sabotaging: they taunt and insult the Arab world and the Muslim world by desecrating Muslim holy places; and they generally behave as if the Arabs and the Muslims do not exist or are worthless in the balance of power. The Arab and Muslim need not put up with all this.

Are the Israelis correct in their assessment of Islam and Arabism? Are we dead? Are we merely sleeping, and will wake up when the needle goes deeper into our side? Or are we neither dead nor asleep, but simply regrouping and awaiting a convenient moment to pounce? If it is the latter, let us hope it will not be long before our blow comes down on the enemy. There is a battle to be fought with a dastardly foe. We can win this battle. In the past the Muslims have appeared to lose the battle with imperialism and Zionism before fighting it. Now we hope they will fight it, and we are sure they will not then lose. They have a just cause, and they have strength, and the combination of these two is the best means for victory.

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A fundamental change is taking place in the West towards religious traditions

One needs neither vivid imagination nor a deep perceptive insight to assert with assurance and confidence that a certain phenomenon is taking place at the present time; and that the general outlook and evaluation of religious traditions on the part of certain nations in the first half of this century are undergoing a fundamental change. Where those traditions were looked upon with disfavour, and a sense of dismay, as ancient, unfit and inadequate to cope with the ever-changing complexity of the human situation, those same traditions are being brought to light after a long period of dormancy, and being assigned an active sustaining role in coping with and resolving contemporary psychological, social and political issues.

In the realm of vacuum, a new one is being created, given importance and assigned meaning. The spiritual vacuum prevailing in the West at the moment is a haunting, perplexing problem that has to be resolved by psychologists, sociologists, and ultimately by political theorists and statesmen.

And whereas the West in general is confronted with this spiritual vacuum complex problem, trying to resolve it by reverting to fundamental spiritual values and religious traditions in what might be termed as neo-resistance, Soviet Russia is made painfully aware of its failure in its sustained and persistent declared war against organized religion for half a century. We are told that a relatively large percentage of those who profess religion in Soviet Russia are under forty

years of age, a strange phenomenon indeed for those who spent their life under Bolshevik rule, being exposed to the most anti-religion state organized systematic opposition in the history of mankind. The Soviet authorities were astonished and in all probability Western observers were surprised when only last year thousands of Muslim youths in Tashkand appeared to cheer the Muslim Pakistani leader, Ayyúb Khán, and to seek participation in Friday prayer with him.

Though the followers of Marx are still relentless in their war against religions, the abstract phraseology of "the opium of the masses" has lost its emotional impact and appeal when faced with the concreteness of statistics and the realities of the situation. In the world of slogans, "the opium of the masses" had to disappear, and the new descriptive phrase, "Civilized Phenomenon," came into existence to account for the adherence to religion in Russia against overwhelming odds.

The Muslim world and atheistic currents and imported ideologies

It might be both obvious and redundant for me to assert that a conflict is taking place in the Arab world in particular and in the Islamic world in general. However, the nature and aims of such conflict are engulfed with a veil of vagueness that one should attempt to pierce and clarify. Some dedicated Muslim leaders are determined to oppose the atheistic currents and imported ideologies undermining our religious traditions. To achieve this purpose, those leaders have devoted themselves to waging defensive campaigns

against such ideologies confronting them both from within and outside the area; and in counteracting the influence of such ideologies they have armed themselves with the *Shari'ah* as an original system of ideology under which all Muslims can be united in faith, and to which all Muslims could adhere as the most suitable system for their human situation, instead of a substitute which is so foreign and so alien to the nature of the land and the character of the people.

And though it might seem that the campaign waged by those opposing Islamic solidarity is purely political in nature, the more discerning observer would have no difficulty in ascertaining that what is at stake is a basic conflict of ideologies. Arab socialist leaders strive to confine the conflict to its political framework, and spare no effort to keep it on that level. We can readily comprehend the motivations behind such efforts. Once the nature of the conflict is reduced to its basic issues, it becomes apparent that the masses are faced with a significant choice between two alternatives --- socialism or the Islamic traditions. What alarms Socialist leaders is the predictability of the result of such choice when the Arab masses are made aware that the Shari'ah is the only solution for their psycho-political anxieties, its prime purpose being to serve as a criterion of distinction between good and evil and striking that profound equilibrium between the individual's obligations towards the community and his rights within it.

The psycho-political anxieties in the Muslim world are being exploited by some leaders to introduce imported ideologies

Some of us in all probability would be questioning what I mean by the phrase psycho-political anxieties. I shall attempt a descriptive example. The majority of the pure good-intentioned Arab youth, that embraced Socialism as an ideology, did not do so as a result of a true belief and faith in Socialism per se; but rather as an anti-West oriented ideology. The West in its contact with this area did not leave the best of all possible images. Its imperialistic sojourn precipitated a sense of disappointment; and its role in Palestine left a taste of bitterness. This mixture of frustrated unfulfilment of Arab dreams and aspirations is what I refer to as psycho-political anxieties, and which in turn lead some of the Arab youth to adopt Socialism as an anti-West reaction.

Those well-versed in the ways and means of International Communism maintain that there is a definite *modus operandi* for the seepage of the ideology in areas of turmoil and general dissatisfaction.

Professor Cragg¹ pointed out this fact fourteen years ago when he described the example of China with a word of warning to what might happen in the Arab and Islamic world. The founders of Red China, Chien-Tu-Hsin and Li-Ta-Chao were primarily two nationalist leaders, whose sole objective was the modernization of China. They sought assistance in the West; however, with a predictable sense of greed, the West exploited the weak economic and political fibres of China, leaving a universal sense of resentment that the Communist movement capitalized on — if one could use the verb — to establish a wedge which ultimately caused the loss of China.

Professor Cragg, in relating this example of China, did not imply that the Arab and Muslim world should, out of necessity, follow suit. He even entertained some doubts as to the inevitability of this result, stressing the fact of Islamic traditions as a dynamic secular self-sufficient system within which the basis of social justice can be established, and the

evils of capitalism counteracted.

This same notion was further emphasized by Harold B. Smith, who again fourteen years ago maintained that the *Shari'ah* has such a complete independent system of thought that enables Muslims to have in the political arena an independent distinctive position — different from both Communism and prevailing Western political philosophy — and enables them in the social field to provide social justice, and guarantee democracy and individual freedom.

Notwithstanding this active role of the Shari'ah, the existence and wide spread of what I referred to as psychopolitical anxieties against the West, enabled some of our leaders to take advantage of this, and lead astray many Arab and Muslim youth, in adopting Socialism and paving the road to Communism. And in complete innocence, and sometimes ignorance unbecoming the educated sector of the masses, they expressed their anti-West resentment by adopting Socialism, denying in the process a system so inherently ingrained in their intellectual and national traditions.

The closing of the door of Ijtihad a reactionary step

It becomes fashionable nowadays to point the finger of accusation to the West and blame it for the spread of Socialism in the Muslim and the Arab world as a direct result of the West's resistance to the Islamic traditions during its imperialistic sojourn in the area. I do not deny that the historical intolerant Christian impulse which crowded this area with the Crusaders' armies, and their subsequent resulting failures, had something to do with the behaviour of the West in undermining Islamic traditions. However, we cannot justifiably maintain that the West was the only and sole cause of the frustrated alienation of the Muslims.

Looking from within, the Muslims themselves have to carry the burden and share the blame. Centuries before any contact with the West, a reactionary movement took place, and the elaborate dynamic intellectual stream came to an abrupt standstill after closing the doors of *Ijtihad* (free investigation). The *Shari'ah* became static and confined to the voluminous traditions of the four schools of thought (Hanafí, Sháfi'í, Málikí and Hanbalí). Furthermore, the universal phenomenon of exploiting religion as a tool of suppression has been fully employed in various periods in history by Muslim rulers.

The attitude of the West towards Islam is changing

Circumstances and events have now changed. The West is viewing Islamic traditions with a long due understanding and respect. Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, expressed this change of outlook on the part of the West in saying:

"Today the anxious countries of the West find in the Islamic world some of their most bold and uncompromising allies in resisting the drive for world supremacy by those whose prophet is Marx. We have become more objective about history and more tolerant of religious differences. Trade with the Middle East adds the element of expediency to other motives for study of its laws and institutions."

¹ From his lecture "The Intellectual Impact of Communism upon Contemporary Islam", delivered during a symposium on "Islamic Law" held at Princeton University, 1953.

² From his lecture "The Moslem Doctrine of its Bearing on Social Policy and Political Theory", delivered during a symposium on "Islamic Law" held at Princeton University, 1953.

Edward Lambert, the founder of comparative law, and Rene David, Professor of Law at the University of Paris, pay tribute to the Islamic *Shari'ah* by teaching and writing about it as one of the three essential legal systems in existence.

The famous Italian jurist D. de Santillana³ justifies his interest and the interest of Western jurists in the *Shari'ah* by maintaining that as a system of law it had inspired many modern legal principles in Western society, such as the very important concept of limited partnership in commercial law.

Is the Shari'ah capable of developing and evolving to meet the demands of contemporary issues?

In our own Arab and Muslim world, a certain awareness of, and a rudimentary intellectual curiosity in, the Shari'ah is taking place at the moment. Even during the darkest periods of stagnation, after closing the doors of free investigation, devout revolutionary reformers with a commendable singleness of purpose attempted to remove the superimposed inhibitive blanket shrouding the Shari'ah. Such movement was started by Taqí al-Dín Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328 C.E.), and after him, following in his path, was his student, Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 1365 C.E.).

These were followed in later centuries by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahháb (b. 1720 C.E.), Jamál al-Dín al-Afghání (d. 1898 C.E.) and Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905 C.E.). In general, these movements can be characterized as being erratic, unorganized and lacking in the thread of continuity. Notwithstanding the distinguished fruitful results that were achieved by the reformist movement, their impact in combating Communist doctrine now is almost negligible. This is due mainly to the fact that the reformers concentrated their efforts to purify the traditions from superstitious falsehoods that blemished them during a long sustained period of inertness. They did that by reverting to the original concepts of Islam during its formative stage. Their contemporary social and political problems were not stressed upon or included in their direct effort of purification; and thus they did not provide us with a ready-to-order system to oppose Communism at the present. This makes the task of applying the Shari'ah to contemporary problems intellectually difficulty. not only in exposing the principles applicable but also in deducting and deriving such principles.

Before proceeding to an examination of the applicability of the *Shari'ah* to certain contemporary issues, let us consider and ascertain the capability of the system to develop and evolve.

The two-fold meaning of the phrase "Islamic Shari'ah"

The "Islamic Shari'ah" as a phrase has a twofold meaning. Generally and widely construed it denotes everything that has been written by Muslim jurists throughout the centuries, whether it dealt with contemporaneous issues of the time or in anticipation of future ones. The jurists derived their principles from the Qur'an and the Sunnah (way of action and the opinions of the Prophet Muhammad), and from the other sources of the Shari'ah such as the Ijmá (the consensus of the community represented by its scholars and learned men), and public interest considerations. The Shari'ah looked upon in this wide scope constitutes a huge juristic tradition the value of which depends on the individual jurist himself, or even the particular problem confronting him. As such the system has a tremendous scholastic value to the Muslim; however, it has no binding authority, since within

it one might find different, and sometimes contradictory, principles resolving the same issues, depending on the juristic school that propagated the principle. Furthermore, it cannot have a binding authority since circumstances that brought about a certain principle might not be in existence any more, and surely we cannot maintain that previous Muslim jurists have anticipated all our existing contemporary problems. Yet, as I said before, in this wide sense one cannot deny the Shari'ah's scholastic value as an elaborate system of deduction which should be relied upon for future derivations of principles.

Construed narrowly, the *Shari'ah* is confined to the undoubted principles of the Qur'án, to what is true and valid in the *Sunnah*, and the consensus of the community represented by its scholars and learned men during a certain period and regarding a particular problem, provided such consensus was possible. Viewed as such, the *Shari'ah* has a binding authority on every Muslim, and he is obliged to follow and employ it to resolve his affairs, deriving what is not explicit of its principles by the methods and means, some of which I shall discuss later in this essay.

The Shari'ah and the modern developing countries of Islam

The importance of differentiating between the wide and narrow scope of the Shari'ah is evident in countries that fully implement the system, such as the kingdom of Su'udi Arabia. As I explained earlier, not all the principles of the Shari'ah in its wider sense are of a binding authority, because of certain inherent difficulties in attempting to harmonize some of them. Furthermore, one cannot choose one juristic school for implementation to the exclusion of all others, which was done in the past, since as a logical consequence one would have to maintain that the principles of the other schools are not valid, or at least, are not worthy of being followed.

According to the well-known Shari'ah principle "The validity of that on which there is a difference can be questioned, but not the validity of that on which there is consensus", it becomes imperative for countries that fully implement the Shari'ah, like Sa'údí Arabia, and for countries that partially implement it, like most of the other Muslim countries, to adopt the narrow meaning of Shari'ah, confined to the Qur'án, the Sunnah, and consensus; then select principles from the various juristic schools with no exceptions, the criterion being what is more appropriate to the needs of that particular country. Such countries could legislate new solutions for novel problems, deriving such solutions from the general principles of the Shari'ah and considerations of public interest and communal welfare.

On the basis of what is stated above, I think one ought to look at the *Shari'ah* metaphorically as an organic creature, growing, developing and evolving; attached with a strong link of interdependence to its society, adapting to its needs, and changing with different circumstances. The *Shari'ah* must be viewed as an adequate system meeting the needs of society at any particular interval in history. However, its intrinsic value is not in this momentary adequacy, but in its capability to satisfy the requirements of an ever-changing society.

The Iman al-Shahrastání (d. 1153 C.E.) stated the matter in the following metaphysical terms. He said: "Generally speaking we know for certain that the incidents and cases of devotional rituals and juristic acts can neither be enumerated

³ Law and Society in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (Oxford 1931), p. 310.

nor counted. We further know for certain that there is no provision for every case; nor can this be imagined. Since provisions are finite, and since incidents are infinite, and what is infinite cannot be limited with what is finite, it is certain then that investigation (Ijtihád) and analogy (Qiyás) must be considered in order to have a rule for every case."

The influence of environments on juristic modes of thought

It is a well-known fact that different environments give rise to different rules of law, and changing circumstances often necessitate a modification in a rule of law. A well-known Shari'ah principle states "change of laws because of change of circumstances cannot be denied".

A classical example of the influence of environment on juristic modes of thought is shown in the writings of the Imám al-Sháfi'í. Moving from Baghdad to Egypt, and being exposed to new environmental customs, he changed many of his legal opinions, and a new school of thought came about different from his old one in Iraq though the jurist himself, the Qur'án and the Sunnah were constant and the only variable was the new environment in Egypt.

Muslim jurists have thoroughly discussed the secondary sources of the Shari'ah, sources other than the Qur'an, the Sunnah and consensus, and there is almost a unanimous agreement that analogy (Qiyás) is one of the most important methods of deriving new principles. Analogy is an intelligent deduction from analogous situations based on study, thoughtful interpretation and individual insight. They reasoned that God, the Prime Legislator, in revealing judgments, had specified aims and purposes. Thus, if we were confronted with two similar situations, and their 'illah, which is the efficient cause or the attribute of the matter under consideration that gives rise to a judgment, was the same, yet one situation was governed by a provision and the other was not, we can use that same provision to govern both situations. A mechanical application of analogy in this sense, however, might result in judgments which are unjust, or against public interest, or even contrary to a provision. Faced with this possibility, Muslim jurists decided to forsake analogy and employ as guiding principles, in their derivation of new judgments, customs, welfare or benefit, and the elimination of hardship.

The adoption of public interest and welfare as a source of legislation

In the Hanafí school of thought this is referred to as *Istihsán* or preference, where the jurist derives new judgments and principles from the Qur'án and the *Sunnah* not by analogy but according to public interest and welfare.

The Málikí school jurists gave great importance to this kind of *Ijtihád* (as defined earlier), which is based on public interest, and in the process they have elaborated their well-known theory of *al-Masálih al-Mursalah*, which translated literally means "unrestricted interests and welfare" and denotes a utility or benefit which is not revealed or provided for in any explicit text and has to be arrived at by derivation.

Those well-versed in the Shari'ah are quite aware of the central and important position the notion of public interest and welfare occupies in its principles and judgments. Excluding for the moment the rules governing devotional rituals, almost all judgments and principles in the Qur'an and the Sunnah are based on direct interest to the community and intended as such by the Prime Legislator. The jurists' task is

to search for the particular public interest involved and identify its corresponding principle, whether revealed or derived. In this sense Ibn al-Qayyim described the *Shari'ah* as a system based on the welfare of the individuals in the community both in his everyday life and in anticipation of the life thereafter. It is all justice, all compassion, all benefits and all wisdom; thus any principle which becomes unjust, uncompassionate, corrupt and futile is not a part of the *Shari'ah*, but inserted therein by false interpretation.⁵

The adoption of public interest and welfare as a source of legislation is almost unanimously consented to by Muslim jurists. Even the minority that assailed the theory, such as the Sháfi'í school of thought, fully implemented it, but by different methods and under different descriptions. For example, al-Ghazálí (d. 1111 C.E.), in trying to limit the scope of public interest as a source of legislation, defined it as follows: "The preservation of religion, of life, of mind and understanding, of descendants and property". Yet inherent in this definition is a very wide scope of application for public interest considerations.

Views on the permissibility or otherwise of the adoption of public interest and welfare as a source of legislation overriding the Qur'an and the Sunnah

Actually, there is no real issue or conflict among Muslim jurists as to the employment of public interest and welfare as a source of legislation. However, the application of public interest to supersede a revealed provision is one of the most exciting and important matters facing *Shari'ah* scholars.

Though the history of Islamic jurisprudence contains many examples of cases which were governed at one time by an explicit provision either from the Qur'án or the Sunnah, and then subsequently decided as against the provision in accordance with public interest considerations, there is a real conflict among Muslim jurists as to the permissibility of such process.

'Umar's example

The second Caliph, Umar Ibn al-Khattáb (d. 644 C.E.), provided the first example for such conflict by deciding certain cases differently from what has been revealed, due to certain changes that took place in the Islamic community after the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

The Imam al-Túfí (d. 1310 C.E.), of the Hanbalí school of thought, adopted the most extreme position in maintaining that public interest supersedes and takes precedence over explicit provision even if revealed by the Qur'an and the Sunnah; thus in case of conflict between a public interest consideration and a revealed provision, the former has priority, no matter how authoritative the provision is. He reasoned that public interest is the intent and the end sought by the Prime Legislator, revealed provisions and other sources are only means to achieve these ends, and ends should always supersede the means.

The Málikí, Hanbalí and Hanafí schools of law

The jurists of the Málikí school of thought adopted a

⁴ Al-Milal wa al-Nihal, Vol. 1, p. 34.

⁵ Ibn al-Qayyim, A'alám al-Muwaqqi'in, Vo.1 III, p. 1 and thereafter.

⁶ Al-Manár, Cairo, Vol. IX.

⁷ There are those like Ibn Rajab who doubt that al-Túfí was a Hanbalí and claim that he belonged to the Shi'ah. See *Tabauát al-Hanábilah*, Vol. II, p. 495, from the manuscript found in Dár al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, Cairo.

more moderate position than that of the Tufi in assigning priority to public interest if the significance or the authority of the provision under consideration is not certain and can be questioned. For example, if there was a Qur'ánic provision which was in conflict with a particular public interest consideration, and the significance of that provision was not certain or could not be definitely interpreted, one can then either dispense with the text or interpret it in such a way that it coincides with the interest consideration and blend with it. The same holds true in the case of singularly reported *Hadith*, on the grounds of doubtful authority.⁸

The Hanbalí jurists follow the Malikís in their moderation, and though they assign priority to provisions even if the significance of which is doubtful, Ibn Taymiyyah, and his student Ibn al-Qayyim, attach great importance to public interest by either wildly or narrowly construing a provision to coincide with a public interest. Ibn al-Qayyim related that his teacher, Ibn Taymiyyah, passed a group of Tartars drinking wine. His disciples wanted to forbid them from doing so, but Ibn Taymiyyah did not allow this, his reasoning being that God prohibited wine because it distracts from prayer and devotional rituals, but in the case of the Tartars wine distracts them from murder, loot and rape, which is an excellent example of public interest consideration.

In addition to those jurists who maintained that explicitly revealed provisions can be modified and sometimes superseded if in conflict with public interest, there were some jurists who maintained that if a text was based on a custom and that custom had changed, then the text had to follow suit and be modified accordingly.

The Imam Abú Yúsuf al-Hanafí (d. 798 C.E.), the Judge of Baghdad, adopted this theory. It is reported that he changed a judgment in a *Hadith* which was based on considering barley as measured by volume because such was the custom at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, which changed subsequently at the time of Abú Yúsuf, and barley was measured by weight.

Al-Quráfí, of the Málikí school of thought, agreed with Abú Yúsuf, and maintained that every principle in the Shari'ah based on custom could be changed or modified when such custom is changed.¹⁰

'Illah and Hikmah

Muslim jurists say that a judgment is dependent on its 'illah (the attribute in the matter that gives rise to the judgment), that it only came into being with it and disappears without it. Some of these jurists differentiated between the 'illah and the Hikmah (literally translated "act of wisdom") of a principle, by saying that the 'illah is what can be objectively ascertained and measured, while the Hikmah is the value judgment and the underlying reason for the principle. For example, in the principle that a traveller can break the fast in Ramadán, the 'illah is the objective act of travelling itself, and the Hikmah is the elimination of hardship. Thus, if a king was to travel during Ramadán with all the convenience of comfort and luxury, he can still break the fast since the 'illah, the objective fact of travelling, is present though the Hikmah, the elimination of hardship, is not involved. And if a labourer in the city during the month of Ramadán was faced in his daily work with a hardship similar to that of any travelling, he cannot break the fast since the *'illah* is absent though the *Hikmah* is present.

