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June 1960
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JUNE 1960
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The design on the Cover is the work of a young Egyptian Muslim of Pakistani extraction. It is conceived around the famous verse in Arabic – "Allah jalla Jalah-l-ha" ("God Whose might be illustrious").

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TOWARDS PEACE IN AN ALGERIAN ALGERIA

In spite of the apparently negative outcome of the meeting at Melun in France between the representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government and the Government of General De Gaulle, the first open contact between the FLN (National Liberation Front) and the French Government marks a tremendous step forward towards the ending of this appalling and bloody war. It also marks a decisive stage in the move towards the recognition of Algeria as a new independent Muslim State, shortly to join the community of independent African States such as Mali, Somalia and Guinea. In a recent speech in Normandy, General De Gaulle has mentioned the emergence of "an Algerian Algeria linked to France".

Some time ago when the General talked on the right of the Algerians to self-determination, it was pointed out in an editorial in The Islamic Review for September-October 1959, that this was the writing on the wall, and that once the possible secession of Algeria had been officially envisaged by a French Head of State, no retrograde measures could halt the inevitable march of time. Algerian independence was a certainty.

In his latest speech, General De Gaulle, by talking of an Algerian Algeria, has gone even further and has finally buried for ever the myth of the outdated "Algerie de papa," as Algeria is called in the jargon of French Colonials of Algeria. Once more General De Gaulle has told the French people that they must not think of Algeria in terms of the past, and every time he has mentioned peace in Algeria, he is acclaimed by the war-weary French people. French public opinion is entirely, or almost entirely, in favour of peace in Algeria; for at last the futility of continuing the war with its ensuing bloodshed is recognized.

The French Independent Socialist Left is re-emerging and drawing nearer to the FLN, and even the official Socialist Party of Mr. Guy Mollet, which capitulated to the colonials in Algeria in 1956, is clamouring for a negotiated peace. The revolt of the colonial extremists, "Les Ultras," petered out in Algeria when General De Gaulle appealed to the French nationals. The recent congress of their leaders at Vincennes under Soustelle, Bidault and the Socialist ex-Governor, Lacoste, was a flop.

The great danger to peace lies in the power exercised by the professional army officers who are still the masters in Algeria, apart from the considerable territories in Algerian nationalist hands. General De Gaulle has sought to limit the power of the French officers by transferring their former leaders, such as General Salan and General Massu, to France, but their successors in Algeria will naturally resist yielding the almost unlimited power they exercise in occupied Algeria.

However, the French taxpayer is tired of paying out over £2,000,000 per day to support the pretensions of a small clique of officers. General De Gaulle is feeling his way towards a political independence of action, as was shown by the expulsion of the former Governor of Algeria, Jacques Soustelle, from the Gaullist Party.

The negotiations at Melun broke down largely because the FLN were denied access to Mr. Ben Bella, Mr. Khiider and Mr. Ait Ahmed Hocine, the architects of the Algerian national revolution, who have been in prison in France since they were kidnapped in October 1956 when the Moroccans were on the verge of holding peace talks with the French Government. It is essential that the FLN should have access to these great nationalist leaders so that complete agreement should be maintained over the ultimate terms of a cease-fire and ultimate peace terms. Also the French refused to agree to direct negotiations between the Algerian Premier, Ferhat Abbas, and General De Gaulle, and only envisaged the possibility of such a meeting taking place after a cease-fire settlement had been signed. The Algerians share the views of President Bourguiba and the King of Morocco that only General De Gaulle alone can be trusted, and they rightly distrust his Premier, Mr. Debre, who is known for his sympathies for French colonialism in Algeria.

The Algerians who wish to appeal to French public opinion through the press were denied at Mehun all contact with journalists, and had to rely on the foreign correspondents at Tunis and Rabat.

JUNE 1960
The recognition of the Algerian Government by Communist China and the threat of large-scale supplies of Chinese arms to the Algerian Liberation Army has had a salutary effect on the Western Powers, and possibly also on the French Government, but the latter still persists in demanding that the Algerian army should hand over its arms to the French army before elections are held. Evidently the Algerians cannot do this. In Tunisia in 1954-55 some 26,000 rifles were handed over to the French army, but the French army only had about 40,000 troops in the Regency, whereas they have over half a million troops and armed police in Algeria.

Algerian reaction to the failure of the Melun talks has been bitter. Thus Premier Ferhat ‘Abbas has stated that “independence cannot be got for the asking; it has to be got by force.” However, the FLN is confident and is prepared to start negotiations again as soon as the French are ready with more reasonable terms. Mr. Krim Belkassem, the Algerian Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, who with Mr. A. Boussouf and Mr. Ben Tobbol are the real leaders of the Algerian insurrection (since the arrest of Mr. Ben Bella), have recently won the support of President Nasir for negotiations with France.

Yet in spite of the present détente the French claim to have killed about 150 Algerians in the first fortnight of July 1960. The Algerian FLN organ, al-Mujahid, quotes French official figures of casualties in Algeria up to March 1960 to show that from the inception of the insurrection in 1954 up till that date 151,600 Algerian soldiers had been killed and 13,750 French soldiers, and 83,600 Algerian soldiers had been taken prisoner. These figures do not take into consideration the number of Algerians killed in France in fratricidal war between the FLN and the MNA (National Movement of Algeria) of Messali Hajj, which has been stimulated, if not abetted, by the French police. Also this does not take into account the circumstances of some million and a half to two million displaced persons and refugees.

It is to be deeply regretted that the Messalists have not rallied with their leader to the FLN until an independence has been achieved. In the event of a cease-fire all nationalists should work together for independence.

According to French sources the Algerians have a well-equipped army of 10,000 in Tunisia and a force of 6,000 in Morocco, also a supply centre in Libya. The French General Challe tried to smash the Algerian army by transferring large forces into nationalist-held areas and attempting to overwhelm them by numbers, but he was thwarted by the new tactics of the Algerians, who broke up into small bands. The resulting carnage was, however, appalling.

The Algerian Wilaya leaders, Lakhdar (from the Aurés mountains), Kaffi (from Constantine), Slimane and Abdelghani, are now said to be in conference in Tunisia with their Government. The presence of a large force on the Moroccan and Algerian and Tunisian frontiers immobilizes a large part of the French army.

Since the last detailed article appeared in The Islamic Review for June 1959 dealing with the Algerian Government and the revolution, there has been an important reorganization following the conference of Tripoli. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Lamin, considered to be under Egyptian influence, has been eliminated and replaced by Mr. Krim, who emerged once more as the real leader of the insurrection together with Mr. Ben Tobbol, Mr. Boussouf, Mr. Mahmoud Sherif and Mr. Tewfiq Madani, who resigned, but was assigned to other duties, as was Ben Khedda. Premier ‘Abbas and the Minister of Information, the brilliant propagandist Muhammad Yazid, are very active in the Government. Mr. Ferhat ‘Abbas is clearly going to play a great part in the delicate negotiations ahead, and his use is realized in helping to win over moderate French opinion.
THE AIMS OF ISLAM’S CALL

By MUHAMMAD M. ‘ATA

Islamic war legislation as expounded in the Qur’an leaves no ground for the allegation that Islam is aggressive. It is not aggressive, but does not hesitate to repel aggression when attacked. It gives peace to the aggressors if they ask for it.

I. THE QUR’AN’S LEGISLATION ON WAR

“Call to the way of God with wisdom and exhortation . . .”
(The Qur’an, 16:25)

A new call and a new cause necessitate struggle by tongue and pen, and by sword and arm. Such is the nature of things and the logic of events. Once the Islamic Call was raised by Muhammad the Messenger, it met with organized resistance from the polytheist Quraysh tribe, who embarked on a protracted struggle in defence of their worship. Their long cold war against Muhammad and his followers ended in a plan for his murder, which decided, with God’s permission, his emigration to a safer place where he could freely preach his mission and find staunch adherents capable of defending him.

At Mecca, the Muslims were not in a position to wage war against the polytheists, since they were only a very limited number, living without means for defence or offence, against a stubborn enemy keeping a watchful eye on their movements. Moreover, the Islamic Call had first to pass, as every call should, through the phase of peaceful preaching, depending on logic and persuasion according the divine orders:

“Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation, and reason with them in the better way. Lo! thy Lord is best Aware of him who strayed from His way, and He is best Aware of those who go aright” (The Qur'an, 16:125).

If exhortation and peaceful means fail, the enemy's efforts at destruction have to be resisted.

Then came the phase of armed resistance when the Prophet was in a better position in Yathrib (Medina), and when fighting against polytheists was divinely permitted:

“Sanction is given unto those who are fought, having been wronged; and God is indeed Able to give them victory. Those who have been driven from their homes unjustly only because they say: Our Lord is God” (The Qur'an, 39 and 40 in part).

This is the very word truth for the utterance of which the Muslims were subjected to merciless war which drove them out of property and home, and which they were permitted to resist by active fighting. At first the battle was between the Muslims and their active enemies, the Quraysh and their allies. It was fortunate that their passive enemies, the Jews, had not then showed their hand and for a time kept their pact with the Prophet, otherwise he would have had to fight on two fronts.

As the war developed, the laws of war were gradually laid down by revelation as occasion arose, as appears from many verses of the Qur’an, of which the following may be quoted:

“Fight in the way of God against those who fight against you: but begin not hostility. Lo! God loveth not aggressors. And slay them wherever you find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter. And fight not with them at the Inviolable Place of Worship until they first attack you there, but if they attack you, then slay them. Such is the reward of disbelievers. But if they desist, then lo! God is Forgiving, Merciful. And fight them until persecution is no more and religion is for God. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against the wrongdoers” (The Qur'an 2:190-193).

With the progress of war in this field, the Jews, of great power then in their several strongholds, began to break their pacts and be actively hostile, and were dealt with accordingly. The Prophet Muhammad fought those other than the idolaters in obedience to the divine order:

“Fight against such of those who have been given the Scripture as believe not in God nor the Last Day, and forbid not that which God hath forbidden by His messenger, and follow not the religion of truth until they pay the tribute readily, being brought low” (The Qur'an, 9:29).
Certain remnants of the defeated Jews sided with the Quraysh and other antagonistic tribes. Against them and all such, the Prophet Muhammad and all the believers had to wage war in obedience to the divine order:

"And wage war on all of the idolaters as they are waging war on all of you. And know that God is with those who keep their duty (unto Him)" (The Qur'an: 9:36, in part).

In explanation of this order the Prophet Muhammad says:

"I have been divinely ordered to fight the idolaters until they declare that there is no God except God. Once they declare it, their property and blood are guaranteed except by law, the question of sincerity to be judged by God."

II. ISLAM'S CALL ADDRESSED TO THE WHOLE OF MANKIND

Fighting in the way of God the duty of every Muslim

The Islamic Call was addressed to the whole of mankind in accordance with the divine texts:

"Say (O Muhammad!), O mankind! Lo! I am the messenger of God to you all (The Qur'an: 7:158, in part).

"Glorified is He who hath revealed unto His servant the criterion (of right and wrong), that he may be a warner unto all peoples" (The Qur'an: 25:1).

In addition to the above may be mentioned two decisive citations from the Qur'an:

"He it is who hath sent His messenger with the guidance and the Religion of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all religions, however much the idolaters be averse" (9:32).

"And We have not sent thee (O Muhammad!) save as a bringer of good tidings and a warner unto all mankind: but most of mankind know not" (34:28).

This being the position, fighting in the way of God to be, and still is, a duty of every Muslim, male or female, if not for guaranteeing the freedom of preaching d's religion, it would be to defend it against all aggression. It is the far-reaching divine exhortation to Muslims and peoples:

"And make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye dismay the enemy of God and your enemy and others beside them whom ye know not. God knoweth them. Whosoever ye spend in the way of God it will be repaid to you in full, and ye will not be wronged" (The Qur'an: 7:60).

The Qur'an forbids aggression

But Islam as it calls for strength and preparedness calls for peace and friendly relations with those who do not press Muslims, though they be disbelievers, as is evident in the words of the Qur'an:

"God forbiddeth you not those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your homes, that you should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo! God loveth the just dealers" (60:8).

The classes forbidden the friendship of Muslims, just as the verse by implication, are for emphasis distinctly mentioned in verse 9 of the same chapter. This is usually fair and just. Wonderfully fair and benevolent, ever, is the order to give disbelievers at war peace if asked for it:

"And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in God. Lo! He is the Hearer, the Knower and if they would deceive thee, then lo! God is Sufficient for thee" (The Qur'an: 8:61, 62, in part).

The implication of the last verse emphasizes the peaceful trend of Islam still more, because it means that mere fear of the enemy's deceit should not prevent Muslims giving it the peace asked for, because God is sufficient to disappoint and repel it if it really means deceit. And also because the pact of peace can always be thrown back to the enemy if Muslims should have sufficient reason to fear its perfidy, as it made clear in the Qur'an:

"And if thou fearest treachery from any folk, then throw back to them their treaty fairly. Lo! God loveth not the treacherous" (8:58).

All this is Islamic war legislation, and it leaves no ground for the allegation that Islam is aggressive. It is not aggressive, but does not hesitate to repel aggression when attacked, as is clear from the injunction previously pointed out in this discussion, namely:

"Fight in the way of God against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities. Lo! God loveth not aggressors" (The Qur'an: 2:190).

In the matter of war Islam strikes a natural normal course between the aggressive Jewish course and the meek and purely pacifist Christian course

Islam then, being a universal religion which regulates life in all its human phases, of necessity recognizes and regulates the war phase of life, severely limiting its legitimacy, and conducting it on humane lines. Judaism also recognizes war but makes it almost purely aggressive for the benefit of one sectary nation on lines far from humane, as is evident from the Old Testament wars which, to Jews, undoubtedly served as a religious sanction of the Jewish atrocities which characterized the Jewish Palestinian aggression. Christianity apparently does not recognize war, since it recommends turning the left cheek to him who strikes the right. But the present-day Christian world is far from acting on this recommendation, being steeped in war and atrocities to the eye, convoluted even at the unparalleled atrocities of the Jews in Palestine, perhaps also through the Old Testament influence, the Old Testament being recognized holy by Christianity and Judaism alike.

In the matter of war, then, Islam strikes a natural middle course between the intensely aggressive and atrocious Jewish course, and the intensely meek and purely pacifist course of true Christianity. For war to be legitimate in Islam, it must not be aggressive, must be in the way of God, not for self-aggrandizement, and must be conducted on the Islamic lines ordained by God in the Qur'an and through the Prophet Muhammad, and put into application by the first four Caliphs, especially in the wars of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. On these limitations, war becomes a necessary beneficial divine institution, realizing maximum good with minimum harm to humanity at large.

As the Caliph Abu Bakr says in his inaugural speech: "No people can ever renounce the struggle for the cause of God without suffering ignominy and humiliation dispensed to them by God in return."

Islam was never spread by the sword

To the frequently raised question: "How did the predominance and dissemination of Islam come about?" we leave the answer to such a distinguished writer as H. G. Wells, who says: "Islam prevailed because everywhere it
found politically apathetic peoples, robbed, oppressed, bullied, uneducated and unorganized, and it found selfish and unsound governments out of touch with any people at all. It was the broadest, freshest and cleanest political idea that had yet come into actual activity in the world, and it offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind. The capitalistic and slave-holding system of the Roman Empire, and the literature and culture and social tradition of Europe, had altogether decayed and broken down before Islam arose.” This may afford a further convincing answer to those who still argue that Islam was established by the sword.

III. ISLAM’S AIM TO ESTABLISH ONE UNITED NATION

Complete equality lies at the bases of union in the Muslim community

It is fair to maintain that this was a major objective of the Islamic mission. Its constitution and activity aimed at creating a strong integrated nation of comprehensive unity. Islam was aware of the factious spirit dividing and subdividing the Arabs into prejudiced tribes and branches of tribes. This narrow prejudice took a new and ominous direction at the beginning of the mission of the Prophet when the disbelieving tribes of the Quraysh, in order to suppress the Prophet’s Call, allied themselves against the Banu Hashim and the Banu Mutallib, the nearer relatives of the Prophet who defended him, though mostly disbelievers, for kinship’s sake. In that unholy alliance the other Quraysh tribes severed all connection with the latter, refusing mutual dealings of any sort, in marriage or in trade. This social boycott remained in force for three years, during which time the Prophet and his folk were confined in a define of Mecca where they suffered severe privation which they were only able to bear through faith in God and the justice of their cause. God’s relief came in time, and the boycott was abandoned through the awakening of certain Quraysh leaders of the nobler sort to the enormity of their action, and their finding that the moth had eaten up every unholy word of the unholy scroll as the Prophet had foretold.

The Islamic Call made of Muslims one united nation in the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad, who, as God’s Prophet and Messenger, was the head of the Islamic State established at Medina to guide humanity in State affairs, just as he guided humanity with his personal life in individual matters. He was judge, statesman and general, in a State in which all males were ready at short notice to act as soldiers, and which had the Qur’an for its constitution, with the Prophet himself as interpreter, surrounded by a galaxy of able faithful disciples and companions from amongst whom he chose his civil councillors, delegates, rulers and army commanders — a model Islamic Republic in fact. On the Prophet’s death his elected Caliph and successor as head of the State followed in his footsteps, preserved the unity of the Islamic community by sending his victorious armies against apostate tribes till they were reclaimed for the Faith. Further operations extending north and east were necessary to safeguard the faith against hostile border empires, and to guarantee the free dissemination and preaching of Islam. The Islamic wars, then, were declared in defence of the creed. Nor were the Muslim armies fighting to coerce non-Arab peoples into Islam. On the contrary, they were fighting coercion and tyranny in the neighbouring States to establish private and public liberty of conscience. As a final proof of this may be mentioned first the solemn Divine declaration:

“No compulsion in religion. Right is now manifestly distinct from Wrong.” (The Qur’an, 2: 256, in part).

And secondly, the tolerance characteristic of Islam in the treatment of Christians and Jews and even of Magians in subjugated areas.

Complete equality lies at the bases of union in the Muslim community. Worship and other Islamic duties are equally imposed on Muslims, male or female, without exception or distinction. The females have here certain privileges due to their constitution, that is all. This applies to fasting, prayers, alms-giving and pilgrimage, the cardinal duties of Islam. Each of the first three has its characteristic manifestation of unity and equality within each Muslim community, and, being common to all, within the commonwealth of Islam. But it is the fourth cardinal duty, the wonderful institution of pilgrimage, which displays in one great annual demonstration the unity and equality of Muslims throughout the Muslim world, irrespective of colour, place, status or race. It is sufficient to recall here the wonderful effect pilgrimage has in regenerating and fortifying the faithful pilgrim in faith and spirit, performing it as he does in pure obedience to God, regardless of expense, fatigue or danger, which enables him to be himself a regenerating nucleus, if only for a time, amongst those who come in contact with him on his return home.

The importance of the Hajj in fostering unity in the Muslim world

But it is the meeting of many thousands, hundreds of thousands perhaps, of pilgrims from all directions of the compass under the same conditions in the holy places every year that is particularly significant in denoting and emphasizing the brotherhood in the world of Islam beyond the possibility of disruption or dissension.

If such mass performance does not testify and contribute to unity, what else can do? At any rate the institution is there, living and practised, affording Muslim leaders an annual opportunity to meet and discuss how to make present-day Muslims worthy of Islam, and how to knit them into one union as of old.

The study of Arabic should be encouraged to foster unity in the Muslim world

And now what are the essential features of a united nation? First comes language. The Qur’an did establish the predominance of Arabic in former days, and made it the medium of expression in almost every country converted to Islam. The Qur’an is still there and shall continue to be there as promised by God in the Qur’an: “Lo! We, even We, reveal the Reminder, and lo! We verily are its Guardian!” (15: 9), but unfortunately Arabic has ceased to be the common language in the world of Islam. Why not make of the Qur’an the means of reviving Arabic as the tongue of every Muslim, to allow mutual intercourse of Muslims wherever they meet? It is wonderful that in countries like Indonesia, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan, where Arabic is no more the popular language, there is still great zeal for the faith, more so even than in most Arabic-speaking countries. With Arabic as the common language once more, both Arabic and non-Arabic parts of the Muslim world will surely benefit one another and confirm each other still more in the faith by mutual exchange of zeal and learning, thus putting an end to the insidious foreign influences affecting Muslims in their home.

Again, is not religion still the major integrating force, especially when race and place are not there as common

bonds between all? In building a vast united whole, Islam has disregarded race altogether, putting in its place a far better and nobler bond, that of the Islamic creed. God's own bond on earth. The Islamic Call preaches world-wide brotherhood. The unity of mankind in ideology and mode of living according to God's laws is the aim of Islam. And it is the only system that can do it naturally and well. It recognizes all heavenly religions as a first principle, Books, Prophets and all, known or unknown. It abolishes such barriers to unity as colour, place or race. It recognizes beforehand all proven truth, all natural laws, but condemns their abuse. It lays down the great principle that man is born free, announcing him subject only to God, his Creator. That is the first meaning of Islam — surrender to God the One, only. If the ideal of making one nation of mankind is to be stably realized, it can be done only along these Islamic principles. It can be realized only within Islam.

* * *

Islam alone can teach mankind to unite

The unprecedented progress in science, leading to the release of undreamed of natural forces and limitless atomic energy which have been barbarously abused by this 20th century, a giant in science and a pigmy in morals, as evidenced by wiping out whole towns, population and all, by air bombardment, atomic and otherwise — this and the fear of the hydrogen atomic bomb lest it would in the end annihilate man, civilization and all, have led to the proposal of a cosmopolitan government, and the abolition of all national and racial barriers which stand in the way of world-wide unity. But is it possible to put into effect such a proposal while the spiritual degeneration which led to the failure of the less formidable League of Nations and the United Nations Organization still prevails?

At any rate that is the trend of humanity under the pressure of events. The entire world seeks general unity in one form or other as the only means of self-preservation. But the necessary spiritual guidance which the modern world lacks, the Muslim world has. Why not then take it and be united ourselves when the world seeks peace and safety in union but cannot get it? Why does not the Islamic world awaken to itself and the tremendous opportunity it has of uniting on Islamic lines, and thus teach the world once more how to unite?

Muslims are bound to do so in self-preservation, if not as a religious duty imposed by Islam. If they should realize Islamic brotherhood by uniting and working for the distant-future, they would regain the international prestige they have lost, recover their usurped rights, and liberate whatever Muslim land or people now in subjection.

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THE DIVINE DIVAN

77

I am the Lord. I dwell with thee.
If thou dost heed Me not, it is not well with thee.
I am the Lord. I dwell with thee.

Turn to Me! Turn to Me! So shall thine eyes
Fill with the wonder of paradise.

Turn to Me! Turn to Me! Happiness lies
Humbly to walk with Me, humbly in paradise.

Vex not thy heart with My wonders without.
Rather rejoice thou hast done with doubt.
Dazzling indeed are My wonders without.
Know that within thee and round and about.
Deep in thy heart, My Love crieth out,
Crieth to wake thee to wonder, to life,
Smoothing the waters of turbulent strife,
So that thou ridest at ease, in serenity,
Enmity's sorrowful seas, in serenity,
Learning to love Me each day of thy life,
Learning to please Me with joy, in serenity.

William Bashyr Pickard.
COMMUNISM AND ISLAM CONTRASTED

By Professor Dr. MUHAMMAD IHSANULLAH KHAN

Islam and Communism in spite of the so-called common end of the extermination of poverty from society are absolutely incompatible in all the fundamental aspects of human nature.

Generally speaking, it is the psychological tendency of men, both singly as individuals and collectively as nations, that when they remain oppressed, suppressed and subjugated for long, and so get degenerated, they lose every confidence and faith in the value of their own culture or ideologies. In their despair and confusion as such, they start either disowning their own culture outright or start compromising it with and interpreting it in the light of such other existing cultures as are sponsored and trumpeted over by the apparently strong and flourishing nations of the time. What holds good generally has been likewise true of the Muslims and Islam in particular during the current century. The Muslims of the modern age have unfortunately fallen a victim to the above tendency, and, as such, their thought and literature is flooded, time and again, with ever new interpretations of Islam — now compromising it with Democracy, now interpreting it in the light of Fascism, now identifying it with Communism, and so on. But Islam is neither Democracy, nor Fascism, nor Communism, etc., as such. At best, it is the synthesis of them all, indeed it is even more than all these ideologies synthesized — is an Ideology, unique, sui generis, and a thing of its own kind. But leaving Democracy, Fascism, etc., aside, which are not the issue of our subject at present, we confine ourselves here only to the contrast of Communism and Islam.

