

[www.wokingmuslim.org](http://www.wokingmuslim.org)

***The Islamic Review* archive**

**Large magazine format series,**  
**1949–1971**

[Go to list of 1957 issues](#)

October 1957



45th Year of Publication

**THE  
ISLAMIC  
REVIEW**

WOKING

ENGLAND

---

OCTOBER 1957

---

THREE SHILLINGS



"Violin" Fabrics flow from the machines like a finely blended symphony. They are Pakistani product which keep perfect tune with the times.

*Insist on*

**"Violin" Fabrics**

- "BA4" Longcloth
- "555" Satin
- "1919" Grey
- Lady Hamilton
- Cotton Flannels

# BAWANY VIOLIN TEXTILE MILLS LTD

*Managing Agents:*

**AHMED BROTHERS LTD.**

**32-33 Zeenat Mansions • Meleod Road • Karachi**

Telephone 31156

Telegrams VIOLINTEX

## TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

*The Islamic Review*, the official organ of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, and of Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore, Pakistan, is published monthly. In conformity with the objects of its publishers *The Islamic Review* is a cultural, non-political journal which takes no stand on the political policies of the various Muslim countries. In publishing such articles as deal with the world of Islam, its sole aim is to acquaint the component parts of the Islamic world with those problems and difficulties. Its aim in presenting political issues is analytical and informative. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and not those of *The Islamic Review*, or its publishers.

The Editor will be glad to receive articles for publication. These will receive careful consideration and an honorarium arrived at by mutual arrangement will be paid for all manuscripts accepted for publication. All articles not accepted will be returned to their authors, but the Editor regrets he is unable to accept responsibility for their loss in transit.

Annual subscription £1 10s. 0d.; single copies 3s. post free or the equivalent of this amount unless otherwise mentioned. Subscribers who remit foreign currency from abroad should kindly add bank charges to the amount remitted.

Registration to all countries at the equivalent rate of 6s. per annum per parcel

The cost of sending 'The Islamic Review' by Air Mail varies with its destination, e.g. Egypt 3' -, Pakistan 4' - extra per copy

Orders for yearly subscriptions or single copies may be sent to :

### Australia :

R. L. Priestley, Esq., 22a Trennery Street, West Richmond, S. Australia.

### British Guiana :

H. B. Gajraj, Esq., 13, Water Street, Georgetown.

### British West Indies :

Maulavi Ameer 'Alie, "The Gem," 64, Charlotte Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

### Burma :

Smart & Mookerdam, 221, Pagoda Road, Rangoon.

### Ceylon :

Messrs. W. M. A. Wahid Bros., P.O. 195, 233, Main Street, Colombo.

### Dutch Guiana (S. America) :

Alhadj-Abdr. B. Jaggoe, "Doekan," Saramacca Straat 115, P.O. Box 926, Paramaribo, Surinam.

### Egypt :

H. H. Khan, Esq., P.O.B. 678, Cairo. £E.1.50 post free; single copies P.T. 15.0.

### England :

"The Islamic Review", The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey. £1 10s. 0d. post free; single copies 3s.

### Fiji

The Desai Book Depot, Box No. 160, Suva.

### France :

for name and address of the agent please apply to The Manager, "Islamic Review", as above. Annual Subscription, 1,500 francs post free; single copies 150 francs.

### Holland :

NV Boekhandel Antiquariaat en Mitgeverij, C.P.J. van der Peet, Nwe Spiegelstraat 33-35, Amsterdam C.

### Hong Kong

Sambo's Library, P.O. Box 448, Hong Kong.

### Iraq :

Ibrahim Adem Sachwani, Esq., Merchant, Ashar, Basrah.

### Kenya :

The City Bookshop, P.O. Box 1460, Fort Jesus Road, Mombasa.

### Nigeria :

Messrs. Tika Tore Press Ltd., 77, Broad Street, Lagos.

### Malaya :

Messrs. M. M. Ally & Co., P.O. Box 241, 103, Market Street, Kuala Lumpur.

Jubilee Book Store, 97, Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur.  
N. Muhamed Ismail, P.O. Box 233, 13, Jalan Masjid, Ipoh, Perak.

A. Abdul Rahim, 31 Jalan Ibrahim, Johore Bahru.

### South Africa :

Messrs. Union Printing Works, 91, Victoria Street, Durban, Natal.

### Persian Gulf :

Messrs. Ashraf Bros., Import-Export, Bahrain.

Messrs. Ashraf Bros., Import-Export, Kuwait.

### Tanganyika Territory :

Messrs. Janoowalla-Store, P.O. Box 210, Tanga.

### The United States of America :

Moslem Society of the U.S.A., 870, Castro Street, San Francisco, California. \$5.00 post free; single copies 45c.

The International Muslim Society, Inc., P.O. Box 37, Manhattanville, Station J, New York, 27 N.Y. \$5.00 post free; single copies 0.45c.

### Western Germany :

Der Imam, Die Moschee, 7/8, Brienner Strasse, Berlin-D.M. 18.00 post free; single copies D.M.1.00.

## AGENTS IN INDIA

Sh. Mohammad In'aam-ul-Haque, House No. 100 — A Class, A'zampore, Malakpeth, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Messrs. Usmania Book Depot, 104, Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

S. Ziya Karim Rizvi, Bhagalpur.

Islamia Book Depot, Newspaper Agent, New Market, Tatarpur Chowk, Bhagalpur City (Bihar).

## AGENTS IN PAKISTAN

"The Islamic Review," Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

### Eastern Pakistan

Abdul Samad Jamali, B.A., East Pakistan Islam Mission, 28, Purana Mogul Tuli, Nawabpur Road, Dacca.

Majlis Bookstall, Bangla Bazaar, Dacca.

Shamim Book Agency, 1, Johnson Road, Dacca.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., 5/16, Takarhat Lane, Nawabpur Road, P.O. Box 178, Dacca.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Newsagents, Jessore Road, Khulna.

Messrs. News Front, 75, Jubilee Road, Chittagong.

Subscriptions may begin with any desired number.

Begum Noor Jehan, c/o Md. Wahed Bakhsh, Jinnah Road, P.O. Dist., Jessore.

Messrs. T. Ahmad & Co., P.O. Santahar, Dist. Bogra.

Muhammad Zahidul Huq, Esq., Station Road, P.O. Sonapur, Dist. Noakhali.

Pakistan Library; Booksellers & Stationers, Magura, Jessore.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Court Road, Chittagong.

The Pakistan News Agency, Station Road, Saidpur, Dist. Rangpur.

Continued on page 2

Kindly quote your subscriber's number when corresponding.

## Between Ourselves

### THE COVER

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

### THE CONTRIBUTORS

The late Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1951), a Pakistani Muslim, was one of the foremost exponents of Islam. He made his mark in the English-speaking world of Islam by being the first Muslim to have translated the Holy Qur'an into English.

Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq, an Indian Muslim, is Senior Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Delhi, Delhi, India.

Bruce Conde is a Lebanese correspondent of the English daily *The Daily Star*, Beirut, the Lebanon.

Muhammad Yakub Khan, a Pakistani Muslim, till recently Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, is now Editor of the English daily *The Light*, Lahore, Pakistan.

G. Neville-Bagot, an Irishman, is a keen student of Political developments in North African Muslim countries.

Munawar Sjadazali, an Indonesian Muslim, is an Attaché at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, the United States of America.

# The Islamic Review

## OCTOBER 1957

45th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

## Contents . . . . .

<b>Editorial :</b>	
<b>A Lesson in Achievement from Morocco</b> ... ..	3
<b>Slavery Amongst The Ancients, Christianity and Islam</b> ...	5
by The Late Muhammad 'Ali	
<b>The State Letters of Caliph 'Umar</b> ... ..	11
by Dr. Kurshid Ahmad Fariq	
<b>A Study of the Contemporary Muslim Political Thought</b> ...	14
by Munawar Sjadazali	
<b>The Treasures of Iran's Imperial Library</b> ... ..	18
<b>'Id Al-Fitr Celebrations in Sana'a, the Yemen</b> ... ..	24
by Bruce Conde	
<b>Toynbee on Islam's Role in the Modern World</b> ... ..	26
by Muhammad Yakub Khan	
<b>The Opening of the Islamic Centre and the Mosque at Washington, The United States of America</b> ... ..	29
<b>The Divine Divan</b> ... ..	32
by William Bashyr Pickard	
<b>The Birth of a Republic in the World of Islam</b> ... ..	33
by G. H. Neville-Bagot	
<b>Book Reviews</b> ... ..	35
<b>What Our Readers Say</b> ... ..	36

## TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

### AGENTS IN PAKISTAN (continued)

Shah Tabarak Hossain, Esq., Newspaper Agent, P.O. Alamnagar, Dist. Rangpur.  
 S. Masood Ahmad, Esq., Bookseller & Newsagent, P.O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.  
 Farooq Library, Booksellers, Rajshahi.  
 Sri Madhuzdan Bhattachari, Jee Newsagent, Zindabazar, P.O. Sylhet.  
 Messrs. M. Aslam Khan, Newspaper Agents, Khan Manzil, Chandpur, Dist. Tippera.  
 The Manager, The News Agency, Kushtia.  
 Kausar Ali, Esq., M.A., Professor Daulat-pur College, Daulatpur-Khulnia.  
 H. K. Roy, Esq., c/o Railway Bookstall, Dinajpur.

M. A. Majeed, B.A., Newspaper Agent, Kohinoor Library, Faridpur.  
 M. A. Siddiqi, Proprietor of Alam News Agency, Lalmonirhat Rangpur.  
 The Manager, Azmat News Agency, Chawk Bazaar, Barisal.  
 S. M. Hassan, Book House, Hashmia Restaurant, Station Road, Chittagong.

### Western Pakistan

The Manager, Spring Works, 3, Temple View, Preedy Street, Karachi.  
 Victory Bookstores, Booksellers & Publishers, Rawalpindi.  
 The New Quetta Bookstall, Jinnah Road, Quetta.

### AGENT IN KASHMIR

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free ; single copies Rs. 1/11  
 Abdul 'Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, *Roshni*, Srinagar, Kashmir.

## The Islamic Review

Founded by THE LATE AL-HAJJ  
KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

The Shah Jehan Mosque,  
Woking, Surrey, England

Telephone: WOKING 679  
Telegrams & Cables: MOSQUE, WOKING

London Office:  
18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, London,  
S.W.1. Telephone: VIC. 2591



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. 10

OCTOBER, 1957

Rabi' al-Thani, 1377 A.H.

# A LESSON IN ACHIEVEMENT FROM MOROCCO

## "The Story of the Unity Road"

### THE LEADERSHIP OF THE KING OF MOROCCO

Muslim countries, as a rule, are under-developed. Of reasons that have contributed to their lagging behind the march of material progress the principal one is that for more than a century they were not master in their house. Each one of them had fallen a victim to Western colonial rapacity. But now that they have regained their sovereignty, Algeria being the only exception, one sees, with a sense of joy and pride, that they are actively thinking of ways and means of making up leeway. The problems that face them are many and varied. They cover the wide field of a reconstruction of the religious thought of Islam and social, economic and political problems. Each one of them in its own place calls for immediate attention; for each is urgent and important. It is generally agreed that none of them will brook any delay. How far the Muslim world will succeed in this task without losing its identity in the process of adjustment and assimilation, only time will tell. In the meantime, it seems to us that the least Muslims can do is to make known as widely as possible all such efforts as are directed towards self-realization in the Muslim world.

With this in view, we take Morocco, a country rich in historical sites of great interest and of glories of the past. With its emergence as an independent sovereign State and the resultant re-unification of the three zones into which it had been divided by the colonial powers, it has succeeded within the short period of about one year and a half of its independence in setting an example to the world of Islam in self-help. Moroccans, it is true, unlike many other parts of the world of Islam, are fortunate in having for their supreme leader His Majesty King Muhammad V, who, in common with his able ministers — many of these are in their early thirties — has inspired by his noble conduct the people to work for a bright future of their country. We are, of course, referring to the recent construction of a road in Morocco known as the Unity Road, built by young Moroccan volunteers with no expense to the national Exchequer. That the story of the Unity Road did not receive the publicity it well deserved of the Muslim world press, and that the point of the lesson it offered has been missed by it, does not, it must be said, speak very highly of its vigilance.

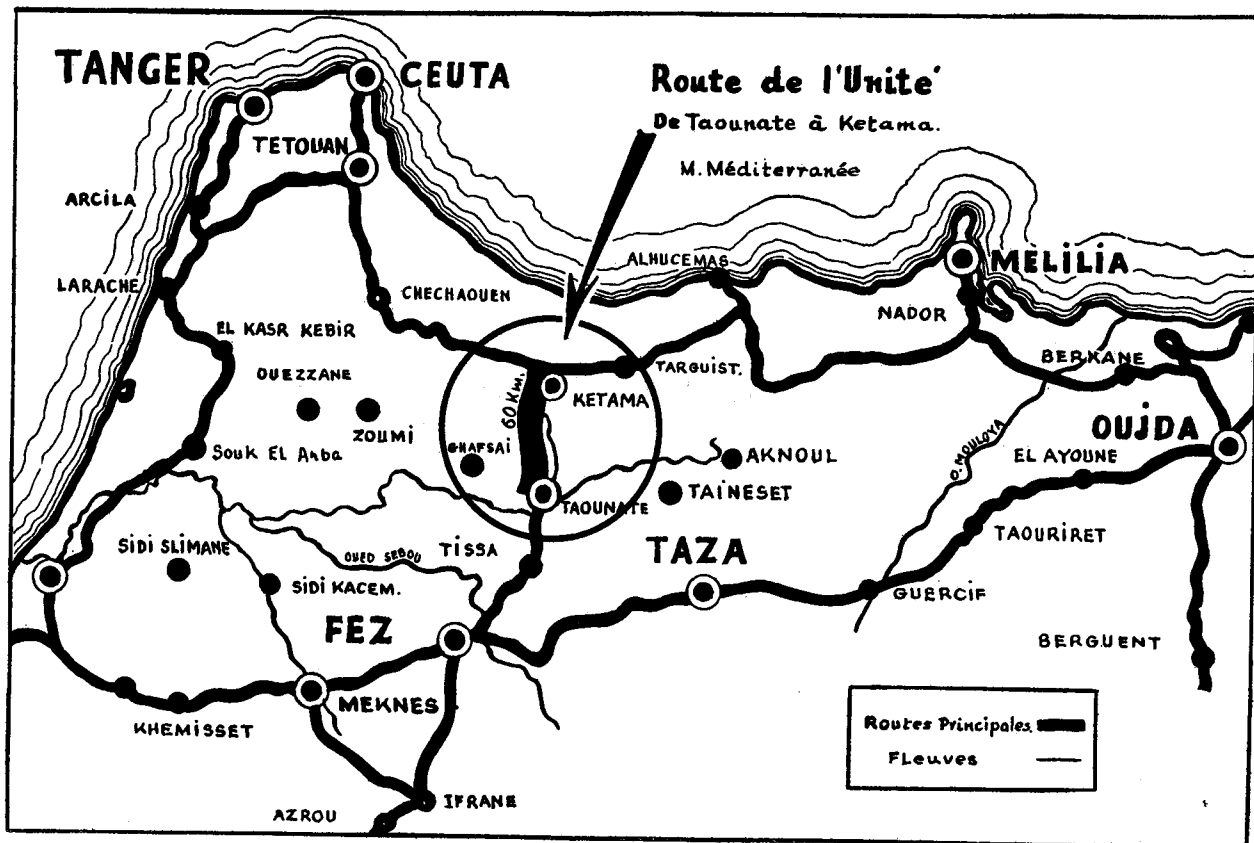
The achievement of the Unity Road is the result of the vision of Mr. Ben Berka, the 37-year-old President of the National Consultative Legislative Assembly of Morocco, and, above all, of the warm support he received from His Majesty the King of Morocco. Mr.

Berka relates that the idea of the Unity Road took birth in his mind during his visit to the United States of America in March last, where he went on the invitation of the United States State Department.

In Arizona and Porto Rico he took the opportunity of going carefully into the irrigation schemes of the former and the imaginative self-development programme of the latter to pull it out of centuries of poverty with a view to solving some of the pressing problems of his own country.

Returning to his own country, which is pulsating with a new life under the wise guidance of King Muhammad V, he began to look for ways of canalizing the new mood of the people into the service of the country. It did not take him long to hit upon the idea of joining the two former zones of the country which had remained separated from each other as a result of the French and Spanish imperialist policies, not to speak of the adverse effect upon the economic development of the country as a whole. The north was divided from the south, which had no outlet towards the Mediterranean for its products. Mr. Ben Berka conceived the idea of removing this obstacle not by spending public money but by mobilizing the self-sacrificing mood of the country. With the support of King Muhammad V he made an appeal to the youth of between the ages of 20 and 25 asking it to give one month's free manual labour on the construction of the road joining the two zones. This road, he said, was to be named the Unity Road — a symbol of the re-unification of Morocco and unity behind His Majesty the King.

The response to the appeal was so overwhelmingly spontaneous and great that 36,000 young men offered their services within a matter of a few days. On 9th June 1957 a National Committee for the Unity Road was formed. The task which the Committee set itself was to construct a road of 60 kilometres long from Taounate to Ketama in the north of Morocco and to organize a camp where during the course of three months some 12,000 volunteers from all parts of Morocco had to work in three batches of 4,000 each. The entire scheme was so conceived and organized that it has built not a mere road but a large section of young men who have been endowed with a sense of dedicating themselves in the service of the community and of enabling them to develop their civic sense, which during their camp life of one month was fed and rationalized by a regular course of lectures. The result of this scheme is that volunteers, who were given tents, blankets, mess-kits and uniforms,



*The location of the Unity Road.*

have returned to their homes to carry on the work of educating a wider circle of people among whom they live..

In addressing the young volunteers, Mr. Ben Berka said : " The

key to success is in the will to serve. The country is in need of fore-runners, of enthusiasts who have the constant wish to uplift the masses with their support and give them the wherewithal of thinking."



*The Crown Prince of Morocco, Moulay Hasan, identifies himself with the youth of Morocco by using the pick-axe to break sods on the Unity Road. Behind him are standing high officials of the Kingdom of Morocco, Mr. Muhammad Douiri, the Minister of Works (second from left), being one of them.*

The project was inaugurated on 5th July 1957 by His Majesty, who used a pick-axe to cut the first sod. The road took three months to complete. This road has reduced the journey between Taounate and Ketama. The port of Alhucemas has now been connected with its natural hinterland. In terms of money it is worth recording that the Unity Road cost about \$500,000 instead of the \$1,000,000 which would have been required if the road was built with paid labour.

The young Moroccans have built not only a road 60 kilometres long but also 4 bridges, ranging from 40 metres to 12 metres long, and 30 aqueducts. On the 1st October 1957, the last batch of 4,000 young Moroccans marched past His Majesty the King at Fez suffused with joy that they had helped a little to build their country.

On the completion of the Unity Road, the King said: " The Unity Road has expanded the means of communication between the North and the South ; it ensures the integration and reunification of the country, for which We have struggled and for which We have been waiting so impatiently."

الله

نور السموات والأرض

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

## SLAVERY AMONG THE ANCIENTS, CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM

Islam is the first socio-religious system to take cognizance of the  
degradation of slavery

By THE LATE MUHAMMAD 'ALI

**"Thus while the Gospels fail to say a single word of kind treatment to slaves, the Holy Qur'an enjoines in forcible words and gives it the same importance as it gives to Divine worship and kindness to parents, deeds whose faithful observance is an essential condition for being a true Muslim."**

### TREATMENT OF SLAVES BEFORE ISLAM

Slavery has been condemned so often and so unconditionally that a writer, who must look at things with a calm and dispassionate mind and condemn every evil though it wears the garb of a virtue and praise every virtue though it is generally denounced as an evil, may be excused for saying at the very commencement of such a subject that slavery has been a necessity in the evolution of mankind and that society in certain stages of its growth and under certain circumstances was not only justified, but even bound to have recourse to it. There are many institutions still prevailing in the world which create a just horror in the mind, but which have to be tolerated for other ends. Not a tear comes to the eye of an exultant victor when he sinks ten thousand men to the bottom of the sea or bombards a town with thousands of innocent women and children in it, but it is not always just to denounce him as a hard-hearted tyrant for the terrible loss which he thus inflicts on humanity. Why is it then that men who shudder at the cold-blooded murder of a single individual are not horrified, nay, are sometimes pleased, when they see hundreds of thousands of their enemies falling down under their own fire? This is because war has ever been a necessity of life and it is so to this day.

As we go back into the history of mankind, we find war filling an important place, more important perhaps than it does now, in the organization of human society. Slavery was a necessary condition of war, and was in fact an immense

improvement on the more ancient usage according to which the captives were put to death. "But it is not so well understood," says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition), "that slavery discharged important offices in the latter social evolution — first by enabling military action to prevail with the degree of intensity and continuity requisite for the system of incorporation by conquest which was its final destination, and secondly, by forcing the captives, who with their descendants came to form the majority of the population in the conquering community, to an industrial life, in spite of the antipathy to regular and sustained labour which is deeply rooted in human nature, especially in the earlier stages of the social movement, when insouciance is so common a trait and irresponsibility is hailed as a welcome relief. With respect to the latter consideration, it is enough to say that nowhere has productive industry developed itself in the form of voluntary effort; in every country of which we have any knowledge, it was imposed by the strong upon the weak, and was wrought into the habits of the people only by the stern discipline of constraint. From the former point of view the free man, then essentially a warrior, and the slave were mutual auxiliaries, simultaneously exercising different and complementary functions—each necessary to the maintenance and furthering the activity of the other, and thus co-operating, without competition or conflict, towards a common public end."



## The Israelite law on slavery and murder

The gradual substitution of slavery for murder of the captives is well illustrated in Israelite law and practice. In Ex. 22:20, it is said that "he that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed". So in Deut. 13:15-18, where concerning an idolatrous city the commandment is given that "thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly, and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword. And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it in the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof, every whit for the Lord thy God: and it shall be an heap for ever; it shall not be built again". Again in Deut. 20:16-17, "But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites". These commandments are further related to have been carried into execution in practice. In Nu. 21-3, we read that when the Canaanites were vanquished, the Israelites "utterly destroyed them and their cities". So also in Judg. 1:17: "And Judah went with Simeon, his brother, and they slew the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it". For other instances of general slaughter of the enemy, see Judg. 21:10-12, where the inhabitants of Jabeshgilead are all described to have been smitten "with the edge of the sword, with the women and the children"; Josh. 6:24, where the Israelites are stated to have "burnt the city (Jericho) with fire; and all that was therein"; 1 S. 15:3, where they are commanded to "go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass"; and 1 Ch. 4:41, where the children of Ham are said to have been destroyed. This furnishes good reading for the Christian missionaries who blame Islam for having taken up the sword in self-defence. But captives of war also began to be taken as slaves in Israelite law so that being spared, they did service for their masters, and this was no doubt an improvement upon the old institution. The usual practice seems to have been, however, that the men were put to death while the women and children were reduced to slavery (see Deut. 20:10-14). Among the Israelites, however, war, which can easily be seen to be a justifiable source of slavery, was not the only source. They bought slaves in foreign markets and the neighbourhood of Phoenicians who were notorious as slave-dealers probably afforded them greater facility in such transactions.