In accordance with the general principles of the Shari'ah, and by virtue of what various jurists said as to the importance of public interest, it seems that the differentiation between the 'illah and the Hikmah is only relevant in matters of devotional rituals. In matters of secular and commercial transactions it could be said that a judgment is dependent on its Hikmah (underlying subjective reason), coming into being with it, and disappearing without it. For example, in the Qur'anic text, "Alms are for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the funds; for those whose hearts have been recently reconciled to truth,"11 the Hikmah, in giving those whose hearts have been reconciled to truth a share in alms, was that the Prophet Muhammad in the early period of Islam wanted certain groups to adhere to Islam either by weaning their hostility or by buttressing their faith. When the second Caliph, 'Umar, cancelled this particular share in alms he told those groups asking for alms, "This was something that the Messenger of God used to give you in order to bring you nearer to Islam; and now since God had brought power and dignity to Islam, we need not wean your hostility. Either you stay in Islam or the sword is between us. We do not give for Islam anything; those who want to believe can do so and those who want to remain without faith can do so." This is a classical example of how the withering away of the Hikmah can result in abolishing the corresponding principle. In this regard we might add that it is quite possible for a principle to be reinstated if its corresponding Hikmah return into being. Perhaps by now the ability of the Shari'ah for evolution and development in meeting contemporary issues is much clearer, even for those who looked upon it as a purely religious system employed centuries ago, too ancient and inadequate to cope with our modern problems.

The mistake Western writers make when writing on the Shari'ah

The religious essence and value of the Shari'ah can never be over-estimated. Many Western Orientalists who wrote about the Shari'ah failed to distinguish between what is purely religious and the principles of secular transactions. Though both are derived from the same source, the latter principles have to be viewed as a system of civil law, based on public interest and utility, and therefore always evolving to an ideal best. The religious element serves as a model code of ethics — so lacking in Western positive law — the purpose of which is to strengthen secular principles, by giving them a sense of dependence on divine guidance, and creating a subconscious respect for compliance, even in those beyond the reach of enforcement. This inter-relation between the neligious and secular element is distinctively clear in certain opinions of some of the Hanafí jurists, who maintained that if a ruler is to order his people to fast on a particular day, as a requirement of public necessity, due to economic or other unforeseen circumstances, they should comply by fasting as if participating in a religious ritual. The Prophet Muhammad himself had set precedence for this religioussecular relationship when he said, "I am only human, if I order something pertaining to your religion comply, if I order something of my own opinion consider it in the light

⁸ Al-Shátibí, al-I'tisám, Vol. II, and al-Muwáfagát, Vol. II.

⁹ Mahmassání Subhí, Philosophy of Jurisprudence in Islam, p. 212. 10 Ibid., p. 214.

¹¹ The Qur'an, 9:60,

that I am only human". Or when he said, "You know better about your civil non-religious matters".

The statement that it is too late for the Shari'ah to face contemporary issues is an exaggerated prejudiced statement, made possible because of the closing of the doors of investigation many centuries ago. The spirit and general principles of the Shari'ah are as valid today as they were yesterday many centuries ago and as they will be tomorrow many centuries to come. They are like a green oasis in the desolate desert of our lives which is overcrowded with problems and conflicting ideologies.

The conflict between the right of the individual and the right of the community and the Shari'ah

Perhaps the fundamental issue of our time, which in turn gives rise to many complex issues, is the legal economic conflict between the individual, his rights and authority on one hand, and the community, its rights and authority, on the other. Though the problem of the relationship between the individual and the community is not new, its implication in our generation is vastly important. The conflict in our generation has produced an almost complete polarity of two international conflicting ideologies. Politically and economically the conflict goes on, in the name of the individual and his freedom on one side, and in the name of the working proletariat on the other. In their zeal and dedication, the supporters and opponents of one ideology or the other employ glowing mottoes that often dim the fundamental issues of the struggle. Reduced to its bare essentials, the Socialist camp in concentrating its effort on the welfare of the community, disregarded the individual, and dismissed his separate existence. In the process, the individual was deprived of most of his rights, his dignity, and the fruits of his toil. In providing the individual with labour, nourishment, and clothes, the Socialist camp appropriated his political and social rights, infringed on his privacy and individual freedom, and curbed his creative ability, in fear of possible conflict with the welfare of the community.

The camp that is referred to as the free world is so over-zealous in its defence of the individual's freedom, rights and dignity that it overlooks the acts of some individuals in exercising such rights in a way that jeopardises the community and the interests of other individuals. This camp places the individual on the same level as the community, and in concentrating on providing the individual with his political rights, it sometimes neglects his economic interests and does not provide him with nourishment and clothing, as is the case in the Socialist camp.

Though the political conflict between these two camps is still in process, the real gap between them is narrowing through moderation. The Socialists, after unsuccessful and bitter experience, have started to abandon their concept of complete and absolute material equality, and started providing the individual with some private ownership rights. In the last few years they have even considered employing the profit motive as an incentive in their industrial planning. The countries of the free world, in combating the flood of Communism, are regulating the uncontrolled extreme acts of the individual by legislations that restrict the absolute right of ownership, restrain unfair commercial competition and provide the rudimentary elements of social welfare to protect the individual from unemployment, poverty and sickness. As a result of this modernisation on both sides — capitalist and socialist — the gap will narrow to a point where it will disap-

pear, and the two camps shall coincide, resulting in one universal ideology where the individual will retain his freedom, rights and dignity, to be employed in the benefit and welfare of the community without competition or infringement.

This universal ideology I envisage, and which will come into existence some day, is very similar to the system brought about by Islam fourteen centuries ago, when within the sacrosanct framework of the community the individual toils and labours, his activities neither conflicting with those of his brethren nor trespassing on the limits of the framework. If the individual is to violate this equilibrium, he shall fade away, and the sacrosanct framework shall remain intact.

The meaning of social solidarity in Islam

This concept of the communal framework came about at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, and was concretely and practically employed. Thereafter the cases and writings of the jurists filled in the gaps, and gave substance and wholeness to the concept. Notwithstanding the numerous references in books of Islamic jurisprudence to this communal concept, I have not been able to find the complete story, with its full particulars and applications, in any one juristic writing. I do not intend now to relate here the whole story, but I shall discuss some of its main features and applications in society.

Before venturing into my story, it might be appropriate to choose a title for it, and I am going to borrow from Professor Duguit the title he chose for his famous social theory, "La Solidarite Sociale," and call my story social solidarity in Islam.

What is meant by social solidarity in Islam is the existence of that state of affairs where the individual is charged with the responsibility of the community welfare and protection. Individuals partake in the service of the community, each according to his native ability and knowledge, in such a way that needs of the community are satisfied by a division of labour. The obligation thus imposed on individuals is to be considered both as a collective obligation and as an individual obligation. This was eloquently put by the Prophet Muhammad when he said, "The faithful are to one another like (parts of) a building — each part strengthening the others". Or when he said, "You will recognize the faithful by their mutual compassion, love and sympathy. They are like one body; if one of its parts is ill, the whole body suffers from sleeplessness and fever."12 Therefore in the social solidarity of the Islamic community, individuals are not permitted to neglect their duties towards the community, which is looked upon as the building or the solid structure, in order not to weaken any part of it, resulting in its collapse. By the same token the individuals collectively are not permitted to neglect the weak and the needy since "The Faithful are like one man; if his eye suffers, his whole body suffers; and if his head suffers, his whole body suffers." Put in modern legal terms a duty is imposed upon and owed by the individuals towards the community. If they fail in or neglect that duty, something very similar to Tort liability attaches to each individual.

Individual-collective obligation

To clarify this point, some Muslim jurists maintained that the community, whether large or small, has certain needs

12 The Sahih of Muslim, Vol. VII. p. 95.

and requirements, on which the existence of the community depends. Therefore there should exist in the community teachers, physicians, different kinds of labourers, soldiers, police, merchants, farmers, etc.; furthermore, an obligation is imposed on each individual in that community to be a teacher, a doctor, a farmer, etc., but this obligation is referred to in the Shari'ah as Fard al-Kifáyah — a sort of an individual-collective obligation. If fulfilled by some, it is fulfilled by all. This is different from what is known in the Shari'ah as Fard al-'Ayn, which is a mandatory individual obligation that cannot be delegated and has to be fulfilled by the individual himself.

When there exist in the community different groups, each partaking in a function to satisfy a certain need of the community in such a way that all the needs are met, then the individual-collective obligation is fulfilled, and no liability, whether moral or otherwise, attaches to any individual in that community. However, if the community as a whole had failed to meet one of its needs, for lack of a certain group to provide that particular function, then the community and every individual therein is liable and obligated to provide that service or function.

The Imam al-Sháfi'í described this kind of obligation as a "public-private duty", where in accordance with the general principle, all individuals in that community are bound to perform that duty; however, not all of them perform it, but only certain groups within it do.

Al-Shátibí (d. 1388 C.E.) maintains that the community represented by him who is in authority must facilitate to, and prepare the individuals in the community, to perform the individual-collective obligations. If he who is in authority neglects this preparation, the community is obligated to force him to do so, or endeavour to replace him.¹³

The individual and the community

Methods of preparation of the individuals have been suggested based on ability and native capacity. Al-Shátibí divides the process of education and learning into three stages. The first stage is obligatory, and every individual should go through it. The other two stages are for those who are mentally capable of going through it, the third stage being for those of genius and the highest stage of learning.¹⁴

From this juristic introduction to the communal concept in Islam one can conclude the following basic facts:

One: The individual is the central unit of activity in the community, and must be given all the opportunities that prepare him to carry on his functions and activities.

Two: The community is the end and aim of the individual's activity, and is the limit at which the individual's activity ends. Within this communal framework the individual has complete freedom of action and the right to the fruits and rewards generated thereby.

Three: The community is responsible for the preparation of the individual to fulfil his individual-collective obligation, and the community, represented by him who is in authority, must enforce the fulfillment of such obligation. It is also responsible, as we shall see later, to provide the livelihood of the individual.

From the individual as the starting-point and unit of activity to the community, the end, aim and limit of such

activity, we can venture and investigate the concrete application of this concept, to verify how the unit works in absolute freedom within the framework of the whole and how the whole is responsible for its units.

A. PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

In Islam all property is owned by God

I shall begin my exposition by discussing the right of private ownership; the emphasis on which was used by some individuals under capitalism to control and interfere with the welfare of the community, and the rejection of which was used by Socialism to deprive society from the full advantages of the individual's activity.

Islam, as usual, starts with the concept of the community by declaring that all property is owned by God. Those who study the *Shari'ah* realize that when a certain right is described as belonging to God, what is meant is that it belongs to the community, or what is referred to legally as a public right. The Qur'an emphasized this concept in more than one place in stating:

"Is it not (the case) that to God belongeth whatever is in the heavens and on earth?" "

and in stating

"Yea, give them something yourselves out of the means which God has given to you." 16

God then created everything on this earth for man and the Qur'ánic emphasis is

"It is He Who hath created for you al! things that are on earth." ¹⁷

As to the legal nature of this right bestowed upon us, it was described by the Qur'an in the following terms:

"Believe in God and His Messenger, and spend out of the substance whereof He has made you heirs." "8

Al-Zamakhsharí in explaining this concept said:

"The property you have in your hands is God's by virtue of Him making and creating it. He supplied you with it and permitted you to reap its benefits, and made you his heirs and successors in disposing of it, but it is not really yours and you are only God's agents and representatives."

God's ownership of everything in Islam is not a philosophical concept per se

This general idea of God's ownership of everything is not a philosophical concept *per se*, but an important basic right of the individual *vis-à-vis* the property he is entrusted with, in case the act of ownership was to result in harmful and injurious effects to others and the community. It further imposes an obligation upon the individual to own it for his benefit and that of the community. And last, it sets the limits at which joint ownership ceases if the welfare of the community demands that, or the need of another individual in

¹³ Al-Shátibí, al-Muwáfaqát, Vol. I, pp. 119-124.

¹⁴ Al-Shátibí, al-Muwáfaqát.

¹⁵ The Qur'an, 10:55.

¹⁶ The Qur'an, 24:33.

¹⁷ The Qur'an, 2:29.

¹⁸ The Qur'an, 57:7.

the same society, to that particular property reaches the stage of extreme necessity.

As long as these Islamic connotations are clear and inherent in the concept of ownership, one can refer to this private right as ownership right, and once this right is vested, we shall recognize it and protect it. Islam, in bestowing upon this right of ownership a sense of sanctity, emphasizes the ways it could be protected by means compatible with practicability and community welfare. The sanctity of ownership is likened to the sanctity of blood.¹⁹ The owner of property is permitted all means of defending it, including fighting, and if he is killed in the process of defending his property he is considered a martyr.²⁰ If a hand steals the property that hand is amputated.²¹ If the community does not have a well-defined, clear utility in appropriating the property, the ownership of the individual cannot be interfered with or infringed upon.²²

Speaking in legal terminology, the concept of ownership I have been discussing can be reduced to its two elements: the ownership of the legal title and the ownership of the equitable or beneficial title. Islam in principle vests legal title in God and vests the equitable beneficial title in the holder of the property. Thus the concept of trust is created where the beneficiary can exploit and reap the fruits of the property provided he does not violate the conditions laid out by the holder of the legal title who is God the owner of everything.

Since the beneficial title, from a practical point of view, is more important than the bare legal title, and since there are no conditions restricting the freedom of the beneficial title holder, except those pertaining to the welfare of the community, the individual is given the utmost freedom to use his property as he wishes within the communal framework.

Adopting this view of ownership right, we can can borrow something else from Professor Duguit besides the title "Social Solidarity" that I borrowed earlier, and refer to this right of ownership as a "Social Function". Our reason for borrowing this reference is that the legal analysis of the concept of ownership in Islam justifies it. The owner of property or the functioneer is vested with extensive authorities which he exercises for his own benefit and the benefit of the community. However, if it is proven that he is unfit to exercise his function, due to a weakness of mind or immaturity, he is removed from his function temporarily until his fitness is proven again. The Qur'an put the matter in the following terms:

"To those weak of understanding make not over your property which God hath made a means of support for you, but feed and clothe them therewith."²³

Furthermore, if the functionary acts in such a manner that is detrimental to the welfare of the community, his actions will be interdicted and the damage done corrected. If the owner dies without an issue or heir, the property reverts to the community, since it is the original owner of the right in the chain of title. The *Imám* (the ruler) becomes the heir of those that have no heirs, and the *Imám* is the symbol of the community in Islam. The functionary is charged with the duty of performing his function; if he neglects it, he is liable for punishment. The Qur'án warns against the hoarding of gold and silver without investment. This all goes to show the importance of ownership as a social function. The Imam Málik (d. 795 ca. C.E.) gave an opinion to the effect that if property right was created in virgin land by cultivating it and subsequently the owner or his heirs failed to reap the benefit

of exploiting it, then ownership lapses and comes to an end. Other jurists maintained that he who is in authority shall impose an obligation upon the owner to cultivate the land.

The Shari'ah is the first known legal system that has restricted the authority of the possessor of the right, and put limitation on the exercise of individual rights when such practice impaired and harmed others. The Qur'an explicitly prohibited the arbitrary exercise of many rights such as wills, divorce, agency, guardianship, etc.²⁴

Two principles for the exercise of the right of ownership

When the Prophet Muhammad was confronted with a case brought by a man from Medina against Samurah Ibn Jundab, the plaintiff was claiming injury from the date trees of the defendant which had extended to the plaintiff's land and caused injury to him and his family, the Prophet decided that the trees should be removed.²⁵

In the case of al-Dahhák vs. Muhammad Ibn Maslamah, the plaintiff wanted to reach water by digging a channel passing through the defendant's land. The defendant refused. When the case was brought to 'Umar Ibn al-Khattáb he told the defendant, "Why prevent your brother from something beneficial to him, and is of benefit to you without impairment?" 'Umar decided in favour of the plaintiff notwithstanding the refusal of the owner of the land. 'Umar in this decision has formulated two principles for the exercise of the right of ownership:

- 1. Prevention of injury to others.
- 2. Benefit to others if no impairment or injury is caused to the owner.

From the two legal principles, "Thou shall not cause damage, and thou shall be protected from damage", and "the commitment of the least of two evils", and in consideration that the welfare of the community take precedence over the welfare of the individual, the Hanafí and Málikí schools of thought have formulated the basis for the principle of the arbitrary exercise of rights in a clear and definite way never reached by any other legal system. Even contemporary legal thought can hardly achieve the clarity of this concept except through excessiveness and extremeness.

(To be continued)

^{19 &}quot;O, ye People: Your blood and money are so sacred to you, until you meet your God, as the sacredness of this day and month." (Taken from the Prophet's Farewell Address.)

^{20 &}quot;He who is killed in defence of his property is a martyr." Related by the two main authorities in the two Sahihs of al-Bukhárí and Muslim.

^{21 &}quot;As to the thief, male or female, cut off his or her hand; a punishment by way of example, from God, for their crime" (The Qur'án, 5:41).

²² The Qur'án, 4:39.

²³ The Qur'án, 4:5.

²⁴ Concerning the right to bequeath: "(The distribution in all cases) is, after the payment of legacies and (unpaid) debts... a recommendation from God, and God is All-Knowing, All-Wise" (The Qur'an, 4:11). Concerning the right of divorce: "A divorce is only permissible twice; after that the parties should either hold together on equitable terms or separate with kindness" (The Qur'an, 2:229). Concerning guardianship: "To orphans restore their property (when they reach their age), nor substitute (by mixing it up) with your own: for this is indeed a great sin" (The Qur'an, 4:2).

²⁵ Al-Akhám al-Sultániyyah, p. 285.

THE

ISLAMIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF PAKISTAN

Aims and Objects

The Islamic Research Institute (formerly known as the Central Institute of Islamic Research, inaugurated in July 1960) was established in 1963 under Article 207 of the 1962 Constitution of Pakistan, which reads as follows: "The function of the Institute shall be to undertake Islamic research and instruction in Islam for the purpose of assisting in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis."

The Institute, therefore, is a body for which Constitution has made a special provision. It is headed by a Director and its activities are supervised by a Board of Governors. It is at present located at Rawalpindi.

Legal research is quite an important aspect of the total activities of the Institute. As a matter of fact, it has grown into an institution of sizeable dimensions dealing with diverse facets of Islamic research and the dissemination of the results of such research in the community at large. These efforts are aimed at contributing towards the reconstruction of Pakistan's society on a sound ideological basis.

The various activities of the Institute are organized in the following departments:

- (1) Research;
- (2) Law;
- (c) Publications; and
- (d) Training.

Research Departments

The Institute follows the following guiding principles for research:

- (i) To define Islam in terms of its fundamentals in a rational and liberal manner and to emphasize, among others, the basic Islamic ideals of universal brotherhood, tolerance and social justice.
- (ii) To interpret the teachings of Islam in such a way as to bring out its dynamic character in the context of the intellectual and scientific progress of the modern world.

(iii) To determine and demonstrate the contribution of Islam to thought, science and culture with a view to enabling the Muslims to recapture an eminent position in these fields.

And among the disciplines earmarked for research, special emphasis has been laid upon Islamic history, philosophy, law and jurisprudence.

The staff

At present the research staff of the Institute consists of 3 Professors (including the Director), 5 Readers, 4 Research Fellows, 10 Fellows and 4 Investigators.

In addition to these regular staff members, the Institute employs outside researchers for specific projects on contract basis. These are generally people who are engaged in their own professions but have sufficient experience in scholarship to be able to pursue a research project independently. Two such projects are:

- (1) A comparative study of Islamic law of Divorce.
- (2) The international Agreements of the Prophet.

Research assignments are given to members of the staff according to their interests and fields of specialization. But they are expected to be conversant with the original sources of Islamic learning; hence proficiency in Arabic, Persian and other Islamic languages is a necessary prerequisite for all scholars of the Institute. Most of the writing, however, is done in English, although writings in Urdu, Arabic and Bengali are not altogether lacking.

Apart from full-length projects, the research scholars of the Institute also regularly contribute articles to its four journals.

The academic activities

Another important aspect of the academic activities of the Institute is to translate hitherto unpublished works of the great Muslim scholars of the past. The Institute is also anxious to acquaint the average Muslim of Pakistan with the glorious intellectual heritage of Islam, particularly with those works which have exerted an enduring formative influence on the intellectual and religious development of the Muslim society. Moreover, some branch Fellows of the Institute are engaged in preparing doctoral dissertations for the eventual winning of a Ph.D. degree. They are being guided in their work by the senior scholars of the Institute, who spare no effort to ensure a high standard of scholarship. Two such dissertations, viz., Islam and Secularism in Turkey in Post-Islamic Period and Jurisprudence in the Early Phase of Islam have been completed.

The Institute has also launched a training programme for future researchers and for the promotion of scholarships in Islamic disciplines in general. Some of these trainees, it is hoped, will eventually become part of the rapidly expanding structure of the Institute itself, and others will help the cause of Islamic learning elsewhere in other learned institutions of the country.

