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

VOL. 52 No. 12 **DECEMBER 1964 C.E.** **SAFAR 1384 A.H.**

"ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS"

Arab Summit Conference

In a prominent place in this issue we print the resolutions adopted by the Arab Kings and the Heads of State at a Conference held in Alexandria in September this year. This is not the first time that resolutions have been adopted at an Arab Summit Conference. There have been many conferences — summit and otherwise — and many resolutions in the recent past. Why, therefore, do we choose to emphasize this particular Conference and its resolutions? The answer to this is in the cartoon we publish along with the resolutions. It illustrates the feeling which many foreign observers had about the Conference : the air of serious-mindedness and the sense of impatience with mere words which all the delegates showed in their statements both inside and outside the Conference. It is for this reason that the resolutions are important — because they are more likely than previous resolutions to be implemented, since the delegates themselves have become conscious of the fact that the Arab peoples are fed up with mere words.

Israel's defiance of the United Nations

The decision to utilize all Arab potentialities to prevent further Zionist aggression, and to set up the Palestine Liberation Organization as a means to enabling the Palestinian Arabs themselves, with material assistance in all spheres from their Arab brethren, to regain their rights in Palestine, are most welcome. The need for firm initiative and action on the part of the Arabs as a whole is dictated by the fact that the resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 (No. 194 (III), para. 2) calling upon Israel to allow the Palestinian Arabs expelled from their homes to return, and to pay compensation to those who did not wish to return, had been blatantly ignored by Israel and remained entirely unimplemented. This despite the fact that the resolution has been solemnly affirmed by the Assembly at fourteen successive sessions. There could thus be no better proof of the fact that mere words, by whomsoever uttered and however solemn, cut no ice with Israel. The Arabs have pleaded their right at all levels of international gatherings and organizations for long enough. In the meantime, Israel gets stronger, and the Palestinian Arab refugees rot in their camps. And all the Arabs become frustrated and lose hope. It is high time, therefore, that the Arabs resorted to firm action to wrench their rights from the Zionists. This is the only honourable course of action in the circumstances. It is certainly a serious step, and it might hurt the Arab temporarily. But indications are that the Arab statesmen are fully conscious of the ramifications and consequences of their plans in the military and economic spheres and are meticulously organizing themselves in these respects.

Jordan river diversion

Another decision on the Palestine problem which would be most welcome by the Arab people concerns the diversion of the Jordan river waters.[1] Israel is reported to have started utilizing the waters of the Jordan river for irrigation and the reclamation of large areas in the Negev desert. It has done this in the face of strong protests by the Arab States, who had threatened to take military action against Israel and to divert the river and prevent its flow into Israel in order to preserve Arab rights. But on this occasion as, indeed, on many other occasions in the past, Israel did not take Arab threats

1 For an exposition on the Jordan river waters problem see B. A. Misri. "The Jordan Waters." *The Islamic Review* for October 1964.

Continued on page 7

Monetary Conditions of Economic Growth and the Islamic Concept of Interest

The Definition of *Ribaa'*

The Tension between Islamic Law and Practice in Muslim Countries

By Professor Sabri F. Ulgener

Interest in present-day economics

Do the Muslim countries, mostly looked upon as underdeveloped areas, face any obstacles of religious nature in their efforts to reach the Western standards of living and, more specifically, to adopt the monetary instruments and institutions of the West?

As far as monetary conditions of economic development are concerned, the main fact to be considered is that the Qur'án prohibited usury *(Ribaa')*, which according to the traditional interpretation should also cover interest. For those Muslim countries that, instead of adopting a sharp separation of religious, economic as well as political matters, as in the case of Turkey, intend to evaluate and judge modern institutions in the light of the *shari'ah*, the problem becomes a very critical one : Should we as sincere Muslims still banish interest by following the old interpretation and then search possibilities elsewhere, say within an interestless economy, or try to re-interpret Islamic law so as to confine *ribaa'* to usury and then have complete freedom in accepting economic institutions based largely on interest taking?

In trying to find an adequate answer to the above questions it may well be to start reviewing the true nature of the Islamic concept of interest, and more specifically, the set conditions under which the objections against interest were born.

As is well known, interest in the present-time economies has a variety of functions. Over and above its simplest aspect as a premium paid to the lender, it serves as the most dependable discount factor in evaluating and comparing different investments and plays in this capacity a major role in determining the overall structure of investment and production. I shall try to explain that the predominant role attached to the first aspect (interest as a mere premium that sometimes comes close to usury) declined in the course of economic development, while the other functions gained more importance with the rise of modern capitalistic practices.

The Qur'án on Ribaa' **(usury)**

It is needless to say that the sharp criticism of the great religions against interest was closely related to its first and simplest aspect, i.e., against interest as a premium that in many cases surpasses the paying ability of the borrower and accrued to the lender as an unearned, and therefore unjust, surplus. Hence the intolerant and even hostile attitude towards interest and more specifically towards *ribaa'*—a word denoting a premium or surplus which accrues to a person at an ever-growing percentage with no defendable reason. That is precisely where the interdiction starts from. For example, we read in the Qur'án :

> " O ye who believe ! devour not usury doubly doubled, but fear God, perchance ye may be prosperous ; fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers . . ." (3 : 125).

Or for a more elaborate statement take the Qur'án (3 : 275) :

> " Those who devour usury shall not rise again, save as he riseth whom Satan hath paralysed with a touch ; and that is because they say ' trading is only like usury ', but God has made trading lawful and usury unlawful ".

The distinction made in the above phrase between trade and *ribaa'* deserves special attention, and is most essential in understanding the true nature of *ribaa'* (usury). Following a widely accepted criterion, trade simply means the exchange of heterogenous items such as money against wheat, and futhermore implies that the seller receives a benefit only by reselling in subsequent actions at higher prices the merchandise he might have bought cheaper. The *ribaa'*, on the other hand, denotes the surplus that arises out of a single act of exchanging homongenous items (wheat against wheat or money against money). Thus we have a pure act of *ribaa'* if a person gives a certain amount of wheat to his neighbour in need with the understanding that a surplus or addition be added on the return. This is unjust simply because the borrower will have consumed the wheat in the meantime, so that no surplus which can be transferred to the lender would have accrued to him. In other words, consumer's goods, over and above their capacity to satisfy a need, do not have any additional value for which a price may reasonably be charged. For a long time money was also considered as a consumer's good. In fact, as long as it was spent for consumption rather than for productive purposes, no one could expect any increase or surplus. Here we see the Qur'án in perfect accordance with reality :

> " That which you give in usury in order that it may increase in people's property hath no increase with God " (30 : 39).

Why the Qur'án forbids Ribaa' **(usury)**

Following what has been said so far, the underlying causes of the prohibition of usury by the Qur'án may be, in their logical sequence, classified as follows :

(1) To start with, loans are taken and used primarily for consumption purposes. The borrower, having thereby no feasible addition to his income, is very likely to be in difficulty even in the repayment of the principal. Therefore, paying a surplus over and above the capital would easily undermine his economic well-being and force him down to a sub-marginal position where insolvency and bankruptcy are inevitable. That is why the Qur'án explicitly urges, " And if it be one in difficulties, then wait for easy circumstances " (2 : 280).

(2) The lender, on the other hand, instead of acting in accordance with the above, would consider himself justified in charging the highest possible interest that would increase at a progressive rate " doubly double " (to use the words of the Qur'án : *adh'aafan mudhaa'fah),* so as to make up for any loss incurred because of the insolvency of the borrower.

(3) Finally, the *ribba'* is also being spent on consumption rather than for productive purposes, or to use again the terminology of the Qur'án, " swallowed and eaten up " so that the surplus, although apparently growing at a progressive rate, diminishes and finally disappears. And here again is the Qur'án in perfect accordance with what actually takes place, " God shall blot out usury " (2 : 275). Translated into the terminology of modern economic theory, this would read pretty much as follows : there is no addition whatsoever made by usury to the stock of wealth and to the productive capacity of the business community as a whole.

To sum up : we have been dealing with *a surplus that seems to move in a circular flow the start and the end of which tend to the same stage of unproductive consumption.* In other words, a surplus that, while consuming itself, causes innumerable difficulties and frictions. Therefore, it is quite understandable that, as long as the disadvantages outweigh the prospective benefits, such a surplus should be suspended or prohibited.

The facts mentioned above suggest that the objections raised are not so much related to loans and interest as such, as to the nature of their underlying motives and purposes. The main target of the criticism is an economy based largely on unproductive consumption and exploitation. It is worth noticing that Islam, while from the outset is more tolerant towards consumption habits as compared to many other religions, very emphatically condemns any excess of consumption and spending (The Qur'án, 7 : 30). Such an excess, one might argue, would force the individual to perpetual indebtedness, and worst of all, to misery and mendicancy. So much for consumption from the individual's point of view. As for its social aspect, care should also be taken of a fair acquisition and consumption that would insure the highest possible justice in distributive shares. Therefore, every surplus acquired and consumed in an unjust manner should not be tolerated in any way. Except the profit mutually agreed upon in a normal trading act, all kinds of surpluses are to be looked upon as unjust. The *ribaa',* among other things, belongs to this category. Hence again, " God permitteth trading and forbiddeth usury " (The Qur'án, 2 : 275).

To understand and appraise the historical trend it is essential to realize that the prohibition of usury dates from the years after the Hejira. As a matter of fact, we have no evidence of explicit interdiction in the first years of Islam, except a few remarks in Chapter 30 revealed at Mecca. It is no accident that the verses openly prohibiting usury were revealed after the Hejira at Medina. In fact, it was soon discovered that a minority composed of non-Muslim (especially Jewish) people was deeply engaged in usury, whereby the interest increased more than double (The Qur'án, 3 : 130). It is worth noticing that the more intricate social and economic structure of Medina brought about a set of problems (among other things also usury) awaiting immediate solutions and interference. This, at least partly, explains the fact that, while most of the chapters revealed at Mecca were rather confined to divine and moral matters, those revealed at Medina did establish concrete and explicit rules and regulations.

