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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The picture on the Cover is that of the imposing entrance to the Tomb of Mirza Janbada, Sind, Pakistan.



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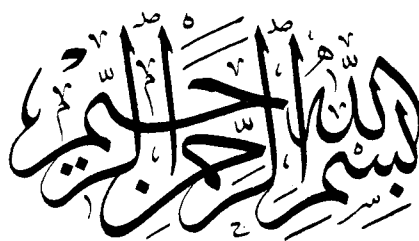
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نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

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

VOL. XLV No. 4

APRIL, 1957

RAMADHAN, 1376 A.H.

"MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN" AND ISLAM APARTHEID

Apartheid in the Union of South Africa is now about to enter the sacred precincts of Christian places of worship. According to a bill now before the South African Parliament, the Minister of Native Affairs will be empowered to regulate membership of a church and to forbid Africans to attend a white church, if he considered their presence a "nuisance" to the white community. It also subjects mixed clubs and other such institutions to a similar discipline of segregation. This extension of the Minister's power is intended to provide against eventualities where an Anglican priest who does not owe allegiance to the discipline of the Dutch Reformed Church, which is run on a racial basis, might invite Africans to his services in a small Afrikaans village and offend the bulk of the white community. It may be mentioned that the Minister already has powers under a law passed at the time of passive resistance to mete out the punishment of imprisonment and flogging to an African who might dare disobey his decision and attend a white church service. From the discussion in the House of Assembly it appeared that the Nationalist members were not satisfied with the provisions of the Bill. They thought that the Bill did not go far enough and that it should ban all mixed gatherings of whites and non-whites. However, the Bill when it reaches the Statute Book will make all mixed gatherings subject to the pleasure of the Minister and empower him to prohibit native attendances at churches in white urban areas.

Man's inhumanity to man is not a new phenomenon in human society. It has in fact been co-existent with mankind. It manifested itself in its worst form in human bondage. Looking in retrospect one can understand it; for then the emphasis was always on the nation, the group or the race. He who belonged to that group, race or nation, could alone claim special privileges by virtue of his belonging to it. Sanction for this inhuman conduct was also sought in religious beliefs. As observed, such a state of affairs could be intelligible then. But that it should even persist to exist

in our midst today, to say the least, is plain anachronism and deserves the condemnation of all right-thinking people everywhere. In saying this we are conscious that we would be reminded by the protagonists of *apartheid* that absolute equality did not, and could not, obtain between man and man, especially in worldly affairs. True. But that discrimination based on racial or colour factor could be introduced even in a house dedicated to the worship of God shows to what untold lengths those possessed of an exaggerated sense of superiority and instinct of possessiveness would go in order to preserve their privileges in the outside world as against those who happen to be under-privileged for one reason or the other.

The conception of humanity as one nation, notwithstanding the diversity of races and colours and languages overcoming all geographical boundaries, it would appear, is something which seems to be beyond the ken and reach of our present civilization. One would have thought that the modern civilization with all its inventions and control over the forces of nature — steam power, oil power, electric power, transmission by wire and aerial transmission, which have followed each other so rapidly in our living memory — would have enabled mankind readily to understand this verity and also to devise ways and means of practising it in their daily lives. Evidently increase of power over the forces of nature without increased wisdom to direct the use of power is a great source of danger to man as he is. Man has decisively failed to keep abreast of the practical advances of exact sciences in the matter of his relationship with his fellow beings. It is true that the dawn of the era of unlimited control of the forces of nature has made many minds dream of a world community free from racial or geographical ties. To them this was a desirable and understandable end; for in it they saw the salvation of mankind. They accordingly projected their dream into founding some important world unions dealing with, for instance, postal traffic, health, trade, emigration, immigration, industry, etc., with the aim that

ultimately this divided world of ours would learn to live as if it was one big family. But when one looks around one is dismayed to see that the chances of such a dream ever becoming a reality are extremely slender. For there is more distrust of each other now amongst nations than ever before. Neighbours are living in constant fear of each other. The annihilation of distance has created a situation which does not bode well for the future of mankind. Man with all his knowledge has failed to live with his neighbour as a neighbour. It seems man cannot step up social institutions, new social and political and industrial relationships side by side with the progress in scientific knowledge.

Where, then, lies the hope for mankind? The answer to this challenging question could be found nowhere but in the realization of the fact that man's true enemy is within himself. With him it is a question of reconstructing his ideas. This can be done in the first place by a restatement and reaffirmation of the message of fraternity with a vigour and fervour greater and more intense than ever before. It has to be realized by each one of us that if mankind is to preserve its soul, its dignity, its happiness, it should have recourse, once again, to the moral sources from which its present-day civilization has sprung. The basic factor of our moral, economic and political structure is the recognition of the fact that every man possesses an immortal soul. It is the recognition of this value of the human soul in all classes of society that opened new vistas of freedom to mankind. It put the slave who had not been regarded as part of the human species on an equal footing with his fellow-beings. It established equality between man and man, equality before God, the same rules of conduct and the conditions of salvation for all. Let it be said here to the eternal glory of Jesus that it was he who, as is borne out by a study of the history of the spiritual education of mankind, first preached the eternal truth epitomized in the beautiful phrase "The Fatherhood of God and Children of God". This message of his implied that everyone, no matter to what class he belonged, could become a servant of God.

But it was here that the mistake was made by the interpreter of the mind of Jesus; for they introduced the institution of priesthood and blurred the vision of the absolute equality of man before God. This was a wrong step which has resulted in a distorted sense of human relationship. Society in the Christian world has been divided into the laity and the clergy. It was but one step to further divisions. The clergy, by arrogating to itself certain prerogatives, paved the way for looking upon mankind not as one but divided. Despite the two world wars, the last one having been fought to give the lie to the claim to racial superiority by the Nazis and Fascists, one sees when one looks around that man's inhumanity to man has not yet disappeared. One sees that there are people who take pride in the non-recognition of their duties to others and who are becoming more and more inhumane and intolerant and a prey to the perversions of our material culture.

In this sphere Christianity as practised by the West has failed. It does not seem to be capable of inspiring communities with the fire of a living conviction in the equality between man and man and the regeneration of society *en masse*. No religion excepting Islam possesses the means of changing and transforming societies into veritable fraternities. It is only Islam, as is borne out by all those who have lived in Muslim countries, that is capable of removing the crushing burden of racial exclusiveness, race consciousness and other ridiculous superiority complexes of partiality, of intolerance towards, of enslavement of, people who do not belong to one's race or country. It is not merely the message of the moral fraternity, of the equality of souls, of social justice, of charity towards all, of protecting the weak and the oppressed that is required, for this is common to all religious systems of the world. What is required is the knowledge of how to practise them. In this respect Islam reigns supreme.

It is simply unthinkable for a Muslim to introduce discrimination in a house of God. This is where the real difference between Islam as a social system and Christianity in action lies.

THE DIVINE DIVAN

1.

Beyond the first, beyond the last Thou art.
Nought can exist from Thee apart.
O Thou Belovéd, pray accept this lay,
That springeth from the love within my heart.

2.

Thou art so near to me that nothing can
Trouble the passage of life's little span.
Thou art the Everlasting Joy, and Thou
Hast made perfection possible for striving man.

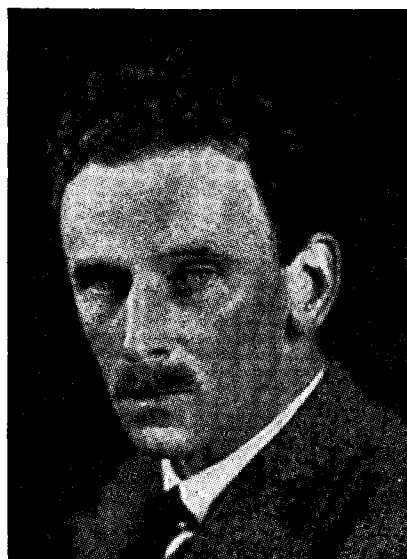
3.

Shall I recount Thy mercies manifold?
With pens of forest pine-trees all enroll'd
And ink of all the oceans flowing free?
Never, with these exhausted, could the tale be told.

4.

How happy, then, this lover in this boundless love,
Through which on wings eternal flies the dove
(Ah, happy dove! enjoying endless peace,
Irradiant with a rapture that shall never cease)!

William Bashyr Pickard.



A British Muslim, William Bashyr Pickard



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

THE ISLAMIC CONCEPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY

By PROFESSOR H. K. SHERWANI

“The eleventh century of the Christian era saw the Muslims and the Christians face to face in Asia Minor and on the plains of Palestine, and this led in a way to a matter of vital importance to the Western continent, i.e., the translation of the Qur’an into the Latin tongue in 1141 C.E. It was this one fact which more than any other changed the very face both of the religion and politics of Europe. On the one hand it gave birth to the theory of sovereignty in the Western world, on the other it sowed the seed of a conflict between the Empire and the Papacy and the movement of religious reform — the Reformation”

Sovereignty in general

One of the basic concepts which is universally recognized by political scientists today is that sovereignty in the State (or of the State) is the real connecting force which binds the elemental forces existing in the State. Sovereignty may lie in one person or a body of persons and may be visible or invisible, but it must exist somewhere, otherwise the State would surely disintegrate. It is the sovereign power which keeps all the parts of the State together and keeps them in check, if necessary by force, and that is so even if that power is spread over a vast concourse of people which might cover practically the whole thinking population of the State. Ibn Khaldun’s argument, based on the hegemony of one group-mind (*‘asabiyyat*) over all other group-minds, was perhaps the first scientific analysis of sovereignty. Sovereignty in a State may, and does, shift from one person or group to another person or group according to the sanctions which any one person or group may command at a certain time. It may further shift from a monarch to the nobles, from the nobles to the *bourgeois*, from the *bourgeois* to the proletariat, from the proletariat to a demagogue or a dictator, and thence again to the people in general. There is not necessarily any cycle according to the Platonic sense, but the shifts would be plainly visible.

And yet, in spite of the very important, if not the most important, function of the sovereign power within the State, it is surprising that European political scientists from Hobbes and Puffendorf onwards have not been able to discover the locus of sovereignty within the State, even to the extent which Ibn Khaldun had already reached in the fifteenth century. The period covered by the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries in Europe was an era of absolute monarchies, some of them “benevolent” while others avowedly not so, and the cry of Louis XIV of France, “*l’état c’est moi*,” was really the enunciation of an accepted fact which had held the field for a long time. Sovereignty was located in the person of the king to such an extent that the generic title of the Sovereign was given to any potentate however small his dominion might be and however dependent he might be to definite external forces. We see this almost everywhere in Europe. In the time of the English king Henry VIII, the Parliament, which had struggled for centuries, finally gave way and passed the famous Statute of Proclamations by which it deprived itself from practically all legislative power, which had been its mainstay. Spain and Portugal saw the autocratic rule of Ferdinand and Isabella followed by the absolutist governments of Charles V and Philip II, while the personal rule of hundreds of large and small German principalities was unassailed.

This phase of autocracy in Europe was, in a way, the direct outcome of the dualism ascribed to Jesus Christ whereby the Kingdom of God was entirely differentiated from the Kingdom of Caesar and Christians enjoined to “give unto Caesar” what belonged to him. Caesar, the temporal monarch, was thus declared absolutely supreme within his own orbit, and as he was regarded as owner of all he possessed he ceased to be responsible either to God or man. As, however, the limits of what belonged to the mundane ruler and what to “God’s representative” was left undefined, and were in fact undefinable, it caused the eternal conflict between Caesar-Emperor and the Pope, who claimed to be the sole representative of Christ on earth, which finally came

to an end with the virtual suppression of the temporal power of the Popes in comparatively recent times.

The locus of sovereignty

When a monarch, either hereditary or otherwise, says that it is he who has the supreme political power in the State, in other words that he is the sovereign, we can to a certain extent place the locus of the sovereignty in him, although in the final analysis he may well be influenced by powerful forces even outside the palace limits. But once sovereignty has passed from an autocrat to a body of persons it becomes most difficult, if not impossible, to find where its locus lies. Perhaps the greatest name in the history of modern democratic theory is that of Rousseau (d. 1778 C.E.), but he seems to have been entirely incapable of discovering it. True he says that "the people" are sovereign, but he is not at all sure how the people should work the government. When he comes to the legislative power (and legislation is the core of the sovereign power) he cries out:

"In order to discover the rules of association that are most suitable to nations, a superior intelligence would be necessary who could see all the passions of

There is one other matter which creates a lacuna in the whole argument of these political philosophers, and that is the conception of the Law of Nature, over which the whole edifice not merely of sovereignty but of the State itself is constructed. Whether it is Hobbes or Puffendorf or Rousseau, they take their stand on the Law of Nature and say that political organization was necessary either because the Laws of Nature were brought into play (as in Hobbes) or that they were broken (as in Rousseau). But each of these thinkers differently interprets these laws, and there is a suspicion that each of them "discovered" these laws according to the conclusions which they wished to reach.

This was by way of a diversion. Coming to the general history of the modern theory of sovereignty and the determination of the locus of sovereignty, a very great name is that of John Austin (d. 1859 C.E.), whose analysis of the theory of sovereignty was once supposed to be the sum total of all that had so far been said. He insists that sovereignty lies in "a determinate human superior not in the habit of obedience to a like superior and who receives habitual obedience from a given society". He seems to place the locus



A view of the plain of 'Arafat, near Mecca, Su'udi Arabia, where pilgrims assemble every year during the Hajj season.

It was here that the Prophet Muhammad delivered before a large concourse of Muslims his famous Sermon of Farewell on 8th March 632 C.E., when he declared that henceforth there would be absolutely no differentiation between man and man, between an Arab and a non-Arab.

men without experiencing any of them ; who would have no affinity with our nature and yet know it thoroughly whose happiness would not depend on us ; and who would nevertheless be quite willing to interest himself in others ; and lastly, who, storing up for himself with the progress of time a far-off glory in the future, could labour in one age and enjoy in another."

And perhaps hopeless to find such a one among human beings he passes his verdict in the next sentence: "Gods would be necessary to give laws to men". This is not the verdict of a religious bigot but of one who did pretend even to be a Christian. If we were to replace the plural "gods" by the singular "God", we would come extremely near the Qur'anic conception of God the Legislator.

of sovereignty in the whole people, but it is not clear how a conglomeration of human beings would carry on such a complicated organization as the government of a country, and in such a case whether sovereignty would lie in the people who are themselves guided by their representatives or by the representatives who have in any case to fall back upon the electors. Moreover, as Hume says, it is absolutely impossible to find a human being of the description given by John Austin.

Thus the utility of the entire modern theory of sovereignty disappears when it is not possible to find who the sovereign is in a given State. A great wave of indiscipline and wrong conception of the liberty of the individual was visible about the beginning of the present century. This was taken up by

certain political scientists, of whom Duguit in France and Laski in England evolved the theory that the State is not a uni-centric but a multi-centric entity and a citizen owes obedience and loyalty not merely to the State but to many other organizations as well, such as the family, the educational institution, the party, the religion, and so on. One may make bold to say that this great reaction against the theory of sovereignty, which had held ground for many centuries, is partly the effect and partly the cause of the growing sense of insecurity which is one of the features of the world of today, and unless it is checked, whatever security of life, property and honour has been left will soon disappear and the law of the jungle again hold sway.

The Islamic concept

Coming to Islam, the first difficulty which besets a student of political science is the near impossibility of distinguishing the commands of Islam in respect of the political and other aspects of life. Islam holds that life cannot be divided and sub-divided into watertight compartments each independent and unaffected by the others; for every aspect of our lives is so dovetailed into another that it cannot be separated. In man's life his political, social, economic, ethical, religious and other influences cannot possibly be divorced from one another. Islam means to raise the whole status of the human family in all the aspects of life and insist on certain basic factors with a moral foundation if man is to progress at all. From this point of view even the mundane cannot be divorced entirely from the spiritual, and we are bidden to think that our life and our death — everything which concerns us — has only one purpose, that is the glory of God (The Qur'an, 6:162). The concept of sovereignty in Islam, as all other concepts, pervades the whole of man's life, and not merely the political, and consequences flow from such a phenomenon which do not appear at first sight.

However, if we look at the Islamic precepts of conduct from the purely mundane, purely "political" point of view, we would find that one of the greatest revolutions it created in the human way of thinking was that of the absolute and unconditional Unity of God, in which is couched the conception of centralization in action. In a pithy verse the Qur'an embodies the whole illogic of polytheism and the resulting chaos that is bound to ensue: "Had there been more gods (in heaven and earth), then there would have been chaos indeed" (22:22). It is obvious that two supreme persons cannot exist in the same organization; for if they do, there would be divergences in their programmes and the resultant conflict would give place to war.

Another great contribution of Islam in the "political" field is the concept of perfect and unadulterated equality between man and man. The immutable law of nature, on which Islam is said to be based (The Qur'an, 30:30) demands the equality of man, for have not all men been born in the same manner, grow old in the same manner and die in the same manner? The universality of this law has been vividly illustrated in a number of Qur'anic verses in which every stage in human life is described as uniform in every clime in which man lives and in whatever period of world history he flourishes (The Qur'an, 22:5; 33:12-14; 40:67). At one stroke, therefore, Islam put an end to any semblance of cultural, linguistic and racial superiority, and a seal on this principle was put by the Prophet himself in his famous Sermon of Farewell delivered before the large concourse of Muslims on 8th March 632 C.E., when he declared that henceforth there would be absolutely no differentiation between man and man, between an Arab and a non-Arab. Islam laid down certain rules of conduct which would enable

the most lowly in the eyes of man to attain the highest station in life. The society which Islam envisages was going to be a classless society, and the only distinction would be between one who adopted the right conduct and who did not adopt it.

The influence of the first translation of the Holy Qur'an into Latin in 1141 C.E. on Europe and its thought

The eleventh century of the Christian era saw the Muslims and the Christians face to face in Asia Minor and on the plains of Palestine, and this led, in a way, to a matter of vital importance to the Western continent, i.e., the translation of the Qur'an into the Latin tongue in 1141 C.E. It was this one fact which, more than any other, changed the very face both of the religion and politics of Europe. On the one hand it gave birth to the theory of sovereignty in the Western world, while, on the other, it sowed the seed of a conflict between the Empire and the Papacy and the movement of religious reform in Germany, Switzerland and Central Europe. There was, however, one vital difference between the Qur'anic doctrine and European practice, and this was the entire absence of anything even savouring of autocracy or hereditary monarchy in the Islamic doctrine. On the other hand there was in Europe a perennial contest between the claims of the autocratic kings, who could not countenance any limits to their authority and who were regarded as the embodiment of the very State itself, and the people as represented in semi-elected, semi-feudal bodies. The autocracy of the kings increased tremendously with the rise of Protestantism; for it made them supreme in the Church as well as the State.

Sovereignty in Islam

The Islamic conception of the sovereignty of God is perfectly straightforward and understandable. While eschewing the claims of birth and ancestry and bringing into prominence the need of obedience to universal laws ("The noblest of you, in the sight of God, is the best in conduct" (The Qur'an, 49:13)), there could be only one alternative, i.e., to fix the locus of sovereignty in the person of the Almighty. If the rights and duties of the supreme ruler were to be exercised by a single "human superior" (as Austin would have it), or even in a "determinate" body of persons, there is no doubt that self-interest would militate against the basic idea of perfect equality which is the distinctive feature of a Commonwealth as envisaged in the Qur'an. This self-interest is bound to lead in the first place to bickerings and then to open conflict between the classes, which are certain to be formed within the social structure of the State. The Qur'an is absolutely clear regarding the sovereignty of God, and there are many verses throughout the Book to say that Supreme Power belongs to Him only. A few instances will suffice:

"Unto God belongs the sovereignty of the heaven and the earth" (3:189).

"Say unto whom (belongeth) the heaven and the earth and whosoever is therein, if you have knowledge. They will say, unto God" (33:84-85).

"Unto God belongeth the sovereignty of the heaven and the earth" (45:27).

"His is the sovereignty of the heaven and the earth and to God all things are brought back" (57:5).

"Blessed is He in whose hands is the sovereignty" (57:5).