For any academic institution devoted to specialized research, as this Institute is, it is absolutely indispensable that it should have at its disposal library facilities, sufficiently equipped with necessary research and reference material. The Institute, therefore, has not only got a library but also a microfilming unit of its own.

Library

The Library of the Institute is a "functional library" which caters primarily for the needs of scholars doing research in Islamic disciplines. Special attention has been paid to the collection of all important publications on Islam.

Besides more recent publications, the Library also possesses old manuscripts and photostat copies/microfilms of rare books. No effort is spared to collect relevant materials wherever they may be available. This has enhanced the value of the Institute's Library, so that even outside scholars frequently avail themselves of its facilities, both personally and through correspondence with the Librarian.

Microfilming unit

The Institute has a well-equipped microfilming unit. It has reproduced microfilms of nearly 250 rare books and manuscripts.

Law Department

The Law Department of the Institute was organized in 1963. Specific projects are assigned to scholars. These projects are related to different aspects of law, and are both long-term and short-term in range. The former includes the writing of books while the latter consists of research and seminar papers, articles and essays.

The Law Department of the Institute has been entrusted with the task of assisting the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology in the matter of Islamization of the legal code of Pakistan. Since Pakistan is an ideological state and has adopted an Islamic constitution, which provides that the law of the land should be in conformity with the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, hence there is a great need for reorientation of Islamic law. For instance, the present laws of Pakistan such as the penal law, criminal procedure code, civil law of contract and sales of goods, laws of taxation and transfer of property, have been legislated by the British on the pattern of the English laws.

Also the personal law of Pakistan, such as the law of marriage, divorce, legitimacy, succession and inheritance were codified during the British rule. The Institute has been called upon to examine the entire body of law and procedure to see whether they are in accord with the injunctions of Islam. It is thus required to suggest ways and means of giving an Islamic orientation to the existing laws of Pakistan. Law can successfully operate only if it springs from the depth of a community's sentiments. Of no less importance is the fact that while bringing the laws in harmony with the cultural heritage, enough thought should be given to the applicability of these laws. The Law Department has, therefore, planned an elaborate research project which includes a detailed study of substantive and procedural laws in Islamic perspective. Most of the modern legal provisions will be tested according to the criterion set forth by Islam. This no doubt is a task which calls for diversification of legal research.

Equal emphasis has been laid on legal research in a comparative perspective. Pursuant to this policy, efforts have been made by the Institute to establish contact with academic and research organizations of foreign countries, namely Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Su'udi Arabia, Tunisia, Senegal, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and Canada. The special interest of the Institute is the development and evolution of *Fiqh* in the Muslim countries. The Law Department has been in touch with the jurists and scholars of these countries. There have been visitors from the U.S.A., Great Britain, Egypt, Iran, Indonesia, the People's Republic of China, Senegal and Su'udi Arabia, who exchanged views with the members of the staff on the problems and prospects of legal research facing the Muslim world.

The Law Department gives references regarding the question of law which involves a point of Islamic law and calls for a comparative legal research.

Publication Department

The Publication Department is responsible for printing and publishing the research works produced by the Research Scholars of the Institute and the journals of the Institute. In these books and journals, internationally accepted standards of sound academic research are combined with a positive and constructive orientation on Islamic lines.

The Institute has been publishing the following journals:

- (1) Islamic Studies (English quarterly journal).
- (2) Al-Dirását al-Islámiyyah (Arabic quarterly journal).
- (3) Sandhan (Bengali monthly journal).
- (4) Fikr-o-Nazar (Urdu monthly journal).

These journals, particularly *Islamic Studies*, have been instrumental in planting Pakistan on the map of international scholarship and also in acquainting the West with efforts of the Government of Pakistan in the field of re-interpretation of Islam in the context of modern times.

The Institute has so far produced the following books:

English

Islamic Methodology in History.
The Qur'ánic Concept of History.
A Study of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinances.
Al-Kindí, the Philosopher of the Arabs.

Urdu

Majmúa'-e Qawánin-i Is ám (Vol. I). Tagwím-i Táríkhi.

Usúl-i Hadith.

Arabic

Rasá'il Qushayriyyah (the hitherto unpublished Arabic treatises of al-Qushayrí).

Urdu translation of:

Rasá'il Qushayriyyah.

Ijmá Aur Báb-i Ijtihád.

The following books have been completed and are under press:

A Comparative Study of Islamic Law of Divorce.

Majmúa'-e Qawánin-i Islám (Vol. II).

English translation of the Imam Fakhruddín Rází's Kitáb al-Nafs Wa'l-Rúh.

The re-translation of Risálah by the Iman Sháfí'.

The research and academic staff of the Institute have completed work on the following projects:

Urdu translation of Abú 'Ubayd al-Qásim Ibn Salám's Kitáb al-Amwál.

Igbal's Concept of Islamic Culture.

Majmú'e Qawánín-i Islám, Vol. III.

The Political Thoughts of Ibn Taymiyyah.

Urdu translation of Islamic Jurisprudence.

Tabwib al-Qur'án — an anthology of the Qur'án's verses arranged according to subjects of importance in modern life.

Outlines of Muslim Contribution to Science and its Impacts on the Scientific Development of Europe.

The International Agreements of the Prophet.

The following projects are in hand by the Institute:

A monumental work entitled Islamic Ideology.

A History of Muslim Trade and Navigation in the Eastern Seas from the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Portuguese.

The Administration of the Umayyad Caliphate.

Inductive Method of Scientific Research as Applied and Developed by Muslims.

Modern Shi'ah Marriage and Divorce Law, including the Laws of Iran.

Al-Akhám al-Khamsah.

Akhám al-Sultániyyah,

Adab al-Qádí.

Co-ordination of research work

The Institute was shifted from Karachi to Rawalpindi in May 1966. Special attention has been paid by the Board of

Governors, Executive Committee and the Chairman on streamlining the research work of the Institute. It was felt that in order to produce some really standard and excellent books, individual efforts should be replaced by teamwork. Not only this, it was also decided that a comprehensive research programme for the next few years be drawn up and research projects out of this master plan be taken up according to priority. With these considerations in view, a master plan of research has been prepared, and it has been decided that to start with, two projects out of this master plan should be undertaken immediately by the Institute, viz., (1) "The Social, Political and Economic Life of Arabs at the Advent of Islam," and (2) "Reform Movements in Islam since the 18th Century". Work on these two projects has been started.

Source book of Islamic laws

The Institute proposes to produce a comprehensive book on Islamic Laws and Jurisprudence which will be more or less a sort of encyclopaedia in this field and serve as a "source book of Islamic Laws".

Advisory role

The Institute also renders advice to institutions in the country, when references are made to it. For instance:

- A syllabus was prepared for the Government for post-graduate course of Islamic jurisprudence based on 39 lectures.
- (2) A list of Islamic topics was prepared for the Director-General, Radio Pakistan, for use by discussion groups over Radio Pakistan.
- (3) A list of topics was prepared for the proposed *Islamic Legal Encyclopaedia*, which comprises 215 subjects.
- (4) The Institute rendered considered opinions on legal references made to the Institute by the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology. Apart from this the Institute gave its opinions on references that had been made to the Institute on various legal matters by the Central and Provincial Assemblies and other institutions in the country on matters relating to Islam.
- (5) Many books, pamphlets and other literature from various sources for scrutiny were received and opinions on them were expressed from the viewpoint of Islam or law or both.

Training programme

A number of Fellows underwent training. Classes were held regularly, and fortnightly seminars were also arranged in which some interesting and informative articles were read and discussed. Some Fellows of the Institute were sent abroad for higher training.

IBN al-'ARABI (d. 1240 C.E.) of SPAIN^{1*}

A Great Spiritual Master of Islam

His Charisms

Author of more than 550 works

By ANGEL DOCTOR

The revival of interest in the writings of al-'Arabi

Amongst the centenaries of outstanding figures in Spanish history that we should celebrate this year is that of Ibn al-'Arabí (or Abenarbi in its Latinised form), a great writer in his own right as well as a profound Hispano-Islamic thinker, whose intellectual calibre makes him stand forth as the supreme exponent of the spirit and learning of his age.

Exactly as in the case of comparable individuals whose talents flourished at that time on Iberian soil - such as Maimonides, Ramón Lull, Arnaldo de Vilanova and Abu al-Fidá, only to cite some of the more prominent—Ibn al-'Arabí's reputation went into eclipse; and he was not understood, let alone estimated at his true worth. However, the present age has witnessed a great revival of interest in the Hispano-Muslim mind, largely due to the work of distinguished Spanish Orientalists and Islamologists - principally Conde, Simonet, Ribera, Codera and Asín Palacios the personality and work of Ibn al-'Arabí became objects of study, although the criterion employed, limited and not entirely free from prejudice, prevented deep insight into the transcendental qualities of his spiritual doctrine. So wide and deep is the *corpus* of Ibn al-'Arabi's writings that both their analysis and exegesis require a more than usually comprehensive formation, not simply in the linguistic sphere alone, but also involving a thorough familiarity with the Islamic metaphysical and cosmological doctrines, of both of which fields the books of the Hispano-Muslim writer comprise an exhaustive exposition in a symbolico-poetic style.



Ibn al-'Arabí, as imagined by a Spanish artist

What the life and work of these eminent figures and the learning of medieval Spain signify for the history of Iberian civilisation is incalculable. The brilliant constellation formed by the so-called "men of spirit" - leaving aside the diversity of their formal religious persuasions - shone brightly in the Spain of "the three nations" (Muslims, Christians and Jews) and stood for something more authentic, in a spiritual and intellectual sense, than the political and religious differences of the Christian and Muslim kingdoms into which the Peninsula was then divided. Perhaps more tacit than explicit, there nevertheless existed a community of aims and desires in the serene channels of learning, a community which found spontaneous and moving expression when, on the death of the canonised king, Ferdinand I of Castile (d. 1516 C.E.), there were engraved on his sepulchre three different epitaphs, in Spanish, Arabic and Hebrew, demonstrating the admiration and affection which that king had managed to inspire in the separate communities of his kingdom.

Ibn al-'Arabi's early life

Ibn al-'Arabí, whose full name is Abú Bakr Muhammad Ibn 'Alí al-'Arabí al-Hátimí al-Tá'iyy (afterwards he received various honourifics and titles, like *Muhyí al-Dín*, that is, "Revivifier of the Faith": al-Shaykk al-Akbar, "the Master par excellence" or "Doctor Maximus"; and Ibn-Aflátún, "the son of Plato", perhaps on account of certain analogies

¹ Courtesy, the Editor, Africa, Madrid, Spain, for September, 1965

^{*} Translated from the Spanish by Dr. J. Dickie.

between his doctrine and that of the Greek philosopher), was born in Murcia on 17 Ramadán 560 A.H., corresponding to 28 July 1165 C.E. (not 1164 as Asín Palacios erroneously states). His family, of noble Arab origin and descended of the tribe of Tayy, owned immense riches, including land, and devoted both money and time to religious purposes, with the result that the child grew up in a pronouncedly ascetic and mystical atmosphere. When he was eight, Murcia having fallen to the Almohad forces, Ibn al-'Arabí moved along with his family to Seville, the city which had succeeded Cordova as the capital of Muslim Spain, and there he began his formal education, giving evidence from the start of extraordinary powers of absorption. It was not long before he showed an inclination toward the spiritual life, as he grew conscious of possessing more than ordinary faculties of perception, in fact of visualisation of supersensible worlds. The faculties made him a witness of facts and visions of a kind inaccessible to common mortals, the same facts and visions to which Christian theology gives the name of "charisms". About this time he fell gravely ill and experienced an unusual vision, which one of his biographers describes in the following terms: "So lethargic was the state of his body that his family believed him dead; but he. with his inner vision, saw himself besieged by a host of demoniac entities, until there rose up a being of dazzling beauty which drove them off, and which disclosed itself in answer to his enquiry as the Chapter Yásin (the Qur'án) which precisely at that instant his father was reciting at the head of what he believed was a corpse.'

Whilst still young he identified himself with Súfísm (or al-Tasawwuf in Arabic), a decision in reaching which various factors, amongst them his young wife Maryam, the famous Cordovan spiritual master (or mistress) Fátimah, and the death of his father, were instrumental. This doctrine represented the most important esoteric or inner aspects of Islam and was chiefly characterised by its application to the traditional Islamic texts a special technique of inspiration. All this helped him to develop his singular ability to apprehend super-sensible and spiritual realities to such a degree that he became, as it were, a denizen of two worlds: the physical or solid world, that of common mortals, and the subtler "intermediary world" or "the world of the imagination" as it is styled in the gnosis or Islamic esoteric wisdom. a spiritual world accessible only to a very few privileged or exceptional men, amongst whom figure the mystics, visionaries or initiates pertaining to the esoteric Súfí schools.

Al-'Arabi's encounter with Averroes

Ibn al-'Arabí enjoyed already a wide reputation for his wisdom and experience as well as for his charismatic and visionary gifts -- to such a point that he was consulted by well-qualified masters of the spiritual life on doctrinal and practical points of Súfísm — when in the year 1193 C.E., he began what was to be his great series of journeys and pilgrimages throughout Muslim Spain and other countries. He started by going to Cordova, where there took place his encounter with Averroes, the celebrated Abú al-Walíd Ibn Rushd, supreme master of Muslim gnosis, who had frequently expressed a desire to know him and who, afterwards, was to make no secret of the admiration which the youth had aroused in him. Ibn al-Arabí himself refers to this interview in the following excerpt from his major work: "Thus when I had entered his house Averroes rose up from the place where he was sitting, came forward to greet me and. with signs of friendship and esteem, embraced me. Then he said: 'Yes.' And I, for my part, replied: 'Yes.' His joy increased on seeing that I had understood him, but, realising

the reason for his joy, I added: 'No.' Averroes grew sad upon the instant and, with pale face and seeming to doubt his own thoughts, he finally asked me: 'With what kind of solution have illumination and divine revelation provided you? Is it analogous to that which speculative reasoning affords us?' I answered: 'Yes and no. Between the yes and the no spirits fly out of matter and heads are parted from their bodies.' Averroes turned pale and murmured the ritual phrase, 'There is no strength save in God,' having understood the point of my allusion. Later, after our interview, he besought my father to give his opinion of me in order to compare it with his own and see if they coincided. Averroes was a great master of rational investigation and of philosophic meditation, but it was repeated to me that he did not cease from giving thanks to God for having allowed him to live at a time in which a man had gone into spiritual retreat ignorant of emerging therefrom as he had emerged. 'It is a case' — he said — 'the rational possibility of whose existence I had myself affirmed, but without having found till then anyone who had actually had experience of it. Praised be God, Who has permitted me to live in this age in which there exists an authentic master in this class of experience, one of those who open the locks of its doors . . . ""

Subsequently to his stay in Cordova he visited, in succession, Almeria, Fez, Tlemecen, Bujia, Algiers, Tunis and other cities. Once he has finished this peripatetic of five years' duration, in 1198 C.E. he returned to his native city and in 1201 C.E. set off east, whence he was never to return, as he had still to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca and fulfil his desire of establishing contact with Súfí spiritual masters in the East. Finding himself in Mosul in 1204 C.E., he received the supreme initiation of mystical investment within a Súfí fraternity, whereafter he resumed his indefatigable peregrinations through Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, Armenia and Anatolia.

Much could be written — did we dispose of the space about the proper significance of this circle which Ibn al-'Arabí described about his external life, after the relatively sedentary life of the phase before this passion for journeys and pilgrimages took possession of him. About the start of this second phase he wrote his first important work: Divine Policy (al-Tadbír al-Iláhiyyah). It marks the time when Ibn al-'Arabí, completely given over to the spiritual life, had arrived at the portals of the highest grades of transcendent illumination, symbolised for him by the supernatural apparition of al-Khidr (the "Green Prophet"), a spiritual personage or entity of the higher world, who is considered the most enigmatic figure in the esoteric tradition of Islam, and who can be equated with Elias in the Hebaric tradition or with St. John the Baptist and St. George in the Christian. "Immortals or, rather, not subject to cyclic time as others are" - as the author of a treatise puts it — the "Prophet of Prophets" al-Khidr represents the summit or supreme grade in the invisible spiritual hierarchy; and therefore in a sense is superior to the historical prophets and, in consequence, can bestow direct initiation without recourse to the silsilah, or "chain of initiation". Ibn al-'Arabí thenceforward followed the directives of al-Khidr, who now became his "Internal Master", continually imparted him inspiration when he appeared to him in transcendental visions.

Ibn al-'Arabi's charisms

The year 1193 C.E. (590 A.H.) saw for Ibn al-'Arabí two apparitions of al-Khidr. Concerning them there has come down to us the following account contained in his works. He was resting one night in the cabin of a vessel anchored in

the harbour of Tunis, when a violent pain in his stomach obliged him to climb up on deck. It was a beautiful night with a full moon, and having drawn close to the gunwale, he described a man walking over the waves toward the boat. When only a short way off, he lifted up one foot to show him the sole, while he supported himself on the other. Ibn al-'Arabí saw that the foot was completely dry. He did the likewise with the other foot and after conversing for a short time with the stupefied traveller, began his return journey over the liquid surface, heading toward a point on the coast about two miles away from where the vessel lay. The following morning someone unknown approached Ibn al-'Arabí and told him that he had received a visitation from al-Khidr. The other prodigy of this year, more astonishing that any other he had hitherto experienced, took place in Seville when he was only just returned from his first great journey. One afternoon when he was at Tunis, at the hour of prayer when he had withdrawn completely alone into an oratory of the mosque, he composed a poem which, when finished, he showed to no one. Months later, when he was back at the Andalusian capital, a completely unknown young man approached him and proceeded to recite, word for word, the very stanzas that Ibn al-'Arabí believed only existed in his own memory. Profoundly astonished, he asked the youth who was the author of the verses, and he, to his companion's ever-growing astonishment, replied, "Muhammad Ibn al-'Arabí," adding that he did not know the author personally. But Ibn al-'Arabi's stupefaction knew no limits when his informant proceeded to tell him how and when the poem had come into his mind. Several months previously, on the same day and at the same hour in which Ibn al-'Arabí had felt himself inspired to compose these verses in the Tunisian mosque, a mysterious individual had stopped before a group of youths in Seville, amongst whom the present informant made one, and recited the poem, and they, pleased with the composition, made him repeat it so that they could take it down to learn by rote. They besought him to disclose the author's name, and he answered that it was Muhammad Ibn al-'Arabí "who at that moment was composing the verses to which they had listened, in the eastern part of the Great Mosque of Tunis," whereafter he suddenly disappeared without their knowing who he was or how he went off, but simply wasn't seen again.

After the prolonged series of journeys to which we have alluded, Ibn al-'Arabí settled definitively in Damascus in 1223 (C.E.), where he stayed for the remainder of his life, a full fifteen years, during which he enjoyed a peace and repose such as he had never previously known. He died on

16 November, 1240 (C.E.), at the age of seventy-five. He was interred in the Sálihiyyah quarter to the north of the Syrian capital, in the family tomb belonging to the qádi Ibn Zakí. Two sons who had survived him were later buried at his side. After his disappearance from earth the fame of Ibn al-'Arabí spread, and his tomb was venerated as that of a prophet, with a multitude of pilgrims from all corners of the Islamic world continually filing past it. More than one Muslim author refers to the miracles, the supernatural lights and mystical phenomena which have been observed in the proximity of the tomb of him who was considered as the greatest spiritual master of the Muslim people. Upon the site of his sepulchre the Ottoman sultan Selim II (d. 1574, C.E.) raised a sumptuous funerary mosque.

Author of more than 550 works

Ibn al-'Arabí was one of the most prolific authors of all time. The quality of his works astonishes as much as the profundity of thought which they evince. More than 550, some of a very disparate nature, are known, amongst all which first place is taken by his masterpiece, The Meccan Revelations (Futúhát al-Makkíyyah), which comprises six parts and 560 chapters (the most recent editions total more than 3,000 pages in folio). This veritable mystico-metaphysical summa, rich also in literary and poetic gems, and his other metaphysical treatise, symbolically styled The Facets of Wisdom (Fusús al-Hikam), constitute, in the opinion of those qualified to judge, the densest, most difficult and profoundest material written in the field of speculative thought during the Middle Ages. The famous Spanish Arabist Asín Palacios has described the colossal Futúhát as "the Bible of Muslim esoterism"; and it was written, beyond any doubt, as a result of divine inspiration, for without this knowledge achieved by supernatural intuition it would be inconceivable. Nor have there been voices lacking to allege that the intimate and incommunicable experience of Ibn al-'Arabí made of him a denizen of two worlds, the present perishable one and that of the essences, or the transcendental, intermediary of the creative imagination, which, along with what he styles recurrent creation, form two of the most important topics in his work and doctrine. From all that goes before it is evident that the famous Murcian was at once philosopher, mystic, writer and poet, one of the supreme figures of Muslim intellect and spirituality. The influence of his thought was pronouncedly present in other figures of the Middle Ages, notably Dante Alighieri (whose seventh centenary was commemorated in May, 1965 C.E.) and Ramón Lull (d. 1315 C.E.).

2 Written in 1965 C.E. — translator's note.

The Other Side of the Zionist Question-continued from page 23

rights these people, who are now called Palestinian Arabs, have an infinitely greater right to Palestine than those who left the land (either voluntarily or involuntarily) and who, for centuries, did not make any effort nor showed the slightest inclination to "return" while there was ample opportunity to do so.