The interdiction of Ribaa' **as understood by theologians is an example of the open conflict between practice and law**

The reasons for this gradual change of attitude prevailed in the next few centuries, and were even more accentuated by the emergence of an intricate civilization, to use the terminology of Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406 C.E.). More specifically, here we have to deal with an economy of large-scale consumption and spending based on estates and farms of which, to speak with Fariduddin 'Attar, the great Persian mystic poet of the 12th century C.E., an increasing amount of loans along with the jealousy and hostility of the outsiders, endless troubles and lots of dependants are the main features.

The development outlined has been partly responsible for the growing intensity of the criticism against usury, with the result that even matters very loosely connected with usury were looked upon as unfair and unlawful. Hence the warning of the later days, " Suspecting usury is but usury itself ".

The growing intensity of the criticism did not of course provide a guarantee of a strict obedience. As is always the case, the effectiveness and operational capacity of the doctrine should clearly be distinguished from its logical content. Thus the following question arises : How far did the interdiction succeed in abolishing the practice of paying and receiving interest?

Despite the efforts spent in sustaining the law, the history of many Muslim countries furnishes contrary examples. In fact, there is not a single period during which interest taking was actually prevented. Apart from a handful of deeply religious men, whose names sound like legendary heroes, by far the greatest majority has always been engaged in interest taking.

Here we have the evidence of an open conflict between practice and law. To bridge the gap, Muslim authorities as well as Christian scholars of the Middle Ages had a hard time searching for ways and means to reinterpret and legalize at least the mild forms of interest without getting into explicit conflict with the established beliefs. The attitude of various Islamic schools with regard to this question did of course greatly differ. Time and space forbid a detailed and thorough explanation of the conflicting ideas and doctrines. However, leaving aside the subtle differences, one might say that in cases where interest taking was inevitable, the efforts of the lawyers were concentrated on reinterpreting actual contracts so as to convert an illegal act into a legal one, as, for example, the conversion of the *ribaa'* contract into an association *(sharikat)* whereby the interest is changed to or rather renamed as a premium risk *(mukhaatara)* which is legally quite permissible. A more common way was to affiliate the loan act with a trading contract that would supersede the former. In this manner the loan act had a chance of becoming a legal procedure. The common practice was as follows : the borrower sells to the lender a specific good which will thereafter be resold to him at a lower price, the difference taking the place of interest. By doing so, the loan act seems to have been completed without interest. This is a procedure which was in common use in some Muslim countries, for example, in Turkey before the Revolution (with banks called Eytam Sandigi).

Why the transition from the interdiction of usury to the assimilation of the institution of interest in Christendom took place

To complete the above picture, I may also add that some of the measures taken or suggested were adopted, probably due to the impact of Muslim philosophy, by the Christian Middle Ages of Europe, with the ultimate result

that, despite the resistance of the Church, the reconciliation in the West was a more systematic and fundamental one. From among the obvious factors responsible for this change, I would like to draw the attention of my readers to a specific fact that, although quite often overlooked, gives a clue to a better understanding of the divergence between the two great cultural areas since the end of the 15th century : this is the century of growing maritime trade in the West which, because of the heavy risks involved, facilitated or even imposed the transition from loan contracts to various forms of associations whereby the interest could be integrated, as an invisible factor, with the premium of risk. On the other hand, due to the decadence of maritime trade, especially in the Mediterranean, a similar transition had no chance in Muslim countries of imposing itself to the same extent, and so interest kept being an open target for attacks and criticisms.

The rest of the factors responsible for the divergent courses of development in the two areas, such as growing capitalism and developing monetary institutions in the West, are too well known to need any explanation. All the observations suggest that a conflict between law and practice continued to exist as an unsolved problem in the Muslim world up to the present time.

The existing tension between Islamic law and practice

The above survey brings us to the problems of our day. The existing tension between Islamic law and practice may cause a good deal of perplexity and doubt as to the nature of the way to be followed in the minds of people with strong religious feelings. On the other hand, we must guard ourselves against hasty generalizations in the opposite direction, i.e., in adopting the present-day practices of advanced economies. In fact, following the modern view, one would be inclined to argue that the Islamic notion of interest is but a rudimentary and medieval idea and has, therefore, no connection with what actually takes place in the modern world. This is not always true. To begin with, we have in the usury doctrine a system of coherent ideas, indeed, one of the most elaborate intellectual achievements of the past. As for its practical significance, we should bear in mind that usury continues to exist as a problem to be dealt with in most of the backward areas, and more specifically, in under-developed countries with a great will and high potentialities of growth. As repeatedly observed in history, the growth of money economies tends for a while to stimulate money demands to a greater extent than money supply, owing to the psychological stimulus for a disproportionate expansion of wants far beyond the limits of technical capacities. That is what in countries having insufficient monetary instruments and banking practices makes money, and hence the premium paid for its use, i.e., interest, always dear and usury very profitable (not to mention other obvious factors such as the greater risks involved).

What is then to be done? Is an " interestless economy " the right answer to this question? And here again : even if the essential features of such an economy could be theoretically outlined in a pure model, to what extent could this kind of an experiment be successfully carried out? If not, shall Muslims cease to be good and sincere Muslims?

If I am right in my judgment, experimentations of this kind have been doomed to failure. The reason for this lies in the fact that interest is not always an easy target to shoot for. The crux of the problem is that, after allowance is being made for such elements as the premium of risk, the objections against interest reduces itself in the final analysis to what economic theory calls pure interest, i.e., to an intangible factor. Each time when attacked, this factor could freely move in any direction, trying to disguise itself as a premium of risk or as a normal profit, with the loan act being changed to a trading act. That is why most of the experiments up to the present time focussed attention on limiting rather than eliminating interest. To construct a model of an economy where interest does not exist, while the premium of risk and normal profit are tolerated, and then to call it an " interestless economy ", would be too naïve an experiment to rely upon seriously.

In highly-developed countries, objections against interest have decreased considerably

Yet, with this point in mind, one should note that at least in highly-developed countries the objection against interest has decreased to a considerable extent. Apart from a few exceptions, of which the German experience or rather doctrine of the early 1930's, with the slogan " Breaking the slavery of interest *(Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft)* " was the chief example, recent history does not reveal any serious effort to combat against interest. There seems to be other questions that attract more attention than the problem of interest considered as a mere surplus. In other words, the focus of attention has been shifted considerably to different aspects of the same phenomenon. And here are the facts :

(a) Interest in the sense of a surplus, that under the circumstances explained above comes close to usury, is not a problem to be dealt with in the first instance. As a matter of fact, growing capitalism and more specifically developing banking facilities created a *milieu* where usury has been minimized. Thus, being reduced to a fair level, interest does not even seem to maintain the predominant position it used to have as the most effective factor in determining the individual's decision as to saving or dissaving. And yet :

(b) With the growth of modern capitalistic practices, interest, in the sense of a discount factor used to evaluate and compare the efficiency of different investment and production projects, seems to attract more attention. That is why most of the modern economists who express doubt as to the significance of interest from the individual's point of view attach a great deal of importance to interest as a factor indispensable in computing the overall efficiency of the economy.

A problem for under-developed countries

Here is the crux of the problem for under-developed countries : While they still have to deal very rigorously with interest as a surplus, they lack the practice of using it in the second sense. In fact it is fair to say that the situation here is contrary to that in the highly developed countries ; the significance of interest as a basic element of calculation goes far beyond its usual aspect as a premium or surplus. It is essential that, while the struggle against interest in the latter sense should be rigorously carried on whenever necessary, interest in the former sense ought to be adopted if we are to reach the scale of efficiency of the Western economies. In fact, one of the chief obstacles retarding economic development is the fact that business firms as well as government have a habit of making decisions in a rather loose and spontaneous manner, ignoring the criteria supplied by a sound cost accounting analysis.

It would have been too naïve a view to argue that Islam, with its *ribaa'* doctrine, did ultimately prevent the Muslim countries from adopting modern capitalistic practices. It is

not so much the religious beliefs as such as the lack of " entrepreneurial " abilities and techniques that brought about the present situaion. Introducing Islam into the chain of obstacles would but make the difficulties encountered at least twice as heavy as they really are. We should not hesitate in adopting the Islamic concept of interest as an effective method to fight against usury wherever we see it in action. The Qur'án maintains its freshness in this case as if it were revealed only yesterday. But such an approach, however justified in those cases, ought not make us forget the utmost importance of interest as an element of cost accounting in modern economies.

The under-developed Muslim countries are face to face with a problem which by its nature differs from what has been envisaged by the Qur'án in the matter of Ribaa'

It seems to be that most of the difficulties stem from a too narrow interpretation of the Qur'án with regards to usury. As explained before, the objections were chiefly directed against the underlying circumstances rather than against interest as such. To repeat the verse of the Qur'án already mentioned : " O ye who believe ! devour not usury doubly doubled ". Finding examples that would exactly fit into the specifications of this phrase is in highly developed countries and even in larger cities of under-developed areas not always easy. To do justice to the Qur'án, we must be aware of the fact that the Islamic concept of usury cannot be sought in or reduced to a single word — *ribaa'* — but must be understood in its entirety, i.e., in the phrase as it was literally revealed with the necessary qualifications such as " those who *devour* " and " *doubly doubled* ". As soon as we drop out these qualifications, we would face a phenomenon of an entirely different nature. It would, therefore, be a great mistake to insist on classifying events that may have undergone a substantial change and even become an entirely new phenomenon still under the old name. However, as far as terminology is concerned, we are better off with the pair of words : *ribaa'* (usury) and *faydh* (interest). It may well be to reduce the former, following the traditional approach, to those cases where a surplus, subject to the above qualifications, arises, whereas the latter may be used to denote the premium paid for the use of money. And here another difference immediately suggests itself : *ribaa'* (usury) may come into existence in a barter economy as well, whereas interest is to be conceived of as a purely monetary phenomenon.

All these facts, taken together, clearly indicate that we are dealing in the modern economy with a problem which by its nature differs from what has been envisaged by the Qur'án. As referred to above, the exchange economy which was chiefly responsible in its early stages for a disproportionate rise of money demand and therefore, to a great extent for usury, did furnish in the later stages of its development the necessary remedy, thanks to growing monetary instruments and banking practices. Instead of launching on a hopeless experiment of fighting usury as such, it seems far more desirable to plant the seeds of monetary institutions into the body of under-developed economies so as to make the adaptation a short and painless one, just as in medicine preventive measures against certain diseases are taken by injecting viruses of these same diseases into the organism.