## Slavery among the Israelites

The position of slaves among the Israelites was not, however, very unsatisfactory. The slave has generally been looked upon among the Semites as a member of the family and hence the master's kind treatment towards him. In this respect the position of the slave among all Semite people was far above his position among other people. The master's right in the slave was no doubt unlimited, but he was not entitled to kill him. But an exception was here made in the master's favour, viz., if in chastising the slave, the master inflicted upon him such severe injury of which the slave died, he was exempted from punishment if an interval of at least a day elapsed between the death and the maltreatment. The loss of the slave was in such a case deemed a sufficient penalty (Ex. 21:20, 21). If a free man killed another man's slave or brought about his death, he was required only to

pay compensation of 30 shekels (Ex. 21:32). The position of Israelite slaves was far more satisfactory than that of non-Israelites. The latter remained slaves all their lives while the former had a legal right to manumission after six years without paying anything (Ex. 1:2). The Hebrew female slave could not be married to a non-Israelite slave, but was taken by the master or by his son. When the Hebrew slave was made free after six years, the master was required not to send him away empty, but to give him a liberal present from his flock and other property (Deut. 15:13, 14). But the foreign slave did not enjoy any of these benefits. His lot was harder. But he was admitted to the family worship: in fact he was not allowed to worship after his own fashion. This circumstance, however, rendered the condition of the alien slave better, for the brotherhood in faith made the master more lenient and kind.

## Slavery in Greece and Rome

I will add a few words about the existence of the institution of slavery in Greece and Rome. Besides capture in war there were many other sources of slavery in Greece. Even free parents sold their children, who thus became slaves. Besides these there were other slaves on the market for sale. Slaves were made even by piracy and kidnapping. The number of slaves in the great Greek centres of civilization was enormous. There are said to have been 460,000 slaves at Athens with a population of 21,000 free citizens. Corinth is said to have possessed at this period 460,000 slaves and Ægina 470,000. These figures have been considered by some critics to be excessive, but there is no doubt that the number of slaves was very large, and the smallest supposition gives the ratio of slaves to free native population as 3 to 1.

Among the Romans the first slaves no doubt came through war. But with the increase of wealth there was an increased demand for slave labour, and this was supplied partly by an increase in the number of captives made in war and partly by resorting to slave trade. The following information is taken from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:<sup>1</sup> "In Epirus, after the victories of Æmilius Paulus, 150,000 captives were sold. The prisoners at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae were 90,000 Teutons and 60,000 Cimbri. Caesar sold on a single occasion in Gaul 63,000 captives. Augustus made 44,000 prisoners in the country of Salassi; after immense numbers had perished by famine and hardships and in the combats of the Arena, 97,000 slaves were acquired by the Jewish war." The ratio of the free population to slaves in Italy between 146 B.C. and A.D. 235 was one to three, their respective numbers being about 8,944,000 and 20,832,000. The wealthier Romans possessed large armies of slaves. A freeman of the time of Augustus left as many as 4,116 slaves by his will. Extensive slave trade seems thus to have been carried on both in Greece and Italy.

The condition of slaves in Greece was better than in Rome. But even in Greece, with the exception of domestic slaves, their lot was far from being easy. "The agricultural labourers were not infrequently chained, and treated much in the same way as beasts of burden." The evidence of slaves, men as well as women, was taken by torture. Mutilation or serious injury to the slave entitled the master, and not the slave, to compensation. By the Roman law the master had absolute authority over the slave, and could even put him to death at his will. As the number of slaves increased, and superintendence by the master over their work became more difficult, the practice was introduced of chaining the slaves during working hours. Even the porter at the gate was

<sup>1</sup> 11th Edition.

chained. Examples of good and kind treatment were not wanting, but the general condition of the slaves was degraded and unhappy. "The lighter punishments inflicted by masters were commonly personal chastisement or banishment from the house to rural labour; the severe were employment in the mill or relegation to the mines or quarries. To the mines speculators also sent slaves; they worked half-naked, men and women, in chains under the lash and guarded by soldiers. Vedius Pollio, in the time of Augustus, was said to have thrown his slaves, condemned sometimes for trivial mistakes or even accidents, to the lampreys in his fishpond."

### Christianity and slavery

It was in the Roman Empire that Christianity arose and it was here that it could have effected any betterment in the condition of slaves. When Jesus Christ preached, the condition of slaves was no doubt the worst, yet we do not find a *single* word in His utterances enjoining, if nothing more, better treatment towards the slaves. He did not say a single word, at least nothing is recorded, against the cruelties and tortures inflicted on this helpless class. It is surprising to find such a learned writer as the late Sir William Muir blaming the Prophet Muhammad for not abolishing slavery at once, when he knows that the founder of Christianity never raised his voice even against the cruel treatment of slaves and the disgraceful traffic in slaves which was prevalent in his day. Its serious omission on the part of Jesus Christ made Christianity as a religion quite indifferent to the severe tortures and degraded position of the enormous slave population. In fact, the only good influence on the institution of slavery claimed for Christianity is that it proclaimed the brotherhood of man, but this is only an assertion. The brotherhood of man was not specially proclaimed by Christianity. It was a doctrine taught by all the prophets of God. As regards the gradual improvement in the position of slaves in the Roman Empire, it was in no way due to the influence of Christianity. The reform had begun before Christianity became a predominant religion in the Roman Empire. As early as the second century the law had begun to exercise its influence in favour of liberty. The practices of the exposure and sale of children were forbidden. Kidnapping, which was another source of slavery, was punished with death. The power of life and death was taken away from the master by Hadrian, who succeeded to the throne in 117 C.E. Emperor Nero (54 to 68 C.E.) had long before ordered the courts to receive the slaves' complaint of ill-treatment. These modifications came independent of the influence of Christianity, which was as yet struggling for its own existence. In fact, Christianity, instead of exercising any wholesome influence on pagan customs, was itself influenced by the pagan usages with which it came into contact. Its fundamental principles are many of them taken from the pagans. The reform which had begun before the dominance of Christianity was even hampered in its onward progress by the Christian emperors. This retrogression can be easily discovered in Constantine's removing the prohibition of the sale of children. It is asserted that certain harsh features of the institution of slavery were softened by Christianity, but the fact is, as I have shown above, that the reform had begun long before the influence of Christianity was felt in the Roman world, and this reform should naturally have gone on when Christianity became a dominant element, without receiving any impetus from that religion. As to the direct influence of its preaching the brotherhood of man, I do not see any force in this assertion. The equality preached by Christianity has always been an empty word. Here is a

Christian testimony: "The brotherhood in the faith in Islam now, as in Israel of old, is not, as unfortunately it has come to be in the Christian world, a mere empty phrase, but a very real force" (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, column 4658). How can we say that the harshness in the institution of slavery was softened by Christianity when we find the horrors of the amphitheatre prevailing under the Christian emperors of Rome so late as the time of Justinian?

From the condition of slavery as sanctioned by two great religions, Judaism and Christianity, and two great nations of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans, it is clear that the evil effect of this institution which served a useful purpose in one direction was lamentable and profoundly detrimental in the other. The slaves were generally kept ignorant, treated with cruelty and looked upon as made only to do menial service and never to partake in the dignity of their masters. Absolute authority over the person of the slave, on the other hand, made the master a petty tyrant and he treated the slave more like a beast than a human being. The influence of Christianity was, therefore, most harmful from a moral and social point of view, and the most important reform needed in this institution was that relating the relations of the master and the slave. The Jewish law had no doubt many softened features, but as a whole slavery among all these nations had a hardening effect upon the morals of the master and a degrading effect upon the position of the slave. The Christian religion, with all its later pretensions, did not do anything to remedy these evils. Before describing the other reforms introduced by the religion of Islam in the institution of slavery, and the extent to which it abolished slavery, I will say something about the treatment of slaves enjoined by the Prophet Muhammad. The reader will thus see the mighty reform introduced by Islam in the relations of the master and the slave, a reform which practically abolished all the evils of slavery and while tolerating it for certain objects to a very limited extent put an end to the abuse of this institution.

### TREATMENT OF SLAVES IN ISLAM

If the chief object in the abolition of slavery should be the lessening of the horrors and cruelties exercised by the master in exacting service from his fellow-beings and to raise the class employed in menial service from its position of degradation, Islam achieved it 1,300 years ago, earlier than at any time in the West.

The degradation which attached to the position of a slave in ancient times and more recently among the civilized Christian colonists, and which attaches still to the position of all subordinates and the poorer classes, was dissociated from slavery by Islam, not only in theory but also in practice. With the advent of Islam the relations of a master with his servant or his slave, so far as slaves were retained, became those of a brother with a brother. The master shared in his slave's humble services while the slave participated in his master's dignity. This was true not only of masters in the humbler ranks of society, but even of the highest dignitaries in the land.

### The Qur'an on the treatment of slaves

I will consider first the teaching of the Holy Qur'an with regard to the treatment of slaves. It says:

"And be true and faithful servants of God, and join not aught with Him in worship; and be good to parents, and to kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and to a neighbour who is a near kinsman, and to a neighbour who is not a relative, and to a companion, and to the wayfarer, and to those whom your right hand holds:

verily, God loves not him who does not care for others' rights and who looks proudly down upon others" (4:39).

In this verse the commandment of doing good to men, among which slaves are particularly mentioned, is mentioned along with the commandment to worship God faithfully. By giving both injunctions in the same breath, it is indicated that the former is no less important than the latter. The whole law is in fact broadly divided into two parts by the Holy Qur'an, viz., worshipping God without joining aught with Him, and doing good to His creatures, and the law is as incomplete without the one as without the other. In the latter commandment some classes of men are particularly mentioned as those whom a man should treat with the utmost kindness and do good to so far as it lies in his power, and the slaves are among those specially mentioned. Thus while the Gospels fail to say a single word of kind treatment to slaves, the Holy Qur'an enjoins in forcible words and gives it the same importance as it gives to Divine worship and kindness to parents, deeds whose faithful observance is an essential condition for being a true Muslim. Hughes admits in his *Dictionary of Islam*: "It has already been shown that both according to the teaching of the Qur'an and also according to the injunctions of Muhammad, as given in the traditions, kindness to slaves is strictly enjoined." It should be noticed that the Holy Qur'an uses the phrase "Those whom your right hands possess" as a description of "slaves", thus indicating that except the captives of war or their offspring, no one can be a slave. This is mentioned only by the way, and the subject of the sources of slavery will be discussed later on. In the concluding words of the verse quoted above, there is again an injunction that those in a lower position should not be looked down upon, for the proud, says the verse, are hated by God.

The universal brotherhood established by Islam was another potent factor in softening the harshness formerly used in treating slaves. Marriages between free women and slaves and between free men and female slaves were allowed (4:29). A Muslim slave girl was to be preferred in marriage to a free woman who was an idol-worshipper, and similarly a Muslim slave was to be preferred to an unbelieving free man in contracting marriage relationships (2:220). Again, slaves were to be freed on various occasions as a propitiation for certain transgressions and this fact impressed upon the Muslims the meritoriousness of doing good to a slave in any form, for a deed could not be an atonement for a sin unless it was inherently righteous. If a slave girl was married to a free man, and she was guilty of an indecency, she was treated more leniently than a free woman (4:30). The marriages of slaves were enjoined: "And marry those among you who have no husbands, and your good servants and your handmaidens. If they are poor, God of His bounty will enrich them." The evils prevailing in pre-Islamic Arabia were abolished. Among these was the evil custom of making slave girls act as prostitutes in order to profit by their earnings of prostitution, which the Holy Qur'an strictly prohibited (24:33).

#### **The precepts of the Prophet Muhammad on the treatment of the slaves**

The first thing to be seen about these precepts of the Holy Qur'an is how they were regarded by the Prophet himself, by his Companions and by the early Muslim society in general. And first the Prophet himself. So strongly did he enjoin kindness to slaves and servants that in contrast with the injunctions laid down in the traditions no one else

can be said to have preached the universal brotherhood of man and kind treatment of slaves or servants. The following words of the Prophet are recorded in the *Sahih* of Bukhari, the most authentic work on traditions:

"Verily your brethren are your slaves: God has placed them under you: whoever then has his brother under him, he should feed him with the food of which he eats, and clothe him with such clothing as he wears. And do not impose upon them a duty which it is beyond their power to perform, or if you command them to do what they are unable to do, then assist them in that affair".

This principle of brotherhood between master and slave, a principle not limited to the domain of theory, but which must be actually carried out in practice by making the slave a partaker in the master's food and clothing, this perfect equality is not met with in the teachings of any other founder of religion or any philanthropist. The Prophet in fact made the position of the slave enviable when he said that had it not been for such and such a thing, "I would have loved to live and die a slave". The slave was not a dumb worker for his master, but his honest and faithful counsellor as well: "The Prophet said, when the slave gives his master good advice or counsel and is sincere in worshipping God, he has a double reward". Much stress is laid in the Islamic law upon the good breeding and education of slave girls. "The Prophet, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, said, 'If a man has a slave girl in his possession, and instructs her in polite accomplishments and gives her a good education without inflicting any chastisement upon her, and then frees her, and marries her, he shall be rewarded with a double reward'." This injunction which requires even slave girls to be well-bred and well-educated should be particularly noted by those who say that Islam requires the women to be kept ignorant. It, moreover, furnishes clear testimony as to the position to which Islam raises the slaves.

There are many other traditions which enjoin kindness to slaves and give the slave an equality with his master. Some of these are given by Lane in his *Arabian Nights*, which have been quoted by Hughes in his *Dictionary of Islam*. Mark the following traditions for instance which are taken by Lane from the *Mishkat*: "Feed your memlooks with food of that which ye eat, and clothe them with such clothing as ye wear; and command them not to do that which they are unable". "He who beats his slave without fault or slaps him on the face, his atonement for this is freeing him." "A man who behaves ill to his slave will not enter into paradise." "Whoever is the cause of separation between mother and child, by selling or giving, God will separate him from his friends on the day of resurrection."

All these traditions afford the clearest and most conclusive evidence that the slave was not considered as a slave in Islam and that he was an equal of his master in all respects, having only a different sphere of action. Even after 1,300 years no philanthropist dare preach, leaving aside practise, the equality between master and servant taught by Islam. I quote some more traditions only to show how great is the stress laid by Islam on this point and how sincerely it desired that the degradation attaching to the position of a slave should be removed. The Caliph 'Ali reports the following words of the Prophet: "Fear God in the matter of prayers and in the matter of those whom your right hands possess". It is also reported that these words were repeated by the Prophet on his deathbed and that these were the last words he uttered. There is no one else whose anxiety for

the slaves was so great. And mark how he couples the injunction to be constant at prayers and thus makes the observance of these two duties as the two pillars of Islam. Nothing is more impressive than the following saying of the Prophet: "Verily my friend Gabriel continued to enjoin on me kindness to slaves until I thought that people should never be taken as slaves or servants." One must shut his eyes to the plainest of injunctions of Islam to say that the system of slavery is so interwoven with the Islamic law that the abolition of slavery upsets the Muslim faith! The truth is that no one had the keen and sincere desire to abolish slavery which the Prophet had. A person once came to him and questioned him as to how many times he should forgive his slave. The Prophet turned away his face. This happened a second and third time. On the fourth occasion when the same question was repeated, the Prophet said: "Forgive thy slave seventy times every day if thou desirest to be rewarded with a good reward for what thou doest." His gentle heart did not even bear the slave to be called by a contemptuous name. It was for this reason that he commanded (c.f. the *Sahih* of Bukhari): "Let no one of you say '*abdi*' (my man-servant), '*amati*' (my maid-servant), but let him say '*Fataa'i*' (my young man), '*Fataati*' (my young maid) and '*Ghulaami*' (my young man or my young boy)." The latter words are applied to slaves as well as free men, while the former are generally applied to slaves only.

### The slave in the early Muslim society

Before describing how these injunctions were observed in practice to the very letter by the early Muslim society, I should dispel a doubt which may have arisen in the mind of the reader, viz., that if the slave was so perfectly the equal of his master and if he was to be treated by the master with such kindness, wherein lay the difference or distinction between them? The Prophet himself explained this point and I need not do more than quote his words as reported by Bukhari: "Every one of you is a ruler and every one of you will be questioned respecting those or that of which he is a ruler; the Amir is a ruler over his people and he shall be questioned respecting them, and the man is a ruler over the people in his house and he shall be questioned respecting them, and a woman is a ruler of the house of her husband and his children and she shall be questioned respecting them, and the servant or slave is a ruler over the property of his master and he shall be questioned respecting it." Everyone then according to the teaching of Islam has a certain sphere of action, and while from one point of view he is dependent upon another, from another point of view he is himself a ruler. Islam does not teach the equality of an anarchist, but the equality which is in consonance with social order and which ensures to every individual the necessary degree of liberty without destroying the social order which is necessary for the progress of humanity. But it should be borne in mind that in thus describing the spheres of action, the Islamic law does not consider any kind of work degrading for any man, or any exercise of power as too high for a man in a lower position. The master must assist his slave when the task is too heavy for him, and the slave or the servant exercises the authority of a master on various occasions. Their mutual relations are governed by the utmost kindness to the slave on the one side and obedience and faithfulness to the master on the other. In all matters where their duties do not interfere, they are by the Islamic law on a platform of equality.

### The practical example of the Prophet in the matter of his treatment of slaves

I will now exemplify these statements by some instances. The Prophet, as he was a teacher, was also an exemplar, and if his words were mightily effective, it was because he himself first set an example by doing what he taught. We have recorded one of his sayings that Gabriel laid so much stress upon kindness to slaves that he thought that people should no more be kept as slaves. In fact such was the sincerest and most earnest desire of his sympathetic soul and the highest ideals of his teachings, and he was leading the world to the ultimate abolition of slavery. From his sayings when we come to his practice, we see that he was the first man to act upon these injunctions. We find that all those who came into his possession as slaves he at once set free. Does it not show clearly what the Prophet meant? But this subject I will discuss later on. At present we have only to see how he treated his servants, for his slaves he always freed. Fourteen or fifteen persons are named who served him on various occasions. And besides this the greatest of his followers deemed it an honour to do him any piece of service. He was moreover the head of the republic at Medina, and later on the ruler of Arabia. But not withstanding all this he would himself mend all his clothes, cobble his shoes, milk his goats and assist his wives in their household duties. He sat at meals like a servant and was always ready to rise to do anything for others. When riding he would take anyone behind him. Anas, one of the Prophet's servants, relates many anecdotes of his kind treatment of his servants. He was so kind that he was never enraged and never beat any of his servants. A maid-servant once being sent on an errand was long in returning, and he chided her in these words: "If it were not for the law of retaliation, I should have punished you with this toothpick." This simple story speaks volumes for itself. Anas says: "I served the Prophet for ten years, and he never said to me so much as *uff* (a word expressive of vexation, displeasure or hatred); and he never said to me when I did a thing, 'Why hast thou done it?' nor when I omitted to do a thing, did he say, 'Why hast thou omitted to do it?' and his treatment was the best of all men." The wife of the Prophet, 'A'ishah, reports that "The Prophet never beat any one of his servants or any woman".

### The position of slaves in early Muslim Society.

The example of the Prophet was followed by his loving followers. On one occasion he gave away a captive of war to one of his Companions, Abu al-Haitham by name, to serve him, and enjoined him to treat him kindly. Abu al-Haitham went to his wife and informed her of the Prophet's gift as well as his injunction. His wife said to him: "Thou canst not carry out this injunction fully except thou free the slave". Thereupon Abu al-Haitham set him free.

Zanba' found one of his slaves in the act of illegal intercourse with one of his slave girls and cut off the slave's nose on account of this crime. The slave came to the Prophet who asked him who had mutilated him. He answered, "Zanba'." Thereupon the Prophet called the man and asked him what led him to take such a step. He related what he had seen. The Prophet said to the slave, "Go and thou art free." Then he said, "O Prophet of God! whose freed man shall I be called?". The Prophet replied, "The freed man of God and His Prophet", and in accordance with these words, which implied a promise that the man thus freed would be supported by him, he and his family were granted maintenance not only during the Prophet's lifetime, but also after

his death by Abu Bakr. When 'Umar succeeded, "the freed-man of God and His Prophet" came to him and desired to go to Egypt, where provision was made for him by 'Umar by a grant of land.

Abu Mas'ud, a Companion of the Prophet, said: "I was beating a slave of mine when I heard behind me a voice, 'Know, O Abu Mas'ud! God is more powerful over thee than thou art over him.' I turned back and saw the Prophet of God and at once said, 'O Prophet of God, he is free now for the sake of God.' The Prophet said, 'If thou hadst not done it, verily fire would have touched thee'."

It is related that Abu Huraira saw upon an occasion that a man was riding while his slave was running after him. He said to the man, "Take him behind thee on thy beast, O servant of God, verily he is thy brother and his soul is like thy soul".

Ma'rur says: "I saw Abu Zarr, one of the Companions of the Prophet, and he was wearing a new garment and his slave was also wearing a new garment of the same description. I questioned him as to this. 'I abused a man (i.e., his slave) and he complained of me to the Prophet. The Prophet said: 'Didst thou attribute evil to his mother?' And then said: 'Verily your slaves are your brethren; Almighty God has placed them under you; whoever then has his brother under him, let him give him food of that which he eats and clothe him with clothing which he wears, and do not command them to do that which they cannot bear, or if you do assist them in their work.'"

'Ali is reported to have said: "Verily I am ashamed of myself when I take as a slave a person who says, 'God is my Lord.'"

"It is related of 'Uthman that he twisted the ear of a slave on account of disobedience, and afterwards repenting of it, ordered him to twist his ear in like manner, but he would not. 'Uthman urged him and the slave advanced and began to wring it little by little. He said to him, 'Wring it hard, for I cannot endure the punishment of the day of judgment' (on account of this act). The slave answered, 'O my master, the day that thou fearest I also fear'."

"It is related also of Zain al-'Abidin that he had a slave who seized a sheep and broke its leg; and he said to him, 'Why didst thou do this?' He answered, 'To provoke thee to anger.' 'And I,' said he, 'will provoke to anger him who taught thee; and he is *Iblis* (i.e., the Devil): go, and be free for the sake of God.'"

High positions were not denied to slaves and freed men. Usama, son of Zaid, who was the freed man of the Prophet, was made a commandant of an army by him. About this time the Prophet died, and Abu Bakr who succeeded him refused to take away the command from him. Nay, when the army departed, Abu Bakr walked some distance in the company of Usama while the latter rode. Usama requested Abu Bakr either to have a horse himself or to allow him to leave the horse and walk on foot. But Abu Bakr did not yield. Again, when the Army went to conquer Egypt, he sent a party to the Roman Governor of Egypt to negotiate for peace, the head of this party being an Abyssinian (the Abyssinians served in Arabia as slaves) named 'Ubadah. When the party came in the presence of the Governor, he desired the Abyssinian to be removed as he looked down upon him and did not like his presence. Upon this the party informed him that he was their chief and would speak for them and that they were bound by what he said. The Governor was surprised and said that they should not have taken a black as their chief, but on being told that excellence among them depended upon a man's worth and not upon

his colour and nationality, the Governor accepted him as the chief of the party.