Even now the Zionists are crying out for immigrants but in spite of the fact that the Zionist-Israeli propaganda machine is working to its utmost capacity, with appeals from the home Zionist organizations, from functionaries of the Jewish Agency and from Israel's Prime Minister Eshkol, few people leave for Israel. This in itself is proof that for

the vast majority of Jews there is no *real* need for a Jewish state. That in spite of this fact, and notwithstanding the United Nations' resolutions regarding the Arab refugees, Israel follows a dog-in-the-manger policy towards these refugees, is morally unacceptable. Dr. Chaim Weizmann once stated:

"I am certain that the world will judge the Jewish State by what it will do to the Arabs."

Let the world judge . . .

²³ A large number of converted Jews, for instance, never had any ancestors in Palestine.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ZIONIST QUESTION

Where will the Israeli Aggression End?

By N. SCHUT

Introduction

Owing to the fact that all criticism on Israel and Zionism is rewarded, without exception, with the stigma of anti-Semitism, few people have shown the courage to reveal the other side of the Zionist activities.

It should not be hard to guess what political value this has for Israel. Anti-Semitism, which found its shocking climax in the acts of Nazi terror, has, even among bona fide critics, created a holy fear of becoming identified with it. The court cases that are still being conducted against Nazi criminals keep this fear alive. This fact is thoroughly exploited to silence even the most justifiable and honest objections to the Jewish State and Zionism with the stigma of anti-Semitism.

In this way Israel has assured for herself the exceptional position of being able to do whatever she likes without fear of criticism.

In order to make clear the seriousness of Zionist pressure and intimidation of critics the following brief account, which could be supplemented by many others, may suffice.

Speaking about Zionist pressure exerted on the U.S. press, the Jewish author, Alfred M. Lilienthal, writes:

"The threat of economic recriminations from Jewish advertisers combined with the fact that the fatal label of 'Anti-Semite' would be pinned on any editor stepping out of line, assured fullest press co-operation.

"A modicum of newspaper space was occasionally given to such anti-Zionists as the American Council for Judaism or the Christian group headed by Dean Virginia Gildersleeve and Bayard Dodge. But each time a New York newspaper published a news item unfavourable to Zionism even a reader's critical letter to the editor - the pressure was applied; innumerable telephone calls to the editor, the newsdesk and the advertising department, and a flood of protesting letters. Newspaper offices are not overtly sensitive to that type of pressure; but in this particular case, their power of resistance was greatly reduced by the unnerving fact that the ugly charge of 'Anti-Semitism' was accompanying the coercive acts. . . . In November, 1946 (C.E.), The New York Times publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger (a non-Zionist American of Jewish faith), said publicly:

"'I dislike the coercive methods of Zionists who in this country have not hesitated to use economic means to silence persons who have different views. I object to the attempts at character

assassination of those who do not agree with them."

It is, however, not only newspapers that receive Zionist attention — this also applies to other news media and individual writers who may be worried over the telephone, even at the dead of night, with threats of economic boycott or even death.

To what length Zionist pressure and intimidation may go can be ascertained from Moshe Menuhin, who pleads in the preface of his book, *The Decadence of Judaism in our Time*, that his son, Yehudi Menuhin, is in no way responsible for any opinion expressed here (in the aforementioned book) on Jewish life. Anyone, who has suffered Zionist persecution, can feel the underlying tragedy of this plea which is, at least to the writer of this article, touching to the extreme.

In the following, use will be made mainly of Jewish and Zionist sources.

Zionist cruelties before the Balfour Declaration

As early as the close of the 19th century, when Zionist colonists formed only a small minority, Achad Ha'am emphasized that Palestine was not only a small country but, also, that it was not an empty country. He pointed out that apart from the rocky hills and sand dunes there was little uncultivated ground in Palestine. He warned the Jewish colonists against ugly actions.

"Yet what do our brethren do in Palestine? Just the very opposite. Serfs they were in the lands of the diaspora and suddenly they find themselves in freedom, and this change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and gruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds: and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination."

In a letter dated 18 November 1913 C.E., the author protested against a boycott, instituted by the Zionist Labour Movement in Palestine against the use of Arab labour; a racial boycott:

"Apart from the political danger, I can't put up with the idea that our brethren are morally capable of behaving in such a way to men of another people; and unwittingly the thought comes to my mind: if it is so

¹ Alfred M. Lilienthal, What Price Israel?, pp. 123, 124. New York.

² Achad Ha'am, Am Scheidewege, I. Band, p. 107. Berlin, 1923.

now, what will be our relation to the others if in truth we shall achieve 'at the end of time' power in Eretz Israel? If this is the 'Messiah', I do not wish to see his coming."

The Balfour Declaration and its effects

In 1917 (C.E.) the British Government promised in the Balfour Declaration to "view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . . it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine . . "

The effects of the Balfour Declaration soon became evident. The Arabs who, like all Asian peoples, were awakening to national consciousness and were visualizing a new existence of freedom and the revival of national culture, strongly opposed it. They saw in it an effort to occupy an Arab land and to drive a wedge against Arab unity at its most vulnerable junction.

J. Ramsay Macdonald, the then leader of the British Labour Party, visited Palestine in 1922 (C.E.) and wrote in a pamphlet published by the Zionist Labour Party:

"We encouraged an Arab revolt against Turkey by promising to create an Arab kingdom including Palestine. At the same time we were encouraging the Jews to help us, by promising them that Palestine could be placed at their disposal for settlement and government; and at the same time, we were also secretly making with France the Sykes-Picot Agreement partitioning the territory which we had instructed our governor-general of Egypt to promise to the Arabs. No one who has felt the undercurrents of Eastern movements can console himself with the belief that the Arab has forgotten and forgiven, or that the moral evil we committed will speedily cease to have political influence. Our treatment of the Moslems has been madness."

Thus, immediately after World War I, two apparently irreconcilable claims were staked out, and the blood-soaked and fear-ridden future of the "Holy Land" began to unfold itself.

Realizing too late the unworkability of the Jewish National Home Policy, Great Britain, in December, 1938 (C.E.), held a conference in London with Arabs and Jews, and in March, 1939 (C.E.), a new Statement of Policy was issued which was more in keeping with justice and fair play.

In this "White Paper" the new policy asserted:

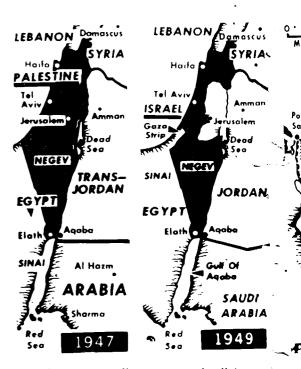
- 1. That the Balfour Declaration given in 1917 (C.E.) meant a "National Home" for the Jews in Palestine and not a "Jewish State". This National Home, the White Paper explained, had already existed:
- 2. That Jewish immigration to Palestine should therefore cease after admitting a further quota of 75,000 Jewish immigrants; and
- 3. That the inhabitants of Palestine, consisting at that time of 1,250,000 Arabs and 650,000 Jews, should enjoy self-determination and become independent within a period of 10 years.

Realizing that a Zionist state would not be approved of officially by Britain as the Mandatory Power, the Zionists now resorted to brute force.

In 1940 (C.E.), in the harbour of Haifa, two shiploads of illegal Jewish immigrants, refugees from Europe, were

transferred to the "Patria", bound for the British island of Mauritius, where they were to be kept for the duration of the war. The ship was blown up; 250 people were killed, many of them women and children. According to Zionist information as given by Koestler (Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfilment*, p. 60, London, 1949 (C.E.), and J. Melkham, *Israel*, p. 218, Amsterdam, Brussels, MCMXLIX), the refugees themselves blew up the "Patria". The ship was made a symbol of Jewish heroism. The anniversary of its loss was celebrated in Israel with much pomp and ceremony, with speeches, trumpets, a memorial service in Haifa Bay, and the hoisting of the Israeli flag on the wreck, still partly

visible. What really happened to the "Patria" was revealed in 1958 by Rosenblum, in 1940 a member of the Zionist Actions Committee. It is this Committee the highest Zionist body next to the Congress, and the shadow cabinet of the Palestine Jews before the establishment of their state - that, notwithstanding Rosenblum's protests, decided to blow up the ship. Haganah agents smuggled the bombs aboard. The refugees were never asked. "We murdered with our bare hands own children, their mothers, sisters and dear ones..." wrote Rosenblum. According to William Zuckerman, whose Jewish Newsletter of 3 1958 November carried the "Patria" story, it was "a brutal, calculated act of deliberate mass-murder purposes nationalistic propaganda". The success, in terms of feeling raised against Britain, was considerable. This



These three maps tell a story, and tell it much more than any words. For thirteen centuries the Arabs conhabitants of Palestine, and in 1918 less than 6 plewish. The Jews had left Palestine some two the "granted" by the British, against Arab wishes, a immigration into the country then began in earnest, of the population. In that year, the United Nations and the Jews, giving the Jews 56 per cent of the to proclamation of the State of Israel the Jews seized all the Arab inhabitants of the land held by Israel and made homeless. In June 1967 Israel was again was seized. Where will it all end, the Arabs asked? Sa stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates, and jud this does not seem to be idle talk by the Zionists!

The Arabs are fighting a tough enemy we is plan. The maps portray the stages which this plan he, and will the Arabs and the Muslims, and freedallow the Zionists to get away with it all?

was, however, not all. On 22 July 1946 the King David Hotel was blown up, causing the death of 100 people; British military camps and barracks were attacked every night; British soldiers were kidnapped and hung whilst others were flogged to lower British prestige. Ben Hecht, of Hollywood, reacted to these acts of violence as follows:

"Every time you let go with your guns at the British betrayers of your homeland, the Jews of America make a little holiday in their hearts."

These and other actions, which lasted eight years, forced Britain to hand over the Mandate to the United Nations on May 15, 1947 (C.E.).

The Partition Plan

Several subsequent U.N. sessions led to the acceptance of the Partition Plan in 1947 (C.E.), which would divide Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab State, the Jewish part



muC more eloquently, succinctly and dramatically Ar. bs comprised the predominant majority of the than 6 per cent of the country's population was Two shousand years ago, but in 1917 they were wishes, a "national home" in Palestine. Jewish earnest, and by 1947 the Jews comprised one third l Nations partitioned Palestine between the Arabs of the total area. In the fighting that followed the s seized about a third more territory—and almost by Israel (about a million) were brutally expelled as again on the rampage, and more Arab territory asked? Some Jews speak of "the Land of Israel" , ard judging by experience in the last twenty years

w 2 is trying to implement a vicious and greedy is fan has so far taken. What will the next stage nd freedom- and justice-loving people everywhere,

consisting of the coastal strip and other fertile areas as well as the irrigable grounds of Tiberias and Hula, whilst the Arab part would consist of barren mountain regions and non-irrigable ground which would be hard to cultivate.

Many who supported the Partition Resolution admitted later on that they had been put under pressure by the Zionists and by the United States of America. James Forrestal, the then Secretary o f Defence of the United States, says in his Diaries:

> "The methods used . . . to bring coercion and duress o n other nations of the General Assembly which bordered closely on to scandal."6

And President Truman wrote in his Memoirs (Life Magazine, January 1956):

> "The facts were that not only were there

pressure movements around the United Nations unlike anything that had been seen there before, but the White House, too, was subjected to a constant barrage. I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance. The persistence of a few of the extreme Zionist leaders -

actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats - disturbed and annoyed me. Some were even suggesting that we exert pressure on sovereign nations into favourable votes in the General Assembly. I have never approved of the practice of the strong imposing their will on the weak among men or among nations.

Convinced that they would lose their fertile ground under these circumstances the Arabs warned the United Nations that the partition of Palestine would result in war in that part. They demanded, therefore, a democratic and independent Palestine with equal rights for all its citizens.

The Zionists, however, had but one thought: to drive out the Arab population by terrorist actions and to expand by force the area allotted to them by the United Nations. This was, moreover, fully in accordance with the recognized Zionist principle:

"Wir verlangen was wir brauchen -- je mehr Einwanderer desto mehr Land." (We demand what we want -- the more immigrants the more land.) And they took what they wanted.

One of the many examples in this respect is Deir Yassin, a peaceful village, where, in 1948 (C.E.), 254 men, women and children were brutally slaughtered. Deir Yassin lies only a few miles west of Jerusalem and, according to the United Nations Partition Plan, belonged to the Jerusalem International Zone. The Irgun and the Stern Group were assigned to look after Deir Yassin. When they ran into trouble, they asked Haganah for help. With its help the village was occupied. After the Haganah men had withdrawn, members of the Irgun and Stern Group perpetrated the most revolting atrocities: 254 Arab men, women and children were butchered in cold blood and their mutilated bodies were thrown into a well; captured Arab women and girls were brought in lorries to Jerusalem and paraded through the streets, where they were jeered and spat at. On the same day the Irgunists called a press conference at which they pronounced the wholesale murder a "victory" in the war of conquest of Palestine and Transjordania.

The British historian. Arnold Toynbee, records this tragic episode in the following words:

". . . In A.D. 1948 the Jews knew from personal experience what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learned by them from their encounter with the Nazi gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazi's committed against the Jews.'

After this initial "victory" the Zionists intensified their attacks and commenced to occupy the towns of Palestine, expelling their Muslim and Christian inhabitants. The towns of Tiberias and Samakh were attacked and occupied on 19 April, 1948, Haifa on 22 April, Jaffa on 29 April, the Arab Quarter of Katamon in Jerusalem on 30 April, Safad on 10 May, Beisan on 11 May and Acre on 14 May, 1948. Menahim Begin. Leader of the Irgun, proudly wrote about the Zionist actions in Haifa:

³ Hans Kohn, Zion and the Jewish National Idea, in Menorah Journal for Autumn-Winter Issue, 1958, p. 34.

⁴ Ramsay Macdonald, Zionism and Palestine in The Contemporary Review for April, 1922, p. 434. 5 Lilienthal, What Price Israel?, p. 42.

⁶ The Forrestal Diaries, p. 363, Ed. Walter Millis, New York, 1951. Theodor Herzl. Gesammelte Zionistische Werke, Vol. III, p. 160; cf. I. p. 460. Tel Aviv. 1934.

⁸ Jewish Newsletter for 3 October, 1960. New York.

⁹ Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History, pp. 289-292, Vol. VII.

"All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting: 'Deir Yassin'."

Not content with the expulsion of the Arab population, the Zionists planned to expand their territory beyond the Partition Plan. They ordered their forces to occupy Arab territory piecemeal. The whole Northern district of Galilee was occupied. In the South, Lydda, Ramleh, Majdal and Beersheba were also occupied, expelling their Arab population.

And again we quote Toynbee:

"The evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs that were comparable to the crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis, were the massacre of men, women and children at Deir Yassin on 9 April, 1948, which precipitated a flight of the Arab population in large number from districts within range of the Jewish armed forces and the subsequent deliberate expulsion of the Arab population from districts conquered by the Jewish forces between 15 May, 1948, and the end of the year — e.g. from Akka in May, from Lydda and Ramleh in July and from Beersheba and Western Galilee in October . . . The Arab blood on 9 April, 1948, at Deir Yassin was on the head of the Irgun; the expulsions after 15 May, 1948, were on the heads of all Israel."

In May, 1948, the United Nations appointed a Mediator, Count Bernadotte, who wrote regarding the Arab refugees:

"It would be an offence against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and, indeed, at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries." ¹²

Seeing that the Mediator's policy for peace was not in accordance with their plans, the Israelis arranged for his assassination before he could use his influence to implement his recommendations. And so ended the efforts of a great man in the cause of peace in the Middle East, thus confirming the statement he made in his last report to the United Nations:

"The Jewish State was not born in peace as was hoped for in the resolution of 29 November, but rather ... in violence and bloodshed." "B

The Land Requisition Law

The Land Requisition Law of 1953 made the expropriation of Arab land lawful. The seized but falsely called "abandoned" property of the refugees consists, inter alia, of over ten million dunums of fertile land which is now being tilled by Jewish immigrants who occupy thousands of Arab houses. The Israeli custodian of "abandoned" property has for the last 17 years been renting, buying and selling Arab property at ridiculously low prices, giving no account of his deeds and deals and paying no returns whatsoever to the destitute owners, whilst no investigation has been instituted by the United Nations Conciliation Commission into the usurpation of this colossal property.

The above-mentioned property is not only that left behind by the original inhabitants who fled or were slaughtered by Israeli terrorist actions. Abandoned property was considered as having belonged to an Arab who "left his place of residence and went" (. . . even for days or hours). (See, for instance, Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Other Side of the Coin*, pp. 215-217, New York, 1965.)

In his last article, published when the Israeli parliament passed the "Land Requisition Law of 1953", that legalized the expropriation of Arab lands, Moshe Smilansky wrote:

"When we came back to our country after having. been evicted two thousand years ago, we called ourselves 'daring' and we rightly complained before the whole world that the gates of the country were shut. And now when they (Arab refugees) dared to return to their country where they have lived for one thousand years before they were evicted or fled, they are called infiltrators' and shot in cold blood. Where are you, Jews? Why do we not at least, with a generous hand, pay compensation to these miserable people? Where to take the money from? But we build palaces . . . instead of paying a debt that cries unto us from earth and heaven . . . And do we sin only against the refugees? Do we not treat the Arabs who remain with us as second class citizens? . . Did a single Jewish farmer raise his hand in parliament in opposition to a law that deprived Arab peasants of their land? . . . How does sit solitary, in the city of Jerusalem, the Jewish conscience?"14

Operation "Ingathering"

In the meantime the operation "Ingathering" was in full swing. Ben Gurion's own paper, *Davar*, the official organ of the Socialist Labour Party Mapai at Tel Aviv, quoted in *Kemper*, Yiddish paper (New York) for 11 July, 1952, suggested the following solution to the problem of "ingathering" reluctant Jews:

"I shall not be ashamed to confess that, if I had the power, as I have the will, I would select a score of efficient young men — intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with the desire to help redeem Jews, and I would send them to the countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews, and, acting upon the brutal Zionism, plague these Jews with anti-Semitic slogans, such as 'Bloody Jew', 'Jews go to Palestine', and similar 'intimacies'. I can vouch that the results, in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries, would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears." ¹⁵

It hardly bears thinking of what would have happened if a non-Jewish newspaper had put forward similar suggestions to "encourage" Jews to emigrate. The cries of "anti-Semitism" would have resounded everywhere, and rightly so. The fact, however, that this condemnable suggestion comes from Israeli quarters is more than tragic as Israelies know better than any other people what it means to be persecuted from personal experience. The very thought that our own Jewish countrymen could be persecuted by their "brethren" in order to force them, against their will, to leave the land of their birth where they have been rooted for generations to emigrate to Israel is shocking to the extreme.

¹⁰ Menachim Begin, The Revolt, p. 165. New York, 1951.

¹¹ Toynbee, A Study of History, pp. 289-292, Vol. VII.

¹² U.N. Document A/648. p. 14.

¹³ U.N. Document A/648, p. 14.
14 Moshe Smilansky writing in *Ner* (an Israeli monthly) for September-October, 1953.

¹⁵ Sharun, Editor of *Davar*, as quoted in *Kemper* (New York) for 11 July, 1952.

What the weapon of anti-Semitism means to the Zionists in terms of immigrants for Israel can be gathered from the following:

On the 50th anniversary of Herzl's pamphlet *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) Dr. Hannah Ahrendt pointed out that Herzl regarded anti-semitism as a perpetual immutable force which the Jews must learn to use to their own advantage. Herzl had regarded anti-semitic governments as Zionism's best allies, because they would help the transfer of Jews from their homelands to the Jewish state. All one had to do was to use the "propelling force of anti-semitism", which, like "the wave of the future", would bring the Jews into the promised land . . . 16

According to Dr. Nahum Goldmann, however, the only "drawback" is that "overt anti-Semitism" is on a decline which "might constitute a new danger to Jewish survival". Ian Gilmour is more optimistic when he writes:

"Since the basis of Zionism is that Jewish assimilation in other countries is in the long run impossible and that anti-Semitism and persecution are bound to break out sooner or later, Zionism has almost a vested interest in racial discrimination." 18

These quotations, which can be supplemented by many more, clearly show that Zionists, like their foreman Herzl, consider anti-Semitism a useful asset in their struggle for immigrants. What this means to the Jews outside Israel should not be hard to guess. Dr. Judah Magnus' words could well serve to sketch the situation when, in opening the 23rd year of the Hebrew University in Palestine, he referred to:

"Zionist totalitarianism which seeks to discipline the entire Jewish people and every individual therein, and, if necessary by force and violence . . . I have not noticed that these dissidents are called by their right name: Killers, brutalized men and women within whose soul some savage beast is at prey." 19
He also stated:

"We had always thought that Zionism would diminish anti-Semitism in the world. We are witnesses to the opposite."20

Though the immediate aims of Israel's leadership envisage a population of at least 4 millions they do not constitute the ultimate object. Mr. Erskine Childers, a member of the British Parliament, an expert on Afro-Asian affairs, writes:

"It is Israel's dilemma that the past record and continuing ideology of Zionism ipso facto suggests, not peace, but grave danger to her Arab neighbours. To a past that can only be interpreted by Arabs as expansionism and the expulsion of Arabs is added a future in which the State of Israel is dedicated in law to the mission of ingathering the rest of the world's Jews—numbering over 10 million." 21

The Arabs are fully aware of this and they have come to the simple conclusion: more immigrants require more land. That under these circumstances they distrust Israel is understandable, especially when

"The official publications of Israel include such inevitably provocative references as that 'the establishment of the State in no way derogates from the scope of historical *Eretz Israel*' (the much larger ancient Israel). In attacks like that in Sinai, Israeli officials claimed that the Peninsula was not part of 'Egypt proper', and spoke of 'liberating the homeland'."²²

It is obvious that such "liberations" would cause the approximately 1 million Arab refugees to increase drastically, especially when one considers the meaning of *Eretz Israel* as conceived by the Zionists.