" Actions Speak Louder than Words "

Continued from page 3

seriously. This was firstly because Arab threats were in the past often made without serious consideration of the possibility of carrying them out ; and secondly, because bickering and dissension among the Arab States for one reason or another often made it impossible for them to present a united front against Israel or to embark upon joint action. This time, however, the Arab statesmen appear to have considered in meticulous detail the practical aspects of their plans, particularly the question of the repulsion of any counter measures by Israel.

Liberation of South Arabia

The Summit Conference also dealt with the liberation of the southern part of the Arabian peninsula from British imperialism. The British there have perpetuated a régime of benighted sultans emirs and sheikhs. The purpose behind all this was to maintain the backwardness of the area as a means to preserving the selfish military and economic interests of Britain. As regards this part of the world, Britain has taken little notice of the United Nations principle of self-determination for peoples. It continues to oppress the people and persecute their nationalist leaders. But the people remain undaunted in their struggle for freedom. This perhaps was eloquently illustrated by the tremendous popular vote in the election held in Aden in October this year for a leader who was being detained in prison by the British for nationalist activities. The people of southern Arabia are an integral part of the Arab nation, and the support which the Arab States have offered them is natural enough, and most praiseworthy.

Unity the source of success

These and other resolutions adopted at the Arab Summit Conference deal with matters of vital importance for the freedom and prosperity of the Arab nation. If implemented they will mark the beginning of a new era in Arab history. Will they be implemented? *Time* Magazine, an American journal of high standing, commenting on the resolution adopted by the Arab Summit Conference on the diversion of the Jordan river waters, said recently : " What with Israel's threat and the violent disagreements that still plague the Arab world, it will be remarkable if a single gallon of the Jordan ever moves from its normal course."[2] We say that the prediction may have been true if the Arab statesmen had not changed. But the fact is that they have changed — and you need only to examine some of the practical steps they have taken in the very short period since the Summit Conference was held to see that their words are being coupled with most significant actions. There is no physical reason why these resolutions could not be implemented in their entirety, and before very long. The Arabs had lost in previous encounters with imperialism and Zionism mainly because they were not united. United, as they now appear to be, they could consider half the battle already won. The remaining half is only a matter of time.

Finally, may we remind the Arabs of the following verses of the Qur'án, revealed in the language of the Arabs and containing advice most apt for their present problems : " *Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies* " *(8 : 80)* ; *and* " *O you who believe ! When you meet a force be firm and call upon God in remembrance that you may prosper. And obey God and His Messenger, and do not fall into any dispute lest you lose your heart and your power depart, and be patient and persevering for God is with those who persevere* " *(8 : 45, 46).*

2 *Time* Magazine for 18 September 1964.

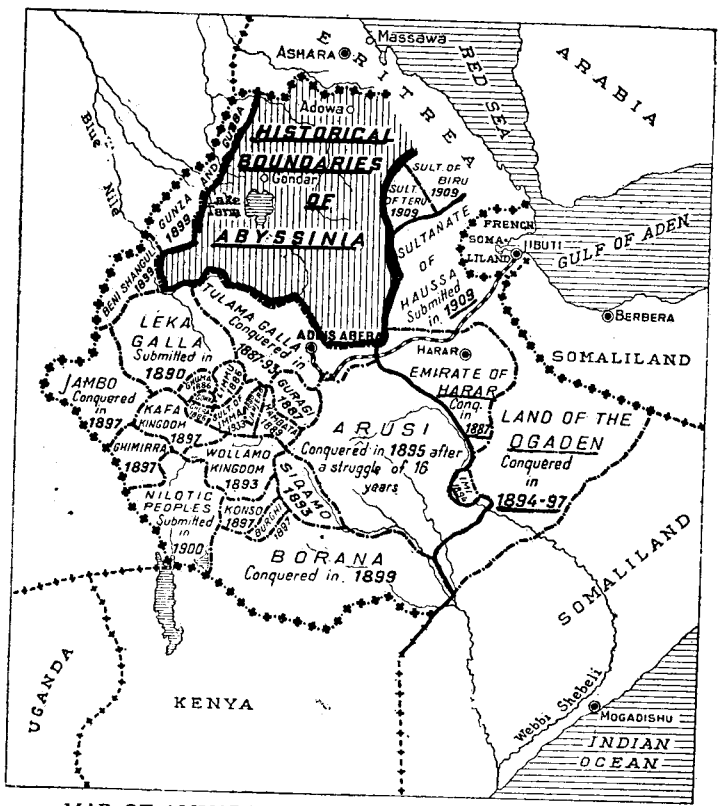
The Lot of Muslims in Ethiopia

A tragic story of Atrocities and Flagrant Violation of the Fundamental Human Rights

A Document prepared by The Muslim Educated Youth League in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa

"From 7 million Muslims who make up over 50% of the total population of Ethiopia, including the pagans, who are 17%, Emperor Haile Selassie has never nominated a Muslim to the post of a minister, governor, director or any other post of responsibility"

During the "scramble for Africa" in the last century, certain colonialist powers bribed the ambitious king of Ethiopia, Menelik II, with modern weapons in return for his recognition of their special spheres of influence in the lands he conquered. Thus he was put in a position of supremacy and was encouraged to swallow up the independent Islamic sultanates around his kingdom. The conquests were followed



MAP OF AMHARIC AND NON-AMHARIC REGIONS OF ETHIOPIA

by ruthless massacres, devastations, looting and violent robberies. Confiscation of properties and appropriation of lands prevailed. King Menelik II initiated a policy of extreme partiality against the newly-conquered Islamic regions and ruled the Muslims with a rod of iron. In 1913 King Menelik, called by the Ethiopians "The Founder of the Ethiopian Empire", died, leaving behind a long list of victims of shameful religious discrimination.

After ten years of bitter struggle for power, finally Haile Selassie was crowned Emperor. Being an educated youth, it was very much hoped the new Emperor would set up an era of justice and peace. But that hope was evaporated under the intensive heat of traditional policy of terrorism and repression which the Emperor adopted. He fell under the influence of the Orthodox Church, which is infamous for its intolerance, and consequently an ecclesiastical authority has prevailed. An evil colonial régime based mainly on religious discrimination is followed. The Amhara — the Emperor's ruling tribe — took control of all the affairs of the country. The Galla, Gurage, Danakil, Harari and the other tribes who make up about 70% of the total population, and are mainly Muslims, are completely excluded from responsible government posts, and deprived of education and other fundamental human rights. A vivid example is that a Muslim has never been nominated to a post of minister, governor, director, or any position of responsibility. Even simple clerks are a rarity. Of the estimated 140,000 students, only 2,000 are Muslims, because no schools suitable to Muslims exist in their regions.

Muslim farmlands and coffee plantations in Harar, Jimma and elsewhere were appropriated by the Amhara landlords, and the original owners reduced to the exploited "Gabbars" — a notorious system of serfdom. Muslims' legitimate attempts to retain their lands are contested by wanton slaughter and extreme severity. Thus their prosperity is reduced to abject poverty. In short, a new South Africa is created where a minority of Jewish descendants from the tribe of Judah, claiming superiority, has ceaselessly tortured a majority of Black Africans.

To disguise his choking imperialist régime and to divert world opinion from the internal disastrous status quo in Ethiopia, the Emperor devised a method arousing the groundless susceptibilities of Christians by repeatedly describing Ethiopia as an "island of Christianity surrounded by an hostile ocean of Islam". For instance, a few days after his visit to the United Arab Republic in 1959, in which he was accorded a warm welcome, he declared in France that his empire was surrounded by hostile neighbours. Previously he had made similar statements during and after his tour of the U.S.A. in 1954.

On what grounds has the Emperor based his suspicions? His neighbours — the Sudan, the U.A.R., and the rest of the Arab countries, all famous as the mortal enemies of colonialism in Africa — have flagrantly abstained from denouncing Ethiopia's unbearable imperialism lest they should be blamed for stirring up trouble. The Sudanese forces in 1941 restored the Emperor to his throne at the cost of their blood. Again, the Sudanese Government assisted in regaining his throne.

which he had almost lost during the short-lived Bodyguard revolution in Addis Ababa. Arab countries in 1950 assisted the Emperor to include by force the Islamic state of Eritrea in Ethiopia by voting for federation with Ethiopia. Even Somalia could not obtain the full support of Arab States in her rightful claim for the restoration of the Ogaden Somali territory from Ethiopia. Thus the Emperor's propaganda to the effect of " hostile neighbours " is nothing more than a false emotional play.

Although the emperor has denounced imperialism and participated in the various Afro-Asian Conferences held to devise means for complete eradication of colonial rule from the world, his practice is quite contrary to the principles of these conferences. Under the guise of African nationalism, he is managing to resume his colonial régime of forcible expansion and assimilation, which was exposed in his annexation of the defenceless Eritrea in 1952, and his ceaseless plots to annex Somalia.

Colonialism, in all its manifestations and disguises, be it of black or of white, constitutes an evil which should speedily be brought to an end. Tribal or racial domination and exploitation composes a denial of fundamental human rights which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Articles 1 and 3 of the principles of the Bandung Conference affirm " Respect for the rights of man and the principles of the United Nations Charter " and " Recognition of the right of equality between all races and nationalities ". The violation of all these principles by the Emperor of Ethiopia is bound to jeopardize world peace.

Impartial evidence

The proclamation broadcast by the recent unsuccessful revolution, led by the Bodyguard, specifically stated : " The Ethiopian people have an heroic and long history reaching as far back as 3,000 years. However, the Ethiopian people are today still living under the same conditions as their forefathers did centuries ago. The patient Ethiopian people hoped that their lot would improve from day to day, but it was all to no avail. No major advance in any field has been made, even the recently liberated peoples of Africa were marching faster on the avenue of progress than the Ethiopian people. The Ethiopian people have shown great tolerance and forebearance. A few people, depending on their birth or material wealth, have been exploiting the people for personal benefit. The Ethiopian people in recent times have shown their resentment at the prevailing conditions. Several attempts have been made to stifle this normal feeling of the people. . . ."