Communism stands for the total extermination of poverty from society — a noble end indeed, which likewise is the end of Islam. In the enthusiasm for this similarity in the noble ends of either system the intellects mind amongst the Muslims, both the illiterates and even the intelligentia, naturally jump to the conclusion that Islam and Communism are altogether alike and identical. But the end of the two systems may remain the same, and yet the means to realize the end, adopted by either, may be so divergent that ultimately they become radically different and poles apart in substance. Accordingly, we hold that in spite of the so-called common end of Islam and Communism, the two are absolutely incompatible in all the fundamental aspects of human nature — are incompatible economically, politically, morally, religiously and socially. These incompatibilities we attempt to bring out, by contrast in the following pages, one by one, starting first with the economic incompatibilities.

1. COMMUNISM AND ISLAM CONTRASTED — ECONOMICALLY

(a) The Economic Ideology of Communism

The sole end of Communism consists in the attainment of the economic well-being or physical happiness of man, or, in other words, the total extermination of poverty and exploitation from all classes of people. The starting point of Communism is that men are equal and therefore justice demands that each should have equal share of the total wealth of the nation. But, it assumes, this justice and the consequent extermination of poverty and exploitation, together with equal distribution of wealth and the elimination of class-distinction, is impossible so long as the institution of private property exists. So long as each person retains his own wealth for himself, there shall always arise a class of more capable and tactful men who would earn more than the rest; and once such persons have taken a start, they will go on multiplying and remultiplying their wealth without much effort on their part — by investing and reinvesting it in different forms or by lending it on interest. Of necessity, therefore, must Capitalism and the consequent exploitation of the poor result again and again from the institution of private property. Once there is Capitalism, holds Karl Marx, the result is a necessary and perennial exploitation of the poorer by the richer. Because, he believes, that the value of the thing produced depends upon the amount of labour spent on it. As such, the entire profit from the thing produced must go to the labourer alone and not to the Capitalist — to the labourer, whose labour it really is that has produced the thing, and not to the Capitalist whose money merely it is that is invested therein and who has put it to work. Accordingly all profit, rent or interest, as charged by the Capitalist, are a sheer exploitation by the richer and must cease to exist. Capitalism and Imperialism are at the root of all evils in human society, and with them also is the institution of private property, which necessarily leads to them. Thus with Capitalism and Imperialism, the institution of private property too must be wiped out and exterminated. Hence not the individual but the State should be the sole owner of all property: and it is then the duty and concern of the State to distribute it equally amongst all and so promote the happiness of the masses.

Communism is undoubtedly inspired by one of the noblest sentiments, but the irony is that it is wrong both in its assumptions as well as conclusions and results.

(i) Assumptions of Communism. (i) Its conception of the equality of men is erroneous, because men are never and nowhere equal — neither in wealth and power (physical values), nor indeed in other gifts of God such as beauty, intellect, righteousness and piety (spiritual values). Neither can they be made equal, because every attempt to equalize them is frustrated again and again by yet other inequalities arising out of it. Even Communism itself has grievously failed in realizing this equality of men.

(ii) Neither, indeed, does “private property” necessarily lead to “Capitalism”. Where it leads to Capitalism, it holds good only in cases when the capital is neither acquired by the moral and religious principles, nor is it retained subject to the same. Strictly speaking, when given a moral or religious bias, it would rather flow from men to men than assume the shape of Capitalism. The world can yet produce cases of millions of good and pious rich men having died penniless and left nothing behind.

(iii) Neither does even Capitalism necessarily result in “exploitation”. Once given the same moral and religious bias, and as well delivered of the institution of interest, it would rather be more useful than harmful — would be conducive more to the well-being of the poor rather than to their exploitation. Much of the welfare work in the Capitalistic countries, e.g., health, education and the missionary movements all the world over are even still financed more by the voluntary gifts of the Capitalists than by the State finances of those countries. Even Karl Marx's
position, namely, that Capitalism necessarily results in exploitation is erroneous. Because the thing is produced not only by the “labour” alone but by many other factors, capital being one of them. Hence the capital must likewise get a share of profit, which share, therefore, is by no means a necessary exploitation of the poorer by the richer. Even on the hypothesis of Communism itself, capital is well entitled to the share of profit, because capital in its last analysis is, after all, the result of labour employed in earning it.

2. Conclusions and results of Communism. Even the conclusions and results of Communism are wrong. Because once the State-ownership of all property is there, and once the personal ownership, together with personal interest, shall cease to exist, the persons employed in the process of production will unwittingly, and surreptitiously acquire the mentality of “servants” and “mercenaries” — of the “serfs” and “slaves” who must be constantly watched and observed by the State to keep them going on. Hence the tendency will arise, namely, of working only when being observed, and of not working when not observed. Thus either way the result will be inefficiency, for what is voluntarily done is more productive than what is involuntarily done.

Strictly speaking, the inefficiency both of the individuals singly and of the State collectively is the very logical outcome of the State-ownership as conceived by Communism. Because once the private ownership ceases, the individuals will lose all interest, and so they would not work harder and harder to produce more and more. The more capable and the active people would not work harder, because the excess that they would produce would eventually be taken away by the State in order to equalize them with the rest. Similarly, the incapable and the lazy people would not work harder, because they know that their share of the wealth of the nation is already secured for them by the State. Now if the competent and incompetent, all alike, would become slacker and slacker in work, the result would be that the whole wealth of the nation, as also the share of individuals in it, would go on decreasing from year to year, until it would reach a point far lower than what even the most incompetent person would have earned, if he were left to himself. Moreover, we have as yet not seen the markets of the world being flooded by Russia with the “consumer goods” or the good things of life, benefiting the poor, as was done by pre-war Japan and is still done by other capitalistic countries. Even if there is efficiency in a Communist State, it is either because of the enthusiasm for a new movement, or because of the tense moments of a war-fear the people are constantly kept in, and of the constant wargovernment the Government is maintaining. But once there is a peace for some time and once the “State-ownership” becomes an established or ultimate fact and the people are used to it and are no longer enamoured of its novelty, the very State-ownership itself will necessarily lead to inefficiency after inefficiency, resulting in chaos at one time.

(b) Economic Ideology of Islam

Islamic economic ideology is a remarkable synthesis of the two conflicting ideologies of Capitalism on the one hand and of Communism on the other. It clearly sees the difficulties and as well combines the good points of either. It recognizes private property all right, but by giving it a moral or spiritual bias it puts a check on its accumulation in the hands of a few people.

Islam assumes that the institution of private property is good from the point of view of “efficiency” that it promotes, but it is bad from the point of view of “Capitalism” and the possible “exploitation” that may result from the same. Hence private property should be retained as well as abolished --- should be conceived as mine and yet not mine in the same breath. This, evidently, is a contradiction. How then to resolve this contradiction? Islam resolves it by giving two different groundings to the concepts mine and not-mine. To the concept mine it gives the grounding of facts and actuality, and to the concept not-mine it gives the grounding of reason and ideology. Thus it assumes that the property is mine all right, because factually and actually it is in my possession. Hence it is natural that I should take interest in it and promote it as much as it is in my power to do so. But rationally and ideally it is not mine, but is God’s property of Whom I am just a trustee. Hence I should have no hesitation in parting with it, if God so desires — in giving it over to the poor and the needy as God enjoins it. To this end, the Muslim Capitalists are expressly commanded by God never to hoard or accumulate their wealth, nor indeed spend it exclusively on themselves, regardless of the appalling poverty around them. Thus private property, together with the individual enterprise or efficiency on the one hand, and a setback of Capitalism or a “want-of-exploitation” on the other, are combined in the most harmonious way. This much abstractly speaking.

We may now take concrete illustrations. Islam encourages individual enterprise and the production of wealth (efficiency) by the Qur’anic injunction as follows: “And when the Prayer is over then disperse ye through the land and seek the bounty of God — that ye may prosper” (52: 10). That means that the individuals are free to explore every possibility to increase their wealth for themselves and to compete freely with each other and so afford also the opportunity for the best brains to come to the forefront and take the process of production in their own hands in order to enhance the total wealth of the nation.

On the other hand, it discourages Capitalism and the consequent exploitation and evils by four injunctions: (a) the forbidding of all extravagances and luxuries; (b) the law of inheritance; (c) the disallowing of all interest or usury; and (d) the poor-tax, charity, alms, loan without remuneration, gifts, deposits, endowments, bequests, etc.

(a) Extravagances and luxuries in all forms lead to a mad lust for wealth, as also to the squeezing of the poor for the purpose of earning more and more in order to spend again and again on oneself. Thus luxuries and extravagances in all forms, i.e., drinking, dancing, gambling, womanizing, pomp and show or a proud display of one’s wealth and the like, are expressly forbidden by Islam. Instead of it, Islam recommends simple living, high thinking, righteous conduct and implicit faith in God. Evidently, there will be no exploitation of the poor when once this attitude of mind is cultivated.

(b) The Islamic Law of Inheritance is another blow to Capitalism. Through it the property of the deceased is divided and re-divided among his immediate successors or even remote successors, if there are no immediate ones. In any case the property cannot remain intact or compact in the hands of a few indefinitely. Thus the property will circulate from person to person until many are benefited, resulting in the enhanced efficiency and the enhanced purchasing power of the masses so as to buy the good things of life. This enhanced efficiency and enhanced purchasing power of the masses, together with the consequent increase in the demand for the good things of life, would stimulate.
production and as well afford employment to the labourers. Thus again the masses would be benefited.

c) The abolition of usury or interest by Islam is another great setback to Capitalism and its consequent exploitation. Since usury or interest is a fixed rate, and the investor or the bank is indifferent to what the debtor gains or loses, it is a vicious institution whereby the rich gain more and more money at the cost of others and without doing any positive work or without running the risk of a loss. Thus in the absence of interest or usury there would be no squeezing and no exploitation of the poor. The substitute of interest in Islam, in order to invite credit for big schemes, is the principle of Shirkah (co-operation) on the basis of profit. The difference between "profit" and "interest" is that since the former fluctuates you have to work for it in order to ensure it; and so it is a reward for work and efficiency and is therefore a definite value-creating process. Whereas the latter is a fixed rate, and since you already know what your gains are and are sure of them, you are not required to work for it. Hence the former enhances production, while the latter retards it.

d) The Zakat (poor-tax), alms, charity, etc., are other similar injunctions which check Capitalism and retard it. Though these, again, the money of capitalists would flow from person to person in a rapid circulation; and rapid circulation is very nearly the essence of the economic well-being of both the individuals "singly" and of the State "collectively". Moreover, the Zakat, which is a compulsory tax and apparently a small amount, is really the heaviest tax, because it is imposed both on the profit as well as the capital itself. And so heavy is this tax that it is being calculated that the capital of the contributors to this tax remains what it is and can never ascend higher and higher beyond reaching a certain threshold; the reason being that after the threshold is reached the contributors have to pay their entire profit in the Zakat. To sum up, with the retention of private property together with the checks on it as aforesaid, two ends are reached: both the poverty of the masses is dispelled as also the total wealth of the nation is enhanced, because, unlike Communism, all work is done with interest and voluntarily.

II. COMMUNISM AND ISLAM CONTRASTED — POLITICALLY

(a) Communist View of the State

Communism is essentially an economic ideology or institution assuming finally the form of a political ideology or institution — the State. Also it is an outright materialistic doctrine, of which the sole end is the promotion of only the material well-being of man. The material well-being of man is constituted of both his economic and political welfare as combined into one whole. The value that corresponds to the economic welfare is "wealth", and the one that corresponds to the political welfare is "power". Hence Communism has two different approaches to the problems of the State — the economic (wealth-seeking), and the political (power-seeking). Economically, it is the antipode of Capitalism; and, politically, it is the antipode of Democracy.

(i) The Economic Approach of Communism: Communism holds that men are essentially vicious and, therefore, if left free to themselves in the process of production, the more capable and tactful amongst them would necessarily become Capitalists and would resort to the exploitation of the poor. To avert this, their freedom in the process of production should be wiped out; and all wealth and the economic life of the people should be taken over and planned out by the State.

(ii) Political Approach of Communism: In this regard, Communism maintains that if the individuals were to have a free choice and free voice in the formation of this or that form of government, the result would be a multitude of diverse interests, diverse parties and diverse political ideologies arising in the legislature. Naturally, they would come into conflict with each other, which conflict in return would cause the disintegration of society as also retard its progress or impede its prompt and effective action. Hence the individuals should not have a free say in the affairs of the government, nor indeed the manifold parties or manifold ideologies be admitted and tolerated. Rather, there should exist only one individual, or one party, or one political ideology to constitute the State; and all power must belong to it.

Thus from either side, both economic and political, the "freedom" of the individuals is checked and usurped and the claims and gains of the community or the State are over-emphasized as against the claims and gains of the individuals. And not only the economic and political freedom of the individuals, but also all freedom in all aspects of human life disappears. Because the different aspects of human nature are not discreet units, separated from each other like waters in tight compartments, but are a "system" which form a "unity", and which might favourably or adversely affect each other. Hence the possibility is open that this economic ideology in question might be attacked from any side of human nature if the latter is adversely affected by the former at any time. Thus, in order to avert this likely attack, the entire freedom of man in all aspects of his life should be checked well in advance — his freedom of thought, speech, action, faith, etc., and his entire life should be strictly watched and observed, or strictly regimented and planned out, by the State. Thus we have seen that the total regulation, total planning and total compulsion of human life is the logical result of the "State-ownership" of all wealth and of all power. Hence, again and again, on Communist theory, the State comes into prominence and the individuals do sink into oblivion. The State is then the end and the individuals are only a means thereto. Hence, the "Sovereignty belongs to the State and not to the individuals or the people as it is in Democracy. This distinguishes Communism from Democracy. And since sovereignty belongs to the State, the right of "Legislation" likewise belongs to it. Evidently, either the one political party or some one man, who is the leader of it, becomes all-powerful; and so the State either assumes the form of a Party-Dictatorship or a Dictatorship of one person. The Legislature and the Executive then become either identical in the person or persons holding dictatorial powers, or the legislature is subordinate to the executive which is vested in the Dictator or Dictators. Thus, in either case, all respect for "laws" and "principles" vanishes; and the Dictator or Dictators have the full power to make or unmake, or do or undo the destinies of millions and billions. No individual has a right to question the motive, justice and judgment, etc., of the persons at the helm of affairs; indeed all individuals are regimented into scheduled works despite their likes or dislikes of the same. Thus all is compulsion and constraint from the above, and there is nothing voluntary or autonomous. And when the freedom of the individuals is thus checked and constrained, the result is the death of all culture and higher values.

Moreover, if men are essentially and necessarily vicious and if they cannot be relied upon in the process of produc-
tion, where then is the guarantee that the Dictator or Dictators in question themselves are exceptions to the rule and will therefore seek the good of the people rather than their own? Also, once all wealth and all power becomes a “State-ownership”, it is then that the State itself becomes the Capitalist and would resort to the exploitation of the masses. And this particularly for the obvious reason because the State in question, being a Dictatorship, is neither accountable to the people down below; nor, indeed, being materialistic and atheistic, is it accountable to God high above. The stubborn fact in the huge disparity between the amenities of life provided to the upper classes and to the labourers in Russia is a clear evidence of the exploitation of the poorer as brought out by the argument.

Moreover, it is in the very nature of “wealth” and “power” — most desirable and most tempting as they are — that one is never satisfied with them and one would have them increasingly more, indeed the all for oneself. Nor indeed is one inclined to share them with others, because in the sharing there are one is necessarily a loser oneself. Evidently, the same Communist State, once it becomes an international power — “internationalism”, being another cardinal thesis of it — would not only not share its own surplus “wealth” and “power” with other poorer States, but would also grab their “wealth” and “power” to herself. The result would be “Imperialism” and “Colonization”, indeed a world-wide Imperialism — the very same thing which was the starting point and outstanding mission of Communism to fight against and eradicate in all forms. Russia’s domination and influence in the East and West is another stubborn fact as an evidence also of this other argument. And if this expansion of power and wealth, and the consequent domination over countries, were to go further ahead so as to engulf more and more of the world, the result would necessarily be a war, indeed a world war, for which we are already heading.

(b) Islamic View of the State

One of the most fundamental teachings of Islam is that God is the Creator and the Lord of the entire Cosmos, from Whom all things firstly originate and to Whom all things ultimately must return. Hence God is the Sovereign of the entire Cosmos; and whatever we possess is just a trust of God temporarily delegated to us. Therefore, we must always be prepared to dedicate, surrender and return to God what really belongs to Him, if He so wills it. Strictly speaking, our entire life, property and children, even our thinking, feeling and action, must exist all for the sake of God and be dedicated to Him. And not only our life in its individual affairs, but our collective life likewise must exist for the sake of God and be dedicated to Him. Thus, the sovereignty of our State or Government also belongs to God and to no other person or persons.

Now since sovereignty belongs to God, and God is a Perfect Being, complete in Himself, His Sovereignty, therefore, would seek the good of the people rather than the good of Himself. Again, since God is a Perfect Being, hence also a moral and Good God, His Sovereignty would likewise involve justice amongst the people — involve no undue preference to one man against another, or to one set of people over against another set. Thus it would seek the good of all men alike — would seek a general good. Evidently, an Islamic State, which requires of us to dedicate ourselves entirely to the will of God, must be a Democratic Government in the first instance. In a word, the Islamic State is a government “of” God and “by” God, but “for” the people. This distinguishes the Islamic form of govern-

ment from all the worldly forms of government, because in the worldly forms of government the sovereignty is vested not in God but in the people — either in one man (Dictatorship, Monarchy, etc.), or in a group of men or classes or sections (Party-Dictatorship, Cabinet-Government, Aristocracy, Throcracy, etc.), or in all men combined (Democracy). Now since the animal in man is more pronounced than his rational nature, his animal nature having reached completion, whereas his rational nature is still in the process of making, men are therefore more of savages than altruists. Of necessity, therefore, once they acquire the sovereignty and power in their own right and directly, they would more often exploit it in their own interests rather than use it in the interests of the people. But, on the other hand, the sovereignty of the Khalifa or Amir, or any persons or persons at the helm of affairs in the Islamic State, is just a derivative sovereignty delegated to them by God and, therefore, it has to be exercised only in the way as God would desire it. Thus they are not supposed to exploit it; rather are they required to use it in the interests of the people as God enjoins it.

Similarly, the right of legislation likewise belongs to God in the Islamic State. This, too, if entrusted to the people exclusively is generally so devised as will tend to defeat the weaker by the stronger. Moreover, God is an All-Knowing Being Who knows our needs better and Who also comprehends all past, present and future with one glance. Thus the fundamental laws as given to us by God in the Qur’án or Traditions are all complete, final and eternal — are conducive to the good of men and for all time. Only “by-laws” are allowed in Islam to the people to think out and legislate for themselves, but these, too, must be made only within the framework of the fundamental laws as enjoined by God. These fundamental laws shall hold good and must be respected for all time; and they can never be overruled by men. This also secures, unlike Communism or any dictatorial form of government, the dignity of the “Laws” and “Principles” as also the independence of the Judiciary against the encroachment by the Executive.

Moreover, our right of franchise likewise is a sacred trust of God and must be exercised by the Muslims with the utmost conscientiousness and purity of motives in order to choose the best representative for the discharge of the State duties. That is to say, the person selected must be chosen not so much on the numerical strength behind him, but on the strength of his own qualities of piety, excellence of character and intellect, etc. This at once exalts the Islamic democracy to a sacred institution and as well absolves it from lapsing into a party-dictatorship, party-government, or the rule of ignorance and of the proletariat. And this holds good also for another reason, because the individuals are directly responsible to God for their needs. As such, they are required to owe allegiance to God alone, rather than to form parties and owe allegiance to men.

Also, the Khalifa or Amir is directly responsible both to God as well as the people; and the people can elect, as also depose him, of course subject only to the limitation of divine laws. This means that so long as he is the fittest person and conscientiously abides by the laws of God, he cannot be justifiably deposed and he is therefore firm and secure in his position. Evidently, he becomes all-powerful and, as such, whether he acts according to his own judgment or according to the will of his counsellors or the people, in either case the responsibility rests entirely on his shoulders and remains undivided or concentrated. Of necessity, therefore, he cannot slumber over his State duties and must feel the all-absorbing interest and enthusiasm for it. The result
would be likewise a prompt and effective action in the Islamic form of government.

Further, since the Islamic State is grounded in the spiritual bias rather than the material one, it does not recognize any distinction of race and blood, nor indeed the territorial distinction. Thus it eliminates all barriers between peoples and peoples, or nations and nations; also it dispels all animosities and conflicts between them, and hence paves a way to unite them into one Brotherhood—a family of nations. Evidently, when the Muslim State comes to the task of internationalism with the spiritual bias as mentioned, it would not only enhance the resources of the poor States to their benefit, but would also give them their own surplus wealth. Also it would more often disseminate religion, morality, reforms, knowledge and culture amongst the peoples, rather than exploit them or bring to their homes destruction and wars.

Moreover, when a Muslim dies, his property is either divided amongst his immediate heirs or remote heirs, or many other incumbents, one after another, until the position of the State in the right to his property is the eighth, the last one in the order of priority. Whereas in Communism the position of the State in the right of property is the first, and that of the individual in the same is hardly any—hardly any even in his lifetime, not to speak of his heirs after his death. This shows how much the individual and his rights are respected and preserved by one ideology, and disrespected and not preserved by another; and how remote Islam from the principle of "State ownership". Thus Islam is free from all the difficulties arising from State ownership—the difficulties, i.e., of constant watch and nagging by the State, and of the administration, the absolute annihilation of freedom and of the consequent death of all culture and higher values.

COMMUNISM AND ISLAM CONTRASTED—Morally

(a) The Moral Aspect of Communism

Communism holds that it stands for an outright "justice" and for the consequent "equality of men" or the levelling down of all distinctions between the rich and the poor; that it yearns to exterminate poverty and exploitation in all forms and so aims at attaining "human happiness en masse"; that it struggles to eradicate the curse of "Private Property" or "Capitalism"; and so wipe out all distinctions between "Mine" and "Thine". With this, naturally, the disposition of "self-sacrifice" is created amongst the individuals, resulting in the surrendering of their wealth to the State for the sake of "common good". Evidently, then, Communism claims to represent a most formidable moral order ever conceivable.

But, despite all these high moral claims, Communism still remains either a non-moral, or at times even positively immoral, institution. Because the Communist State neither affords the individuals the favourable conditions of moral life, nor do the individuals have the opportunity of so conducting themselves. The mass-prosperity or the economic well-being of the people and the consequent human happiness that Communism aims at is undoubtedly the noblest end and mission, but the difficulty is that it neither reconciles the economic problem with morality nor combines the human happiness with human reformation or human purification.

The individuals, in a Communist State, are required to give or surrender their own wealth to the State for the sake of "common good" so as to promote human happiness at large. This, apparently, is moral, but that only apparently so, not actually. For what is given by the individuals for the sake of "common good" is not so much a "giving" as it is really a "taking" by the State from the individuals. But morality of an action consists really in "giving", indeed a voluntary giving by the individuals for the benefit of others, and not in "taking" by the State, nor indeed in an "enforced giving" for the purpose. In brief, since all is compulsion and constraint in a Communist State, there is hardly any voluntary giving on the part of the individuals to each other.

As against this, Communism seeks an escape by holding that after all the State and the individuals are identical, because it is really men and my own free vote to this or that type of persons that constitute this or that type of a State. Thus the State is really my own creation and my own voice rebounded and recoiled on me. Hence any imposition that makes on me is really my own or self-imposition and is, therefore, autonomous and voluntary, and consequently does not involve compulsion and constraint. Thus the "taking" that the State does from me is really at my own behest and on my own authority given to it, and so the "taking" in question is really a "giving", indeed a voluntary giving on my part. But this identity of the "individuals" and the "State" is a wrong position acceptable neither to the "individuals" nor to the "State". For, when I have freely voted, if free voting there is in Communism—for this or that kind of State, the possibility is yet there that I might subsequently differ with its conduct and public policy, and raise a voice against it—against my original free vote. Moreover, the same "difference", when it takes the form of an overt act or opposition on my part, is also resented and punished by the State. That I can differ with the conduct of the State and do even "oppose" it at times, and that the State resents and does also punish my opposition, clearly shows either way that neither "I" am nor the "State" is prepared to admit the identity of the individuals with the State. In a word, the State is something other than the individuals and so is a Communist State. Evidently, its "taking" remains only an imposition from without and is not self-imposition, nor indeed is it a voluntary giving on my part. Thus there is no morality involved in this "taking".