The suggestion has often been put forward that the Arab states absorb the refugees now around Israel's borders. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Arab countries consist mainly of barren deserts and that they have not enough work for their own people. In spite of this several refugees have found work in the surrounding countries. In addition the U.A.R. contributes yearly £20 million for the refugees whilst 2,000 Palestinian students enjoy free education at al-Azhar University in Cairo. The refugees also cultivate part of the desert but all these things together do not suffice.

The suggestion also has been made that the refugees, who "live" around Israel's frontiers under the most miserable and inhuman conditions, are used by the Arab states as an accusation against Israel. That they are, in fact, an accusation is thereby admitted. There is, however, no refugee who wishes to live anywhere else than in Palestine, the land of his fathers. Israel has driven the original inhabitants out of this country and robbed them of everything and it is Israel, and Israel alone, that has the duty to take in the refugees as according to the United Nations Resolution 194 (111), Paragraph 11. It reads:

"Resolved that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours would be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under the principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."

Though the General Assembly annually reaffirms this resolution and the whole world recognizes it as an inalienable right of the Palestinian Arabs, Israel ignores it entirely and, instead of allowing these wretched and unhappy people to return to their homes, they move heaven and earth to uproot disinterested, comfortably settled American, European and Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel to live on the property of the robbed.

It should be noted that many of the Arab refugees belong to the original inhabitants of Palestine who, unlike the "diaspora" Jews, had never left their country. They were already there when the Israelites at the time of Moses crossed the Red Sea and eventually invaded their country. These Israelites found the country inhabited by Canaanites. Canaan was only gradually absorbed and the blood of the invaders was blended with the Canaanite blood, itself a composite of many strains. These Canaanites accepted the Jewish faith and became dissolved into the Jewish "race". Later on part of the already thoroughly mixed Jews were converted to Christianity and/or Islam and Arabized under the influence of the last religion. If there is a question of

Continued on page 18

¹⁶ H. Kohn. Zion and the Jewish National Idea, pp. 24, 26, 27.

¹⁷ Nahum Goldmann at a Conference in Geneva, quoted by *The New York Times* for 24 July, 1958.

¹⁸ Ian Gilmour, Zionism and Anti-Semitism in The Spectator (London), for 24 June, 1960.

¹⁹ Judah Magnus, Responsibility — Address opening the academic year 1947-1948, on 29 October, 1947, pp. 6, 8.

²⁰ Judah Magnus, Responsibility, p. 9.

²¹ Erskine Childers, Common Sense About the Arab World, p. 172. London, 1960.

²² Childers, Common Sense, pp. 172, 173.

A non-Muslim Scholar's Approach

to

Islam's Key Problem—Economic Development**

Islam and Communism are Incompatible

"Islam Occupies an Intermediate Position Between the Doctrines of Bourgeois Capitalism and Bolshevist Communism"

by Professor JACQUES AUSTRUY

III. Institutional Obstacles

We can now discuss four of the principal practical obstacles to the development of capitalism in Muslim countries:

1. Prohibition of loans at interest (ribá')

This prohibition is one of the consequences of Muslim theoretical equalitarianism and is based, like the canonical Christian prohibition, on the twofold affirmation that time belongs to God alone and cannot be sold, and that money, by itself, is not productive.

But in contra-distinction to what happened in Europe, where loans at interest became common long before the Church rescinded their prohibition, Islam, in spite of the finesse of its jurists who soon found loopholes in the law, observed this prohibition to the letter. Further, this prohibition was all the more desirable since the lack of foresight of Oriental debtors changed the institution into an instrument of exploitation and ruin.²¹

We must also mention the illicit character of "contingency contracts" (gharár), ". . . generators of immoral profits (not justified by work performed), for they are risks against which the imprudent gambler must be defended".22

One could also agree with R. Charles when he says that, "The capitalism of money will be very restricted in Islam also, contrary to Puritan England after the Reformation, the abdication of religion has never been acknowledged in face of the attraction of economic property."

2. The Guilds

If, as stated by L. Massignon, the artisans and the tradesmen have played, and are still playing, a very active part in Islamic expansion, such expansion is in no way comparable with that of the big maritime and industrial companies that amassed fortunes out of the newly-launched European capitalism. Since very early times it has been said

that all Arabs are merchants,²³ but one should have added "... especially small-scale merchants".

^{*}In European languages the words Islam and Muslim are interchangeable.

^{**}For the previous instalment see *The Islamic Review* for September 1967.

²¹ R. Charles, op. cit., p. 86. A page from the writings of Louis Milliot shows this tendency very clearly: "Enterprises based on monetary risk and motivated by the desire for unlimited gain have never been very numerous in the Islamic world, and are strongly disapproved. The man who indulges in trafficking and who accumulates profits by evading the many restrictions placed in his path, has certainly existed in Islam — as he did in Christian and pre-Christian times — but during the whole of the medieval period the 'capitalist' has been an isolated case. In Europe the capitalist 'drive' coincided with the spiritual revolutions of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It continued to grow without interruption until its apogee in the 19th century. With the spirit of enterprise which marked the Age of Discovery, and which set the 16th-century merchants off on the Great Adventure — throwing overboard the medieval traditions — the hatred of usury, which was still prevalent in the time of Luther (d. 1546 C.E.) the evangelist and Calvin, the 'bible-thumper', now disappeared from the Protestant countries, the United Provinces, and especially England. For the religious, economic, political and spiritual changes that were taking place created a new kind of atmosphere. A century after the first Reformation the Puritans came to a common agreement that it was good for economic activity to be freed from out-of-date forms of restraint. But Islam will never admit the possibility of abolishing the theoretical supremacy of religion over economic activity. The social legislation developed by its jurists has refused to subordinate its ideal law to human machinations and practices, and it has not allowed the 'men of money' to do as they please," op. cit., p. 647.

²² Strabo, quoted by Muhammad Essad Bey, Mahomet, p. 38.

²³ X. de Planhol writes very pertinently on this point: "The reason for the absence of marked prices and the practice of bargaining ('haggling') — common among Eastern people — is a persistent tendency to 'corporative juxtaposition', which assures 'competition for the buyer'." op. cit., p. 45. This author goes on to say: "Thus the State land régime, as pushed to its ultimate development by the Osmanli Turks, resulted in disaster for the organization of rural society. For it lacked that progressive 'drive' which is the outstanding feature in direct administration — one of the fundamentals in all capitalist initiative." op. cit., p. 52.

The traders were organized into guilds or corporations with the object of safeguarding its members against unemployment and competition. Incidentally, Islam formulated a doctrine dealing with the "just price", which aimed at facilitating and bringing about fraternal relationships between seller and buyer.²⁴

The Qur'an forbids all sales where there is an element of uncertainty or doubt, the risk of fraud, the fixing of prices (except in case of famine or shortage), and haggling (bargaining prices). If the latter prohibition seems to have been more or less disregarded, in the majority of Arab countries (although among foreigners haggling has a special significance—it means swindling a non-Christian), the organization of trades into guilds is still carried on, and when one has visited a souq (market), one wonders how the methods and organization common to capitalist firms could possibly penetrate there.

3. The collective character of certain institutions in Islam

There are numerous restrictions limiting the exclusive character of Muslim property, and the importance of the collective property constituted by waqfs or habous, where the administration is in the hands of an official personage, is by no means negligible. But it is the importance of alms in Islam which we must particularly emphasize. For a Muslim, the giving of alms is more than a moral duty — it is prescribed by The Law. The Muslim must distribute his surplus wealth to the poor and needy.

Although the State has transformed the nature of Zakah for the well-being of all, private charity is very widely practised, and the redistribution of wealth carried out in this way is considerable. When we think of the modest average income of Muslims, of the insignificant number of rich people, and of the thousands of beggars to be found in Arab countries, we are astonished to note that all these beggars receive enough to live on. That is why the opinion of C. Lévi-Strauss—that Muslim fraternity means approbation of the inequality that exists—appears to us severe. On the contrary, it seems to us that a study of the methods likely to facilitate the development of Islam should take into account the importance of charity as a means of redistribution. There are several relevant points of interest:

The "multiplying-factor" is certainly increased, though invisibly, through the action of this redistribution.

A certain equilibrium is attained in the psychosociological domain, which is not wholly advantageous.

We must be careful not to be too hasty in referring to "disguised employment" by concluding that the marginal productivity of the "land-cropper" is nil, or inferior to zero. We should do better by examining the findings of Professor P. Fromont. This writer declares that "... in the majority of under-developed countries it has been noted that a very considerable number of people live off the land, in a kind of part-time or under-employed. Hence it is deduced that these rural districts are over-populated, and that there is a surplus of labour which could be utilized for industrial work. But here a very elementary fact has been overlooked — the seasonal character of agricultural work."²⁵

Further, when evaluating the two factors — "utility" and "welfare" — we should take into account the economic time devoted to production, and the social time devoted to leisure activities. In studies of the Egyptian village made by

J. Berque and A. Piatier it is clearly seen that "social time" is not devoid of activity and available for other kind of work. This leisure time is a necessity, and compensates for a diminished material consumption. And too often this consumption is the only factor which seems to interest the statisticians.²⁶

Writing on the same subject, R. Gendarme states very aptly: "Too often the economists who deal with underdevelopment seem to insist solely on making use of economic terms — formation of capital, investment capacity, etc. — thus completely overlooking the resistance inherent in sociocultural factor." Only a very limited number of economists, such as Frankel, Hoselitz or Buchanan, base their findings on the work of Weber, and consider that countries can accede to industrial civilization only through a far-reaching transformation in their ways of behaving and living. They consider the study of the ideologies of under-developed countries to be an indispensable condition for the pursuance of any kind of growth-policy. And here the significance of non-economic elements may be as important as the elements themselves.

In view of the opposing or conflicting socio-cultural factors, there is nothing that would justify the statement that, in under-developed countries, the national income would increase automatically if the necessary capital funds existed, or if new techniques were introduced.²⁸

4. Alimentary prohibitions

We should also take into account the unsatisfactory results which would ensue in connection with the economic development of forbidden foodstuffs and drinks. The prohibition of alcoholic drinks — sometimes mitigated, since the Hanifite rite tolerates alcohol and limits the prohibition of wine — has however had considerable repercussions on the culture of the grape-vine. In fact, in all the regions subject to the political control of Islam the high-quality vine-yards disappeared. Grape-vine culture became essentially an occupation of the hill or mountain people. It became more or less absorbed into the Mediterranean polyculture and the local way of life, but it could never produce enough for regular normal export. From the plains it retreated into the mountains, from the fields to the gardens.²⁹

It seems, however, that certain Muslim governments, aware of the loss in export resources inherent in this situation, began to study the possibility of remedying the deficiency. Thus for some years the Turkish State has followed a policy favourable to the production of wine.

But the consequences of the prohibition of unlawful meat seem to have been much more serious. "The geographical

25 P. Fromont, Intervention au congrès des économistes de langue française de mai, 1952, op. cit., p. 184.

26 J. Berque and A. Piatier, Colloque 1958-59 à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes sur le thème: Le village.

28 R. Gendarme, op. cit., pp. 127-128. On the same idea, cf. the point of view of M. Abramovitch in Allocation of Economic Resources, Stanford University Press, 1959.

29 X. de Planhol, op. cit., p. 56.

²⁴ We will here point out that in North Africa, in spite of the edict of French law authorizing partition, the majority of "collective" properties has remained so.

²⁷ S. H. Frankel, The economic impact on under-developed societies, Oxford 1953; Bert F. Hoselitz (Editor), The progress of under-developed areas, University of Chicago Press 1952; H. S. Buchanan and A. S. Ellis, Approaches to economic development, New York, The XXth Century Fund, 1955.

effects of this prohibition of pork were considerable," continues M. de Planhol. "Its proscription meant that wooded hills and mountains were now at the mercy of sheep and goats, thus, indirectly, causing disastrous deforestation. This is certainly one of the chief reasons for the particularly conspicuous bareness of Islamic Mediterranean countries. On the borders of Muslim countries, in Albania, the level of afforestation is definitely higher in the Christian districts where pigs are raised."³⁹

IV. The Value of Goods from the Subjective Viewpoint

However excellent may be the personal coefficients of sales agents, and however winning the smile of the salesgirl—to which M. Louis Baudin has drawn special attention—generally speaking the West uses objective criteria when putting values on goods and services. Marginal cost or the value/labour ratio are the objective factors by which prices are fixed, and such prices become, so to speak, inherent in, or part of, the goods which are to be sold.

Islam does not appear to apply such rigorous deciding factors when calculating economic value, except in those rare sectors where capitalism has become firmly rooted. The traditional priority of the "sign" over the "thing", of the word over the object, has for many years led to a hypersubjective conception of value.

In the "contractual man-to-man" arrangement which is preferred — and practised — by Muslims, there is a moral conflict — a conflict between the disapprobation of "contingency" and the desire for speculation, between "mercenarism" and the economic ethic which seems to be characteristic of traditional Muslim mentality.

This doubtless explains what can be seen in many transactions. An object is not valued with regard to its cost, but rather according to the supposed wealth of the client and the intensity of his desire. Haggling over the price is a contest where Oriental loquacity, finesse and subtlety are given free reign. It is a war of words in which the personalities of the contestants play the biggest role. And the price eventually arrived at reflects the relationship between the forces which they embody. But does there exist in the mind of the vendor "equitable price"? This is not certain. The minimum price at which the seller will part with his goods cannot easily be calculated on the cost of production, because in most cases the small vendor does not know it. This is why the minimum price appears to be determined principally by the vendor's judgment as to the normality of this price, having due regard to the supposed financial status of the buyer. But this normality varies. The minimum price will be less for the Egyptian meskine (poor man) than for the foreign tourist, or even for the rich Cairo townsman, however clever they may be. We might say, without too much exaggeration, that in certain sectors of Islamic economic life there is much less commercial exchange carried out on definite pre-declared terms than is carried out according to the presumed financial status of purchasers and the circumstances. As corroboration of this viewpoint two relevant anecdotes were related to us at Beirut by M. E. Teilhac:

"In certain Near East markets, gold coins, having the same weight, are worth more when they bear a male figure than when the effigy is female." Thus the essential Muslim conception of the superiority of man over woman impinges on the domain of economic value. This would not be easy to

understand if such value were arrived at according to objective economic criteria.

Further, the notion of the cost of production also remains very subjective in the minds of the majority of Muslim artisans. Note the typical attitude of the potter who, after a long bout of haggling, sold a vase to a European. He then not only refused to lower the unit price for the sale of a quantity of these vases, but demanded a higher unit price from the astounded European buyer. The latter, on declaring that a wholesale price should be lower than the retail price, the potter replied: "Perhaps so, but if the making of one vase interests me, making a quantity would be boring and the extra trouble justifies the increase in the unit price of the new vases."

It thus seems to us conclusive that the traditional mentality of Islam has not been favourable to the development of capitalism, which partially explains: first, the very limited amount of penetration by capitalist methods into industry and commerce (the majority of the important enterprises being in the hands of foreigners), secondly, the lack of "drive" in Muslim capitalist enterprises, and finally, the lack of success achieved by the policies of economic aid initiated under the auspices of the Western capitalist system, in their application to the economies of Muslim countries.

But we must not conclude from this that the Marxist system would solve all of Islam's problems.

ISLAM IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH MARXISM

"Or have they taken gods from the earth who raise (the dead)?

"If in the universe there had been several gods they would already have perished. Therefore, glory be to God, the Lord of the Throne, above what they attribute (to Him)" (The Qur'án, 21:21, 22).

We shall deal somewhat more briefly with the absolute incompatibility between Islam and Communism. No doubt the diplomatic and economic *rapprochements* between Arab countries and the Soviet Union are giving rise to uneasiness. It does not fall within our province here to decide on the part played by the blunders of the West in the causes of this orientation,³³ but if the help available from the Marxist régime towards the economic development of certain Muslim countries is not without its dangers, many of these countries

- 30 X. de Planhol, op. cit., p. 62. M. Lombart has brought into prominence the disastrous result for Muslim shipping arising from this lack of wood.
- 31 J. Berque outlines the present-day evolution of these traditional traits of economic mentality in Islam. Cf. Les Arabes d'hier à demain, pp. 49 to 155. This work is the most clear-sighted analysis we know of the possible orientations of economic development in the Islamic countries. Most of the elements of our analysis which are applicable to traditional Islam, and which have explained its resistance to capitalism, could with advantage be reconsidered in the light of the fresh details furnished by J. Berque. However, we do not think these details will modify our conclusions. The transformation in contemporary Islam which we are witnessing seems to be directed toward; the search for original solutions in the economic domain. The studies made by J. Berque do not contradict, but, on the contrary, we think they confirm and complete the theories we advanced a few years ago.
- 32 It is true that this is not peculiar to the Near East, since it is well-known that French peasants, for sentimental reasons prefer gold Louis to Swiss gold francs.
- 33 On this subject, we can with advantage refer to the works of R. P. Lebret, especially Suicide on survie de l'Occident, p. 323 et seq., and to the ideas put forward by Benoist-Mechin in Un printemps arabe. These authors, together with those who have boldly pointed out the dangers inherent in a short-term Western policy, have not received the attention they merit.

are somewhat insensitive in this direction because they think, like Pandit Nehru, "If Communism is bad, colonialism is infinitely worse".^{3,1}

The antagonisms and the hatreds of the moment cause them to ignore the dangers of the future, dangers which are doubtless more serious because less apparent, dangers arising from the encroaching friendship of the Marxist régime. We must therefore be on our guard against the naïve credulity which sees in Islam . . . an insurmountable barrier against Communism . This persuasive theory, which seems all the more acceptable because it fits in with politically attractive prejudices, presents a serious danger, in that it might cause nations to overlook the real problems arising from the meeting of Islam and Marxism. In fact, if Islam and Marxism appear to us to be essentially irreconcilable, this does not mean that in Muslim countries there are not particular features which make them sensitive to Marxist propaganda.

Besides the old grudges which are still borne against the one-time Western "protectors", who, in a negative fashion, are orientating these countries towards the East, and towards the Soviet Union, which is showing them its "Asiatic" aspect, Islam has a number of points of similarity with the Marxist régime which have recently come into prominence.

In the first place, Muslim orthodoxy "... denies the people the right to rebel against the State, even if it is a bad or undesirable one". Here the characteristic *authoritarianism* is somewhat analogous to the pre-eminent part given to the State in the Communist system.

Further, the idea of *predestination*, when it is not being continually orientated by metaphysical preoccupations, can, in practice, change to historical determinism. Again, Islamic teaching, like that of Communism, is characterized by a *universalism* which transcends nationality.

Finally, we might note the similarity of the conceptions about the *nature of evil*. Islam does not believe in "Original Sin". "Every child is born with a disposition towards the natural religion (of obedience, i.e., Islam). It is the parents who make it a Jew, a Christian, or a Zoroastrian". In the eyes of Islam, therefore, one might ". . . hope to obtain a perfect society simply by establishing the external order in which it could be realized independently of any moral change in man".³⁸

Thus we must not under-estimate the attraction exerted on Islam³⁹ by Communism in one or more of its "exported" forms. To neglect this problem is indirectly to further the penetration of Communist ideology into Muslim countries, and a number of these countries are not yet capable of creating, by their own means and on the basis of their own specific cultures, an ideal, together with a programme of practical activity, which could counteract the ideologies and the achievements of the Communist system. And yet a profound incompatibility exists between Marxism and those economically-undeveloped civilizations which wish to retain their specific personalities. Even if it is not fully apparent, this incompatibility can be readily shown in the particular case of Islam, as regards both principles and the external and practical aspects.

I. PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE IN CONTRADICTION

In the domain of principles Islam, like Marxism, is concerned with a "world-vision", a Weltanschauung. This fact is in itself evidence of their incompatibility since, in the

universe as conceived by the two doctrines, there is no place for a number of gods. But this fundamental opposition can be demonstrated more precisely on several points which certainly affect Muslims more closely than incompatibility: in particular the attitudes with regard to God, to the nation, and to the individual man, who is the special concern of both doctrines.

The Muslim is, above all, the *homo religiosus*. "As Israel has its roots in hope, as Christianity is devoted to charity, so Islam is centred on faith." For the Muslim, God is a Definite and Omnipresent reality.

Now we know the attitude of Marxism with regard to gods: "Philosophy," wrote Karl Marx, "has adopted the profession of faith of Prometheus: in a word, I hate all gods." What any particular country does towards foreign gods, country where His existence ceases." On this point at least the Soviet régime remains faithful to the Marxist doctrine. Lenin declared: "Religion is the opium of the masses," and according to a recent commentator, "Marxism always regards the contemporary religions and churches, all the religious organizations, as instruments of the bourgeous reactionaries, who are in the service of, and who defend, exploitation, with the object of stupefying the working class".