The above-quoted passage is a vivid evidence of Haile Selassie's reactionary and corrupt régime of absolute monarchy. Although this liberal movement ended in failure, nevertheless it disclosed to the world the prevailing rule of anarchy and retrogression. The Emperor has erected a screen behind which he has continued to thwart the legitimate desires of his people to the fundamental human rights. It is an irrefutable fact that Ethiopia has been an independent nation since Biblical times. But independence must mean more than freedom from political control. It must mean better education, better health facilities, better shelter, and in short it must mean a higher standard of living for the people. To the Ethiopians today, as it was formerly, these rights are mere dreams.

Muslims in Ethiopia have patiently suffered for generations. But it should be emphasized, however, that even though for the most part the oppression is endured by Muslims alone, Ethiopians in general are also victims of the cruel and ruthless pressure of the pervasive absolute monarchy which is supported by foreign imperialists. We allude here briefly to the Emperor's loose-knit system of favouritism and personal rule.

The monarch — a non-African

The Emperor is profoundly proud of his descent from an alien Jewish tribe named Judah. The claim is based on a legend — still current in Ethiopia — to the effect that the present dynasty is descended from a union between the well-known King Solomon of Israel and the Queen of Sheba, the latter identified with Makeda, Queen of Ethiopia. The legend originated in the thirteenth century from the time of the restoration of the so-called " Solomonian Line " following the brief rule of the Zagwe dynasty in order to give the new rulers the sanction of divine authority.

Thus the Imperial family and the Amhara ruling tribe insistently deny their African blood and African origin. They hate to be called " black " despite the vivid evidence of their black skins. They look at all other African races, either in Ethiopia (Galla, Wolamo, Borana, etc.) or in the surrounding countries (Kenya, Uganda, etc.) with contempt and call them " Shankella " — a term of derision. This is certainly one of the reasons which make the Emperor and his Amhara tribe adhere to the aggressive policy of racial and religious discrimination. Although the Amhara constitutes a minority of the total population, they are the ruling group in Ethiopia today. Their language, Amharic, is the official language of the empire, and their religion, Christianity, the State religion.

Absolute monarchy

The most important fact to be kept in mind about the government of Ethiopia is that it is an absolute monarchy and in no sense democratic. The Emperor is the supreme authority, despite the existence of a written constitution. He appoints all his subordinates in the government, usually from the Amhara tribe. He personally controls nearly all affairs of the State, and indeed he is, in practice, the State. He must be consulted even in relatively minor matters of administration which should normally be decided by lower officials. In short, the Emperor and the State are synonymous.

Mr. Ernest Luther, the author of *Ethiopia Today,* remarked : " It is extremely unfortunate for the country that the adulation of the Emperor and the imperial prerogatives exert such a stranglehold on the responsible administration at lower levels of government. As a result of this adulation and the encouragement it gives to seek advancement through royal favour, one of the main concerns of the Ethiopian Government officials from the ministers on down is to secure their own position and to undermine that of others by a practice of intrigue and denunciation. Fear of occurring displeasure among superiors is too often the guiding motivation of subordinate employees. As long as the influence of monarchy is so pervasive in Ethiopia there seems little hope for the development of responsible government. The revised constitution notwithstanding, Parliament will remain a dead letter and the independence of the judiciary a vain illusion. The implementation of civil rights and of free political expression will remain just fond hopes for the future."

Parliament and Constitution

The Ethiopian Parliament plays no more than a decorative role on the country's scene. It is only a rubber stamp for laws already decreed by the Emperor.[1] It is only a " puppet institution ". To disclose the Emperor's misleading propaganda of " Constitutional Monarchy " we review briefly some of the 131 articles of the revised constitution promulgated by the Emperor on 4 November 1955.

The Emperor's name is mentioned in nearly all articles, and about 58 articles deal exclusively with the Emperor, his prerogatives, his faith, his family, etc. Article 26 states : " The Emperor exercises the supreme authority over all affairs of his empire." Articles 27-36 state that the Emperor has the right to dissolve Parliament without stated cause ; that he has the right to appoint ministers and mayors ; to declare war or national emergency ; to exercise supreme control over foreign affairs ; to ratify treaties ; to coin, print and issue money ; and to take all measures that may be necessary to ensure the defence and integrity of the Empire. Article 88 states : " The proposed legislation will become law if approved by the Emperor but if not, it is dead and cannot be passed over the Emperor's vote."

No single Ethiopian expert

The Emperor's educational movement — usually overesteemed because of false propaganda — has only a tangential effect on the general cultural level of the population. Poor Ethiopians are still profoundly sunk in ignorance and illiteracy. It is estimated that 95 per cent of the Ethiopians are illiterate. Emperor Haile Selassie has been in power since he became Regent to the old and weak Empress, Zauditu, in 1917 — a period of no less than 40 years (Italian five-year occupation excluded). For a reformer, this period should have been enough to give the country experts of her own. But the fact is that the Emperor's rule has been unable to give Ethiopia even a single fully-qualified Ethiopian civil engineer or a physician.

Fallow land

The institution surrounding the ownership and use of land is feudal with its notorious system of serfdom known as *Gabbars*. The *Gabbars* are semi-slaves who toil in the lands owned by the Imperial family, the Church and the feudal lords. They pay one-third of their harvest to the overlords and another third is consumed by a number of taxes termed as fiscal tax, tithe tax, education tax, etc. As a result of this feudal system, 143 million acres of the world's richest farmland lie fallow in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church

If there is one element whose pre-eminence in the political structure is beyond dispute, it is the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Although its adherents comprise a minority of the population, outnumbered by the Muslims and the pagan tribes, it is intertwined with the political forces of the country in a way that greatly enhances its intolerance against all faiths.

Christianity has been the official religion of Ethiopia according to the Constitution of 1955, as specifically stated in Article 126. The same article says : " The Emperor shall always profess the Ethiopian Orthodox faith." Thus it rules out the possibility of a Muslim Emperor or of any other faith. The Emperor has always been the secular head of the Ethiopian Church, as well as the head of the State. The same article states that : " The name of the Emperor shall be mentioned in all religious services," thus emphasizing anew the close connection between Church and State that has always existed in Ethiopia. Article 21 rules the Emperor to say " We shall profess and shall defend the holy Orthodox faith ". In his book, *Inside Africa*, John Gunther estimated the number of priests to be one-fifth of the Christian population, and the number of churches and monasteries over 15,000.

To sum up, the monarchy is prevailing because it is supported by the Church ; the Church is powerful because illiteracy and ignorance is prevailing. How to change this state of affairs is an equation failure, and to cope with it satisfactorily will create various other problems.

So long as the power of the Church is pervasive, there seems to be little hope for a healthy change. Consequently, Muslims have either to resign themselves to the present intolerable oppression, or otherwise fight for their identity.

Muslims in Ethiopia

Speaking about Islam in Ethiopia, Mr. Ernest Luther in his book, *Ethiopia Today*, said : " Although Ethiopia's Muslims constitute some one-third [pagans are excluded] of the country's population, their influence on the contemporary Ethiopian scene is completely overshadowed by the dominating political position of Amhara Christianity. Today, Islam is not a force politically. It is significant that the Amhara are so distrustful of Islam that very few are to be found in positions in the Ethiopian Government."

It is not possible to give an accurate estimate of the present-day population of Ethiopia, because no national census has ever been taken. The Ethiopian Government claimed a total of 20 million in 1960, compared with a British estimate of 10 million just after World War II. In the situation 15 million will be a fair guess. When we consider the distribution of this total among the major religious groups, the result becomes more shadowy. The Government claims a rate as high as 67 per cent of the population for Christianity, but the Muslims have challenged this figure and claim to be 67 per cent. Italian estimates equated the adherents of the two religions (pagan tribes who make up about 17 per cent of the population are excluded). A booklet published by the Press and Information Department on the occasion of the Addis Ababa exhibition in 1951 stated : " Although Ethiopia is known as a Christian nation . . . *Muslims are here in number almost equal to the Christians. . . .*"

From these and other such statements it can safely be concluded that the Muslims are at least equal to, if not more than, the Christians. But despite this fact the Ethiopian Government has persistently ignored the whole matter of Muslims' existence in the country. The Emperor's address to the American Congress during his tour in 1954 reflects light on this fact. Here are his exact words : " *The strength of the Christian heritage unites two peoples across the globe in a national history, and as a force for the unification of the Empire of Ethiopia. It is this force which gives us, among the other countries of the Middle East, a profound orientation*

1 Some members who tried to oppose and criticize were dismissed by the Emperor. Another member, Walde Sanbata Lagesu of the Kambata district (Gurage Trube) who dared to ask for forming an opposition party was taken prisoner from the Houses of Parliament by police.

towards the West. We read the same Bible. We speak a common spiritual language. It is here that our common Christian heritage unites two peoples across the globe in a community of ideals and endeavours."

Thus, as it can obviously be seen from his words, the Emperor very conveniently ignored the whole matter of Islam in Ethiopia. This is a sad consequence of the Emperor's and Church's blind fanaticism. As a result of this evil policy, Muslims are completely eliminated from the Government positions. Be it low or high, there is no post for them. There is not a single Muslim in the Cabinet of 16 ministers. Among lower officials the rate of Muslims is less than 2 per cent. The traditional rule ordains that " the Government organs and all advantages expected therein are the monopolized privileges of the Amhara ruling tribe."

Worst of all, the Ethiopian Constitution, by emphasizing the close connection between Church and State, has legalized a " crusade against Islam ". The Constitutional phrase describing the Emperor as " Defender of the Holy Cross " has already been converted, in practice, into " Offender against Islam ".

Historical hostility

To appreciate the reasons of the present oppression we should examine briefly the historical aspect of the subject. Contacts between the ancient Abyssinian kingdom and Islam go as far back as the era of Islam's advent. Persecuted followers of the Prophet Muhammad twice took refuge in the Axomite royal palace of Abyssinia. Amicable correspondence between the Prophet and the Abyssinian king was exchanged.