Even a voluntary giving, if giving there is any, would not make the actions of the individuals moral in a Communist State. For all property essentially belongs to the State, and what is so given by the individuals is not really their own property, but that of the State simply returned to it; and in simply returning or giving the property of others back to the owner, there is no charity, no morality. The entire order must be reversed if the acts of the individuals are to remain moral. Private property must be retained; and then, whether the individual voluntarily gives his property to others directly himself or indirectly through the agency of the State; in either case his act remains moral. In a word, if men are to remain moral in respect of the mutual "giving" or "helping", the task of "giving" must be really left to the individuals themselves to perform, and not to the State to do it for them. It must originate from within me and be autonomous and voluntary, and not from without me and be heteronomous and involuntary. That is to say, the task of human happiness as resulting from the removal of poverty should be left to the individuals themselves, and not to the State, to provide for each other, if they are to be moral. Because when "happiness" is provided by the State, only one end is served, happiness and happiness alone. The people are then well-fed and well-provided for all right, but they do not become moral on that account. But when the task of "happiness" is left to

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the individual himself to provide for others, and two ends are served: both the happiness of others is attained as also the individual himself is reformed and purified by the same act. Only thus can the economic problem be reconciled with morality, and human happiness combined with human reformation and human purification. In other words, the State must first provide the individuals a fair chance and freedom in order that they may moralize and spiritualize themselves by their own deeds, but if they fail to avail themselves of the opportunity and fail to become moral, rather do choose to become positively immoral, only then, and not before, has the State a right to intervene and enforce them to do their duties. This fair chance and freedom under the issue can be granted to them by no means other than by allowing them their private property to themselves, in which case alone there can exist a mutual giving – giving to and helping and the consequent moral order to that extent. Without that, the position would be like resorting to the very cutting off the tongues of mankind all at once in order thereby to eradicate all “lies” for all times. But in that case, neither the non-speaking of lies would be a virtue, nor indeed will there be room left for the truth-speaking by men. Thus the individuals will remain non-moral – neither moral nor immoral.

We now come to the argument of justice of Communism. Communism assumes that all men are equal and therefore justice demands that they should have equal shares. But men are not equal, because some are competent and others incompetent, some honest and others dishonest. To deprive the competent of their honest and legitimate earnings in order to equalize them with the rest is to deprive them worthy for the sake of the unworthy, which is a clear case of injustice rather than justice. In this case, Communism is positively immoral, rather barely remaining non-moral.

And the so-called self-sacrifice and selflessness of the individuals in a Communist State are likewise no sacrifice and no selflessness. These, too, like all “giving”, have their origin from without and are simply superimposed upon us by the State. These, too, must be self-promoted, self-initiated and done by the individuals themselves, if their acts are to be moral. Indeed, the very notion of “self-sacrifice” is an impossibility in a Communist State, for all property essentially belongs to the State and the “self” has nothing of its own to sacrifice for the sake of others. And when there is no “sacrifice” and no “giving” to others, there is no morality and no virtue to that extent.

(b) The Moral Aspect of Islam

In Islam the economic problem is well reconciled with morality, and human happiness well combined with human reformation or human purification. This is done, unlike Communism, by reversing the entire order of issue. The institution of “Private Property” is duly recognized; and the individuals are well permitted to retain their property to themselves. The Muslim “Law of Inheritance” is the evidence of the act. For if private property were not allowed, there would be no sense in the Law of Inheritance. Because when a person has no property of his own, what then are his descendants to inherit from him? And once the private property is allowed, the room for the mutual giving and helping amongst the individuals is opened for all time. Alms, charities, gifts, endowments, bequests, loans without remuneration, etc., are the injunctions whereby this mutual giving and helping are affected. Thus two ends are thereby served: both the poor and the dependents are provided for and made happy, as also the “givers” and the “helpers” themselves are moralized and spiritualized by the same act. These injunctions are meritorious duties for which there is hardly any room in any secular State, far less in a Communistic one. Because all is compulsion and constraint in a Communistic State, and whatever you have in excess of your wants is taken away from you, and you are left on a par with the others – the question of yet giving more, the meritorious duties, not arising at all. And it is not only that the givers and the helpers alone are moralized and spiritualized by these meritorious duties, but also the persons who are being helped, are likewise so reformed by the same. Because through this act of giving and helping all venom, spite and hatred in the hearts of the poor against the rich are dispelled — rather it generally cultivates in their hearts a sense of gratitude instead, which undoubtedly is a moral disposition. Also a mutual affection and appreciation in the hearts of either party is developed, which again is a moral disposition. Thus the rich and the poor, alike, are moralized and spiritualized by this mutual giving and taking. And since the poor are also provided for and made happy by this act, the economic problem is therefore reconciled with morality, and human happiness combined with human reformation.

But even amongst the Muslims there may be many who would not give even a penny, despite the injunctions of the Qur'an. How then are we to meet the needs of the poor under such odds – of such poor who have a natural or acquired disability for no fault of their own and who, as such, can by no means freely compete with the able-bodied or privileged persons? To meet the needs of such poor under such odds, an obligatory tax of the Zakat is imposed upon the rich for this matter. This tax the State has to exact from the people under all circumstances, whether they do or do not will it. Thus Islam strikes a balance between the case where some people are willing to help the poor of their own accord and the case where some are altogether unwilling to do the same. Moreover, the Zakat is a tax not intended to usurp the whole property of the person but it is a tax which is to take just the portion thereof. And being a tax of the portion, it also liberates the Islamic position from the difficulty of Communism arising from usurping the entire property all at once, where a “giving” neither of the “portion” nor of the “whole” is possible by the individual to the individual.

Further, virtue consists, according to Islam, in the unquestioning obedience to Divine Laws or Commandments as well as in seeking God's pleasure. And not only does it consist in seeking God’s pleasure under duress and grudgingly, but in seeking it rejoicingly. That is to say, while seeking God’s pleasure I should likewise derive a pleasure myself from the same act. In a word, my pleasure should consist in seeking God’s pleasure alone. But God is perfect. Self-Contained, Complete in Himself and, therefore, nothing can either add to, nor detract from, His pleasure. In what, then, does God’s pleasure consist from which I should derive also my own pleasure? That consists, as the Qur'an has repeatedly brought out, in seeking the pleasure of His people rather than that of Himself. Hence virtue in Islam consists in deriving my pleasure from my effort to seek the pleasure of others. It is thus that the unbridgeable gulf between egoism and altruism is abridged through the mediation of the idea of God or of God’s pleasure. Now if this is to be the attitude of a Muslim mind to derive his own pleasure precisely from the act of providing pleasure to others, the question of exploitation and poverty of others can hardly arise. Hence, again, in Muslim society, both the pleasure and happiness of others would be realized as well as the givers and the helpers themselves would be reformed.
by every act of their giving and helping. This proves again that the economic problem is well reconciled with morality, and human happiness well combined with human reformation.

Moreover, virtue in Islam also consists, as the Prophet Muhammad has clearly emphasized, in imbibing ourselves with God’s virtues, because God has created man in His own image, and He thus desires man to be so imbued with His own virtues. Now God, as revealed in the Qur’an, is All-Just, and so He desires man to do justice to his fellow-beings; He is All-Benevolent and All-Merciful, and so He desires man to be benevolent and merciful to his fellow-beings: He is All-Good and All-Provider, and so He desires man to be good to, and to provide for, his fellow-beings, etc. Evidently, in view of the code of morality such as this one, a Muslim is required again and again to be kind and helpful to people, rather than to exploit them.

IV. COMMUNISM AND ISLAM CONTRASTED — RELIGIOUSLY
(a) The Attitude of Communism towards Religion

Communism is an out and out materialistic, atheistic and anti-religious system, of which the sole aim is the promotion of only the material well-being, i.e., of “wealth” and “power”, and the consequent physical happiness of man. And of this it makes no secret. Lenin expressly maintains that Communism does not recognize any moral code that derives its inspiration from any super-sensible power beyond the existing human society, for all that is a sheer fraud, deceit and hypocrisy (Mother Russia, p. 218). Also Stalin, in his classical expose, The Dialectic Materialism and the Historical Materialism (1938), speaks thus on the subject: “The philosophical materialism of Marx starts from this principle that the world by its nature is material, that the multiple phenomena of the universe are the different aspects of matter in movements... that the world develops according to the laws of movement of matter and has no need of universal spirit,” i.e., of God. Even the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in Section 124 states: “Freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens” as good as “freedom of anti-religious worship.” Now whatever the official interpretations of this may be, the “anti-religious propaganda”, being of no positive value, nothing sacred by itself and not a “religion” side by side with other religions, if yet freely allowed, clearly shows that there is a definite hostility towards religion at the bottom of the heart. Moreover in face of no provision for religious instructions available, of no religious schools provided, of no right of franchise or other privileges granted to the priest-class, the so-called “freedom of worship” is meaningless and without sense. Hence the reason why Communism assumes that the priest and the church, who represent God on earth, are vicious institutions which make capital out of the idea of God by exploiting the ignorance of the masses. Therefore the church and the priests are just another form of Capitalism, which it is the duty of the State also to destroy. Thus it should be the State and statesmen that should take the place of the Church and the priests: and there should be no God, no religion, side by side with the State, to inspire people and... to challenge its supremacy.

But the assumption of Communism is totally erroneous, because from the casual or even wholesale badness of the priests, it does not necessarily follow that religion itself is bad and must be discarded. Also, Communism is not clear on the point that it is precisely religion from which all fundamental human values first originate and then finally culminate in it. Even the economic welfare and happiness of man as being the sole end of Communism is impossible without religion, because religion is predominantly ethical and stands for the righteousness of human conduct. A mere belief in certain dogmas without impelling us to do good does not constitute a right religion. Right religion is one which prescribes good conduct and teaches morality. And morality or moral consciousness alone are the values whereby we can share our weals and woes with others. Thus without religion and the consequent moral life, even the economic well-being and happiness of each other can hardly be attained.

Moreover, it is in the very nature of the material values as unsupported by the spiritual ones — of “wealth”, “power” and the “physical happiness” in their nakedness — that they do not admit of sharing, because a person who shares them with others is a loser in the sharing thereof. For instance, I have 10 shillings and share 5 with others, then what is left with me is obviously 5 and so I am a loser by that amount. Also, it is in the very nature of wealth, power and physical happiness that one is never satisfied with them and one would rather have them increasingly more and more, indeed the all for oneself, if possible. And when each person or nation would have them all for oneself, it further follows that it is in the very nature of these values that they exclude men rather than include them — they divide people rather than unite them. Of necessity, therefore, the result would be either a quarrel between the individuals within the State, or a war between the nations within the world. And such a state of affairs would last interminably and indefinitely unless it is checked by some higher spiritual value such as religion. Because without religion, without a God-consciousness and without a faith in the life hereafter, i.e., without a faith that we are accountable to God in the life to come for our deeds in this life, men would run riot against each other and the world would be reduced into a veritable kingdom of wolves. In other words, once it is assumed that there is no life after this life and that this is the only life, and therefore if not now and if not in this life do we have the fullness of it and have enjoyed ourselves to the utmost, we shall never get the opportunity of so enjoying it again, society would steep into the worst crimes conceivable, and each and all would be rushing to make the best out of this life at the cost of others, and that, too, ruthlessly and without a prick of conscience. Eventually, all would be destruction and no production. Thus even for the economic well-being or happiness as an end, let alone other yearnings, it is indispensable to believe in God and religion.

Moreover, without religion and morality, even the persuasive method or appeal to part with one’s own wealth for the sake of the common good is not open to Communism. Because once it is assumed, as materialistic Communism would have it, that wealth and physical happiness are the only and sole end, even reason and justice cannot demand man to sacrifice the only and sole values for the sake of others, because that would be suicidal and the person sacrificing would have lost all — even reason and justice cannot justifiably demand this of men, far less an irrational and unjust Communism. This appeal is open only to those who hold that wealth and happiness are one value amongst others, and that, too, a lower value, which must be sacrificed for the sake of the higher ones, which are religion and morality. In that way, if a person loses one value, the wealth and happiness, he is otherwise compensated by yet higher values instead. Only thus can one be motivated to part with one’s wealth and happiness, otherwise most desirable, for the well-being and happiness of others — the common good. Moreover, if the Dictator or Dictators-them-
selves were to get perverted and callous to the needs of
society, of which the possibility in a Communistic State
is imminent in the face of millions of beings who simply pro-
strate before them for every need of their lives, what else
then, in the absence of religion and morality, is to reform
the State to set them right by force? Thus again it proves that
even the economic well-being and happiness of men can
seldom be attained without religion and morality.

Strictly speaking, once the spiritual side of man is
neglected, no attempt, however mighty and colossal it may
be, can realize the physical happiness or well-being of man.
Because man is a “system”, a “unity” of both these
natures, the spiritual and the physical, which are so inter-
linked and so inter-dependent for the existence of each other
that the suffræge of one adversely affects the well-being of
the other. And it is worse still when a higher nature is
sacrificed for the sake of the lower one. Naturally, therefore,
when the spiritual nature is sacrificed, as Communism would
have it, at the altar of the physical one, an acute sense of
dissatisfaction or a vacuum necessarily arises in the heart
of man. This dissatisfaction, then, instead of being attributed
to the neglect of the spiritual side as being the real cause
thereof, is each time erroneously attributed by the
hedonistically-minded persons like the Communists to the
less and less of happiness yet realized. What happens, then,
is that with a view to filling up the vacuum and dispelling
the dissatisfaction, these hedonists dash on and on to realize
more and more of happiness. But again and again, despite
all efforts, the vacuum still remains, rather it gets wider and
wider, because of the repeated neglect of the spiritual nature.
Hence the Paradox of Hedonism — the fact that in the
very or sole pursuit of happiness, the happiness itself is
never realized. Applying this to the case of Communism, in
the absence of its spiritual bias, even every increase in the
standard of life of the Communists would increasingly lead
to their dissatisfaction, because again and again they would
desire more and more of this higher standard, and thus
again and again the result would be unhappiness. In a word,
neither the spiritual side of their nature is catered for nor
the happiness will ever be realized by them in their life.

(b) The Islamic View of Religion

Islam is a Religion: and religion constitutes the relation
of man to God, the Perfect Being. Thus the sole end of
Islam is to raise man, with the association and assistance
of God, the Perfect, to Insan Kamil or a perfect man — a
man possessed with the best of Conduct and Character
(Akhlaaq), the best of Intellect (Aql), the best and finest
sense for the appreciation of Beauty (Husn), and with the
best of Health, who is also free from all cares and wants
and consequently the Happiest of all creatures. Thus
Islam provides for all the needs of man of which the
economic need is one. But the order of solution that Islam
offers under the issue in question is quite the reverse of
that of Communism, or of any secular organization for
that matter. Because its emphasis is more on the develop-
ment of the religious and moral side of man than on his
economic well-being. And yet, strangely enough, even his
economic side does not remain on sufferance in the least by
his reverse order. Because, while first requiring of us to be
throng and through God-minded, or in and out saturated
with God-consciousness, hence requiring us to be ever-ready
to surrender “all” to God, the moral God, this attitude
of mind necessarily makes us moral. And once we are
moral, we are always prepared to share our weals and woes
with others and thus provide for the well-being and happiness
of men. Evidently, the economic need of men is as well
provided for as are their spiritual needs.

Moreover, it is in the very nature of the spiritual values,
unlike that of the material ones, that they readily admit of
sharing, because the person who shares them with others is
not a loser in the sharing thereof. For instance, if I have a
certain notion of religion that God is One and All-mighty,
or if I have a certain view of morality that it depends on
the motive of the person rather than on the result of his
action, etc., and if I teach these maxims to others and so
benefit them by the same, that does not mean that in the
same breath I have forgotten them myself and am thus a
loser by so sharing them with others. Thus it further follows
that it is in the very nature of the spiritual values that they
include men rather than exclude them — that they unite men
rather than divide them. And this unity amongst men is
affected not only spiritually, but also materially. Because it
is not that the spiritual values themselves alone admit of
sharing, but they likewise enjoy it, and cause our material
values, too, to be shared with the others. And this principally
on the assumption that the material values are inferior to
the spiritual ones and must therefore be sacrificed for the
latter’s sake. Thus once a man becomes truly religious or
spiritual-minded, as Islam would have us become, he not
only shares and becomes one with the other spiritually, but
also shares and becomes one with them, materially. In the
latter case, if a person loses one way, he is otherwise com-
penated — is spiritually benefited. Thus Islam steers clear
of the difficulty arising from the Paradox of Hedonism — a
theory that in the pursuit of happiness itself, the happiness
is never realized. Because if the “giver” loses one thing,
the material good, by sharing it with the others, he gains
another, the spiritual good, in return, and is thus otherwise
compensated. In other words, if he loses the physical
happiness, he gains the spiritual one instead — qualitatively
a higher happiness, and is thus better off and more con-
tented and more happy than ever before. Evidently, the
man becomes virtuous as well as gets the happiness as a
right dessert thereof. Whereas in Communism the man
remains neither happy nor virtuous, because the virtuous
and spiritual life he has already sacrificed in the interest of
happiness, while happiness, once it is made the sole and
exclusive end, is never realized.

Indeed, by sharing the material values with others, a
Muslim is not only spiritually compensated but, again
strangely enough, also materially so in the long run.
Because when the Muslim capitvists, in compliance with
God’s injunctions, repeatedly give charities, the Zakat;
gifts, etc, to the poor, that enhances the purchasing power of
the poor, thus enabling them to buy the “good things of life”,
which otherwise they could not. This raises both demand
for the good things of life and also causes more and more
factories to come into being in order to meet that demand.
The result is the enhancement of production, as also the
employment of the poor in the factories, therefore more
purchasing power, hence more demand for the good things
of life, hence still more factories, therefore still more
employment and still more purchasing power, until the
whole nation prospers increasingly in every cycle, together
with the capitalists and the entrepreneurs prospering likewise.
Thus the very same “giving” by the Capitalists
rebounds on the Capitalists themselves, and makes them
richer and richer in the same proportion as the poor become
richer and richer. That is why the Qur’an, while contrasting
charity with interest, states:

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“God will deprive usury of all blessings, but will give an increase for the deeds of charity” (2:276, italics mine).

Also, since in Islam it is the same One God — Moral, Benevolent, Merciful, Perfect, etc., who is the common spring of the actions of us all — this would at once exalt both the dignity of our conduct as well as resolve all conflict between man and man, and people and people, until there would be neither a quarrel or class struggle amongst the individuals within the State, nor indeed a war or international friction between the nations of the world; and so all would be “peace and peace”, which even is the literal meaning of the word “Islam”.

Moreover, since a Muslim is required to do his all only for the sake of God, this is likely to develop a tendency in the true believer to work even while his work remained unappreciated and unrewarded by people at the helm of affairs, or to work even while there was no nagging from behind by the authorities in power. Again, since a Muslim is required to have an implicit faith in God — a God Who is just an object of his subjective belief in the Unknown and, therefore, not physically present with His Means and Might either to induce him to or deter him from good or bad action — this is further likely to develop the same tendency in the true believer to work even while there was no immediate, tangible and perceptible recognition or otherwise of his work forthcoming even from the side of God Himself. Thus a tendency will be developed to work even while the work remained unrewarded or punished either by Men-Gods, physically present, or by Real-God, physically absent, i.e., a tendency to do work for the sake of work itself — to do duty for duty’s sake or for the principle contained in it, and to obey Law for the Law’s sake or out of respect for the Law. This means that a principle will be obeyed for the principle’s sake, a cause pursued for the cause’s sake: in a word, virtue will be done for the sake of virtue itself, knowledge sought for the sake of knowledge itself, and art produced or enjoyed for the sake or art itself, in which case alone does a true culture really consist. Thus religion for a Muslim offers the very basis or foundation for his culture, without which, according to him, there can be no genuine culture at all. Hence, even that way, the position of atheistic Communism is despairing and deplorable.

Of such intolerances, the history of Communism abounds in millions. The estimate of persons killed, as given by Iljin in The World on the Brink of the Abyss, is 1,860,000 people, of whom 28 were bishops, 1,200 priests, 6,000 teachers and professors, 8,800 doctors, 192,000 workmen and 815,000 peasants. W. H. Chamberlin corroborates this statement by affirming that the number of Soviet citizens “deprived of liberty through anything that could possibly be called ‘due process of law’ could hardly be called less than 2 millions” (Russian’s Iron Age, p. 157). The liquidation of Kulaks that has cost the lives of several hundred thousand peasants is another instance of this kind. Even a certain most convinced American Communist describes this Kulak-liquidation as “the most spectacular act of ruthlessness” (A. L. Strong quoted by Eugene Lyons in Assignment in Utopia, p. 283). Also the Webbs (Sidney and Beatrice) were compelled to admit, “The sum of human suffering involved is beyond all computation” (Soviet Communism: A New Civilization, p. 567). Worse still is that the cruelties of this kind were visited not only on those who differed or opposed, but also on those who were devoted Communists themselves and had even worked for the creed. Only for just this or that whim or caprice of the dictators, even the best friends of Communism have been subjected to terrible cruelties. Max Eastman says: “The list of those shot, or who shot themselves, or who were named as implicated with the victims comprises — with a single exception — every one of the eminent Bolsheviks who sat with Stalin around the council table of Lenin: Trotsky, Zinovien, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin, Radek, Sokolnikov, Piatarkov (mentioned in Lenin’s testament as among the ablest), Yevdokimov, Smirnov (once known as the Lenin of Siberia), Tomsky (Head of the Federation of Labour), Serebriakov (Stalin’s predecessor as Secretary of the Party), and several others only a little less eminent” (Harper’s Magazine, February 1937, p. 313).

Law Courts, of course, there are in Russia, but they are functioning subject to the requirements of the Communist regime. The evidence of this is offered by no less a person than a man of the calibre of Lenin himself, who, in his famous letter published in the Bolshevik, 31st October 1920, writes: “The legal trial is not intended to replace terrorism; to make such a profession would be deception of others or oneself, but to base terrorism firmly on a fundamental principle and give it a legal form, unambiguous, without dishonesty or embarrassment.” (Italics author’s).

Lastis, the statistician to the Government of Russia, writes: “We are out to destroy the bourgeoisie as a class. Hence whether a bourgeois is under examination the first steps should be not to endeavour to discover material of proof that the accused has opposed the Soviet Government, whether verbally or actually, but to put the witness the three question: ‘To what class the accused belongs?’ ‘What is his origin?’ and ‘Describe his upbringing, education and profession’. Solely in accordance with the answers to these three questions should his fate be decided. For this is what ‘Red Terror’ means and what it implies” (S. P. Heigounov, The Red Terror in Russia, p. 39. Italics author’s).

That means that all respect for “Law” is reduced just to three questions to a witness — generally a government agent and not an impartial man — and his answer against the accused subjects him to a bullet. That is to say, the main concern of “Law” in Communist countries is to silence all opposition and difference of opinion ruthlessly and without much ado. For the rest of the population that survives this mass-killing and wholesale slaughter, the radio and the stage, the schools and the universities, the press and the
platform, the syllabi and curricula, and all that immediately or remotely concerns human life, are rigidly controlled and watched; and the people are made to learn only one type of thinking that suits Communism — as made single-track minded. They are made to believe that their Communist country is the noblest in the world, that Communism is the best and most sacred ideology, that private property is a "theft", and, therefore, the Capitalistic and Democratic peoples are "criminals". Also, for that matter, the people are rounded up and cordoned with a close iron curtain so that any thought other than Communism is hardly accessible to them. Naturally, they believe in whatever is taught to them, for they have no independent sources of verifying the validity or otherwise of the knowledge taught. Evidently, with this regimentation of ideas on the one hand and of conduct on the other, together with total absence of personal security and personal freedom, there can hardly exist a minority in opposition, far less a tolerance to the same. In a word, there is hardly a single precedent existing in Russia of a pattern as that of a person standing in Hyde Park of London and publicly censuring the British Premier, Parliament, even the Queen herself, for both their public policy and private deeds.

(b) Islamic Tolerance towards Minorities

Tolerance towards minorities or towards any difference of thought, religion, etc., is the life-nerve and one of the cardinal teachings of Islam. As contrasted to Communism's intolerance and its mass human-killing and relentless human carnage, the dignity of man and the respect for his life has been brought out by the Qur'an in a masterly verse as follows:

"That whosoever killeth a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind, and whoso saveth the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind" (4:32, italics author's).