Mr. Pickthall in his *Meaning of the Glorious Koran* has translated *mulk* as sovereignty, but even if we were to follow another translator of the Qur'an, Mr. 'Abdu 'l-lah Yusuf 'Ali,

who has translated it as dominion, the significance of the epithet would not be changed. There is absolutely no doubt that according to the Qur'anic dispensation the totality of power and authority belongs to God, and God only, and it is but natural; for it is He who was the Creator of the immutable laws of nature on which the whole Islamic structure has been built. He knows no fickleness such as is a part of man's very nature. The political scientists of the post-Renaissance era in Europe failed to pay heed to this great weakness in man when they made him the locus of sovereignty, a phenomenon which had dire consequences for the history of the Western world and which caused a lack of precision in the writings of political scientists who tried to concentrate on the theory.

The human ruler

It is obvious, however, that God does not exercise his authority directly in matters political but delegates it to human beings. The whole conception of the supremacy of God and the vicegerency of man rests on the principle that God exercises his authority through man, and that there should be uniformity in the behaviour of the vicegerents as have faith and are prone to do good deeds, for without it even an attempt at obedience to the universal laws of nature would not be possible. It is said:

"God hath promised such of you as believe and do good that he will surely make them to succeed in the earth" (The Qur'an, 24:55).

The process of vicegerency is not a mere make-believe, but God has promised that He would give His powers of sovereignty to those who believe in the universal laws of nature and who do good. This shows that the total power on earth is to be exercised by those who have proved by their conduct that this would not go against the basic principles of universal conduct such as equality of man, humanitarian principles, centralization, discipline, humility, self-sacrifice and many other qualities which are so well enunciated in the Qur'an. Kingship is not entirely ruled out, but by analogy certain standards are required in mental as well as physical qualities (The Qur'an, 2:247). This delegation of power and authority is made clear by the first Caliph on his deathbed when he said that he had been appointed a *wali* of the community. Here it might be remarked that the famous formula of obedience as stated in the Qur'an, "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those from amongst you possessing authority" (4:59), entails such a delegation. As Mr. 'Abdu 'l-lah Yusuf 'Ali says in his Commentary on this verse, "All ultimate authority rests on God. . . . As Islam makes no sharp division between sacred and secular affairs, it expects ordinary governments to be imbued with righteousness." Naturally the selection of the ruler can only be made through the agency of the community which is empowered to elect its chief.

The doctrine of trust

The Islamic ruler in the mundane sense is different from the "sovereign" as was evolved by European politicians and political scientists, for, according to the Islamic doctrine no person can be an autocrat. The very basis of political power in this sense is delegation, *wilayat*, and this obviously entails responsibility. Moreover, the very idea of absolute property either in the political or the personal sense is entirely foreign to the Islamic spirit; for everything is owned by God and

therefore by the community in the mundane sense, and is held in trust by the person using it. This restriction includes all those who exercise political power. The Prophet Muhammad has said quite clearly (*Innama ana Khaazin, wa Qasim wa Allah yu'ti*) that he was merely the treasurer and dispenser and it was God who bestowed gifts of any kind. And when his daughter Fatima begged him to get some articles of comfort he turned round to her and said, "Shall I allow you these articles and ignore the 'people of the *Suffah*'¹ and the indigent to suffer from hunger?" The man who was the master of practically the whole of Arabia left "neither a dinar nor a dirham nor a camel nor a slave, male or female" as his legacy, and when he died even his coat of mail was found to be mortgaged with a Jew for thirty dirhams! We cannot understand why the Prophet should have worn the coarsest of garments, ate the coarsest food, and lived the life of the commonest man when he exercised his authority over the whole peninsula such as no one has ever done since, except when we realize his belief that everything he possessed really belonged to God and he was merely a trustee.

Theocracy

Theocracy is a much-maligned word used by modern writers for the concentration of authority in God and exercised through the priestly class or a king in an autocratic manner. The word is especially used for the system of government prescribed by Islam. But if we examine the history of early Christianity, we will find theocratical ideas pervading to the fullest degree. For we see, even the basic doctrines of Christianity being changed by Church councils and even by the fiat of the Pope himself, and in our own times the canonization of mortals is being effected and the worship of relics not merely of early but also medieval and modern saints taking place. In Islam the man to whom political power is factually delegated has got to accept the universal principles laid down by the Qur'an, to regard all power as a sacred trust according to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet and to do good deeds. He is allowed a free hand beyond these limits, and is not barred from legislating provided he has the good of the community, not his personal good, at heart. This is evident from the action of the Prophet as well as of his immediate successors. The revolutionary legislation involving the institution of the *muwakhhat* and the formation of the Islamic State of Medina as well as the whole area of legislation affected by the Caliph 'Umar (644 C.E.) are clear instances of the authority of the law-making agency to cover wide fields. The ruler is also required to take counsel like all other Muslims according to the express dictates of the Qur'an (43:38), and even the Prophet is said to have declared to his Companions that in matters relating to worldly affairs they could perhaps be better judges than himself. His successors took full advantage of the Qur'anic command and established advisory councils which were composed of the most prominent and intelligent of the Muslims, and matters of import were put up before it, discussed and decided.

The modern State

The great difference between the State as envisaged by Islam and the modern State is that we have left behind culture as the binding force in politics and made it subordinate primarily to geography and secondly to language. As has been hinted before, sovereignty is today made to rest not on any universal code of conduct but on the frailty and fickleness of man, and the whole basis of political conduct, at least since Macchiavelli's time, has shifted to rank egotism and

¹ Such companions of the Prophet Muhammad as lived with him and under his care. As their abode was a raised platform near the house of the Prophet they were called "the people of the *Suffah*" (literally "raised platform").

selfishness, causing insoluble tensions and unbridgeable gulfs. However, much as we may shout for co-existence, there is no doubt that geographical and racial barriers and inequality between man and man, between country and country with varying amount of raw material at their disposal and varying capacity to utilize it — all this is bound to cause cleavages, eternal misunderstandings, wars, cold and otherwise, and, finally, perhaps the doom of the human species. The *malaise* is that there are no universal bases of good conduct and there is an ever-increasing rift between what one country and a group of countries wants and another desires. So long as man does not recognize the great principles of equality of man and the ethical values which this entails, and in his over-confidence and selfishness ignores all laws of international morality and thinks in terms of

human sovereignty, no peace in this increasingly insecure world is possible. The doctrine that nothing we possess is really ours but is only held by us in trust for the community, and the acceptance of the position that we owe a duty to a Higher Entity, higher than any power we can possess, and to mankind in general regardless of colour, race and clime — this sentiment seems to be the only panacea of the ills from which humanity is suffering today. Absolute power in the hands of a representative assembly in a country may be as injurious to mankind in general as in the hands of any autocrat, and unless our ideals change and chauvinistic nationalism gives place to a religion of humanity we will go further and further towards the “brink of the fiery abyss” (The Qur’án, 3:103) from the like of which the Prophet of Islam extricated man nearly fourteen hundred years ago.

Codification Of Muslim Law By Abu Hanifah (d. 767 C.E.)

His Role as Head of the Academy of Muslim Law at Kufah

By M. HAMIDULLAH

“It is said that in all half a million points were decided in this way by Abu Hanifah (Muwaffaq, II, 137). According to al-Khwarizmiy (d. 809 C.E.), Abu Hanifah’s own deductions amounted to 83,000 points, of which 38,000 related to ‘Ibadat and the rest to affairs (the mu’amalat)”

The Code of Roman law by the Constantinopolitan Emperor Justinian (d. 565 C.E.) had thrown a challenge to the world as an unsurpassable piece of legislation, as a miracle of juridical science. It would have proved a death-knell to the legal faculty of humanity had not someone taken up that challenge and freed the human mind from inferiority complex, redirecting it into creative channels of still greater achievements. Not five years had passed after the death of the Emperor when Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, was born; and it was this “illiterate bedouin” (May the peace of God abide with him!) who, having no knowledge of this challenge, was destined still to outdo the Roman miracle. And it was the Arabian Prophet who assured humanity that “Every knower had someone above him in knowledge” (*fawq kull dhi ‘ilm ‘aleem*) (The Qur’án, 12:76). The role played by Abu Hanifah, as head of the Academy for the Codification of Muslim Law, is what we shall try to describe in the following few lines.

The Qur’án as a Revealed Book had, no doubt, laid down a number of provisions as to what is absolutely prohibited, what is unavoidably obligatory, what is to be considered as disliked or praiseworthy, yet the number of such things is extremely limited. All the limitless rest was left to human discretion. “Everything beyond these is permissible to you” (*uhilla lakum ma waraa’ dhalikum*) (The Qur’án, 4:23) was the basic principle. The only check on unbridled liberty was the sense of propriety and of general good (*salus populi*), which was the constant aim of the Prophet Muhammad to foster in his adherents. I may mention here the oft-quoted tradition of Mu’adh Ibn Jabal, whom the Prophet Muhammad, when sending as Governor-Judge of the Yemen, had asked how he would decide cases. Mu’adh replied, “According to the Qur’án, in the silence of which according to the *Sunnah*, and in the silence of which also according to the best endeavour of my personal opinion.” This reply was not only endorsed but even expressly extolled by the Prophet. Or again, in another famous case, the Prophet consented to revoke his earlier orders by saying, “You know better your worldly affairs”.

How the Muslim law developed from the Qur’án, from the *Sunnah* (the practice of the Prophet), from the unabolished old usages of the country, from the ever-varying deductions and judgments of jurists and judges, the story of all this, though very fascinating, is beyond the scope of this short article. We shall confine ourselves to the description of the first collective effort to systematize Muslim legal rules early in the second century of the Hijrah, in the city of Kufah, Iraq.

Kufah, its importance

A word about the importance of Kufah. According to the Caliph ‘Umar the Great, Kufah was the backbone of Islam — at least in his day — and this was not without reason. Kufah had replaced the older Hirah. At the breach of the Dam of Ma’rib in the Yemen, many Arab tribes had migrated from there, some of whom colonized Hirah. The town became in time the capital of the cultured kingdom, under the Lakhmids, serving as a confluence of Persian and Arab cultures for centuries together.

When Islam conquered this region in the time of the Caliph ‘Umar I it was in the year 17 A.H. (639 C.E.) that Kufah was planned as the military cantonment or Muslim town, whereas Hirah had to content itself with civic lines of the older population. The Arab historians, al-Baladhuriy and Yaqt, assure us that the Muslim colony consisted at first of 12,000 Yemenites, among others including 1,050 Companions of the Prophet, of whom 24 were those who had taken part in the battle of Badr at the time of the Prophet.

This repeated influx of the Yemenite elements demands of us to stop for a moment and ponder over the happy country of their origin. Ma’in and Sheba of Arabia Felix had preceded others in the desert peninsula in culture, and had produced such an advanced civilization that they rivalled the people of the Mediterranean in this respect. Materially they were inferior to none when they were given a new mental orientation under a fanatic Jewish rule in the country. This was followed by Abyssinian Christians; we know that an Italian priest, Gregentius, had promulgated in the country, at the instance of the patriarch of Alexandria, Christian canon

law, the code of which is preserved in manuscript form in Vienna (cf. Desverger, *Arabie*, p. 71, *nota*). Former Jewish persecution was now reacted by the notorious law that no Jew in the country should give his daughters in marriage to Jews but to Christians only (Saint-Martin, *Hist. de Bas Empire*, liv. 40). In time, Christians were replaced in the Yemen by Magian Iranians, who disseminated their own national traditions. These Iranians ceded place to Islam in the very time of the Prophet.

It was the Yemenites of such diverse experience that colonized Hira and Kufah. Islamic history is no less picturesque.

The place of Abu Bakr and 'Umar among the Companions of the Prophet requires no introduction. It was from them that at first Ibn Mas'ud studied Islam, to get later the opportunity of direct contact with the Prophet. He became so learned that the Prophet often said, "Whoever wants to study the Qur'an, let him do that under Ibn Mas'ud" (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, No. 1536). It was this same Ibn Mas'ud whom the Caliph 'Umar sent as teacher (*Mu'allim*) to Kufah (*ibid.*). He lectured to his pupils in the grand mosque of Kufah. Among his students it was two Yemenites, 'Alqamah and Aswad al-Nakha'iy (d. 75 A.H.—694 C.E.), who distinguished themselves, and succeeded their teacher at the school. After 'Alqamah, it was his pupil, again a Yemenite, Ibrahim al-Nakha'iy by name, who continued the teaching institute of the grand mosque of Kufah. When Ibrahim died, it was Hammad Ibn Abi Sulaiman, probably a Persian, who succeeded to the chair, and this law school got increased renown all over the Islamic world. Abu Hanifah was the pupil and successor of this same Hammad in the school of the Kufah mosque.

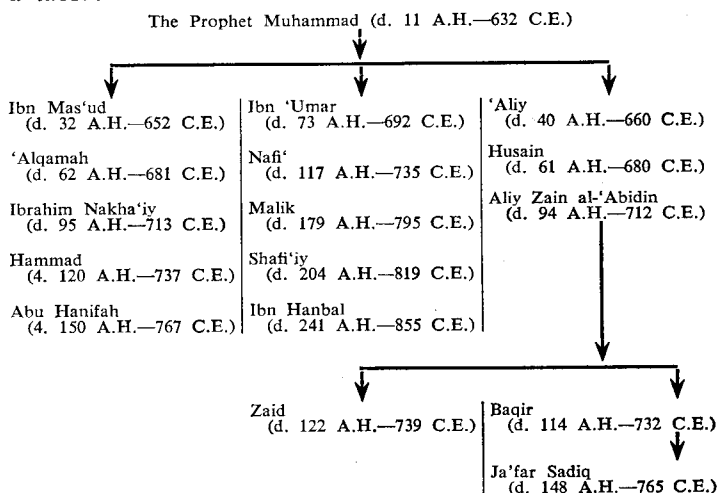
This is not all. The Caliph 'Aliy — who may be anything in statesmanship but there are no two opinions regarding him as a jurist — also migrated to Kufah in his later life to make it his capital of the empire. Thus the legal traditions of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Ibn Mas'ud and 'Aliy all got a confluence in Kufah. Abu Hanifah was destined to shed added lustre, as we shall presently see.

Different schools of Muslim law

The Caliph 'Umar had appointed a committee of seven jurists in Medina, and everyone, even the chief Qadi of Medina, was directed to consult this committee in case of difficult legal problems (Sakhawiy, *Fath al-Mughith*, pp. 399-400). It had inherited traditions of some of the most distinguished jurists of early Islam. Some of them lived long enough for Abu Hanifah to come into direct contact with and study under them. For Abu Hanifah had spent long years of exile in the Hijaz and is reputed to have performed the Hajj fifty-five times. He further imbibed the traditions of the so-called Shi'ah school of law of the family of the Caliph 'Aliy, and for years remained in direct contact with the Imam Muhammad Baqir, the Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq and the Imam Zaid Ibn 'Aliy, otherwise known as Zain al-'Abidin.

Of the hundreds of thousands of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad only three have left schools of law: Ibn Mas'ud, Ibn 'Umar and 'Aliy. Ibn Mas'ud we know had settled in Kufah, and Abu Hanifah was a direct product of this school. As to Ibn 'Umar, he lived mostly in the Hijaz, and among his pupils his freed slave Nafi' is the most renowned. The Imam Malik was his successor to migrate later to Medina. The Imam Shafi'iy was the pupil of the

Imam Malik, and the Imam Ibn Hanbal was the pupil of Shafi'iy. And as to 'Aliy, the cousin, ward and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, he lived mostly in Medina, though he settled later for political reasons in Kufah. His legal school was continued, among others, by his family, and all the Shi'ah schools of law trace their origin to it. Here is a table:



These legal schools did not live originally in their modern self-contained isolation: we have seen how Abu Hanifah benefited, among others,¹ from the school of 'Aliy. He had come into as much contact with the Imam Malik. This intermingling produced what we now call the Hanafite School of Jurisprudence.

Early attempts of Codification

The absolute liberty of judgment to the *Qadhis* (judges) and of opinion to private jurists, in vogue in early Islam, was responsible for the ever-growing mass of conflicting opinions. As early as the days of Ibn 'Abbas (d. 68 A.H.—687 C.E.), somebody had tried to collect the judicial *responsa* (*fatawi*) of 'Aliy. We possess the code of Zaid Ibn 'Aliy, the famous *Kitab al-Majmu'*. Yet all these were individual efforts, and could hardly cope with the situation so aptly described by a contemporary of Abu Hanifah, 'Abdullah Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 139 A.H.—756 C.E.).

"§12 . . . Among the things which the Commander of the Faithful will observe regarding the affairs of these two cities — even as of towns and places other than these two — is the divergence of the conflicting judgments, a divergence which has culminated to a very high pitch in matters of (shedding) blood, (cohabitation, etc., with) women, and property. So if a blood and a woman is considered licit in Hira, the same is declared illicit in Kufah. Such a divergence could be even inside Kufah itself: it may be considered licit in one part of the city, and illicit in another part. Yet, in spite of the multiplicity of its colours, this divergence continues to be applied to Muslims as far as their bloods and honours (wives) are concerned, being judgment of judges whose orders and commands are valid. This, notwithstanding the fact that there is not a single party of the people of Iraq and the people of the Hijaz who sees into it and is not overtaken by pride regarding what it (i.e., the party) itself possesses and does not treat with slight all the rest. And this pride makes them plunge into matters which are abhorred by all those thinking people who come to hear of them.

"§13 . . . If the Commander of the Faithful could order regarding these conflicting judgments that they should be sent up to him in writing, together with arguments of each party

1 Among his other numerous teachers we come across 'Ata Ibn Abi Rabaah, who was a Nubian; 'Krimah Mawla Ibn 'Abbas, who was a Berber; and Makhul, who is variously described as a Syrian or an Egyptian or an Afghan from Kabul.

based on the Prophetic conduct (the *Sunnah*) or the analogical deduction, and thereafter the Commander of the Faithful should go through the file and execute in each case the opinion with which God might inspire him; and he should make this opinion incumbent upon all to follow, forbidding any decision contrary to it, and should issue a comprehensive and incumbent prescription therefor — then could we hope that God would make these divergent orders — which are a mixture of right and wrong — one single correct order, and we could hope that the unification of the conduct would be a thing which might please God (*qurbaa*), and this thanks to the concurrence of the opinion and the tongue (i.e., order) of the Commander of the Faithful. And similar would do other (succeeding) caliphs, till the end of time, if so pleases God.”

Abu Hanifah

Nu'man Ibn Thabit, better known as Abu Hanifah, was born in 80 A.H. (699 C.E.). Without entering here into the question of his racial origin, it may be mentioned that he was a silk prince all through his life. Even as a schoolboy he was considered a rich man (*musir*). Probably commerce was his ancestral profession. Yet as a young, intelligent man in his late teens, he was powerfully influenced by the new movement of the love of letters which so profoundly transformed the mentality of the Muslim world in the caliphate of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (717-720 C.E.). Once “addicted” to the habits of a literary life, it was not possible for him to give it up later.

It is said that it was Sha'biy, a great traditionist, who first told him how suited he was for the noble profession of letters, and why he should not spend all his energies in the market (Muwaffaq, I, 59). *Kalam* or dogmatics was *à la mode* in the town, and he was first attracted to it. It is said that when he became proficient, it so happened that an old lady once asked him a question of daily law and religious devotion. He painfully realized how the *fiqh* (law) was much more important than the subtleties of dogmatics, for he could not reply to the simple question of the old woman (Saimariy, fol. 118). He changed over to law, and after attending the lectures of several scholars in Kufah, finally found satisfaction in those of Hammad, and did not leave them until the teacher breathed his last (Muwaffaq, I, 64). As Abu Hanifah had himself once told the Caliph Mansur, it was this school of Hammad which had become a confluence of the learnings of 'Umar, of 'Aliy, of Ibn Mas'ud and of Ibn 'Abbas (Saimariy, fol. 48 a-b). Hence its great reputation in the country. At the death of Hammad, there was none better than Abu Hanifah to succeed him in the chair, yet he was considered too young at the age of forty. Other arrangements did not prove a success, and finally he was asked to assume the post. He knew the handicaps, and so he told those who had proposed him for the chair, all his own classmates, that he would not accept the post unless ten of them promised to attend his lectures as pupils at least for one whole year. The idea seems to have been to give the public the impression in what respect his own classmates held him. This done, he assiduously began to perform his duties. He helped poor students from his private purse; he exchanged lavish gifts with the notables of the city, and had no eye whatsoever for the Government posts. All this coupled with his unrivalled intelligence and learning rendered his circle in the grand mosque the greatest ever seen (Muwaffaq, I, 66-70, 72).