With regard to Islam, Marxism is especially severe, as can be seen from the official Party newspapers in the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union. The editorial in *Kizil Uzbekistan* (the daily paper of the Uzbek Communist Party) for 23 May 1952, contains the following sentence: "It is impossible to build up Communism before having definitely destroyed Islam." It could not be clearer than that.

Another instance of opposing concepts can be found regarding the domains which the two doctrines claim to comprise in their scope. If both doctrines transcend the concept of the nation, as a unit — such as was created by the events of European history — and aim at a "world-vocation", in practice there exists a fairly sharp difference between Islam and Communism. The proletarian internationale, a "class" dictatorship with world ambitions, is now being confronted with a new kind of nationalism — Arab nationalism — which apparently constitutes a revival of the "Dar al-Islám". "What have I to do with the proletarian internationale or

- 34 Quoted by Father Lebret, op. cit., p. 438. Cf. also Benoist-Mechin, who writes in Un printemps arabe: "Formerly the West over-estimated its powers, today . . . it thinks it still holds a good deal of attraction. It should think again! It is daily losing its hold on minds and hearts because it has lost faith in itself."
- 35 Cf. Structure économique et civilisation, p. 254. And yet the Arabs have a proverb on which they would do well to reflect a little: "O God, protect me from my 'friends', and I will defend myself against my enemies."
- 36 Edouard Atiyah has specially defended this theory in his book *The Arabs*, London 1955. *Cf.* V. Monteil, *Les Arabes*, 1957, p. 137 et seq.
- 37 Vincent Monteil, op. cit., p. 61.
- 38 Y. Faris, quoted by V. Monteil, op. cit., p. 138 et seq.
- 39 We should also bear in mind the "global ideal", peculiar to Islam, recently brought into prominence by J. Berque, op. cit., p. 259, which is another potential channel of penetration available to the Marxist régime. On the same concept cf. P. Rondot, L'Islam et les musulmans d'aujourd'hui, p. 319 et seq.
- 40 L. Massignon, quoted by V. Monteil, Les Musulmans soviétiques, p. 142.
- 41 Karl Marx, Différence de la philosophie de nature chez Démocrite et Epicure (French translation), Paris 1947, Vol. 1, p. 14.
- 42 Ibid., p. 80.
- 43 A. Jakovenko in *Pravda Vostoko* of 29 June 1950, quoted by Vincent Monteil, *Les Musulmans soviétiques*, p. 140.
- 44 Quoted by Vincent Monteil, op. cit., p. 141.

with Marxist materialism?" declared Jamál 'Abd al-Nasir.45 "I believe in the Arab nation. I believe it has a tremendous future providing it becomes united. . . . The Arab world will be a varied ensemble, but it will be homogeneous, and everyone will feel at home. Travel right through the East! You will see that nobody will trouble you. You will see everyone speaking the same longuage and everywhere following the same religion. Don't let the diversity of races, of dialects and of sects hide from you the great fundamental reality — the Arab world is one. You will see that the frontiers which separate the different countries have no geographical or historical reality. They are only the boundaries separating opposing spheres of influence."16 In the same vein M. 'Aflaq, founder of the Socialist party "Ba'th", declared: "We have nothing to do with the proletarian internationale. We are Arab Nationalists."47

The third point on which the two doctrines are in profound opposition concerns the role which they assign to man. However aloof God may seem to the faithful Muslim, in Islam there is no complete separation of the human from the Divine, as is sometimes stated. God said, according to the Prophet Muhammad, "I have created man in My own image."18 Thus man is given an outstanding dignity which it is not easy to regard as being compatible with Marxist methods. For a thinker like M. Aflaq, the mistake of the Soviet leaders is to regard man as the tool of man. "It is the revolution which is the tool of man. As soon as you make this mistake, man ceases to be an end and becomes no more than a means, an instrument which will be smashed when it has served its purpose. . . . I repeat that it is not revolution which inspires man, it is man who inspires revolution."19

These divergences are keenly felt by the majority of Muslims. And this explains why these opposing concepts have not remained in the domain of principles, but have been implemented — in spite of the duplicity, the smiles, and the abrupt changes characteristic of the policy of "positive neutralism" practised by certain Muslim countries - by very concrete practical measures.

II. DIVERGENCIES IN PRACTICAL APPLICATION

On the practical plane, the opposition between Communism and Islam is very real. In spite of the very vocal show of friendship, and the spectacular external aid, the fact remains that the U.S.S.R. persecutes Islam and aims at extirpating Arab culture from its territory, whilst the Muslim states, whenever possible, imprison Communists and ban the Party.

Since the establishment of the Marxist régime the Muslims of the Soviet Union have undergone four outstanding kinds of ordeal — sedentarisation, war, deportations, and purges.50

Without entering into detail concerning the policy followed by the Soviet towards the Muslim minorities of the U.S.S.R., or dwelling on examples only too easy to find (deportation of the Chechentsi of Eastern Circassia and the Tartars of the Crimea, the "Russianizing" of Daghestan and Kazakhstan, etc.) we can, I think, accept the opinion of an objective observer, according to whom, at least until the year 1956, ". . . it is not the Muslims who hold the levers of command in their own republics, either in the Government administration, or in the body of the Party, or in a stillpowerful political force (even if it is no longer in supreme command)."51

Thus it is, to say the least, thoughtless to regard the Marxist system as the extension and the protector of Islam. The superficial comparisons of the aims of the two systems are of the same kind as those which emphasize the identity of doctrines of authentic Christianity and Islam.

In fact, it must be repeated, if Islam wishes to preserve its specific personality and its originality, in a progressive adaptation to the conditions of the modern world, it is no more towards Communism than towards capitalism that it must turn.

III. THE PARTICULAR SITUATION OF ISLAM

Louis Massignon has strongly emphasized the distinctive character of Muslim civilization. "From the social point of view, Islam is noteworthy because of its pronounced equalitarian' concept of the personal contribution of the individual. It is opposed to free speculation on the rise and fall of public funds, bank capital, State loans and indirect taxes on commodities of prime necessity. But it supports the rights of the father and the husband, private ownership of property, commercial capital. It is opposed to legalized prostitution and alcoholic liberty. It thus occupies an intermediate position between the doctrines of bourgeois capitalism and Bolshevist Communism."52

There is another aspect under which this opposition to the two Western systems can be expressed - today the Western civilizations are the civilizations of those who "have" whereas Islam, like the real Christianity, can consist only of the civilization of those who merely "subsist". 32

The Qur'anic injunction, "Join yourselves all together with the rope of God," can be compared with the Marxist appeal: "Workers of the world, unite!" Islam, the religion of the disinherited, the "Abrahamic" schism of the rejected (as expressed by L. Massignon), is well fitted to lead the crusade of the Tiers-Monde, a crusade which may, if the West is not careful, be directed ". . . against the 'superior' technical, financial and scientific oppression of a Europe without a Messiah, and without God

But this revolt, or rather this awakening, can be successful if and when certain tangible results are achieved in a world which has now become very largely "Westernized". Such proof must be looked for in the economic domain, for today it is the economic problem which is the most urgent.

Islam will succeed in finding in this domain the foundations of such an effective renovation. It has the desire and possesses the elements which are necessary.

- 45 Quoted by Benoist-Mechin, Un printemps arabe, p. 76.
- 46 Jamál Násir, quoted by Benoist-Mechin. op. cit., p. 81.

47 Quoted by Benoist-Mechin, op. cit., p. 340.
48 Cf. the lecture by 'Abd al-Jawád at the Centre Richelieu, 19
December 1957, of which a typewritten copy was kindly sent us by Professor V. Berger-Vachon.

- Quoted by Benoist-Mechin, op. cit., p. 340. Although M. 'Aflaq is a Christian, it seems that his opinion reflects a deep Muslim sentiment. Further, the ethical problem which preponderates in the present-day economic research in Muslim countries is not simply a matter of "begging the question". For it gives a very original orientation — one which is probably not very compatible with Marxist methods - to the economic plans and programmes of the East.
- 50 Vincent Monteil, Les Musulmans soviétiques, p. 21 et seq. Cf. also A. G. Horon, L'U.R.S.S. amie de l'Islam; the Review Est et Ouest for January 1958, p. 1 et seq.
 51 Vincent Monteil, ibid., p. 57.
 52 Quoted by V. Monteil, Les Musulmans soviétiques, p. 142, and by Cibb in his Whiten Lature? Lordon

- by Gibb in his Whither Islam?" London.
- L. J. Lebret, Suicide ou survie de l'Occident?, p. 359 et seq. In later instalments of this essay we shall enlarge on the consequences of this conflict.
- 54 L. Massignon, quoted by V. Monteil, Les Musulmans soviétiques,

Children's Page

By OLIVE TOTO

I have been telling you the story of our Prophet Muhammad. It was now six years since the angel Gabriel gave to Muhammad the great message that he was to be the Last Prophet. Now Islam was spreading fast, with the two powerful citizens Hamzah and 'Umar helping the cause. It made a great difference to the spread of Islam. Hamzah was the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, whose great bravery had carned him the title of The Lion of God.

Many people were concerned and angry over Muhammad's success: others were very happy. The tribe of Quraysh formed themselves into a group and stopped all dealings with Muslims. This was really good in a way, for people started to ask questions, such as: "Why must we ban these Muslims? Has not the tribe of Quraysh tried many times to do evil to Islam and its followers and beaten the slaves who wanted to listen to Islam?" They spread false rumours about the Prophet and yet these enemies had not succeeded. They said to themselves, "Let us study this cause and this gospel, if only out of curiosity, a cause that can live on through thick and thin. It seems to us," they said, "as if these people are guarded, and all the Muslims have such a good look of serenity and happiness and their leader Muhammad suffers but he has the look of a happy and peaceful man."

Time passed and Muhammad, now at the age of fifty, had more sorrow. It was another death and this time his beloved wife Khadíjah died, his companion, his first convert to Islam. For 25 years he had her great support and understanding. Now she was gone; never would he hear her voice again giving him courage, hope and being a staff to lean on, and all that one could wish for in a wife. He was so sad. It was terrible to see him like this. Now he had become a widower, suffering again but never complaining. He also lost at this time his uncle and guardian who was so kind to him in his childhood and all his life. After a while the Prophet Muhammad married Saudah, a widow of an Abyssinian emigrant.

Muhammad now thought he must get more support for Islam. He started out for an important city called al-Tá'if, a place sixty miles to the east of Mecca. It was an important city. On arriving at al-Tá'if, he went to the three most important men of the city and told them that they should join him in his wonderful mission and help to spread Islam. They did not seem to think it a wonderful mission or a wonderful faith. Islam to them was out. They would not support it. For ten days the Prophet worked hard but gained nothing. Then the horrible mobs started to try and drive Muhammad out of the city; they hooted at him, pelted him with stones and at last compelled him to flee from the city. This mob drove him out, chasing him for two miles across a hot and sandy plain. At last, weary, sad, bleeding and very unhappy, he hid himself for the night in a garden, where he spent a great part of the night in prayer. Next day he started out on his return journey. Here he was, unhappy and forlorn,

and not so young at fifty years of age. Unhappy and forlorn, yes! but had he given up? No! He would die rather than lose Islam.

On Muhammad's return journey a ray of sunshine seemed to come, a ray of hope. It was this. At a place called Miná, very near Mecca, Muhammad met a group of people who were attracted by his preaching and determination. They joined his mission and then went on their way. The following year they met Muhammad again and took a pledge to support him. It was the first pledge and is known as The Pledge of 'Aqabah. It was made by twelve men then but, the following year, seventy men took a similar pledge. These men were a great support to Islam. In Medina the claims of the Prophet Muhammad now aroused great interest and a wish to know more about Islam was evident. A teacher was sent from Mecca to Medina and Islam started to spread quite fast.

The hopes of Muhammad were raised, and thinking so much about his work, he saw a wonderful future for Islam. That night he had a visual spiritual experience, wherein he was carried from Mecca to the Temple of Jerusalem. He started his Ascension on a winged horse. In Jerusalem he was welcomed by all the previous prophets and then he saw God, who told him that his followers should pray five times a day. Now this question of prayer had always been in Muhammad's mind, and now the answer had been given. There would be a set of prayers to go down through the ages. Another day I will give you full information about these prayers and how to perform and recite them. The time had come for the Prophet Muhammad to leave Mecca. God gave him a message telling him to go with his followers to Medina. So the Muslims left their homes and departed secretly in small parties to Medina, until only Muhammad, Abú Bakr and 'Alí, with their families, were left.

Now, thought the tribe of Quraysh, it is time to finish Muhammad, kill him we must and not be afraid, the time has come for him to die and die he must. We, they said, have thought about this before, but this time we must not fail. But Muhammad was warned and escaped to Mount Thaur on 16 July 622 C.E. Here he hid himself for three days and nights in a cave. After a terrible journey of many perils, consisting of seventy-one long days and nights, Muhammad reached Medina on 24 September 622 C.E. How the Prophet Muhammad suffered for his beliefs! Also did the Prophet Jesus, but not so many years as the Prophet Muhammad. All prophets have had to suffer for the truth.

Much of the Qur'an was revealed around this time, which was Muhammad's thirteenth year of prophethood. We notice that around this time the idolators and open hatefulness of the people seemed to disappear and in its place came the cunningness of the Hypocrites. They were very dangerous people, great pretenders, but now there was no open opposition but underneath there was an undercurrent. For instance, there was a man called 'Abdullah Ibn

Ubayy who, if Muhammad had not come along, would have been the chief of Medina. He could foresee the people turning to Muhammad for understanding and help. Muhammad had been warned against this man and the Hypocrites. There are hypocrites in the world today. The Qur'an talks about them and warns one.

For nearly a year most of the Prophet's time was taken up in seeing to the building of a great Mosque in Medina which was called Masjid al-Nabí, which means the Mosque of the Prophet. Then houses for the Prophet and his followers were built around it. The next wonderful thing to happen was that the Prophet was chosen to be the chief of the city. Today there is still the Mosque of the Prophet, so you can see for yourself of what great importance these last twelve months were. Also in that time prayers became organized, fasting established and all Muslims were told to fast from daybreak to sunset throughout one special month each year. Also more verses of the Qur'an were revealed to Muhammad. Do you notice how Muhammad had a Mosque in Medina but none in Mecca; and yet this was his birthplace. His followers would have liked to have had a Mosque there first.

But God knew better. The time was not ripe yet. So Medina offered the peace that helped the spread of Islam. We can safely say that the life of Islam started from Medina, although it was born in Mecca. Alas, in Mecca Muslims were hounded from pillar to post, not allowed even to say their prayers in their houses. But here in Medina they were saying their prayers in public and in a Mosque.

Now the question arose as to which was the best way to call all Muslims to meet together for prayers five times a day. Many suggestions were put forward but nothing agreed upon. As Muhammad was wishing for a solution to this question, his wish was granted. A companion of the Prophet said, "Last night I had a dream, I heard a voice saying, 'God is Great, God is Great'."

Muhammad listened and was greatly impressed. Then his follower, 'Umar, said, "Why, I had just the same dream." The Prophet then said, "This shall be our call to prayers. It shall be 'God is Great, God is Great' (to be called four times), and then, 'I bear witness that no one deserves to be worshipped but God' (to be called twice), then the words shall come, 'I bear witness that Muhammad is the Prophet of God' (to be called twice), and then the call 'Come to prayers' (also to be called twice), and then, 'Come to success' (to be called twice) and also the proclamation, 'God is the Greatest' (called twice), and then at the end of the call shall to be the cry, 'There is no god but God'."

This call is given all over the world today by men who are called Muezzins. I honestly believe that all persons, whether they are Muslims or not, must admit that this call sounds wonderful coming through the clear air proclaiming one's belief. It stirs one's heart and soul. There is nothing in the world so wonderful as that cry from the minaret proclaiming to the world that the time for prayers to God (the one and only God) has come.

Now at this time it was the custom of all people of the East, whether Christian, Jew or Muslim, to marry more than one wife. Every man had more than one wife; in fact many. Then Muhammad was told by God that a Muslim could only take four wives if he could treat them alike! You know they had more than twenty in olden days, but Muhammad had one wife at first, whose name was Khadíjah and only after she had died did he have more than one wife

at a time. But, as I said before, it was the usual custom to have more than one wife. I must add it was a way of looking after orphans and widows. You see after a war the women were left without their husbands to protect them and that left them helpless — not like nowadays, when women are not so helpless.

But, regarding the command "If you can treat them alike", I think I must add it takes a prophet to treat four women alike. But that is a matter of opinion and God has given us brains to think things out for ourselves. Most Muslims now have one wife and many countries allow only one wife. When you grow older, you can study this point for yourself, as Islam is common sense. But as this question seems to come up so much in England from outsiders with the other remark, "Muhammad and the sword", it is my duty, your duty, and all Muslims' duty to point out that Muhammad was known to have said, "The ink from the pen of a scholar is more precious than the blood of a martyr". Muhammad did not spread Islam by the sword. Yes! the Prophet Muhammad fought, but not to spread Islam. He fought to free the oppressed and also when asked by people who could not defend themselves. We are not taught to turn the other cheek. Who does? What country or leader when attacked by an army or persons does not defend himself or his family?

Later on I will tell you about some of the battles in which the Prophet Muhammad took part. But again I say, and I cannot repeat it too often, Islam was never spread by the sword; if it had been, many countries would be Muslim today. You know the Muslims conquered Spain but never forced Islam on the Spanish. The Muslims had no thumb-screw and the stake, such as was used on the Protestants by the Spanish Catholics in olden days. You know the Muslims came up as far as Sicily. Again I must add they did not force their religion. But, as you know, there are Muslims in many countries — China, Russia, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Libya, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Arabia, Nigeria and many other countries. One fifth of the world's population is Muslim. Oh yes, we are not a small community! Please remember this. Be proud of this fact.

As you already know, many places holy to the Christians and Jews are also holy to the Muslims. Christians, Muslims and Jews like to visit Jerusalem. You cannot be a Muslim if you do not respect Jesus. Call him an impostor and you are not a Muslim. The Holy Qur'an mentions Jesus and his mother with great respect and all the prophets are respected. But we count Muhammad to be the Last Prophet.

I always like to close my talk with some advice. This time I say especially to children in foreign countries away from their own homes and also those at home the Prophet Muhammad always told the truth and meant what he said. Try to follow him. Don't even say to a person, "Can I help you?" if you do not mean it; for this action is an untruth. Never promise and not keep your promise. If your parents ask, "Did you do this or that?" give a truthful answer. Grow up to be a truthful man or woman. Such a person who, if he signs an agreement, will keep his promise, whether in business or private affairs. We must hear the world say, "A Muslim's word is his bond". And if at school Muslim children get known for telling the truth, how wonderful! I say again to little Muslim children all over the world: live a Muslim life; be a shining example. Tell the truth. The Qur'an says: "The Faithful are those who keep their trust, fail not in their words and keep their promises!" With those wonderful words above I will close for today.

The Holy Qur'an and Modern Scientific Knowledge

By Dr. M. SHAHIDULLAH

The Holy Qur'an claims that it is the word of God, the Omniscient. We can test its claim by one criterion: if its statements are in conflict with scientific facts, especially such scientific facts as were not even in the modern man's ken until very recently. A close study of the Qur'an throws into relief the fact that not only are the Qur'an's statements not in conflict with science but that it also corroborates the Qur'an's statements.

The Qur'an on the importance of knowledge

The Holy Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad extol the excellence of science and knowledge. The Qur'an states that Adam's superiority over the angels who had to acknowledge it by prostrating before him was due to his knowledge.

We read in the Qur'an:

- "God taught Adam all the names" (2:30).
- "God will exalt those of you who believe, and those who are given wisdom, to high ranks" (58:11).
- "And whoever is granted wisdom, he indeed is given a great good. And none mind but men of understanding" (2:269).

It may be stressed here that the word "wisdom" (in Arabic: hikmah) means both science and Islamic knowledge. If we take it to mean "science", the verse would state that any people, irrespective of its religion, would obtain high ranks and enjoy a great good, if it cultivated science. But if we take it to mean "Islamic knowledge", the verse would state that those who are endowed with Islamic knowledge would enjoy a great spiritual benefit. The present day Muslim and Christian nations are the best illustrations of these words of God.

The Qur'an and the law of opposites

It is now a well-established fact that not only among animals but also in the vegetable kingdom and even in inanimate matter like electricity, there works the law of opposites which the Qur'án calls pairs.

Again it says:

"And of everything We have created pairs that you may perhaps be attentive" (51:49).

Again is says:

"Holiness be to Him Who created pairs of all things of what the earth grows and of their self and of what they do not know" (36:36). The Mauláná Muhammad 'Alí, the translator of the Holy Qur'án, in commenting on this verse says: "This verse establishes a great scientific truth that pairs exist in all creation, even in the vegetable kingdom and in things which had not yet come to the knowledge of man. The Arabs certainly did not know this, but modern research corroborates this truth."

The Qur'án on the Solar System

Modern science tells us that the solar system was originally one mass. Then it split up. This is how the earth originated. Then life originated on the earth from water. At first the earth was constantly convulsive. Then the mountains appeared and the earth became calm and habitable. The Holy Qur'án corroborates this scientific truth and calls upon the disbelievers to believe in the Omnipotence of God, the Most High.

"Do not those who disbelieve see that the heavens and the earth were closed up, then We separated them. And We made from water everything living. Will they not then believe? And We made firm mountains in the earth, so that it may not be convulsed with them and We made in it wide pathways that they might follow a right direction" (21:30:31).