That is to say, the dignity of man is so great as if the worth, life and freedom of each man were equal to the worth, life and freedom of all mankind combined — both negatively and positively. Evidently, the mass human killing and human carnage that exists or existed in Communist Russia cannot justifiably exist in Muslim countries just for a mere difference of thought, view, action, even for that of religion.

The Islamic tolerance towards other fundamental rights of the minorities or to those of any man, people and race for that matter, is clear from the following:

"There is no compulsion in religion" (The Qur'an, 2:256, italics author's).

"And say the truth is from your God: wherefore, let him who will, believe; let him who will, be an unbeliever" (The Qur'an, 28:29, italics author's).

This passage likewise contains a great psychological truth, for compulsion in matters of faith and thought is both theoretically impossible as well as practically useless. Because faith and thought depend on motive and conviction, which are both subjective phenomena, admitting no compulsion and enforcement. If compulsion and enforcement exist, at best they will exist in respect only of the overt or external conduct, which is useless without faith and conviction.

Other verses of the Qur'an to the same effect are as follows:

"And if your God had pleased, all people on earth would have become believers. Do you, therefore, forcibly compel men to be true believers?" (28:56, italics author's).

That is to say, what you forcibly do, if it had any sense, God would have done long before you. Why then break your head over something which is neither possible nor useful?

And yet, religion being a sacred thing, Islam is therefore a missionary religion, and it is the sacred duty of a Muslim to spread it over with all his enthusiasm and zeal; but that only by persuasion and mild exhortation, not by force or compulsion. Thus says the Qur'an:

"Good and evil are not alike: turn away evil by what is better, then he, between whom and you there was enmity, will be as though he were a warm friend" (41:34, italics author's).

That is to say, only by better handling and persuasion can one effectively attain his objective, particularly in matters of faith and religion. Elsewhere the Qur'an says again:

"Invite men into the way of your God by wisdom, and mild exhortation: and dispute with them in the most condescending manner ..." (16:125, italics author's).

That is to say, apart from not physically compelling them to action, even your theoretic controversy with them must be "in the most condescending manner".

Now if Islam is so tolerant in respect of faith and religion — a thing most sacred, most cherished, most beloved to a Muslim — a Muslim will be no less tolerant in matters economic, political and social. Thus says the Prophet Muhammad (God's blessing be upon him!):

"They (Zimmies — the non-Muslims) enjoy the same rights which we enjoy, and have the same responsibilities as we have. They are citizens, and they must participate in both rights and duties, prosperity and adversity."

"He who injures a Zimmy is my opponent and he who is my opponent will be a loser on the day of resurrection. And he who falsely accuses a Zimmy will be punished for it, on the day of resurrection, by whips of fire."

On these and other statements of the Qur'an and of the sacred traditions of the Prophet, the Hanafi school of thought founds its "Law" regarding the non-Muslims as follows:

"The Muslims and the Zimmies are equal before the law of retaliation for murder: a Muslim is to be killed for the slaying of a Zimmy, so is the Zimmy if he slays a Muslim. If a Muslim spoils the Khumr — the wine or the swine of a Zimmy — he has to pay their value (as estimated by the Zimmies, for these have no value in Islam). If a Muslim unintentionally kills a Zimmy, he has to pay blood-money. It is forbidden
to speak badly of a Zimmy behind his back, as it is forbidden to do with regard to Muslims."

Thus the Muslims and the non-Muslims, all alike, have the same rights and same duties — morally, religiously, politically, economically and socially.

The historical evidences of "Muslim Tolerance" and of the principles outlined as above, are so manifold that to give concrete illustrations of the same would make the subject tediously long. We need only mention that both Muslim and non-Muslim historians of eminence agree on the point of the Muslim's tolerance towards minorities as being unprecedented and proverbial. History abounds in cases of premiers, ministers, counsellors, great financiers, personal friends and even the wives of the Muslim kings and emperors as being non-Muslims. Contrasted to this, we have yet to hear of a premier, minister, adviser, etc., of a Communist leader as being a non-Communist or a Capitalist.

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**ISLAM IN ENGLAND**

**'ID AL-ADHA AT WOKING**

3,000 AT MUSLIM FESTIVAL

"ALL MANKIND ONE"

'Only the pine trees seemed out of place as families in the colourful dress of Eastern countries spread their lunches of curry on the grass in the grounds of the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking today. The domed mosque and the marquee which was decorated with the flags of many Muslim countries seemed more suited to the Orient than to Surrey heathland.'

'Nearly 3,000 people represented the biggest attendance so far at an ordinary Muslim festival in this country. This was the Id al-Adha, which commemorates the sacrifice of the lamb by Abraham. True to the custom which is popularly associated with Muslim rites, shoes were piled outside the marquee, where prayers were said and an address given by the Imam, Mr. S. Muhammad Tufail. The remainder of the day was a social occasion.'

'There are reckoned to be 200,000 Muslims in this country, and 2,000 of them in the Muslim Society of Great Britain. The Imam spoke of the rate of conversion in Britain and said that every week two people become Muslims. ‘This rate of progress is not at all satisfactory,' he said. ‘Let every one of you contact at least two persons during the coming year for the sake of Islam.'

‘Islam has succeeded in obliterating all distinctions of race, colour and rank and was teaching the world the most-needed lesson that all mankind was one, he continued. Because of this Islam was making the most progress in the battle for the minds and hearts of Africa's uncommitted millions.'

"Buddha, Abraham, Moses, Jesus Christ, Muhammad, and all the divine teachers of the world never taught that man was superior to man by virtue of his race, colour or nationality," declared the Imam.—The Times, London, 6th June 1960.

"ISLAM CAMPAIGNING FOR CONVERTS IN BRITAIN"

'There are about 200,000 Muslims in Great Britain, and efforts are being made to increase the number of converts, now being obtained at the rate of two a week.

'One of the two mosques in the country is the Shah Jehan Mosque at Woking, where on Whit-Sunday a record number of 3,000 people attended the 'Id al-Adha festival commemorating the sacrifice of the ram by Abraham. ‘Owing to the warm weather it was possible to raise the sides of the big marquee in which prayers were said and an address given by the Imam, Mr. S. Muhammad Tufail.'

'‘There was no need of coats, which hide the beauty of silk saris, often richly embroidered. The contrast between the domed mosque and Eastern dress amid Surrey pines was emphasized by the lounge suits worn by a number of men who, however, were glad enough to shed their jackets. Wide, white cotton trousers and other Eastern styles for men were much more in keeping with the sunny day.'

'The customary curry lunch was served to about 3,000 people, ten sheep being cut up to provide the meal. Family parties spread their meals on the grass, others dined in the marquee.'

'In his address the Imam declared that the rate of conversion to Islam in Great Britain, two persons a week, was not at all satisfactory. He urged his hearers to contact at least two people this year. ‘If you succeed in removing one small misunderstanding about Islam from the minds of people among whom you live you have helped the cause of truth,' he declared.—The Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 11th June 1960.

"ISLAM IS ANSWER TO APARTHEID"—says Imam

'Moroccans, Pakistanis, Cingalese, Malays, Turks, Nigerians, Indians and Sudanese, only to mention a few, mingled together at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, where on Sunday between 2,500 and 3,000 Muslims celebrated the "Id al-Adha" (The Festival of Sacrifice).'

'S. Muhammad Tufail, Imam, in an address, referred to the problem of apartheid.

"The race problem is one of the most menacing problems that confronts mankind today," said the Imam. "It is present in its most serious form in Africa, where naked oppression is taking place on account of race and colour."
‘He said that this was a common challenge to the world. The game of apartheid would not go on for long, and if things did not improve the West would suffer a complete defeat in Africa.

‘It may be asked whether Islam has anything to contribute towards the solution of the problem. In Islam the problem does not exist, neither in theory nor practice.

‘Even the present gathering here is living proof that all of us are equal in the sight of God. Islam is thus the only answer which can save Africa from groping in the dark, can lift Africa out of the chaos.’—Woking News and Mail, 10th June 1960.

THE FESTIVAL OF SACRIFICE AT WOKING

‘The day which we Muslims all over the world celebrate in remembrance of the act of complete submission to God by Abraham was observed here by the Muslims living in Great Britain on Sunday 5th June. While still perplexed that Muslims in Pakistan would be observing the same a day after and the Muslims assembled from all corners of the globe observed it a day earlier at Mecca, we, at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, stood on the lawn in neat and straight lines and faced towards the Ka’ba, shouting “God is Great”.

‘Many non-Muslim guests invited by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, S. Muhammad Tufail, sat on chairs inside the spacious marquee and watched the impressive sight of Muslims prostrating in complete submission to their Maker. Such a scene never fails to impress non-Muslims. It looks so strange, yet so impressive, and completely obliterate all distinctions of race and rank, which is a most touching way of saying and demonstrating that mankind is one.

‘Being a Sunday this ‘Id al-Adha at the Woking Mosque was besieged by no less than 3,000 visitors, who came from all over the globe.

‘Since the new Imam of the Woking Mosque took over just three months ago he on such occasions distributes cyclostyled copies of instructions on how to say the prayers, even breaking down to postures and the text to be recited in the Namaz. The details are given most minutely stage by stage, which leaves no room for any confusion. Here is an illustration:

‘“After the people have gathered together in the marquee,” writes the Imam in his programme under the heading “Divine Service — Text and and Postures”, “and certain announcements have been made, rows for prayers are arranged. The Imam calls out in a loud voice Allah-u-Akbar. There is silence for a few moments, during which dhikr is uttered in a low voice, not heard by others. One generally used is as follows: ‘Glory to Thee, O God, and Thine is the praise, and blessed is Thy name, and exalted is Thy majesty, and there is none to be served besides Thee.”’

‘In this way the instruction goes on, giving each posture of the first rak’a, i.e., ruku’, sajdah, and so on. It also gives what the Imam would be reciting and what it means (in English). The same follows for the second rak’a. All the takbir, how and in what order they are to be uttered. . . .

‘When we go to say our prayers at the Woking Mosque we know exactly what the Imam is saying or reciting, for everything the Imam is to recite is given to us in English beforehand.

The Khutba (sermon)

‘Only those like me who have sat in the sun in Pakistan, blinking at the Imam, who recites the Khutba in Arabic, not knowing what he is saying or driving at, only waiting and wishing to get the whole thing over as quickly as possible, know what it means to sit through an ‘Id Khutba on an extremely topical subject read in a language which one can understand.

‘There is no such problem here at Woking, because the congregation is cosmopolitan, and the only Esperanto which can be used in this veritable Tower of Babel is English. And as a Khutba should, it always deals with the current problems of the day.

‘Imam Tufail this ‘Id dealt with the colour problem, as it is today obtaining in South Africa, and what solution Islam has to offer. Then he dealt with a very important issue: the progress which Islam is making in Africa.” Islam,” he said, “is the only answer which can save Africa from groping in the dark, and can lift Africa out of chaos. The picture has become clear during recent years. But at the end of the last century and at the beginning of the present things were not so hopeful.”

‘In 1899, the Imam said, when the mundane power of Islam was at its lowest ebb, it was prophesied that Islam could not survive without political power. Therefore, “Islam in Africa will be comparatively easy for Christianity to overcome,” wrote Mr. Anson P. Atterbury in his book Islam in Africa, published in 1899, said the Imam.

‘Even six years ago it was declared that: “Islam in East Africa has lost its position as the directive for African hopes and aspirations” (Lyndon Harries, Islam in East Africa, 1954, p. 28).

‘But,” said the Imam, “what is the situation now? Christianity, Islam and Communism are battling for the
minds and hearts of Africa's uncommitted millions and at the moment Islam is making the greatest progress.

"It is not the sword which is being used to bring people to the fold of Islam," said the Imam. "The sword was, in fact, never used for this purpose in the history of Islam. It is the inherent force and spiritual beauty of the religion of Muhammad (peace and blessings of God be on him!) which is conquering the hearts of the people."

Then the Imam talked on the subject what we can do to further the cause of Islam in the West. "Islam," he said, "is not at work in the Western world. For the Western world needs Islam as much as the African world. Islam is on the march, no doubt, but it needs our help.

"In Great Britain, on the average, two persons become Muslims every week. But this rate of progress is not satisfactory at all. Let every one of you contact at least two persons during the coming year for the sake of Islam. Tell them something about the Prophet and his message, give them something to read, pray for them so that they may see the light of truth. If you have succeeded in removing one small misunderstanding about Islam from the minds of people among whom you live you have helped the cause of truth. If you have failed you have failed in a noble cause. But in the sight of God you have not failed; you have reward with Him."

Many hundreds of Muslims were sitting in the sun as the marquee was not large enough to hold over 2,000. The temperature at Woking that day was over 80. But as everything was done to a schedule, the whole programme was over in about 30 minutes.

The congregation marched to the self-serve lunch tent. Major C. M. Barwah of Camberley, Surrey, had kindly given two sheep for the entertainment of the guests at the 'Id in celebration of the birth of a son. That meat came in very handy!

Besides many non-Muslims, mostly girls, who had come with their friends to make it "a day in the country", there were some Sikhs too! 'Id is celebrated in the true spirit in London. This year we also had stalls selling Pakistani handicrafts and sweets.

After the lunch was over and as the day was gloriously sunny and warm the young Turkish boys and girls entertained the guests with some typical folk dances. The one done with large knives was especially appreciated. During the lunch period amateur singers of all languages entertained the guests and added to the festivity of the day.

Thus we Muslims in England, away from our hearth and home, relations and friends, celebrated our 'Id, and tried to make the most of it. In this we owe a great debt to the Imams of the various mosques. For without their thoughtfulness the day, in a foreign land, would not have been half as enjoyable."—Morning News. Karachi, 16th June 1960.

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National Anthem of Pakistan

Blessed be the sacred land
Happy be the bounteous realm
Symbol of high resolve
Land of Pakistan
Blessed be thou citadel of faith
The Order of this sacred land
Is the might of the brotherhood of the people
May the nation, the country, and the State
Since in glory everlasting
Blessed be the goal of our ambition
This flag of the Crescent and the Star
Leads the way to progress and perfection
Interpreter of our past, glory of our present
Inspiration of our future
Symbol of Almighty's protection

JUNE 1960
THE ISLAMIC HALL OF THE TROPICAL MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND

An approach towards a better understanding of Islam

Mr. R. L. Mellema is the in-charge of the Islamic Hall of the Tropical Museum, Amsterdam, and is the author of Wayang Puppets, Grondwet van Pakistan, Een Interpretatie van de Islaam, etc.

Origin and activities

The Netherlands Royal Institute for the Tropics at Amsterdam was established nearly fifty years ago on the initiative of that part of the Netherlands industry which directed its activities in the tropics. This relationship which then existed between the Netherlands and its territories in the tropics revealed an urgent need for an institution the organization of which would make it possible to collect and study systematically data on social and economic conditions and on hygiene in the tropics with a view to utilizing the knowledge thus gained in a wide sphere of interests. It was not long before the institution achieved results which proved its value as a study and research centre for industry, engineering and social conditions in the tropics.

The following subjects are specially studied and investigated:

The general economic aspects:

The fertility of the soil for tropical crops and fertilizing problems:

The tropical products with a view to their sale, storage, packing and resistance to climatic conditions and harmful influences:

The medical problems and those relating to hygiene; and,

The social and psychological conditions and in general the problems which are encountered where two essentially different civilizations meet.

With this institution is attached the Tropical Museum which attracts thousands of visitors every year from Holland and abroad. In this museum are found the products and manufactured articles of various tropical countries. In most cases the living conditions of those lands are also displayed. Indonesia, Dutch Guiana, Curacao, Morocco, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, to name just a few, all find their due presentation in the halls and galleries of this museum.

The aim of the Islamic Hall is to arouse interest in the fully dynamic world of Islam

On the second floor of the museum is situated the Islamic Hall, which represents Islam as a religion. It is easy to display the old and new products and finds of a Muslim country. But to represent Islam in a museum is a difficult subject. But it is where Mr. R. L. Mellema, in charge of this section, has succeeded. This hall is one of the recent sections of the museum and offers an excellent survey of Islam which is professed by more than 400,000,000 people who mainly inhabit the tropics. It was no slight merit of the Royal Institute of the Tropics to have taken this initiative. Indeed there is hardly any other great religion about which there is so much misunderstanding as about Islam. This misunderstanding is tragically preventing proper contact between Islam and the West. The opening of the Islamic Hall has been one small step on the long way to this understanding.

What does an average European feel about Islam and the world of Islam? Few can give a satisfactory answer to this question. Yet this world is unfolding itself quickly and with energy to one of the main powers of the world. This process will find its climax in a firm unity. Indeed — whatever their differences as to race and social position — the 400,000,000 adepts of Muhammad are themselves closely connected by their creed, and this far more than can be observed in the divided world of Christianity. To this one should immediately add that in the world of Islam,

(Continued on page 26)
Here are four figures in front of the alcove (mīhrāb) facing towards Mecca each depicting a phase of the Muslim worship. The pulpit (minbar) on the right side is made with utter devotion and great precision on a Persian model found in the great Mosque of the town of Najaf in Iran dating back to 711 A.H. (1311 C.E.). The scene is at the Islamic Hall of the Tropical Museum, Amsterdam. On the wall are found verses from the 24th chapter of the Qur’ān beginning with the words “God is the light of the heavens and the earth. . . .” On the shield at the top left above the mīhrāb is inscribed the word God. Muslims are supposed to worship five times daily, preferably in the mosque, otherwise in their homes, offices, gardens, even in the train or wherever they find it convenient. On the extreme right is again inscribed the word God, under which is found the Qur’ān in one page.

Two figures a man and a woman, dressed in pilgrim’s clothes, technically called ihram. Probably the ihram dress of two seamless sheets dates back from Abraham, and the simple patriarchal dress has been preserved in the hajj to give men a practical lesson in simple living. On the right is a model of the Ka’bah.
Views from the Islamic Museum

Top left — The Islamic Hall provides enough material for food for thought to a visitor. A short history of the origin and extension of Islam has been inscribed on the wall. It also gives the fundamental principles and rituals of Islam. A note at the end is added about the Calligraphy. On the left is a huge map shown partially in the picture that displays the spread of Islam from one part of the world to the other.

Top right — (above). The she model of a century pres.".

Centre left — A model of the Azhar University, where teaching starts with the reading and writing of Arabic and reciting the Qur’an. To the extreme left stands the life-size figure of a professor in the University of al-Azhar, the late Shaikh ‘Abd al-Latif Daraz.

Bottom right glass case ara. Above is a tie

Bottom left — The beautiful chandelier with Arabic inscriptions hanging from the ceiling. On the wall is written in Arabic: “God — there is no god but He, the Ever-living, the Self-subsisting, by Whom all subsist. Slumber overtakes Him not, nor sleep. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens or whatever is in the earth . . .” (The Qur’an, 2: 255).

The institute for the Modern Near-Eastern Studies of the University part of the Tropical Museum. In the picture are shown (from left) Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper (Arabic and Islamology), Director of the Institute of Egypt, a student of Semitic Languages at Amsterdam; Miss N. Wiltenburg, Secretary. The Arabic inscriptions on the wall: “Pulson in religion” (The Qur’an, 2: 256), and (left) “And urge except what is best” (The Qur’an,
the Islamic Hall
of
MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

Top right — Bowing down for prayer before the mihrāb (above). The mihrāb in the Islamic Hall has been built on the model of a classical Egyptian mihrāb from the 12th century preserved in the Museum of Islamic Arts at Cairo.

Bottom right — Another view of the Islamic Hall. In the glass case are displayed old and new copies of the Qur'ān. Above is a letter of the Prophet Muhammad and at the top is the Muslim formula of faith.

The Institute for
Modern Near-Eastern Studies,
University of Amsterdam.

Studies of the University of Amsterdam is also housed in a new building (from left to right): L. O. Schuman, Librarian; Islamology), Director of the Institute; `Ali Mubarak, Director of the Institute; Masu Sudi, Assistant Professor of Arabic; inscriptions on the walls mean (right) "There is no com- and (left) "And argue not with the people of the Book at is best (The Qur'ān, 29: 46).
religion and politics are indissolubly connected with each other. Perhaps one should rather say that religion, as it is based upon the Qur'ān, rules political and social life.

It was once believed that the influence and power of Islam would belong definitely to the past, since, at the end of the 17th century, the aggressiveness of the Ottoman Empire had been broken. Indeed for some time it looked as if the world of Islam was entirely disintegrating. But the West would make one of its biggest mistakes when it would permanently underestimate the inner force of Islam.

The many facts which come daily to our knowledge only warrant one conclusion: we are on the eve of a renaissance of Islam which cannot be stifled any more. The colonial régime which has been imposed by many Western powers on the whole of the East during many centuries initially kept back or slowed down such a rebirth, but later it proved a strong stimulus to the renewed inner force of Islam which finally resulted into a renaissance.

But that former colonial period can still constitute a source of danger and conflicts such as we see in the events in Indonesia and also in China.

To a great extent the attitude and the understanding of the West will decide which way is open between East and West — the way of co-operation and friendship or the way of tension and hostility. With this one should realize — and only such a realization shows a sense of reality — that military demonstrations cannot any more impress the East, which is as big and grand as the West, especially when the unified Muslim States and the multi-million States of China and India will in the future join more closely together.

We need only recall the Asian-African conference which was first held at Bogor in Indonesia and which resulted in regular meetings afterwards and co-operation in many fields, to get an inkling of the picture a far-distant future might present. Between Asia and Africa — a continent which only starts what might well prove a stupendous development — there has been created a strong mutual bond because of the common past of colonialism, which in neither of these big continents can be easily forgotten. Both in Asia and in Africa Islam numbers millions of faithful followers. The “Realm of Islam” extends from Australia to Gibraltar and is one of the strongest pillars on which the new world of the East is now being built. Against such a background the importance of the new Islamic Hall in the Tropical Museum is even more clear. And it was in that hall that I reflected upon all this under the influence of what I saw there.

First one was struck by an impressive map of Asia and Africa, the continents where Islam is strongest. The map is painted on the wall and gives a clear picture of the extension of this world religion. Just a few figures can illustrate this: the percentage of the population which professes Islam is in Indonesia 95 per cent, in Pakistan 86 per cent, in Jammu and Kashmir 76 per cent, in Iran 98 per cent, in Afghanistan 99 per cent, in Iraq 93 per cent, in Albania 69 per cent, in Morocco 94 per cent, in Liberia 20 per cent and in Somalia 99 per cent.

In the Soviet Union we also find extensive regions where the Muslim population is clearly dominant, as among the Kazakhs (65 per cent) and the Uzbeks (88 per cent).

The mosque

Under this impressive map twenty big pictures have been exhibited under glass showing famous mosques and other Islamic centres. Islam is unthinkable without mosques. Wherever in the world Muslims are establishing in some numbers one will also find a mosque. The name “mosque”, which is derived from the Arabic masjid, indicates an enclosed place for kneeling and prostrating in order to honour and to serve God. Therefore each enclosed space can be used as a masjid.

The exterior aspect of the mosques may vary, but the interior will always comply to the same requirements. The first requirement is that the direction of the place should be towards Mecca. When building the mosque the mihrāb (niche) is placed in the middle of the wall which faces the entry. Therefore in the Islamic Hall of the Tropical Museum the mihrāb, the main point of every mosque, has also been placed in the direction of Mecca. For this purpose has been selected a magnificent historical model, namely a classic Egyptian mihrāb from the 12th century which had been preserved in the Museum for Islamic Art in Cairo. In view of the significance of the mihrāb for the Muslim who wants to practise his religion it is clear that it became an appropriate symbol for Islamic faith in general. The museum, however, does not limit itself only to this mihrāb. Next to it one sees four figures of normal size who picture the four main prescribed attitudes for the ritual prayers. This ritual prayer, called salāt, cannot be compared to a Christian prayer. The salāt is rather a glorification and a praise of God which is also emphasized by the words uttered at the commencement of the prayer: Allahu akbar (God is greatest). This glorification is accompanied by a humble submission to Almighty God. For the faithful Muslim it is a privilege to be able, at all times and places, to express publicly these feelings in the presence of people who think otherwise. It is especially due to this attitude that Islam extended so greatly and also penetrated so strongly into various parts of the world.

The example shown in the Islamic Hall supposes that four people are effecting the salāh individually. When more people are attending, the habit is that all act likewise as directed by the Imam.