An incident concerning the Caliph 'Umar illustrates well the position of slaves among the Muslims, and shows how literally the early Muslims obeyed the injunctions of their Prophet. When Abu 'Ubaidah besieged Jerusalem, he was requested that the city would be surrendered provided the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar, himself settled the terms of peace. Abu 'Ubaidah wrote to the Caliph, who at once set out for Medina for the purpose. On this journey he was attended by his servant, but they had only one camel to ride upon. So they rode by turns until they approached Jerusalem. It happened that just at this juncture the servant had his turn to ride. So the Caliph dismounted and asked his servant to ride, and himself ran after the camel until they reached the camp of Abu 'Ubaidah. The general, fearing that the inhabitants of Jerusalem might look with contempt upon the Caliph coming in this state, submitted that it was not becoming for the Caliph to run in this fashion while his servant was riding, for all eyes were turned towards him. Upon this 'Umar said: "No one said before thee, and this thy word will bring a curse upon Muslims. Verily we were the most degraded of all people and the most despised and fewest of all. It was God who gave us honour and greatness through Islam, and if we seek it now in other ways than those enjoined by Islam, God will again bring us into disgrace." By his last words he meant that if the Muslims sought honour by not treating their slaves as their equals and their brethren as enjoined in Islam, they would certainly lose all honour. I ask if any conqueror or any ruler of the smallest State, or any civilized person in a high position, can show such moral courage and such kindness of treatment today! 'Umar was not only a Caliph, but was entering a city as a victor. He knew it was necessary to keep his prestige, lest the besieged should turn against him. But he did not care for any of these considerations.

#### Non-Muslims on the position of slaves on Muslim Society

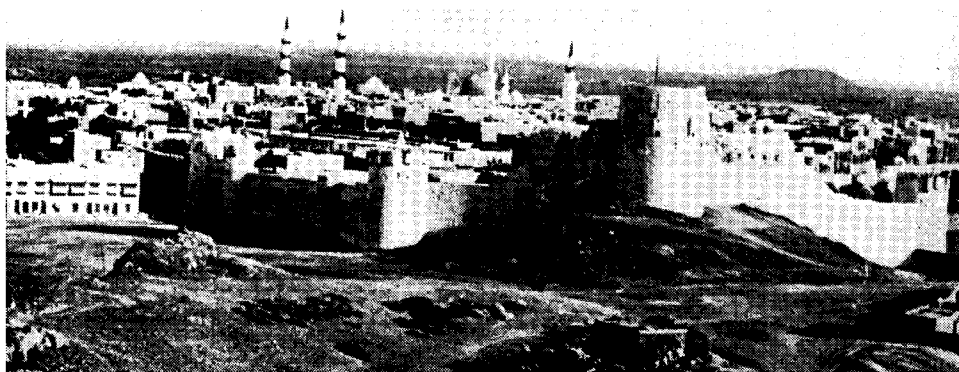
I may, however, add that the precepts of the Prophet have been so imbibed into the blood of the Muslims, or more correctly, I should say, so mighty was the Divine magnetism which the Prophet possessed, that his followers even today surpass all the nations of the earth in their kind treatment of their servants or slaves. Lane writes from his personal experience that the slaves "are generally treated with kindness" in Egypt. Regarding other countries he says that "the general assertions of travellers in the East are more satisfactory evidence in favour of the humane conduct of most Muslims to their slaves". As for the injunctions contained in the Holy Qur'an and the traditions, the same writer remarks that "these precepts are generally attended to either entirely or in great degree". Even Hughes<sup>1</sup> admits "that the treatment of slaves in Muhammadan countries contrasts favourably with that in America, when slavery existed as an institution under Christian people". Writing on Muhammadan slavery, a writer remarks in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition): "The slavery of the Muhammadan East is usually not the slavery of the field, but of the household. The slave is a member of the family, and is treated with tenderness and affection. The Qur'an breathes a considerate and kindly spirit towards the class, and encourages manumission."

Having stated these precepts and facts relating to kindness to slaves, I ask every impartial reader if the slavery

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Islam.*

tolerated by Islam can at all fall under the description of slavery in the sense in which it is generally understood. It is a mistake to say that Islam tolerated slavery, for it cut at the root of each and every evil flowing from it. It made the slave the equal of his master. He was not only nominally a

member of the family, but was actually so. Partaking of the same food, wearing the same clothes and living under the same roof as his master, **not** burdened with overwork, never addressed harshly, never beaten ; the position of the slave was in fact enviable.



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

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

By Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq

### XII

There is a serious divergence of opinion among early Muslim historians with regard to the role of Abu Musa Ash'ari, the Governor of Basrah (from 17 A.H. (638 C.E.) onwards) in the conquest of the province of Ahwaz (Khuzistan). One school maintains that Abu Musa himself conquered the major part under orders from Medina, while another takes the view that about half of the province was already under Muslim sovereignty when he took over the governorship and that the remaining half or so was conquered by other commanders and that the only part which he played in the later phase of the conquest was that he had on two occasions brought contingents from Basrah to reinforce the Muslim armies. The representative of this school is the well-known Sayf Ibn 'Umar. He maintains that when Abu Musa became Governor (Rabi' al-Awwal 17 A.H. (638 C.E.)), the following districts of Ahwaz had already been brought under Muslim rule by his predecessor, 'Utbah Ibn Ghazwan: Manaadhir,<sup>1</sup> Nahr-Tira, Suqa 'l-Ahwaz (capital or Ahwaz) and Surraq (Tabari 4/214). These represented about half of the whole province. The other half, over which Hurmuzan, the Persian ruler of Ahwaz, still held sway, namely, Rama

Hurmuz, Tustar, Junday Sabur, Sus and Bunyaan, was annexed jointly by the armies of Basrah and Kufah under several commanders appointed by 'Umar. And the two occasions on which Abu Musa had brought reinforcements were, according to Sayf, the siege of Sus and that of Tustar.

The second school, represented by Abu Mikhnaf, Ibn Ishaq, Waqidi and Mada'ini, holds that almost the whole of Ahwaz was conquered by Abu Musa in person under orders from 'Umar. Apart from this radical divergence of opinion, there is also disagreement among the two schools over the date of the conquest. According to Sayf, the whole of the large province had come under Muslim domination in one year, namely 17 A.H. (638 C.E.), while other historians spread it over several years, beginning from 15 or 16 A.H. (636 or 637 C.E.) and completing in 19 or 20 A.H. (640 or 641 C.E.). It is indeed difficult to accept the transmissions of Sayf relating to the conquest of Ahwaz as they are self-contradictory in certain places, and raise chronological complexities. (See, for example, Tabari 4/170, 195, 206 and 214.)

The following letters addressed to Abu Musa in connection with the operations in Ahwaz come from historians other than Sayf — historians who say that Abu Musa was the conqueror of Ahwaz.

\* The eleventh article in this series appeared in *The Islamic Review* for August 1957.

<sup>1</sup> See the map.



157. *To Abu Musa Ash'ari.*

"In the name of God, the Most Kind and Merciful. I beg to state that the Persians have massed forces in Ahwaz (i.e., Suqa'l-Ahwaz, the capital), Tustar, Sus Manaadhir and other parts of that region, and are shortly to launch an attack on the Muslims. On receiving this letter make all possible haste to raise an army. Welcome everyone who volunteers for war from Basrah and furnish as big an army as possible and go out to meet the enemy. On reaching their territory the first thing you must do, regardless of any other counsel, is to invite them to the 'true faith' and grant protection to all who accept your invitation. You may benefit by their wealth within the rigid limits of your requirements. Bear these directions carefully in mind and give yourself good advice. Do not force your army to fight without break as this will make them disgusted with war. Treat all well and be polite to everybody. Let it be borne in mind by you that no human being shall enjoy as much esteem with God as a Muslim whose record of worldly conduct is free from all forms of injustice and tyranny. Do justice to the wronged by punishing the wrongdoer. Do your best to restore the broken ties of friendship among people. Exhort the Muslims to read the Qur'an and warn them against Divine retribution. Do not allow them to remember the pre-Islamic traditions or revive the practices of the past as this will lead to hatreds and re-awaken old animosities. Let it be known to you, O son of Qays! that God has guaranteed success and victory to the followers of this religion. You should behave in a way pleasing to Him and avoid doing anything which results in the withdrawal of His favours from you and its conferment upon some other nation. Peace be on you!" (The Futuh, A'tham, p. 65).

158. *To Abu Musa Ash'ari.*

When Abu Musa was besieging Sus, Yazdajird sent a force from Istakhr, the capital of Faris (where he had retired after his defeat at Jaalula, according to Madaa'ini), to reinforce the Sus garrison. Among this force were many high dignitaries of the royal line, known as Asaawirah (commanders of the imperial cavalry). They were still on their way when the Governor of Sus concluded a treaty with the Muslims. In the meantime another Muslim force had secured the submission of the important town of Rama Hurmuz, that lay about 170 Arab miles south-east of Sus (Istakhri, *Masalik al-Mamalik*, Leyden, p. 95). After Sus, Abu Musa laid siege to the city of Tustar, renowned for its strong defence, and a Kufi contingent came up to reinforce him. These high dignitaries of the royal family had already been much impressed by the discipline, unshakable faith and wonderful victories of the Muslims in Iraq and elsewhere, and their recent triumphs at Sus and Rama Hurmuz, and the unfailing flow of reinforcements from Basrah and Kufah convinced them (the dignitaries) of the hopelessness of their own cause. They resolved to become Muslims and sent a delegation to negotiate their conversion with Abu Musa, who was besieging Tustar. Their leader, Siyah Aswaari, put forward the following terms:

- (1) We shall fight the Persians on your side.
- (2) We shall be neutral in your civil war.
- (3) You will help us if we are attacked.
- (4) We shall be free to reside in any Arab city we like.
- (5) We shall be free to affiliate ourselves to any tribe we like.
- (6) We shall be placed in the highest grade of salary (*sharaf-Ataa'*).

(7) The Caliph at Medina will sign our agreement.

As Abu Musa had no authority to agree to the above, he said to the delegation, "Embrace Islam and you shall enjoy all those rights which we enjoy and shoulder all those responsibilities which we shoulder". But they would not accept these spacious terms. Abu Musa referred their demands to Medina. The Caliph accepted all except the one relating to the highest salary. The dignitaries embraced Islam and joined their Muslim brethren in the fierce siege of Tustar. One day Abu Musa complained to Siyah, the leader of the new converts, of their half-hearted participation in the fighting. Siyah said that he and his party were new to the faith and as such did not possess the same religious earnestness and resolution of purpose as did other Muslims. "Moreover," he complained, "you have not given us the highest salary." Abu Musa conveyed these remarks of Siyah to 'Umar, who wrote:

"Place them, keeping in view their respective claims to bravery and merit, in the first category, and give them the highest salary given to any Arab" (Sayf in Tabari 4/128-19, and the *Futuh* of Baladhuri, p. 380).

Abu Musa allotted to one hundred of them the first-grade salary of 2,000 dirhams a year and to six of their leading men the distinctive scale (*sharaf-Ataa'*) of 2,500 dirhams a year. 'Umar had fixed 2,000 dirhams per annum as the annual salary of those who had taken part in the first great Iraqi battle of Qadisiyyah and 2,500 for those who had performed acts of extraordinary heroism in it. The participants of the subsequent wars received less.

159. *To Abu Musa Ash'ari.*

When the Muslims entered Sus after the conclusion of a treaty with its governor, they found in the palace a corpse wrapped in embroidered silk. Nearby lay a heap of money and a letter which read: "One in need of money can borrow from here and return it within a fixed period otherwise he will become a leper". An inquiry by Abu Musa revealed that the corpse was the Prophet Daniyal's (Daniel). A serious famine had broken out in Sus one year owing to the failure of rains. The city elders were informed that the prayers of Daniyal were effective in bringing rains. The prophet at that time was in Babil (ancient Babylon). A delegation from Sus visited Babil and requested the prophet to bless Sus with his presence. But the local authorities disallowed his going to a foreign land. To secure him the delegation had to furnish fifty hostages. Under the spell of Daniyal's prayers rain fell and the famine cleared. Before his return to Babil, Daniyal fell ill and died at Sus. His corpse was mummified and placed with extreme reverence in the governor's palace. Abu Musa reported the matter to the Caliph, who wrote (A'tham, p. 64, and the *Futuh* of Baladhuri, p. 386):

"Shroud the corpse, embalm it, pray (the funeral prayers) over it, then bury it as other messengers, may they be blessed by God, have been buried. Reckon the money found by the side of the corpse and deposit it in the public treasury" (*Kitab al-Amwal* by Ibn Sallaam, p. 344, and *Kanz* 6/310).

160. *Second version.*

"Bathe the corpse, embalm and shroud it, offer the funeral prayers and bury it" (Jana'iz-Marvazi, *Kanz* 6/310).

161. *To Abu Musa Ash'ari.*

Among early historians, A'tham has referred to this letter, and among later writers Muhammad Taqi has mentioned it in his *Nasikh al-Tawarikh*. The former has

given its contents only, the latter also its text. From a comparison of the contents and contexts of the letter in the two books, and also from the fact that Muhammad Taqi very often quotes A'tham in his narratives, it appears to me very probable that he had taken the contents from A'tham's *Futuh* and put them in the direct speech of a letter. As for its context, it is said that when Abu Musa, after conquering Sus, advanced towards Tustar (which lay at a distance of 50 Arab miles to the south-east of Sus in Upper Ahwaz — Istakhri, p. 59, and *'Aalaq al-Nafisah* by Ibn Rustah, Leyden, p. 188), his spies reported that Hurmuzan (the ruler of unconquered Ahwaz) was already there with his treasures (which he had brought from his capital, Rama Hurmuz), that he had raised a strong force of the Kurds and Persians and that a second one from Yazdajird had also joined him. The total strength of Hurmuzan's army stood at 60,000 strong against less than 10,000 Muslims. Upon the impending battle depended the fate of Hurmuzan. Tustar was a walled town on the bank of the river Dujayl and surrounded by mountainous country. Its walls were very strong and high, and lately Hurmuzan had further strengthened them. He had stored arms and fodder enough for a long siege (*Akhbar al-Tiwal* by Dinawari, Cairo, p. 137). Within the walls of the town, and situated on a hillock, lay a fort which was regarded as unconquerable. Here Hurmuzan deposited his treasure. It was his last refuge.

When Abu Musa and his advisers knew the facts about the formidable defences of Tustar and the preparations of Hurmuzan, they felt it necessary to ask the Caliph for reinforcements. 'Umar issued two orders, one to 'Ammar, the Governor of Kufah, and the other to Jarir Bajali, the garrison commander at Hulwaan, to rush to the help of Abu Musa. The new reinforcements raised Abu Musa's strength to 20,000. A portion of it was diverted under two generals (Jarir and Nu'man Muqarrin) to Rama Hurmuz (the capital of Hurmuzan, about 100 Arab miles south-east of Tustar (cf. Istakhri, p. 95)), to persuade its inhabitants to embrace Islam and to intercept any reinforcements from that region going to Tustar. Jarir pitched his camp near the city walls (of Rama Hurmuz) and Nu'man Ibn Muqarrin turned to its suburbs and conquered two forts. As the citizens of Rama Hurmuz did not accept Islam, Jarir laid siege to it. After some furious engagements with the Muslims, the forces of Rama Hurmuz were defeated and put to flight. Their women, children and movable property was seized and divided by the Muslims as spoils of war. The news of the event shocked Abu Musa, who was still besieging Tustar. Summoning a meeting of the elders, he said: "I had given six months' respite to the citizens of Rama Hurmuz to think over their conversion, but Jarir and his Kufi lieutenants, acting in haste, laid siege to the city before the expiry of the respite and forced them into defeat, seized their women, cattle and property. What is your opinion on this grave matter?" They advised him to submit a report of the event to Medina. Though 'Umar was much distressed by the report, he could hardly believe that Jarir had acted contrary to the order of Abu Musa. The matter was both serious as well as complicated and called for an immediate enquiry. He did not write to Abu Musa, whose position then was that of a plaintiff, but appointed from amongst prominent companions in his army an inquiry committee of which Anas Ibn Malik, Hudhayfah Yamaan and Baraa' Ibn Malik are some noted names:

2 Some traditionists claim that the siege lasted as long as eighteen months or two years (cf. *The Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd (Notice of Hurmuzan), 5/64).

*"Thoroughly investigate this matter. Ascertain whether Abu Musa had given the people of Rama Hurmuz six months' respite (as he claims) and whether he had given them a written undertaking to this effect. Ask Abu Musa also, on oath, to declare that he had given the respite, and if it is proved that the respite was given (and Jarir had attacked Rama Hurmuz before its expiry), then return every slave and slave girl brought from Rama Hurmuz, and if a woman from there has become pregnant by a Muslim, detain her until delivery. After it, give her the option between staying with the Muslims and going back to Rama Hurmuz"* (*Nasikh al-Tawarikh*, Book II, leaf 152, and A'tham, p. 65).

It is strange that the letter refers only to the return and option of the slaves (in case it was proved that Abu Musa had given six months' respite) and is silent over the return of the property taken from Rama Hurmuz and the payment of the blood-money (*Diyah*) of those killed by the Muslims. Our narrators are unmindful of this serious omission. They do not tell us why the Caliph ordered the return of the slaves and did not order the restoration of the property and the payment of *Diyah* to the families of the killed, which he should have done. They create another puzzling situation. They say, after recording the letter, that the pregnant women were detained until delivery, then given option (which means that the claim of Abu Musa to the violation of the respite was proved), and then they make an irrelevant statement, viz., that the Caliph addressed Abu Musa a condemnatory letter for his baseless charge against Jarir.

#### 162. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

Of all the towns of Ahwaz, Manaadhir and Tustar offered the Muslims the most stubborn resistance. Both had formidable natural defences. As opposed to most Persian cities, Manaadhir did not come to terms with the Muslims and fought to the last, and so was Tustar determined not to make peace with the invaders. But after a long and bloody siege,<sup>2</sup> the treachery of a Persian who guided the Muslims to the town by means of a secret passage opening in the river Dujayl forced it to surrender. The whole garrison was put to the sword except Hurmuzan and his family. The women and children were enslaved. For those women who were pregnant, 'Umar sent Abu Musa this directive:

*"No Muslim is to go unto a pregnant woman before delivery. Don't (O Muslims!) share with the dualists their children. Indeed, the child takes shape from the water (semen)"* (Ibn Abi Shaybah in his *Musannaf*, Kanz 5/169, and *Izalah* 2/115).

#### 163. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

The following letter contains an important piece of legislation. It bears, like many other measures of the Caliph, the stamp of his own discretion (*Ijtihad*); for it has direct sanction of neither the Qur'an nor the Sunnah. It is said that Abu Musa asked 'Umar permission to levy a customs duty on foreign non-Muslim traders visiting Muslim territory, as the Muslim merchants in foreign lands were taxed 10 per cent of their commodities. The Caliph not only permitted the duty on foreign merchants but also imposed one on the *Dhimmi* and Muslim merchants.

*"Take from the foreign (Harbi) merchants when they visit our country one-tenth (of the estimated cost of merchandise) which is taken from the Muslims in the foreign countries (Dar al-Harb). Take from the Dhimmi (merchant) one-fifth (of the estimated cost of merchandise) and from the Muslim (merchant) five dirhams (for a merchandise) of two hundred*



dirhams and one dirham for every increase of forty dirhams (in the price of the merchandise)" (*Kitab al-Kharaj* by Yahya Ibn 'Adam Qurashi, Cairo, p. 173).

The wording of this letter suggests that the Muslims were exempt from duty on all commodities valued at less than 200 dirhams, whereas the non-Muslims, both *Dhimmis*

and non-*Dhimmis*, had to pay it even on commodities of lesser value. The letter cited by Abu Yusuf in his *Kitab al-Kharaj* is, however, more precise. According to it both the Muslims and non-Muslims were exempt from the duty on merchandise of less than 200 dirhams (Abu Yusuf, Cairo, p. 161).

## A Study of The Contemporary Muslim Political Thought as reflected in Indonesia

### The Trend of Muslim Political Thought Today

### The Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama are trying to work out an Islamic form of Western democracy

By MUNAWAR SJADAZALI

**The Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama believe that Islam is not separable from politics and are faced with the problem of reconciling the authority of Parliament with Revelation as the mainspring of law**

The political, economic and social ideas of both the Masjumi<sup>1</sup> and the Nahdatul Ulama are based on the assumption that Islam is not only a religion but a way of life complete in itself. Thus Islam is not separable from politics. The ideas can be summarized as follows.

With regard to the political system, both the Masjumi and Nahdatul Ulama are explicitly agreed, although expressed in different words, that the State should be based on the sovereignty of the people and for the interest of the people in the same way as in the Western democratic countries. The Masjumi has explicitly stipulated that according to Islam, women should be given equal rights with men, political as well as civil.

The Nahdatul Ulama has not done this so far. But I think, judged by what they are doing now, they are in agreement with the Masjumi in this respect.

In asserting that both the Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama can accept Western democracy as a political system which is in conformity with the Islamic teaching, it does not mean that they both do it without any reservations. They, being Muslims, could not accept the thesis that Parliament, elected by the people, is supreme and omnipotent as law-makers.

This is the crucial problem which so far has not been satisfactorily solved. This is because this problem is merely a manifestation of the existence of a conflict between two contradictory legal systems which ought to be faced by everybody who wants to reconcile any two systems, based respectively on religion and secular theory. I say a conflict of two contradictory legal systems, because according to Islam the mainspring of law is the Revelation, or Al-Qur'an, and the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, or in other words, none of the earthly institutions has an absolute legislative power. Democracy, on the other hand, is based on the principle that law is an expression of the public will, and that the legislative power of the elected parliament is legally

absolute, and in the case of the United States, that of the electorate is final.

Both the Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama are equally concerned about the possibility that law repugnant to the Islamic teaching embodied in the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, the Tradition of the Prophet, will be enacted, if Parliament is entrusted with absolute legislative power. These two Muslim parties are both searching for adequate safeguards against this possibility, and each proposes a conception which is different from the other, but based on the same principle — the denial of the assumption that the Parliament has absolute legislative power. Some Masjumi leaders propose that to provide an adequate safeguard against the possibility of the enactment of laws repugnant to the Islamic teaching, there should be a Supreme Court or another body outside the Parliament with the authority to judge, when the question arises, whether a certain law is really contrary to Islamic teaching, with the understanding that the decision of this body would be final. But so far this proposal is not clear, especially since the Masjumi's concept with regard to the system and the organization of the Government is not yet clear.

These two Muslim organizations do not object to the Western European parliamentary system, in which the head of a State is without real responsibility. Besides, the Council of Ministers, which constitutes the real executive, is responsible to the Parliament. However, their preference is for a presidential system in which, like that in the United States, the Head of State is also the real executive who actually runs the country's affairs. But what is rather confusing is that, according to the Masjumi's conception, the President, as the real executive, should be responsible to the Parliament, or in short, the combination between the American presidential system and the Western European

<sup>1</sup> In this article the word Masjumi is spelt as in Indonesia, although when read in English the word does not approximate to the pronunciation in Indonesia; for in Indonesia the letters *sj* stand for *sh* in English. The word Masjumi is an abbreviation of the full title of the Party, which is *Majlis Shura Muslimin Indonesia*.

parliamentary system, a combination which seems to be impossible.