Codification of law and foundation of an academy

The actual situation of Muslim law must have been better known to Abu Hanifah than to Ibn al-Muqaffa', and he must also have realized not only the impracticability of

official codification in those days of political instability owing to the whims and fancies of despotism. He also realized the handicaps attending single-handed attempts. A code of law deals with each and every walk of life, and no single person can do justice with all of them. Again, codification of the Muslim law had its own peculiar difficulties: interpretation of the words of the Qur'an and the Hadith, sifting of reliable Hadiths from forged ones, chronological arrangement of Hadiths in case of two conflicting sayings of the Prophet, mastery over logic and other lores for purposes of deduction, induction, and all the multifarious processes of legislation in case no express provision was to be found in the reliable sources. The idea occurred to him of founding an academy.

Of his one thousand students, Abu Hanifah selected forty of those who had completed their studies. According to Saif al-A'immah al-Saa'iliy, these forty had reached the stage of independent thinking (*ijtihad*), and the training of the master during the years was such that they never hesitated to criticize the opinion of even their respected teacher. He once gathered these forty pupils, told them the need and importance of the codification of the Muslim law, and asked them to help him in the task (Muwaffaq, I, 33).

We do not yet know the names of all these forty pupils. However, among them were Abu Yusuf, Muhammad al-Shaibaniy and Zufar, none of whom requires introduction. There were 'Abdallah Ibn al-Mubarak, Fudail Ibn 'Iyad and Dawud Ibn Nusair, of reputation for piety and unbounded confidence of the public. There was an expert of the Qur'an and Commentary like Wakee'; there was a great traditionist (*Muhaddith*) like Hafs; there was a great jurist, Hasan Ibn Ziyad. Kharijah Ibn Mus'ab was another trusted consultant of the master. There were also Yahya Ibn Zakariyya, Hibban, Mandal, and Qasim Ibn Ma'n (grandson of Ibn Mas'ud) (Muwaffaq I, 33, 222). 'Afiyah had such a prestige in the council that if by chance he did not attend the discussion any day, 'Abu Hanifah postponed the decision of the point until he came and gave his own opinion (the *Jawahir* of 'Abd al-Qadir, 703). There were those who had specialized in the history of the time of the Prophet, in rhetorics, grammar, philology, mathematics and algebra, and other auxiliary arts and sciences. Abu Hanifah's intimate knowledge of commercial and industrial affairs must also have proved an invaluable asset to the academy (Muwaffaq, I, 32, 33, 72; II, 133; the *Mabsut* of Sarakhsiy I, 2-3).

A sort of questionnaire on each chapter seems to have been prepared, of course with faculty to add new questions at any time. It is said that it was Abu Hanifah who would first introduce the question and ask the opinion of the audience, and when required he himself expressed his own opinion and criticized any argument put forward by others, and the discussion continued until all points became clarified. The discussion on a single point sometimes continued for as long as a month. Finally the Secretary of the Academy, the Imam Abu Yusuf, wrote it down in precise terms (Muwaffaq, I, 33; Kardariy, I, 50). Once somebody asked, “How could you dogmatically say that, while even the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad were divided over the question?” He replied, “Do you think I have formed this opinion haphazardly? On this particular point I have pondered for twenty years, collected all relevant data and allied rules and examined the opinion of each of the Companions in minute detail” (Kardariy, I, 150-51).

Once there was the question of the age of puberty. He asked everyone present in what year they reached the age of manhood. Most of them said at the age of 18, some said at the age of 19 lunar years. Abu Hanifah decided for 18 lunar years (Muwaffaq, I, 82).

According to himself, he says, "I take first the Qur'an, and if it is silent I take the *Sunnah* of the Prophet as reported by trustworthy narrators; if that is also silent I refer to the opinion of the Companions of the Prophet, and if there were conflict of opinion among them I decide whom to follow on the merit of individual cases. It is only when there is question of my senior or junior contemporaries that I take the liberty of deduction, even as they have liberty, and do not feel myself bound by their opinion" (Muwaffaq, I, 89). It is again he who has said, "Analogical deduction (*qiyas*) is not useful except in matters perceptible by human opinion; the *qiyas* is useless for proving the fundamentals of the faith or finding out the exact reasons of a divine ordinance but only for finding out what things to do and what not to do (the *ahkam*)" (Kardariy, I, 145).

It was in this way that he first completed a book on the daily devotional services (*salat*) and named it *Kitab al-Arus* (Muwaffaq, I, 67-68). Encouraged by the success and popularity of the tract, he continued the work. In his code he began with the rites of bodily purification for services (*taharah*), followed by daily services, after which came other *Ibadat*, viz., fasting, *bajj*, surplus-property tax (the *zakat*). Then came chapters on affairs (*mu'amalat*) like contract, sale, company, etc. Finally came wills and testaments and inheritance (Kardariy, I, 57; Muwaffaq, I, 164).

It is said that Abu Hanifah was the first author to compile a monograph on inheritance and also the first on conditional contracts (*shara'it*) (Muwaffaq, I, 35).

I maintain that it was also he who rendered international law, which he called *Siyar*, an independent subject of law, and dictated a monograph on the subject. This caused heated discussion in the country. Al-Awza'iy wrote to refute it; Abu Yusuf counter-replied on behalf of his master. This last tract alone has come down to us and is now published by the Dairah al-Ma'arif, Hyderabad-Deccan, India. Another pupil of his, the Imam Muhammad, specialized in this field, and he was so proud of his own achievement of *Kitab al-Siyar al-Kabir* that he prepared a *de luxe* edition of it, which was so big that a cart was required to carry it when he presented it to the Caliph Harun al-Rashid (Sarakhshiy, *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, introduction).

It is said that in all half a million points were decided in this way by Abu Hanifah (Muwaffaq, II, 137). According to al-Khwarizmiy (d. 809 C.E.), Abu Hanifah's own deductions amounted to 83,000 points, of which 38,000 related to *Ibadat* and the rest to affairs (the *mu'amalat*).

The meetings began with recitations of the Qur'an and the general public was excluded from the deliberations (Muwaffaq, I, 96).

Select committees

Apart from the general assembly of forty, there was a smaller technical committee of ten. It is related that Muhammad Ibn Wahb, who was originally an *Ahl Hadith*, opposed to deduction method of law but later became a devout pupil of Abu Hanifah, was one of the members of this committee of ten. And it was this committee which was responsible for the arrangement of chapters (Kardariy, II, 185-186; Saimariy, fol. 84b-85a).

Saimariy (fol. 54a) mentions another select committee of only four members, and says, "There were only ten who constantly attended the deliberations of Abu Hanifah, yet there were only four who could be considered as *Hafiz* (memorisers by heart) of law like the more common memorisers of the Qur'an."

It is well known that Roman law is basically divided into three chapters: laws of persons, of things, and of actions.

In the Hanafite compendia we find quite a different division, that of *Ibadat* (devotional affairs), *Mu'amalat* (commercial affairs), and *Zawajir* (deterrents of penal law, which incidentally includes laws of war and peace, as it is to punish a foreign State that war is waged).

There are also some interesting anecdotes. Somebody once asked Abu Hanifah a question in the presence of the Caliph Mansur (d. 775 C.E), the reply to which suggests quite clearly that Abu Hanifah believed in the spherical form of the earth (Muwaffaq, I, 161). Al-Tabariy assures us it was Abu Hanifah who first counted bricks by measuring them by a rod instead of counting them individually by millions (IX, 241).

It was natural that there was constant revision and addition to the code thus compiled. 'Abdallah Ibn al-Mubarak says, "I could not settle in Kufah, so I was forced to abandon the attendance of the Academy meeting from time to time. It was thus that I had to copy the same chapters again and again from the memoranda taken by my friend and fellow member Zufar" (Muwaffaq, II, 68; Saimariy, fol. 103b).

I have contributed a special monograph on the question of whether Roman law had in any way influenced Muslim law, so I leave the point here out of discussion.

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A STUDY ON LAND REFORM IN EGYPT

By DR. HASAN ABU al-SU'UD

"The new law of land reform is rooted in the ideology of Islam. It establishes the de facto privileges, it enables the poorer class to get rid of the feeling that they are ill-treated or exploited. It gives to the poor peasant ownership, and consequently the pleasure of working their own land, thus discontent and hatred are eliminated. Little wonder then that the new law is backed by all Egyptians and that everyone promises to defend it"

General aspects

The Revolution of the Egyptian Army of July 1952 did not have as its ultimate aim the overthrow of a corrupt king and the regime he backed: but rather did it aim at undertaking far-reaching reform to rebuild Egypt. In fact, drastic measures and immediate reform were urgently needed in all phases of life whether political, economic or social.

One of the most important reforms agreed upon before the movement and carried out shortly after, was the land reform or the Agrarian Reform enforced by the law of 9th September 1952.

What is the justification for that law? What does it provide for? And what will be the consequences of its application?

I. Justification

Sociologists know that a good law is one that answers to the wishes of the community it governs. The efficiency of the legal sanction depends, in ultimate analysis, on the belief of every citizen that the rule itself is necessary. Necessity means that the public believes that the law is useful, and that it safeguards the interests of the community, or at least of the majority of its members.

The interests of a community change incessantly, and, notwithstanding this continuous change, there is, in a given time, an ideal of justice in which the public believes. In the light of that ideal the interests are considered. Hence, the most acceptable positive definition of the vague term "justice" would be: the protection of the more worthy interests, appreciated in the light of the ideals of the majority. And hence the incessant evolution of laws and the relativity of the legal norm.

Every law has one or more motives and one or more aims. Wording and measures are only means of realization of the aim or aims; this is the art of juristic technique.

The new Law of Land Reform is an outstanding example of good technique and of just legislation. It aims at safeguarding the interests of the large majority of Egyptians. We shall see how it succeeds in realizing this aim.

History of land ownership in Egypt shows that for the past 150 years there has been in existence a system akin to feudalism.

In fact, there was no nobility, and there were no privileges for a certain class, no hereditary distinction; but the *de facto* privileges of the rich land-owners were equivalent to those of the nobles of the Middle Ages. A rich land-owner possessing, say, 2,000 feddans (a feddan or acre in Egypt is 4,200 square metres) had great influence around him. Those who cultivated his land and depended on him could hardly disobey him. They had to pay the rent he asked for, to cultivate the crop he thought most profitable to him, and to vote for the political party which served best his personal interests.

It was even observed that rich families adopted a most practical policy of having members of their family

systematically distributed among all political parties. In this way the financial interests of the family remained intact whatever might be the party in power. So the issue of elections depended not on moral conceptions, but on material interests of influential families. The poorer and the more wretched the peasants, the surer was their obedience to land-owners. For this reason the land-owner did his utmost to keep them dependent upon him.

The inevitable consequence of big ownership was the rush on the land. The most attractive (and most ruinous!) thing for a man being power, the "rush" on the land was inevitable, because big ownership was a sure means of having great influence in social and political spheres.

The price of the land went higher and higher, the surplus left to the tenant lower and lower, and the peasants' life became deplorable. Capital for industry was scarce, and the standard of living of the majority of the peasants was pitifully low.

Let us consult figures to have a clear idea of the situation as it was in 1950:

Size of ownership	Number of owners	Average (Feddan)	Total ownership
1 Feddan and less	1,981,343	0-30	780,046
From 1 to 5	618,860	2-14	1,324,030
" 5 " 10	80,019	6-46	531,024
" 10 " 20	46,123	13-59	626,700
" 20 " 30	13,073	23-95	313,078
" 30 " 50	9,356	37-58	351,577
" 50 " 100	6,575	67-70	445,111
" 100 " 200	3,194	136-69	436,403
" 200 " 400	1,350	268-31	362,317
" 400 " 600	344	478-04	164,445
" 600 " 800	141	698-08	98,430
" 800 " 1,000	92	898-62	82,673
" 1,000 " 1,500	99	1,234-51	122,216
" 1,500 " 2,000	28	1,694-79	47,454
More than 2,000	61	4,545-21	277,258

The cultivated land in Egypt totals 5,974,784 feddans. In 1952, those who owned more than 200 feddans were 1,758 persons, possessing 1,082,640 feddans, i.e., about one-fifth of the cultivated land of the country.

The Royal Family alone (consisting of about 200 persons) owned 196,000 feddans.

Such a state of things produced the inevitable result of struggle between the majority fighting for their existence and the minority fighting to keep their supremacy. Clashes were to be expected. In fact, two months before the Army Revolt there were clashes. Farmers attacked the residences of rich land-owners and some peasants were killed. This was only a beginning.

From history we learn that such a struggle always ends in victory for the majority. The new regime in Egypt confirms what history teaches. The Army's decisive step was applauded by the majority of Egyptians because they wanted a radical change from the life they had led for ages without hope. The Revolution had several reasons: political in-

stability, lack of planning in public affairs, lack of equilibrium in the main powers of the State, overwhelming and ever-increasing power of a most capricious palace, and widespread corruption.

All these various reasons can be summed up in one word: "injustice". Corruption was only a tool to safeguard illegitimate personal interests.

Again the majority felt frustrated, and after so long a time and such heavy pressure there was only one possible outcome: explosion. It happened.

The new regime had to rebuild the country in every respect. The greatest change took place in the people themselves. From absolute despair to hope, and even too much hope; hence the big responsibility of the new Government.

To build a new Egypt drastic measures had to be taken without neglecting primordial exigencies of good government — justice. The most effective reform should be one that touches the majority of the population, and as 60 per cent of Egypt's population are peasants, it could only be one that concerns the land. So the Land Reform was put into force.

II. Provisions

(a) The Land Reform Law was promulgated on 9th September 1952, bringing completely new rules to the Egyptians. The Law fixes the maximum limit of land owner-

- (b) They must be tenants or farmers cultivating the land to be disposed of, or inhabiting the village where the land is located;
- (c) Their actual ownership must not exceed 50 feddans; and,
- (d) Land so disposed of must not be less than 2 feddans and must not exceed 5 feddans for each purchaser.

Land can also be sold to graduates of agricultural institutes provided that the land so disposed of is orchards and does not exceed 20 feddans per lot.

Commercial and benevolent associations are exempted from the application of this provision, if they own more than 200 feddans of land under improvement for purposes of sale. Private individuals may also own more than 200 feddans of fallow or desert land for purposes of reclamation.

(b) The ex-owners receive indemnities in compensation for their requisitioned land. These indemnities are given in the form of State Bonds redeemable in thirty years with an annual interest of 3 per cent.

The value of land is assessed at seventy times its basic annual taxes. Land is not given free to the new owners; it is sold to them at the price of seventy times the basic land tax, to be paid over a period of thirty years with an annual interest of 3 per cent. An additional sum is added for expenses of administration.

The Government acts as an intermediary between the purchaser and the land-owner; it collects the payment for the land through administrative channels and hands it over to the ex-owners.

Before we go into any further details, it might be appropriate to point out the human spirit of the above-mentioned laws.

The new law neither loses sight of considerations of justice, nor does it confiscate the land; what it does is tantamount to imposing a compulsory sale from the very rich to the very poor.

In the meantime, it takes into account the considerations of security together with those of interest, and makes a happy compromise by permitting big land-owners to transfer the ownership of 100 feddans over and above the limit of maximum possession to one or more of their children, and by giving them the right to sell a part of the land which exceeded the maximum limit of possession for a period of two months from the date of the promulgation of the law: 9th September to 31st October 1952.

Thus the shock resulting to big land-owners was minimized.

The law and the subsequent regulations determine the technique of distribution. The land shall be assigned to the new land-owners (beneficiaries) within five years of the date of its having been requisitioned.

The ultimate aim of the law, from the economic point of view, is to raise the standard of living without neglecting considerations of equity. Priority in assigning the land was given to peasants who were cultivating the land when the law was issued. The whole system is based on the idea that the amount of land given should guarantee to the new owner a certain standard of living, scientifically studied and calculated.



An Egyptian farmer who before the promulgation of the Land Reform Act was landless and always worked for the landlord under most unfavourable conditions. Our picture shows him holding the title to his ownership of the land assigned to him under the new law.

ship to 200 feddans of agricultural land, leaving at the same time to the owner two possibilities:

- (1) He can give the agricultural land he possesses over and above the 200 feddans to his children, at a maximum rate of 50 feddans per child, provided that the total to be so disposed of does not exceed 100 feddans; and,
- (2) He can sell his otherwise requisitioned land to small farmers, provided they satisfy the following conditions:
 - (a) They must be working in agriculture;

It was found in previous years that the rush towards the land continually raised its price, and, consequently, its rent. The surplus left for the tenant kept going down. Therefore, the first logical step was to fix the rent in order to stop the excessive bargaining power of landlords. This was done by assessing the rent at seven times the basic land tax in 1945-46.

The land-tax is supposed to represent 14 per cent of the rental value of land as estimated by official committee in that year. This step was taken to guarantee to all tenants in Egypt a minimum surplus which will effectively help to raise their standard of living.

Moreover, security of the tenants is guaranteed by written contracts, allowing no intermediaries, for no less than a three-year period. The lease in share-cropping is also extended to a similar period.

The new law is therefore beneficial not only to the would-be land-owners but also to all tenants.

(c) The redistribution is based on a scientific study made in different areas of the country. For careful and precise selection of the peasants to whom the land is to be given, the Committee of Land Reform entrusted a group of social workers to investigate the social and economic conditions of farmers eligible to own the land according to the law.

As the cost of living and land productivity vary in the different localities, it was necessary to make a thorough study in each area to make sure that each family is getting the proper proportion of land. The rule is to give 5 acres to each family, but this rule is not absolute; on the contrary, it has been made sufficiently flexible in order to better realize its aim and to answer to the ideal of justice.

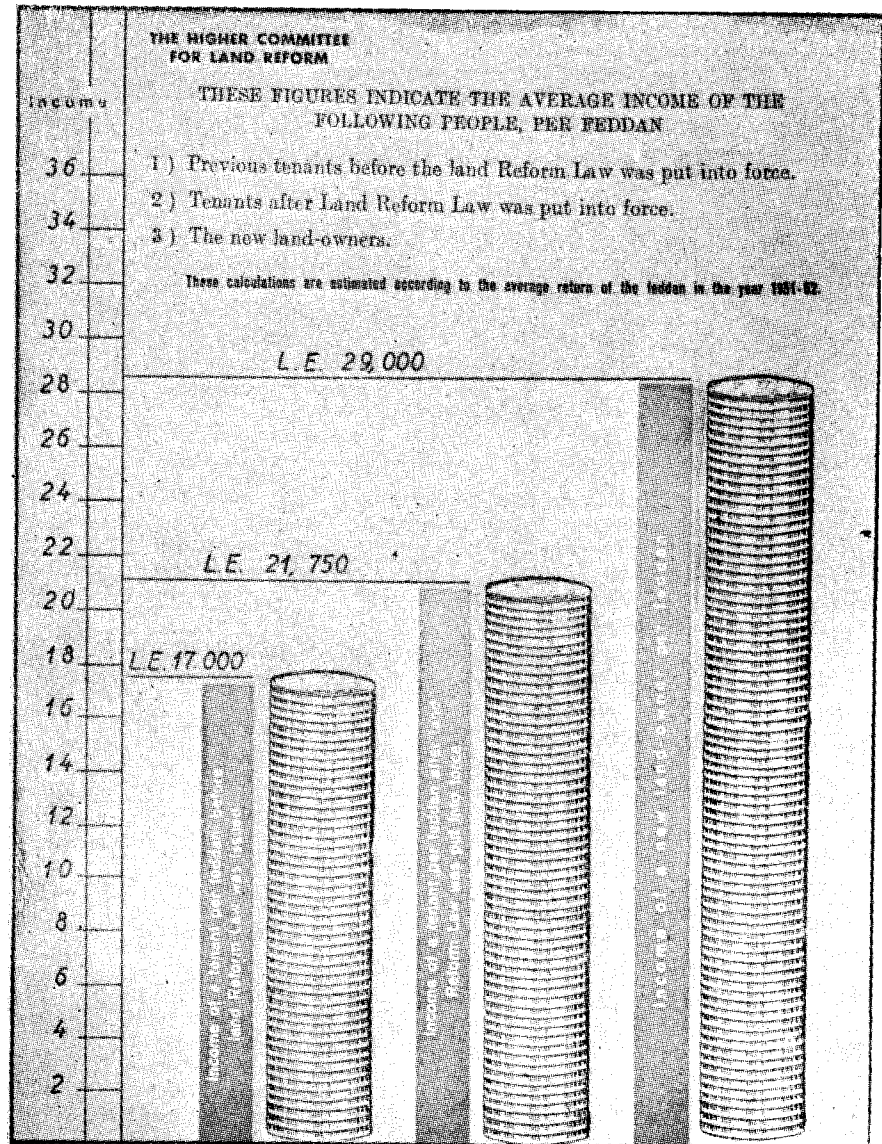
The land is allotted to the head of the family. If the family is numerous it will be divided into sub-families, in order that it may receive an adequate share of land and to provide them with an income proportionate to that of the others. It was deemed equitable, therefore, that a family of more than eight persons in al-Za'faran Estate and a family of more than nine persons in Demira Estate (north of the Delta) would be given a piece of land over 5 feddans.