In the first century of the Hejira (7th century C.E.), Arab traders and immigrants carried Islam forward to the African parts of present Eritrea and Somalia. Slowly but steadily Islam penetrated deep into the heart of Abyssinia. By the end of the eleventh century seven Islamic kingdoms had flourished in the north-east, east and south-east of the country. These were Ifat. Hadia, Arbabini, Sherkha, Duwaro, Dara and Bali At that time Ethiopian Christian monarchs, with their culture deeply rooted in religious traditions, showed extreme intolerance towards Muslims. They waged sanguinary wars against Muslims which lasted for over five centuries.[2] Both sides suffered formidable losses, but neither side could subdue the other.

As time marched on, Islam made peaceful penetration in the interior of the country. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries most of the pagan Galla tribes of the south and south-west were converted to Islam.[3] Islamic peaceful penetration aroused the indignation of the Christian rulers, who were seized with fear lest the Church should succumb to the teachings of Islam. Consequently they launched a strong and violent attack on the Muslims. King Taidrose (Theodore), who was killed by the British expedition under the command of Sir Robert Napier[4] in Arogee, near Magdala, was an enemy of Islam. He persecuted Muslims and burned them alive. But his successor, King Yohannes (John) was worse. In 1878 he decreed his famous ordinance of compulsory baptism. Mr. Arnold in his book *The Preaching of Islam* estimated that over 55,000 Muslims were forcibly baptised, and others were either turned from their homes or cruelly annihilated. In 1889 King Yohannes was killed in battle against the Mahdi of the Sudan, and his forces were disintegrated.

King Menelik II and the downfall of the Islamic Sultanates

During that period the competition among European powers to swallow up Africa had reached its zenith. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had laid bare the whole east coast of Africa. Britain, France, Italy and Portugal — all entered the contest. King Menelik II, who succeeded Yohannes, played an important role in the scene. The four powers appeased him by presenting him with large quantities of arms and munitions in return for his recognition of their special spheres of influence. Thus he was put in a position of supremacy. He, in his turn, started to swallow up the fully-independent Islamic sultanates around his kingdom.[5] The Sultanates of Harar, Ausa, Wallo, Jimma, Arusi, Ogaden and the others, all resisted bravely against that aggression. But their old traditional weapons of swords and spears were no match for the modern weapons, and complete defeat was unavoidable. The conquests were followed by ruthless mass-killings and devastation. A contemporary Norwegian author, John Bhccholzer, has described the invasions in his book, *The Land of the Burnt Faces.*

This is how the present Ethiopian empire was set up. Armed bands roamed and looted the country in the ancient Ethiopian tradition and captured the people and their lands. Menelik's policy was full of hate, prejudice and excessive partiality against the newly-colonized Muslims. He exploited their living sources and confiscated their properties.

Mr. E. W. Luther described Menelik's conquests as follows : " Vast areas of land were conquered by the Emperor Menelik II during his far-ranging campaigns at the end of the last century. Many of these were added outright to his personal domain, some were granted to his favourites and loyal soldiery, a few were left in the hands of the conquered peoples."

Menelik made open attempts to uproot Islam by closing the Qur'ánic schools and confiscating their properties. He imprisoned and tortured the sheikhs and the *Ulama* (religious heads) to force them to give up their mission of teaching.

By the tripartite treaty of 1906, Menelik granted the three powers — England, France and Italy — special spheres of influence in the conquered Islamic regions. These were : for France the railway to Djibouti in which France had exploited Muslim labourers for over twenty years ; for Italy a strip of land across the territory connecting her two colonies of Somaliland and Eritrea ; and for Britain the rest.

Emperor Lij Eyasu

Menelik's death in 1913 put an end to his iniquitous and brutal rule. His stranglehold at last was loosened, leaving the victims half-dead. During the brief rule of his successor, the

2 A long chapter titled "Conflicts Between Christianity and Islam" was written by Mr. S. Trimingham in his book *Islam in Ethiopia.*

3 The Gallas are estimated to be over 50 per cent of the total population. The powerful and prosperous Sultanate of Jimma, ruled by the Abajiffar Dynasty, was one of the numerous Gallas' independent Sultanates. In 1934 Emperor Haile Selassie abrogated the treaty held between Sultan Muhammad Abni Dawood (titled Aba Jiffar), and King Menelik II of Ethiopia, the latter recognizing full autonomous rule for Jimma in domestic affairs. But, later, he incorporated the Sultanate by force and deposed the Sultan. Jimma — renamed now Caffa Province — due to her rich natural resources, especially in coffee plantations — has been exploited to the point of saturation.

4 The expedition was sent in 1868 to rescue the British Consul and several other Europeans who were imprisoned by King Theodore.

5 These Sultanates today make up three-quarters of the present area of the Ethiopian Empire.

Emperor Lij Eyasu (1913-1916) Muslims were given a breathing space. Unfortunately, Eyasu's rule was short-lived. He was ousted in 1916 by the Amhara chiefs and notables, and fled to the oasis of Ausa. He was captured in 1921 and put in prison, where he was poisoned and died in 1935, before the Italian occupation.

A crusade against intellectual pursuits

So far as Muslims are concerned, Haile Selassie has, unfortunately, resumed the deplorable policy of his ancestors. He put in strenuous efforts to convert Muslims to his Orthodox faith. For this purpose he closed all the centres of Islamic culture in Harar, Jimma, Dawe, Ifat and elsewhere. He prohibited the studies of the Arab language, which is the only medium for Islamic education in this country, and erected an iron curtain around Muslim regions with a view to isolating them from Islamic institutions abroad. No *Ulama* are allowed to penetrate Muslim lands. The Azhar Mission of Egypt in 1951 was forced to leave Addis Ababa within a few hours of their arrival. Muslims are compelled to pay a tribute to the Church termed "moral income". The Emperor has extravagantly wasted the small budget of Ethiopia in building churches at the entrance of every Islamic town and village with the purpose of giving a false impression to the foreigner that the adherents of his Orthodox Church are predominant in these towns.

Worst of all, the Emperor has waged wicked wars against all intellectual pursuits. It was remarked by all explorers of the nineteenth century, who visited the Islamic Sultanates, that numerous literary movements were thriving. Today, however, none of these exist owing to the senseless antagonism of the Ethiopian monarchs. At present educational institutions in Muslim regions are reduced to extreme rarity. Despite the fact that Muslims are subjected to numerous taxes, including educational tax, no school has ever been opened in a Muslim region unless the Christian children have first been provided for. Estimates of 1959 revealed the meagre figure of 2,000 Muslim children receiving education, as against 140,000 Christian students.

Atrocities against Muslims

Compulsory baptism is even now a common practice. The atrocious crimes committed by Colonel Asaffaw Woldegiorgis in the district of Yabalo (Borana) and Dejazmach Mesfin Silheshi[6] in Jimma against Muslims for the same deplorable ends are a vivid testimony. The chief of the Goje pagan tribe in Sedamo, who embraced Islam together with his tribe, was imprisoned and cruelly treated until he was forced to confess the Orthodox faith. Grad (Sultan) Ebrahim Seyu of the Gutti tribe had escaped to Somalia after a torture of seven months for the same purpose. Many prominent Muslims abandoned their faith under severe compulsion.

Hundreds were arrested on false accusations. The ominous phrase "Kubur Naka" (meaning "defamed the royalty") has, on thousands of occasions. led innocent men to jail and obscure death without trial. A Sudanese doctor who visited the Jimma prison told in the presence of the late Mahdi of the Sudan (Muhammad Ahmad, d. 1885) the story of 400 prisoners, mostly old sheikhs, who were in jail for periods ranging from four to six years without any trial. They were being exploited in the coffee plantations of the imperial family and the governor. Their sole crime was "Kubur Naka".

There used to be special courts for Muslims called "*Shari'ah* Courts" presided over by *Kadhis*, to deal with Muslim marriages, inheritance and other matters. Today, however, by virtue of the new code entitled "Yefita Ber Hig" (Civil Law), promulgated by the Emperor by Order No. 185 on *Miyaziya* 27, 1952 (1960), and enacted on 1st *Maskaram* 1953 (1961), the *Shari'ah* courts are, in practice, abolished.

The new civil law is largely customary, based on an ancient book of laws called *Fatha Neguest*. It is a thirteenth-century compilation of ecclesiastical laws introduced into Ethiopia by an Egyptian Copt named al-Asad al-Asal. This book is a confusion of Jewish and Biblical codes and a vast amount of customary laws. It has for long served as the basic reference for the settlement of disputes among the people of the Copt sect in Ethiopia.

The new civil law book comprises 3,387 articles. It is manifest without any comment that a codification based on Church laws shall irrefutably be an obvious contradiction to the Islamic laws. A glance at the matrimonial and inheritance sections will suffice to turn light on these grave encroachments.

Article 580 legalized illegitimate customary union between man and woman, and that a child born of such unholy union is legally capable to receive inheritance if he is recognized by the father (Article 584). Such type of marriage is in practice among the Ethiopian Copts.

Articles 626-656 are virtual abrogation of all Islamic inheritance systems. These articles, totalling 30, deal with heritage based on laws, customs and codifications completely alien to Islamic law. Respect for the Islamic inheritance laws is completely denied. Thus the functioning of the *Shari'ah* courts, which are so far not formally dissolved, is in practice paralysed.

Muslims, being panic-stricken and bitterly desperate over the future of their faith, protested strongly to the Emperor. The few Muslim members in Parliament, headed by Abdullah Mome, Deputy of Harar, raised a strong objection to these open infringements and submitted a complaint to the Emperor. But all were to no avail. The Emperor ratified his new civil law, and the puppet parliament rubber-stamped it. Muslims rightly consider the new civil law, which has been imposed on them by the Christian ecclesiastical authority, as a gross injustice against Islam.