The four figures of praying Muslims in the Islamic Hall are put on a tapestry which, by cords, has been secluded from the visitors. It is a holy place which can only be entered without shoes. Muslims who want to do so can, in their quality of Muslims, get the authorization to go there, before the mihrāb, because they know how to behave there. Besides the mihrāb one really finds only one other piece of furniture in the mosque, the minbar (pulpit), which is used on Fridays by the khutbat (preacher) for his sermon. For this too the Tropical Museum chose a very beautiful historical model: a famous Persian pulpit from the 14th century which has been copied exactly to four-fifths of its real size (because of the available space). The original is still serving its purpose in the mosque in the city of Najaf. But the construction of this copy is solid enough to make it possible to use this minbar in Amsterdam on suitable occasions.

The texts which are artistically cut into the wood and serving also as decorations mention, among other things, the name of the constructor: "Mahmud Shah, son of Mohammad, the Kirmanic woodworker".

The Qur’ān, calligraphy

Naturally when equipping the Islamic Hall one also devoted all the necessary attention to the Qur’ān, the holy scripture of the Muslims.

The Muslim has a particular respect for the Qur’ān. He is convinced that the whole contents are the words of God Himself transmitted through His mouthpiece the Prophet Muhammad. It has been carefully memorized and
written down during his life in the 7th century. In the course of the ensuing centuries one has devoted the utmost care to transmit the text in its original pure form. The text, which is holy for the Muslims, has been kept intact even as to the most minute details.

Classical teaching of the Arabic language and of the Qur'an was, and still is, given in the internal court of the mosque. But at an early date there were already special centres, of which the Muslim university of al-Azhar in Cairo (at the same time a mosque) is a famous example. This is the reason why this educational centre, which dates from the 10th century, has also been shown in the Islamic Hall. For this purpose a beautiful model of this place has been set up. Next to it stands the life-size statue of the late Shaikh 'Abd al-Latif Daraz, Professor at al-Azhar. At the inner court one sees a group of students around their teacher, who gives them preparatory lectures about the Qur'an. Later other sciences follow, like Muslim law, theology, Arabic languages and literature, history, rhetorics, logic, polemics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, geography and especially calligraphy. The latter is naturally of much importance in the matter of copying the Qur'an, which is often done in a very artistic manner.

Examples of artistic work

In the show windows of the Islamic Hall in the Tropical Museum one sees many examples of such artistic work. There are among them magnificent copies of the Qur'an. Especially two copies in miniature writing strongly attract attention. On one of them is printed the complete text of the Qur'an on a sheet of paper of only 50 x 70 centimetres. This text can only be read with the help of a strong magnifying glass. The second miniature copy has the form of a small booklet in a golden framework. It is meant to be worn in a headcloth as an amulet.

In the Islamic countries texts are also used as wall apothegms. Of such wall-sayings one also finds some beautiful specimens. They have been reproduced from well-known wall-apothegms from Mecca and Egypt. One of them has been specially written for the Islamic Hall by the calligrapher Sayyid Najib al-'Attas.

One could tell much more about the artistic aspects of Islam, but in its first conception the Islamic Hall of the Tropical Museum in Amsterdam mainly emphasizes religion. That is to say, next to the map showing the world of Islam there is also exhibited a text which intends to give a brief survey of some characteristics of this world religion with its 400,000,000 followers. This text has been established after consultation with several Muslims and it has been tried, while maintaining scientific exactitude, to give such a view of the religion that the formulation is acceptable to Muslims. Although short, this explanation is indispensable for the visitors of the Islamic Hall to get a correct understanding of what is on view:

"Islam originated in Arabia in the 7th century. Its founder, Muhammad, born in Mecca, died in Medina in 632, considered himself to be called by God to teach the existence of one God to still ignorant tribes. The revelations which he enjoyed and which are considered by his followers to be the word of God Himself, have been collected by his successors in one book: The Holy Qur'an.

After the death of Muhammad the religion followed political developments. Already less than twenty years later the Muslims ruled over Syria, Persia and Egypt. In about 700 C.E. their realm extended from the ocean in the west to the River Indus in India.

"Islam, which as the last revealed religion had already been meant for the whole world by the Envoy of God, proved its universal character by an ever-continuing expansion. It found its way, by merchants and travellers, as far as Indonesia and Central Africa. This process is still continuing today."

Besides, in this text it is explained what are the four orthodox rites of Islam and what are the five fundamental duties of every Muslim. After that follows a short statement about the caliphate.

In short, the Islamic Hall of the Tropical Museum gives the visitor a deep insight into the inherent force of Islam. It helps also to remove many wrong notions about this great world faith. It also suggests that if the world needs everlasting peace the West must co-operate with the East — particularly with the world of Islam.

**ISLAM IN HOLLAND**

Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Bashir (see arrow) addressing an open-air meeting on Islam in a corner of the Walkerpark, Zeist, near Utrecht, Holland. Meetings are similar to those held in the Hyde Park corner, London. Announcements were made beforehand and more than a hundred persons turned up to listen to the speaker.
SIDI MUHAMMAD V OF MOROCCO

The living personal symbol of the new Morocco

By

FOREST E.
BARBER, M.A.

A Friday in Rabat

Every Friday, one of the most colourful processions in the world takes place in Rabat, the capital of Morocco. Friday being the special day throughout the Muslim world for public devotions, it is then that services are held in mosques. But Friday is of special significance to the people of Rabat, for it is then that anyone may see the King as he journeys to the mosque, with all the splendour of traditional monarchs.

Shortly before noon the King emerges from his palace in an open carriage drawn by sleek Arabian horses and driven by a colourfully garbed driver. Following the King, there is often a pony cart with the charming little Princess Amina in it, the youngest member of the Royal Family.

For many years the members of the Royal Family, the cabinet ministers and the household servants walked to the Friday services behind the King; recently this custom has been changed and they now ride in automobiles. If there is a Jewish member in the cabinet, he goes as far as the door of the mosque, where he waits until the service is completed, whereupon he returns to the palace with the others.

Perhaps the most colourful part of this pageant is the Palace Guard, some of whom bear lances with green pennants, while others have rifles. In the summer the Palace Guards are dressed in white and in the winter in red. The colourful costumes worn by many of them include quite full pantaloons with narrow pleats, white puttees, and white blouses, topped with blue caps.

This is truly a great show and a splendid pageant. But it signifies much more than that to the people of Morocco. King Muhammad V is their spiritual leader as well as their sovereign lord. For many years Sidi Muhammad was known as the Sultan of Morocco, but of recent date his title has been altered to King. He was already a powerful figure in Morocco before his forced exile in 1953, and his popularity greatly increased in the twenty-seven months he languished outside his country in the struggle for freedom. Today he is certainly the most important leader in Morocco and the one man whose life story can best be used to illustrate the history of that land during the last fifty years.

Childhood of the King of Morocco

Concerning the childhood and youth of Sidi Muhammad, little is known. This may seem somewhat strange in view of the fact that he is now the ruler of Morocco, but when Sidi Muhammad was a boy, many people presumed that one of his elder brothers would be named to succeed their father as Sultan. Also the French, being in control of Morocco, kept the Sultan’s family isolated. Thus, almost all of the King’s early years were lived apart from his people. He studied at the Qur’anic schools and imbibed the wisdom of Islam. He also obtained a certain amount of French education, though he never studied in France. Those who knew him best in those early years state that he was especially interested in reading the history of Morocco and of Islam, and in studying biography.

His father, Sultan Mulay Yusuf, was a strict Muslim, and Sidi Muhammad was brought up in the strict observances of his faith. During those early years of his life, the King learned to hunt, to shoot, to play tennis and to swim.

When Sidi Muhammad reached the age of sixteen, he was married to a young lady who had been selected by the family and they started raising their family, which now comprises two sons and three daughters. Of these, all but the little Princess Amina are children born of the first wife.

Muhammad V ascends the throne in 1927 during the French protectorate regime

At the close of the last century, Morocco fell into the clutches of the French, and France proclaimed a protectorate over this nation. The Treaty of Fez of 1912 promised “constant support to His Sharifian Majesty against all dangers which might threaten his person or throne or endanger the tranquility of the State.” It was soon seen that this was more than a protectorate; in verity Morocco was a French colony. Most Moroccans would have liked to throw the French out, but France was a leading world power and the Moroccans were not strong enough to drive the French from their country.

At the same time these events were taking place in Morocco, another event occurred which was to alter dramatically the life of Sidi Muhammad. On 17th November 1927 his father, the Sultan, died, and the next day the ‘Ulema of Fez assembled to select his successor. The ‘Ulema consisted of the leading religious leaders and authorities on Islamic law. At that time in Morocco, any member of the Royal Family might be chosen as Sultan. This law has since
been changed and Muhammad V has named his eldest son Crown Prince and heir to the throne.

Sidi Muhammad was but seventeen years old at the time he ascended the throne as Sultan, and for far too many years his power was exercised by the French. The young Sultan had not been exposed to the prevailing revolutionary ideas one reads about in history books and talks about in student circles in European universities. But the young Sultan possessed wonderful characteristics and virtues of which the French were blissfully unaware or which they chose to minimize. One was his great ability to listen and to learn; another was his truly remarkable ability of observing. These two traits combined have made it possible for Sidi Muhammad to grow over the years to the stature of a great leader of men.

There was also a strong streak of obstinacy in this young ruler which came to light during the late World War. When Muhammad V was called upon to enforce the anti-Jewish legislation of the Vichy Government of France, he courageously refused to do so. He remarked that he was the ruler of all Moroccans, including the quarter-million Jews, and he declined to enforce laws which discriminated against any group of his subjects.

**King Muhammad meets the late Franklin Roosevelt**

A climactic peak in his career came on 22nd January 1943, when Sidi Muhammad dined with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. This was certainly the first time in his life the Sultan had been permitted by his French overlords to confer in private with high officials of foreign lands. Perhaps the French were powerless to prohibit this private meeting.

President Roosevelt was greatly impressed by the Sultan, and forthwith urged him not to continue to permit foreigners to rob and exploit Morocco's resources, but rather to encourage the Moroccans to develop their land for themselves. According to Elliott Roosevelt's account of the dinner meeting, which he also attended, the President also asked:

"Why does Morocco, inhabited by Moroccans, belong to France? Anything must be better than to live under French colonial rule. When we've won the war, I will work with all my might and main to see to it that the United States is not wheeled into the position of accepting any plan that will further France's imperialistic ambitions."

Later, Roosevelt addressed two letters to the Sultan of Morocco in which he boldly reiterated these points. This was certainly the kind of encouragement Sidi Muhammad needed. In the meantime the movement for Moroccan independence gained strength by the formation of the Istiqjul (Independence) Party, which was largely composed of young men from the middle class who had received their education in French schools. The first Istiqjul programme was most moderate. These young patriots wanted a united Morocco. They also wanted Moroccan independence, but were willing to achieve it over a period of years and by agreement with France. They favoured a democratic government and a constitutional monarchy.

**The King's speech in 1947 expressing his wish for complete independence for Morocco causes a flutter in the dove-cote of the French, who depose the King.**

It was in Tangier in 1947 that Sidi Muhammad spoke for the first time in public of his wish for complete independence. The next year the Moroccans were permitted to select a few members of the new council of government. In 1950, the Sultan was invited to Paris, where apparently the French intended to dazzle him with banquets, official functions, and flattery. But instead of achieving their nefarious purpose, the French were confronted with two memoranda requesting the absolute independence of Morocco.

Meanwhile, in Morocco, the pro-French leaders were starting to be troubled by the Sultan's wish for independence. The Sultan's chief opponent was Thami al-Glaoui, a wealthy Berber leader.

In 1950, al-Glaoui journeyed to the Sultan's palace and warned Sidi Muhammad about the consequences of his actions; but the Sultan did not accept the warnings and ordered al-Glaoui to leave the palace. In January 1951, the French Resident-General, Juin, commanded Sidi Muhammad to dismiss the Imperial Cabinet, to condemn the Istiqjul Party as atheistic, and to send into exile all the Istiqjul leaders. Juin is quoted as saying: "Either you do this or abdicate — and if you won't abdicate, I will depose you."

Backed by the Conservatives in France, the local French officials, and the French colonists, al-Glaoui and his friends thought the time had arrived to oust the Sultan and to take more control for themselves. They met and illegally proclaimed the deposition of Sultan Muhammad V.

General Guillaume added the final touches to the plot. Surrounding the Sultan's palace with French troops and disarming the Palace Guard, he demanded the Sultan's abdication. Sidi Muhammad naturally refused. The Resident-General then called the Security Chief, who placed his hand on the Sultan's shoulder to indicate his arrest. At this point, two French officers with guns in their hands entered the room and forced the Sultan into an armoured car, speeding him to the military camp at Sousse. There he was placed in a plane and flown to Corsica.

A seventy year-old uncle of the Sultan's, Mulay 'Araf, was installed in the place of Muhammad V. He was certainly not a great figure, but rather a kindly, courteous, respected member of the Royal Family who would be a Sultan acceptable to al-Glaoui and his followers.

Morocco reacted to the kidnapping by armed attacks on the French. Crops were burned, trains were wrecked, shops were blown up, people were attacked, and mosques were nearly empty on Friday.

The United Nations was asked to consider the matter in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954 and 1955. Each time this body failed to provide a solution. During the period from 1933 to 1955, many of the Berber tribes became the staunchest and most bitter enemies of the French, and a number of their tribal leaders announced themselves as in favour of the return of Sultan Muhammad V.

Finally, in October 1955, al-Glaoui issued a statement, which was read by his son, saying:

"I identify myself with the wish of the Moroccan nation for a prompt restoration of Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf and for his return to the throne, a return that by itself can unify hearts and spirits in harmony."

In the meantime the Sultan and his family had been removed to Madagascar, where they spent the last few months of exile living in an old hotel. The only compensation was the knowledge that the exile had vastly increased the Sultan's popularity at home and thus provided a rallying
point for the opposition to the continued French occupation.

The French were finally forced to yield to the inevitable and on 31st October 1955, they flew Muhammad V together with his family to Nice, France. From there the Sultan was invited to Paris, where he was received with the public honours accorded royalty.

In Paris he received al-Glaoui, who crawled into the Sultan’s presence on his hands and knees, bowing his head to the floor, prostrated himself four times, and kissed the Sultan’s robe, declaring that he was “a slave at the feet of Your Majesty”.

On 17th November 1955 all Morocco went wild with exultation. A great crowd greeted the Sultan with his family. Garlands of flowers were seen everywhere, and pictures of the Sultan were seen together with signs saying, “Now we have our Sultan: next we want Independence,” or “Long Live Independent Morocco”.

On 2nd March 1956 Morocco becomes independent. The King’s interest in the problems of his country

On 2nd March 1956 the independence of Morocco was recognized, with Muhammad V as the constitutional monarch. His title was changed from Sultan to King.

On 7th April, Spain ceded Spanish Morocco. On 26th October the Free City of Tangier was added to the State. In November, Morocco was welcomed into the United Nations. In April 1958, Spain signed an agreement by which Morocco regained sovereignty over the then Spanish protectorate in the southern zone.

King Muhammad V has always been vitally interested in all the problems of his growing nation, but he has had an especially sharp interest in the development of education. In the years before independence he had spent his own private funds to found schools and had urged the local caid’s to start schools, saying:

“If these notables spent on education half the money they waste on feasting, Morocco would turn into a garden blossoming with the achievements of science, and our youth would acquire a culture that would enable them to contribute to the well-being of their fellow citizens.”

Sidi Muhammad did not neglect his own children, but saw to it that boys and girls alike received a Qur’anic education in early childhood and a Western education as they grew older. He encouraged his eldest son to obtain a law degree in Paris as part of his preparation for making a contribution to Moroccan life.

Asked recently what kind of education the children of Morocco needed to prepare for the next fifty years, he answered in this way:

“Spiritual values are the key to any proper education at any time and in any place, but especially now when materialism is stressed so much in some parts of the world. Youth in our country as well as around the world needs to have this spiritual base. Then, with that, they need to learn to live in peace with all kinds of people, or life will not be worth living. And they need to have a scientific orientation, too. In fact, what they need is like a building with a spiritual base, a scientific superstructure, and with arms reaching out in many directions to the people of their own and other nations.”

Sidi Muhammad is the living personal symbol of the new Morocco

Sidi Muhammad himself is the living personal symbol of the new Morocco and highly popular with the people of Morocco. He is about five feet six inches tall, with grey hair. He is a most dignified person. He has an appealing smile and beautiful hands which he uses in a supple fashion when he talks.

He is not a famous orator, but his well-chosen words carry weight because of his official position and his sacrifices for the liberation of modern Morocco.

Of the King as a politician, it has been said:

“Sidi Muhammad possesses a remarkable flair for affairs of State. His years of religious training, observation and contemplation have given his mind both range and depth: a more thorough modern education might easily have blunted some of his perceptions.”

This special ability to sense delicate situations and to feel his way is a rare trait in human beings and separates the great leader from the common politician. This quality of intuition is one which Sidi Muhammad possesses to a highly remarkable degree.

Added to his other outstanding characteristics, the King is honest, has a retentive memory, and is a shrewd calculator of men and of events. He is also known as a hard worker. Usually he rises about 4 a.m., and often takes an automobile ride around Rabat or to Sale before breakfast, which he generally has with his children. His morning and afternoon hours are spent at his desk with Government problems, correspondence and interviews.

One of his ministers explained the way in which the King conducts business with visitors. He has said:

“You say what you have to say in five minutes. He asks you a few questions — right to the point — and that is that.”

In the evening the King sometimes enjoys Arabic or foreign films in his residence outside Rabat. Generally he retires early, but sometimes stays up later if he has had a siesta during the day.

If one were asked to describe in one word His Majesty, that word would be “balanced”. He reads the Qur’an daily and faithfully observes the religious duties of Islam. His education and life have been mostly limited to Morocco. He dresses in the djellaba of his countrypeople.

Yet the King is a man who has grown tremendously and has adopted many Western ways. He has a gymnasium and a swimming pool in his villa, appreciates automobiles, and often wears Western clothing. He speaks good French, which he learned by himself. He operates his farm with the latest scientific methods and is constantly trying to discover better ways of farming with a view to introducing them in Morocco.

When asked about his plans for the future of Morocco, His Majesty revealed his basic philosophy of balancing ancient tradition with new invention by saying:

“Ours is a country with a glorious history. We intend to keep the best of our traditions — those which everyone agrees are best. But we are living in modern times and we want to learn from other countries and profit from their experience. We want especially to learn from those nations which are spiritually and materially advanced, for they are the ones from which we can learn most. In the next fifteen to twenty years we want to synthesize the best from the past with the best from the present to develop a modern State.”
THE MUSLIMS OF BOSNIA AND THE OTHER AUTONOMOUS STATES OF YUGOSLAVIA

2,200,000 Muslims in Yugoslavia

By G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

Muslim population of Yugoslavia

The Muslim population of Yugoslavia was estimated in 1931 by the bureaucratic pro-Serbian monarchist régime as being 1,561,166, or about 11 per cent of the total population. The Muslim population of Bosnia in 1939 was estimated as being 858,140, or 31.2 per cent of the total Bosnian population, which was according to an official estimate 44.5 per cent Serb or Orthodox and 21.7 per cent Croat or Catholic.

The figures for the Muslim population of Yugoslavia according to the territorial divisions then existing were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vardar Banovina</td>
<td>499,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drina (Bosnia and Herzegovina)</td>
<td>356,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeta (Montenegro)</td>
<td>315,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrbas (Bosnia and Herzegovina)</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primorje (Bosnia and Herzegovina)</td>
<td>69,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morava</td>
<td>58,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgrade Prefecture</td>
<td>3,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sava</td>
<td>3,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drava (Slovenia)</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A post-war estimate of the Muslim population was 2,083,000, or 12.3 per cent of the population of Yugoslavia (in 1953), but Communist Yugoslavia does not chronicle the exact number of Muslims or Christians; for it is concerned with races, not creeds.

In 1953 the total population of Yugoslavia was 16,937,000, of whom 754,000 were Shoyptars or Albanians, 250,000 Turks and 999,000 Yugoslavs. “Considered as Yugoslavs with undeclared nationality are such persons as the Muslims and or the former Muslims within the territory of the P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina, now adherents of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia” (Statistical Pocket-book of Yugoslavia, Federal Statistical Office, Belgrade, for 22nd March 1958).

These figures give a rough idea of the Muslim population of Yugoslavia of just under 2,000,000, and there may well have been some more non-declared Muslims amongst the Montenegrins, Macedonians, as well as the Croats and Serbs. The estimated population of Yugoslavia in 1958 was 18,387,000, so the Muslim population may well be nominally in the neighbourhood of 2,200,000.

Turkish conquest of the Balkans in 1359 — Bosnians and Serbians adopt Islam

During the reign of the Sultan Murad I (1359-1389 C.E.) the Turkish armies invaded the Balkans, and the Serbian
king and the Christians were defeated at the Battle of Maritza in 1371. Macedonia was annexed, and Nish in 1386. The Turkish Generals Khaireddin Jandarli and Haji Ilderzi were most prominent, but another General, Lala Shalin, was defeated at Vedin. On 20th June 1389 the Servian King Lazar was killed and his army routed at Kossovo, and although Sultan Murad was killed, his son Prince Bayazid (1389-1402) consolidated his victory.

In 1442 the Serbians and Bosnia, backed by Hunyadi of Hungary, drove back the Turks to beyond Sofia, and a peace treaty was signed at Szegedin in Hungary between the warring parties, but the armies of Sultan Murad II (1421-1451) won the battles of Varna (1444) and the second battle of Kossovo (1448). Sultan Muhammad II al-Fatih (The Conqueror) annexed Serbia in 1458, Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1458-1461, and conquered Albania in 1467. Sultan Sulaiman (1521-1566) took Belgrade in 1521.

Matthew Spinks in his History of Christianity in the Balkans (Chicago, 1933), writes: “The native population

represented the imposition of Roman Catholicism, that like the Byzantines in Constantinople in 1453 preferred ‘the mufti’s turban to a cardinal’s hat” (see S. Vucinich, Yugoslavia, published by the University of California, 1949).

After the conquest many Serbs and Bosnians turned Muslim in order to preserve their privileges and to keep their lands. These people became very strict Muslims and retained their religious beliefs under the Austrians who conquered and annexed Bosnia and Serbia in 1878 and 1908. Wayne S. Vucinich in the book on Yugoslavia gives a detailed account of the Muslims in Yugoslavia. He says that apart from boys enlisted in the janissaries and spahis there was no enforced conversion of Christians by the Turks. Mr. Vucinich writes: “The Orthodox and Catholic Churches suffered almost no hindrance in the exercise of their beliefs. But members of the Moslem faith were preferred for government positions and were given other favours by the government. As a result, many Yugoslavs went over to Islam. The nobility accepted Islam in order to preserve their privileged social position and wealth, to protect themselves from Turkish and Albanian attacks and to escape the blood tax.”

Yugoslav historian (Croat?), stated that the Bosnians adopted Islam in order to resist Magyar domination.

**Famous mosques of Yugoslavia**

Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, was formerly called Vrhbosna. It took its latter name from the Saray (palace in the fields) or court of Gazi Isabeg, the Beylerbey or Voivode of the Western Provinces of the Ottoman Empire from 1440-1463. The centre of the town was then the Bascarsija, which is still a Muslim market place.

As to the famous mosques, the Governor, Gazi Khusrevbeg (1521-1541), built the mosque bearing his name in 1530. He founded many zuluzbinas, or religious, humanitarian educational institutes. Muratbeg Tarditch, the muleveliya of the Vakufs (Wadhfs), is buried there. He died in 1549. ‘Ali Pasha, the Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who died in 1560, has a famous mosque named after him. The Careva, or Czar’s Mosque, was completed at the orders of Sultan Sulajman in 1566.

The Ferhadija Dzamija (Mosque) built by a Turkish general in 1577 at Banja Luka and the bridge of Visegrad built for Muhammad Sokoli in 1571 and recently brought into prominence as the subject of a leading Serbian novel (in English The Bridge Over the Drina, by Ivo Andric, London, 1959), are other notable Muslim constructions. The Kâradžog Bogova Dzamija (Mosque), which was completed in 1577, and the Alhodza Mosque in Focha, completed in 1549, are equally important. The famous bridge of Mostar was built by Khaireddin, the master builder and pupil of the great Turkish architect, Sinan, in 1566-67, when Karadžog Beg was the Governor of Herzegovina.

Of the thirty mosques in Belgrade only the Bajrakli Mosque now remains, although the imposing Kalemegdan (the fortress and gardens) restored by the Austrians (1717-1739) and Serbs, command a magnificent view overlooking the Danube and Sava.