Thus families in al-Za'faran Estate, constituting more than eight standard units, were subdivided according to their natural structure. For instance, the eldest son, who is married, is considered as a sub-family. It was found that land cultivation is not the sole source of income upon which farmers depend for their livelihood; there are some other sources. In Demira Estate, the annual output of a feddan is about L.E.32, but the income of a family of five persons owning only 1 feddan might rise to L.E.62 per year. The extra income is obtained from cattle and poultry breeding, extra work on other land, etc.

Thus the standard of living is kept approximately equal for all, and, objectively speaking, it is a decent one.

(d) The small farmers who own 5 feddans or less and benefit from the land redistribution are required by law to establish a co-operative unit of their own in their village. The

Minister of Social Affairs may permit the organization of one co-operative among the small farmers of more than one village. These agricultural co-operatives have to provide farmers with all kinds of agricultural credit to satisfy their financial needs for productive operations, as well as with seeds, fertilizers, farm machinery, scientific guidance and social services. These co-operatives plan the cultivation and rotation of crops, market the principal crops for the members, and set aside from the proceeds the annual instalments due



These figures show the average income of the tenant before and after the enforcement of the Land Reform Law and of the new land-owner in Demira region, in the north of the Nile Delta.

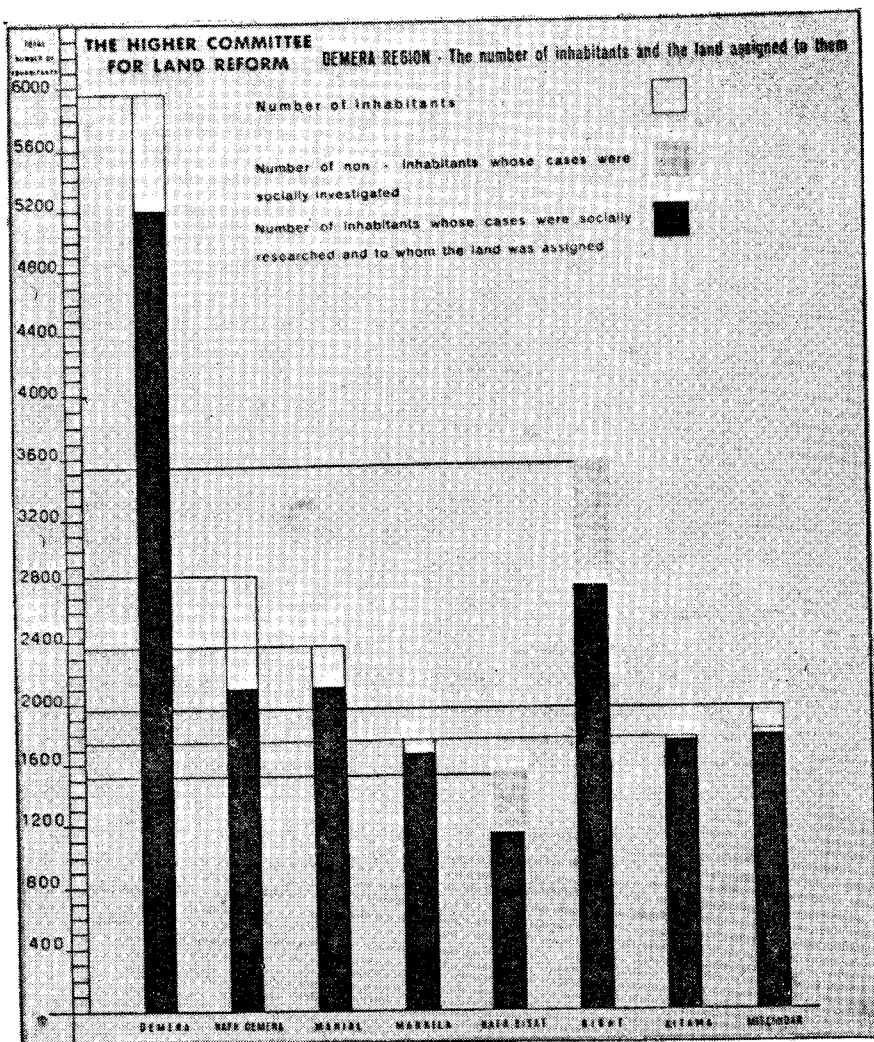
to the Government for the price of land, taxes, agricultural loans, etc.

The co-operatives are managed by highly-trained personnel under Government supervision. It is important to note that these agricultural co-operatives are intended to carry out the overall management of the distributed land, and furnish farmers with different facilities. Plans are laid down to institute organizations that would bring to grouped small farms the benefits of large-scale production.

The new law is a milestone on the road to achievement of the longed-for aim of propagating co-operation in Egypt. It is a well-known fact that among Egyptians the individualistic spirit prevails; and for this reason the progress of co-operatives has been very slow compared with progress made in other countries such as Denmark.

would go his own way. By the creation of co-operatives these fears were eliminated. The co-operatives are there, and they are backed by the Agricultural Credit Bank, which is half-owned by the Government. Remarkable facilities are offered by this bank and the co-operatives. In actual fact, after a year's trial, nobody felt the lack of the so-called facilities previously provided by the rich land-owner. The most outstanding result is the creation of this new spirit of co-operation.

The co-operatives are constituted of peasants, not only the new owners but also other small owners of the neighbourhood. There is a representative of the land board and an agricultural engineer, who will give scientific advice. The co-operatives do not lose sight of the benefits of large-scale production; the land grouped by the co-operative is considered as a unit. Crops are distributed according to scientific data, and sold under the best circumstances, and the price distributed according to the size of the land. Thus each unit constitutes a sort of small parliament, and little by little the co-operative spirit will prevail. There is no other way of creating such a spirit indispensable for the promotion of the social and political standard of the Egyptian peasants.



These figures indicate the number of inhabitants and the land assigned to them in Demira region in the north of the Nile Delta.

The reason is evident: co-operation is not an administrative structure, it is a spirit. To create that spirit, preaching is not enough. Other methods have to be adopted; the new law is believed to offer an excellent one. Under the old system, the landlord generally used to provide the tenant with seeds, fertilizers, cattle, etc., not, surely, for the peasants' sake, but to keep them dependent on him, and to have the *de facto* and *de jure* guarantees that enable the landlord to be paid first in cases where there are several creditors.

Under the new law, the land-owner is not going to help the peasant. The creation of the co-operatives will take the place of the rich land-owner in every materialistic respect. It will also favour the creation of a new spirit of co-operation. It was feared that once the land was redistributed, the new small owners would be lost, credits would be lacking, benefit of large-scale production would disappear and everyone

rapidly increasing, has only one meaning, creation of new industries. This needs capital. Foreign capital cannot be wholly relied upon. Domestic capital has to be found, and by the new law a great step was taken in this direction. At the same time new laws were passed to encourage the establishment of new industries: tyres, batteries, petrol, etc.

(b) The value of the land requisitioned under the law is about L.E.120,000,000. Facilities will be made to divert this capital and any other capital, foreign or domestic, towards industry. In this connection we should mention that the Government of the new regime has done its best to increase the capital used in industry. The Government is actively engaged in productive projects such as the electrification of the Aswan Dam, power stations, steel plants, reclamation of land, etc.

(c) The new law also favours another important project,

the reclamation of land. Statistics show that in 1897 (basic year: one hundred) the population of Egypt was 9,715,000. The cultivated land was 5,470,000. While the population had increased to 21,457,000 in 1950 (that is to 221 with regard to the basic year) the cultivated land had increased to only 5,834,000, i.e., to 116.

The governments of the old regime thought of many things. But, as it is shown, they hardly thought of increasing cultivated land. They hardly thought of feeding the ever-increasing population, which has doubled its numbers in less than fifty years.

The new regime began by laying many plans to solve this double problem. A large part of the budget has to be spent on foodstuffs, especially cereals. It was urgently necessary to think of increasing the cultivated land. As said before, priority in distribution was given to those who were cultivating the requisitioned land. In very rare cases the land was more than enough for the new owners, but in the majority of cases there was too little land to go round to those who deserved it.

A solution had to be found. Those who could not have a plot under the law could have one in another area yet to be reclaimed. In these new areas bigger ownership will be permitted, more facilities will be given. According to the plan set down, it is hoped to cultivate about 2,000,000 more feddans by 1975. Thus at least a good part of the food will be secure, and once more justice will be served, for very many will have the opportunity of becoming land-owners.

2. Social

(a) Another outstanding consequence of the law is both economic and social: the raising of the standard of living. It has been said that the distribution of land is based on scientific data — a certain minimum standard of living has to be secured. From the plot of land given, each family is supposed to get a yearly income from L.E.150 to L.E.200 of crops only. If other sources are added, the net profit would go up to L.E.300 or more. It is evident that 120,000 families who would have received the cultivated requisitioned land would lead a decent life. Those reclaiming new land will have the same standard of living, if not a better one.

Under the old regime the family which rented the same piece of land could get only one-fifth, or even less than it gets now, for rents were always high and the surplus kept decreasing.

The surplus is certainly going to be spent, thus demand for commodities will increase, and industrial products will find purchasers. This is another encouragement to capital investment in industry.

(b) The new law insists on the raising of the standard of living. It insists as well on another point which is completely new to Egyptian legislation, and which will have remote consequences in the social field. This point is that the land should always be given to those who cultivate it. The legislator's point of view can be easily followed in all the chapters of the law.

First, the land distributed is given to those who were cultivating it before the Revolution. Secondly, if there is an occasion for the partition of the land into lots of less than 5 feddans each, be this the result of sale, exchange, inheritance, testamentary disposition or other means of acquiring ownership, the parties concerned must come to an agreement as to the person who shall assume ownership of the land. In

the case of disagreement, the matter shall be submitted to the summary court. If no one is prepared to compensate the other parties for their shares, the court shall order the land to be sold by auction.

These measures are to solve the big problem of migration to the cities. Cities in Egypt, as elsewhere, are becoming larger and larger. Migration from the country is increasing. A solution had to be found. The new law, together with the new laws for reclamation of land, will stop that rush, at least to a certain extent. The main reason for the rush being the better pay the worker gets in a city, the standard of living secured by the new regime will deter the migration to the cities; the life in the country is going to be a better life than has so far been possible.

(c) Another social consequence of the new law is the creation of co-operatives, and what is more important, the propagation of the co-operative spirit. Modern States are becoming more and more socialistic, and individualistic theories are abandoned everywhere.

The best formula to keep pace with the new theories of the modern State is to convince the people of the benefits of teamwork. As it is useless to impose anything they do not



*The President of the Republic of Egypt,
Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir.*

like, there is but one choice: co-operation. Co-operative movements in Egypt began a long time ago. There is a department in the Ministry of Social Affairs taking care of it. But in spite of the facilities, encouragement and inducement,

the movement did not realize all that had been hoped for. The new law gives a solid and concrete basis for co-operation and much greater hope for success.

Experience has shown that this point of view is warranted, as the output of the land exploited under the supervision of the Agrarian Reform Committee increased by 30 per cent. It is hoped to maintain this proportion, which is as beneficial to the country as would be the cultivation of 2,000,000 new feddans.

Co-operation understood and carried out as it should be appeals to the ideology of a Middle Eastern Muslim country. We shall speak of this aspect presently.

3. Political

(a) We have pointed out how the peasants of Egypt were depending on the landlords, not only for their livelihood but also for their political opinion. The new law liberates the peasants, who are going to be landlords themselves. Their standard of living will be a relatively high one. They will learn a lot about independence and about democracy through the co-operatives. They will feel that they constitute a unified mass working for the common interests of all.

Once this spirit prevails, as it will eventually, the country will take a trend different from that which it followed in the past.

Deputies in Parliament will be chosen not because they possess large tracts of land, or because they belong to influential families and want to safeguard their personal material interests, but because of their moral value, because of what they have achieved for the community and what they can achieve for their fellow countrymen. In short, the destiny of the country will be in the hands of those who deserve to shape it.

(b) All this prepares the ground to manifest the ideology of an Eastern Muslim country.

Everyone knows that the world is divided into two camps and that the differences between them are great. It may be appropriate to point out that in the Orient we have our own ideology — one which stands halfway between these two camps: we do not presume to neglect the material side of life, but at the same time we stick to our ideals, to the spiritual values.

We prefer a peaceful solution for our social problems. Every struggle or fight brings disaster to both parties.

We cannot ignore that ownership is an instinct, and we cannot understand why we should deprive men of the fruit of their hard work.

We believe in equality, but we can never ignore that, in their qualities, men were never, and can never be, equal; the *de facto* equality is only chimerical.

Islam is based on democracy and does not recognize monarchy. The leader of the people must be elected by the majority. It does not allow any dictatorship, be it that of an individual or of a so-called class.

As we have our ideals, so our acts are largely influenced by spiritual considerations, affinities of blood, friendship, faith and morality. We cannot allow the human being to be converted into a machine; we would have him live as a human being, thinking of God, carrying out His orders, giving part of his attention, and, if necessary, his money, to his

relatives, helping by all means those who need to be helped, without feeling that he is giving them anything more than their right; visiting the sick, receiving guests, protecting the alarmed, keeping his promises, etc.

Such considerations are so important in our life that we cannot sacrifice them for the sake of material well-being or for the sake of modern mechanism.

One example may illustrate our conceptions. In our villages a stranger can have bread, but he is not allowed to pay for it. A certain percentage of the land of the well-to-do families is kept aside to "keep the house open". This means to receive the guests and help the poor.

Employers and employees should feel that they are brothers, working hand in hand for the common interest.

So our ideology belongs in neither of the two world camps of today. It is neither of the extreme right nor of the extreme left; just like our territory of Egypt, it stands midway.

The new law is rooted in this ideology. It abolishes the *de facto* privileges, it enables the poorer class to get rid of the feeling that they are ill-treated or exploited. It gives to the poor peasants ownership, and, consequently, the pleasure of working their own land. Thus discontent and hatred are eliminated. Little wonder then that the new law is backed by all Egyptians, and that everyone promises to defend it.

The law is a good one, for it answers the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people, realizing their interests seen in the light of justice, and revealing the ideology of the movement of July 1952.

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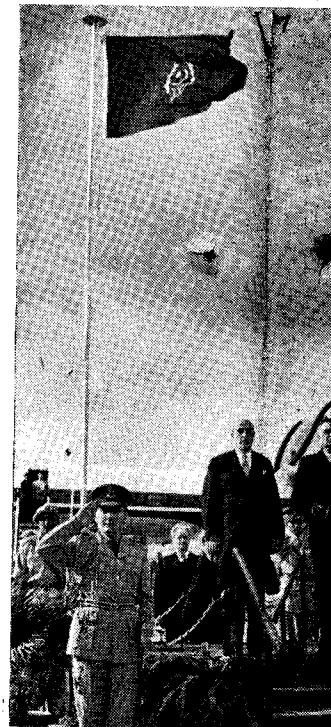
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مِنُونِ إِخْوَةٌ

*THE STATE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
(7th January to 16th*

A black and white photograph of a traditional Indian palanquin (palki) being carried by two porters on a street. The palanquin is ornate and has a large, patterned umbrella (chhatra) held over it. Several people are visible in the background, including a man in a turban and a woman in a sari.

IN THE CAPITAL OF



National Flag :
Green over white, over black horizontal bands, with three red stars on the central white band.

IN THE CAPITAL OF



The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. H. S. Suhraw
of the Republic of Syria, Mr. Shukry Ki

إِنَّمَا الْمَوَدَّةُ

SYRIA AND PAKISTAN

brothers"—(The Qur'an 49:10)

SIDENT OF SYRIA TO PAKISTAN (16th January, 1957)

AL OF PAKISTAN



THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Population :
75,842,000 (85 per cent
Muslim).

Area :
364,737 square miles.

National Flag :
Dark green with white
vertical part at the mast,
the green portion bearing
a white crescent in the
centre and a five-pointed
heraldic star.

IN THE CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN



His Excellency Mr. Shukry Kuwatly, President of the Republic of Syria, is replying to an Address of Welcome presented by the citizens of Karachi at Frere Hall on 8th January 1957. In his address Mr. Kuwatly said : "Islam does not accept any intervention from any quarter and we should be led and guided by the spirit of the Holy Qur'an."

public of Syria (left), accom-
of the Islamic Republic of
cy Major-General Iskandar
ute of the Guard of Honour
irport on 7th January 1957.

AL OF PAKISTAN



Suhrawardy (right) is calling on the President
Shukry Kuwatly, on 7th January 1957.

LAHORE, WEST PAKISTAN



His Excellency Mr. Shukry Kuwatly, President of the Republic of Syria (left), arrived in Lahore, the capital of West Pakistan, on 13th January 1957. Our picture shows him walking with the Governor of West Pakistan, Mr. M. A. Gurmani.

The President of The Republic of Syria in Pakistan

Pakistan and the Arab World

Pakistan and Syria's role in the world of Islam

The President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in his speech of welcome to the President of the Republic of Syria said :

"I offer you my hand of friendship and I make bold to say that the past record of Pakistan is the proof that this friendship is real and will remain so. . . . Pakistan, since its inception in 1947, had nothing but goodwill towards Arab countries, and it was her desire that these countries should be strong, happy and flourishing. . . . Our foreign policies may at times differ, but any such differences need in no way bar friendly relations between us. . . . I hope Your Excellency's visit to Pakistan will go far to further cement the friendly relations already existing between the two countries."

Syria and the world of Islam

In his reply in Arabic, the Syrian President paid a tribute to Qa'id-i-a'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah.

" . . . who laid the foundation of Pakistan in this important area of the world and to Iqbal for inspiring many million Muslims in their struggle for liberty. . . . The aim of Syria and Pakistan should be one and the same : to fight injustice. Syria finds in the creation of Pakistan a great force added to the forces of liberty in the battle against imperialism. In spite of the differences of policy, our efforts must be directed towards bringing our views closer and closer as well as securing harmony, as long as we pursue common objectives aiming at liberty of the world and of mankind."

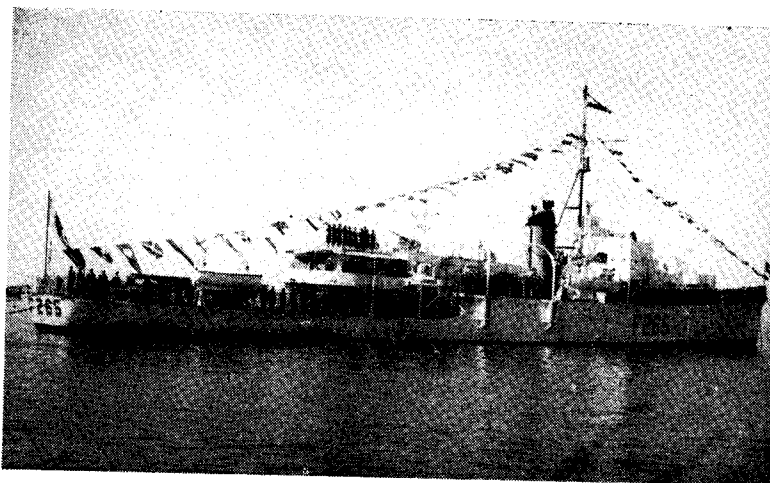
The Arab world and Islam

In his speech at the Karachi Citizens' reception held in

his honour on 8th January 1957, the President of the Republic of Syria said :

"We have paid very dearly for our freedom and liberty. We have paid in sweat, tears and toil : and we shall uphold our independence and honour. We shall stand by our independence ; and independence means freedom of thinking, freedom of action and of formulating our policies, and not of hoisting flags on tops of buildings and Parliaments. . . . We refuse to be a satellite of anybody in the world. We have no room in our land for a satellite ; and if we have to be a satellite, then we shall be the satellite of the Arab world."