Wanton slaughters by the Amhara

Muslim farms and plantations have suffered gradual infiltration of Amhara settlers, who are compelled by the Government to migrate with the object of gaining control over the fertile land of Wallo, Harar, Arusi and Jimma. Muslims' legitimate attempts to retain their lands were met with extreme severity. Armed forces were despatched several times to crush peaceful resistance of the farmers. History will one day reveal to the world hidden tragedies of wanton slaughter. The events of Bati, Aarfa and Arguba (Wallo Province) in 1936 were nothing more than savage destruction of helpless unarmed men, women and children. Similar atrocious actions were repeated against the Muslims of Yazo (Wallo), Gersum and Kambulsha (Harar). In 1953 the district of Dawi (Wallo) was put in complete ruin by Colonel Abebe

6 Mesfin Sileshi is an illiterate soldier and notorious for oppressing and flogging the Muslims openly. He appropriated their lands and forced them to build the Church of Meriam in Jimma.

Gemmade, whom the Emperor met and authorized at Debre Berhan (Shoa Province). Fifty-five men were publicly hanged by the army in twelve villages of the district in the presence of their womenfolk and relatives without fair trial.

The *New York Times* of 14 July 1960 alluded to such cruel actions by stating : " Haile Selassie also arranged to keep from the delegates the nasty story of the massacre at the town of Yirga Alem last March, when his police shot down hundreds of peasants who revolted against their feudal landlords."

In 1943, on a moonless night, a company of the Emperor's army launched a violent attack upon the Sultanate of Awsa. The innocent Sultan Muhammad Yayo was taken prisoner to Addis Ababa and put to death in the Alem Bekagne Prison.[7] Awsa was left in ruin. The reason for that treacherous act is still unknown.

In 1948, for fear of similar danger in their area, the people of Harar appealed to the Emperor for protection. The Emperor responded by terrorism and threats instead of law, justice and security. The familiar military forces were let loose. Over 1,500 people were put in jail. Many prominent men disappeared — just vanished. The traditional policy of arbitrary appropriation resulted in tremendous damage to the economy of Harar.

Provincial administration

Provincial administration in Ethiopia is organized along the following divisions : The country is divided into twelve provinces (Awraja)[8] which are headed by princes and *Rases* (dukes) responsible to the Emperor. Not a single one of them is a Muslim. The provinces are divided into 74 sub-provinces (Warrada) ruled by governors (Agara Gazhi). Also none of them is a Muslim. Finally, the sub-provinces are broken into 1,122 districts ruled by district governors (Mislanye). Only about 73 of these are Muslims.

Relations with neighbours

The Emperor's policy towards his Eastern neighbours (i.e. Eritrea and Somalia) has always been based on groundless suspicion. He opposed the liberation of these countries. In 1950 he plotted with certain imperialist powers to incorporate them into his empire. His plot against Eritrea was successful. Through the help of Western imperialists, the General Assembly of the United Nations issued Resolution No. 390A (V) on 2 December 1950 to the effect of federation with Ethiopia on the basis of the *" full autonmy for the Eritrean Government in all domestic affairs and a democratic régime in Eritrea with all its requisites and safeguards"*. On 11 September 1952 the Emperor ratified the United Nations Resolution. After 19 September 1952 the British administration handed powers over to the head of the Eritrean Government and to the representative of the Emperor in Eritrea. Since that day Eritrea entered into the noose of colonialism and was entangled in endless and inextricable problems arising from the absence of the Federal Government which was supposed to be in charge of federal affairs and to settle disputes between the governments of Eritrea and Ethiopia as mentioned in paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the U.N. Resolution. The Ethiopian Government imposed itself in place of the federal government, disregarding the U.N. Resolution and heedless of all pledges and undertakings given by the Emperor. Here is an extract from the detailed memorandum submitted by the Eritrean leaders[9] to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1957 :

> " During the last five years the Eritreans have suffered at the hands of the Ethiopian Government more than they have endured during 70 years of colonial oppression. The frustration of the Eritrean people is pushing them to the verge of a desperate revolution. Their patience has reached its breaking-point. Mindful of the fact that the prolongation of the present state of affairs between the Eritrean people and the Ethiopian Government may jeopardize world peace, they decided to appeal to the United Nations."

Unfortunately, the Secretary-General of the U.N. lent a deaf ear to this legal complaint, a thing which shook the trust of the Eritrean people in the U.N. humanitarian role.

As to Somalia, despite the Emperor's plots and strong opposition, the resolute independent-minded Somali people managed to save their country from Ethiopian imperialism. At the end of the ten-year period of U.N. trusteeship, Somalia declared her independence on 1 July 1960. Nevertheless, the problem of the Ethio-Somalia frontier is still unsettled. The Emperor is colonizing a large area of Somaliland named Ogaden.[10] The existing boundary of Ethio-Somalia was the result of colonialist conspiracies which carved Somalia into five parts — British, French, Italian, Ethiopian and Kenyan (N.D.D.). The boundaries among these political divisions were not drawn on any ethnic, tribal or economic considerations.

The Emperor's insistence to colonize the Somali region of Ogaden will obstruct the solution of the problem of the frontier with peaceful negotiation. To discover the Emperor's

Continued on page 16

7 Many Sultans and Sheikhs, including the Sultan Olol Din of Ogaden, met a terrible end in this prison. Lord Ronnel of Rodda, in his book *A British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa during the years 1941-1974*, said : " British military administration of the Reserved Area, having disposed itself of responsibility, remained unconsensual with any matter affecting the Danakil area. *The Ethiopians, on the other hand, arrested the Sultan of Awsa where the sultanate was included in the area, thus asserting the re-institution of their administration there.*"

8 The Provinces of Harar, Wallo, Arussi and Jimma, with 80 per cent Muslims, comprise three-fifths of the total area of Ethiopia. Big minorities ranging from 20 to 30 per cent live in the provinces of Tigre, Shoa, Sedamo and Illubabur. Minorities of about 10 per cent live in the rest.

9 The leaders who submitted that memorandum were all exposed to severe oppression. Mr. Muhammad Omar Kadhi, former member of the Eritrean Supreme Federal Council, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Haj Imam Musa and Haj Sulayman Ahmad Omar were imprisoned for four years. Other leaders managed to take refuge in foreign countries. Among these were Mr. Idris Muhammad Adam, ex-President of the Eritrean Parliament, Mr. Walde Ab Waldemariam, President of the Eritrean Labour Union Federation, Mr. Ibrahim Sultan Ali, Secretary-General of the Eritrean Democratic Front, and many others.

10 The *Economist*, London, for 14 September 1957, wrote : " Since the Haud and Reserve Area was taken over under effective Ethiopian control two years ago, the Somali tribesmen who came into the district to graze their beasts have been bitterly resentful of Ethiopia's acquisitiveness. To them the election does not seem a process of electing representatives to democratic assembly, but rather the move in Ethiopia's expansionist policy of claiming as subjects people who do not regard themselves as part of the Ethiopian State. The policy of the Ethiopian Empire is based on the principles of assimilation and *Amhirasation* of the tribes and nations which make up its inhabitants."

The Service of Worship: Why in Arabic alone?

By Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah

1) It is well known that during their service of worship (prayer, in Arabic *salaat),* Muslims enjoy only the Arabic language : they recite certain passages of the Qur'án and pronounce certain formulas to attest to the sublimity of God and humility of man. This is done both by the Arabs and the non-Arabs, even by those who do not know a word of Arabic. Such was the case in the time of the Prophet Muhammad and such has been the case ever since to this day, whatever the country and the tongue of the Muslims.

(2) At first sight it may seem normal and even desirable that the faithful should address his prayer to the Lord in a way that he is fully conscious of what he says. Of course, the mother-tongue is the medium best suited for the purpose, the worship being performed in as many languages as are spoken by the Muslim community. But a bit deeper consideration shows that there are reasons that militate strongly against such a solution.

(3) First of all, a metaphysical or psychological point. According to the Holy Qur'án (33 : 6), the wives of the Prophet are the mothers of the Muslims. We know that all of these revered ladies spoke Arabic. Therefore Arabic is the mother-tongue of all the Muslims ! Who can object to praying in one's mother-tongue?

(4) Perhaps this argument does not suffice to convince everybody. Pushing further the study, it is noteworthy that according to the Islamic belief the Qur'án is the Word of God, the recitation of which is considered by the Muslims as something meritorious. This is evident from the spiritual point of view. The faithful journeys unto the Lord through the sacred word of the Lord Himself. His Word is the path towards Him, something like a wire to conduct the electrical current that illuminates the path. The journey unto the Lord is of course the ultimate goal that every soul aspires to reach. The original Word has been revealed in Arabic ; any translation would be a human work and human word, and this can scarcely serve the purpose of this mystical journey.

(5) For those who would seek more mundane reasons, let us recall first that a clear distinction is to be made between prayer in the sense of supplication *(du'aa)* and the prayer in the sense of the service of worship to God *(salaat).* In so far as *du'aa* is concerned—i.e., the prayer in general and outside the formal way of worshipping God, the *tête-â-tête* with the Lord *(munaajaat)* — nobody has ever raised the slightest objection to the liberty of the individual to address one's need, one's petitions to the Lord in any language and in any physical posture one prefers. It is purely a *personal and private* affair and concerns the relations of the individual creature directly with the Creator. The *salaat,* on the contrary, is a *collective and public* affair, where the needs and requirements of other companions of the congregation are evidently

A muezzin in Egypt sounding the call to prayers All over the Muslim world, the call is recited in Arabic

to be taken into consideration. It is pointedly to bring into relief that the *salaat* is in principle and preferably to be performed in common along with others *(jamaa'at)* ; the *salaat* individually and in isolation is only tolerated and never recommended, the preference going to the congregational service. Let us see now more closely the diverse aspects of this collective and public act which is performed in the company of others.