**Famous Bosnian Muslims**

The greatest Bosnian Muslims were Mehmed Pasha Sokolovitch and Muhammad Sokalli (1505-1579), the Grand Vizier from Gorazide, near Sarajevo, who was a great
administrator. He attempted to modernize the system of communications in the Ottoman domains and envisaged cutting the Suez and Don-Volga Canals. Other prominent Muslims from what is now Yugoslavia were Rustem Pasha, the son-in-law of Sultan Sulaiman, Pertev ‘Ali Pasha, Pasha Semiz and Hasan Pasha Predojevitch. The Muslim historian Dr. Safvet Beg Bashagitch has noted in all 700 able Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Muslim poet Mehmed Khevaji, who wrote in the first half of the 17th century, showed a deep interest in the Serbs and Croatians. A modern Muslim writer, Hakiija Kulenovitch, has noted the fact that most Muslim poetry was devoid of nationalist sentiment, but Muslim poems and songs dealt with the heroic acts of Mustaj Beg of Lika, Mujo of Kladun, Hrnjica Khalil of Ravni Kovori, and the “raids” of Ismail Aga in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many of these episodes are considered by non-Muslims as acts of aggression and as mere plundering.

But Vucinich notes that the Muslim national epics were nearly always concerned with the *fukara* or poor people.

It may be mentioned in passing that it was the Muslims who introduced rug-knitting, textiles and embroidery into Yugoslavia.

Apart from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Muslims penetrated into other parts of Yugoslavia. Some of these Muslims who lived south-west of the Rogozno mountains kept their separate entity and did not mingle with the Turks or Albanians. Some lived in the Shar mountains at Torbesi in the Skoplje valley and near to Prilep. The Arovichi of Kichevo and the Pomachi are Slav Muslims who speak Macedonian. Some 45,000 Pomachi Muslims live in Pomacki Meleg, and there are 13 Pomaski villages around Kumanovo and 27 Muslim villages near Korinik. At Visoko and Fojoce there are Muslims from Asia Minor, Arabia and North Africa.

There are Muhajirs and Albanians and Arnautashis (Albanianised Serbian Muslims). The former are Serbian Muslims speaking Serbian and are to be distinguished from the Pottuce Turkified Serbs who fled from Montenegro. There are many Muslims living in the former Sandjak of

*President Tito and President Nasir watching the military parade of the Yugoslav National Army at Zemunsky Aerodrome. Under Marshal Tito’s regime there has been a considerable rise in education in Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

such as *Djerzeles Alija* and *Budalina Tale*. The harem songs of Bosnia the Sevdalinka have achieved world-wide fame. They are melancholy love songs.

Another modern Muslim writer, Hasan Rebace, has stressed the importance of the writings in Arabic, Iranian and Turkish of the Yugoslav Muslims. These were known as *Haftye* and *Qaside*. The best-known poets were Muhammad Khavari, Kiamiya, Mulla Mustafa Baseskiya (Sefkija), Syyid Vehab Ilhimiyan, Shek Abdurahman (the Shaikh ‘Abd al-Rahman), Sikiriya (the Shaikh Sikirina) and ‘Umar Humo. Professor Chorovitch has highly praised the commentaries on Iranian classics by Judge Shirih ‘Ali Beg Herzegovitch. The poets Dervish Pasha and his son Ahmed Beg from Mostar and the writers Hasan Djaf Efendi and Pristchanin, whose Arabic writings were translated into Turkish at the express command of the Sultan Muhammad III, also won fame. So did the historian Pechevi, known as Ibrahim Pasha Alaybegovitch.

Novi Pazar. Professor Vladimir Chorovitch is of opinion that the peasantry accepted Islam in the 17th century.

Albanian Muslims expanded in the 17th century to the north and north-east into Prokletija Jablancia, Kicevil Gornji Polog, Donji Kakanik, Kosovo, and as far as Leskovac. After 1876 they retired to Kosovo, where they now live in an autonomous federated State.

**The decline of Turkish rule in Yugoslavia**

The Yugoslav Muslim historian, M. Begovitch, attributes the decline of Turkish rule in Bosnia to the narrow centralist policy of the sultans in the 19th century. The Muslims revolted and were slaughtered in Travnik at the orders of the Turkish Governor, Jala Pasha. Husain Beg Gradashahevitch revolted in 1831, and another prominent victim of the Turks was ‘Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitch.

Belgrade revolted against the Turks in 1804 and was liberated by Karadjordje in 1806, but was reoccupied by the
Turks in 1813. In 1830 Serbia was granted home rule by the Turks, and in 1867 the Pasha of Belgrade, 'Ali Riza, handed over the keys of the citadel to Prince Mihailo.

Serbia was finally recognized as an independent State by the great powers at the Berlin Congress in 1878. To this day "Turkish coffee" is drunk almost exclusively throughout Yugoslavia, and other dishes such as raznjici, skish ketab, mursaka, kadaf and baklava are eaten throughout Serbia and Zagreb as well as in Bosnia. The Muslim costumes have also left a lasting souvenir of the Ottoman Empire.

In the 19th century a chronicle of the Bosnian and Herzegovina Muslims was written by Sarajlija Salih Muvekt (al-Saraj al-Muwaqqit) entitled Tarikh i Diiti Bosna ve Hrvačk.

The Austrians occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina and formally annexed it in 1908, and used it as a base to bring pressure on the Serbs, which resulted in the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand by the Serbian student Princip in June 1914, and led to the First World War.

**Activities of Bosnian Muslims during and after the First World War**

Under the Austrians the Muslim intellectuals published an important paper, The Behur, and a young writer, Osman Dijkitch, opposed the Austrofuge Conservative Muslims, and in his paper, The Gajjet, supported the Yugoslav Serbian propaganda. Some 99 per cent of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina were illiterate, and 91.15 per cent of the landowners were Muslims.

Macedonia was separated from Turkey by European intervention in 1905, and the Turks were further weakened by the Balkan wars in 1912-13. After the war the Serbian monarch regime of King Alexander carried out a pan-Serb policy in Bosnia. The Muslims formed two organizations, the Djemiat Islam Muhatizi and the Hujaj Djemiat Macedonia, in Macedonia. The political leader of the Muslims, Mehmed Sapa, formed the Yugoslovska Musulmanska Organizacija, and carried on an opportunistic policy in support of the Belgrade Government which exploited the Muslims, Slovaks and Croats. The large properties of the Muslims were distributed to the peasantry and they received State bonds by way of compensation.

The religious centres of the Muslims, whose head was known as the Shaikh al-Ulema, or Ra'is al-Ulama, lived at Sarajevo and Skopje. Mehmed Sapa opposed the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1939 amongst Serbs and Croatsians. After the defeat of the Serbian monarch by the Conservative Muslim leaders Osman and Dzafer Kulenovitch joined the Ustashi Croatian Fascist Government, as did Professor Hikija Hadzijitch, Himija Beshcieitch and Dr. Halimbeg Hrastica.

The Ustashi carried out vast-scale massacres of Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia. The monarchist Chetniks of General Mihailovitch massacred large numbers of Bosnian Muslims, about 100,000, in retaliation. The Bosnian Serbs and younger Muslims joined the partisans.

Pavelitch, who built a Dzamija (mosque) for the Muslims in Zagreb, was another opportunist who only sought to use the Muslims against the Serbs. There is no doubt that if he had been on the winning side in the war, he would have turned on the Muslims after exterminating the Serbs.

**Muslims' share in the partisan movement of the Second World War**

Prominent Muslims in the partisan movement were Colonel Sulayman Filipovitch (acting Minister of Mines and Forests), Muhammad Sadzuka, the late Nurija Pozderatch, Osman Kara Begovic, and the writers Avdo Humo and Kender Kulenovitch.

After the last war Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia were made autonomous federal republics of Yugoslavia. Dr. Za'im Saratch was made first Deputy Premier, Dr. Hamdija Ceribitch, Hasan Brikitch and Pashaga Mandrajitch held the portfolios of Finance, Trade and Industry respectively. The Deputy Premier of Macedonia was a Muslim, Abdurrahman Mehmed, and the Minister of Social Welfare was Nejdaj Acoli. In Montenegro there was one Muslim minister, Hadzimaiagitch.

Albania was largely liberated by the efforts of the Yugoslav partisans (Albania is 69 per cent Muslim and was occupied by the Turks in 1571). The Communist leader, Enver Hoxha, proved to be an out and out Stalinist, but his leading rival, Kotchi Xoxe, remained friendly to Marshal Tito and was executed in 1949.

**The Yugoslav Government and Muslims of Yugoslavia**

The Yugoslav Government has always shown itself disposed to sympathize with the granting of a large measure of autonomy to the Macedonians and the Albanians living within their frontiers, and has shown a far greater appreciation of the various national problems of the federation than its Serbian forerunners. Vast sums have been spent on education and industrialization of Bosnia, which is famous for its steel works at Zewica.

The Muslim religious leaders in Yugoslavia are now State officials. The friendship of Marshal Tito with President Nasir and the Government of the Sudan and Indonesia have done much to increase the cultural interest in Muslim institutions.

During the Suez crisis and after, Marshal Tito remained a firm friend of Egypt, and Yugoslav technicians who enlarged the modern port of Lataqia (Arabic: Lazaqaq) have taken up many posts in Arab countries, where they work for lower salaries than Western technicians and are therefore far less a burden on the local economy.

**Increase in education in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Tito's Government**

The increase in education in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the present régime can be seen from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Institution</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1956-57</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>2,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary and Eighth Year</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities and High Schools</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During this period the number of primary school students have more than doubled (151,000 to 306,000), and the number of secondary school students increased from 20,000 to 66,000.

In 1956-57 there were 849 Shoyptar or Albanian primary schools and 186 secondary schools: 117 Turkish primary schools and 14 secondary schools.

**PEN PALS**

Miss Bibi Ruba Kassim, 17 years of age, 320 East Street, Cummingsberg, Georgetown. British Guiana, desires to have pen-pals of either sex in Pakistan, India, Turkey, Malaya, England, the United States of America, and all over the world. Hobbies: Reading, travelling, exchange view-cards and general outdoor interests.
The short story and the novel

The Turkish short story and novel have a long history. After the period of the anonymous legends, a writer appeared whose name has reached us across the centuries, Dede Korkut. Although something of a legendary figure, it appears that he was a folk poet who lived at the turn of the 13th century. He collected many of the folk tales of the Oghuz Turks, and wrote several new ones, producing a homogenous work known as The Tales of Dede Korkut. These twelve stories, partly in verse and partly in prose, are one of the most important literary works in the early history of Turkish culture. Written in pure Turkish, rhythmic and colourful, Dede Korkut’s men and women have their full share of human strength and weakness, and the stories are masterpieces in the Folk tradition. They are as representative of Turkish culture at a particular period as the Canterbury Tales is of English. In this early Turkish literature, women are treated in the typical Turkish fashion, the equal of men, esteemed and loved.

The 13th and 14th centuries witnessed the rise of the romance. These novels, written in verse, found particular fertile soil in the mannerisms and conventions of the Divan school. At a later date they were to reach a wider audience when rendered into prose. The earliest writers to attempt this form, which was in the Mathnawi style, were a group of Oghuz, Azeri, Northern and Ottoman Turks, named respectively Ali, Nesimi, Kutb and Ahmed. Their material was taken from four main sources: the Bible, the Qur’an, Persian and Arab popular tales. One writer of this era, however, Jafar Chelebi, stands somewhat apart from the rest. Such was his force of character that he expanded far beyond the inflexible rules of the Divan literature, and took his subjects and themes from the everyday life of the people. His Havasnamah is a work of astonishing originality, and is of particular interest to present-day readers, for it contains vivid and lively descriptions of 14th century Istanbul.

The romance continued to flourish in the 15th and 16th centuries, and most of the great Classic poets, such as Navai, Fuzuli, Lamii Chelebi and Yahya Bey, all wrote them. Shaykh, another writer of this period, ignored the standard pattern, and showed a refreshingly original talent in his choice of material. His Kharnamah (Story Book of the Donkey) is a sharp satire in the form of a fable that invites comparison with Aesop.

While the Divan poets were thus busily engaged, the Folk poets were evolving a literature from the stories of Dede Korkut. In the 16th century, one of the greatest works in Turkish Folk literature appeared, Koroghlu, written by a poet of the same name. It tells how a young man rebelled against the tyranny of a powerful nobleman, and, becoming a Turkish Robin Hood, robbed the rich to give to the poor. There is an epic quality in Koroghlu, with its grandiose scenes of war, heroism and love.

A century later, a great number of popular stories were being written. Structurally somewhere between the Classic romance and the Folk story, they are written in prose with occasional passages in verse. The heroic adventures of Ganj ‘Osman (Young ‘Osman), Kerem ile Asli (the Turkish Romeo and Juliet), Ashiq Gharib and Ferhad ile Shirin, are among the most popular stories of this era. Simultaneously, the Classic love story was losing its importance, and secondary works such as Thabit’s Zafarnamah and Berbarnamah, which verge on the pornographic, were being produced. Exception must be made, however, for the five

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1 The first three parts of this article have appeared in The Islamic Review for February, March-April and May 1960.
romances of Atai, original in conception and local in character.

In the 18th century, however, the Classic romance was successfully revived when Shaykh Ghalib's masterpiece, Hüsün i‘lî ‘Ishq, appeared. Within its carefully and intricately woven plot, the poet tells a story of divine love enacted through a love affair of human stature, and, a century later, the poet İzzet Molla was to use Hüsün i‘lî ‘Ishq as the model for his Gulseni ‘Ishq. But Turkish Classical literature was dying, and Gulseni ‘Ishq was to prove its swan song. One lonely classicist, however, was born into the 20th century, Mehmed ‘Akh, a poet who wrote his novels in verse.

Some mention should be made of the popular stories of the last century which were handed down by word of mouth and finally printed cheaply. A famous collection of these tales was translated in 1886 by E. J. Gibb, The History of Forty Vezirs, or The Story of Forty Morns and Eves.

Namik Kemal

The modern European type of novel and short story made its debut in Turkish literature towards the middle of the 19th century when the Tanzimat school emerged. Namik Kemal, the fiery poet and revolutionist, was one of the first to enter this field, but his severe technical limitations somewhat impaired the force of his work. The quality of his prose, however, which is even superior to his poetry, and his eloquence, made these novels a tremendous success. The influence of the French romantics, chiefly Victor Hugo, is clearly discernible. This is particularly true of I'ittelih, his social melodrama, and the historical novel Jezi mê.

Rejaizade Akram

The literary critic Rejaizade Akram (1847-1913) was one of the pioneers in short story writing, and Araba Sevdası (Carriage Crazy) shows a nice combination of cool realism and humour. Another writer, also influenced by the French, though this time by the realists, was Sami Pashaçade Sezai (1859-1936). Occasionally he follows the pattern of Namik Kemal, when he permits his emotions and somewhat clumsy appeals to the reader to distort the aesthetic form of the work. In the novel Sagvuzesht (Adventure), he dealt with the problem of the “adopted” servant girl in wealthy households, while the short stories, collected under the title Jujuk Sheyler, or “Little Things”, examine the small incidents of everyday life, somewhat after the manner of Alphonse Daudet.

Ahmed Midhat

Ahmed Midhat (1844-1912) is occasionally known as the Turkish Alexandre Dumas père. Like the elder Dumas, he was powerfully built, possessed tremendous health and vitality, and was blessed with a boundless imagination. He would walk from his office to the ferry landing, and by the time he had arrived, the plot of a new and lengthy novel would be clearly formulated in his mind. Once on the boat, he would start writing furiously, and continue at home, far into the night. Easy, simple and colloquial, his style made no literary claims for itself, but Ahmed Midhat had a flair for making everything interesting, which explains his amazing popularity. In all he wrote 83 novels and volumes of short stories.

Nabızade Nazım

Nabızade Nazım (1865-1895) was the first realist in Turkish literature, and the first writer to leave İstanbul in his quest for material. The Turkish villager, with all his colloquialisms and attitudes of mind, is faithfully reproduced in his pages. Generally the Tanzimat novel grapples with national and social problems of the day, and the tragedy of the İstanbul families, torn between the new ideas and ancient tradition, is a constant theme. The ensuing Thravat-i-Funun period (1895-1901) coincided with the period of Sultan Hamid's extreme dictatorship, and the vast body of work produced reflects despair and a morbid pessimism. Doubtless this was caused by current social conditions and the influence of the French school. More than their predecessors, these writers restricted their world to a particular class in İstanbul. They wrote of them, and their taste and opinions were moulded and influenced by these “salon intellectuals”.

In the short stories, however, which are prolific and generally somewhat better written, the style is simpler and the locales are often set in the provinces and country regions. Like the novel, the Thravat-i-Funun short story did not escape the influence of the French realists and naturalists.

Khalid Ziya and Mehmed Ra‘uf

The two finest novelists of this period were Khalid Ziya and Mehmed Ra‘uf, the first representing French influence and the second English. Khalid Ziya (1865-1945) is generally regarded as the dean of Turkish novelists who wrote in the European manner. A masterly craftsman, both in the novel and short story, his highly elaborate and somewhat “Victorian” style was, within its limitations, perfect. Occasionally his prose is so ornate that he appears almost to be writing prose poems in the manner of Baudelaire.

A prolific author, his best novels are Mâ‘î ile Siyâh (The Blue and the Black) and ‘Ishqî Mamnu‘î (The Forbidden Love). Successively he seems to have been influenced by Balzac, Stendhal, Flaubert and Zola. His characters, however, have been selected from Turkish life, and despite the limitation of all his heroes coming from the narrow circle of the İstanbul intelligentsia, his characterization is sufficiently strong to make them vitally alive. Although his novels were well received, his short stories had an even greater success. In these he abandoned the big city, and ranged through the Turkish countryside, mirroring the life of the people, simply and warmly.

Mehmed Ra‘uf (1871-1931) was a realist and something of a moralist. Throughout all of his books, he is preoccupied with human love, or, more accurately, with the vicissitudes, the happiness and the desolation of those in love. Every phase of this human emotion seems to fascinate him, from the so-called platonic, through the passionate to the squalid. In his most celebrated novel, Evlul (September), he examines at length the predicament of a man and woman deeply in love. Both are already married, however, and they try desperately to sublimate their feelings. The author indulges in extensive psychological analysis and probing for hidden motivations, somewhat after the manner of Henry James.

Husâyân Rahmi and Ahmed Rasim

Two extremely popular novelists, Husâyân Rahmi (1864-1944) and Ahmed Rasim (1864-1932) stand apart from the Thravat-i-Funun group. Husâyân Rahmi was a protégé of the prolific Ahmed Midhat, and, like his master, his output was considerable, a total of 60 novels. His theme was life in the big cities, but among the working class. There was scarcely a phase of this noisy, bursting and abundant existence that escaped his attention. With relish he would record the strident arguments among the women of İstanbul's slums, the universal rivalry of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and the adventures of the local street-corner toughs. Romantic liaisons, the atmosphere of the coffee houses, and domesticity's ups and downs, were all material for this fertile
writer. A shrewd observer of humanity's follies and frailties, Huşayn Rahmi frequently ridiculed the fanatical, the snobbishness of the new-rich, or the wealthy households with their foreign governances. His three finest novels are Şık (Chic), 'İfat (Virtue) and Tıknadif (Coincidence).

Although Ahmed Rasm wrote no less than 130 books, the consistent quality of his performance was surprisingly high. Using a crisp, attractive style, which is pure Turkish, he was extremely versatile, and, with the greatest facility, could be extremely touching or uproariously amusing. Ahmed Rasm never over-wrote, and, with an astonishing economy of words, seized upon the salient points of an episode and skilfully conveyed the core of the situation, humorous or pathetic. He was basically a romantic, who enjoyed much adulation during his life. His best work is İlk Sevgi (First Love), İki Güzellik Günaşgar (Two Beautiful Sinners), and İki Günahsız Sevda (Two Innocent Loves).

Ahmed Hikmet Muťuğlu and Omer Seyfeddin

In the 20th century the nationalist school came to the fore. In fiction, the first figure of major importance was Ahmed Hikmet Muťuğlu, a pure and unaffected writer. Çıhlıyanlar (Cascades), his collection of short stories, is filled with national themes, and ancient legends, people from the cities, and people from the village.

But the greatest short story writer in Turkish literature is Omer Seyfeddin (1884-1920). His plain, simple prose is firmly based on the common speech rhythms of Istanbul, and his work became a model for the aspiring nationalist writers. Strong characterization, a smooth method of narration, and a fondness for the twist or surprise ending popularized by O. Henry, were the three distinctive elements of his work. His subject matter was drawn from the people and from historic events, and in the latter Omer Seyfeddin showed an unusual gift for conveying a sense of greatness on a heroic scale.

Orhan Sayşı and Ya'qub Qadri Karaosmanoğlu

For a time, the ancient Turkish art of writing fiction in verse was revived by Orhan Sayşı (1890), when he created an Oriental story in a legendary Turkish setting, Peri Kızı ile Şehpanda (The Fairy and the Shepherd). A work of great delicacy, it became an immediate success. Several years later (1941) he wrote an autobiographical novel, Jojuk Adam (The Childish Man), which was very well received.

The undisputed master, however, of good prose in contemporary Turkish fiction is Ya'qub Qadri Karaosmanoğlu (1888-1945). A remarkable stylist, Karaosmanoğlu is often angered by injustice and cruelty. He has written corrosive and scathing novels filled with a type of realism unique in Turkish letters, but very similar to the work of Zola. Like the French master, the Turkish novelist's situations are atypical rather than typical, so his realism is somewhat narrow in scope. He does not attempt to show every aspect of a character or situation, but concentrates upon one particular angle, thereby considerably heightening his intensely dramatic effects. His greatest novels are Kiralık Konak (Mansion for Rent), Yaban (The Stranger) and Sodom ile Gomore.

Refik Khalid Karay

Refik Khalid Karay (1888-1945) has earned a special niche in Turkish literature. He succeeded in transforming the prose of the intellectuals into something of epic proportions, yet retained a remarkable purity. It is these two aspects of his work that are comparable to the best of Dede Korkut. His style is extremely vital, filled with light and movement, and shot throughout with wit. Nowhere does one find any pretense to "artistry". Behind a facade of humour and satire, his sensitive short stories are curiously moving. The characterization in his novels is so powerful that his heroes and heroines have firmly captured the imagination of the public. This is particularly true of his characters in Servan.

Reshat Nuri Guntek'in (The Exile) and Yeziyan Kizi (The Daughter of Yeziyan).

Reshat Nuri Guntek in, who died recently (1892-1957), successfully assimilated the Western structural form of the novel. His books, however, almost always have a Turkish flavour. The clarity of his prose, together with his easy narration, made him one of the most widely read novelists in Turkey.

Çalikıştı, an early book, has been translated into many languages, including English, when it was re-named "The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl", Dudaktan Kalbe (From Lips to the Heart) and Bir kadın Dushmani (An Enemy of Women), are but two from among a score of his novels which became best-sellers. Starting as a romanticist, he later developed a modern, realistic technique, more suited to the social problems he was to grapple with. Compassion is one of the keynotes of all Guntek'in's work, and it runs through his books, from the early romantic period, to the final novels cast in the realistic mould.

Khalide Edib Adivar

During the last generation, women novelists have been remarkably creative, and perhaps the most prominent figure among the scores of women writers is Khalide Edib Adivar (1884- ). One of her strengths is her vigorous, straightforward narration: Khalide Edib knows how to tell a story. She also has an extraordinarily perceptive gift for analysis and dissection of character. Her special province is the world of the Eastern Mediterranean woman, which she approaches with Western conceptions and ideas. Ateşten Gömlek (The Shirt of Fire), Zeynûn Ochü (Son of Zeyno) and Sinekli Bakkâ (The Fly-blown Grocer's Store) are three of her most successful novels. The last, which Khalide Edib first wrote in English, is an historic novel and has much in common with Gone With The Wind.

More recent writers worthy of note are Aka Gunduz, Mahmut Yesari, Peyami Safa, Miss Kerine Nadir and A. Shinasi Hisar. The last-named has been greatly influenced by Proust. Among this new generation, the short story writers are even more numerous and successful, and Sabahattin 'Ali, Husayn Kemal, Sait Faik and Khaldun Taner are probably the most gifted.