"Islam does not accept any intervention from any quarter and we should be led and guided by the spirit of the Holy Qur'an. . . . We live as Arabs. We have got our Islamic doctrine, our culture, civilization and political thinking, and we seek benefit wherever we find it, avoiding dangers. . . . We shall not accept anything either from the eastern or from the western direction. . . . Our policy is based on the principles of Islam. I hope that this will be the policy of the entire Muslim world. . . . The people of Pakistan are linked with the Arab world by old bonds of culture and the common spiritual language of Islam, which dominates our minds and our hearts. The Arab world and the rest of the Muslim world are pre-occupied in their problems ; but they were not conflicting in essence. . . . Our problems are your problems and your problems are our problems. Our problems, fears, apprehensions and aspirations are the same, and we shall stand together to solve them on the basis of peace and justice — the fundamentals of Islam."



The President of the Republic of Syria, His Excellency Mr. Shukry Kuwatly, and his party paid a visit to the Pakistan Navy on 9th January 1957.
Our picture shows the President of Syria taking the Salute.

MUSLIM PATRONAGE OF JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The Jews under the Assyrians, Romans, Christians and the Nazis

By M. 'ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN



Professor Muhammad 'Abdul Rahman Khan

Jews and Christians under Muslim rule

History is replete with accounts of magnanimous treatment of Jews and Christians by Muslim sovereigns both in the East and the West when Islam was at the height of its temporal power. It is a well-known fact that not only does Islam venerate the patriarchs and prophets of Israel, it regards the original Torah and the Bible as holy books ranking only next to the Qur'án itself. Hence the appellation *ahl al-Kitab* (the People of the Book, or Scriptures to Jews and Christians).

Throughout the Umayyad, Abbasid and Fatimid periods—and we are justified in including the Ayyubid period also—Jews and Christians of all denominations had absolute freedom of worship and enjoyed all the amenities of social life, unencumbered by any trace of racial distinction such as is found in modern civilization. Only during the régimes of the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz (717-20 C.E.), the Abbasid al-Mutawakkil (847-61 C.E.) and the Fatimid al-Haakim (996-1021 C.E.), some minor restrictions of dress or official procedure were temporarily enforced on non-Muslims, mainly to facilitate identification or under stress of State policy. The last-named potentate was believed to be a bit off his head when he ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre; but, strange as it may appear, the edict was signed by his Christian secretary Abu 'Abdun!

Hundreds of instances of liberal appreciation of merit and generous treatment may be cited in favour not only of Christians and Jews, but of Zoroastrians and Hindus as well. Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasri, Governor of al-'Iraq under Hisham (724-743 C.E.), built a church in al-Kufah (possibly out of the State money he had embezzled) to please his Christian mother, and granted Christians and Jews the privilege of building places of worship, and even appointed Zoroastrians to important posts in government service.

Christian subjects were ungrudgingly allowed to hold discussions with Muslims in favour of their religion at the royal courts. Their missionaries spread over the wide expanse of the Muslim empires to preach the dogmas of their faith and proselytize non-Muslims in free competition with Islam.

Jews and Christians held important posts in State employment. A number of them rose even to the exalted rank of Vizir, like 'Abdun Ibn Sa'id in the latter half of the

ninth century (according to Yaqut). The Abbasid Caliph al-Muttaqi (940-944 C.E.) had a Christian for his Vizir. 'Adud al-Dawlah (949-983 C.E.), the great Buwayhid Sultan's Vizir, Nasr Ibn Harun, was a Christian, and built a number of new churches and monasteries, in addition to repairing old ones. Al-Mu'tadid had a Christian Minister of War (on the authority of Sabi' in his *Wuzara'*). They all received the usual marks of honour and distinction reserved for officials of minister's rank — though some among the Muslim public resented it.

The Jews under Arab rule of Spain

The favours bestowed on Jews by the Arab conquerors of Spain were even greater and more far-reaching. From the time of their entry into Andalusia they extended marked patronage to the Jews. Conquered territory and captured cities were left in their charge as the Arab and Berber armies pushed forward. Fair treatment of the Christians of Spain is also well known, especially of the serfs who, before the advent of the Arabs, were treated little better than actual slaves during the Gothic régime. Living under the benevolent rulers of the Umayyad line in Spain the Jews profited immensely. They built up their trade and amassed large fortunes. They acquired refined manners through adoption of Muslim culture. A good many of them captured the learned professions, especially medical. 'Abd al-Rahman II's court physician, Hasday Ibn Shairut, was a Jew and held in addition the important office of treasurer. He was a colleague of Abu al-Qasim Khalaf Ibn 'Abbas al-Zahrawi, the greatest surgeon of the Arabs, and translated into Arabic (with the collaboration of a Byzantine monk, Nicholas) the fine illuminated manuscript of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, which had been sent to the Cordovan court as a diplomatic present from the Byzantine emperor, Constantine VII.

It was in this peaceful atmosphere of Cordova that the Hebrew grammar was systematized and developed, entirely on the basis of Arabic grammar, by the Jewish scholar Hayyuj Judah ben David (Abu Zakariyya Yahya Ibn Dawud

of Arab historians), who flourished in that capital, and died there early in the eleventh century. As is well known to Jewish scholars, the technical terms of their grammar are translations of corresponding Arabic terms.

An earlier example of Arabic influence on Judaism is that revealed by the first important translation of the Old Testament by Sa'id al-Fayyumi (Saadia Gaon, 892-942 C.E.) of Egypt, which has remained to this day the version for all Arabic-speaking Jews.

The Jews under the Abbasids

During the Abbasid régime, the Jews, being fewer in number than the Christian subjects, were even better treated than the Christians. The Arab geographer and traveller al-Maqdisi found in 985 C.E. most of the money-changers and bankers in Syria to be Jews — just as most of the clerks and physicians were Christians. For their personal treatment the Abbasid Caliphs appointed physicians belonging to the Nestorian branch of Christianity. This sect predominated in al-'Iraq. Their patriarch called Catholicos lived in Baghdad as a matter of right and had a number of junior ecclesiastical office-bearers under him. Round the patriarchate (called *Dayr al-Rum* or Monastery of the Romans) was the Christian quarter known as the *Dar al-Rum*. The other important Christian sect belonged to the Jacobite Church with its patriarchate at Antioch.

A number of Jews held responsible posts in Government service in the capital and the provinces under Abbasid sovereigns, especially al-Mu'tadid (892-902 C.E.). Yaqut writes of a colony of Jews in Baghdad, who flourished in trade and State service unhampered and unmolested until the city itself was pillaged and destroyed by the Tartars under Hutagu in 1258 C.E.

When Benjamin of Tudela, who had accompanied the Franks to Antioch during the Crusades, visited Baghdad in 1170 C.E., he is reported to have found this Jewish colony in possession of seventy Rabbinical schools and twenty-three synagogues. The principal synagogue was magnificently decorated with marble, gold and silver. The Chief Rabbi enjoyed the dignity and prerogatives of a real prince. "Some of the Jews in Baghdad at that period might well have been the descendants of those carried into exile by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 and 586 B.C."

Nor did the Christians, especially of the Nestorian sect, fare any the worse under the Abbasids. The charter of protection granted by al-Muktafi to members of this church in 1138 C.E., luckily discovered and published by A. Mingana in 1926,¹ throws ample light on the cordial relations between "official Islam and official Christianity" in that period (Hitti). It may be noted that al-Muktafi's mother was not Christian but a Turkish slave.

The Jews under the Fatimids

When after discomfiture of the Crusaders the centre of gravity of Muslim power and culture shifted to Egypt during the Ayyubid period, culminating in the establishment of peace and order by Salah al-Din and his successors, the Jewish community found in that country as happy a home as it had ever enjoyed in old Palestine itself. Some of the greatest philosophers and physicians of the Hebrew world were attracted to Egypt from abroad, or were brought up and nourished there under the benevolent rule of its Muslim monarchs, who were quick to recognize their merits and reward their services. It was in this hospitable and happy atmosphere that Jewish talent could achieve its highest attainment, and leave a permanent impress on the pages of history.

Here it was that Abu 'Imran Musa Ibn Maymun (the second Moses of Jewish tradition, known under his Latin name of Maimonides) composed his important work in medicine, *al-Fusul fi al-Tibb*, and his masterpiece in philosophy, *Dhalalat al-Ha'irin*, in which he attempted to reconcile Jewish theology with Muslim Aristotelianism. Ibn Maymun was a contemporary of the world-famous Hispano-Arab philosopher Ibn Rushd. He was born in Cordova in 1135 C.E., settled in Cairo as Salah al-Din's physician in 1165 C.E., and held the chief religious office of the Jewish community (Arabic, *Ra's al-Millah*, Hebrew, *Naagid*), in that city from 1177 C.E. until his death in 1204 C.E. According to Professor Hitti all the works of Ibn Maymun with one solitary exception were written in Arabic, though in Hebrew characters. Their Latin translations continued right down to the eighteenth century to serve as the main source of information about Jewish knowledge to non-Hebrew intelligentsia.

At this time Hibatullah Ibn Jami', another Jewish physician of Salah al-Din, wrote his *al-Irshad li Masalik al-Anfas wa 'l-Ajsad*, a pioneer work on psychotherapy. Abu al-Fada' Ibn al-Naqid, another Egyptian Jew (d. 1189 C.E.), also wrote his great Arabic work on ophthalmology, called *Mujarrabat*, in Cairo. It was in Cairo again that the Hebrew pharmacist and druggist, al-Kuhin al-'Attar, composed about 1260 C.E. his famous Arabic treatise *Minhaj al-Dukkan wa Dustur al-A'yan*.

The Jews under the Assyrians, Romans, Christians and the Nazis

In contrast with this Muslim attitude of active patronization of Jews, one shudders to think of the policy of religious and racial persecutions that was adopted by the Assyrians, Romans and Christians towards the representatives of this race in various countries. One has only to recall to mind their exile from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar before the Christian era; their expulsion by the Roman Emperor Claudius (41-54 C.E.); the destruction of Jerusalem itself by Titus in 70 C.E.; the compulsory proselytizing of 90,000 and the banishment of 50,000 Jews to Spain by Hadrian (76-138 C.E.), as stated by J. W. Draper in his *Intellectual Development of Europe*; their persecution and forced conversion *en masse*, under penalty of banishment from that country, by the Gothic royalty in 612 C.E.; their pogrom in Rhineland during the "People's Crusade" by the crusading mob on its way to Constantinople in 1096 C.E.; their second expulsion from Spain (after they had enjoyed for centuries the blessings of Muslim rule in that country) by Ferdinand and Isabella, involving the exodus of no less than 200,000 individuals in 1492 C.E., after the fall of Granada; their oppression in Russia by Alexander III and Nicholas III; and last though not the least, the ruthless expatriation of thousands of people, suspected to be of Jewish extraction, however remote, in Nazi Germany.

If one were to turn one's attention to what happened in Palestine under the policy of providing a Zionist "home" for Jews of different countries, in recognition of war service rendered by Dr. Weizmann (of acetone fame) and the Jewish capitalists, as described by numerous writers, for example J. M. N. Jeffries in his *Palestine, the Reality* (London, 1939), one would be forced to admit that after all Gibbon is right in describing history "as a record of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind", and that Hegel's remark that "the only lesson men learn from history is that men learn nothing from history" is equally correct. Perhaps that is why "history keeps repeating itself".

¹ See *The Islamic Review* for August 1955 for a complete text of this Charter.

IS ISLAM A PREPARATION FOR COMMUNISM?

By MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN

“Colonel Nasser, despite the greatest provocation which forced him to seek Russian help, refused to sit in the Kremlin’s lap. Devotion to his faith is a Muslim’s life-breath, and to accept a creed rooted in the denial of God goes against the very grain with him. . . .

“Jesus and Muhammad, so far as the Qur’anic teachings are concerned, are co-workers in the same cause — the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. It should be for the Church to come out of its shell of dogma, to see the identity, both in respect of path and purpose, between the two great faiths”

The all-comprehensiveness of Islam is the only effective challenge to Communism

Islam claims to be an all-comprehensive system. It caters for the needs of the whole of man — body, mind and soul. To look to his daily bread, to make him a good citizen, a good neighbour, a good father, a good husband, is as much its concern as to put him in communion with God. Good government, social justice, sound economy, home life, pursuit of scientific knowledge, even a necessary evil like war — there is no sphere of human activity about which Islam does not give light and guidance.

This all-comprehensiveness, one should have thought, should make it not only a proof against, but the only effective answer to, the challenge of Communism, which aspires to build a social order on the concept of man as a mere producing machine and a consuming animal, denying the very reality of the moral and spiritual aspects of his personality, which make life worth living. This very characteristic, however, a distinguished scholar, Dr. Nabih Faris, of Beirut University, tells us, makes Islam liable to be “swallowed up by Communism”.¹

The process of reasoning by which this conclusion is reached is equally fallacious. Since Islam draws no clear line between the spiritual and temporal, so runs the argument, an over-emphasis on the temporal over the spiritual may “make the transition from Islam to Communism easy and natural”. A bifurcation between the spiritual and the temporal, on the lines of the Christian dictum of “Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s and unto God the things which are God’s”, it is suggested, would have obviated this danger. The truth of the matter, I venture to think, lies the other way about. One system replaces another only when there is a vacuum in a social order. There lies the only secret of Communist infiltration and penetration. The social iniquities born out of feudal and capitalist systems which held Europe in their grip during the last century called for a new force to restore the balance. And Communism just walked in. Had the Church not confined its activities to the saving of souls, and stood up to the erring Caesars and financial magnates of the day for violating the Master’s commandments about obligations towards one’s neighbour, ensuring a just and equitable social order, Communism would never have got a foothold in Russia or elsewhere. Islam, by undertaking to give man an equitable, rational, progressive, well-balanced social order, rather than pave the way for Communism, cuts the very ground from under its feet.

As a matter of fact, much of the loss of faith in Islam as a workable system in the modern social set-up towards the close of the last and the beginning of the present century among the Western-educated sections in all Muslim lands was a reaction against the purely other-worldly emphasis of the old school of theologians, who opposed Western sciences and technology, with disastrous consequences. Atatürk in Turkey,

Reza Shah in Iran, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in India, Jamaluddin Afghani, Muhammad ‘Abduh of Egypt, were some of the leaders of Muslim thought who led the revolt against this attitude, emphasizing that Islam was as much a matter of this life as of the next.

At one time a whole wave of revolt against religion swept the intelligentsia of Muslims as a result of the other-worldly attitude which Dr. Faris would thrust on Muslims, as the *raison d’être* of their religion. Iqbal had to devote much of his poetic genius to the eradication of this false attitude which he called monasticism. Much water has since flowed under the bridges, and instead of the wave of frustration and scepticism, Muslims throughout the world of Islam are pulsating with a new faith in Islam as an ideology which answers all the needs of man — social as well as spiritual. The creation of Pakistan on the basis of this ideology is a phenomenon unique in history, testifying to the fact that Islam as a faith and ideology is quite competent to cope with the demands of modern life, without the least risk of compromising its spiritual heritage.

This new faith-wave in Islam as a destiny is so deep and intense that Muslims throughout the world, the classes as well as the masses, loudly talk of Islam as the Third Ideology which alone strikes the golden mean between anti-God Communism and Godless Western secularism. On this issue there is no cleavage whatsoever — much less “sharp cleavage”, as Dr. Faris imagines — among Muslim thinkers like al-Ash’ari, al-Maudoodi, al-Banna, al-Hudaybi, on the one hand, and those he calls “liberals” on the other. They are all agreed that Muslim life in its totality must be reshaped in the light of Islam, which, they believe, has an answer to all the problems of modern life with all its complexities. Their only difference lies on the right of interpretation of that light, as enshrined in the Qur’án and the Sunnah. Since Islam recognizes no priestcraft, the consensus of opinion is that that right must vest in the people, and that explains why the Muslim Brotherhood, the Jama’at-i-Islami of Pakistan and the Fidayeen could not have their way, and had to beat a retreat before the force of public opinion in the politics of their respective countries.

The failures of their endeavours to impose an interpretation of their own on the Muslim mind, even though backed by great skill and scholarship, and up-to-date propaganda technique, debunks the writer’s other conclusion that the freedom of the individual is being sacrificed to the solidarity and welfare of the *Jama’ah*. Solidarity of the *Jama’ah*, no doubt, ranks very high in Islamic values, and must be ensured even at the cost of some restrictions on individual freedom. This kind of limited restriction is of the essence of all corporate, orderly life. But this in no way implies the negation of the freedom of the individual, as suggested by the writer.

It is a complete misreading of contemporary Muslim thought and life to seriously suggest that the present over-emphasis on the temporal connotes any drifting away from

1 *The Islamic Review* for June 1956, pp. 28-31.

Islam. On the contrary, the restoration of this emphasis is born of a recaptured faith in Islam as a complete and fool-proof code of life, rooted, unlike the half-baked human philosophies or systems, in profound Divine wisdom. It will be no service either to the Democracies or the Muslim world to destroy this new-born conviction of the Muslim mind, which is, indeed, its greatest equipment in the contemporary world of ideological conflicts.

Communism meets the most stubborn resistance from the people in all Muslim countries. The Tudeh Party in Iran is an unlawful body and the Weekh Zalmai Afghanistan is yet a cry in the wilderness. The Azad Pakistan Party of Pakistan could not secure a single seat in the elections. In Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries, the recent pro-Communist swing has been more of a reaction against the pro-Israel policy of the West rather than any love for the Communist creed. The only Muslim country where Communism may be said to have won some political status is Indonesia. The reason there has been that the freedom fight against Dutch imperialism was fought under the colours of Communism. Even there popular sentiment against it is so deep-seated that Muslim parties have refused to co-operate with Sukarno's National Government scheme because of its inclusion of Communist Party representatives. Where is the justification for the alarmist note struck by Dr. Faris that Islam is a preparation for Communism and Muslim countries are on the verge of being swallowed up by the Iron Curtain?

Apart from this identity in point of all-comprehensiveness, Dr. Faris relies upon some other "similarities" between the two systems which, according to him, are likely to make Islam an easy prey to Communism. These to my mind are equally arbitrary, and the conclusions based thereon far-fetched. I would briefly examine them one by one.

Authoritarianism

The first "similarity" pointed out between the two systems is that Islam is as authoritarian in character as Communism. To quote the writer's words:

"The Caliph from earliest times has been the fountainhead of all authority. Obedience to him was obedience to God, disobedience to him carried, besides the most extreme penalty the State could mete out to offenders, the penalty of hell-fire in the hereafter."

This sweeping verdict on the Islamic conception of State-craft is based on the flimsiest possible data — the declaration of an Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir on the appointment of his vizier which is quoted as follows:

"Muhammad Ibn Barr al-Qummi is our representative. . . . Therefore he who obeys him obeys us ; and he who obeys us obeys God, and him God will cause to enter Paradise. On the other hand, he who disobeys our representative disobeys us, and he who disobeys us disobeys God, and God shall cause him to enter hell-fire."

It is rather surprising that of all the Caliphs, the writer's choice should have fallen on this particular one. As a scholar of Islam he could not be unaware of the fact that Muslims throughout the centuries have looked upon the first four Caliphs as the only standard patterns of the Islamic way ; that Caliphate, in the course of time, degenerated, in most cases, to the lowest depths, and, as such, cannot, in all fairness, be quoted as a correct model of the Islamic State. What made him lose sight of so many highlights of the history of Islam, which should serve as models and beacons to the most democratic of modern democracies. Take, for instance,

the example of the very first Caliph, Abu Bakr, and his very inaugural address to the people:

"I have been made a ruler over you, although I am in no way superior to you. If I do right, help me ; if I go wrong, put me right."

Can history point to a higher principle and example of a democratic conception of State?

Let us come to the second Caliph, 'Umar. A common man from the congregation in the course of his Friday sermon stands up and says he would not let him proceed until he has cleared his position on a particular point of his public conduct. The Caliph, rather than take offence, has the critic's doubts removed there and then.

The third Caliph, 'Uthman, became the target of a regular agitation against what some people considered objectionable in the administration of the State, which, ultimately, led to his assassination.

The fourth Caliph, 'Ali, once found himself in the dock in the Qadhi's court on a plaint by a common man, and when in the course of the proceedings the Qadhi addressed him as Amir al-Muminun, he felt very uneasy about it. The use of that honorific appellation, he later told the Caliph, was not in keeping with the canons of justice, which must treat both the parties to a dispute on a par.