### **The Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama and the American political system**

It seems to me that the emergence of this idea is mostly due to a misunderstanding of the American political system. If I am not mistaken, under the present American system, the President and his Cabinet are not responsible to the Congress.



*K. H. Idham Khalid, President of the Nahdatul Ulama (literally the Renaissance of the Learned) Party.*

*Mr. Khalid is also Vice-President in the Djuanda Government.*

*The Nahdatul Ulama is the single largest political party of Indonesia.*

The inter-relation between the President as the head of the Executive and the Congress is regulated under the principle of separation of power, supplemented by the system of checks on balances. Under the system we cannot say that the President is responsible to the Congress in a sense that the President will stay in his office only as long as he enjoys the confidence of the majority of the two Houses of the Congress, and should resign as soon as he is deprived of such confidence. Instead, both the President and the Congress are

accountable separately to the electorate, and they have their respective terms of office fixed by the Constitution, and, except in a very extraordinary case, they cannot be removed from their respective offices just because they cease to enjoy the confidence of the people. Introduction of the principle of executive responsibility to the Parliament into the presidential system thus means that the presidential system cannot work. Because by accepting this, it would mean that no fixed term of office could be provided for the executive, since whenever the Parliament might tender a vote of no-confidence in him, under the principle of executive responsibility he would have to resign. If such a system is applied,



*Muhammad Natsir, General Chairman of the Masjumi (abbreviation of Majlis Shura Muslimin Indonesia) Party. Masjumi is the second biggest political party of Indonesia.*

the country is bound to have not only frequent crises of government but also frequent changes of the Head of State — an intolerable situation.

If the confusion can be removed or clarified, however, and what Masjumi leaders actually have in mind is a political system similar to the American system, the idea is more defensible. This is because under such a system the Supreme Court, in addition to its authority to judge whether an act or draft bill is constitutional or unconstitutional, would also be provided with the authority to judge whether an act or draft bill passed by the Parliament is repugnant or in conformity with the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet.

In American constitutional history we find that on some occasions when the Constitution itself was not clear, what the Supreme Court set forth was not the words of the Constitution, but rather the opinion of the Supreme Court itself. And in this case, if the Court's decision that the Act of Congress

in question is unconstitutional means that the Act becomes null, it is questionable whether this practice is justifiable from the point of view of the democratic method. Since, in this instance, the Supreme Court is rather the third chamber in addition to the Senate and House of Representatives ; and it is of course very untenable if the opinion of an unelected body like the Supreme Court — which does not reflect the Constitution — is superior to that of the popularly elected bodies (the Senate and the House of Representatives). The same defect is also found in the Supreme Court proposed by some Masjumi leaders in connection with the safeguarding against the enactment of bills repugnant to the Qur'an and Traditions. In case the Qur'an and the Traditions of the

The Nahdatul Ulama, like the Masjumi, prefers the presidential system to the Western European parliamentary system. But the Nahdatul Ulama's conception in some respects is clearer than that of Masjumi, although it is not free from ambiguities. In the Nahdatul Ulama political programme something is mentioned about the desirability of having a fixed term for the presidency. Moreover, there is no stipulation in the Nahdatul Ulama's political programme that the President, as the head of the executive, is responsible to Parliament. Instead, the Nahdatul Ulama believes that the President should be accountable to the people, which can be interpreted to mean the electorate and not necessarily the representatives of the people in the Parliament.

### **The safeguards proposed by the Nahdatul Ulama and the Masjumi against the possibility of the enactment of law repugnant to the Qur'an and the Traditions**

With regard to a safeguard against the possibility of the enactment of law repugnant to the Qur'an and the Traditions, the Nahdatul Ulama propose another constitutional device. Instead of proposing the establishment of another body outside the Parliament, they so far prefer to find that safeguard within the Parliament. Like the Masjumi, the Nahdatul Ulama prefers the bicameral system to the unicameral one, viz., a Parliament consisting of two Houses, the Upper and Lower one, rather than a Parliament which only consists of a single chamber. But according to the Masjumi's conception, the Upper House of the Senate should be composed of the representatives of the provinces — units equivalent to the Senates in the United States — who are also popularly elected, the Nahdatul Ulama proposes that in addition to those who represent the provinces there should be some members of the Upper House who are drawn from the Muslim scholars. So the membership of the Upper House would be mixed — some popularly elected and some appointed. And to borrow the Nahdatul Ulama's own words, "The final consideration lies in the Upper House". And herein lies the confusion, because the phrase used is an equivocal one. The phrase "final consideration" can be interpreted as "final word", which also means that the Upper House shall possess legislative power superior or equal to the popularly elected Lower House, like the United States Senate. On the other hand, the words "final consideration" can also be interpreted as "final reflection", which means that the Upper House should not be more than *une chambre de reflexion* — a chamber for reflection or for second thoughts, without a real legislative power, like the French Council of the Republic and the British House of Lords.

If the Nahdatul Ulama intends to give the Upper House as much power as that given by the American Constitution to the United States Senate, the question will arise whether it is not inconsistent with the democratic basic principle if a body, some of whose members are not popularly elected, enjoy a real legislative power superior or equal to that of the popularly elected body as the House of Representatives. On the other hand, if what the Nahdatul Ulama has in mind is that the Upper House, wherein the unelected Muslim scholars sit, should be only *une chambre de reflexion*, in case a conflict between it and the elected Lower House arises, the latter's words should prevail, the question will arise whether this system has provided an adequate safeguard against the possibility of the enactment of law repugnant to the Qur'an and the Traditions, and whether this system is not against the principle of the superiority of the Qur'an and the Traditions over worldly institutions.

This is the effort of both the Masjumi and Nahdatul Ulama parties to work out an Islamic form of Western



*Kjai Hadji Abdul Wahhab Chasbullah, General Chairman of the Nahdatul Ulama (literally the Renaissance of the Learned) Party.*

Prophet are not clear, the opinion expressed by the Supreme Court on whether the Act in question is consistent with those two main springs of the law would be the Supreme Court's own opinion. And logically the question will arise whether this is not against democratic principles. Again, the American Constitution is man-made, and can be amended through a special procedure, if the electorate are determined to do so. But no body can do the same with the Qur'an.

democracy. Now I shall proceed to analyze the question of the status of the Head of the State or the presidency, which will be very brief.

#### **The views of the Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama on the status of the Head of the State**

With regard to the status of the Head of the State or the presidency, both the Masjumi and Nahdatul Ulama are agreed that the post should be accessible only to a Muslim. Of course, this may well provoke the accusation that this idea implies discrimination. But in this respect the Indonesian Islamic Republic, if it can be actually established, will not be alone. Even in the very heart of Western democracy such discriminations with regard to religion still exist. According to the British Constitution, the throne of England is accessible only to those belonging to the Church of England. And in other highly democratic countries, although officially there is



*Dr. Wirjosandjojo Sukiman, President of the Masjumi (Majlis Shura Muslimin Indonesia) Party.*

no such discrimination, every effort by a person who belongs to a particular denomination to fill the post of the Head of State always ends with failure.

#### **The Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama believe in a planned economy, recognizing also the institution of private ownership**

With regard to the economic system, both the Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama are for a planned economy, taking a stand midway between Liberalism and Socialism. Being Muslim, they recognize the institution of private property or ownership as well as the necessity of a reasonable amount of control by the Government of the economic life of the society. To both of them, this system is regarded as was intended by Islam. Neither the Masjumi nor the Nahdatul Ulama believes in the doctrine of class struggle. To them employers and workers do not constitute two conflicting interests

antagonistic to each other, but rather both groups are members of a single society with common interests having their own respective rights and responsibilities.

This is all that can be said about the political beliefs of the Indonesian Muslims. Now I shall consider briefly whether or not these ideas can be materialized at the present

In September 1956 a General Election for Parliament was held for the first time in Indonesian history. Two months later, in December, another election was held — this time for the Constituent Assembly — a body in charge of drafting and formulating the new Constitution for the country. The number of seats won in these elections by these four Muslim political parties, put together, is less than half the total seats both of the Parliament and the Constituent Assembly. In view of this fact, and assuming that the decision of the Constituent Assembly with regard to the Constitution will be taken by a two-thirds majority, or in any case by less than a simple majority, the number of votes of the Muslim groups in the Constituent Assembly will not be strong enough to impose their opinion by democratic means. And since all the Indonesian Muslims with the exception of a small group of extremists who belong to the Darul Islam movement seem to be devoted to the democratic process and do not want to impose their will by any other method than democratic procedure, the chance for them to have their ideal materialized, at least at the moment, is quite remote.

But the above-mentioned likelihood does not mean they will fail completely. Twelve years ago, a few months before the proclamation of independence, anticipating that many conflicting political ideas might come up as soon as the independence of the motherland was secured, Dr. Sukarno, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, proposed a comparatively novel idea which he thought would be acceptable to the various groups in the nation — Muslims and non-Muslims. To him, the new Republic should be based on that Islam is the way of life and not merely a religion. There is a certain group of Muslims in Indonesia who, in spite of their devotion to Islam, regard Islam as just a religion — an individual matter which has nothing to do with politics.

I do not want to raise the question as to which one of these two groups is truly Muslim, since no authority on earth deserves the right to judge whether someone is a true Muslim or not. This right is reserved for God alone. The only thing that can safely be said is this: those who believe that Islam is a way of life and are determined to base the new Republic on the Islamic teaching do generally join with or vote for one of the four Muslim parties. Or, in other words, the number of the seats of the four Muslim parties, both in the Parliament and in the Constituent Assembly, which altogether is less than half the total number of the seats of these two bodies, represents only those who believe that Islam is a way of life and want to have it used as the system by which the country will be governed, and do not represent all Indonesian Muslims, who constitute 90 per cent of the 81,000,000 people of Indonesia.

#### **The political thinking of Muslims in Indonesia still in a preliminary stage**

Therefore it is easy to see that the political thinking of the Muslims in Indonesia is still in a preliminary stage as they attempt to promulgate an Islamic State which also incorporates the best in Western democracy. How much success they will achieve remains to be seen.

Finally, it was probably puzzling for many non-Indonesians to learn that in the elections last year the Muslim parties got less than half of the total seats both of the Par-

*(Continued at foot of page 19)*

# THE TREASURES OF IRAN'S IMPERIAL LIBRARY

## The arts of the book one of the greatest gifts of Iran to the world

Geographically Persia was situated in the centre of the ancient world. Historically, a distinctly Persian civilization goes back as much as twenty-five centuries when the great Persian Empire stretched westwards to the Danube and south to the Nile Valley. Culturally, it is one of the few countries which can still claim a continuous tradition in literature, art and philosophy going far back into the pre-Christian world.

It is almost as a direct outcome of Persia's geographical situation that one of the chief characteristics of Persian art was its extraordinary power of assimilating foreign influences such as Greek, Egyptian, Islamic and Chinese, and of combining them with others to create an original and homogeneous style. This is especially true in painting.

In the long history of Persia (the Iran of today) painting developed at a comparatively late stage. Art under the Achaemenid kings enhanced and adorned the public life of the court from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. The twin capitals of Sus and Persepolis were unmistakably royal, with their friezes of attendants, guards and tribute bearers sharply cut in stone, or brightly coloured in the equally clear and hard tiled facings. This was the art proper to an open-air court ceremonial.

The period of Hellenistic dominion, after the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great, saw the introduction of a less priestly, more human art, followed by a return to national ideals and a deliberate revival of the monumental rock carving of earlier Achaemenid times. Only when a site was unsuitable for carving was there recourse to painting as a substitute.

Then, in 639 C.E., came the invasion of Islam, changing the Persian mood and spirit. Islam had always had a great respect for calligraphy, since it was a way of preserving the inspired words of the Prophet. Such was the prestige of calligraphy that when painting was associated with it, it was only, so to speak, as a subordinate.

Followers of Islam considered the countries which they conquered and ruled idolatrous, with their temples and their gods almost always represented in human form and therefore in conflict with the Semitic sentiment expressed in the Book of Exodus: "... Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth".

### The influence of Islam on the art of Iran

Well before the rise of Islam, however, the Persians had enjoyed depicting heroic scenes and pastimes of the nobles such as hunting and feasting. The new Islamic rulers, the Caliphs, revived the tradition, but for this work, which Islam regarded as unorthodox, they employed foreign artists. Such of these paintings as are known to us often represent huntsmen on horseback pursuing wild animals, or the king on his throne surrounded by courtiers, guards and musicians. The decoration of religious works in this way was forbidden, but

The earliest illuminated Iranian manuscripts which sur-

nothing prevented rulers and other dignitaries from employing painters to illustrate the great works of Firdausi, Nizami, Jami and other authors.

The Mongols, who invaded Persia at the beginning of the thirteenth century, paid no heed to the prohibitions of Islam — though they became Muslims later. Worshippers of the heavens and the infinity of space, they brought in their train painters and decorative artists from China, and the Far Eastern influence became the dominant one.



*The Imperial Library of the Gulistan (Rose Garden) Palace at Teheran, where a remarkable collection of Persian miniatures is preserved. This palace is used for official State receptions. It contains the fabulous Peacock Throne of the Shahs of Iran which is studded with precious stones.*

vive are from this time. The Chinese influence radically affected the whole conception. For the moment colour almost disappeared. The drawing became nervous and calligraphic; and above all, the attempt was made to set the

<sup>1</sup> These photographs are reproduced from the Unesco Art Album "Iran Early Persian Miniatures", one of the Unesco World Art Series published by arrangement with Unesco, by the New York Graphic Society.

If Unesco World Art Series books are not available at your local book-store, they may be obtained by writing directly to New York Graphic Society, 95 East Putnam Avenue, Greenwich, Connecticut, U.S.A.



figures in a landscape. But the figures of men or of animals still dominated these compositions, there was a vividness of presentation, a sense of action and drama which were the heritage of the old Iran.

In the next generation this style seems to have been further absorbed into the Iranian tradition. In the great manuscript of the national epic, the *Shahnameh*, or Book of Kings, completed by the poet Firdausi in the early eleventh century, copied about 1330 and now divided between many collections, figures and landscapes are perfectly matched in memorable compositions of powerful drama, or romantic invention.

At the end of the fourteenth century Iran was once more ravaged by a conqueror from the Steppe, Timur-leng, "Timur the Lame" — the world conqueror Tamerlane. Yet despite these events, Iranian culture showed astonishing vitality. Poetry, philosophy and history flourished; architecture put on the most splendid robe of brilliant faience; and metal-work continued the great tradition of bronze casting which had been one of the glories of Iran since the late twelfth century.

### **The arts of the book one of the great gifts of Iran to the world**

In the arts of the book, the late fourteenth century saw the birth of a new style that was to persist in its main characteristics for three hundred years, and is one of the great gifts of Iran to the world. Of this period, Basil Gray, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, has written: "Craftsmanship went hand-in-hand with invention. Craftsmanship supplied superlative materials: paper, mineral pigments, gilding, and the skill to use them in calligraphy, illumination and painting.

"The splendours of carpet and tile revetment were transferred to the page in these glowing miniatures and in that setting stood the cyprus-like figures of lovers sung by the poets, while overhead moved the birds pouring out their song to the air scented by unfading blossoms. The nearest that Western art has approached to this in feeling and richness is in French tapestry of the fourteenth century; and in pure colour in some Sieneese panel-painting, nearly contemporary with them.

"It was a golden moment which could not be prolonged. But when it passed the art did not perish, but gave birth to more numerous progeny in the next generation. The conquests of Tamerlane uprooted this school of art from Tabriz and Baghdad (then a Persian city) and spread it all over the country. Shiraz in the south, the capital of Fars, the heart of ancient Iran; and Herat in the far east, capital of Khurasan, became the principal centres at the courts of Timur's son and grandchildren."

### **The Gulistan Imperial Library at Teheran**

Perhaps the most beautiful of Persia's miniatures are in the remarkable collection preserved in the Gulistan Imperial Library at Teheran. These were almost completely unknown to the world until the Library sent them for exhibition in London in 1931 and later in Leningrad.

They include those from the manuscript of the Iranian epic, the *Shahnameh*, in which the romance of chivalry and the exploits of heroes are given expression in the setting of the Iranian Spring, where the bare hills are dotted with flowers for a few weeks and the foliage is fresh. The *Shahnameh* contains 20 large miniatures and a double-page frontispiece, and the name of Prince Baysunqur, the greatest patron of art and poetry among Timur's descendants, is found in various places throughout the manuscript.

A second work from the Gulistan Library — also a

product of Prince Baysunqur's studio — is *Kalila wa Dimna*, a collection of animal fables. These miniatures show a sensibility and intimacy with the natural world missing from the more formal epic scenes. These Indian fables were also partially translated into French in the seventeenth century. La Fontaine learned of them through Francois Bernier, a French doctor who came across them while in Asia, and used some of them in writing his own fables.

In addition to these important manuscripts the Gulistan Library possesses an equally remarkable collection of calligraphy and miniatures of different dates and origins bound together in a luxurious volume by the Moghul Emperor Jehangir, in the early seventeenth century. The most famous miniature of this album, the *Muraqqa'-e-Gulshan*, or Flower Garden Album, is by Bihzad, the foremost of the few Persian painters whose names are known today. It represents the garden of the art-loving Prince Husayn Bayqara, at whose court in Herat Bihzad worked. This illustration, signed by the artist, who is believed to have been the first to have ever mentioned his own name on an illuminated manuscript, probably dates from about 1480.

### **Bihzad**

Bihzad has been hailed as the greatest master of Persian painting. He was a reformer in the treatment of landscape, which appears more realistically in his pages than in those of his forerunners. Moreover he revolted against the dictation of the calligraphers and admitted, at best, only a few lines of text in the pages he illustrated.

At the end of the sixteenth century, all the artistic forces in Persia were being concentrated at the new capital, Isfahan, under the impulse of Shah 'Abbas the Great. Here arose a new and important centre for the art of book production.

Parallel to this, a new development was taking place at the court of the Moghul emperors in India. One of them, Humayun, who visited Persia halfway through the sixteenth century, returned to India with two Iranian painters who became heads of the new painting workshop he established in his royal library. This patronage of the arts was continued by his successor, Akbar the Great, and a new style of painting was born, owing academic discipline and technical knowledge to the Iranian tradition, but informed with quite another spirit.

This Moghul art is at its most characteristic in depicting historical events and in portraiture. In their wish to record, Akbar and his son and successor, Jahangir, found the European science of picture making with perspective and chiaroscuro interesting, and for a time the influence of Flemish and German line engraving is clearly visible in Moghul painting.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17)

liament and the Constituent Assembly. Because they have heard that 90 per cent of the Indonesian population is Muslim, they regard Indonesia as a Muslim country.

This contradiction can be explained as follows:

Although the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian population are Muslims, not all of them believe what has become known as the "Pantja Sila", or "Five Principles":

- (1) Belief in the Divine Omnipotence;
- (2) Democracy;
- (3) Nationalism;
- (4) Humanitarianism; and,
- (5) Social Justice.

It is debatable whether this idea, which puts belief in the Divine Omnipotence as the first of the five guiding principles of the State, is not too far from what Islam actually wants. But there are some prominent leaders from both Masjumi and Nahdatul Ulama who have publicly declared that the Pantja Sila is not very far from the political system the Muslims have in mind.

# THE TREASURES OF

**A miniature from the MS. of the Shahnameh**



*A game drive in the presence of Prince Baysunqur Mirza, from the copy of the Shahnameh executed in the studios of this Prince, a passionate book collector and a gifted calligraphist.*



**A miniature from the Khamseh of Nizami.** *A scene frequently in the game of polo, which originated in Persia. One of the stories in the Khamseh of Nizami thinks of ancient Iran. Here, young men and women led by Khusrau.*

**A miniature from the MS. of the Khamseh of Nizami.**



*The sad king and the wonderful bird. A king, distressed around him, asks the bird if there is a place anywhere where peace and harmony reigns. One of the most beautiful illustrations in the book of animal fables executed in the studios of the Prince.*

# IRAN'S IMPERIAL LIBRARY

A miniature from the MS. of the Muraqqa'-e-Gulshan



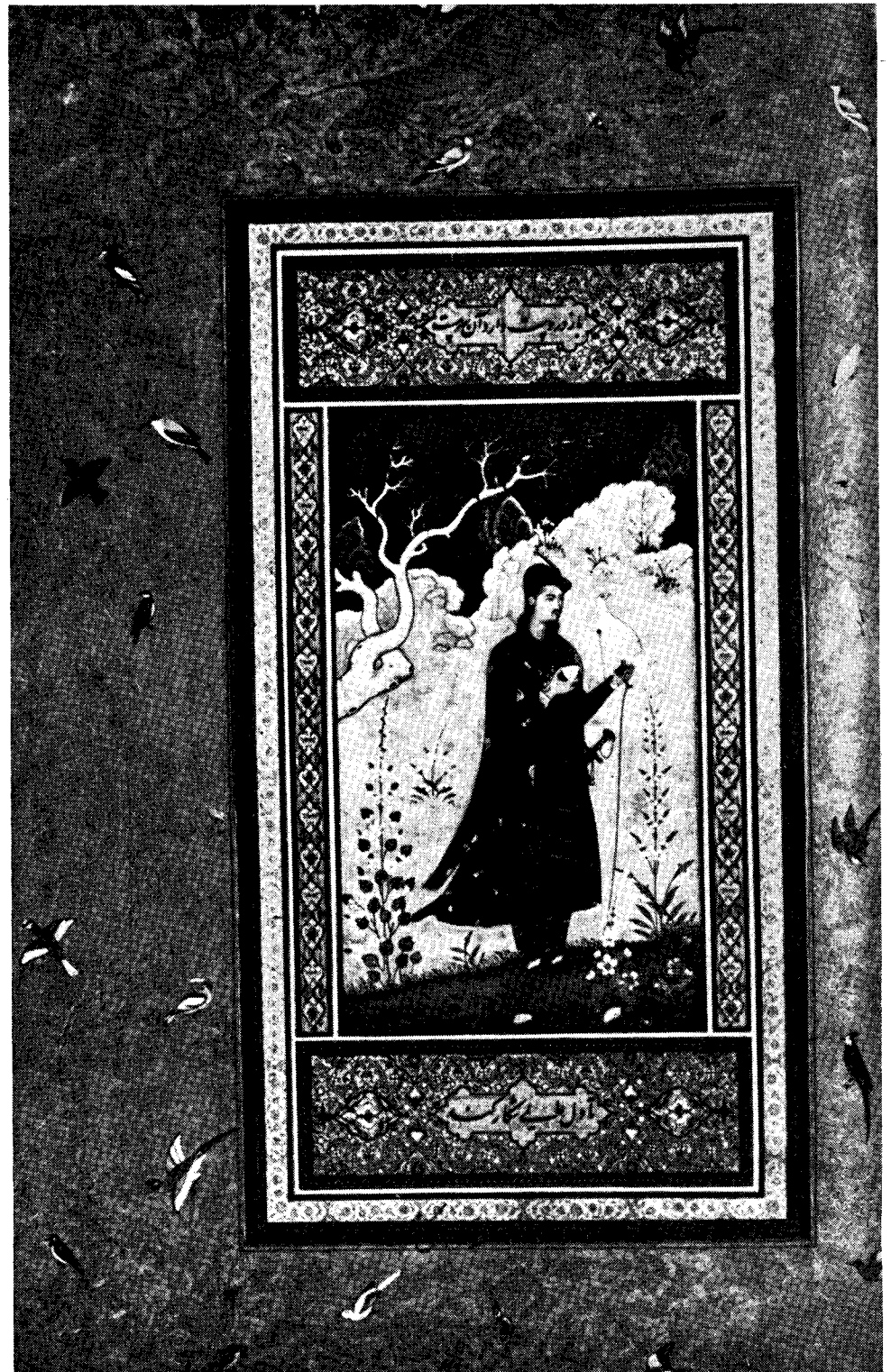
## the Khamseh of Nizami

requently reproduced by Iranian painters:  
d in Persia. A 16th century illustration  
h of Nizami, a poet and one of the great  
ung men, led by Khusrau, play against  
Khusrau's beloved, Shirin.