(6) Had Islam been a *regional,* racial or national religion, one would certainly have employed the current language of the region, of the race, of the nation. But quite different are the requirements of a *universal* religion, whose members speak hundreds of regional languages — of which each is incomprehensible to all the rest of the human groups — belonging to all the races and inhabitants of all the regions of the earth. Our life today is getting more and more cosmopolitan, and practically every town has Muslims belonging to several linguistic groups, both from among the permanent residents and the travellers in transit, and one has to take into consideration the aspect of courtesy and hospitality to strangers. Supposing an Englishman goes to China and knows not a word of its language, and supposing he hears in the street something like " Ching, chang, chung ". Evidently he

would not understand what is intended thereby ; and if it is the regional translation of the well-known call to prayer, the *Allaahu Akbar,* he would fail to perceive it and would miss the weekly prayer on Friday, or the congregational prayer of the moment. (Incidentally, the mosques in China do not ordinarily resemble those in England, France or elsewhere in the Orient, and ordinarily have no minarets either). Similarly, a Chinese Muslim, travelling through other countries, would find nothing in common with his co-religionists if these others said their collective worship in their local tongues. So a universal religion requires certain basic things to be common to all the faithful. The call to prayer and the formulas to be recited in the act of worship evidently constitute part of such fundamental and basic elements of the practice of the cult. A passing remark may be made about the fact that sometimes words of two different languages sound alike but have different significations, at times the harmless word of one signifying something ridiculous or obscene in another. Such a risk is greater in languages with which one is utterly unfamiliar, and hears them only during a journey, for example. This would be contrary to the dignity of the service of worship to God. Things familiar from childhood avoid such complications, even if the individual is a non-Arab and recites in Arabic the required formulas.

(7) One cannot neglect the psychological aspect of human beings who have at times petty prejudices of xenophobia. Occasions would arise daily when political (national) or even personal and individual frictions would induce, for instance, an Englishman not to participate in the *salaat* led in French or Russian or some other language. Arabic, as the language of the Qur'án and the Hadith, has a respect and a halo in the minds of every Muslim, and one employs it not as the language of the Arabs but as the language of the Prophet Muhammad, the language of the mothers-of-the-faithful, the language God Himself has chosen for revealing His latest Word for us.

(8) The needs of unity among the co-religionists can never be too much stressed upon. One should create new links to strengthen their ties of fraternity, rather than destroy those that already exist.

(9) One may also cite the example of international congresses and meetings. When, for instance, one attends the United Nations Organization session, one cannot select the medium of expression according to one's whims and fancies, which would be contrary to the object of the meeting, and one would fail to reach others attending the session ; one is obliged to employ the officially recognized languages, which are for all practical purposes either English or French, and nobody objects to this state of affairs. In the general interest, one has to sacrifice the particular interest, on pain of losing in the long run, even the particular interest.

(10 There is another aspect of the question which is no less important. In fact no translation ever replaces the original. There are, for instance, nowadays numerous translations of the Holy Qur'án in English (as also in practically every language of the world), yet every now and then there are new and unceasing attempts to produce another translation, thinking that the older ones are partly defective. This is true not only of English but of every language of the world, and true also of the translation of any and every work. Should one utilize a defective thing or the perfect one, the translation or the original?

(11) Let us recall in this connection that practically no religion, excepting Islam, possesses today integrally the original of the Revelation on which it is based, the original teaching of its founder : it is the translation, or at best fragments, of which dispose the Christian, Jewish, Parsi and other communities. How fortunate the Muslims are that they form an exception, and possess integrally the original text of the Revelation, the Holy Qur'án !

(12) What is more, the Qur'án, although in prose, possesses all the qualities and charms of poetry, such as rhythm, resonance, grandeur of style, etc., so much so that the omission or addition of even a single letter in the text disturbs it as much as it would disturb the hemistich of a verse. Some time ago, it happened to the present writer that a Muslim French convert, who is a musician by profession, one day assured me that in chapter 110 of the Qur'án some passage seemed to have been lost, for it reads " *fee deenil-laahi afwaajaa. Fasabbih . . .*", which is musically impossible. My scant knowledge of the art of reciting the Qur'án came to my aid and I replied : " No, the correct reading of the passage is ' *fee deepil-laahi afwaajan-v-fasabbih . . .*' (the *n* and *f* getting assimilated, so after *n,* there is a slight *v,* before pronouncing *f* of *fasabbih)* ". Thereupon the musician and well-meaning brother exclaimed at once : " I renew my faith ; with your explanation there remains nothing objectionable from the musical point of view, and no passage seems to be lacking. The prose of the Qur'án is as much measured as the lines of a poem. And if this is so, who would care to replace something perfect and splendid by something comparatively mediocre? "

(13) One should not lose sight of the fact that in the entire *salaat* there are very few passages to recite. There are first the *adhaan* and *iqaamah* (call to prayer). Then inside the service of worship there are the formulas *Allaahu-akbar, subhaana rabbiy-al-'azeem, subhaana rabbiy-al-a'laa,* the short chapter *al-Faatiha,* two other short chapters, and the prayer of *tashahhud,* and that is all. The totality does not exceed a page of small size, and most of the words of these texts are commonly understood by the Muslim masses and have penetrated into all the languages of the Muslim countries, so much so that even a child or a beginner learns their meaning without pain and without strain. And once the significance of these formulas is learnt, the *salaat* of a Muslim remains no more a mechanical recitation and without understanding.

(14) Personally, this writer thinks that no Muslim would ever bestow the same respect on a translation of the Qur'án as he does on the original revealed by God to His messenger. For the translation would be done by an ordinary human being and not by an infallible person who should be protected by God against error, as is the case of a prophet.

(15) One day a young student kept insisting on the importance of understanding what one says (or prays). When all other arguments seemed to fail to convince him, the author said : " If you promise me that you will perform regularly the five daily services in your mother-tongue, I authorize you to do so." Forthwith he interrupted the discussion, and never came again to speak of it. In other words, those who insist on regionalizing the faith and cult are those who do not practise it themselves ; at least, such is the case with the immense majority of them. A believer has no need to take counsel with those who do not believe in or do not practise Islam.

(16) To end, there are writers who say that they have the backing of such authorities as the Imam Abu Hanifa (d. 767 C.E.) to say that the recitation of the translation of the Qur'án in the service of worship is permitted. But this is only a half-truth. These writers omit to mention that the Imam Abu Hanifa, although he had this opinion in the beginning, changed it later on (as we find express precision of it in the authoritative manuals of law such as the *Hidayah* of al-Marghinani, the *al-Durr al-Mukhtaar* of al-Haskafi, etc.), and that he rallied to the general opinion that in normal cases only the Arabic text is to be employed in the services of worship. Of course, there are provisions for exceptional cases, such as the needs of a new convert : immediately on his embracing Islam, he has to commence to perform the five daily services in which it is necessary to recite by heart the prescribed formulas. Until such time as he learns these formulas by heart, he may use their sense in any other language he can. For this we have the very high precedent of Salmaan al-Farisi, who sent the translation of al-Faatiha to some Persian converts, with the authorization of the Prophet Muhammad himself (*c.f. al-Nihaayah Haashiyat al-Hidaayah* by Taaj al-Shari'a) and they used it until their tongues got familiarized with the Arabic text. So, for some hours or some days, the new converts may use validly the translation.

(17) One will see thus that there are advantages and disadvantages, both in the use of a foreign language in one's service of worship ; this is also the case with regard to the use of a regional language (viz., mother-tongue) for this purpose by members of a universal religion. In such cases one makes one's choice by weighing the advantages against the disadvantages, and one sees where lies the lesser of the two evils.

The Lot of Muslims in Ethiopia *Cont. from page 13*

aggressive intentions let us look upon his budgetary policy. Over 35 per cent[11] of the total ordinary expenditure of the government goes on the army and the maintenance of the police force. As against this the expenditure for the development of agriculture, the country's basic economic activity, including contributions to F.A.O. and Point 4, is a mere 1 per cent of the total.

Why should the meagre budget of Ethiopia be extravagantly squandered on stirring up trouble with her neighbours and on creating undesirable situations? The answer lies in the Emperor's irresistible lust for expansion and domination over weak nations around Ethiopia. It would have been reasonable for Ethiopia to reduce her military expenditure sharply and divert the money thus saved into economically and socially profitable channels. But so long as the Emperor rules, little hope can be seen for a change in Ethiopia's internal and external policy.

11 In his speech before Parliament on 2 November 1958, the Emperor said : "The world crisis which involved simultaneously the Middle Eastern region, of which Ethiopia herself is part, has rendered more imperative Ethiopia's need to consolidate and devote her total strength and resources to defence of her freedom."

Anecdotes from the Life of the Prophet Muhammad

compiled by

Mumtaz Ahmad Faruqi

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The Muslim States of West Africa

By G. Neville-Bagot

It is very surprising that the Muslim world hears so little of Muslims in West Africa. Islamic countries in the East or Middle East get their due share in the world press. But West African Muslim States are seldom heard mentioned in terms of " Muslim " States.

The combined population of Senegal, Guinea and Mali is about 11 million. According to Alphone Gouilly *(L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale,* Paris 1952), Muslims make a total of a little more than 7½ million of the population. In other words, the Muslim population of Senegal is 85 per cent, of Guinea 80 per cent and of Mali between 65 to 70 per cent. In order to make an assessment of the position of Muslims in these parts, it would be necessary to go into details of the statistics.

SENEGAL

Geography

Senegal is one of the most advanced Muslim States in Africa. The name " Senegal " owes its origin to a town called " Senegan " at the mouth of a river. The chief ethnic groups of Senegal are: the Wolofs, the Peuls, the Sere, the Tukulers, the Diola, the Malinke, the Sarakile and the Moors. The two chief vernacular languages are Wolof and Pondare. The Muslim Wolofs, who form the chief ethnic group, play a predominant role as white-collar workers while the Sere specialize in cultivating peanuts, which provide for 85 per cent of the total exports of the country, amounting to 25 billion French African Francs. The main town is Dakar, with a population of 360,000. The main river, the Senegal, is 1,054 miles long.