Can history produce any examples of such a high standard of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled? It was not for nothing that the great Indian leader and reformer, Mahatma Gandhi, issued a directive to the Congress Ministries when they, for the first time, took office, always to keep Abu Bakr and 'Umar as models of what rulership, dedicated to the people's good, should be like.

These are just a few instances picked at random. Islamic history is full of how the mightiest kings were called sternly to account for their conduct. Iqbal, the great poet of the East, has immortalized this democratic aspect of Islam by depicting the episode when a Turkish Caliph, who had amputated the hands of a mason so that he might not reproduce the work of art he (the mason) had done for him for someone else, was condemned by the Qadi to undergo similar amputation, saying that in Islam (to use the poet's words):

Khun-e Shah rangin-tar az Mi'maar nest
("A king's blood is no redder than that of a mason.")

Nothing could be further from the whole spirit of Islam which teaches that "a word of truth on the face of a mighty ruler is the highest of Jihad" to vest an individual, however high or sanctified, with the absolute powers implied in the hand-picked quotation of the writer of the article. The Qur'an itself emphatically lays down that it is open to a Muslim to differ with a ruler, and refer all such disputes to the adjudication of the Qur'an and the Sunnah (4:59). It is perhaps worth while remarking here that one does come across this kind of attitude in Christianity. Whereas Jesus very rightly taught obedience to the Caesar only to the limited extent of what was due to the Caesar, viz., the taxes, etc., St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (XIII, 1-7) taught the kind of unquestioning, unlimited obedience attributed to the Caliph al-Nasir, saying:

"There is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God ; whoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

Is dignity of man unknown to Islam ?

The article, however, not only convicts the Islamic system of being authoritarian, it goes much further, and tells

us in all seriousness that such Western values as "the dignity and freedom of man" are altogether unknown to Islam. To quote its words:

"It should be remembered that the stubborn resistance to Communism in the West is rooted in a specific philosophy, based on an absolute belief from which all other beliefs and values emanate, namely, the belief in the dignity and freedom of man. No such philosophy is discernible in the writings of modern Muslim writers as yet."

One wonders where and how the writer formed this impression. The whole essence of the message of Islam consists in the sanctity of human personality and the birthright of man to complete freedom of thought, conscience and expression. The Qur'an speaks of man as the vicegerent of God on earth, and makes freedom of his mind from all forms of shackles and inhibitions the cornerstone of any social system worth living under. As to modern writers the article speaks of, one wonders which writers the distinguished writer has read. Iqbal is by common consent one such leading thinker whom every Orientalist with any pretensions to knowing the Oriental mind must know. It may be said without exaggeration that the whole of his poetry and philosophy revolves round just one keynote, viz., the infinite potentialities of the human ego. It will be impossible to surpass Iqbal's imagery of the high destiny of man, even in the following one stray line, picked out at random:

"Urooj-e Adam-e Khaki se Anjum sehme jata hain
"Kih ye tuta huwa Tara Mah-e kamil na ban jaye"

("The stars are feeling a shiver at the rise of this man of clay,

"Lest this fallen star should become a full moon.")

One whole book of Iqbal's Persian poetry, *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Human Ego), translated into English by Professor R. A. Nicholson, is devoted to the theme of unlimited possibilities of the human mind.

Predestination

In support of his contention that Islam is an authoritarian creed, tending to reduce man, like Communism, to an automaton, the writer falls back on the doctrine of predestination vs. free will, which, under Hellenic and Magian influences, led to bitter controversies among medieval Muslim thinkers and theologians, dividing them into two camps known as the *Jabriyyah* and *Qadriyyah* — one holding that man was a mere tool in God's hand, and whatever he did had been pre-ordained by God's decree, the latter controverting that view on the ground of the obvious absurdity of the position that God should first compel man to do evil, and turn round on him and call him to account for it. They, therefore, considered man to be a free agent. This is a much beaten subject, and it is hardly fair to rake up these medieval controversies, in order to use them as a stick to beat Islam with. It would be hardly fair to judge Christian standards by what was said or done by Christian thinkers in the Middle Ages.

As a matter of fact these controversies in the house of Islam were themselves the importations of alien influences — *Isra'iliyyat* and *Majusiyyat* — which the masses of new converts brought with them. Fair criticism would try to grasp the general trend of Islamic teachings, as reflected in the basic, fundamental principles laid down in the Qur'an, and

the practical example in the daily life of the Prophet and the society he built up. Faith and good deeds — this is the main burden of the Qur'anic teachings. Time and again it has been proclaimed that Paradise is only for those who believe in God and do good deeds. "Man shall have naught except what he strives after" runs one categorical declaration. "God does not alter the state of a people, unless they themselves alter what is wrong with them," is another very clear warning. "Whoever does an iota of good shall get his reward; whoever does an iota of evil shall reap the bitter fruit thereof," is another declaration.

To ignore these emphatic unequivocal declarations, and seize upon texts here and there containing words liable to be misconstrued when torn out of the general Qur'anic context, is hardly the correct rule of interpretation. The Qur'an has repeatedly said that God has shown the way through the light of revelation, and it is for man to accept that way or reject it. God does not force His Will on him one way or the other. The issue has indeed been clinched when it is said that if God were at all to thrust His will on men, He would have done so on the side of guiding them all along the right path (The Qur'an, 6:149, 150). He abstains from coercion even in the direction of right, to say nothing of forcing man to evil.

This is, however, not the place to discuss all aspects of this big problem. Suffice it to say that the Prophet's own daily life gives the lie to all fatalistic interpretations read by hair-splitting theologians or carping critics into Qur'anic texts. A man whose life was an incessant struggle against the forces of opposition, who did all the planning, put in the maximum effort to achieve his objectives, could not be the founder of a fatalistic creed. A fatalist who believes that what is written is written, and must come to pass, would sit back with folded hands, rather than play the role of a most consummate nation builder, statesman, soldier, general and ruler that the Prophet Muhammad was. Islam is the direct negation of the theory of fatalism, making man the architect of his own destiny, as is beautifully summed up by Iqbal in the line:

"Amal se Zindaqi banti hai Jannat bhi Jahannam bhi,

"Ye khaki apni Fitrat men na nuri hai na Nari hai."

("It is one's actions that make life a paradise or hell, "By nature this product of clay is neither good nor evil.")

Sovereignty of God

Another argument advanced to depict Islam as something rigid, something which stifles the flowering of the human personality, is that since sovereignty, in an Islamic State, is vested in God, it is not open to the citizen either to legislate or issue commands in his own right. This is hardly a presentation of the whole truth. A Muslim no doubt is not free to do anything against God's will — I doubt that any good Christian would care to claim a different attitude for his religion. Complete self-surrender to God's will is indeed the essence of Islam — and, I dare say, of Christianity. How does it follow that this attitude cuts across individual freedom to legislation, when it is open to every man to interpret God's will to the best of his own light? The Qur'an clearly lays down that "the State must be administered (by Muslims) by consultation among themselves". What else is democracy? A glance at the Pakistan Constitution should have enabled the writer to see that there is no inherent incompatibility

between God's sovereignty and freedom of legislation to the individual. Whereas it vests sovereignty in God, the implementation of God's will is left to the people. The only limitation God's sovereignty implies on individual legislation lies in closing the door on any legislation connoting the denial of God or the spiritual values of life. That, by itself, should give an Islamic State immunity against Communist infiltration — rather than make it an easy prey to it, as the argument makes out. Unlike a secular State where the State can overnight turn Red, if Communists capture the legislature (as in the Indian State of Kerala during the recent elections), a State rooted in God's sovereignty rules out any such eventuality. The very reformist movements of Hasan Banna, Abul A'la Maudoodi and others whom the writer quotes in his support will be to the forefront in any fight against Communism. Indeed, their writings have openly refuted all allegations of Communistic leanings against them, and declared that in the implementation even of their political programmes they would have no truck with Communist organizations. Even Colonel Nasser, despite the greatest provocation which forced him to seek Russian help, refused to sit in the Kremlin's lap. Devotion to his faith is a Muslim's life-breath, and to accept a creed rooted in the denial of God goes against the very grain with him.

From fatalism to revolutionaryism

In the very next breath, however, the article strikes a self-contradictory note, when it describes Islam as a revolutionary force, as much as Communism. Both systems, we are told, deny the doctrine of original sin, and aim at creating Utopias of their own, as a panacea for all human ills. From fatalism to revolutionaryism is a big jump, and it is difficult to understand how the writer can paint two such glaringly inconsistent pictures of Islam — a rigid, stagnant, authoritarian creed which chokes up free thinking, initiative and endeavour, on the one hand, and a revolutionary force capable of smashing the present social order and building up a new and better one of its own. It is the strangest argument indeed to see in the absence of the doctrine of original sin in both Islam and Communism a common link between the two systems. The *Hadith* he quotes in support of the absence of original sin — viz., that everyone is born with a sound nature, it is his parents who make him a Jew, a Christian or a Magian — strikes at the root of predestination.

Suppression of reason

The article also rakes up another medieval controversy in Islam as to the relative positions of '*aql* (reason) and '*naql* (authority), to draw the conclusion that the free play of reason in relation to authority "is equally negated by Islam and Communism". Even a casual reader of the Qur'an would find a repeated appeal to reason to see and verify the truths of religion. *Taqleed* (the blind following of authority) has been denounced as a characteristic of dumb, driven cattle. Are those who walk with their heads bent low (as cattle) alike to those who walk upright, asks the Qur'an? The very fact of the rise of a controversy between '*aql* and '*naql* shows that in Islam reason was considered competent to sift, accept or reject what was handed down on authority.

Islam is perhaps the only religion which makes reason the touch-stone of all truth. Even non-material verities of religion such as soul, revelation, death, resurrection, life-after-death, Heaven and Hell, are made intelligible to human

understanding as far as possible within the straightjacket of sense-perceptions, by drawing upon similes, metaphors and allegories. There might arise situations where reason might find itself at sixes and sevens to see right from wrong. In all such cases, a Muslim would no doubt accept the light and guidance of revelation — which choice in itself would be an act of reason. In all such cases of transcending complexities, revelation, in a Muslim's life, plays the role of a healthy brake on the possible vagaries of reason. This by no means implies the mutilation of reason, or the fostering of an irrational, slavish frame of mind. In relation to Communism as well, this supremacy of revelation in moments of doubt and difficult decisions should be a Muslim's strongest shield, rather than his vulnerable point.

Where the danger really lies

The only point advanced by the writer in support of his contention which has force is the attitude of the West towards Muslim countries throughout the centuries, including modern colonialism. He is perfectly right in thinking that to get rid of Western domination, Muslims would "make league even with the devil". That is, however, quite a different thing from saying that as an ideology Islam is more akin to the Communist rather than the Democratic way. If pro-Russian trends are noticeable in some Muslim countries, it is in spite of Islam, not on account of it, as the writer would have us believe. It is entirely in the nature of a reaction against Western colonialism, which is still digging its toes in some parts of Dar-al-Islam. The Arab countries are after all not far wrong when they say that their immediate danger lies in Western colonialism, not Communism. How can they forget that the live bomb of Israel planted in their very heart has its wires in the hands of the West? For them the choice between the Democracies and Russia is a case of the devil they know and the devil they do not know. The fate visited upon Muslims behind the Iron Curtain could have served as a warning to them against any flirtation with Communism, but they are in blissful ignorance of it. The little news that trickles through even brings stories of big development projects in the Central Asian Soviet Republics which, previously, presented vast barren tracts. These stories, when they reach the medieval bazaars of Kabul, cannot but bring water to the mouths of the Afghans who, in this age of freedom and human rights, are still groaning under a medieval dynastic rule. The same is the case in most of the Middle East countries where, thanks to the outmoded political institutions, poverty, ignorance and disease stalk the length and breadth of the countries. The stories of development and economic prosperity across their borders cannot but make the common man look up to Communism for deliverance. Poverty and depression are the ideal breeding ground for the germs of Communism, and Muslims, despite their aversion to that Godless creed, may have to resort to it — even though as a lever to get rid of their miserable life-conditions. These outmoded political and economic institutions are believed, rightly or wrongly, to owe their survival to the patronage of the erstwhile Colonial Powers. Western colonialism is gone from most of these countries, but Western influence is still considered to be the determining force in the shape of things obtaining there. Instead of backing the dark horse of feudal elements, the democracies' influence must be directed towards fostering truly democratic processes. The first item on the Eisenhower Doctrine implementation plan must be to see to it that the people, rather than princes, loom large in the political pictures of their countries.

Possible trump card

The worst danger, however, lies in what the writer has squeezed in the last few lines, viz., Communism donning a turban and a robe, quoting the Qur'an, and making the hammer and sickle look more like a crescent. It would be nothing surprising if, when the inter-bloc conflict reaches a crucial head, the Kremlin, to win over the world of Islam, should play this last trump card and extol Islam as the highest and truest exposition of what Karl Marx really had in mind.

Islam, as a faith, can never go to Communism. But there

is nothing to prevent Communism going to Islam. This calls more than ever before for closer understanding between Islam and Christianity on the religious level. The Medieval Church attitude which made the two drift apart must give place to a dispassionate, rational assessment of their common origin, common values and common destiny. Jesus and Muhammad, so far as the Qur'anic teachings are concerned, are co-workers in the same cause — the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. It should be for the Church to come out of its shell of dogma, to see the identity, both in respect of path and purpose, between the two great faiths.

THE PEARL OF THE PERSIAN GULF

Fifteenth Anniversary of the Accession of the Ruler of Bahrain

On 6th April 1957 was celebrated in Bahrain the fifteenth anniversary of the accession of His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifa, who succeeded his father, Shaikh Hamed bin Isa, in 1942.

Bahrain has undergone many changes under the benevolent rule of Shaikh Sulman. Great progress has been made in all spheres of life. Trade has increased, industry has made great strides, the standard of living has risen, the health of the people has improved and the general standard of education has greatly advanced. The following figures give some indication of the activities of His Highness's Government in these fields.

In 1942 the revenue of the State was 3,750,000 rupees; but in 1956 it had risen to 55,000,000 rupees. In 1942, 260,000 rupees (£1=Rs.13) were spent on education and 318,000 on public health. But in 1956 the education department expenditure rose to 5,500,000 rupees and that of public health expenditure to just over 4,500,000 rupees. In 1942 there were 13 State schools with a total attendance of 2,215 children; today there are 12,575 boys and girls in 41 schools, including two Secondary Schools. A glance at the list of Government Departments then and now serves as a further indication of the increased activities of the Bahrain Government under the rule of Shaikh Sulman. New Departments include Labour Affairs, Agriculture, Public Relations and Broadcasting, Postal Services, Public Health, Transport and Patents and Trade Marks Registration. Local Government has also expanded with the formation of two more municipalities in the towns of Hedd and Rifaa, bringing the number of these organizations to four. These municipalities are administered by Councils, half of whose members are normally elected and half nominated. His Highness has also established other Councils, the Councils of Health and Education, and Committees dealing with water supply and agriculture which assist in the Council of Administration of the State and provide it with expert advice and guidance on various matters. An important Committee is the Labour Law Advisory Committee, composed of nine members representing the workers, who elect their representatives, the employers and the Government. This Committee, which has just com-

pleted the drafting of a Labour Law for Bahrain, is at present preparing the draft of a Workmen's Compensation Act.

There have been considerable developments in the legal sphere, particularly after the appointment of a legal adviser to the Government. Important laws governing traffic, the criminal code and criminal procedure, etc., have been promulgated.

During the past few years, the Bahrain Courts of His Highness have acquired jurisdiction over the nationals of other Gulf States, who were formerly subject to the jurisdiction of the British Political Agent.

Mention must be made of Bahrain's oil industry, whose operations have undergone considerable expansion during recent years. A refinery has been erected which processes large quantities of imported crude oil. Although Bahrain's oil output has not risen in recent years, the increased royalties, resulting from new agreements, have added to the wealth of the State. Bahrain is also an important trading centre, and Customs dues have always contributed largely to the income of the State.

In 1948 and 1949, for example, the revenue from the Customs dues exceeded the payments received from the oil royalties, although Customs duties are low, being 5 per cent on essentials, 10 per cent on non-essentials and 15 per cent on tobacco. However, owing to a revision of the agreement between the Government and the Oil Company, the oil royalties now exceed the Customs revenue.

Considerable developments are now in progress in Bahrain on which His Highness's Government are expending large sums of money. A harbour is under construction to the south of Manama which will, when completed in 1959, provide berths for four ocean-going ships. A new women's hospital with 230 beds is well under way. It is expected to open part of it towards the end of the summer of 1957. The State Engineer's Department is vigorously pursuing the plans for the supply of electricity to the majority of Bahrain's 85 towns and villages. Muharraq, with a population of some 35,000, is being provided with a town water supply. Manama, the capital, has had piped water now for some eight years.

THE SANUSI MOVEMENT AND THE ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE

By OTTO KARL DUEPOW

"The resurrection of Libya is also the resurrection of all dead Muslim martyrs"

*"My Country, I will toil and strive
To fend from Thee the foeman's wrongs;
Long be Thou safe from injury,
For, truly, we Thy ransom are,
O Libya!"*

(Refrain of the new National Anthem of Libya, composed by Professor Yusuf 'Abd al-Wahhab, Dr.Mus., Cairo University.)



The debt the renaissance of the Muslim world owes to the Sanusi Movement

In looking forward to the future of the awakening Muslim world one cannot ignore the North African Sanusi movement, as being one of the most important contributions to its renaissance. Early last year small notices in the newspapers announced that Benghazi Municipality had invited sculptors to submit designs for an equestrian statue of the Libyan patriot 'Omar al-Mukhtar. It is intended to erect this and another statue of a typical Libyan wearing traditional dress at the entrance to Shari'a al-Nasr, where gardens and other improvements are in progress. The capital of Cyrenaica and co-capital of the United Kingdom of Libya is thus honouring the Libyan national hero and shaikh of the Sanusi Order who sacrificed his life in a battle lasting twenty years for Libyan independence, and who is really the father of the new oasis kingdom created on 24th December 1951 by the United Nations Organization.

In our time many countries in Asia and Africa have gained their independence. But the case of Libya is in a class by itself. Unlike many of them, the Libyan people had to undergo a long period of fighting for freedom and human dignity. The period was one of the hardest, not only of those in North Africa, but of anywhere. The stronghold of the Libyan people in this long battle for life or death was the

King Idris

King Idris is probably the only Muslim ruler in modern times who has expressly forbidden the use of the honorific title of "His Majesty", by which kings are addressed; for he believes, quite rightly, that this dignity belongs only to God. It is also worth recording that his wife does not carry the title of "Queen"

Sanusi Movement. In these days of new Islamic power-politics this famous movement has undoubtedly rendered valuable spiritual and physical contributions to the strength of the world of Islam.

The importance of Libya

Although Libya is a rather poor country, its leaders are trying to make it a viable State. Oil-prospecting is being pursued vigorously and there are signs that in the near future Libya will become with Saharan pipelines another famous oil resource like Kuwait or Su'udi Arabia. Besides, Libya is one of the main bases of American Western Defence. The Soviet Union is also not oblivious of its strategic importance. The Soviets look upon Libya as one of the most important places from where their influence can spread southwards following the steps of the Sanusi Movement into the heart of the Black

Continent. These factors have to play a great role in the future of Muslim countries, which take care not to lose their newly-gained independence. Libya is conscious of this danger and she has rightly refused the Soviet offer of economic relief. For she knows that not very long ago the Russian Empire tried to buy the Libyan island of Momba from the Turks, the then masters of the Libyan coast. The *Sublime Porte* refused. Also, the fact must not be ignored that since pre-historic times people have entered the African continent by the Syrtes and have moved southwards to the Sudan. About four thousand years ago a Stone Age people captured the Libyan Syrtes and were driven into the Sahara by the later-founded cities of Barca and Carthage. These people conquered the Sudan. In the Western Sudan, German explorers like Leo Frobenius noted age-old songs like "The Lute of Gassire", telling the history of "The Empire of Wagadu". The German explorers compared the fairy tales of the Western Sudan with those of Germany and found so much in common to establish that there must be age-old relations. We find giant stone tombs and dolmens as well in Tripolitania as on the North German coast and on nearly all the sea borders between the Black Sea and Ireland. It is on the traces of this Stone Age people that the Sanusi Movement spread to the south. If the Sanusi Movement could, why should not Communism?