Drama and Theatre

Marionettes, shadow-plays and open-air theatre

Evidence indicates that during the proto-historic period, or dawn of history, the Turks had a type of theatre that combined poetry, music and dance, somewhat in the manner of the modern "whole" or "total theatre". But records are solely concerned with human conflict.4 In the 8th century, from generation to generation. There are, however, two extant fragments of Turkish plays 2,000 years old. These are solely concerned with human conflict.5 In the 8th century, the Gok-Turks observed a ceremony which apparently commemorated the Erengek legend. On epic scale, it was cast in dramatic form, with music, singing, dancing and poetry.

By the 12th century, the Seljuk Turks in Anatolia had regular theatrical troupes performing at the courts of the Sultans in Konya. From the memoirs of a Byzantine princess, Princess Anna Commene, it seems that by 1116 the art of

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comedy was being practised. She tells of Turkish actors who poked fun at her father, the Byzantine Emperor, because he did not take up arms against the Seljuks. There is no mention whether this was performed from a script, or acted extemporaneously from a plot outline.

Often Turkish mystic and religious ceremonies took the form of ballet-pantomimes, even after Islam. A great deal of acting was also included in these religious observances.

Turkish theatrical activities may be grouped under several headings, the principal ones being religious observances, which were a fusion of pantomime, dancing and acting; Kukula (marionettes); Karagoz (the Shadow Play); Meddah (the diser or story teller); Orta Oyunu (open-air performances); and the modern drama.

Turkish marionettes are almost identical with their Greco-Roman or more recent European counterparts, but the Shadow Play is an important fact of the dramatic manifestation of the Turkish genius. Its origin is obscure, but the spread of this theatrical art to China and parts of the Middle East can be traced directly to Turkish migrations and conquests. In the hands of the Turks, the Shadow Play was carried to a higher degree of perfection. First called Koyhurucu and later Karagoz, many of the classics and popular love stories, such as Lale ile Meşru, found their way to its repertoire. The real achievement of Karagoz, however, was satire, a favourite target being the intellectual whose behaviour and language is so obscure and erudite that he is largely incomprehensible. These comedies and romances were played against a screen of thin cloth, behind which a single artist manipulated scores of gaily-coloured small figures, cut from camel hide. Dexterously and smoothly moving the arms, legs and hats of the figures, the unseen manipulator sings and speaks all the dialogue. A light behind the screen cast the shadows of the cut-outs on the cloth, and as it is translucent, the shadows appear “in full colour.” The Karagoz characters were stereotyped, and representative of certain members in every community, and while the Shadow Play today has lost its tremendous popularity, it is still played in Turkey for the children during special holidays.

Orta Oyunu, literally “middle play,” is an ancient form of Turkish drama and had much of the spirit of today’s avant-garde theatre. Generally played in the large squares of the cities with the people gathered round the actors, dance and poetry were two integral factors, and the performers improvised while they followed a plot outline or scenario. First called Köy Oyunu (troupe’s play) and later, in the 19th century, Orta Oyunu, the form was distinguished for its intense imaginative quality, driving power and the high degree of skill required of the players.

The Meddah were solitary comedians, comedians, who would stand alone before their audience, indulging in monologues, mimicry, imitations, jokes and anecdotes. The modern parallels of Ruth Draper and Yvette Gilbert spring to mind, but it is significant that in this form the Turkish genius excelled in comedy rather than tragedy.

Numik Kemal

The modern theatre, as understood by the West, was introduced to Turkey by French and Italian companies during the 19th century Tanzimat period. Turkish intellectuals were excited and stimulated, and it was not long before Numik Kemal was using the theatre as a medium to spread his ideas. His plays are the first modern-type dramatic literature in Turkish, and despite their serious technical shortcomings, were immediate successes. Vatan Yahut Silistre was so popular that it had the entire country fairly roaring with patriotic enthusiasm, and though the autocratic Sultan had the author banished, he did not forbid the play, and even had it performed on two occasions in his palace. Vatan Yahut Silistre is one of the most frequently played pieces on the Turkish stage, and has been translated into German, Russian, French, Serbian and Hungarian.

Kemal’s principal figures, both men and women, generally suffered from an excess of nobility, or are unabashed “tear-jerkers”, consequently they are frequently melodramatic and not entirely believable. The real heroes of his plays are his minor characters, “the ordinary people”. There is a ring of truth here, and their sincerity and sacrifices are deeply moving. Apart from Vatan Yahut Silistre, Kemal’s other plays are Gid Nihal, a violent attack against dictatorship, Zavalli Shoja, a somewhat melodramatic revolt against contemporary marriage customs and society in general, and ‘Akif Bey’, a more skilfully written work with firm characterization. His Jedelidin Kharzunsheh is an historic drama technically extremely difficult to stage.

Ahmed Vefik Pasha and ‘Abdulhaqq Hamid

Another dramatist, Ahmed Vefik Pasha, devoted much of his time and talent to translating the comedies of Molière. He brought so much verve to this task, and possessed such an individual comic genius, that his translations are inclined to be adaptations rather than faithful renderings of the original texts.

But probably the most outstanding of all Turkey’s playwrights was ‘Abdulhaqq Hamid. Writing for a “cultured aristocracy”, the very nature of his work, with its difficult syntax and philosophy, presents considerable problems to the uninitiated. His plays recall echoes of Shakespeare and Corneille. In them we find a vast parade of humanity drawn from every walk of life, from every century, and from every corner of the globe. Sometimes writing in verse, sometimes in prose, or occasionally mixing the two, ‘Abdulhaqq Hamid was an artist and stylist of the first order.

In Tariq, he wrote of the Moorish warrior who conquered Andalusia; and the great speech delivered by Tariq, surrounded by the treasures of the vanquished Spanish kings, has a universality that makes it a notable contribution to world literature. The play has been translated into many languages, both in the East and the West.

Structurally, Esbeer is his most perfect play, a tragedy dealing with Alexander the Great. Aristotle and the conquest of India. It reaches its climax in a remarkably written scene between Alexander and his sister. In another play, Finten, which was written in London, the author strove to emulate Shakespeare. His cast is a large one, including historic and contemporary figures, as well as phantoms and strange night-marish creatures. Despite his disparity and seemingly reckless variety, the writer has succeeded in imposing a unity on the work with all his characters and events revolving around a central plot. It is a play of considerable depth, and Turkish critics have frequently drawn analogies between Finten and Othello, Hamlet and Peer Gynt, three plays which undoubtedly influenced ‘Abdulhaqq Hamid on this occasion.

Sami, Midhat, Abu Ziya and Najī

Almost every Tanzimat writer wrote plays that were to lay the foundations of Turkey’s present-day theatre. Shemseddin Sami, Ahmed Midhat, Abu Ziya and Mu'allim Najī were the most successful playwrights of the late 19th century. In the early years of the 20th, however, there was a void, as the autocratic Sultan Hamid finally suppressed the theatres, and it was only after the Declaration of the
Constitution in 1908 that the dramatists set to work once more. This was the period of the Nationalists and young writers, when Khalid Fakhrı Ozansoy wrote his extremely successful verse-drama, Baykush (The Owl). In 1928 Yusuf Ziya Ortaj wrote Birnum, an historic play in melodious verse, that was strongly influenced by the Folk school.

Faruq Nafiz, the romantic poet, who later became immersed in national and social questions, wrote a number of plays in beautifully cadenced verse. The most successful were Canavar (The Dragon), Akin (The Raid), and Yavuz Kartalı (The Eagle of the Plateau), which was later filmed. One of the most popular writers of stage comedies was Musahibzade Jalal, who took his topics from the immediate past, while the poet Behjet Kemal Caglar went much further back in history for his dramatic material. His play Timur enjoyed a particular success.

Guntekin and Bashukut

The most celebrated dramatists of today are Reshat Nuri Guntekin and Jeyad Fahmi Bashukut. Both have written comedies, and Guntekin, who died in 1957, created some exceedingly fine plays for the Turkish stage. Apart from being a distinguished playwright, Bashukut is one of the country’s foremost writers for radio. The Turkish theatre is extremely sensitive to dramatic trends on the international scene, and is constantly playing not only universal classics such as Shakespeare, Ibsen and Chekhov, but contemporary foreign plays in translation.

This brief examination of Turkish literature might be summed up best by a quotation from John Kinsley Birge in the 1936 edition of the Encyclopaedia of Literature. He writes: “Thus far, the literary development of the Republic seems to be in a transition direction, two great tap roots being put down into the soil. One root is drawing sustenance from the language and unwritten literary traditions of the common people. The other root is down in the great books of the world’s literature. The period resembles that of the reign of Murad the Second. Then scholars were at work on translations from the Persian and the Arabic, which helped to release intellectual forces that dominated Ottoman history for 400 years. Today the innumerable translations from Greek and Latin and from modern Russian, French, German and English, as well as the folklore investigations, are feeding the minds of the oncoming generations of writers with the ideas that are likely to prevail in the next great flowering of literature.”

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The Central Institute of Islamic Research in Pakistan

The President of Pakistan, Field-Marshall Muhammad Ayub Khan, who is the patron of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, has appointed an eight-member Board of Governors with the Minister for Education as its Chairman. The President inaugurated the first meeting of the Board of Governors for the Central Institute in Karachi on 11th April 1960.

Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, an eminent scholar and educationist, who was till recently a visiting professor at the Columbia University, has been appointed as the first Director of the Institute. The Board includes representatives of universities, Institutes of Islamic Research and eminent scholars.

The following have been nominated as members of the Board: Mr. Justice S. A. Rahman, Judge, Supreme Court of Pakistan; Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman, Judge, High Court of East Pakistan; Mr. Mumtaz Hassan, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission; Dr. Raziiuddin Siddiqui, Vice-Chancellor, Sind University; Dr. M. Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor, Rajshahi University; Dr. Moazzam Hossain, Member, Federal Public Service Commission; the Maulana Ehtashaml Haq Thanvi; and Dr. I. H. Qureshi.

The decision to form the Board of Governors has been taken to meet the popular demand to run the Central Institute of Islamic Research on proper lines. The Institute will conduct and co-ordinate research on the basic sources of Islamic studies and history and growth of Islamic thoughts and culture. One of the important objectives of the Institute is to explain and interpret the teachings of Islam in a manner that they become intellectually and rationally clear in the context of the modern age. It will be the particular concern of the Institute to produce authoritative material on the outstanding contribution made by Muslims in the fields of philosophy, science and culture, and to create zeal for learning and a spirit of enquiry.
A BRIEF RECORD OF THE WORK OF THE 19th MAJLIS

(The Lower House of the Iranian Parliament)

In the last session of the 19th Majlis (the Lower House of the Iranian Parliament), the Prime Minister, Dr. Manuchehr Iqbal, praised the Deputies for their splendid co-operation with the Government and listed some of the work done by his Government during the three years, two months and four days that it had been in office.

Oil Law

Listing useful bills passed by the 19th Majlis, the Prime Minister referred to the oil bill and recalled that the oil question has always been a headache for the Iranian people and caused unpleasant events in that country.

"Fortunately this question was settled during the term of the 19th Majlis and we were able, under the guidance of His Imperial Majesty the Shah, to pass a law which guarantees to make sure any foreigner or Iranian seeking to exploit our underground resources will have to abide by its provisions. It was under this law that we were able to conclude lucrative oil agreements with the Italians, Americans and Canadians and establish the 75-25 basis which is unique in the world. I think the credit for originating the new basis rightly belongs to the Iranian nation."

Other useful laws

Touching upon other Government bills enacted into laws by the 19th Majlis, the Prime Minister said:

"The law preventing the Cabinet members, Deputies, Senators and civil servants from interfering in Government transactions was another useful law passed by the Majlis. In addition to Government agencies, the office of the Prime Minister is diligently seeing to it that the provisions of this law are carefully enforced. However, we welcome, as I have repeatedly said from this rostrum, any information which may prove violations of this law.

"Another useful law enacted by the 19th Majlis was the law providing for investigation of the estates and property of civil servants and the members of the Armed Forces. A questionnaire was filled out and returned last year by both civil and military personnel. This year we have distributed another questionnaire of a different form among them. When they are returned we will have a basis for investigation. As you see, this law is also being carried out carefully. Some foreigners claim that corruption prevails in our Government set-up. There is greater corruption in their own machinery and this is proved by their own official statements, which reveal misappropriation of public funds.

"The land reform law was another useful legislation which was enacted. Defects of this law, if there are any, will be discovered while being carried out, and the Majlis may be requested to rectify them. We have been accused of having a feudal system, but the truth is Iran is a country of small land-holders. The number of big landlords does not exceed 30 all over the country.

"I heard some people say that it is true that the Prime Minister does not own anything within the country but he owns 17 villas in Europe. I solemnly declare here if anyone could find the location of the alleged villas he can take them over without paying a penny. These people are like a pickpocket who, after pulling a job, starts shouting 'Catch the thief! Catch the thief!'."

DPB praised

Dr. Iqbal gave an eloquent tribute to the Department of Publications and Broadcasting (DPB), and said this organization, with the assistance and support of the Government, is so well equipped that it actually informs us of any event in any part of the world within ten minutes after it has happened.

The Department has installed transmitters in every provincial centre and worked efficiently and successfully to present the high morale of the Iranian nation to the world. It has proved to the world that the Iranian nation is a living and independent nation which will never submit to threats and intimidation.

Steel industry

The Prime Minister touched upon the question of building an iron smelting mill in Iran, and said all preparations are now completed and a mill will be built. Some
people contend, he added, that the development of a steel industry in Iran is not an economically sound proposition, for it will be cheaper to import steel than produce it at home. But the Prime Minister stressed the necessity for building such a mill and emphasized that steel production is a 100 per cent national industry and therefore such an industry shall be built in Iran in the near future.

Co-operative movement

Referring to the co-operative movement in Iran, the Prime Minister said 500 co-operatives have so far been formed in rural areas with the active participation of the farmers. They have invested, the Premier added, 140 million rials in co-operatives, while the Government has contributed 300 million rials. The financial contribution of the farmers and villagers is an evidence of their trust and confidence in this movement.

Foreign policy

Discussing the nation's foreign policy the Premier said:

"Our foreign policy is quite clear and there is no ambiguity involved in it. We are an independent and sovereign nation; an ancient nation, not an upstart. We have an historical background of two thousand five hundred years, during which we were able to extend our civilization to the farthest corners of the world. Foreigners admit that their culture and art owe a great deal to our ancient culture and civilization. No one should think that the Iranian nation will succumb to pressure and threats, or permit foreigners to interfere in its internal affairs.

"History has proved that the Iranian nation, in spite of repeated invasions, has always come out victorious and with its dignity and honour intact. Many other nations have succumbed to such invasions, but the Iranian nation has always survived and will always survive. Therefore no foreign power should treat a nation like ours in any way other than respectfully.

"As long as our independence and sovereignty are respected we have no quarrel with anyone. As the head of the Government I repeat again here that the Iranian nation has nothing against any other country which does not try to trifle with our independence and sovereignty.

"We are not coveting any territory. As I said last year in the Senate, the Iranian nation is not afraid of any power. We fear nobody but God. So it is in vain to try to threaten us by old or modern weapons. Death in honour is far better than life in servitude. We are born free and we shall die free.

"In this world everybody is in need of friends and their help. Nobody can do without friends. But friendship with some does not mean enmity with others. We do not seek friendship for the sake of becoming enemies of others. Anybody who thinks otherwise bears us ill-will. As I said, we do not try to pick quarrels with any nation but stand ready to sacrifice what we have for the sake of our independence and freedom and are willing to shed our last drop of blood to defend our sovereignty.

"Thus we have a clear policy. We are friends of those who respect our independence and national dignity and enemies of those who treat us otherwise."

SMOKING AND LUNG CANCER

"Chemical studies of tobacco smoke during the last six years have shown with varying precision the presence of a number of compounds known to be carcinogenic when tested biologically. Recent chemical and biological studies by E. L. Wynder and D. Hoffman have given more precise qualitative and quantitative evidence of the presence of these compounds and have added to their number.

"The incidence of lung cancer continues to rise and the statistical relationship between it and smoking is now established without doubt. It seems unlikely that the smoking habit will diminish greatly by the voluntary action of smokers, and restrictive legislation is considered to be undesirable at present. There remains another approach to the solution of this problem — namely, to reduce the amounts of carcinogenic materials in smoke. This has been shown to be a formidable task, but work is being directed to this end."—British Medical Journal, Saturday 19th March 1960, p. 868.

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JUNE 1960
CENTRES OF CULTURE IN EARLY ISLAM

Mecca, Medina, Basra and Kufah

By AFZAL IQBAL

The factors that made Mecca, Medina, Basra, Kufah and Damascus the most important cultural centres of early Islam

Having briefly outlined the origin and scope of the cultural movement in the first century of Islam we proceed to have a quick glance at the places which acted as centres for the dissemination of knowledge. All these centres were located in cities. It is a universal law of culture that it springs from the leisure and prosperity of towns and not from the isolation and ignorance of villages. Cities have, however, their own individual traditions and personality. One may have rich associations with literature while another may be known for its contribution to the sciences of pure thought. In the period under discussion we find that Islamic history and the Hadith flourished in the Hijaz while the battle of religious ideas and the birth of later schools of thought took place mostly in Iraq, a part of which, Basra, was known for its contribution to works on grammar. All this was not without reason. The association of different cities with different branches of knowledge was determined by a number of factors, the most important of which we will discuss presently.

The fabric of Islamic culture was raised on the foundations provided by cultures preceding it. Each country conquered by Muslims had its own history, traditions and a distinct way of living. The past gave way in parts to the new movement symbolized by Islam, but while the new movement exercised a strong influence it was in turn influenced by the remnants of the past. The mingling of the two created a new tradition. The stamp of individuality is easily discernible if we study the course of Muslim history in Syria, Iraq and Persia. In addition to the personality of the towns, the movement was visibly affected by the personality of people who acted as its spearhead. The Companions of the Prophet Muhammad and their companions spread to different parts of the empire. The schools and creeds established by them bear a distinctive mark of their personality. The countries where they settled down were inevitably influenced by them. Besides certain historical events and developments determined the nature of a centre's contribution. The appearance of the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca, and his Migration to Medina, where the Islamic State was founded, were decisive factors in the history of the two cities. The political events which led to disturbances in Iraq were largely responsible for the establishment of religious creeds in that country. The decision of the Umayyad Caliphs to make Damascus the centre of their government invested Syria with a new significance. The most important cultural centres of Islam, therefore, sprang up in Mecca and Medina in the Hijaz, in Basra and Kufah in Iraq, in Damascus in Syria and finally in Egypt.

The Hijaz

Schools of belles-lettres

A barren desert, virtually more so in the intellectual sense, the Hijaz had no cultural traditions worth the name except for a slight impact of Judaism and Christianity. With the dawn of Islam the arid desert blossomed forth into a veritable garden. Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet, witnessed some of the most soul-stirring events on the birth of Islam. It was the scene of the spiritual conflict which ended with the conquest of Mecca. Here some of the most important legislation of Islam was made and it is here that even to this day Muslims flock from all over the world for the annual pilgrimage. The home of the Ka'bah, Mecca, is the centre of Islam to which every Muslim turns his face five times a day in prayers. Next to it came Medina, where the Prophet and his Companions found refuge and where was founded the State of Islam. It was not only the seat of Islam during the lifetime of the Prophet but three of his eminent successors made it the capital of the empire. During the most formative and glorious chapter of the history of Islam, Medina had the unique distinction of having in it the Prophet, his Companions and almost everybody who is anybody in the annals of Islam.

Both Mecca and Medina were the most important cultural centres, but of the two Medina became the more important because of the historical developments which led to the migration and the subsequent founding of the Islamic State in this city. Here functioned the Leader of the Movement around whom gathered the purest elements in Arabia. Medina was at once the headquarters of the State as also the centre whence issued forth the dynamic culture which was soon to sway the decadent cultures responsible for tyranny, ignorance and inequality among men. From here marched out soldiers and scholars seeking to spread the new light, and it was here that the seekers of knowledge flocked to gather the wisdom of the new movement whose most authentic exponents lived in Medina. Many a distinguished Persian and Roman came to Medina during the course of Islam's territorial expansion. These newcomers came with new ideas and a new pattern of culture. The Mawali (singular muwla, a non-Arab embracing Islam and affiliating himself with an Arabian tribe), who had a significant contribution to make to this growing culture, belonged to this class. These factors invested Medina with a unique significance. It eclipsed Mecca as a centre of culture and exercised an immense influence on the growth of Islam. Most of the learned men in this period were graduates of schools in Medina which attracted students of history, exegesis, the Hadith and jurisprudence from all over the Muslim world. Ibn al-Athir tells us that 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwan sent his son, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (717-20 C.E.), for education to Medina and wrote to Saleh Ibn Kaisan to look after him. The young student was late one morning for prayers and on being asked for the reason he explained that his governness took time in combing his hair. The father, on being informed of this trivial incident, immediately sent a special messenger with orders that the hair of his son should be cropped!

Muhammad Ibn Ishaq (d. 768 C.E.) and al-Waqidi (d. 823 C.E.) — the main authorities on biography and the history of Muslim campaigns — were both brought up and educated in Medina. The specialization of the city in this field of knowledge was inevitable, for here lived the Prophet and his Companions, and nowhere else could one find more authentic sources of the Hadith and the history of campaigns.

1 See The Islamic Review for December 1959.
This, then, was the significance of the Hijaz in the new set-up. While it did not have the slightest semblance of culture before Islam it now became the centre of a powerful and a dynamic movement which changed the course of history. Mecca and Medina were in the vanguard of this movement and we will do well to have some idea of the schools of thought and the men of learning in the leading cultural centres of Islam in the first century of its existence.

The School of Mecca

After the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet Muhammad entrusted the education of the populace to the care of Mu'adh Ibn Jabal — one of the most learned men from Medina. Among the Companions he was considered an authority on the "do's" and "don'ts" in Islam. He was one of the earliest collectors of the Qur'an and the Hadith. He died of plague and later fell to the lot of 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbas to make a distinct contribution in this field in Mecca. He had taught earlier in Basra and Medina; and he undertook to teach in Mecca at a time when the political conflict between 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan and 'Abdullah Ibn al-Zubayr had started. Ibn al-'Abbas used to sit in the courtyard of the Karbah and taught the Hadith, exegesis, jurisprudence and literature. To his versatile genius and to the labour of his disciples, the school of Mecca owes its fame in the cultural history of Islam. From this school graduated outstanding men like Mujahid Ibn Jabir, 'Ata' Ibn Abi Rabaah and Tawoos Ibn Kaisan — all of them being Mawali. The first was the mowla of the Banu Makhzum and became famous for his commentary on the Qur'an. He is supposed to have learnt the whole of it thrice from Ibn 'Abbas in such meticulous detail that after each verse he used to pause and put searching questions about the circumstances in which the verse was revealed and the purpose it was intended to serve. The second scholar, 'Ata', was a black slave with a flat nose and curly hair. He rose to be the greatest authority on the Hajj and the connected problems. The third, Tawoos, was a Persian from the Yemen who had learnt at the feet of many a Companion and had the distinction of being the most intimate and favourite student of Ibn 'Abbas. He was acknowledged as the master of later Companions, the Tab'iun, and was looked upon as an authority by the judges and jurists of Mecca.

The school went on flourishing for decades and it will be cumbersome to mention all the distinguished scholars it produced. It will be relevant, however, to point out that in the fifth generation the alumni of the school included Sufyan and Muslim Ibn Khalid — the scholars who taught the great Imam al-Shafi'i (d. 820 C.E.) in his early youth. The Imam was born in Ghazzah, in Palestine, and with his mother came to Mecca where he studied till he was twenty, when he moved to Medina to continue his studies.

The School of Medina.

Of the two centres in the Hijaz, Medina was the more important because of the Prophet and the vast majority of the Companions being personally available for imparting education to the people. Companions like 'Umar and 'Ali were authorities in their own fields but the most famous among those who were marked for their devotion to learning were 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn Thabit and 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar. They had the largest number of students. 'Umar had the privilege of being with the Prophet Muhammad from his early youth and had the distinction of learning Hebrew and Syriac at the bidding of the Prophet. He was a recognized authority on the Qur'an and the Sunnah (the practice of the Prophet) and many cases are recorded where in the absence of a clear decision in either, he gave his own verdict, which was readily accepted. In such cases, we are told by Ibn Yasir, both 'Umar and 'Uthman used to depend a lot on the judgment of Zayd. According to al-Qasim, 'Umar used to leave behind Zayd in his place whenever he left Medina. During his reign many Companions were sent out to different countries to preach Islam, but 'Umar refused to part with Zayd, who was considered indispensable for Medina. Thus Zayd remained the chief authority on jurisprudence, the Qur'an and the Sunnah during the days of 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali, whom he survived by five years. In the days of Mawiyah he continued to receive the same respect till his death in 45 A.H. (665 C.E.). So great was the esteem in which this erstwhile slave was held that Ibn 'Abbas used to hold the stirrups as Zayd dismounted from his horse or camel. "Thus," said Ibn 'Abbas, "distinguished men of learning should be treated!"