The Holy Qur'an asserts that all living beings were created from water. It states:

- "And God has created all animals from water. Then some of them are that crawl upon their bellies and some of them that walk upon two legs and some of them that walk upon four legs. God creates what He desires. Surely He is Powerful over all things" (24:45).
- The creation of different animals shows the Omnipotence of the Creative Power. If we accept this fact we do not need to have to run to the theory of Evolution for help. He who has made the thumb print of each individual different has the power to create such species of animals. It is just sheer ignorance to think that science can explain every natural phenomenon. Nobody can deny the existence of life on the face of the earth, but nobody has been able to explain the origin of life.

Modern science teaches that all celestial bodies are rotating in their orbits around their centres. The Holy Qur'án confirms this, saying:

"All float on in an orbit" (21:33, 36:40).

Even the sun, which was regarded as fixed by all ancient astronomers, the Holy Qur'an says that it is moving to its destination.

We read in the Qur'an:

"And the sun moves on to its destination. That is the ordinance of the Almighty, the Omnicient" (36:38). In several verses of the Holy Qur'an the sun has been called the shining brightness (diya) or the lamp (siraj) and the moon the light (núr). The moon has also been expressly described as borrowing light from the sun.

- "He it is Who made the sun a shining brightness and the moon a light" (10:5).
- "See you not how God has created the seven heavens alike, and made the moon among them a light and made the sun a lamp" (71:15.16).
- "By the sun; and its brightness and the moon when it borrows light from it" (91:1.2).
- "Blessed is He who made the stars in the heavens and made therein a lamp and a moon giving light" (25:61).

The famous commentator of the Qur'án, the Imam Rází, explains "the seven heavens" as the seven moving heavenly bodies, i.e. the sun, the moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, but also observes that the word "seven" is also used to denote an unspecified number.

The Qur'an on the existence of beings on other planets

Astronomers are now conjecturing that there may be intelligent beings in these planets. The Holy Qur'an is definite about it when it says:

"And His is whosoever is in the heavens and the earth. All obedient to him" (30:26).

Note the use of the word "whosoever" (Arabic: man) which denotes intelligent beings like man. Here the heavenly beings may be either similar to the human beings or some other intelligent beings. One day when the mystery of flying saucers will be solved, we will definitely know the nature of these heavenly beings. It is absolutely unreasonable to think that except our tiny planet, which is like a drop of water in a vast ocean, all the celestial bodies are altogether void of life.

The Qur'án and Evolution

The Holy Qur'an gives an elaborate description of the gradual development of man from a sperm to a full-fledged human being.

"And certainly We create man of an extract of clay. Then We make him a sperm in a fixed resting place. Then We make the sperm a clot, then We make the clot a lump of flesh, then We make the lump of flesh bones, then We clothe the bones with flesh, then we cause it to grow into another creation. So blessed be God, the Best of creators" (23:12-14).

On this verse the *Mauláná* Muhammad 'Alí notes: "The several stages in the growth of the human child, as given here, and unknown then, are quite in accordance with scientific investigation. It should be borne in mind that the letter fa (meaning then) as used in 'then We clothe the bones' does not always imply order. This is, of course, according to the usage of the Arabic language."

The Qur'an and some modern discoveries

The Holy Qur'an indeed has hinted at some wonderful discoveries of modern science. Railways, aeroplanes, airships, steamers and other modern means of conveyances are, for instance, hinted at in the following verses:

"And a sign to them is that We bear their offspring in the laden ship. And We have created for them

its like on which they ride" (36:41, 42).

"And (He made) horses and mules and asses that you might ride upon them and as an adornment. And He creates what you know not" (16:8).

Above all, God, by intimating to man of his vast capacity for the conquest of nature, inspires him for inventions and discoveries and at the same time for his unbounded spiritual advancement.

"Do you not see that God has made subservient to you whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth, and completed to you His favours outwardly and inwardly" (31:20).

The Value of Lectures on Islam and its Cultural Aspects Organized by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England

(We print below a typical but decidedly more vocal letter which gives an insight into the workings of the minds of those who take thought for their beliefs. The letter, from an Englishman, Mr. Albert Healey, B.Sc., a retired industrialist, of Holly Cottage, South Heath, Great Missenden, Bucks, was received by Dr. 'Alí Muhammad Khan, Associate Editor, *The Islamic Review*, Woking, who had addressed a gathering at Chesham, Bucks, England.—Ed., *I.R.*)

Dear Dr. Khan,

I would like to put on record my personal appreciation of your visit to Chesham a week ago, when you unfolded to us the greatness and the wonder of the Islamic Faith. It was particularly pleasing to find you so well supported by the local Muslim community. We have had many conversations about your address, seeking to understand and appreciate

the Faith, in its wholeness, rather than those elements of spirit which Christians can share. For myself, my attitude to a prophet, including Jesus Christ, is very much the same as yours. To elevate a prophet to a super-human position is to make him unknowable in full, and at the same time to discourage rather than to energize ordinary men.

Christianity, in my view, got bogged down in concepts and dogmas in the Constantine era, and is finding it hard to get free, so great and so fatal is the hypnotizing effect of the intellect.

But I must not try to expound my ideas in this letter of thanks to you, let it suffice to say that your address was very simulating to me.

Yours sincerely,

ALBERT HEALEY

Impact of Modernization on the Islamic Culture

Is Islam capable of seeking accommodation with Modernity?

By Professor GHULAM MOHAMMED-HANIF

What is modernization?

The world of Islam is being torn asunder by forces of change beyond its control. The upheavals, the instability and the social dislocations are resultant sectors generated by the impact of modernization on the hitherto static Islamic society. The process of modernization includes broadly political development, economic growth and development, industrialization, urbanization and social change. It is maintained that Islamic culture with its emphasis upon traditionalism and essentially a conservative way of life will not be able to withstand the onslaught of changes released by "the revolution of rising expectation", without basic structural changes in the Islamic society. In this article I wish to examine the impact of modernization on the Muslim culture.

Modernization is the process of change from an agrarian to an industrial way of life that has resulted from the dramatic increase in man's knowledge of and control over his environment in recent centuries. In Europe this process has been evolving for half a millennium or more, and in modern times the influence of European knowledge and institutions has spread to most other parts of the world.

A modern society is characterized, among other things, by a comparatively high degree of urbanization, widespread literacy, comparatively high *per capita* income, extensive geographical and social mobility, a relatively high degree of commercialization and industrialization of the economy, an extensive and penetrative network of mass communication media, and, in general, by widespread participation and involvement by members of the society in modern social and economic processes.

Modernization in this general sense has come to be accepted as a desirable, if not indeed inevitable, change in human affairs. Yet it must be recognized that the transformation of traditional societies has been in many ways a vastly destructive process. Not only have governments, ruling classes, and systems of knowledge and belief been destroyed, but social institutions, personal values, and not infrequently the psychological security of the individual have been undermined. Even in the societies which were first to modernize, where change took place gradually over a period of many generations, the destructive aspects of modernization have been apparent. In societies that have modernized more recently, under great pressure to compete with earlier modernizers, one frequently has the impression that traditional institutions and values have been destroyed before their modern replacements were available.

Paradoxes and complexes of contemporary Islam

Contemporary Islam illustrates the many paradoxes and complex problems of a culture in the process of transition from a traditional to a modern way of life. The modernizing élites of the Islamic societies have prepared ambitious blueprints for development and are seeking to bring about, at an accelerated pace, the transformation of backward economics and pre-industrial technologies. The experience of the first phase of this experiment in planned change has increasingly brought home to the planner the realization that traditional values and institutions play a vital rôle in determining the direction and the rate of modernization. Consequently there has been much concern lately by social scientists in the Islamic world regarding the efficacy of mobilizing the traditional Islamic values towards constructive process of modernization.

Islam is generally viewed as a religion inhibiting social change, perpetuating status quo and encouraging a reactionary return to a remote past vaguely identified as representing the shibboleth of the glorious Muslim age. The veracity of this statement is certainly not supported by the empirical evidence, such as Turkey, where modernization is proceeding essentially within an Islamic framework. Neither does the historical data warrant this pessimistic attitude, especially since Islam has acted as an accommodative force assimilating vastly different peoples within the vortex of its social order. Moreover, Islamic history is replete with attempts of reformers who have sought to forge idealism and reality into a consistent harmonious whole.

The reformist movements of 'Abduh and Iqbal

Indeed, a promising Islamic modernist movement did get under way in Egypt in the late nineteenth century under the leadership of Muhammad 'Abduh. 'Abduh taught that the original Islam of the Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an was essentially in accord with modern science and democracy. He attacked Súfí mysticism and magic as perversions of the true Islamic spirit. He began to reinterpret the bases of Islamic law, the heart of Islamic religion and the chief problem for any modern interpretation, so as to provide for the flexibility and innovation modernity implies. But aside from insisting, for the first time in centuries, that modern Muslims have the right to go back to the original texts. rather than accepting the position of generations of commentators and sub-commentators, he provided a few general principles on which such interpretation might develop. Unfortunately, subsequent generations have on the whole not advanced beyond 'Abduh in developing a coherent reformist

position. This is, however, not to minimize 'Abduh's influence throughout the Islamic world for there is some evidence suggesting that Kemal Atatürk himself was inspired by 'Abduh's thinking in seeking to bring the Turkish way of life more in harmony with the modern world.

The somewhat parallel development in British India, associated with the teaching of Muhammad Iqbál, had a similar outcome. Iqbál analyzed the history of culture to show that it was the Qur'án that had laid the foundation for the empiricism and realism of modern science as against the purely speculative tendencies of classical philosophy. He preached a dynamic activistic Islam opposed to fatalism and quietism. He undoubtedly gave impetus to the emergence of Pakistan as an Islamic State for the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent and after the emergence of that state reformism has gradually been in the process of evolving towards seeking an accommodation with modernity.

The reconstruction of traditional values and attitudes in Islamic society

A culture is essentially an adaptive mechanism. Islam is no exception to this. No culture is static; at any given point in time it has elements of both continuity and change. Cultural values reflect both these kinds of elements. While some emphasize stability and persistence of certain components of the culture, others encourage adaptation and change. Cultural change is invariably preceded, accompanied or followed by value change. It is therefore erroneous to attribute a static quality to cultural values. Such changes in the Islamic culture are subtle, almost imperceptible and gradual to the point of seeming to maintain its continuity.

The fact that the renovation of Islam as a religious system tends to find its centre of gravity in educational reforms, as in the introduction of arts and science in the curriculum of the traditional schools of Islamic theology, of which al-Azhar is the prime example, rather than in reorganization of an ecclesiastical hierarchy or alteration in liturgical or even, at least initially, in reorientation of theological speculation has some important implications for the whole process of modernization in the Islamic society.

One of the difficulties Islamic reform faces is the absence of easily identifiable targets against which to direct its attack. Reformation in Europe was essentially a movement attacking institutionalized clerical hierarchy thereby hastening the process of social change culminating in such phenomena as the Puritan ethic, eventualizing in the rise of modern capitalism. In Islam there is no Pope whose supremacy can be rejected; no priestly hierarchy whose mediating powers, special privileges, isolating celibacy, or symbolic fatherhood can be dispensed with; no synthesis that, like Thomism, can be philosophically undermined. There are only the 'ulema—a loose collection of rather individualistic legal scholars and teachers without any formal status or any particular internal organization. In such a socio-cultural framework, there is no point at which a radical breakthrough, a sudden overturning of the whole system, can be accomplished, all that seems possible is a step-by-step attack on the multiple strongholds of traditionalism, mystical and scholastic alike. In such a setting of dispersed and rather uncertain religious authority the great intellectual and sociological dramas of the Reformation vintage are absent. Reformism and social change within the framework of the Islamic culture has been a gradual process in the past, a slow accretion of minor changes rather than a series of spectacular quantum jumps, so too, and for the same reasons, may its modernization be.

This social change, the reconstructing of traditional values and attitudes, has already begun. It is an axiom of economic development that when reality and values are in conflict it is the values which are brought to accord with economic reality. The demand created for raising the level of living standards has also meant an emphasis upon productive capacity. Of necessity this very fact has altered and injected some fresh thinking into religious rituals as well as the core of the Islamic culture: the relation between man and woman.

The clash between the dictates of the rigid religious law and an impetus for change as seen in various Muslim countries

The fundamental axiom of cultural practice and religious belief in Islamic community expresses a principle that the code of conduct represented by the religious law, or Shari'ah, was fixed and final in its terms and that any modification would necessarily be a deviation from the one legitimate and valid standard. Obviously the clash between the dictates of the rigid and static religious law and any impetus for change or progress that a society may experience poses for Islam a fundamental problem of principle. Many Muslim countries have sought the solution in a process that could be termed the modernization of the existing legal systems. Such was the case of the legal reform introduced in Tunisia in 1957, the outright prohibition of polygamy, which represented a complete break with the legal tradition of some thirteen centuries. This particular case is significant not because it provides a preview of what is to come, but of crucial significance to the Islamic culture because it involves the status of the family, where the influence of the traditional religious law has always been strongest as well as the fact that it is one of the most extreme examples of the process of legal modernism which may radically alter the shape of the Islamic society. Similar but less extreme laws have been enacted in other parts of the Islamic world, where, although the break is not so total, the trend towards modernity is clearly visible.

Suggesting this orientation is the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, promulgated in Pakistan in 1961, requiring the permission of a duly constituted arbitration council for a second marriage, under pain of penal and other sanctions, stating that such permission can be given only when the Council is satisfied that the "proposed marriage is necessary and just".

In modern times, the problem presented by the clash between the dictates of a legal system based upon a society of early medieval times and allegedly unchangeable and the demands of the contemporary Muslim society naturally become acute. By the present century, the criminal and commercial law of the Shari'ah had been almost entirely abandoned in the Middle East in favour of codes of law based upon Western models. In the realm of family law, which was always regarded as a particularly vital and integral part of the religious faith, however, such an extreme solution was not acceptable. Turkey, it is true, abandoned the Shari'ah family law outright in 1927 and adopted in its place the Swiss Civil Code. But it is a significant fact that over the past forty years, when such intense thought has been given to this problem, no single Muslim country has yet seen fit to follow this example. Instead, conscientious endeavours have been made to adapt the Shari'ah to the needs of modern society. This process of legal modernism necessitated by the contemporary nature of social, political and economic development could perhaps create a foundation for further modernization of the life styles in the Islamic world.

Woman in Islam and the modern world pressures

Islam is a family centred religion. Much of the religious education and cultural processes of Islam are learned at home through early socialization. Critical to the foundation of the social structure is the male and female rôle. The masculine-feminine dichotomy is nowhere sharper than in the Muslim world, as befits what David Riesman has called a "male vanity culture". Dress, always an overt differentiator between classes, sects, trades and sexes, has imposed special requirements upon females living under Islam. Segregation of women was reinforced by robes concealing the form and veils concealing the face. These traditional ways have resisted even the power of the dictators. Rezá Sháh forced Iranian women to discard their chadars (a sheet of cloth used by women in Iran to wrap around themselves) but many again hid their bodies under the next régime. Atatürk frowned upon, but more wisely never outlawed, the veil.

The education system, deriving from the same perspective as seclusion and veiling, also excluded women from participation in public life. Although ancient Islam boasted great poetesses, learning was wedded by tradition to Qur'anic study and the Holy Book was considered beyond female capacities. Only the rare highborn woman surmounted social obstacles to the acquisition of the learned arts. Despite the spread of education in recent decades, a large gap remains; even in Turkey 35 per cent of males but only 14 per cent of females can read and write.

Besides small groups of entrenched but vigorous feminist organizations, occasional male reformers have stressed the strategic rôle of women in the Islamic society. Mr. Musa al-'Alami, of Jordan, concluded, after the Arab defeat in Palestine, that "the woman must be equal to the man so that she may share in the formation of . . . a new Arab society". Lebanese reform party of Kemal Jumblát also advocates female emancipation so that Muslim women may proudly share the burden of creating a better life. These reformers argue that the "relay" functions of women in family and community, their dominance in child-raising, put them in a position to retard or encourage modernization. The basic new impetus has come not from the reformers or the small indigenous feminist movement, but from the stream of Western communications. Western movies and television programmes project upon Muslim women examples of female behaviour remarkable by any standards and revolutionary in their impact upon traditional values of a "male vanity culture". Says Mr. Hourani:

"The process of change is being speeded by one manifestation of Western civilization above all: the film which expresses a way of feminine life and a conception of the relations between men and women, which are far from those prevalent in the Islamic world."

Radio and print also are important transmitters of the modern images of women. These media of mass communication, intensively used for educational purposes as well, bring to the Muslim woman a pattern of life well beyond her conceivable horizon, thus mitigating the transformation of traditional conception of woman's proper rôles.

A Muslim wife, who sometimes resents the narrowness

of her *milieu* and yearns for modern freedom of industrialized societies, has learned to combine innovational and traditional ways with good grace. She considers radio "the blessing of the twentieth century", for it brightens her day, teaches her useful skills and how to keep happy. Her favourite programmes consist of:

"Talks and lectures that interest women most of all. Sometimes we have good advice how to care for our children, how to prevent diseases, and how to keep happy. They give us good recipes. This programme has many times good stories that teach us a lesson about life."

In this manner the young Muslim woman finds gratification through borrowed experiences. The media from abroad are creating a growing market for the Western image of the enlightened and independent woman who enjoys the material amenities, the wider education, employment, deference and marital equality. The attraction is strong but new desire gestates long before it overcomes the safety of conformism. The personal cost of radical social change leads some potential moderns to prefer the familiar blend of present comforts and vexations to the hazards of gambling for higher stakes.

Conclusion

So the "problem of women" in Islam is posed on a level parallel to its debate in the West — the West of not more than a generation or so ago. But the trend towards modernization is clear, inevitable and irreversible. As the barrage of images from mass media increases, so will the desire to have these things. Already a number of Muslim countries have intensified their effort to educate women on the same basis as men. Those already educated are demanding newer rôles in society, in public life and professional capacities. Inevitably, this would bring about a change in the traditional pattern of family life. A greater equality between sexes is one consequence of the shift in the socioeconomic activities of a society which in turn also hastens the process towards modernization.

The incontrovertible fact is that the Islamic culture is in the throes of social change. Whether Islam as a religious system can accommodate these changes is yet another question. On the basis of the data surveyed my own guess would be that disruption would occur indeed, but modernization would be achieved syncretistically rather than destructively. This is the challenge Islam is facing today. For the first time the Muslims of the world find themselves plunged in a process of revolution. No previous age in the long history of Islam has had to meet the force and comprehend the meaning of all-embracing, many-faceted revolution which is now moving across all the continents of our distraught world. This revolution has forced itself in all spheres of life. It has left no nation, no interest, no class and no mode of human experience or activity untouched or undisturbed. All the fundamentals of our world have been affected. In this world of permanent crises and change, every facet of the Islamic culture will be affected and it will be up to the Muslims to bring their society in harmony with the realities of the twentieth century world.

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The Essential Concomitants of Reciting the Qur'an¹

The Views of Eminent Muslim Divines

By I. L. M. M. NILAM

The 1400th anniversary occurs this year of the revelation of the Holy Qur'án, "the most widely read book ever written", "the theophany of Islam," "that inimitable symphony the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy". To mark the occasion, ten Pakistani Muslim craftsmen are reported to have begun writing three copies of the Qur'án in gold thread. In whatever manner we choose to demonstrate our love of the Qur'án, little will be gained if we do not dedicate ourselves to the task of directing our lives in accordance with its precepts. How many of us can truthfully claim to have made it a point to read the Qur'án

Hasan al-Basrí (d. 728 C.E.) there are no riches greater than the Qur'án. The Caliph 'Ali Ibn Abí Tálib is reported to have said: "Without knowing the Qur'án no other knowledge is complete or useful. If you have lost healthy balance of mind... then seek treatment and guidance of this Holy Book. Invoke the help of God through it." Iqbal expressed the view that the main purpose of the Qur'án is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the Universe. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855 C.E.) learnt in a dream that the best means to approach God is to be close to His Word, whether understanding it or not.

International Islamic Conference to be held in Pakistan on the occasion of the 1400th Anniversary of the Revelation of the Qur'an

The Government of Pakistan has decided to celebrate the occasion of the 1400th anniversary of the revelation of the Qur'an in a befitting manner. The Islamic Research Institute of Pakistan has been asked to organize an International Islamic Conference in which 'Ulamá' and scholars from all over the world will participate, in addition to scholars and 'Ulamá' of the country. The Conference is scheduled to be held in January 1968.

regularly and to strive to understand its contents? If we have been remiss in this respect because we have had no access to literature dealing with the importance of reading the Qur'an and the benefits to be derived from such reading, I earnestly hope that the notes gathered from various sources and set out here will fill the gap.

The Qur'anic content

God says of the Qur'an:

"This is the book, in it is guidance sure, without doubt, to those who fear God" (2:2).

"We have revealed for you (O Men!) a book in which is a Message for you: will ye not then understand?" (21:10).

"These are clear evidences to men, and a Guidance and Mercy to those of assured faith" (45:20).