A swordless Saharan Empire

"Goodness prevails and righteousness"

The Sanusi Movement was founded in 1943 in Cyrenaica by Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi al-Khattabi al-Idrisi al-Hasani, of Algerian descent. He was a descendant of a Sherifian family, as well as from ancestors belonging to the old Berber stock. After studies in theology and law at the celebrated school at Fez in Morocco he founded in 1837 his order at Mount Abu Qais, near Mecca, but without great success. Cyrenaica and not Arabia consequently became the country of origin of the Sanusi Order. The aim of the movement has ever been and is today to re-establish the pure Islam of the early days. By means of the *zawiyahs* (literally corner) the Order tries to educate true "Followers of Muhammad". The *zawiyahs* are established at all strategic and economically important places, and the inhabitant Sanusi brethren teach Islam, general knowledge and agriculture, and act as judges in settling disputes.

The Grand Sanusi was a very learned man who possessed a private library of about 8,000 volumes. At the famous oasis of al-Giaraghub, near the Egyptian border, he founded the University of the Desert by transforming the rather poor oasis into a flourishing centre of religious life with a mosque, a *zawiyah*, and thousands of palm-trees. He built cisterns to conserve rain-water, and it is not surprising to know that there were at times 1,000 students at Giaraghub. *Belles-lettres*, especially poetry, was cultivated, and reached a high stage as in the times of the great Persian and Andalusian poets. The Grand Sanusi himself was an author of repute. When he died on 7th September 1859, he was buried in a splendid shrine of Egyptian craftsmanship at Giaraghub. His tomb has become a famous place where people go to pay their homage to his memory. The Order set up by him consists of about 6,000,000 adherents scattered over the whole of North and Central Africa and Arabia. Its spread, by means of its 150 *zawiyahs*, has by no means come to a halt.

On the death of the Grand Sanusi the leadership passed to his son, Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Sanusi, who was born in 1844 in Cyrenaica. But as at the time of the death of his

father he was still a boy, the affairs of the Order were directed by a Council of Regency of ten shaikhs. Al-Mahdi grew up to be a man of great energy, and the founder of the Saharan Empire of the Sanusi. He ruled not by the sword but by his spiritual prestige. It was also a mercantile empire and one of its greatest achievements was the maintenance and extension of the caravan routes. In 1894 al-Mahdi moved the headquarters to the oasis of Kufra, a more central point for Saharan affairs and out of reach of the foreign rulers of the coastal line. Another main occupation of the Sanusiyyah was the digging of wells in the desert, al-Mahdi often leading the diggers himself. This peaceful work was suddenly stopped as the Order had to face the menace of the advancing French in the Western Sudan. Near Lake Chad, al-Mahdi built a strongly fortified *zawiyah* and tried to settle the disputes among the local tribes. In due course fighting with the French broke out and a year later the *zawiyah* was captured and destroyed. By the time of the death of al-Mahdi the Order had about 145 *zawiyahs* and counted among its followers even members of the Tebbu and Tuareg tribes. After the death of the great Imam al-Mahdi, his followers thought that the Imam had not really died but had vanished suddenly at Guru on his way to Wadai, and that someone else had been buried in his place at Kufra. The belief was strengthened when it was reported that from time to time travellers in the Great Desert had met him. According to the popular belief it was thought he would return to succour his people when the time was ripe.

Defender of the Faith

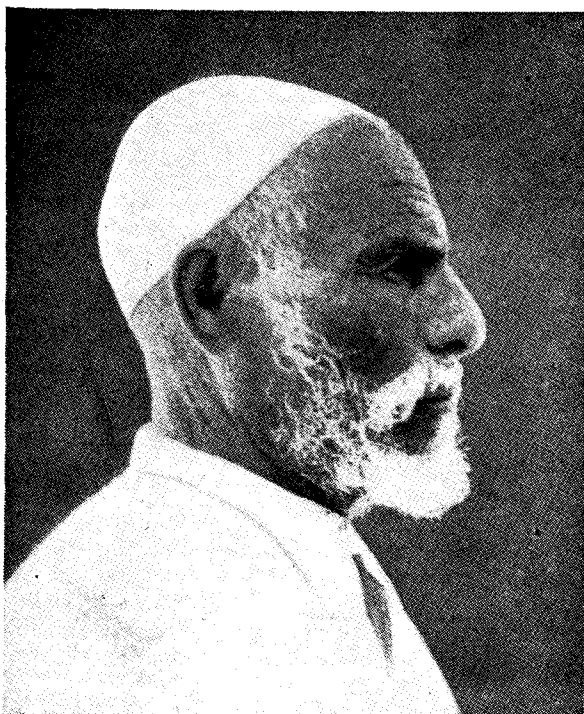
"The book and sword on high they bore"

Al-Mahdi left a son of thirteen years, Muhammad Idris, who later was to become the first king of Libya — the present ruler. But first leadership passed to Ahmad al-Sharif, a cousin of Muhammad Idris. The first and hard task of the new Grand Master was to defend the new spiritual empire of the desert against French aggression. Because the French had now already advanced into the Fezzan and destroyed the *zawiyahs*, troublous times arrived for the people of Cyrenaica. First came ten years of war against the French. Then, beginning in 1911-12 after the Italian occupation, seven years of war against the successors of the Romans and at the same time another four years of war against the French, and two years after, the British in Egypt. But a rising of Sultan 'Ali of Darfour, a Sanusi follower, failed, and after some success by invading Egypt, Ahmed al-Sharif had to retreat to Cyrenaica, leaving the British masters of Egypt. In 1915 German officers contacted Ahmad at his headquarters and offered him Turco-German help. Ahmad accepted the offer as "Ally of the German Empire". During the three years that followed German submarines secured the maintenance of Sanusi warfare by supplying arms and food and prevented starvation in Cyrenaica by breaking the British blockade of the Libyan harbours. The help of the Muslim world for the fighting Sanusis, which entailed the use of a long caravan route through the desert, never arrived in time. Upon the First World War having drawn to a close, Ahmad had to leave his native country in September 1918. A German submarine brought him to Constantinople, whereupon his cousin, Muhammad Idris, became the political and military leader of the Sanusiyyah while Ahmad remained the religious head of the Order until he died in exile in 1933. The end of Ahmad was unmerited and tragic. But he remains one of the most important figures of the Sanusi Movement: the

Defender of the peaceful Saharan Sanusi Empire by the Sword of Faith.

The Italian Fascists in Cyrenaica

The successful Italians who tried to destroy the Order completely were resisted by the British in their evil designs. From this time dates the relatively good feeling between King Idris and the British. The former promised to cease Sanusi activity in Egypt, in exchange for which the British left the Sanusi Emirate rather independent. In the last years of the war the Republic of Tripolitania (*al-Jumhuriyyah al-Trabulsiyyah*) was founded under Turco-Germanic influence. After the war its Committee of Reform at Misurata, led by Ramadhan al-Shtaiwi, ruled the country. The Committee tried to achieve complete independence of Tripolitania from Italy and found support from Italian Communists and Socialists. Its second leader, Muhammad Khalid al-Qarqani, went to attend the Muslim Revolutionary Congress at Moscow. Finally, Italy nominated Count Volpi governor, who restored the whole coastal region to Italian control, and



The seventy-year-old hero 'Omar al-Mukhtar, of immortal memory, whom the Italians hanged on 11th September 1931 in the presence of 20,000 Libyans and the notables of Cyrenaica, "brought there from confinement to witness the end" of Libyan resistance!

it seemed that the relations between Italy and the Sanusiyyah had now entered upon a stage of accord. But when the Italian Fascists came to power, Mussolini declared all treaties invalid. All properties of the Order in Libya were seized. In 1923 war broke out again. The Sanusi family fled to Egypt. The Sanusi shaikh 'Omar al-Mukhtar, now sixty years old, refused to leave his fatherland and organized resistance. Mussolini sent 50,000 South Italian families to

Libya and settled them in the most fertile parts of the country. Benghazi and Derna were transformed into modern Italian cities. Mussolini, who could not break down the resistance of the Sanusiyyah, built schools and mosques for the Libyans, but he soon found that the people did not want to live in slavery.

Italian Fascist efforts at decimating the Libyan people

In order to tighten his control over Cyrenaica and to prevent the transfer of arms from Egypt, Mussolini declared the whole of Marmarica a military zone, its people being removed to concentration camps. In the summer of 1930, 80,000 men, women and children and 600,000 beasts were herded into the smallest camps possible. In 1931 the Syrian leader, the Emir Shakib Arslan, published in his periodical *La Nation Arabe*, Genève, Nr. 4, an article about the fighting in Libya and the cruelty of the Fascists, who threw shaikhs out of aeroplanes with the words, "Call your Prophet to help you!"

The Muslim world was shocked. Egypt called on the League of Nations to take action against the terrible Fascist warfare against Libyan women and children. In the *Call*, distributed by the Young Men's Muslim Society of Cairo, Egypt, it was stated that "Defenceless women are violated, and foetuses of pregnant women were sometimes cut out with a knife . . ." After having called upon Mussolini and the Pope to stop these cruelties, the *Call* went on to ask the people of Europe: "Is this the civilization you want to bring into the countries of the East?" At this, one was reminded of the self-same horror in the past — of the battle of Omdurman, when 10,000 Muslims armed with primitive weapons were slaughtered to a man by the British under Lord Kitchener, who lost 482 dead!

At the end of 1926 the Italians had 20,000 men in the field, whereas the Libyans had since 1923 never had more than about 2,000 men equipped with modern rifles and a few field-guns. As practically all the members of the Sanusi family had migrated to Egypt, 'Omar al-Mukhtar became the soul of the defence of the native soil. This Libyan 'Abd al-Qadir and 'Abd al-Karim, born in 1862 in Marmarica, studied at the Sanusi University at al-Giaraghub and after years of warfare against the French had risen to be leader of all Sanusi forces. 'Omar was a simple, religious man who detested all the honours of the world. On 19th January 1931 the Italians occupied the Giaraghub Oasis and hoisted their flag over the holy shrine of the founder of the Sanusi Movement. 'Omar and his companions preferred to face death rather than surrender or flee. As supplies from Egypt continued to reach the Libyan forces, the Italian Governor-General, Marshal Graziani, decided to run a line of barbed wire entanglements from the sea via the Giaraghub 300 km. to the south. The work was completed in September 1930, and control was operated by telephone system and aviation camps. In 1922-23 the Italians spent only 27,000 lire on barbed wire in Cyrenaica; in 1930-31 they had to spend 14,111,000 lire (Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, London 1950). On 11th September 1931 'Omar was wounded near the tomb of Sidi Rafa, pinned down by his horse and captured. Only four days later, and still suffering from his wounds, the seventy-year old hero was taken to Soluk, where he was hanged before 20,000 Bedouins and the notables of Cyrenaica "brought there from confinement to witness his end", and as the Italians thought, the end of Libyan resistance. The Italo-Sanusi war ended on 24th January 1932, when the Italian flag was hoisted over the Kufra Oasis.

'Omar's resurrection

*Perish the hand that touches thee!"
"O thou, our grandsire's heritage,*

In 1940 the Emir Idris of Cyrenaica, an exile in Egypt, formed a Sanusi battalion that entered fighting on the side of the British to free the holy fatherland from Italian occupation and to save the Libyan people. A secret German military mission had tried in vain to win, as in World War I, the Sanusi Order for Germany. As Italy was an ally of Germany, the Sanusiyyah could not accept such an offer. In the battle of Tobruk the small Sanusi army fought alongside the British and French against the Germans and Italians. But when in 1955 it came to the inauguration of the German War Cemetery at Tobruk, King Idris graciously said, "My people will never forget the German soldiers and their good conduct."

On 29th July 1954, a twenty-year British-Libyan Treaty was signed. It was followed by a similar one between the United States of America and Libya on 14th October 1954, and a Franco-Libyan Treaty in July 1955. Under the Treaty stipulations, the United States of America promised to pay during this period at least \$42,000,000. In addition, a Libyan-American Reconstruction Commission was set up to plan to spend \$12,000,000 on public health, education, public enterprises and agriculture. In September 1956 the first modern university of Libya was opened with the help of the American University of Nevada. The Technical Assistance Service of the United Nations has spent in a period of three years with its 130 employees \$2,000,000. In Tripolitania, 12,000,000 trees have been planted. Libya has in her employ 78 experts from 26 nations as engineers and advisers. Among these is the former German Army nutrition expert, Dr. Fritz Lauersen, who is supervising the Libyan school feeding. Egypt pays an annual contribution of £E.10,000 and has installed public libraries at Benghazi and Tripoli with 20,000 books each. In 1955 the American Colorado Petroleum Company was granted a concession by the Egyptian Government for oil-prospecting over 18,000 square miles near the Libyan border. In Libyan territory also, five American, two British and one French companies are prospecting.

The impression that Libya is really nothing but an Anglo-American "colony" is distorted. The Libyan Premier, Mr. Mustafa Ben Halim, said in March 1956 in the Libyan Parliament that the Libyan Government would not allow British or American bases in Libya to be used directly or indirectly against any of the Arab States in the event of aggression by Israel. It should be mentioned in passing that the Libyan Government was able to show to the world during the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt that it could rise to the occasion. It did refuse Libya to be used as a military base by the British.

Following the Sanusi tradition of spreading civilization and culture, King Muhammad Idris himself tries to modernize the country and to assure the welfare of the people. The foundation of a Libyan National Bank was one important step towards real independence. The building of schools, hospitals and living quarters for the Libyans has already transformed living conditions. New water and electrical plants have been installed. At Benghazi, the first big Libyan building, the Djebel-Akhdar-Palace, has been completed as a modern block for trade and housing. The harbour is being developed and visitors and tourists are regarded as important for the financial future of the new State. Every effort is being made to develop the industrial resources, in which the one principle is observed that all work is to be done by Libyans or by a foreign staff training Libyans.

The victory of a thirty-year war for freedom by the Sanusi Order is also the triumph of 'Omar al-Mukhtar. I visited his tomb at Benghazi. The former Via Roma is now called the Shari'a 'Omar Mukhtar after him, and is one of the most splendid streets of Benghazi. Libya in her efforts to assure a prosperous and free life for all cherishes the ever-living memory of the dead national hero, 'Omar al-Mukhtar is living in the hearts of his people and of all freedom-loving men of the world. 'Omar al-Mukhtar was not a poet and not a theoretical politician, but a warrior who served his people in the darkest hour of history and sacrificed his life for freedom and justice. The resurrection of Libya is also the resurrection of all dead Muslim martyrs.

Partnership with Libya

*"Young lions, quit you for the strife,
Forward young men to victory!
For life is naught unless it be
A struggle for our Libya!"*

With the exception of Algeria all the countries of North Africa have today won their freedom. Fighting is still going on in Algeria but France will lose this battle because the age of imperialist colonization has passed away, never to return. Serious politicians have advised France to give freedom also to Algeria. But the French Government refuses, and those who have eyes to see can see that France is fighting a losing battle.

The young Kingdom of Libya has a gigantic task before it. It cannot afford to forget that there is always the possibility of a renewed domination by Italy. *Roma* remains in that part of the world always *ante portas*. Then there is the domination by the Soviets and finally a lasting domination by the Anglo-Saxons.

I, as an outsider, look upon the Kingdom of Libya as the great opportunity and challenge to the Sanusi Order by the Almighty to prove its vocation as a civilizing element of

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North African life. If the Sanusi Order fails to give stability to the new kingdom, its reputation as leader of an empire without boundaries will also suffer. The training of special forces in all sections as well as the final liberation and emancipation of Libyan women will be important steps towards lasting independence. The youth of Libya is enthusiastic. Libya knows that freedom is not a present but a task and a vocation.

The friends of new Libya desire that the last lines of the first verse of the Libyan National Anthem shall remain an inspiration for all time.

*"O Libya! Thee we shall not fail;
We'll not return to slavery.
We have been freed, and freed have we
Our fatherland of Libya."*

ARAB MUSIC

ITS INFLUENCE ON WESTERN MUSIC

By HALIM DABH

Arabic music erroneously considered backward

While Western music is undergoing dynamic changes and upheavals in its art form, Arabic music remains unchanged from ancient times until today. There exists a remarkable similarity between primitive, folk, classical and contemporary Arabic music: a sameness, however, that conveys neither backwardness nor forwardness, but a stability grounded on solid values and firmly integrated modes of expression.

Arabic music first started to exert its influence when Byzantium ceased to be the centre of the intellectual world. The Eastern Roman Empire had suffered cultural sterility and stagnation from the mid-seventh to the beginning of the ninth centuries. Meanwhile, the spread of Islam took place, establishing an Arab empire that claimed domination from the Chinese borders to Spain, from the Caspian Sea and the Pyrenees to the Indies and the Sudan. The Arab Muslims showed great intellectual mobility in their conquest of learning. They helped reactivate Greek music and literature through Arabic translations. They filled the gap after the decline of the Byzantium and directly contributed to the European Renaissance.

Today Arabic music is erroneously considered backward by the average professional musician of both East and West. In spite of this lack of understanding, the influence of Arabic music has gradually penetrated the minds of the giants of contemporary Western music. Bartok, Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Berg, Hindemith, Ives and Haba have unconsciously paved the way toward that point where East and West may ultimately join. Although the music of these composers is entirely Western, yet it embraces elements and urges of purely Eastern conception.

Arabic concepts music in modern Western music

Into the flux of modern Western music, Arabian concepts of music, consciously or unconsciously, evolved or infiltrated. Among these concepts are:—

1. The fixed relation between tones in Schoenberg's serial Twelve Tone scale which could be likened to the fixed relation between tones in the Arabic *maqam*. A *maqam* is an intervallic relation of tones within a fixed order. It in-

spires melody within its specific framework. It is, in a way, a practice similar to the geometric figures in Arabic art.

2. The mathematical permutation of limited serial tones, which takes us back to the Arab philosophers. Al-Farabi (d. 950 C.E.) and al-Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.) make use of mystical implications to mathematical relations, unlike the purely mathematical relations of Schoenberg and Schillinger.

3. Harmonic polarity which originated from "prolonged pedal points", is an idea directly comparable to the Arabic drone.

4. Bartok and Blocker as well as other modernists borrowed from Arabic music some of its rich and complex rhythmic structures. Arabic music is noted for the wealth of its rhythms which possess an elasticity of remarkable articulation. Arabic music helped to introduce metric schemes of unusual measurements to the music of Europe. Bartok also made use of unusual scale formations and new harmonic effects derived from Arabic music.

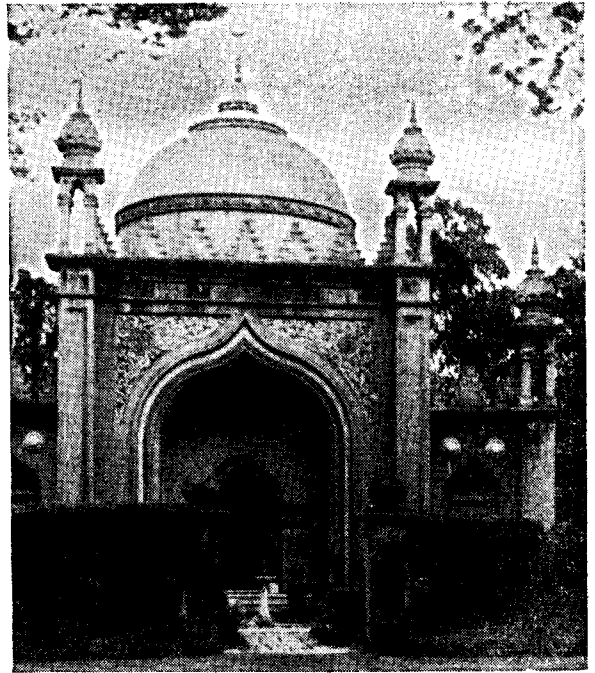
5. Static harmony and additive forms in the works of Orf and Stravinsky are respectively Eastern and African ideals.

6. The usage of simultaneous major-minor triads in the works of Stravinsky and Bartok and many contemporaries is nothing but an urge towards expressing the natural Arabic neutral third.

7. Arabic and Eastern music inspired composers like Haba, Carillo and Barth to venture into the division of the scale into microtones such as one-quarter, one-eighth and one-sixteenth of a tone.