Zayd was indeed a versatile genius. He was a profound scholar, a fluent linguist, a reliable scribe, a clear-headed jurist, an authority on the Qur'an and the Sunnah and a man of distinction in arithmetic. He was quick in calculating shares in inheritance and was in charge of distributing the booty after the Battle of Yarmuk (636 C.E.). At his death, which was universally mourned by Muslims, the poet Hassan Ibn Thabit said:

"Poetry will have none after Hasan and his son
And mourning (thought) will have none after Zayd."
the era was not wholly marked by religion, and the study of the Qur'an, the Hadith and the Sunnah. There were also wine and women and a lot of merry-making, even during the Hajj season. Both these aspects of life had a direct bearing on the growth of culture, for while one encouraged knowledge the other provided an incentive to music, humour and literature. Mecca, Medina and the suburbs abounded in songstresses and songstresses. Four of them were known to fame at one time — Ibn Sarih, al-Gharidh, Ma'bad and Husayn. The first three were together in the Hijaz while the fourth lived in Iraq. He also came to Medina to meet the three masters. In fact the meeting took place in the house of Sukayniah, the daughter of the Imam Husain. The doors were thrown open to the public, who thoroughly enjoyed the rich feast of music. So great was the rush that the roof of the house could not sustain the human load and collapsed under the weight, killing, among others, the guest musician from Iraq.1

At one time many well-known male and female musicians were known: Jamilah, Hait, 'Uwaish, al-Dallali, Barid al-Fu'ad, Mowmatul Dhuha, Rahmah, Hibatullah, Ma'bad, Malik, Ibn 'Aishah, Nafi', Ibn Tunbourah, 'Azzah al-Maila, Hababah, Sailamah, Bulbulah, Lathatul Aish, Sa'idah, al-Zarqa, etc. These musicians, we are told, received a rousing reception on their pilgrimage to Mecca, where they were met by the leading citizens and musicians of Mecca like Sa'id Ibn Misjah, Ibn Suraj, al-Gharidh and Ibn Muhirz. We have, in al-Aghani, details of a musical session in the house of Jamilah, where she played fifty different tunes and sang to the accompaniment of her lute, the 'lid'. We have numerous instances of such performances in this era.2

Both Mecca and Medina had their schools of music, and they often competed with each other, to the delight of enthusiastic and appreciative audiences. The official patronage was, however, lacking. In fact the art was considered a diversion from the path, an influence for evil. Abu al-Faraj speaks of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik having instructed his Governor to confiscate the property of a certain black man in Mecca who was understood to spoil the morals of the youth by his music.3 We are also told that the Imam Malik Ibn Anas started learning this art in his youth but gave up on being told by his mother that the people would not care to listen to an ugly musician, no matter how good he might be. The Imam Malik was by no means a handsome man and the consideration for his looks partly persuaded him to pursue the more serious branches of jurisprudence, a field in which he is recognized to this day as one of the four great authorities.4

Why the fine arts flourished more in the Hijaz than in Iraq

Besides music there flourished the art of witticism, good jokes and pleasant conversation. Al-Madhiri made the society of Medina so pleasant with his wit: he was followed by Ashab — a man with an attractive voice and a more attractive sense of humour. We have inherited a wealth of anecdotes from these masters who once lent so much laughter and colour to the society of the Hijaz. In fact, the Hijaz, at this time, was as rich in music and witticism as in jurisprudence and the Hadith. The palaces of the Umayyad princes were filled with singers from the Hijaz. One can understand the lead given by Mecca and Medina in the fields of the Hadith and jurisprudence, but it is rather difficult to understand its supremacy in the finer arts of music and witticism over countries like Iraq and Syria, representing ancient cultures. We are told that Iraq was more strict in the observance of religious matters. Al-Aghani attempts an interesting illustration. He quotes 'Ubaydullah Ibn 'Umar, who says, "I went to perform the Hajj. While on my way I noticed a woman using obscene language. I brought my camel near her and told her that it did not behave a pilgrim to indulge in such language. She lifted her veil — a resplendent beauty! 'Look at my face,' she said. 'I am one of those about whom the poet al-'Araji said:

She is from those who do not go for Hajj to seek
heavenly reward,
But to kill innocent dupes!"

Then I had no option but to pray to God to spare her face the tortures of hell.'

When this story was related to Sa'id Ibn Musayyib, the Mufti of Medina, he said, "By God, he had been one of the hated men of Iraq, he would have said, 'Go away, may God render you ugly.' But the devotees from the Hijaz are very elegant and witty!" In the same book from which we have quoted this story could be read some exquisitely beautiful erotic poetry written by the famous jurist 'Ubaydullah Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Athab.5 In another place in the same book we read that Dawud al-Thaqafi was once sitting near Ibn Jurayh, who was giving his usual lesson to a number of students, including Iraqis. A singer, Mayzan, passed by. The teacher interrupted his lecture to make him a request to sing. The singer excused himself for he was in a hurry. However, he grudgingly obliged because Ibn Jurayh repeated his request. After a song was over the singer, pointing at the students from Iraq, said, "But for these hostile elements I would have sung to your satisfaction!" Ibn Jurayh turned round to these men, who told him that in Iraq people did not do this, they hated it.6

This, then, was one of the reasons why music flourished more in the Hijaz than in Iraq. Another possible reason could be that the nobility of the Hijaz became the aristocracy of Islam. They were the first conquerors and had, therefore, the best female slaves in this era. These slaves had been brought up in the palaces of princes and reflected that culture in their new country which was introduced to the charms of music and wit, the essential elements of court life.

As a result of wars and the consequent booty the Arabs quickly got rich and did not mind lavish expenditure on what was essentially a luxury. With the Umayyads began the life of real royalty, and it was not unnatural that this field came in for considerable patronage. The Umayyads depended on force and suppression to maintain their power. The Quraysh nobility, on the one hand, and the people of Iraq, on the other, offered resistance and were eventually defeated. Frustration set in after the loss of political power in the Hijaz and music coupled with other pleasures of life offered an easy escape from the political tyranny of the Umayyads. These and many other factors combined to evolve a tradition of music in which there is no doubt the Hijaz excelled Iraq and Syria.

To be continued.

REFERENCES
1 Non-Arab Muslims who affiliated themselves with an Arab tribe.
4 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 84.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 122.
6 Ibid., Vol. 17, p. 121.
7 Ibid., Vol. 12, p. 96.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
PAKISTAN TODAY

A Review of Pakistan’s Second Five-Year Plan

Targets of Plan:
Self-Sufficiency in Food,
50% Increase in Industrial Production,
and 20% in National Income

The Field-Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan

President’s broadcast

In a nation-wide broadcast on 21st June 1960, the President of Pakistan, Field-Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, commended the Second Five Year Plan as a “workmanlike” Plan reflecting the national aspirations for economic and social betterment and called for utmost efforts and sacrifices for its implementation. He emphasized that the Plan sought to promote the people’s welfare and to raise the standard of living, which was not possible without increasing production, and emphasis in the Plan, therefore, was on expeditious development of agriculture and industry. He elaborated the main targets of the Plan in agricultural, industrial and social fields, and said that if the people of Pakistan were to raise their standard of living, they must ensure that the population remained within reasonable limits. He pointed out that economic gains of the First Plan were largely consumed by an increase in population.

Highlights of the plan

The Plan envisages a rise in the national income by 20 per cent and in per capita income by 10 per cent; 50 per cent increase in industrial production, self-sufficiency in food-grains and sugar production, and near self-sufficiency in a number of consumer goods. The development programme is estimated to cost Rs. 1,900 crores ($3.99 billion) as against Rs. 1,080 crores ($2.27 billion) in the First Five-Year Plan excluding all recurring expenditure which, if included, would bring the total cost of the Second Five-Year Plan to Rs. 2,050 crores ($4.73 billion). The allocation for East Pakistan shows 293 per cent increase over that in the First Plan. The Second Five-Year Plan also allocates Rs. 50 crores ($105 million) for less developed areas of West Pakistan. The Plan is 65 per cent larger than the First Plan. The Government’s contribution is 90 per cent higher than in the First Plan. Highest priority is given to development of agriculture. It is anticipated that production of wheat will be increased by 22 per cent and sugar cane by 35 per cent. A target of 2.3 million bales (400 lb. per bale) is set for cotton as against 1.7 million bales in the First Plan, 7.3 million bales for jute as against 6 million bales in the First Plan. Next to agriculture, priority has been given to water and power resources. The Plan also envisages the setting up of two steel plants, one in each wing. Allocations to industry, transport and housing are substantially increased. The proposed allocation for education, health and social welfare services are in addition to substantial normal expenditure. Particular importance has been given to the development of human resources and to the provision of various social services.

Six factories functioning in West Pakistan

The number of new chemical factories in West Pakistan has now gone up to six and the total investment in the chemical industry amounts to Rs. 26.29 million (Rs. 13.5 =£1).

The main items of production are chlorine gas and liquid, caustic soda, soda ash, bleach liquid, santonin, sulphuric acid, super-phosphate, sulphur black, congo red, rosin and turpentine.

The production of caustic soda has immensely helped the paper and cardboard production, while chlorine is being used by the DDT plant. Dyes like sulphur black and congo red are being widely used by the textile industry.

Penicillin factory

The penicillin factory which has been set up by the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation at Daudkhel
went into production in November 1959. A total amount of Rs. 9.95 million was spent on the implementation of this scheme. It includes foreign aid of Rs. 3.14 million and additional external expenditure of Rs. 2.70 million. It is expected that the factory will make the country self-sufficient in penicillin.

**Dyes and chemicals**

The Pak Dyes and Chemicals Ltd. has been set up at Daudkhel by the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation in co-operation with West German firms.

The work started in December 1956 and the factory went into production in May 1959. Out of the total cost of Rs. 6 million, 30 per cent has been subscribed by two German firms, while the rest was met by the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. The factory, after its initial run, has achieved the rated capacity of production — 250 tons of congo red and 300 tons of sulphur black.

**Nowshera Chemical Works**

Caustic soda is an essential raw material entering directly or indirectly in many chemical and allied industries, such as soap, paper, textiles, vegetable oil refinery, etc. The present production capacity of caustic soda plant will meet the requirements of the country, which are estimated at 10,000 tons a year. The Nowshera Chemical Works cost the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation Rs. 2.60 million.

The factory went into production in early 1955 and the total production of caustic soda and other allied products is now 3,600 tons. The factory was transferred to a private concern in 1956 and continues to function satisfactorily under the new management.

**Kurram Chemical Company Ltd.**

The Kurram Chemical Company, which manufactures santonin, is jointly owned by two private firms and the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. A total amount of Rs. 3.49 million was spent on this factory. It started production in June 1959.

**Lyallpur Chemical and Fertilizers Ltd.**

The Lyallpur Chemical and Fertilizers Ltd. is jointly owned by a private firm and the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. The work on this factory started in December 1953. The sulphuric acid plant went into production in November 1956, while the superphosphate plant began production in August 1957. It has been in partial production since then. The plant is expected to reach its full capacity if and when the demand for superphosphate substantially increases. At present, the plant is producing 3,241 tons of sulphuric acid and 2,283 tons of superphosphate annually. A total amount of Rs. 2.6 million was spent on this factory.

**Haripur Rosin and Turpentine Works**

Rosin and turpentine serve a wide range of industries. At the time of Independence, a rosin and turpentine factory was functioning at Jallo near Lahore. The plant of this factory was very old and needed replacement. It was, therefore, decided to set up a new factory at Haripur (Hazara), where raw materials from the former North-West Frontier Province, reserve forests of Amb and Swat States and Azad Kashmir could be conveniently made available. The Haripur Rosin and Turpentine Works were, accordingly, set up towards the end of 1957 at a total cost of Rs. 1.65 million. In 1959, the factory produced 52,792 maunds of rosin and 110,602 maunds of turpentine (1 maund = 82.29 lb.).

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**What our Readers say...**

**A RE-INTERPRETATION OF ISLAM — CRITICIZED**

217 Larchmont Acres,
Larchmont, New York.
10th June 1960.

Dear Sir,

Your willingness to include articles expressing all shades of opinion is convincing proof of the broad-mindedness of your magazine. In this case I am referring to the highly controversial article printed in the January 1960 issue of *The Islamic Review*. "What Modern Muslims Think: A Re-interpretation of Islam", by Professor Asaf A. Fyzee, Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University and author of the book "Outlines of Muhammadan Law". Although his ideas are expressed with beauty and eloquence and although he cannot be branded an unbeliever so long as he professes belief in the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad, nevertheless because he and those who share his thinking are not only mistaken but also constitute such a serious threat to the survival of the entire Islamic way of life, this article cannot be permitted to remain unchallenged.

In the author's opinion, what he calls the central message of Islam is eternally true while the ordinances of the *Shari'ah* are out of date. Therefore he claims that religion and law conflict with each other. Because they are incompatible, religion and law must be separated once and for all. He says that Muslims must distinguish between such universal moral ideas such as kindness, honesty, loyalty and martial duty which are valid for all times and places and discard such prohibitions peculiar to Islam such as the eating of pork, the drinking of intoxicating beverages, the giving and receiving of interest, etc., as no longer applicable to the present day.

But are not the existing evils of our modern society enough to convince any thinking Muslim that the abandonment of the latter tends to lead to the abandonment of the former? The prohibitions of the Qur'ān are no mere whim of some arbitrary deity. Rather they eradicate evil at its source.

To Asaf A. Fyzee, one's beliefs are strictly a private affair. However, it is an indisputable fact that an individual's
behaviour is based on his beliefs. Can the author deny that such actions have an impact on society?

He goes on to say that since ethics are purely a matter of individual conscience, attempts to enforce them by the Shari'ah are unnecessary. Muslims, he says, should listen to their consciences rather than consult law books. But the individual conscience is no infallible guide. Human beings are not angels. Ethical behaviour without the sanction and force of law behind it soon degenerates into meaningless platitudes.

Asaf A. Fyzee thinks that Muslim law was suitable only for the desert Arabs of 7th century Arabia. He says that it is impossible to apply the Shari'ah to the Eskimos, the Australian Bushmen or even the Bengalis of India. Yet American law has been imposed on the Eskimos of Alaska and English law on the Australian Bushman. That French law now rules the Arabs of North Africa, English law the Muslims of India, Dutch law the Muslims of Indonesia and Soviet law Muslim Central Asia. Asaf A. Fyzee heralds as a great sign of progress. Since Western legal systems have been able so successfully to penetrate alien civilizations of Asia and Africa, why does he think that the Shari'ah is any less universal? Evidently he considers the domination of Turkestan by Communist Russia and China "progress". I wonder if he honestly thinks that the Shari'ah's conception of justice is inferior to Soviet law?

To Asaf A. Fyzee the Islamic conception of God being the true sovereign of the world and the law of God being supreme over the whims of human governments; that the law of God transcends geographical frontiers is unacceptable to him because it conflicts with the modern conception of nationalism. Nationalism is the curse of the modern world. It was responsible for both world wars and now threatens to bring on a third. The supremacy of God has been exchanged for the supremacy of the State. This idea has been pushed to its logical conclusions in Fascist Italy, in Nazi Germany and now, more ruthlessly than ever, in Communist China.

Asaf A. Fyzee agrees with the enemies of China that the Qur'an is directly responsible for the degraded position of Muslim women; for the fact that in the Muslim world women "are regarded as the mere playthings of men and seldom as a life companion, co-worker or helpmate". To clinch his argument he quotes the Qur'anic verse which says: "Men are in charge of women because God has made one of them to excel the other." But as usual with such attacks, he distorts the meaning of the sentence by omitting the vital phrase "... and because they spend of their property for the support of women."

Even today in the most advanced, progressive Western countries the husband remains the head of the house because on his shoulders falls the burden of supporting the family. Although the working woman's wages may supplement the family income, her responsibility in this respect is still far less than that of her husband.

That men excel women in intellectual and creative attainments is an indisputable fact. Although there have been many fine women artists, writers and musicians, there has never in the entire history of the world been any woman writer to equal Shakespeare, no woman artist on a par with Rembrandt and no woman Mozart or Beethoven. Madame Curie has often been cited as an exception in the scientific field, yet it is doubtful if she could have achieved what she did without her husband. Then, too, it must be remembered that God never sent a woman prophet like Abraham, Moses or Jesus.

The Prophet Muhammad never regarded his wives as mere playthings to gratify his sensual pleasures. They were no meek submissive chattels but strong personalities in their own right, and there is every evidence that Muhammad respected each one of them as an individual. The Prophet once told 'A'ishah: "God never gave any man a better wife than Khadijah. She believed in me when all the world were unbelievers; she comforted me when all denied my message; she supported me with her wealth when everyone else avoided me and God gave me children through her." Could any man pay his wife a higher tribute of loyalty and devotion than this? Young as she was. 'A'ishah's alert brilliant mind made her universally accepted as one of the most trustworthy sources of the Hadith.

After the Prophet's death, the position of Muslim women declined, not because of the Qur'an but instead due to the corrupt influences of Persia and Byzantium. Despite this, the spirit of Islam was able to produce some outstanding women as that great saint of Basra, Rabia al-Adawiyya, the poetess Walladah, the "Sappho of Spain", and those two learned sisters, Fatimah and Maryam, who founded Qarawiyyin University.

There is no need to substitute the attitude of women in the Qur'an for that of the modern West as Asaf A. Fyzee believes. If he would present the Qur'an in an accurate light, why did he not quote this verse which says: "And when We created man, We created women as his mate that he might find rest and peace with her and We ordained between them love and compassion."

Asaf A. Fyzee claims he believes that the Qur'an is the word of God; he is deeply moved by its beautiful language, yet he cannot accept the truth of the virgin birth of Jesus. To him, the descriptions of heaven and hell are not reality, they are merely poetic images. Yet the Qur'an says: "These are no words of a poet! This is a revelation from the Lord of the Worlds!"

Generally speaking, Asaf A. Fyzee accepts the early Mecca sūrahs but does not like the Medina sūrahs. The Mecca sūrahs reveal the spiritual truths while the Medina sūrahs tell how they can be put into practice. One is meaningless without the other. If the author claims to accept the Qur'an, then he must believe all of it. He cannot pick certain verses out of context that happen to strike his fancy and discard the rest.

According to Asaf A. Fyzee, rituals because of their emphasis on outward observance rather than inward reverence, retard spiritual development. The beauty of fasting during Ramadan, he says, can be emphasized without insisting on its hidebound prescriptions. He says the believer in prayer but not in the obligation to pray five times daily, which he claims has become "a soulless ritual having no meaning left in modern life".

The danger that ritual can become an empty lifeless formality is not, as Asaf A. Fyzee believes, a peculiarity of modern times. It has always existed. In recognition of this the Qur'an says: "It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces to the East or the West, but righteous is he who believeth in God and the Last Day ... the scriptures and the Prophets and giveth his wealth for the love of God and kinsfolk, to orphans, the needy and the wayfarer and who set slaves free and observeth proper worship ... " In more concise language the Prophet said: "God does not listen to a prayer where the heart does not accompany the body."

In no way can the Qur'ānic verse and Hadith quoted above be used as a pretext to justify the abandonment of ritual prayers or fasting during Ramadan. Why not? If a mother loves her children, she does not keep it to herself or merely say so: rather her every act radiates and com-

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municates that love to them. If she merely told her children, "I love you," but did nothing to express that love, her children would suffer as much from being deprived of affection as if she didn't love them at all. This analogy is equally valid regarding religion. Faith withers without an expression of that faith. Beliefs are meaningless without practice.

The purpose of Islamic ritual prayer is for each individual to stop in the midst of his daily activities for the remembrance of God. Once the Muslim abandons his ritual prayers, he naturally becomes so engrossed in the struggle to earn his livelihood that he will tell you he has no time to pray. In other words, making money has become more important to him than the remembrance of God. How can it be denied that the abandonment of ritual prayer has resulted in the deterioration of his faith?

Finally, Asaf A. Fyzeed wishes to impress his readers with his broadmindedness. Islam, he says, is only one religion — one way of life among many others. He does not assert its superiority over Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism or Buddhism. But I am tempted to ask him, "If you do not consider Islam better than any other faith, then why are you a Muslim? You might just as well become a member of another religion!"

Yes, he might just as well become a member of a reform Jewish temple for all his arguments for the "liberalizing" and the "modernizing" of Islam are taken directly from the statements of reform Jewish leaders. In fact, he even quotes from books by reform Jewish rabbis to support his views. True to reform Judaism, he regards the discarding of all laws, rituals, customs and ceremonies foreign to Western civilization as essential to the survival of religion. Only by harmonizing Islam with Western civilization as reform Judaism has attempted to do, can genuine spiritual life be maintained. But he forgets, as did those rabbis, that modern Western civilization is secular to its core and its spirit hostile to all spiritual values.

Does Asaf A. Fyzeed really wish his "Liberal Islam" to share the same fate as reform Judaism? I happen to have been born a reform Jew. Both my parents were raised as reform Jews. Both received only the scantiest of Jewish training. Consequently, they do not know Hebrew and are not familiar with the Torah or Talmud. They observe no Jewish customs or ceremonies. They know little of Jewish history or culture. Although my father and mother frequently tell me how proud they are of their great Jewish heritage, they know next to nothing about it. Actually they do not care to know. Because they consider orthodox Judaism foreign to the "American way of life", their one obsession is to eliminate all differences between them and their gentile neighbours. It is not surprising that the insipid uninspiring philosophy of reform Judaism is powerless to hold the younger generation. My sister has joined the Unitarian Church. My parents are not unique among reform Jews. All of our reform Jewish friends share the same spiritual vacuum. None has any religion worthy of the name.

I must join issue with Asaf A. Fyzeed when he asserts that modern orthodox Islam is spiritually bankrupt. Such brilliant personalities as Muhammad ‘Abd al-Wahhab, founder of the Wahabi movement, Muhammad Ibn ‘Ali Sanusi, founder of the Sanusi movement, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad ‘Abduh, and his devoted pupil Rashid Rida, editor of the Salafiyyah movement and editor of The Munar, Hassan al-Bnna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, and Muhammad Iqbal, poet and philosopher as well as spiritual father of Pakistan; all these great leaders are convincing proof that the vitality of Islam continues to this day. These men had the strength of character and conviction to preach and practice Islam as the Prophet intended. They knew well that because the spirit of the modern West and Islam are irreconcilable, to compromise with the former means defeat for the latter. For this reason, it is upon the progeny of these men, and not those of Asaf A. Fyzeed, that the future of Islam depends.

Sincerely yours,

MARGARET MARCUS.

* * *

AN APPRECIATION OF OUR WORK

61 Northumberland Street,
Edinburgh 3.
23rd April 1960.

My dear Imam,

Assalamu 'alaikum.

Thank you for your most interesting and inspiring letter of the 20th instant: and for the book Teachings of Islam, which I have read with great interest. I must admit that it did inspire me and re-kindle a spark within my innermost being. I do feel somehow refreshed in spirit and will be constantly praying to God for His help and mercy.

Indeed, culture shapes personality, and my immediate environment seems to be full of conflicting interests and attitudes, more or less diametrically opposed to Islamic values. But if one can emerge from this chaotic situation, without being impregnated with false and unscrupulous behavioural tendencies, then one should feel proud of one's victory of the "self".

Your writing to me brings back memories of three years ago, when your work reached me. At that time, I was Editor of Muslim News in an official newspaper in British Guiana. I also remember that you sent me a donation of several volumes of books for the inmates of the British Guiana Prisons.

I want you to know that your work in Britain and elsewhere has the admiration and support of hundreds of Muslim Guianese, and whilst undue criticisms of certain aspects of the movement were labelled with impunity by some disgruntled people, the truth continues to penetrate deep in the hearts of men with greater potency.

I look forward very much to your suggestions on further reading. But I must point out that my post-graduate studies at the University of Edinburgh are nearing completion, and it is on the cards that I will be returning to British Guiana some time in June 1960. In any case I shall be grateful for the help and advice you are prepared to offer.

Yours in Islam,

AMEER A. KHAN.

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