MS. of the Kalila wa Dimna



ing, distressed at the discord he sees everywhere  
e anywhere in the world where everyone is good  
iful 15th century miniatures in Kalila wa Dimna,  
in the studios of Prince Baysunqur Mirza.



Young nobleman carrying a falcon. A work attributed to Farrukh Beg, a Kalmuk, and one  
of the most gifted and original artists who worked for the Great Moghul, Akbar, and later  
for his son the Emperor Jahangir, towards the end of the 16th century. Taken from the  
Muraqqa'-e-Gulshan, or Flower Garden Album. (continued overleaf)



(continued from overleaf)

## THE TREASURES OF IRAN'S IMPERIAL LIBRARY

*Exploits of heroics and the romance of chivalry are given expression in the Shahnameh in the setting of the Iranian Spring, when the bare hills are dotted with flowers for a few weeks and the foliage is fresh. Here, one of the heroes of the Shahnameh, Isfandiyar, kills two wolves — one of a series of deeds which he, and rival hero, Rostam, must perform to prove their courage.*



**One of the twenty large miniatures from the MS. of the Shahnameh in the Imperial Gulistan Library of Teheran**



**One of the twenty large miniatures from the MS. of the Shahnameh in the Imperial Gulistan Library of Teheran**

*The Book of Kings. Prince Baysunqur Mirza, a 15th century descendant of the Mongol conqueror, Tamerlane, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Shahnameh, or "Book of Kings", the epic history of Persia written by the 10th century poet, Firdausi. He ordered a copy of it to be made and the result was one of the world's most magnificent illuminated manuscripts — a gem of painting, calligraphy and bookbinding. The calligraphist, Ja'far Baysunqur, completed the copy in 1430, but the work carries no other date and no painter's name. This illustration from the Shahnameh depicts King Kaika'us receiving a bard, in reality a div (evil spirit of Persian mythology) come to deceive him.*

# 'ID AL-FITR CELEBRATIONS IN SANA'A, THE YEMEN'

By BRUCE CONDE

Sana'a awoke on the 1st May 1957 to the booming of cannons and the high-pitched singing of the soldiers as the army came to Bir al-Azab to escort Crown Prince Seif al-Islam Muhammad al-Badr to the extramural Meshad Mosque for the 'Id al-Fitr services marking the end of Ramadhan.

Everyone was arrayed in new and colourful fineries, and since Yemeni robes are the most colourful of the Arabian peninsular anyway, this meant an unusually brilliant display, with much gold embroidery on the ceremonial scarves and new *jambiya* belts, as well as on junior's new cap.

The multi-coloured double gate of the Crown Prince's palace swung open, and instead of the usual black carriage in which Sumuww al-Badr ("His Highness, Badr," as he is affectionately known to the people) customarily rides in State procession to the Grand Mosque, there emerged a horseman, clad in spotless white.

Followed by his cousin, Prince Yahya Ibn Seif al-Islam al-Hosein, the Crown Prince rode slowly behind the dancing singing soldiers of the Royal Household Troops. As the tribal warriors of Hashid and Bakil twirled in intricate sword dances, their flashing *jambiya* blades high in the air, there arose above the throbbing of the kettledrums the shrill war songs of Yemen's Himyaritic past. These Beni Hamadan tribes were the imperial clans of Himyar 2,000 years ago, and they still form the "Wings of the Imamate" of the modern Yemenite kingdom.

After the open-air services at the Meshad — a vast walled enclosure partly paved with black stone and containing only the *mimbar* or pulpit, where thousands upon thousands may participate in mass devotions, and which is not possible in the more restricted areas of Sana'a's ancient mosques within the walls — Sumuww al-Badr slowly rode back around the southern walls of Sana'a and into the royal palace quarter between the new and old cities.

Saluting and bowing to the cheering thousands, the Heir to the Throne rode into the Mutawakelite Palace gate, climbed up to the arched balcony overlooking it, and stood to take the salutes of the hour-long parade which passed in review before the palace.

In addition to regular army foot-soldiers, whose officers were usually mounted, there came the conscript training regiment of 18-year-olds—the Yemen has compulsory military service for all citizens. Then followed a number of cavalry squadrons, at full gallop, and the Royal Camel Corps, whose beasts, noses held high in the air, trotted by six abreast.

Horses and mule-drawn and pack artillery made up the rest of the military part of the parade. There was no Soviet "automatic artillery", with which British propaganda has copiously endowed the Yemen army, nor was there a single



*His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of the Yemen (with dark glasses; left) is touring the streets of Sana'a in a two-horse open carriage during the 'Id al-Fitr holidays to greet the people and to exchange congratulations for the happy occasion.*

representative of the Czech multi-purpose anti-tank anti-aircraft guns, all of which have been parcelled out in ones and twos to key frontier defence points, to offer at least token opposition to maurauding aircraft.

Following the military display, Sana'a's uniformed municipal police force marched by, after which came the student bodies of the city's many primary, elementary, secondary and higher schools.

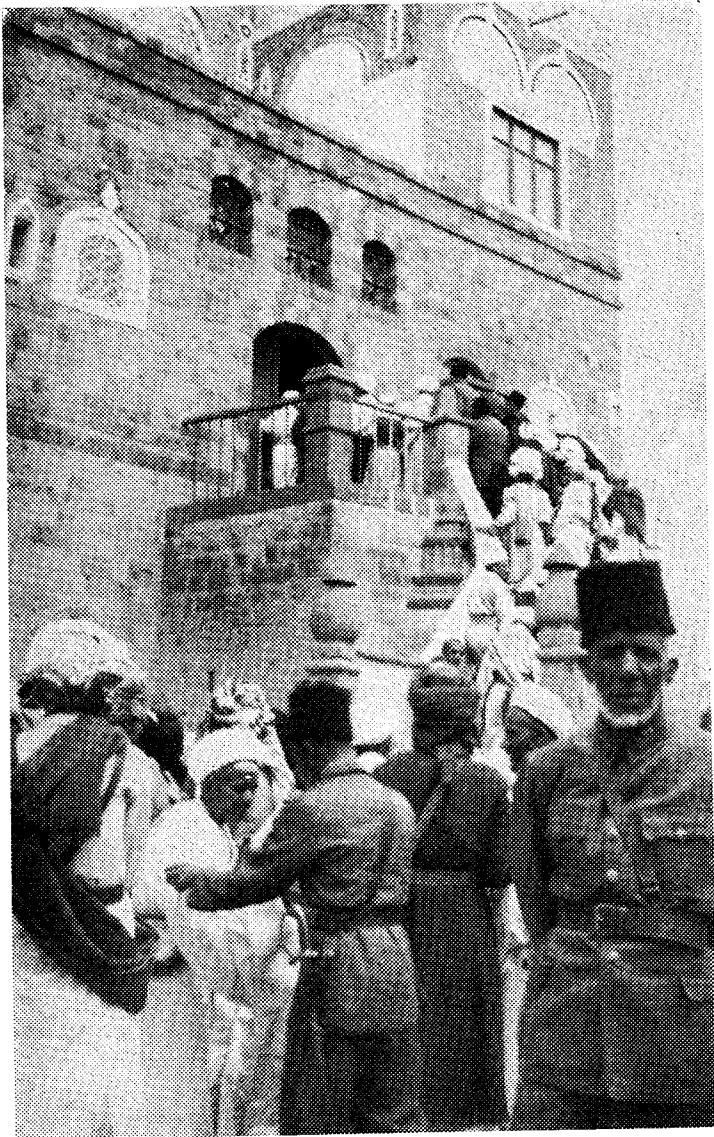
As soon as the Prince had returned the salute of the last toddling schoolboy, His Royal Highness retired to the reception hall of the palace of his ancestors to receive the personal felicitations of the Sana'anis for Great Bairam.

1 Courtesy, the Editor, *The Daily Star*, Beirut, the Lebanon, for 8th June 1957.



In trooped the citizenry of all classes, in endless files, coming and leaving by the old palace's narrow staircase. Aged army officers of Ottoman period vintage, their black *karakul kalpaks* resplendent in gold braid, their great curved cavalry sabres clanking at their side, brushed past opulent merchants, obviously uncomfortable in their broad *jambiya* belts, which cut them like corsets.

Scholarly *'ulema*, their long black or white gowns unrelieved by any kind of a belt, pushed forward amid the younger generation of *sayeds*, who were mostly arrayed, like



The people of Sana'a trooping up the long staircase of the Mutawakkalite Palace's reception hall to congratulate the Crown Prince personally on the occasion of the Fitr Festival.

the Prince, in white brocades, set off by glistening belts and brilliant scarves. Syrian, Lebanese, Palestinian and Egyptian officials and employees of the Yemen Government turned up in modern business suits, which gave an incongruous look to the otherwise predominantly medieval scene.

Young lieutenants, in their Egyptian army style uniforms, some with berets, others with black Yemeni *kalpaks*, wore for the first time the national cap insignia of the Royal Army — the arms of Yemen in full colour, flanked by two draped national flags.

For all, during the hour or two when he stood at the end of the reception hall, the Prince had words of greeting, a handshake and a smile, while servants passed out candy and drinks of incensed water.

Later in the day and during the following two or three days, Sumuw al-Badr toured the streets of Bir al-Azab in an open two-horse carriage, visiting all quarters of the city whose streets were wide enough to permit his procession to pass.

Sometimes he paused at the edge of Shararah Square, where, to the tune of the kettledrums, horsemen circled about in equestrian exhibitions, often led by a daring royal rider, Prince 'Ali Ibn Seif al-Islam al-Hosein.

In the *mafraj*, or reception room, of their homes, the people of Sana'a now began to receive felicitations for the feast days from hosts of well-wishing friends.

Patriarchal Qadi Muhammad Raghieb Bey, Turkish-born first Foreign Minister of the modern kingdom of the Yemen for nearly a quarter of a century, who looks and acts like an Ottoman sultan of the nineteenth century, received virtually all of Sana'a in an endless stream that lasted several days.

Young and old, sometimes three generations being represented in one family, they climbed the stairs of the little guest house in Qadi Raghieb's garden to wish a "Happy Bairam" ('Id al-Fitr) to the city's most beloved personality.

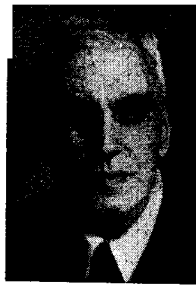
Attired in plain black robes of the finest quality set off by a white turban which accentuated his pink cheeks and piercing blue eyes, *Le Grand Qadi*, who receives foreign guests in courtly French, switching easily to Turkish and Arabic, had a kindly reminiscence for all. At the same time he was watching like a hawk that his assistants served refreshments and passed the incense holder to each guest, also dousing him with cologne and perfume.

Sometimes His Excellency would insist that the incense be held beneath the robes of a particularly honoured elder — a high mark of distinction — in spite of vehement protests. Most guests were content to incense their voluminous sleeves, beards and turbans.

Whenever the smoke became feeble, the Qadi fished about in his robes for a little silk bag of *'audah* — more precious and fragrant than frankincense — clapped his hands for the serving boy to bring fresh coals, and personally placed little bits of the prized essence on top of the glowing charcoal.

After the long fast of Ramadhan, Sana'a settled down to many days of feasting and merrymaking, which happened this year to coincide with the natural beauties of springtime.

With the city's old grey walls now ringed in the emerald green of wheat and barley fields, loaded apricot trees peeping over every garden wall, garden and wild flowers blooming everywhere, a new generation of Yemeni camera fans was kept busy taking colour shots in memory of 1957's multi-coloured Great Bairam ('Id al-Fitr) in the ancient Islamic capital.



Professor Arnold Toynbee.

# TOYNBEE ON ISLAM'S ROLE IN THE MODERN WORLD

By MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN

*"Islam remains with a mighty spiritual mission still to carry out."*

*"Islam's creative gift to mankind is monotheism, and we surely dare not throw this gift away."*

*"If these (historical) precedents have any significance for us — and they are the only beams of light which we can bring to bear upon the darkness that shrouds our future — they portend that Islam, in entering into the proletarian underworld of our latter-day Western civilization, may eventually compete with India and the Far East and Russia for the prize of influencing the future in ways that may pass our understanding."*

## Spiritual quest in the West

One of the greatest paradoxes of contemporary times is that whereas the East has been the traditional home of spiritual thought, the centre of gravity of serious probing into this field has shifted to the West, the East, by and large, seeming to be content with its traditional doctrinaire discussions and formalism.

The explanation lies in two factors: the spirit of scientific inquiry which has grown up in the West as a result of the pursuit of physical sciences during the last two centuries or so, and the crisis posed by the nuclear weapons, threatening wholesale destruction. The result is a feverish activity at every level to avert the impending catastrophe, leading thinkers making their own contributions towards supplying an answer to the biggest question mark that mankind was ever faced with.

On one conclusion they are all agreed, viz., that if a solution for the present-day world crisis is ever to be found, it will have to be explored along the hitherto neglected substratum of existence. This new quest has naturally brought revealed religions to the forefront of the picture, and as a result Islam is receiving attention as never before — attention, on the whole, in marked contrast, in point of fairness and objectivity, to the earlier writings on Islam, prompted more by a spirit of propaganda than the discovery of truth.

Of such objective, even sympathetic, assessments of the potentials of Islam towards filling the present-day spiritual vacuum in the affairs of man, the pronouncements of Arnold Toynbee in his latest book, *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, and the earlier one, *Civilization on Trial*, should have received greater attention in the world of Islam than they seem to have done.

Both these publications deal with more or less a common theme — tracing the rise and fall of cultures, kingdoms,

empires and civilizations, and, in the light of that historical data, to indicate the way the flow of the stream of history may take. From a survey of the various epochs since the earliest dawn of history, the distinguished historian comes to the conclusion that the mainstay of each lay in the dynamism of some dominant idea or other, and as this force ebbed away there set in the cycle of its decadence, followed by another ripple on the surface of history. Another conclusion he draws is that throughout this rise and fall, man has been learning from his past errors, but while re-setting his house in order in the light of experience thus gained, he landed himself in some others, and so on — rising, tumbling and rising again, forging ahead towards his destiny.

Drawing upon a scriptural simile, he describes this historical process of reconstructing social order in the light of wisdom gained from past failures as the "fall" of Adam, and covering up his "nakedness" with the "leaves" of this very garden of existence. The story of human progress has been the story of such-like repeated impacts between challenges and responses, resulting in the death of some social systems, and the rise, from their ashes, of others. The salient landmarks in the process culminating in what constitutes the present Western civilization, leading up to the two world wars, he identifies as: Conversion to Christianity, the Renaissance, Western voyages of discovery, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution.

## The present world crisis

The present world crisis, we are told, is the offspring of the two new idols worshipped by the modern Western man — secularization and technology. What has deepened the tragedy is the fact that whereas the West is becoming increasingly alive to the dangerous spiritual vacuum in its life, the Eastern countries are adopting Westernization. The two World Wars having pricked the bubble of the present technological civilization, the world is on the threshold either of total extinction or a new civilization which may be born out of the embryo of the present world-wide impact of diverse forces.

This new upsurge is likely to take the form of religious revival, but, since all world religions have been thrown into a common embrace, as a result of Western technology having imposed a common civilization on the whole of mankind, the coming religion, besides rekindling faith in the spiritual substratum of existence, must partake of elements of universality.

This takes the writer into a discussion of religion and religions. It is here, however, that notwithstanding the

deliberate determination as an historian to rid himself of his inherited preconceptions and bring an objective view to bear upon his quest, he falls a victim to the same weakness, and his Christian outlook seems to infiltrate into his historical detachment. Repeated references of Original Sin, Divine Love and Divine Suffering are too obvious instances of his obsession with the Christian explanation of human life. Nevertheless the characteristics which he visualizes and urges for the coming religion-based civilization are distinctly those of Islam. Here again, however, he misses the identification of these features in Islam under the inherited misconceptions about it.

### **The chosen people idea**

One such salient feature of the coming religion, if it is to win willing universal allegiance, it has been rightly underlined, must be its freedom from the common weakness of every revealed religion to look upon revelation as its exclusive possession, denying that privilege to other religions, and to look upon its followers as the only chosen people of God. This self-centredness, whether in the individual, the race or a religion, has been described as the manifestation of the "Original Sin". Indeed, the fruit of the "forbidden tree" itself has been interpreted as this ever-recurring weakness of self-centredness.

The author is rightly so emphatic on this point that he says that an historian, if he "ever did come across any such unself-centred applications of the belief that God has chosen some particular people to be the recipients of his revelation, the disinterestedness of these findings would be a very strong ground for investigating them very unsympathetically and seriously".<sup>1</sup>

He so despairs of the possibility of any such unself-centredness in religion that he goes on to postulate that it is difficult to "put one's finger on any actual presentation of the belief that God reveals Himself to His creatures that did not at the same time cast for the role of being God's Chosen People the members of the particular church that subscribes to this particular presentation of the general thesis".<sup>2</sup>

In plain words, revelation is not only made exclusive to themselves by the various religions, but, what is more, they have made the bearers of that revelation the exclusive Chosen People of God.

### **Islam free from the weakness of the chosen people idea**

And yet, any student of the Qur'an knows how this description of religion does not apply to Islam. Islam not only does not restrict revelation to any particular people, it also does not make Muslims the exclusive Chosen People of God. Indeed, it strongly deprecates this mental attitude, and warns Muslims lapsing into that frame of mind as did the Jews and Christians.<sup>3</sup> Faith in God and an upright life of good deeds, it lays down, is the only high-road to God's bliss, and whoever follows that path — Jew, Christian, Sabian or Muslim — will attain that blissful state, free from fear or grief.<sup>4</sup>

It does not speak well for the Muslim's sense of duty towards their religion that even a scholar of Toynbee's stature should labour under the common misconceptions about Islam, ascribing to it the weakness of exclusiveness. As a matter of fact, if there is any religion with which Toynbee's criterion of non-exclusiveness and unself-centredness thoroughly fits in, it is Islam, which makes universality of revelation a universal phenomenon to the extent that faith in all world teachers is made an article of creed for a Muslim.<sup>5</sup> If there is any religion which has laid the axe at the very root of the creed of God's Chosen People, it is Islam, which has

made personal conduct (*Taqwa*) the only standard of honour with God.<sup>6</sup>

### **The last-prophet idea**

As an instance of "exclusiveness", the author points to the Islamic doctrine of the Prophet Muhammad being the last of the prophets. To quote his words:

"Even the most recent of prophets, Muhammad, who lived in the full light of history, and who never claimed to be superhuman, did claim for himself, not merely that he was the latest of the prophets, but that he was the last of them that was ever to be."<sup>7</sup>

Here again, the scholarly Toynbee has contented himself with a superficial view of the creed of Last-Prophet. Lastness of revealed dispensation is but a logical corollary to the universalization of the scope of revealed religion. If mankind is ever to be welded into one common fellowship on the basis of religion, it can only be done through a common revelation, which should at the same time be the final and the last.

Western technology has made the world one, and out of the conflicts, either a new spiritual civilization, embracing the whole of mankind, must take birth, or it must be the end of the world. This concept of world unity on the basis of a religion presupposes a world religion of the kind we find in Islam — a religion which, by the very fact of recognizing and enjoining the Divine origin of all the revealed religions of the world, is entitled to don the mantle of a world religion.

The Last-prophethood concept is not merely last in the chronological sense; it also carries the significance of all-comprehensiveness, being the natural culminating point in the age-long process of exclusive, racial religions. The whole process points to a Divine planning. Racial religions had to be exclusive, catering for the peculiar needs and conditions of the times and the people. The very concept of one-world or one-humanity was beyond the comprehension of the then intellectual level of the various peoples. These are only recent concepts, made possible by Western technology — the Industrial Revolution, the two World Wars, and last, but not least, the dawn of a common destiny under the threat of the nuclear weapons.

All this points to a Divine Plan. The spiritual vacuum which it is realized on all hands must be filled if humanity is at all to survive this threat, can be fitly filled only by a world religion. And Islam, as expounded in the Qur'an, eminently answers to that description.

### **Islam includes all previous religions**

Apart from the fact that the Qur'an, of all religions, makes the claim that it is a guidance to the whole of mankind,<sup>8</sup> and that the Prophet Muhammad was sent as "a mercy unto all mankind"<sup>9</sup> — a claim not every vaguely met with elsewhere — by mere standards of rational thinking, Islam turns out to be the common heritage of all mankind, inasmuch as it vouches for the Divine origin of all previous scriptures.<sup>10</sup> The Qur'an explicitly says it is a résumé of all preceding scriptures, purged of their human alloy.<sup>11</sup> Likewise no Muslim can be a Muslim unless he professes faith in all the world prophets as much as in Muhammad.

To accept the Qur'an is therefore to accept all the previous scriptures, and to accept the Prophet Muhammad is to accept all the world prophets. What else is a world religion — a religion all-comprehensive enough to include all the world religions, bringing humanity to a common fold, deepening and broadening, rather than changing their old loyalties? The Last-Prophet idea is thus the natural culmination of the process of prophetic revelation.

### Spiritual experience a continuous process

Here it would be pertinent to remove another common misunderstanding. The Last-Prophet idea in no way bars the door on communion between God and man through the spiritual experience known as inspiration or revelation, according to the degree of its intensity. Islam has witnessed thousands of saintly personages who were blessed with this kind of spiritual illumination. All that has been wound up is the kind of revelation which inaugurates a new dispensation. The Qur'anic revelation is final in that sense.

The Last-ness idea, thus, militates against universality neither retrospectively nor prospectively, so far as spiritual illumination and direct communion between God and man is concerned, its only significance being the unification of mankind in one all-embracing religious system. A Divine Plan towards that consummation already seems to be at work on the physical plane. On the spiritual side the world-wide hunger of the human soul for a deeper meaning of life is a pointer in that direction. And Islam with its universal, all-embracing message, only comes as a natural coping stone to that Plan.