Music is an integral part of the Arab world, an indispensable element in its communal, tribal and home life. Concert music, as such, did not exist until very recent times along with urban expansion, movie and radio industries. In the West, the rise and development of concert music took place under the sponsorship of the Church. In the Arab world, this did not occur since the mosque confined its music to the *tarannum* (chanting) of the Qur'an, and cantillation of the *azan* (calling the faithful to prayer) as opposed to singing, in Western churches. Today, however, the Arab world is encouraging its composers to develop their own rich musical sources expressed in all phases of Arab life.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND



WOKING MUSLIM MISSION & LITERARY TRUST

Lectures and talks

Mr. Muhammad Yahya Butt, Assistant Imam, the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, spoke on "Mi'raj" (Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad), at 18 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, on Saturday 2nd March 1957. Mr. Ali Muhammad Khan, the Founder-President of the Pakistan Muslim League, London Branch, presided.

Mr. 'Abdul Majid, Editor, *The Islamic Review*, spoke on "Islam in Turkey" at 18 Eccleston Square, London,

S.W.1, on Saturday 16th March 1957. His talk was based on a recent article by a French scholar, Mr. Jean Paul-Roux. Prince A. R. Samy, a Turkish Muslim, presided over the meeting.

On Saturday 23rd March 1957, Mr. Muhammad Yahya Butt delivered a lecture on "Lessons from the Qur'an" at 18 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1. The talk was followed by some interesting questions. One of the questions, "How can it be ascertained that the Qur'an is the word of God?" was discussed by the speaker and the audience at length.

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING

The Maulana Muhammad Kakub Khan, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, delivered a sermon at an inter-religious fellowship service convened under the auspices of the World Congress of Faiths and the Unitarian Memorial Church, Cambridge, on Sunday 10th February 1957.

The Maulana Muhammad Yakub Khan, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, was invited to participate as representative of Islam in a "Parliament of World Religions" held at Sheffield by the University of Sheffield Union of Students, Leavygreave, Sheffield 3, on Saturday 23rd February 1957. Representatives of six religions, viz., Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Taoism, participated in the symposium. The Imam's contribution was very much appreciated.

Mr. Iqbal Ahmad, B.A., a member of the Woking Muslim Mission staff, addressed a gathering of the Young Wives' Association, St. Michael's Church, Wandsworth Common, London, on Tuesday 12th March 1957, on the "Women in Pakistan".

Mr. Iqbal Ahmad addressed the Youth Fellowship, Congregational Church, Kingston, on Sunday 24th February 1957, on "The Shah Jehan Mosque".

Representatives of the British Broadcasting Corporation went to the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on Friday 8th March 1957. They recorded the Friday service and interviews with British and other Muslims for a programme which was broadcast in their Middle East Service.

Mr. Muhammad Yahya Butt addressed a group of Rovers at Hackney, London, on Sunday 17th March 1957, on Islam. The talk was followed by a very interesting discussion.

Mr. Muhammad Yahya Butt presented the "Muslim's View of Peace" to the Pacifist Youth Action Group at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, on Thursday 28th March 1957. One of the most interesting questions asked was that if Islam did not allow killing of the old, the women and children in war, then why it was that Muslim countries willingly stored bombs when they knew that one of the main aims of bombs was to create chaos among the population of the cities.

Lectures at the Shah Jehan Mosque

The Maulana Muhammad Yakub Khan has regularly been holding talks on various aspects of Islam at the Shah

Jehan Mosque, Woking, every Sunday afternoon at 2.30 p.m.

The Maulana, in officiating at the Friday Prayers held at the High Commission for Pakistan on Friday 29th March 1957, put forward a useful interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve mentioned in the Holy Qur'an. In emphasizing that the incident should not be taken literally, the learned



Dr. 'Abdus Salam

Dr. 'Abdus Salam, a Pakistani Muslim, till very recently Lecturer in the University of Cambridge, has been appointed Professor of Mathematics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the University of London. The appointment

Imam remarked that the fact that the story was mentioned right at the beginning of the Holy Qur'an had a special purpose in view, which its readers tended to overlook. By warning Adam not to go near "the tree", he went on to say, the Qur'an meant that man should not consider this worldly life as his main object, and that he should aspire after things higher and nobler. Commenting on that part of the story where Adam and Eve taste of the tree, become naked and cover themselves with leaves, he said that this meant that man would cover up his faults in this worldly life with the leaves of his experience gained by his errors in this world. He emphasized that the purpose of men and women, according to the Holy Qur'an, was to convert this world into a garden. The sermon inspired all those who attended the Friday congregation.

is the first chair in mathematics held by anyone from the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Dr. Salam was born at Jhang, West Pakistan, in 1926. He received his education at the Government Intermediate College, Jhang, and the Government College, the University of the Punjab, Lahore, from where he obtained his M.A. and B.A. degrees. His record of the highest marks ever obtained in a B.A. degree there still stands.

He obtained his Ph.D. degree from Cambridge University in 1951. In the same year he was elected to a Research Fellowship at St. John's College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, the United States of America.

Dr. Salam is a brilliant mathematician with an international reputation in the field of theoretical physics. He has played an important part in the development of quantum electrodynamics and in the various theories which have been formulated to interpret the properties of mesons and other recently discovered fundamental particles. About 30 of his papers have been published in the Physical Review, The Proceedings of the Royal Society and other scientific journals.



Book Reviews

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC LAW.
Edited by Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny. The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., the United States of America, 1955. Pp. xv + 395. Price \$7.50.

This is the first volume of a series of books the Middle East Institute plans to publish under the title "Law in the

Middle East". The editors, who are connected with the Institute, hope to publish the second volume, which will deal with the modern legal systems of the Middle East countries.

The special feature of this book is the co-operation of a team of no less than fourteen Muslim and Christian scholars. The Middle East Institute deserves the sincere thanks for not

confining itself to the scholars of the Western world. This is a step in the right direction; for it obviates the danger of mingling Islamic thought with Western philosophical backgrounds. It cannot be over-emphasized that this danger is always there if Western authors alone are engaged in acquainting Western readers with the legal system of Islam. It is not easy for a Western scholar to explain to Western readers the close inter-connection between the secular and religious aspects of life in Islam; for this view is alien to Western legal philosophy. The application of Western thinking and Western yardsticks to Islam as a whole is bound to reflect distorted results.

The fifteen chapters of the book cover the history of the Shari'ah; some chapters even touch the most recent evolution. In addition there is a "Glossary of Legal Terms", a select bibliography and an index. The glossary comprises the English translation of some 200 Arabic (and some Turkish) terms of the legal science. The index is a careful compilation and a connecting link between the chapters, each one of which has been written by a different author.

Chapter I deals with the "Constitutional Organization", and is by Professor Gibb, of the University of Oxford, now of Harvard, the United States of America.

Professor Joseph Schacht, of the University of Leiden, Holland, has written Chapters II and III, dealing with the "Pre-Islamic Background and Early Development of Jurisprudence" and "The Schools of Law and Later Developments of Jurisprudence".

Chapter IV, "Nature and Sources of the Shari'a," has been written by Professor Vesey-Fitzgerald, of the University of London. Professor Asaf A. A. Fyzee, of the Government Law College, Bombay, India, contributes Chapter V, on "Shi'i Legal Theories". "Family Law," which forms Chapter VI, has been written by Professor Muhammad Abu Zahra, of the University of Cairo, Egypt. Chapter VIII deals with "Transactions in the Shari'a". Its author is *Docteur en Droit* Subhi Mahmasani, lecturer at the American University of Beirut. A member of the Bars of Jerusalem and Damascus, Dr. Jur. Henry Cattani, has written Chapter VIII on "The Law of Waqf". Chapter IX is devoted to "Uqubat: Penal Law"; its author is Riyaf Maydani, of the Department of Justice of the Syrian Government. Emile Tyan, Dr. Jur. Professor at the "Faculté de Droit," Beyrouth, the Lebanon, has written Chapter X on the "Judicial Organization". Two Turkish scholars of the University of Istanbul are the authors of Chapters XI and XII — Professor Ebul-ula deals with the "Development of the Shari'a under the Ottoman Empire", and Professor S. S. Onar's contribution is devoted to "The Majalla".

"The Development of Western Judicial Privileges" forms Chapter XIII of the book, and is from the pen of one of the co-editors, Dr. Jur. Herbert J. Liebensny, of the Middle East Institute, Washington. Chapter XIV, by Dr. Jur. Choucri Cardahi, of the "Faculté de Droit," Beyrouth, deals with the "Conflict of Law". The concluding Chapter XV, on "International Law", has been contributed by Professor Majid Khadduri, of the Middle East Institute, Washington.

The time chosen for the appearance of this book is certainly timely. During the first half of the twentieth century Muslim and international interests in the Shari'ah had diminished owing to the big wave of "Westernization" of the legal systems in most of the Muslim countries. But since the middle of the present century the zeal for Westernization wave has been growing weaker. The "Islamic Provisions" embodied in Articles 197 and 198 of the *Constitution of*

Pakistan, 1956, are likely to be a turning-point indicating a revival of the Shari'ah. Constitution-making now in progress in Tunisia and Morocco also points to the same trend. The book will thus serve a useful purpose.

ESSAYS ON THE CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN.

By K. J. Newman. The Pakistan Co-operative Book Society, Ltd., Dacca, Pakistan. Pp. lvi + 395. Price Rs.12-8-0.

The following is a quotation from the foreword written by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, LL.D., Governor of East Pakistan, Chancellor of Dacca University:

"I hope this book will convince the men and women of other countries that Pakistan, which has joined the family of the free, independent and democratic nations of the world, has adopted a Constitution worthy of its status. While our Constitution, by its Islamic provisions, has safeguarded the character of our State as an Islamic Republic, it has also integrated such provisions as will guarantee absolute equality to all minorities."

The author of the book, Professor K. J. Newman, is a native of the German-speaking minority of Czechoslovakia. He is a Doctor of Law of the University of Prague. In 1939, when the Nazi domination captured his homeland, Dr. Newman emigrated to England, where during World War II he joined the army and later the exiled Czech Government in London. He took his Ph.D. from Oxford University and lectured at British universities. This was followed by a period of academic work in South Africa till 1950, when he was offered the chair of Political Science at Dacca University.

Professor Newman, who has actively co-operated in framing the Constitution of Pakistan, is thus best qualified to write this book, which is probably the first of its kind on Pakistan's Constitution, promulgated in March 1956.

Apart from embodying authentic comments on the 234 Articles of the Constitution, Professor Newman's book contains, in addition, a synopsis of modern constitutional law and legislative works. Important clauses of the new Constitution are compared with the corresponding provisions of modern Asian and Western constitutional laws. Frequent comparisons refer to the "secular" Indian Constitution of 1950. This approach is particularly welcome as it will enable his readers to understand certain clauses of the Pakistani Constitution better.

The author has divided his book into four parts.

Part I, covering 56 pages, contains the historical introduction and deals with the period from the birth of the first Constituent Assembly and the Objectives Resolutions until the adoption of the final wording by the second Constituent Assembly.

In Part II, which covers 114 pages, the Draft Constitution is reprinted as it existed at the beginning of 1956, i.e., before the two month decisive debate, which finally led to the adoption of the amended text.

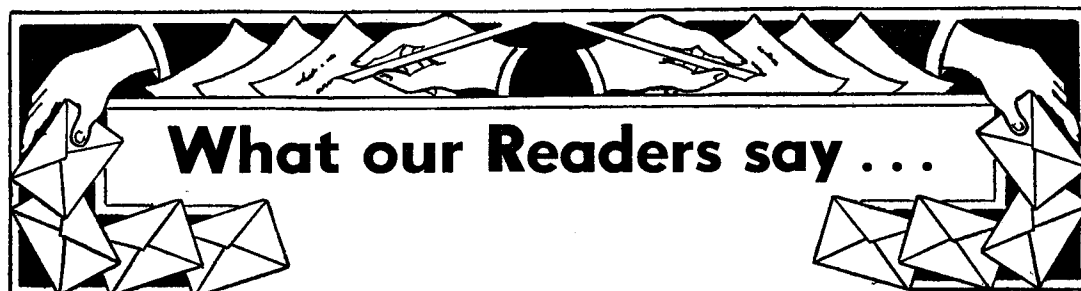
Part III is a collection of 18 essays from the author's pen. They deal with the constitutional problems in the final stage of the debates in the Constituent Assembly. Most of them were printed in two Pakistani newspapers (*The Morning News* and *Pakistan Observer*) during February and March 1956. This part takes 130 pages.

Part IV, which occupies 144 pages, contains the final text of the Constitution after its enactment in March 1956. Many comments have been added to the more important

clauses, facilitating the true understanding of a rather complicated law which the people of Pakistan will have to digest in the course of the coming years.

The book is likely to become an indispensable help to all who are engaged in studying or applying public law in

Pakistan. In addition, it is a source of reliable information for all those observers abroad who are anxious to learn how the framers of the Constitution have applied the principle of *istilah*, i.e., the reconciliation of Iqbal's and Jinnah's ideals with the modern trends of constitution-making.



ISLAM IN FREE CHINA (TAIWAN)

The Islamic Review Association,
P.O. Box (Tai) 0298,
Taichung,
Taiwan, Free China.

Dear Sir,

The article "How Muslims Live in China Today" in *The Islamic Review* for April 1956 gives the number of Muslims in China as ten million.

I think this is an incorrect estimate. The official figure of Muslims in China before the Second World War was somewhere in the neighbourhood of fifty million. If you take a trip along the Huang River (it is the second longest river in China) you will find mosques and Muslims in every city and town. In big cities such as Tsinan, Suchow, Kaifeng, Loyang, Sian and Lanchow, etc., there are large mosques, and there are at least a thousand Muslim families living around every mosque. Even in smaller cities where there are only a hundred Muslim families, there is a small mosque and at least fifty or sixty Muslim shops. Some of the large mosques were constructed 600 to 1,000 years ago.

Along the Young-Tze River (it is the longest river in China) and the Yueh River (it is a large river in South China) there are quite a few Muslims. In the north-west and south-west of China, such as the Sinkiang, Tsinghai, Ningsia, Kunsu and Yunnan Provinces, etc., about 80 per cent of the population is Muslim. In the three Provinces of Honan, Shantung and Hopei alone there are ten million Muslims. Furthermore, sixty years ago there was a large number of Muslims and many mosques in Taiwan. But since the occupation of Taiwan by Japan in 1895, their number began to decline steadily, so that at the end of World War II one might say there were no Muslims worth the name in Taiwan.

The number of Muslims in Taiwan

Let us now consider the question of the number of Muslims in Free China (Taiwan). There are no exact estimates on this subject, but one can safely say that there are approximately a hundred thousand Muslims here, and these Muslims have come here from the mainland with the Government of Free China. Although they form a small fraction of the main body of Chinese Muslims, they may rightly be

called the essence of Muslims in China. Among these Muslims are governors, generals, officers, scholars, engineers and students. These Muslims come from every corner of China, from as far distant places as Sinkiang, Antung, Sinan, Shenyang (Manchuria), etc., and from as near as Fukian and Kwantung Provinces. They love their religion and freedom; and hate Communist aggression.

The condition of Muslims in Taiwan fifty years ago

Fifty years ago there were many Muslims in Taiwan, who came from the Provinces of the mainland, e.g., Fukiang, Chekiang and Kwangtung, and they built mosques in Taiwan, Taichung and Lo-Kian (a town in the north-west of Taichung), etc. But since the China-Japan war (1895) in which China was defeated, and Japan began to control Taiwan, the Japanese Government took steps to eliminate the relations between the Taiwan Muslims and mainland Muslims. Year by year, the old died and the young became old. After fifty years there were hardly any Muslims to be found there. Those that were left ceased to call themselves Muslims. Even today one finds many Muslim customs amongst the Taiwanese. One comes across Chinese Muslim surnames of Kou's and Pi's. There are a few old men who still remember their father telling them that they were Muslims.

The condition of Muslims in Free China (Taiwan) today

As mentioned above, the Free China Muslims come from the mainland. They have built two mosques in Taipei, one in Taichung and one in Tainan. But after the restoration of peace all Taiwanese Muslims will go back to the mainland. When that time comes, I fear there will once again be hardly any Muslims left in Taiwan.

How to rebuild Islam in Taiwan

The Muslims in China hope that when they go back home with the Government, the religion of Islam will stay in Taiwan. For this purpose, there are two missions in front of them: (a) they hope to reclaim the former Muslims; and (b) they hope to rebuild the former mosques in Taiwan. They also hope Muslim brothers and sisters of other places

will help them in every way to enable them to perform the noble task of following the path of Islam.

The objects of the Chinese Youth Muslim League

In order to reconstruct Islam in China and kindle the sublime teaching of Islam in the youth of China, the members of the Chinese Youth Muslim League have declared their objects, ideals and programme as follows:

- (1) Objects.
 - (a) The reconstruction of Islam in China ;
 - (b) To oppose Communists and all other aggressors.
- (2) Its ideals are :
 - (a) Service of Islam ;
 - (b) The unity of Islam ;
 - (c) The defence and propagation of Islam.
- (3) Its programme aims at :
 - (a) Publishing magazines and journals on Islam. At present the League publishes a periodical, *The Islamic Review* (Chinese), of which five numbers have already seen the light of day. This is the only Muslim magazine in Free China.
 - (b) Translating the Holy Qur'an and other books on Islam into Chinese. It has published *The Holy Prophet of Islam* by the Maulana Muhammad 'Ali and will soon print *The Islamic Law of Marriage and Divorce* by the same learned author.
 - (c) Broadcasting Islamic literature.

It will interest you to know that in 1953 the League built a mosque in Taipei, and another in Taichung in 1954.

Yours sincerely,
YUSOF MA PIN-SHO,
Secretary.

* * *

PROTECT KABAHA FROM AIR RAID DISASTER

Abbas Manzil Library,
7 Dr. Omar Sherif Road,
Bangalore 4,
India.
13th February 1957.

Dear Sir,

The one potential danger from the Israelite's aggressive occupation of a part of Palestine is the concern of not only the Arab world but of the entire Muslim world. I am, of course, referring to the vulnerability of the Ka'bah to an hostile air raid, and I do not think the Israelites will resist the temptation of doing this mischief, armed as they are with the latest American destructive machines and poised so dangerously near to the Ka'bah. This is bound to happen sooner or later once the hostilities are re-opened ; for Zionist existence in the Arab land could not be tolerated under any circumstances whatsoever unless the Zionists merged themselves in the Arab nationality and federate their autonomous region, where they are in a natural and not an artificial majority, with the United States of Arabia, lying on both sides of the Red Sea and extending to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean.

May I therefore draw the attention of the Arab League in general and H.M. King Su'ud in particular to this danger. I think there should be either a permanent balloon barrage

over the Harem, or the Ka'bah should be enclosed in an air-raid shelter big enough to protect both buildings and pilgrims.

Yours truly,

S. M. AHMED.

* * *

ALGERIA AND WEST AFRICA

7 Dr. Omar Sherif Street,
Bangalore 4,
India.
1st March 1957.

Dear Sir,

As editor and compiler of one of the books of the Islamic series published by the Abbas Manzil Library, Allahabad 3, India, *Islam in Africa and the Near East*, I feel that it is opportune to speak on the subject of Algeria, which was discussed at the last session of the United Nations.

If the French people mean what they say, that they are going to give home rule not only to Algeria but to all their African territories, I think this is perhaps the best and the only solution which they are offering to their colonies in Africa, and I venture to state that it should be acceptable to everyone, including the African and Algerian Muslims.

Now if we add to French West Africa the territories of British West Africa, that is to say Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, as well as Tunis and Morocco, the Muslim population is as follows:

Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, which possess one racial affinity	20,000,000
The French Sudan, Mauretania and the Ivory Coast	5,000,000
French Equatorial Africa, including the Cameroons	3,000,000
Nigeria	15,000,000
Ghana and Sierra Leone	1,000,000
Portuguese and Spanish possessions	1,000,000
Total Muslim population	45,000,000

As against this the non-Muslim population of these areas is:

Native Africans	8,000,000
French and other Europeans	2,000,000
Pagans	5,000,000
Total	15,000,000

Thus it is evident that if the West African Federation is ever evolved it will form another part of the world where Muslims will form a majority. Taking a long-range view of the situation, the Algerian nationalists will be well advised to take the French at their word and start building for this Federation. It may also be pointed out here that nearly all these Africans adhere to the Maliki school and speak the Arabic language. The West African Federation, in which there will be for a long time to come ample scope for European guidance, will then march alongside Communist China, the Soviet Union, the United States of America and India as one of the major countries of the world. This will also give impetus to the rest of Africa to federate with Egypt (the Eastern portion is predominantly Hamitic in race) and South Africa (the southern region is predominantly Bantu in race and culture).

Yours truly,

S. M. AHMED.

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