The Qur'an, the healer of mind

Ibn Mas'úd, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, has stated that the Qur'án contains all knowledge, that of the past as well as of the future, and he who wishes to acquire knowledge should learn the Qur'án. According to the Sufí

In Kashf al-Mahjúb (translation by R. A. Nicholson), 'Alí al-Hujwírí (d. 1076 C.E.) states: "The most beneficial audition to the ear is that of the Word of God. . . . It is a miraculous quality of the Qur'an that one never grows weary of reading it and hearing it." With reference to the Qur'an's doctrinal and narrative content and "its divine magic or its mysterious and in a sense miraculous power," Frithjof Schuon in his Understanding of Islam says, "These sources of metaphysical and eschatological wisdom, of mystical psychology and theurgic power lie hidden under a veil of breathless utterances, often clashing in shock of crystalline and fiery images, but also of passages majestic in rhythm, woven of every fibre of the human condition. . . . The Qur'an is like a picture of everything the human brain can think and feel, and it is by this means that God exhausts human disquiet, infusing into the believer silence, serenity and peace. Goethe has been quoted as saying, "How often we turn to it, the Our'an soon attracts, astounds and in the end enforces our reverence. Its style, in accordance with its contents and aims, is stern, grand, forcible — ever and anon truly sublime"; and again, with reference to Islam as an educational force, "This teaching never fails. With all our systems, we cannot go, and

1 The article is based principally on the views of the Imam Al-Ghazzálí (d. 1111 C.E.).

generally speaking no man can go further than that ". Martin Lings in his A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century says of certain Qur'anic verses: "They can be, if interpreted in the highest sense, openings through which the mortal in man

the soul". Al-Ghazálí has stated that the words and sounds of the Qur'án veil the meaning and significance of the Divine will. "The Word of God is sublime; must prevail everywhere and at all times; is the key to precious treasure; the lifegiving nectar. . . The whole range of literature and art fail to let the mind soar to the sublimity to which the Qur'án impels it."

The duty of reading the Qur'an

With all this before us, should we not try to read the Qur'an ourselves and enjoy at first-hand those pleasures of which pious Muslims and even non-Muslim critics have spoken so eloquently? God enjoins on us:

"Read ye, therefore, as much of the Qur'án as may be easy for you" (The Qur'án, 73:20).

The Prophet Muhammad described the reading of the Qur'án as the best worship for his people, and the one who reads and teaches it as the best among them. He said further, "I like hearing another person reading the Qur'án"; "Keep refreshing your knowledge of the Qur'án, for I swear by Him in whose hand my soul is that it is more liable to escape than camels are tethered"; and "Read the Qur'án and search for its wonders".

Junayd al-Baghdádí (d. 910 C.E.), whom Professor Arberry calls the greatest exponent of sober Sufism, at the hour of his death, completed one reading of the Qur'án and 70 verses of the second chapter between the first agony and the next. The Algerian saint al-'Alawí (d. 1934 C.E.) stated: "The Qur'án has taken up its dwelling in our hearts and on our tongues and is mingled with our blood and our flesh and our bones and all that is in us." Al-Sháfi'í (d. 820 C.E.) is reported to have remarked to a Qadi, "You are so absorbed in legal matters that you have no time to read the Qur'án; I open the Qur'án after my prayers at night and do not close it until the dawn."

The benefits of reading the Qur'an

Many and varied are the benefits to be derived from the reading of the Qur'án. Here are some of the sayings of the Prophet in regard to the benefits:

- "On the day of judgment three men need neither fear hell nor the call to account; one of them is the man who reads the Qur'án in pure obedience to the Will of God".
- "Never does a company meet in one of the houses of God to read the Book of God and study it together without *al-sakinah* (calm) descending upon them and mercy covering them and the angels hovering over them."
- "Fasting and the Qur'an intercede for a man. . . . The Qur'an says, 'I have kept him away from sleep by night, so accept my intercession for him'. Then the intercession is accepted."
- "One who is conversant with the Qur'an is associated with the noble, upright recording angels; and he who falters when reciting the Qur'an and finds it difficult for him, will have a double reward."
- "God Who is Blessed and Exalted, says 'To him who is so occupied with the Qur'an as to neglect making

mention of Me and making request of Me, I will give the most excellent things I give to those who ask.' The superiority of God's words over all other words is like God's superiority over His creatures."

will be generously rewarded in after-life."

The blessings of the Qur'an

According to 'Ali Ibn Abí Tálib, the perusal of the Our'an is one of the three things which improve the memory; 'Amr Ibn al-'As, a Companion of the Prophet, said, "Every line of the Qur'an opens an entrance to Paradise and is a lamp of light for you". Abu Hurayrah, another Companion, announced: "The house where the Qur'an is read widens its space for the inmates, divine grace lights its corridors, angels tread there and satan flees far from it." Al-Nawawi (d. 1277 C.E.) mentions that according to Mujáhid and 'Ubádah a prayer is answered after a complete reading of the Qur'an. Al-Suyútí (d. 1505 C.E.) is said to have referred to a tradition that God's mercy descends at the time of completion of a reading of the Qur'an. 'Attar (d. 1190 C.E.) records the view of a certain saint who said the reading of the Qur'an and pondering over its verses is one of five practices leading to spiritual elevation.

Stipulations with regard to reading the Qur'an

Ablution should be performed before commencing a reading of the Qur'án. The reader should face the Qiblah and sit or stand without leaning against anything, and tilt his body forward in a reverential attitude. According to 'Alá Ibn Abí Tálib it is better to stand while reading, particularly at night, when minds are tranquil. The reading should not be interrupted by conversation with others. It should not be undertaken as a pastime or a mere compliance with Divine dictate.

The reader should be filled with awe of God, and keep in mind when he reads the Qur'an that it is the Word of God, that he reads before Him, in His Presence, His own Book, and that God sees him, addresses him and gives him the key to His favours. God says in the Qur'an:

- "When the Qur'án is read, listen to it with attention and hold your peace that you may receive mercy" (7:204).
- "Call on your Lord with humility and in private" (7:55).
- "In the remembrance of God do hearts find satisfaction" (13:28).
- "The believers are those who, when God is mentioned, feel a tremor in their hearts" (8:2).

Al-Ghazzálí mentions a saying of the Prophet Muhammad to the effect that he who thinks what the Qur'án has forbidden as permissible has no more attachment to the Qur'án than an infidel.

When God says:

"None but the pure touch it" (The Qur'án, 46:78) the reference is not merely to bodily cleanliness but also to spiritual purity. The reader should think little of himself. His own personality should not be allowed to stand in the way of understanding the Qur'án and the mysteries of the Hereafter.

Al-Ghazzálí mentions two sayings of the Prophet Muhammad according to which the Qur'an was revealed

under the shadow of Divine grief, and the hearts of readers should be filled with sorrow. Readers should therefore remember the warnings and punishments held out to the wicked, and think of their own failure to live up to Qur'anic principles.

Al-Ghazzálí recommends commencement of a reading with this prayer:

"I seek refuge in God, the Hearer, the Knower, from satan, the accursed. O my Lord! I seek refuge with Thee from the suggestions of the Evil Ones. And I seek refuge with Thee, O my Lord! lest they should come near me" (The Qur'án, 23: 97, 98)

followed by the opening chapter (al-Fátih) and the Men (al-Nás).

The Qur'an says:

"Move not thy tongue concerning the Qur'an to make haste therewith" (75:16).

According to al-Ghazzálí the reading should be slow. The Prophet Muhammad is reported to have commended completion of a reading in a month, and in answer to 'Abdulláh's pleas, gradually reduced the period to three days. The Prophet advised Ibn 'Umar to complete a reading in a week. Al-Ghazzálí mentions this and states that 'Uthmán, Zayd Ibn Thábit, and most of the Companions followed this practice. a practice he recommended to those who teach the Qur'an and make it a guiding principle of daily life. A reading once a month should meet the needs of those who make a deep study of the Qur'an.

The Companions are said to have learnt 10 verses of the Qur'an from the Prophet Muhammad at a time, not proceeding further till they had mastered them and put them into practice. Al-Nawawi mentions that many Companions completed one reading in a day and a night, and the readings of some ranged from two and three to eight in a day and a night. Ibn al-Kátib al-Súfí, amongst others, completed four by day and four by night. Mansúr Ibn Zaadhan Ibn Ubbád, the Tábí í, is reported to have completed a reading between Zuhr and 'Asr, another between Maghrib and 'Isha', twice so in Ramadán, postponing 'Ishá' till a quarter of the night had passed.

Manner of reading

Al-Nawawi mentions that the best time to read the Qur'an is in the course of prayers, and that the Shafi'i school considers prolongation of the standing position in prayers by Qur'anic recitation preferable to prolongation of the prostration. According to him, outside prayer, it is better to read by night than by day, the latter half in preference to the first; it is desirable to read between Maghrib and 'Isha', and after morning prayer; of the days, prime importance is given to Fridays, Mondays, Thursdays, the first ten days, including the day of 'Arafat, in the month of Dhul Hajah, and the last ten days of Ramadán; and of the months, to Ramadán.

Those Companions who completed a reading in seven days did so in daily stages, adopting a particular division into seven parts. 'Uthmán's division was as follows: Chapters 1 to 5, 6 to 11, 12 to 19, 20 to 28, 29 to 38, 39 to 55, and 56 to end. The stages of another division are: 1 to 5, 6 to 10, 11 to 17, 18 to 26, 27 to 37, 38 to 50, and 51 to end.

Ouantum of reading

According to a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, he

who completes a reading of less than three days does so without understanding. To 'Abdullah Ibn Amr Ibn al-As the pauses after verses, out of reverence for God's Words as well as to ponder over their meaning, and even if the reader knows no Arabic. When demonstrating the manner of reading of the Prophet, Umm Salmah, the wife of the Prophet, paused awhile after every word.

On the question of whether the Qur'an should be read softly or aloud, al-Ghazzálí has cited a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, according to which reading softly is preferred to reading aloud, just as charity given secretly is preferred to charity given openly. According to another saying, he who wakes at night and reads the Qur'an should recite aloud, for angels hear him and join in the recital. On one occasion, the Prophet is reported to have been pleased with Abu Bakr's reason for reciting the Qur'an softly, as well as with 'Umar's reason for reciting aloud, the former having said, "He to whom I pray hears me very well," and the latter, "I arouse those asleep and drive away satan". When the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar Ibn 'Abdul 'Azeem (d. 720 C.E.) then Governor of Medina, was reading the Qur'an aloud in the course of his prayers in the mosque, Sa'eed Ibn Musayyab, the Tábi'í (d. 712 C.E.), remarked aloud to him that if he was addressing God he should lower his voice and, if he was addressing the people, it would not receive God's acceptance. 'Umar promptly lowered his voice, shortened his prayers, and left the mosque silently.

Al-Ghazzálí's view is that those who fear insincerity and hypocrisy should read the Qur'an softly, while those who have no such fears may, provided they do not disturb others, read aloud; for it would keep the reader awake and mindful of the meaning, sustain him in his efforts, awaken those asleep, and move the lethargic to virtue. In the course of prayer, the worshipper should read the Qur'an just loud enough for himself to hear. Reading from script is more rewarding than reading from memory, for virtue attaches even to the act of seeing the script, and most of the companions, including 'Uthmán, read from script, considering that day bad on which they failed to see the script.

As regards intonation, a saying of the Prophet Muhammad related by Hudhayfah, the Companion, indicates that the Qur'an should be recited with the modulations and tones of the Arabs, but not of those who are reciters of love poetry, and not as is done in singing and wailing. "Beautify the Qur'an with your voices," the Prophet Muhammad said, and also, "He is not of us who does not chant the Qur'an". The Prophet also compared the reading of Ibn Mas'úd, with a low intonation, to the way in which the Qur'an was revealed. Ibn Khaldún (d. 1405 C.E.), referring to many of the Qur'án readers, writes: "In reciting the Qur'an, they know how well to modulate their voices, as if they were flutes. They thus cause emotion through the beauty of their performance and the harmony of their modes. . . . The art of singing is something entirely unconnected with the Qur'an. . . . The Qur'an is something that causes awe, as it reminds (man) of death and what comes after it. It is not an occasion to give pleasure in the perception of beautiful sounds. It was (in this spirit) that the men around Muhammad recited the Qur'an. ... The statement by Muhammad 'a flute of those belonging to the family of David was brought to him' does not refer to cadences and melodious music, but it refers to a beautiful voice, a clear pronunciation in reciting the Qur'an and a clear distinction in the articulation and enunciation of the letters (sounds)" (Muqaddimah, tr. by Franz Rosenthal).

According to al-Ghazzálí, the Qur'án should be chanted in a sweet tone, without excessive stretching of words so as to alter their meanings or arrangement.

The responses to Qur'anic reading

The Prophet Muhammad said, "Read the Qur'án only when your mind is receptive and your heart impressionable. If not, leave it." To receive the proper impressions of Divine Truths, the heart should be free from the impurities of earthly desires, and the reader should respond appropriately to the changes in the content of the verses, reacting with joyous hope to God's promises and with fear to His warnings. Some verses promising forgiveness are conditional on repentance, belief, good deeds and receipt of guidance. The Prophet Muhammad has said: "The best reader of the Qur'án is he who, when you hear him reading the Qur'án, you at once know to be God-fearing." Tears streamed down the cheeks of the Prophet Muhammad when 'Abdulláh Ibn Mas'úd read the verse:

"How then if We brought from each people a witness and We brought thee as a witness against these people" (The Qur'án, 4:16).

Ja'far al-Sádiq (d. 756 C.E.) fell unconscious while offering prayers on one occasion. When he recovered, he explained that while reciting a verse he felt as if God uttered the words and he could not bear to listen. Fuday Ibn 'Iyád (d. 802 C.E.), the saint and traditionist, abandoned highway robbery and repented when he heard a man chanting:

"Has not the time arrived for the believers that their hearts in all humility should engage in the remembrance of God" (The Qur'án, 57:16).

The saint, Abú Bakr al-Shiblí (d. 946 C.E.), fell unconscious when he heard the words:

"And call thy Lord to mind when thou forgettest" (The Our'án, 18:24).

The Imam al-Sháfi'í fainted when he heard al-Hárith Ibn Labíb recite:

"That will be a day when they shall not speak, nor will it be open to them to put forth pleas" (The Qur'án, 77:35,36).

The son of the saint Abú Bakr al-Warráq was so overcome with fear of God when he read the words

"But when the children among you come of age" (The Our'án, 24:59)

that he fell ill and died in a few days. His father, who used to complete a reading of the Qur'án daily, was in tears and confessed that though he had read the Qur'án for so many years he had never been so moved. Such was the impact of the words of the Qur'án on the Prophet Muhammad and the pious of earlier years. If a reader is unable to weep, he should at least feel like one weeping. According to Ibn Mas'úd one should not rise from a prostration till one has shed tears or filled his heart with grief. The reader should consider each commandment, prohibition, promise or warning as addressed to himself. Where a verse requires a prostration, prostration should be performed after Takbír al-Ihrám, and a suitable recitation made, for example, after the verse:

"They fall down in adoration and celebrate the praises of their Lord, nor are they (ever) puffed up with pride" (The Qur'án, 32:15).

the recitation:

"O Lord, make me of those who prostrate themselves before Thy countenance, those who glorify with praise of Thee, and I seek refuge in Thee from being arrogant about Thy command and towards Thy friends"

and after the verse

"And they fall down on their faces in tears and it increases their (earnest) humility" (The Qur'án, 17:109)

the recitation

"O Lord, make me of those who weep before Thee and humble themselves for Thee."

On reading or hearing verses of praise, prayer, forgiveness, hope or fear, one should pronounce:

"Glory be to God and God is Great"

or make a prayer or seek forgiveness, express hope or seek refuge, as is appropriate to the verse. The verses referring to God's names and attributes should be read with reverential awe. Through God's infinite mercy, He revealed His Word to His Prophet. Man could not have realized God's attributes unless God enlarged the scope of and sublimated man's attributes. A human language was made the medium for the understanding of the Word of God, by means of indications, suggestions, and allegories at the level of human understanding. The reader should enter into the spirit of the Qur'án. Fear should not be absent from his heart when he reads:

"If I were to disobey my Lord, I should myself fear the penalty of a great day (to come)" (The Qur'án, 15:22).

Of what avail is his reading

"Our Lord, in Thee do we trust and to Thee do we turn in repentance: to Thee is (our) final goal" (The Qur'án, 60:4)

if he has no trust in God and does not turn to Him in repentance?

God says:

"For, believers are those who when God is mentioned feel a tremor in their hearts, and when they hear His signs rehearsed, find their faith strengthened and put (all) their trust in their Lord" (The Qur'án, 8:2).

At the end of every chapter, the reader should recite:

"God was true to His Word and the Prophet of God, God's blessing and peace be upon him, conveyed His message. O Lord, make us profit by it and bless us. All praise belongs to God and I seek forgiveness of God, the Living, the Eternal."

On completion of a recitation the reader should recite, as the Prophet did:

"O Lord, grant me mercy by virtue of the Qur'án, and make it for me a guide, a light, a guidance and a blessing. O Lord, bring back to my mind what I forget of it and teach me from it of what I am ignorant, and endow me with capacity for reading it in the hours of the night and the seasons of the day, and make it an argument for me, O Lord of the worlds."

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEW

THE KITAB AL-MAGHAZI OF AL-WAQIDI. edited by Marsden Jones. Published by Oxford University Press, London 1967. £6 6s. 0d.

After the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Muslims generally were concerned about how to preserve his teachings and memories. They prepared copies of the Qur'an first from the mss left by the Prophet himself, and then turned their attention to the collection of his sayings and the events of his life. In the first two centuries after the Hijrah there were compiled a number of works about the life of the Prophet, notably the biographies written by al-Zuhrí and Ibn Isháq. Other biographies were written later, the most famous of which is the biography by Ibn Hisham and, later on, the biography by al-Wáqidí (d. 822 C.E.), known as al-Maghází, which is here under review. The words 'maghází' or 'sirah' are almost synonymous. Both mean 'biography'. But al-Maghází was a biography of a certain kind. Here the life of the Prophet is not given in a continuous narrative, as is the case in modern biographies; but it is a series of scenes, the centre of each of which is a battle or a raid under the leadership of the Prophet or under a leader appointed by

Al-Wáqidí, who entered the field comparatively late, had the advantage of acquainting himself with the works of other biographers, and thus he was able to improve on the art of biography writing. His method in recording facts, as exemplified in the biography under review, is systematic and in accordance with the historical technique. His details of every battle or raid are given with consistency and logic. The geographical details which he takes pain to record may be regarded as the first attempt in the Arabic geographical literature. There is, however, one important drawback in al-Wáqidí's biography — his concentration on details prevents him from giving a coherent picture of the battle or raid he is writing about.

'Al-Maghází' is in Arabic, in three volumes, with a very useful introduction, in Arabic, by the editor, Mr. Marsden Jones. The first volume begins with the early raids and describes the battles of Badr and Uhud and about the first serious conflict with the Jews. The second deals mainly with raids not under the command of the Prophet, and with the battles of The Ditch, the Banú Quraythah and Khaybar and the Conquest of Mecca. The third volume deals with the latter part of the life of the Prophet, including the first foray into the Byzantine Empire.

Al-Wáqidí, born in the second century of Hijrah, was a freedman of the Banu Háshim. His main interest was in Tradition, the Prophet's biography (Maghází) and the history of conquests. His compilations of traditions are not regarded with confidence by eminent authorities and his books

on the Muslim conquests, especially the book on the conquest of Syria, are full of details which are more like romance than history. It is for this reason that his *al-Magházi* is a discredited work and is not held as a reliable source for a biography of the Prophet. Al-Wáqidí is branded by authorities on Traditions as a "liar" and as "untrustworthy".

Al-Wáqidí is suspected sometimes of prepossession. In his narratives about the battles in Syria his estimates of the numbers of the Byzantine and Muslim armies are given to coincide with verses from the Qur'án which say that an army of the Faithful would defeat an army of unbelievers ten times as many. He is also thought to be a Shi'ite. The editor, in his introduction, tries to refute this by citing certain statements by eminent authorities. But one would be inclined to disagree when one reads that out of 49 men killed by the Muslims at Badr, 'Alí alone is said to have accounted for 22 of them.

If we compare al-Maghází by al-Wáqidí with another biography of the Prophet, say the well-known biography by Ibn Hisham, we shall find that, in the former case, the emphasis is laid on battles and raids as the primary object, whereas, in the latter case, the emphasis is laid on the life of the Prophet as the primary object. Ibn Hishám (d. 828 C.E.) begins his biography by introductory chapters on the history of the Hijaz and other parts of Arabia prior to the advent of the Prophet and by giving an account of the life of the Prophet before his Mission (al-Ba'th). These introductory chapters are lacking in al-Maghází. There is also another deficiency in al-Maghází, namely, the almost complete absence of poems recited on various occasions. The book sometimes refers to a poem recited on a certain occasion. but the author or the text does not give it. For instance, in Vol. II, the author says that Hassán Ibn Thábit, the Prophet's poet, recited some verses; but he does not give them. This is in contrast with Ibn Hisham, who is keen on giving as much poetry as possible. But this deficiency is offset by the large number of the Qur'anic verses quoted in connection with the incidents under discussion.

The Kitáb al-Maghází is a valuable addition to the literature now in print on the life of the Prophet. It is carefully edited, with a wealth of footnotes. The names of places and persons are diacritically marked. This feature would be more appreciated if one would remember that a large proportion of books of this sort published in the Arab world suffer from lack of diacritical marks. The book would be very useful for research, especially when collated with other texts. It is a more complete edition of the original work and perhaps the complete one.

The author, Mr. Marsden Jones, was a senior lecturer in Arabic at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. He worked also at the American University of Cairo, where he completed his researches into the manuscript of al-Maghází.

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