### Need of religious revival and Islam's role

To one imperative need Toynbee is perfectly alive. That is the role of religion in meeting the present spiritual crisis. He says:

"The future of mankind in this world — if mankind is going to have a future in this world — lies, I believe, with these higher religions that have appeared within the last 4,000 years, and not with the civilizations whose encounters have produced opportunities for higher religions to come to birth."<sup>12</sup>

He is also alive to the great potentialities of Islam in this connection. Arguing from the premise that it is the inward force of spiritual culture "which alone creates and sustains the outward manifestations of what is called civilization",<sup>13</sup> he bears testimony to the fact that in the past the West dreaded Islam because "it wielded a sword of the spirit against which there was no defence in material armaments",<sup>14</sup> and declares that while mighty conquerors and empire builders appeared on the stage of life and were wiped off, "Islam remains with a mighty spiritual mission still to carry out".<sup>15</sup> "Islam's creative gift to mankind is monotheism," he warns, "and we surely dare not throw this gift away."<sup>16</sup> In a whole chapter in his *Civilization on Trial* under the heading "Islam, the West, and the Future", he thus calls attention to the vital role Islam can yet play in the making of the new world:

"The extinction of race consciousness as between Muslims is one of the outstanding moral achievements of Islam, and, in the contemporary world there is, as it happens, a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue."<sup>17</sup>

Another great contribution he foresees for Islam to make is of equally practical value to mankind, the elimination of the curse of alcohol. He says:

"This spirit (of Islam) may be expected to manifest itself in many practical ways, and one of these manifestations might be a liberation from alcohol which was inspired by religious conviction, and which was therefore able to accomplish what could never be enforced by external sanction of an alien law."<sup>18</sup>

### A new civilization in the womb of Islam

As an historian, basing his conclusions on the well-observed trends that have been shaping the course of history, Toynbee visualizes the birth of a new civilization out of the

present impact of Islam and Western civilization. Recalling similar developments in history he predicts:

"If these precedents have any significance for us — and they are the only beams of light which we can bring to bear upon the darkness that shrouds our future — they portend that Islam, in entering into the proletarian underworld of our latter-day Western civilization, may eventually compete with India and the Far East and Russia for the prize of influencing the future in ways that may pass our understanding. Indeed, under the impact of the West, the great deeps of Islam are already stirring, and even in these early days we can discern certain spiritual movements which might conceivably become the embryos of new higher religions. The Bahai and Ahmadi movements, which, from Acre and Lahore, have begun to send out their missionaries to Europe and America, will occur to the contemporary Western observer's mind."<sup>19</sup>

Here again the distinguished historian's reading of the course of events calls for a little modification. The trend seems to be towards the emergence of a new civilization, *not a new religion*. The need is for the fusion of all religions, not to add to them, which would only make confusion more confounded. That is what Islam claims to stand for, and does, indeed, pave the only way to.

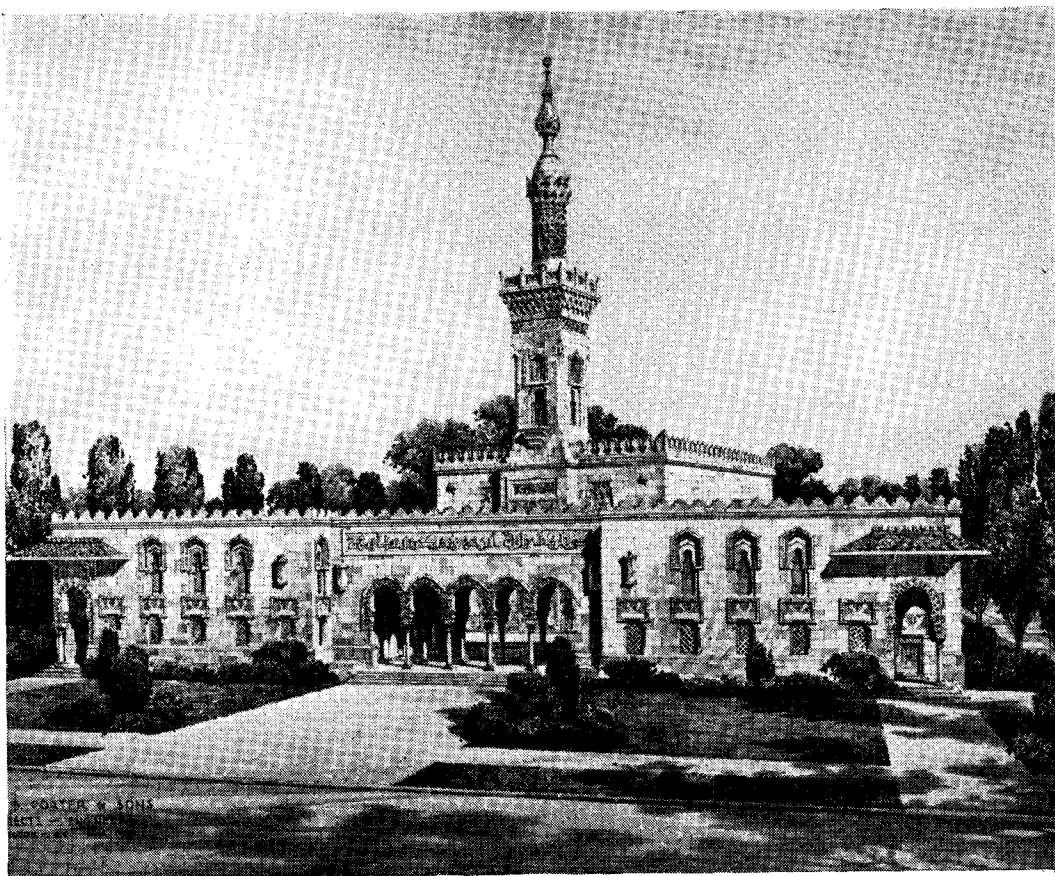
The fact that the Bahai movement has left the entire East untouched, and has made but little impression in the West, also points to the conclusion that the Divine Plan is to unite all world religions in the kind of synthesis provided in the Qur'anic dispensation and the all-inclusiveness of Islam, and any attempt at founding a new religion is to fly in the face of that Divine Purpose.

As regards the Lahore Ahmadiyya movement, whose missionary zeal has impressed Toynbee, it is, on its own declaration, a purely reformist movement within Islam, like so many other such movements in the past, making the finality of the Qur'anic dispensation, and that of prophethood with the Prophet Muhammad, the sheet-anchor of its activities. Revival of the Islamic urges of life, and dissemination of its light, is its only avowed objective.<sup>20</sup>

The impact of Islam and the West is undoubtedly pregnant with big possibilities. That possibility, however, lies in just one direction — exploring the spiritual resources of Islam which the West has hitherto turned a blind eye to — as a common heritage of all the nations of the world. In that embryo lie the germs of the new social order of universal human fellowship under the common Fatherhood of One God. The Qur'an, as the live uncontaminated Word of God, furnishes the only master-key to unlocking the hidden mysteries of the realm of the Spirit, as well as the only authentic clue to the rediscovery of the lost teachings of World Teachers — and, for that matter, pave the way for the advent of One Religion and One Humanity.

### REFERENCES

- 1 *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 133.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- 3 The Qur'an, 2 : 113.
- 4 The Qur'an, 2 : 62.
- 5 The Qur'an, 2 : 136.
- 6 The Qur'an, 49 : 13.
- 7 *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 129.
- 8 The Qur'an, 34 : 28.
- 9 The Qur'an, 21 : 107.
- 10 The Qur'an, 98 : 3.
- 11 The Qur'an, 98 : 2.
- 12 *Civilization on Trial*, p. 159.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.
- 20 *New World Order*, by Muhammad Ali.



*A view of the Islamic Centre and the Mosque at Washington.*

## The Opening of the Islamic Centre and the Mosque at Washington, The United States of America

**“Civilization owes to the Islamic world some of its most important tools and achievements. From fundamental discoveries in medicine to the highest planes of astronomy, the Muslim genius has added much to the culture of all peoples. That genius has been a wellspring of science, commerce and the arts, and has provided for all of us many lessons in courage and hospitality” — President Eisenhower**

### **Views of Muslim Ambassadors on the importance of the opening of the Islamic Centre in Washington**

The Su'udi Arabian Ambassador, the Sheikh 'Abdullah al-Khayyal, said: “President Eisenhower's formal opening of the mosque and Islamic Centre draws attention to our efforts to establish very strong relations with the religious and humane people of the United States.”

The Pakistani Ambassador, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, said: “A significant fact about the establishment of the Islamic Centre is that it has resulted from co-operation among fifteen Muslim nations. This denotes the great common denominator — Islam — is a unifying force among 500 million people in this world. The fact that the President of the United States of America was at the dedication ceremony denotes the urge for international goodwill and co-operation between the peoples of Islam and the great and glorious United States, which has come to be regarded as the greatest and foremost champion of the free democracies. At a time when the ideals of the great religions of the world are endangered by the atheistic doctrine of materialism, it is essential that their followers

should have greater understanding and co-operation so they can preserve the concepts they cherish dearly.”

Dr. Najib-Ullah, Ambassador of Afghanistan, said: “The importance of this day of dedication is that it symbolizes the cordial relations between the United States and the Muslim world and the spiritual link which exists between Islam and Christianity. I am sure the presence of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Eisenhower will be deeply appreciated all over the Muslim world.”

The Ambassador of Syria, Dr. Farid Zeineddin, said: “In earlier days the relations between the Muslim world and the United States were very limited. Today they are growing very rapidly. The expression of that growth is this Centre in Washington, which should help to acquaint Americans with the true concepts of Islam, which will gain at being well understood.

“The Washington Mosque is indeed unique, in fact it is the only one of its kind in the world, because it is a co-operative venture of people in all Islamic countries.



"In Turkey, it was the ordinary people themselves, not the Government, who have taken part in this project.

"I hope that the appearance of President Eisenhower at the formal opening will bring to the attention of all the



*The President of the United States of America, Mr. D. Eisenhower, delivering his address at the Opening Ceremony of the Islamic Centre at Washington.*

American people the cultural progress that is being carried on at the (Washington) Islamic Centre.

"Already the cultural programmes at the Centre are well attended, indicating the interest Americans have in its

programmes, but I hope these activities will now be extended beyond Washington."

The Moroccan Ambassador, Mr. Ben-Aboud, said:

"The purpose of the Washington Mosque and Islamic Centre is:

"1. It provides a religious centre for the fulfilment of Muslim duties by all the Muslims living in Washington.

"2. It is a symbol of the spirit of tolerance between the great religions in all the continents.

"3. It is a symbol of the urgent need for the meeting and co-operation between Orient and Occident, because of the new ideological struggle which developed after World War II.

"4. Man and God are getting closer and closer by the *rapprochement* of spiritual and temporal religions of our life here. Politicians are becoming aware more and more of the necessity for men to work together. This joint effort cannot find better illustration than by the presence of President Eisenhower in a Muslim centre of worship, participating in person in the dedication of this mosque to the Muslim community living in brotherhood within the American community.

"5. Our anxiety to foresee the future is tempered by similar manifestations in which the future of mankind rises up on the solid foundation of the spiritual life which is dedicated to the true image of man."

Mr. Ibrahim Anis, Ambassador of the Sudan, said:

"The formal opening of the Washington Mosque and Islamic Centre by President Eisenhower shows that he has great interest in the American Muslim community. His appearance on Friday will focus the attention of all Americans on the Mosque and Islamic Centre.

"The mosque will become, and in fact has already become, a very important landmark in Washington — the nation's capital. . . .

"We (on the Board of Governors) feel that the mosque and Islamic Centre will help introduce Islam to the people of this country — not with the idea of converting them to Islam, but to make its teachings better known to them.

"Religions should not be barriers; they should be the means of uniting peoples. Islam teaches tolerance and co-operation with other religions. We feel the Islamic Centre fulfils this mission."

Mr. Suleiman Jerbi, the Ambassador from Libya, said:

"The formal opening of the Washington Mosque and Islamic Centre is a step in the attainment of a very important objective — that Americans will get to know Muslims better.

"The goal of the Islamic Centre is closer co-operation and better understanding between Muslims and Americans.

"An important factor in the building of the mosque in Washington is the fact that the initiative for this project came from the Muslim peoples. . . .

"The Islamic Centre provides direct information from specialized theologians about our way of life."

#### **Fifteen Muslim countries participate in the erection costs of the Islamic Centre**

The Islamic Centre, erected by fifteen Muslim lands and formally opened on 28th June 1957 by President Eisenhower, is the realization of eleven years of planning by Muslims here and abroad.

Planning for the cultural and religious centre was started by prominent American Muslims and Ambassadors from Muslim countries in 1945. Actual construction of the Alabama limestone building started in 1949 and was completed late in 1956.

Topped by a slender 160 ft. high minaret, the Centre houses a mosque, a 300-seat auditorium, two wings which

Construction was supervised by A. J. Howar, an American Muslim, who contributed the services of his building firm free of charge to the Centre.

The building is generously inscribed with quotations from the Holy Qur'an, and contains beautiful materials gathered from many Islamic countries — Turkish tiles, Iranian carpets, Egyptian chandeliers and a pink marble fountain.

The Centre is the scene of periodic lectures on Islamic culture, literature, philosophy and arts, Arabic language lessons, religious classes for Muslim children, and Islamic services, including marriages and funerals.

The nations which sponsor and finance the Centre are Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Pakistan, Su'udi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and the Yemen.

#### **President Eisenhower's address at the Opening Ceremony of the Washington Islamic Centre**

"It is a privilege to take part in this ceremony of dedication. Meeting with you now, in front of one of the newest and most beautiful buildings in Washington, it is fitting that we re-dedicate ourselves to the peaceful progress of all men under one God.

"And I should like to assure you, my Islamic friends, that under the American Constitution, under American tradition, and in American hearts, this Centre, this place of worship, is just as welcome as would be a similar edifice of any other religion. Indeed, America would fight with her whole strength for your right to have here your own church and worship according to your own conscience.

"This concept is indeed a part of America, and without that concept we would be something else than what we are.

"The countries which have sponsored and built this Islamic Centre have for centuries contributed to the building of civilization. With their traditions of learning and rich culture, the countries of Islam have added much to the advancement of mankind. Inspired by a sense of brotherhood, common to our innermost beliefs, we can here together reaffirm our determination to secure the foundation of a just and lasting peace.

"Our country has long enjoyed a strong bond of friendship with the Islamic nations, and, like all healthy relationships, this relationship must be mutually beneficial.

"Civilization owes to the Islamic world some of its most important tools and achievements. From fundamental discoveries in medicine to the highest planes of astronomy, the Muslim genius has added much to the culture of all peoples. That genius has been a wellspring of science, commerce and the arts, and has provided for all of us many lessons in courage and in hospitality.

"This fruitful relationship between peoples, going far back into history, becomes more important each year. Today, thousands of Americans, both private individuals and Governmental officials, live and work — and grow in understanding — among the peoples of Islam.

"At the same time, in our country, many from the Muslim lands — students, business men and representatives of States — are enjoying the benefits of experience among the people of this country. From these many personal contacts, here and abroad, I firmly believe that there will be a broader



*The Director of the Islamic Cultural Centre is presenting a copy of the Holy Qur'an to Mr. Eisenhower*

contain the Centre staff's offices and what will eventually be the finest Islamic library in the United States, and a museum which will display a collection of Islamic arts.

Located along the beautiful "Embassy Row" in this capital city, the Centre faces on Massachusetts Avenue, but the mosque itself is situated at an angle to face the direction of the shortest route to the Holy Ka'bah.

The architectural design was made by the Egyptian Minister of Wakfs, and executed by an American architect.

understanding and a deeper respect for the worth of all men ; and a stronger resolution to work together for the good of mankind.

"As I stand beneath these graceful arches, surrounded on every side by friends from near and far, I am convinced that our common goals are both right and promising. Faithful to the demands of justice and of brotherhood, each work-

ing according to the lights of his own conscience, our world must advance along the paths of peace.

"Guided by this hope, I consider it a great personal and official honour to open the Islamic Centre, and I offer my congratulations to its sponsors and my best wishes to all who enter into its use.

"Thank you very much."

---

## THE DIVINE DIVAN

19

Cling to the Steadfast Spirit and thou shalt stand firm,  
Where'er thou art, whate'er thou dost, until that term  
Of life appointed thou shalt reach.  
This is thy happiness ; this is thy blessedness ; this  
Is the golden ring to bind remembrance of thy bliss.

20

The thought of the Belovéd is an all-embracing joy,  
That keeps the heart unsullied by the world's annoy,  
Even amidst the battling bruises of the contest keen  
And keeps the piercing vision clear and clean

To gave in rapture on the Belovéd's Truth.  
Ah! lovéd Truth, no beauty yet hath been  
Mightier or more lovely than thy countenance serene.

21

How simple, then, is life! It hath become  
(Let me rehearse of needs the total sum)  
An eye to gaze upon the Belovéd's face ;  
An ever-list'ning ear the Belovéd's will to trace ;  
A heart submissive that shall do that will apace.

William Bashyr Pickard.

---

**NOW OFFERED  
AT THE REDUCED PRICE OF 5'9d.**

**Instead of 12'6d.**

### THE IDEAL PROPHET

*Demy Octavo, pp. 274*

**by KHWAJA KAMAL AL-DIN**

*This book is an excellent exposition of the moral aspect of the life of the Prophet Muhammad*

---

## THE Egyptian Economic & Political Review

**AUTHORITATIVE OPINIONS ON EGYPTIAN AND MIDDLE EAST BUSINESS**

*Analysis of Political  
and Economic Issues*

*Documentation on :*  
**ECONOMICS • INDUSTRY • COMMERCE  
NEW LAWS • STATISTICS**

*Yearly Subscription : £1 9s. plus postage*

*Published by :*

**The Egyptian Economic and Political Review**  
**33 SH. ABDEL KHALEK SARWAT • CAIRO • EGYPT**

# THE BIRTH OF A REPUBLIC IN THE WORLD OF ISLAM<sup>1</sup>

## The Progressive Struggle of Tunisia from a Regency to a Republic

By G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

### The First President of the Republic of Tunisia, Mr. Bourguiba

On 25th July 1957, an historic date in Tunisian and African, if not in world, history, the office of Bey of Tunisia was abolished and the great leader of Tunisian nationalism, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, became the first President of the Democratic Tunisian Republic, a President with full executive powers modelled loosely on the lines of the presidency as it functions in the United States.

There was no bloodshed and no visible regret. The former Bey, who had been placed on the throne in 1943 as a quisling to replace the popular nationalist Sidi Muhammad al-Munsif Ibn Muhammad Naseur, was quietly waiting with his bags already packed, and was silently removed to a house at Manouba. Thus a period of 250 years of despotic extravagance, feudalism and squandering, including 75 years of foreign rule, was swept away, to the immense satisfaction of at least 99 per cent of the Tunisian people. The mere removal of the monarch was of little importance, but the elevation of Mr. Habib Bourguiba to the new role of President was a matter of tremendous import. Mr. Habib Bourguiba is a man of the people. He is a member of a petty *bourgeois* family of Monastir, and like the vast majority of Tunisian students, his education in Tunisia and France was only achieved by making the greatest economies. His nationalist party, the Neo, or New Destour Party, won the solid backing of the intelligentsia, the petty *bourgeois*, the workmen and the *fellaheen*.

Tunisia is a poor country and has just achieved its independence. It could ill-afford to pay the Bey for doing nothing. From a political standpoint, Mr. Bourguiba most



*The First President of the Republic of Tunisia,  
Mr. Habib Bourguiba*

likely felt that as head of the State he could work more easily and on equal terms with the King of Morocco and the King of Libya. Unfortunately, some of the remarks of the Constituent Assembly were interpreted by the Libyan Ambassador to Tunisia as referring to monarchs in general and to his own monarch, so he withdrew from the visitors' gallery of the Constituent Assembly. In Morocco the Foreign Minister, Haj Ahmad Belafradj, refused to comment on the incident, but the radio and the nationalist daily of Rabat, *al-'Alam*, commented unfavourably. While recognizing at the same time Tunisia's right to settle its own internal affairs, the Istiqlal Party of Morocco seems to have been motivated to take this action by their deep loyalty to the King, Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf, who went into exile — and did not capitulate to the then French Resident-General, General Guillaume. These differences have blown over in time. The urgency of the Algerian question demands that the three independent Maghrebian powers — Libya, Morocco and Tunisia — should work harmoniously together to supply arms and economic aid to Algeria until the Algerian colonials are defeated or until a cease-fire is obtained on conditions acceptable to the Algerian Liberation Front leaders. Any division which may occur amongst these new States will be ruthlessly exploited by the French colonials to the detriment of the Algerian people, who are now dying in thousands for their country's independence.

## Mr. Bourguiba on the monarchial rule in Tunisia

Mr. Habib Bourguiba, like the wise statesman which he undoubtedly is, made it quite clear that in abolishing the Tunisian monarchy the Tunisians had no intention of criticizing other monarchies. He made a favourable reference to the Sultan of Morocco, whose patriotism had not been emulated by the ex-Bey of Tunisia, and mentioned that once the ex-Bey even went so far as to boast to Si Taieb Mehiri, the Tunisian Minister of the Interior, and to a delegation of Tunisian notables, during the worst period of French dictatorship in 1953, that his behaviour had saved him from sharing the fate of the Sultan of Morocco, who had been deported with his family to Corsica in the middle of the night because he symbolized and embodied the patriot opposition of Morocco towards French imperialism. Mr. Bourguiba also cited the case of an interview he had with the Bey's eldest son, Prince Shedly, in 1950. The Prince at one time had political ambitions, and was hoping to be created Crown Prince instead of the "Bey du camp", who was next in seniority to the succession. The Prince was told that Tunisia was about to enter the decisive phase of her struggle for national independence, and Mr. Habib Bourguiba wanted to enlist the support of the Bey and his son. He was met, however, with two-faced duplicity. The Bey, while appearing to support the nationalist movement, at the same time hearkened to the council of the French Residency, and he and his family, to use the phrase of President Bourguiba, "took out a kind of double insurance policy".

Referring to the signing of the Voizard decrees by the Bey during Mr. Bourguiba's deportation to the Isle of Galite in 1954, Mr. Bourguiba continued: "This Bey has not hesitated to sign the decrees which gave the French colony the right to form a part of the electoral body of Tunisia, against which I had put him on his guard". Mr. Bourguiba agreed that the Bey might plead that pressure was brought to bear on him. During the years in which Mr. de Hautecloque and Mr. Voizard were the French Residents (1952-1954) considerable additional credits and gifts had been offered to the Bey. This "bartering was incontestable". "Thus," he continued, "absolute or constitutional monarchy are unable to inspire us with confidence. . . . The Tunisian people have reached a sufficient degree of maturity to look after their own affairs for themselves. . . . In all sincerity I affirm that the monarchial régime is harmful to us and does not inspire us with any confidence. On the other hand the republican régime is the only system which suits our people, with the proviso that they know how to respect its demands and to provide safeguards for unity and national solidarity."

Mr. Rashid Driss (Idrees) (who later became the Postmaster General in President Bourguiba's new Cabinet), made a violent speech against the Tunisian Beys, with the exception of the patriotic Bey, Si Munsif Ibn Nasseur, who formed a genuine national government, ironically enough, under the German military rule in Tunisia from 1942 to 1943. Si Munsif caused Mr. Bourguiba and the Destourian leaders in France, the late Dr. Habib Thameur and Mr. Taieb Slim (now Ambassador to Britain), to be released (when they were serving terms of 20 years' hard labour). He was deposed by General Juin and exiled to Pau in France, where he died, universally revered, in 1948. He announced before his death that the office of Bey was out of date and should be abolished. Munsif Bey was followed by the quisling usurper Si Muhammad Lamine (al-Amin) Ibn Muhammad al-Habib, who was treated as a traitor by the

Tunisian population, as was his Premier, Maitre Ka'k, until the death of Munsif Bey. Later on he curried favour with the Tunisian nationalists, especially during the Shenik-Salah Ibn Yusuf government of 1951-52, but when the real test came in January 1952 and thousands of Tunisians were arrested and hundreds killed, he gradually capitulated and committed the heinous crime of accepting French sovereignty in 1954 by signing the electoral decrees.

During the course of the speeches in the Assembly, mention was made of the vacillating weak-kneed attitude of the Bey Muhammad Es-Sadok Ibn Husain II, who ruled from 1858-82. This Bey signed the Treaty of Bardo, accepting the French Protectorate in 1881. Muhammad Nasseur Ibn Muhammad Ibn Husain (1906-22) accepted the Destour or Constitution of the Destour Party, and abdicated, only to be intimidated into withdrawing his abdication when the French Resident, Mr. L. Saint, arrived at his palace flanked by an imposing array of troops. Examples were no doubt given of the extravagance of the Beys which led to the scrapping of the democratic Constitution of 1859 and foreign financial control prior to the French occupation. The Beys, like their prototypes, the Khedives in Egypt, lived fabulously, and their extravagance opened the doors to the foreign imperialists.

When the President of the Tunisian Constituent Assembly, Mr. Fares Jelouli, finally offered the Presidency to Mr. Habib Bourguiba, he was received with unanimous acclamation, and scenes of universal celebration marked the event. President Bourguiba wisely took into his Cabinet Mr. Ahmad Ibn Salah, the dynamic ex-Tunisian Trade Union leader (as Minister of Health) — a personality of outstanding ability and considerable prestige in the Western world and in syndicalist quarters. Mr. Munji Slim, second only to the President in the nationalist hierarchy, and one of those responsible for the excellent report on Hungary, remains at the United Nations for the present, where his presence is vitally needed to defend the Algerian cause and to win economic aid for the hundreds of thousands of Algerian refugees.

## History of the office of Bey

In conclusion, it may be useful to define the office of Bey and to describe the origin of the Husainite dynasty which ruled from 1705-1957.

In 1705 the Beys of the Turkish militia and the Beys who were in charge of collecting the taxes for the Sublime Porte, shared in turn the title of Pasha after due investiture. Ibrahim Sherif was the first Pasha to combine the offices of Bey and Dey, but when he was captured by the Algerians, a 35-year-old Agha of the Spahis, Husain Ibn Aki Turki, was made Bey. He attempted to get a docile Dey elected, but ultimately liquidated his rival and later on the former Pasha Ibrahim Sherif. In 1735 he was overthrown by his nephew, 'Ali Pasha, and was assassinated in 1740.

The usurper 'Ali reigned despotically for twenty years. According to a contemporary record at least 4,000 people were executed in the first year of his reign, and many more later on. He was eventually murdered by Husain's sons in 1756. These unsavoury incidents form a part of the history of a régime which is best forgotten and which is already rapidly being banished into obscurity.

<sup>1</sup> The historical matter contained in this article is largely drawn from *l'Action*, the Tunisian Nationalist French language weekly which is owned by Mr. Beshir Ben Yahmed. This paper is one of the best weeklies in Tunisia and is a credit to her (Editor, I.R.).



# Book Reviews

## THREE BOOKS ON IRAN

*PERSIAN OIL — A STUDY IN POWER POLITICS*, by L. P. Elwell-Sutton. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1955. Price 25/-.

*IRAN — PAST AND PRESENT*, by Donald Wilber. Princeton University Press. Distributed in Great Britain by Geoffrey Cumberlege, The Oxford University Press, London 1955. Price 35/-.

*ABADAN*, by N. Kemp. Allan Wingate, London 1953. Price 18/-.

Mr. Wilber is a well-known American writer on Iran and Afghanistan. His work on Iran is carefully documented and has a useful historical section covering the Islamic and pre-Islamic period which provides an excellent background to the student who wishes to have an objective study of the history of this country in order to get a better perspective of the great oil crisis of 1951, which marked the end of the British monopoly in this part of the world and gave rise to the great Muslim Iranian patriot Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, an honest and intransigent patriot who stood up for what he considered to be right equally against the dictatorial Shah Reza Pahlavi and the British Government.

Mr. Wilbur, being an American, is naturally concerned with the possibility of the Communists taking power in Iran under the guise of the Tudah Party. He considers that now (in 1955) there is "only a limited danger" of Iran becoming Communist or Russian dominated, for this might have happened when the country was suffering a severe economic crisis and the possibility of the Tudah Party gaining power by either democratic means or by force.

Most Iranians consider that Dr. Musaddiq never seriously considered the setting up of an Iranian people's satellite republic, and if he had done so, it is doubtful if he would have been easily ousted by General Zahedi in 1953. In fact, at the end he was up against the Shah, who had fled abroad, the Tudah Party, his former associates, Mr. Hasan Makki, the leading orator and a member of the Iranian Parliament, Ayatullah Kashani, the Muslim demagogue, and Dr. Baghai, the head of the Toilers' Party and the Conservative opposition. He was also opposed by the landlords, who resented his attempts to set up a limited form of communal democracy in the villages.

The execution of Dr. Musaddiq's Foreign Minister, Mr. Husain Fatemi, and the arrest of 600 officers as alleged Tudah supporters, and the execution of at least 20 of them, is an ugly chapter in the history of modern Iran.

General Zahedi's fall is generally attributed to the displeasure he incurred by his over-zealous purge. In many circles American money and intrigue are held responsible for aiding and abetting the overthrow of Musaddiq for alleged support of Communism. Mr. Wilbur gives a useful "occidental" account of these happenings. His book is in fact a mine of valuable information.

The cost of living increased over eleven times from 1936 to 1954, and Iran became one of the most expensive places to live in. The Allied occupation and the war were contributory causes to this. The Iranian people now spend as much as 56 per cent of their family budget on food. The cost of living is largely responsible for the strength of the Tudah Party, but this party, according to the author, began to decline in 1954. The new economic plan under the direction of Mr. Ebtehaj must help to solve the unemployment problem, but it should be pointed out that the so-called Communism was rife in 1951 amongst the most advanced members of the proletariat who worked in Abadan under the auspices of the foreign Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Tudah trade unionists no doubt won support, as they were always striving to get higher wages for the workers, but Russian occupation in Azerbaijan and Russia's attempts to get an oil concession, which were thwarted by Dr. Musaddiq and the crafty Premier, Mr. Qavam Sultaneh, were not acceptable to the majority, who wished to rid themselves of British and Russian imperialism.

*Abadan*, by a young New Zealand journalist, Mr. Kemp, who represented several of England's leading dailies during 1951, is a very clear account of the final day of the former Anglo-Iranian Company as seen from a sympathizer of the British.

It is graphically written, and in the introductory account a well-deserved tribute is given to the engineer, Mr. Reynolds, who persevered until he ultimately found a considerable oil strike. D'Arcy, the Anglo-Australian, who provided the finance, also showed amazing tenacity, not to say "guts", and Sir Winston Churchill, who is usually so prodigal in spending money, showed tremendous foresight by persuading the British Government to buy a major share in the company prior to the First World War in order to provide cheap fuel oil for the Royal Navy.

Mr. Kemp gives a series of regrettable incidents in which Iranians manhandled members of the British oil company. Of course, several thousand Iranians had been killed in the Anglo-American-Russian invasion of Iran during the war, and the exclusiveness of the British officials had done little to endear most of them to the people of Iran. Mr. Elwell-Sutton shows that Hasan Makki, the Deputy, who after Musaddiq was most responsible for the nationalisation of the oil-extracting industry, repeatedly calmed down the mob and even, as Mr. Kemp mentions, presented Mr. Ross, the technical head of the oil company, with a Persian carpet on his retirement from Iran.

One of the most interesting points made by Mr. Kemp is that the Iranians wanted to keep on the technical staff and Mr. Ross, but they had no use at all for the administrative staff, such as Mr. Mason, for they considered these people could be replaced by competent Iranians.

The British Privy Seal, Mr. Stokes, when he visited Iran, aroused great enthusiasm in the hearts of the British staff and bolstered up their morale, but Dr. Musaddiq was too tough



for this experienced English business man, a friend of the Palestine Arabs who was not allowed to go far enough by Mr. Attlee.

Mr. Kemp's clearly-written case for Britain is brilliantly contested by Mr. Elwell-Sutton, a Left-wing scholar and lecturer in Iranian in Edinburgh University. His book is one of the greatest and most damning exposures of oil imperialists ever written. Obviously he loves the Iranians and is no British chauvinist. He pays a great tribute to that great patriot Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, who was an honest and sincere patriot who embodied in himself courage and charm and great tenacity. In writing about Mr. Makki, Mr. Elwell-Sutton shows that he was equally patriotic, a great orator of no deep culture who, however, loved reading. Dr. Martin Daftari, the son-in-law of Dr. Musaddiq and a former Premier under Riza Shah, and Mr. Kasem Hasibi, an experienced engineer, are also mentioned with approbation as two of the main supporters of the oil nationalisation project. Dr. Reza Fallah is another qualified Iranian who has played a considerable part in the oil history of Iran. The Mullah Kashani, of course, was for a time a supporter of Dr. Musaddiq, but he finally turned against Dr. Musaddiq, who was opposed to his religious views.

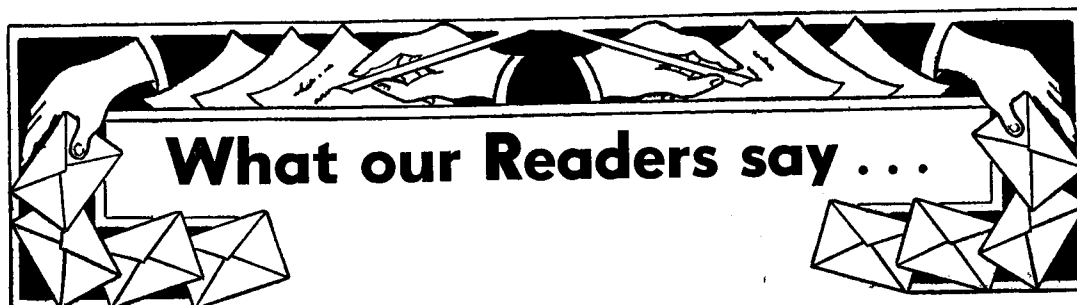
Mr. Sutton gives innumerable incidents of the blind stupidity of British officials, and he points out that Iran was always at its best when free from foreign influence.

He ends on a memorable note: "The year 1951 might have marked the end of foreign oil exploitation in Persia. Instead, perhaps one day the people of Britain too may grow tired of governments that are dominated by financial and commercial interests, that in their dealings with the rest of the world do nothing but create new enemies, that flout the principles of responsibility and fair play that the British always liked to think were characteristic of them. For the present Persia's hopes of a new life have been defeated, but she can bide her time, confident in the knoweldge that her turn will come."

The contemptible policy of applying economic sanctions to Iran by cutting off her British imports led to the introduction of American and other oil interests, while Britain's share of the oil refining fell to 40 per cent and British imports into Iran ceased for several years.

Britain's attack on Suez was a repetition in a more deplorable and aggressive form of the Iranian oil crisis of 1951, and once again British interests lost. British pilots were replaced by Russians and others, and British property was confiscated and British exports to Egypt ceased.

It would seem that Britain has not yet learnt the lesson of Abadan, which Mr. Sutton has so brilliantly portrayed. This is a very great book, and Muslims the world over will be grateful to him. Iran's prestige is correctly assessed at its true value.



## THE PROBLEM OF A NEWCOMER TO THE FOLD OF ISLAM

Arabic the Medium of Prayer?

48 Exeter Road,  
London, N.W.2.  
31st July 1957.

Dear Sir,

Peace be upon you and the Blessings of God!

I wonder if you will be good enough to give me a little of your valuable space to make known a problem of mine concerning my faith as a Muslim, a problem which faces all British Muslims, and indeed, all non-Arabic-speaking Muslims the world over.

Since I became a Muslim a year ago I have been striving to learn the Arabic language. This task will take me the rest of my days to accomplish, but it is most necessary for a better understanding of Islam and the Islamic world. Eventually I hope I will be able to understand sufficient to say prayers and read the Holy Qur'an without stumbling and trying to recollect what I have come to learn they mean. When I can know these meanings without the help of remembered translations, then progress will have been made.

In the meantime spiritual benefits are denied me, as the

current practice in the Muslim world forbids the use of a tongue other than Arabic as a medium for prayer and reading the Qur'an. But what is the value of partially or totally uncomprehended prayer? Those who pray in this fashion are surely as worthy of rebuke as those mentioned in the chapter *al-Maa'unn* of the Holy Qur'an, where we read: *alladhina hum 'an Salaatihim Saahuna* ("The people who perform the prayer outwardly but are unmindful of what they are saying"). Again, al-Ghazzali quotes the Prophet Muhammad as saying: "A creature gets from his worship only that which he comprehends of it" (from al-Ghazzali's *Ihya'*). I could go on, if space permitted, to quote other authorities to support my contention that prayer which is not understood is of little value. So far, however, I lack authorities to whom I can resort to find a ruling on praying and reading the Qur'an in a language other than Arabic.

As one who has recently become a Muslim this problem seems a challenge to Islam, which claims to be such a tolerant religion. If any readers of *The Islamic Review* can help me in this matter by quoting competent authorities on the points concerned, I would be grateful to hear from them, and I pray for God's blessing on those who come to my aid.

Yours sincerely in Islam,

'ABD al-RAZZAQ HUNWICK.

## BURMESE MUSLIM COUNCILS

No. 11, 130 Street,  
Rangoon, Burma.  
30th August 1957.

Dear Sir,

In 1955 I sent a pamphlet published by the Burma Islamic Council on the Zionist intrigues which you published in *The Islamic Review*. Although I fully agree with the contents expressed therein, I am anxious to remove the impression that I am a member of the Burma Islamic Council, which published it.

The manner in which the contents were published in *The Islamic Review* tends to show that I am associated with the Council, and that the Council's address is my home address. Consequently I received letters from abroad addressed to the Burma Islamic Council. As there are two organizations here working under somewhat similar names, some confusion has arisen regarding my position in the matter.

I wish to state that I have no connection whatsoever with any of the said Councils, although I support every Muslim activity carried out by either of the groups.

Those in other countries who may like to contact the Councils may contact them at the following addresses:

The Union of Burma Islamic Religious Affairs Council, No. 193, Maung Taulay Street, Rangoon (President: The Honourable U. Khin Mg. Lat, Judicial Minister).

Burma Islamic Council, No. 56, 31st Street, Rangoon (President: Mr. A. E. Malam).

Those in foreign countries who are interested in contacting Burmese Muslims may note that I am connected with the *Gaba Alin* monthly, the Burma Muslim Journalists' and Writers' Association, and branches of the World Muslim Conference and the International Assembly of Muslim Youth.

Yours in Islam,

MAUNG-KO GHAFARI.

\* \* \*

## GERMAN MUSLIM SOCIETY IN WEST GERMANY

Neerstedt/Oldbg.,  
West Germany.  
8th September 1957.

Dear Brother in Islam,

I should be glad if you would kindly publish the following lines in your esteemed journal, *The Islamic Review*, so that your readers all over the world may know something about the Muslims in Bremen, West Germany, who have formed a society called the "Majlis al-Muslimin".

This organization, which has been recently founded, has the following aims and objects:

- (1) To organize lectures and discussions on various subjects relating to Islam;
- (2) To organize and conduct lessons in Arabic and the Holy Qur'an;
- (3) To invite German friends and to explain to them the religion of Islam;
- (4) To establish and maintain an Islamic Cultural and Information Centre in Bremen;

- (5) To teach German to Muslims from other countries residing in Bremen, and to help them wherever possible;
- (6) To organize and deliver lectures on Islam to other groups and societies that may be interested in Islam, and to help the cause of the Muslim world by organizing lectures about various Muslim countries;
- (7) To co-operate with organizations and institutions with similar aims and objects; and,
- (8) To raise funds for the activities of the *Majlis* in the shape of donations and fees, and to acquire rights and property of any kind.

Our organization started its activities with a brilliant lecture on "The Unity of God and the Unity of Mankind" on 20th June, which was given by Professor Muhammad Mohagheghi, the Imam of the Islamic Society at Hamburg. On 18th July I delivered a lecture on the famous verse 177 of *Surat al-Baqara*, and on 15th August on "Biblical Prophecies about the Advent of the Prophet Muhammad". On both occasions I was given great assistance by Mr. Mahmoud Muhammad Mahdy, of Zagazig, Egypt, who also recited the Qur'an at these meetings. On 19th September I gave a talk on "What Islam has to offer to the Western Society".

We also organized a lecture on "The Teachings of Islam" given by Mr. 'Ali Emari, Secretary of the Islamic Society at Hamburg, and a lecture by Mr. Muhammad on "The Struggle for Freedom in Algeria". Both lectures were given at a meeting of the Cosmopolitan Club in Bremen.

In connection with item 5 of our aims and objects, we have succeeded in organizing lessons for students of German to be held every Sunday, which are usually conducted by the writer of these lines.

Unfortunately, due to financial and other difficulties, our activities can be on a humble scale only. We would be very glad if well-wishers of Islam amongst the interested readers of *The Islamic Review* would contact us at the above address and honour us with their kind advice.

Yours in Islam,

HUSAIN LANGER.

\* \* \*

## WHAT THE YOUTH INTELLIGENTSIA OF ISLAM IS THINKING

Dear Sir,

Many of your readers, I am sure, will recollect that about three years ago there appeared, under the title of "Muslim Heresy Punished", the news of the dismissal of 'Abdul Hamid Bakheet, a lecturer in the faculty of Islamic teachings in al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt. It was the first time in the whole recorded history of the Azhar — the oldest university in the world — that one of its lecturers wrote against the orthodox opinion, that fasting during the month of Ramadhan was not obligatory for devout Muslims.

Dealing with the subject, the Qur'an says:

"And those who find it *extremely hard* may effect redemption by feeding a poor man. So whoever does so *spontaneously*, it is better for him; and that if you fast it is better for you if you know" (2:184).

The Qur'an is clear in its injunction that fasting is a spontaneous act, and not obligatory on all believers. Those



who feel it "extremely hard" are allowed compensation by feeding the poor; but those who do not find it "extremely hard" must, of course, fast, otherwise they would be sinners in the sight of God. According to the established laws of Islam, nothing can be said against such a plain verse of the Holy Qur'an. Our ancestors were, of course, so good that they preferred fasting to redemption, but that cannot in any way take away the generous choice of the Holy Qur'an from us. Still, many people differ on this point. The matter should, therefore, have been brought to the notice of the people through the press by al-Azhar, and to have let the Muslims freely express their opinion about it. Its disciplinary action shows that they, and supporters of the orthodox view, want the Islamic teachings to remain dogmatic, and that they cannot tolerate an opinion even of a member of their own Institute.

It is strange that even in the twentieth century a university, itself a citadel of the intelligentsia of Islam, should have adopted such an intolerant attitude. All the orthodox 'Ulemas of Tanta (Egypt), India, Pakistan and other Islamic countries, along with their gigantic illiterate following, flared up against this heresy. But how many of them do fast in Ramadhan?

If Muslims are not afraid of the truth, I would suggest that medical opinion be invited on the question as to how far it is permissible for a man to fast in a certain country and climate. Should the poor, the underfed, the aged, the students and the labourers fast in the burning heat of tropical countries?

It is the duty of al-Azhar, a seat of learning and a citadel of knowledge, to establish a research department under able professors, for research on such problems. It should try to prove Islamic teachings rationally and scientifically, so that Islam may be acceptable to the educated peoples of the world. *Ijtihad* is a recognized practice in Islam, and was used and encouraged by our *a'immas*. Obviously, it is the duty of Islamic universities like al-Azhar (Egypt) and Deoband (India) to teach and encourage *Ijtihad* to the thousands of Muslim students they receive from all over the world. Unfortunately, the spirit of *Ijtihad* has been greatly suppressed.

Dr. Taha Husain, the eminent writer and educationist, was the first martyr of the Egyptian Government who was dismissed from his post of Minister of Education for his so-called heresy. The Shaikh Hamid Bakheet was the second. They have so bravely opened the door to *Ijtihad*. Their great sacrifices will be appreciated by the intelligentsia of the whole Muslim world.

Many intellectuals have already supported the Shaikh Bakheet's view, and have seized the opportunity to deride what they consider to be the hide-bound and outdated opinions of orthodox Muslims. Protesting against al-Azhar, Mr. 'Ali Amin, one of the proprietors of *al-Akhbar*, wrote: "We want al-Azhar to be a citadel of free thinking, and not a cemetery of freedom of thought or a stronghold of ignorance and reaction".

If it is not a crime to express one's own opinion in Islamic theological matters, I would like to touch here on a few of the problems which have for long been arising in the minds of many Muslims.

Muslims in general are finding it extremely inconvenient to carry out the practices of orthodox Islam — as for example the offering of congregational prayers in the mosques five times a day. Is it possible for a busy man of today? The Holy Qur'an has never inflicted on us such a hardship. It has only spoken of three prayers. Muslims of course had been

offering their prayers five times a day, and I think that every Muslim should try to do this. But if he cannot, then he should at least offer prayer three times a day, as the Qur'an requires of him. If not, five prayers should be combined into three, as Muhammad 'Ali, an exponent of Islam in modern times on the authority of Islamic traditions says: "The Prophet combined the Zuhr and 'Asr prayers when there was neither journey nor fear. When the Companions asked the Prophet why he did so, he replied, 'So that my followers may not be in difficulty'."<sup>1</sup>

This combination was effected in Medina when there was neither fear nor rain,<sup>2</sup> and is known as a problem of "combination of prayers". This can be offered both as early combination or late combination, and would make the whole problem of prayers so practicable and easy. And I think more Muslims would be offering prayers than they do now under the strict orthodox opinion of five times a day.

The language of the prayers has also been for long in question. The non-Arab Muslims offer their prayers in the Arabic language, of which they understand nothing. They can neither concentrate with such alien prayers nor can they avail them. They just offer them formally like rituals without any practical gain. It is, therefore, better that they should be allowed to offer their prayers in their own language.

The orthodox opinion has never agreed with this long-standing question, in spite of the fact that the great Imam Abu Hanifah had allowed it in the second century A.H.

The segregation of women from prayers is against the original practice of Islam. During the time of the Prophet the women visited the mosques and used to offer their prayers with the men.

Once, a certain Tradition says, men, women and children were assembled in a mosque and the Prophet was late in leading the night prayer. 'Umar called out, "The women and children are going to sleep" (*The Bukhari*, 9:22). Another Hadith narrated by A'ishah says that women used to go to the mosques at early hours for morning prayers, and that when the Prophet heard a baby crying he would shorten his prayer lest the mother should feel inconvenienced (*The Bukhari*, 10:65). The Prophet used to wait a little after his prayers till the women left the mosque (*The Bukhari*, 10:52). He had given orders to his Companions, "Do not prohibit the maids of God from going to the mosques of God" (*The Bukhari*, 11:12). He is reported to have said "that if a woman wanted to go to the mosque at night, she should not be prohibited from doing so" (*The Bukhari*, 10:162). They were asked to join the men on special occasions, as the Prophet says "... on the occasion of the 'Ids, women should go out of the place where prayers are said; even women in a state of menstruation are to be present, though they would not join in the prayer" (*The Bukhari*, 13:15, 20). In the mosques they were not separated from men by any screen or curtain, but they performed their prayers in a line behind the men (*The Bukhari*, 10:164). On the occasion of the great gathering which assembles for pilgrimage, a woman is expressly forbidden to wear a veil (*The Bukhari*, 25:23). All these evidences from the Hadith afford overwhelming evidence of the fact that women, just in the same way as men, used to frequent the mosques. It was late in 256 A.H. (881 C.E.) that the Governor of Mecca is said to have tied ropes between the columns to make a separate place for women.<sup>3</sup> Later, wooden barriers were erected in mosques to separate women from men, and the practice grew until the women were pushed out of the mosques and public activities, and

1 Muhammad 'Ali, *The Religion of Islam*, Lahore, Pakistan, 1950.

2 *Al-Sahih* by Muslim.

3 *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 1904. Art. Masjid.

gradually shut up within their houses against the spirit of Islam.

On segregation, all that the Qur'an says is: "And say to the believing women that they lower their gaze and restrain their sexual passions and do not display their ornaments except what appears thereof. And let them wear their head coverings over their bosom" (24:31). Thus, the segregation of men and women as practised in most Muslim countries today was never meant by the Qur'an.

### The problem of Interest

Another much-disputed problem among the Muslims is "interest". It is clearly prohibited in the Qur'an. But in all business transactions in the world of Islam interest forms as much an important factor in economic life as it does in Western countries. Muslims are compelled to ignore this injunction of Islam and go ahead. Has Islam become outdated and rejectable? My answer is no, if we are ready for a fresh and new interpretation of its teachings without fear of heresy in Islam. In fact the whole conception of "interest" is entirely changed through the economic development of the modern world in which we have to live. What the Prophet meant by "interest" was the multiplied profit on money which the poor were forced to borrow from the rich, for their bare necessities. This, of course, is an inhuman practice, and cannot be allowed at any time. Unfortunately, our orthodox 'ulemas will never solve the problems in such an easy way, but would make a mess of the whole problem, leaving the Muslims in a dilemma.

It is very encouraging that our younger generation is trying to understand Islam intellectually, as the daughter of the Rector of the Disciplinary Council of al-Azhar stated that she disagreed with her father, the Shaikh al-Rahman Taj, on his views about matrimonial matters.

It is regrettable to know that the Shaikh Bakheet was at last compelled to withdraw his views about fasting. In the Arabic daily, *al-Akhbar*, Cairo, he is reported to have said, "I am not infallible; every scholar, no matter how great his knowledge, may be liable to make some mistakes".

However al-Azhar may rejoice on its success, the spirit of freedom of thought, once kindled in the minds of the Muslim intelligentsia, is not going to be extinguished.

### Ijtihad

Let us now see what *Ijtihad* is, and how it is encouraged in Islam. *Ijtihad* is a method of deducing the laws of Islam from the original data of Islam, which requires reasoning, the value of which is expressly recognized in the Holy Qur'an. It appeals to human reason again and again, and is full of exhortations like the following: "Do you not reflect? Do you not understand?" "Have you no sense?" "There are signs in this for a people who understand." "... deaf, dumb and blind, so they do not understand" (2:171). "They have hearts with which they do not understand, and they have eyes with which they do not see, and they have ears with which they do not hear. They are as cattle; nay, they are in worse error" (7:179).

After the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the Caliphs used to hold a council to which every important case was referred, and the decision of this council was by a majority of votes accepted by the Caliphs as well as by the Muslim public. It was not exactly a legislative assembly in the modern sense, but the principle was almost the same. The decision of the majority was the method to solve disputed

matters. Besides this, the decisions of individual teachers like Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn 'Umar and A'ishah and other great *Mujtahids* (the legists) of the day were highly revered. It was in the second century A.H. that the Imam Abu Hanifah, the great jurist, arose and codified the Islamic laws according to the needs of his time. It was the time when Kufah itself was not a great centre of learning of Islam, and the collections of Hadith had not become the vogue. Naturally, he received a few and accepted very few. The great trouble came in Islam when more and more unauthentic Hadiths were collected. Abu Hanifah was a man of highly independent character, and preferred imprisonment rather than lose his freedom of expression and thought. It was he who first directed public attention to the great value of the *Qiyas*, or analogical reasoning in legislation. He recognized the independence of judgment so much that his followers were called *ahl al-ra'y* (upholders of private judgment). The Imam Malik observed mainly the Traditions and practices of Medina, while the Imam Shafi'i, travelling from place to place, gained more traditional information and intimately acquainted himself with the Hanafi and Maliki systems. Unfortunately, the Imam Ahmad Hanbal made the least possible use of reason, and thus there came a marked falling off in the last of the four great Imams from the high ideals of the first — application of reasoning in religious matters. Thus, the system of Abu Hanifah himself has deteriorated on account of the later jurists of his school, not developing the master's high ideal. Gradually, the development of law according to the changing necessities of the people stopped, and now stagnation reigns all over the Muslim world. If anybody opens his mouth against the orthodox Islam, he is harassed, persecuted, removed from his office and compelled to take back his views!

Yours sincerely,

M. I. KAMIL.

\* \* \*

### 'ID AL-FITR SERMON AT THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING

12 Boyle Street,  
Lagos,

Federation of Nigeria,

8th August 1957.

Dear Sir,

I was deeply touched by the thought-provoking 'Id al-Fitr address delivered by the venerable Maulana Yakub Khan on 1st May 1957 at Woking. Indeed, this address will serve as an enlightening gospel to Muslim and non-Muslim thinkers if its message was digested.

In my humble opinion it was more than a simple address, and I wish to call it a gospel that should travel to every home in all parts of the world. Undoubtedly, if this gospel could enjoy a global circulation, it would serve as an immediate remedy to the present world crisis. The Western and Eastern powers will benefit a lot from it.

It is an appeal to the oppressors to stop man's inhumanity to man. I do hope and pray that this gospel reaches the a new faith into Mr. Styrdom and his Cabinet to realize that *Apartheid* is morally unjustified.

Yours in the brotherhood of Islam,

N. OLAYINMIKA IDRIS.

# Literature on Islam and Other Books

**CUSTOMERS ARE ADVISED NOT TO ORDER BOOKS BY AIR MAIL AS THE AIR MAIL POSTAGE IS HEAVY, IT BEING APPROXIMATELY 16/- PER LB.**

## Books by Khwaja Kamal al-Din

The Ideal Prophet. Demy 8vo. 274 pages .....	£	s.	d.
A Running Commentary on the Holy Qur'an. 141 pages .....	5	0	0
Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an. 141 pp. ....	9	0	0
Threshold of Truth. Crown 8vo. 196 pages .....	8	0	0
Religion of Jesus and Traditional Christianity. 77 pp. ....	6	0	0
Sources of Christianity. Demy 8vo. 113 pages .....	2	0	0
Message of Islam. Demy 8vo. 74 pages .....	4	0	0
Human Faculties and their Development. 35 pages .....	3	0	0
Hints to the Study of the Qur'an. Demy 8vo. 37 pages .....	1	0	0
With Difficulty is Ease. Demy 8vo. 16 pages .....	1	0	0
Brief Notes on the Qur'an. Demy 8vo. 16 pages .....	8		
Islam to East and West. 204 pages .....	8		
Modernization of the Islamic Form of Devotion. Demy 8vo. 15 pages .....	6	0	0

## Books by the Maulana Muhammad 'Ali

The Holy Qur'an with Arabic Text, Translation and Commentary. Lxx+1256 pages.			
Leather bound—1st Quality .....	3	0	0
Cloth bound—2nd Quality .....	2	0	0
The Holy Qur'an, English Translation without Arabic Text, with short notes and comments. 631 pages ...	12	0	0
Religion of Islam. Royal 8vo. 784 pages .....	1	10	0
Manual of Hadith. Demy 8vo. ....	1	0	0
Muhammad the Prophet. Crown 8vo. 320 pages .....	13	0	0
Early Caliphate. Crown 8vo. 320 pages .....	13	0	0
Living Thoughts of Muhammad. Crown 8vo. 142 pages .....	5	0	0
Muhammad and Christ. Crown 8vo. 159 pages .....	4	0	0
New World Order. Crown 8vo. 148 pages .....	2	6	0
Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an. 191 pages .....	5	0	0
The Anti-Christ and Gog and Magog. 91 pages .....	7	6	0
The Prophet's Marriages. Crown 8vo. 36 pages .....	1	6	0
History of the Prophets. 162 pages .....	6	6	0

## Books by Various Authors

Wright's Arabic Grammar, in 2 vols. ....	2	15	0
Arabic Grammar with Key, by G. W. Thatcher, M.A. 461 pages .....	1	4	6
The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, by Sir Mohammad Iqbal. 8½ in. x 6½ in. 205 pages ...	1	0	0
Teach Yourself Arabic, by A. S. Tritton. 296 pages ...	7	6	0
The Holy Qur'an. Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary by A. Yusuf Ali. In 2 vols. 1862 pages. 10 in. x 6½ in. ....	5	0	0
The Bible Handbook .....	4	6	0
Religious Life of Chinese Muslims. Edited by China Islamic Association .....	3	0	0
Atlas of Islamic History, compiled by Harry W. Hazard. 3rd Edition, 1954. 14½ in. x 11 in. 50 pages .....	2	8	0

A Short History of the Saracens, by Ameer Ali. with maps, illustrations and genealogical tables. 5 in. x 7½ in. 640 pages .....	£	s.	d.
The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, by Marmaduke Pickthall. An explanatory translation. 691 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in. Printed in the United Kingdom .....	1	10	0
The Legacy of Islam. Edited by Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume. 5 in. x 7½ in. 432 pages, with 42 plates .....	1	5	0
Outlines of Muhammadan Law, by Asaf A. F. Fyzee. 2nd Edition, 1955. 8½ in. x 5½ in. 445 pages .....	1	8	0
Mohammedanism, by H. A. R. Gibb. 206 pages .....	6	0	0
Golden Deeds of Islam, by M. Ya'kub Khan. Crown 8vo. 132 pages .....	5	0	0
A New World, by W. B. Bashyr-Pickard, B.A.(Cantab.). Crown 8vo. 171 pages .....	6	0	0
Message of the Holy Prophet Muhammad to Europe, by Dr. Marcus. Royal 8vo. 33 pages .....	2	0	0
What is Islam? by J. W. Lovegrove. Crown 8vo. 50 pages .....	2	6	0
Life of Muhammad, by Al-Haj F. R. Hakeem. 48 pages .....	1	2	0
The Status of Women in Islam, by the Maulvi Aftab al-Din. 23 pages .....	10		
Islam and Socialism, by Khwaja Nazir Ahmad. Royal 8vo. 16 pages .....	9		
The Teachings of Islam, by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Crown 8vo. 212 pages .....	2	0	0
The God that Failed, by Arthur Kostler, Ignazio Silone and Richard Wright. 272 pages .....	12	6	0
Heroes and Hero Worship, by Thomas Carlyle (including Sartor Resartus) .....	7	0	0
Avicenna on Theology. Translated from the Arabic by Professor A. J. Arberry .....	6	0	0
The Message of Islam. A résumé of the teachings of the Qur'an, with special reference to the spiritual and moral struggles of the human soul, by A. Yusuf 'Ali .....	6	0	0
The Arabs — A Short History, by Philip K. Hitti. 207 pages .....	12	6	0
History of the Arabs, by P. K. Hitti. 822 pages .....	2	5	0
In the Footsteps of the Prophet, by Rafiq M. Khan. 137 pages .....	4	6	0
The Concise Oxford Dictionary. Fourth Edition. 1540 pages. 7½ in. x 5 in. ....	18	0	0
History of the Islamic Peoples, by Carl Brocklemann. 566 pages .....	1	10	0
Arab Philosophy of History. Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406). Translated and arranged by Charles Issawi, M.A. 5 in. x 7 in. 190 pages .....	7	0	0
Spirit of Islam, by Syed Amir Ali. 5½ in. x 8½ in. 515 pages .....	1	7	6
Muhammad the Prophet of God, by S. Khuda Baksh. 4½ in. x 5½ in. 36 pages .....	1	3	0
Life of Muhammad. A translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah, with Introduction and Notes by Guillaume. 1956. XLVII+813 .....	3	3	0

CAN BE OBTAINED FROM

Prices subject to change

Postage and Packing Extra

**THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST**

Publishers and Booksellers

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England

Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore, West Pakistan

## Literature on Islam and Other Books Continued

Muslim Sea Power in the Eastern Mediterranean. From the Seventh to the Tenth Century C.E. (studies in Naval Organization), by Aly Mohamed Fahmy, D.Ph. 194 pages	£	s.	d.	Modern Islam in India and Pakistan, by Wilfred Cantwell Smith. 475 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	£	s.	d.
Studies in Islam and Christianity, by Dudley Wright. Crown 8vo. 171 pages	1	0	0	Islam and Communism, by Dr. Khalifa A. Hakim. 263 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	16	0	0
Revival of Zakat, by Sh. 'Ata Ullah, M.A. 5½ in. x 7½ in. 110 pages	6	6		Muhammad the Educator, by Robert L. Gulick, Jr. 176 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	7	0	0
Glimpses from the Life of the Prophet Muhammad by Eminent Scholars. 4¼ in. x 7¼ in. 186 pages	8	0		Fundamental Human Rights, by Dr. Khalifa A. Hakim. 27 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	1	0	0
What an Unlettered Arab Uttered in his Trances, by Bennett and Browne. Selections from the Qur'an under classified headings such as Sex, Relations, Property Rights, War, Jews, Christians, etc. 5½ in. x 8½ in. 261 pages	6	6		Dewan of Zeb-un-Nissa, by Magan Lal and Jessoe Westbrook. 102 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	7	6	
Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad, by Dr. M. Hamidullah, Ph.D. (Bonn.), D.Litt. (Paris). 11 in. x 9 in. 48 pages	10	0		Road to Kashmir, by A. de Mhaffé. 206 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	15	0	0
The Persian Mystics. The invocations of Sheikh 'Abdullah Ansari of Herat, A.D. 1005-1090. Translated by Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi	3	0		Caliphate, by S. Khuda Buksh. 106 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	7	6	
The Road to Mecca, by Muhammad Asad, 8½ in. x 5½ in. 381 pages	5	0		Falcon of Spain, by Thomas Ballantyne Irving. 158 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	12	0	0
Jinnah, by Hector Bolitho, 8½ in. x 5½ in. 244 pages	1	1	0	Islam and Theocracy, by Muhammad Mazheruddin Siddiqi. 47 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	3	0	0
Punj Sura (Five Chapters of the Holy Qur'an). Arabic and English. 5½ in. x 6½ in. 98 pages	1	1	0	Whether Islam has been beneficial or injurious to Human Society in General, by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. 41 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	2	8	
Ali the Caliph, by Muhammad Al-Haj Salmin. 485 pages. 7½ in. x 5 in.	5	0		The Fallacy of Marxism, by Dr. Rafi-ud-Din. 44 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	2	0	0
The Holy Saint of Ajmer, by Muhammad Ali Al-Haj Salmin. 85 pages. 7½ in. x 5 in.	1	5	0	Islam the Ideal Religion, also includes discourses on the Holy Prophet Muhammad and the Holy Qur'an, by Prof. Sheikh Youseff El-Dighy. 170 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	12	0	0
The Holy Prophet Through Different Lights, by Muhammad Ali Al-Haj Salmin. XVI + 324 pages. 9 in. x 5½ in.	1	1	0	Pearls of Faith (being the Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of Allah with comments in verse from various Oriental sources), by Sir Edwin Arnold. 190 pages. 7½ in. x 5 in.	9	6	
Holy Qur'an. Arabic Text (Hamail). 606 pages. 3¼ in. x 2½ in.	8	0		Support of the Faith, by Mir Hashmat Ali. 76 pages. 7½ in. x 5 in.	4	6	
Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition Parts 1-9...per part (N.B. The full edition must be ordered.)	19	0		Glimpses of Iqbal's Mind and Thought, by Dr. H. H. Bilgrami. 124 pages. 7½ in. x 5 in.	8	4	
Sahih al-Bukhari (Urdu Translation) in 2 Vols. 1,612 pages. 10 in. x 7 in.	2	10	0	The Prophet and Islam, by Stanley Lane Poole. 52 pages. 4½ in. x 7½ in.	2	0	0
Holy Qur'an on 1 page with magnifying glass (post free)	1	0	0	Marriage and Family Life among the Arabs, by S. Khuda Buksh. 57 pages. 7½ in. x 5 in.	2	0	0
Islamic Ideology, by Dr. Khalifa A. Hakim. 346 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	1	0	0	The Brotherhood of Purity, by Stanley Lane Poole. 46 pages. 7 in. x 5 in.	2	0	0
Sayings of Muhammad, by Allanma Sir Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardy. 4¼ in. x 6¼ in. 128 pages	6	0		Marxism or Islam, by Mazheruddin Siddiqi. 168 pages. 10¼ in. x 6½ in.	9	0	0
The Muslim Neighbours of Pakistan, by Mahmud Brelvi. 276 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	15	0		Islam's Contribution to the Peace of the World, by S. A. Haque. 52 pages. 8½ in. x 5½ in.	1	6	
				The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, by Marmaduke Pickthall. Printed in the U.S.A.	4	0	0

Prices subject to change

Postage and Packing Extra

**ALCOHOL—a pest of Modern Civilisation, a dispassionate study of the effect of Alcohol on the Human Body and on Civilisation. By Muriel G. Heath 7 pp. Price 6d.**

**ARABIC TEXT OF THE QUR'AN — beautifully printed in various sizes — a valuable present for your friends. Price on application**

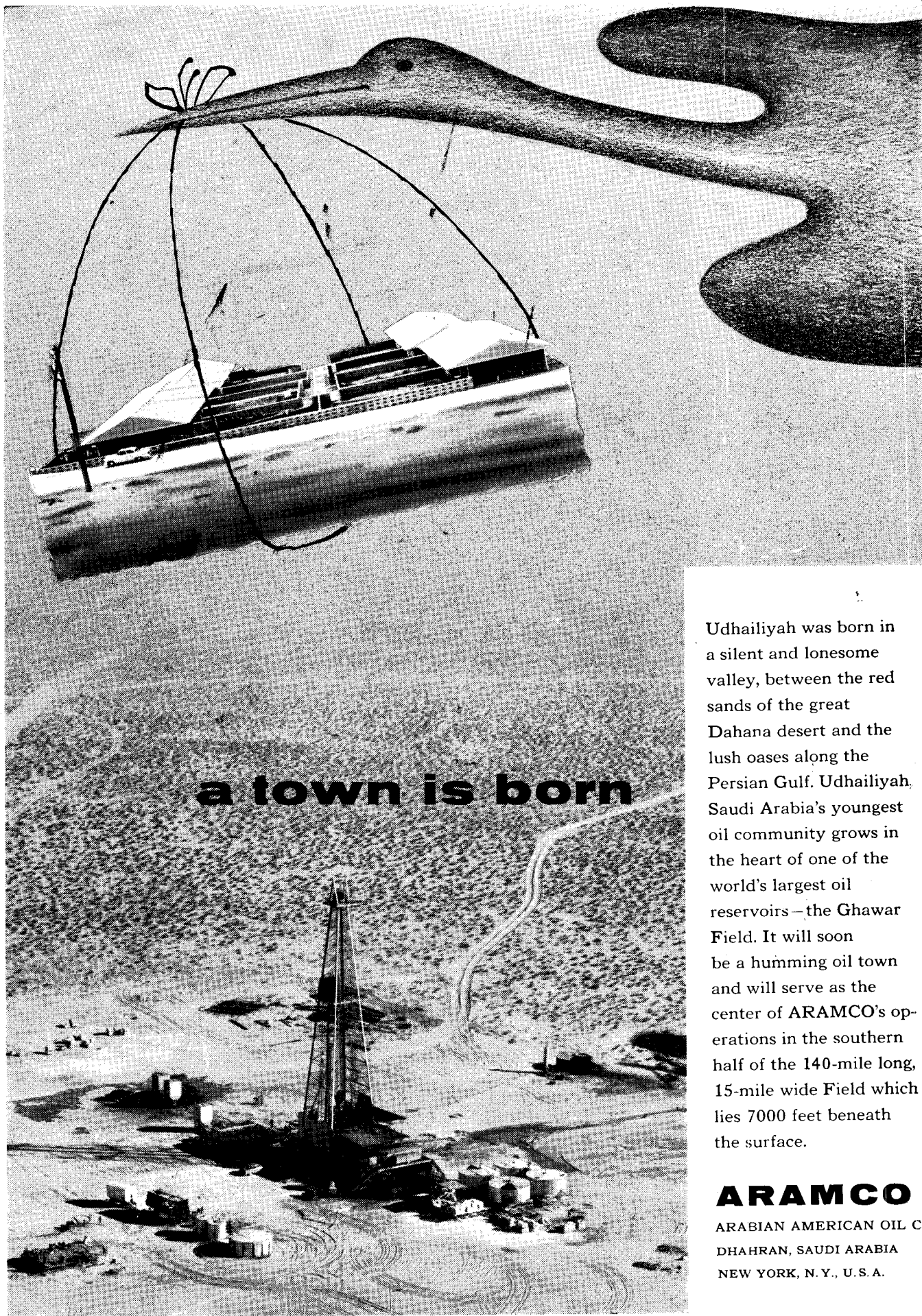
CAN BE OBTAINED FROM

## THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

*Publishers and Booksellers*

**THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE, WOKING, SURREY, ENGLAND**

**AZEEZ MANZIL, BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE, WEST PAKISTAN**



## a town is born

Udhailiyah was born in a silent and lonesome valley, between the red sands of the great Dahana desert and the lush oases along the Persian Gulf. Udhailiyah, Saudi Arabia's youngest oil community grows in the heart of one of the world's largest oil reservoirs—the Ghawar Field. It will soon be a humming oil town and will serve as the center of ARAMCO's operations in the southern half of the 140-mile long, 15-mile wide Field which lies 7000 feet beneath the surface.

### **ARAMCO**

ARABIAN AMERICAN OIL CO.  
DHAHRAN, SAUDI ARABIA  
NEW YORK, N. Y., U. S. A.