Muslim education

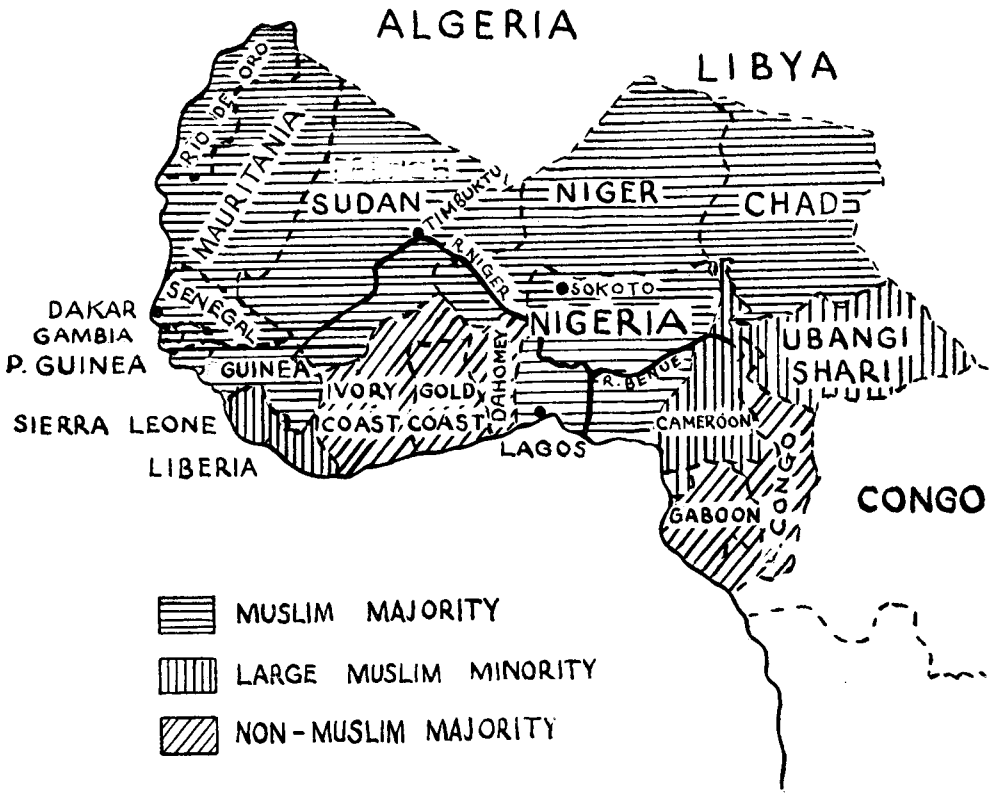
Out of a population of 3,000,000, only 126,000 Muslim pupils (including 40,000 girls) attended primary schools in 1961, and in secondary schools 8,536. These dismal figures are not surprising when you come to think of very similar tales of woe in other parts of the world where there is a numerical majority of Muslims. It is very encouraging, however, to note that in a government publication, *Le Senegal en marche,* for 4 April 1961, it is stated that " one of the present preoccupations of the government, so far as culture and education are concerned. is to favour the knowledge of Arabic and Islamic culture ".

In spite of a well-organized drive by the Catholic missionaries to convert the Muslims during the period of French occupation, the signs of Islamic revival are to be seen everywhere. Arabic is now taught in the *lycees* at Dakar, St. Louis an Thies and Daolack. In 1960-61, 634 out of 1,696 students were attending the Institute of Islamic Studies.

Early history of Islam

The earliest account of Senegal was given by Ibn Haoukal, who visited Ghana in the tenth century C.E. At that time the kingdom of Teckrour, on the lower part of the Senegal, was a dependency of Ghana.

It is claimed that the well-known sect of " Almoravide "



was originally founded on a Senegalese island by Abdullah Ibn Yaseen. It was the " Almoravides " who subsequently freed the Senegalese from the suzerainty of Ghana.

It was in the fourteenth century that the influence of Mali was first felt in Eastern Senegal. The Peuls made very rapid strides in spreading Islam throughout West Africa during the next two centuries. But they were defeated by the Tukulers in the Senegal Valley.

During the years 1854 and 1865 the Moors dominated the Lower Senegal. But internal strife among the various ethnic groups, each of whom was an aspirant for power, had greatly weakened the solidarity of the country. The French were quick to take advantage of the situation and their General, Faidherbe, conquered the country after defeating the great Muslim ruler El Hadji Omar Tell.

The French policy in Senegal was modelled on the same lines as in Algeria. They supported the Tidjani sect and made use of the Muslim Marabouts in the final subjugation of the country. (Marabout is the name given to hermits in North Africa.) The subsequent history of the country shows a very calous exploitation of its man-power for the purposes of colonial lust by the French and the British. They were recruited in large numbers during the two world wars and were frequently used to suppress revolts in the various parts of the former French empire.

The see-saw of power

In 1947, the French were using the Senegalese troops in Madagascar. But the famous French socialist, Maitre Lamine Gueye, took strong objection to it. At that time he was the Mayor of Dakar, a veteran politician and formerly a deputy to the French Assembly. Consequently, the French Government engineered Lamine Gueye's defeat in the election to the French Assembly. It was so manoeuvred by the French that the Marabouts supported the famous Catholic poet, Leopold Sedar Senghor, who is now the President of Senegal.

In January 1959 Senegal merged with Western Sudan to form the Federation of Mali, which was declared independent of France in June 1960. But this merger lasted for only two months. In August, Senegal withdrew from the Federation and proclaimed its independence in September with Senghor as President. Two days later, Mamdou Dia was invested as President de Consil (Prime Minister). On 28 September 1960 Senegal was admitted as a member of the United Nations.

Mamadou Dia was a staunch advocate of " Senegalese Socialism ". He believed that Senegal was an integral part of Africa and, therefore, it must identify itself with African politics. Another Socialist, a Frenchman named Monsieur Jean Rous, became President Senghor's political adviser. He has a great record of active support to the Muslim States in their struggle for independence.

At the end of 1962 a serious dispute arose between the Prime Minister, Mamadou Dia, and the Speaker of the Assembly, Maitre Lamine Gueye. The upshot of this difference of opinion was that in May 1963 Mamadou Dia was sentenced to life imprisonment, while four of his Ministers to 20 years' detention. Lamine Gueye was appointed as head of the Political Section of the reorganized Government Party, the UPS, with the President, Leopold Senghor, as Party Secretary. Under the new set-up of the Government, relations between Mali and Dakar have improved considerably. But the extreme Nationalist Party (PAI), which claims to be in favour of reunion with Mali, has been outlawed. Mr. Droudou Thiam, who is in charge of foreign affairs, is probably the second most important personality in the country.

Mouridism in Senegal

In *l'Afrique et Asie* (No. 46, 1959), Monsieur Abel Bourlon gives a detailed and up-to-date study of the Mourid Brotherhood or sect which was founded in Senegal by the Marabout Amadou M'Backe, a Toucouleur in Touba Senegal in 1886 on the lines of the Mourid doctrine.

A pupil of Sheikh Sidi Sidiye, he originally followed the teachings of the Qadariyyah school of thought (the upholders of the doctrine of " Free Will "). He developed a doctrine, especially adapted to the mentality of the Wolof people, whereby the Mourids substituted manual labour for prayer which would " assure eternal salvation to the *talibe* " or the disciple.

Abel Bourlon maintains that manual labour is regarded with suspicion and disapproval in Black Africa and in Islam. The adherents of Mouridism blindly believe in their marabout. The present marabout (in 1959) is the Chief Khalifa Falilou M'Backe. In 1959 there were 400,000 followers of the Mourid sect. About 200,000 of them attend each year the *Magalor* 'Id, which commemorates the return from exile of the first Mourid Marabout in 1912.

The Mourids enjoy considerable wealth as they actively participate in the culture of peanuts, one of the mainstays of Senegalese economy. It is estimated that the followers of the marabouts earn for them about a million French African Francs per annum. As has been shown, their votes were solicited by the French administration to build up the Catholic poet-politician, Leopold Senghor, at the expense of the then far better-known Socialist Muslim, Maitre Lamine Gueye.

In 1952, Sheikh M'Backe, the son of a former Khalifa, opposed the Khalifa-in-Chief and supported the French Socialist candidate in the elections for the Territorial Assembly.

GUINEA

The formerly French-administered Guinea made history in September 1958 when it voted itself out of the French Community (former Union). Guinea was the only West African country to take this drastic step — others obtained their independence by a more gradual process by 1960. Immediately, President de Gaulle, who was furious, deprived Guinea of French economic aid and overnight the Guinea political leader, Sekou Toure, became famous.

Guinea is situated in West Africa. It lies between Senegal and that part in the north which is still dependent and is administered by Portugal. It has common frontiers with Mali in the north-west, Sierra Leone in the south, and Liberia and the Ivory Coast in the south-east. It covers an area of 245,000 square kilometres, with a population of 2,700,000, of whom, as mentioned before, 80 per cent are Muslims. It is very difficult to get precise figures of the number of Muslims in West Africa. Gouilly showed that between 1934 and 1945 there was a spectacular advance in the number of Muslims, and French Catholic missionaries have recognized this. The greatest appeal of Islam for the Africans seems to be in the protection against racialism which it extends to all its adherents. Logically, this trend should still be maintained, and

the teaching of Arabic and Islamic studies is on the increase. When Guinea was deprived of French aid, she was forced to accept a great deal of aid from the Communist countries. It was not surprising, under the circumstances, that there was wholesale nationalization. But recently the private sector is once more asserting itself.

Guinea actually became independent on 2 October 1958, and on 23 November 1958, Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana and President Sekou Toure launched a movement for the United States of Africa. This was done with a view to establishing a co-ordinated economic policy and a common diplomatic and defence organization. Ghana advanced £10m. to Guinea. On 24 December 1960 they met at Conakry, together with President Modibo Keita of Mali, with a view to harmonizing the joint policies of these three States.

Guinea became a member of the Casablanca group of African countries (Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and the United Arab Republic), which was held at Casablanca on 4 January 1961.

President Sekou Toure

President Sekou Toure was born in 1922 and was educated at the Ecole Koranique in Conakry. He first became prominent as the staff secretary of the Postal Workers' Union. He was a founder-member of the RDA (Rassemblement Democratique African) in 1946. This party started as a radical group, closely associated with the extreme Left in France. But it gravitated towards co-operation with the French and its President, M. Houphouet-Boigny, became a Minister in many French administrations.

Sekou Toure, who became Vice-President of the RDA, represented the Left Wing of this movement. He became Secretary of the local trade union movement, which was affiliated with the French Communist-dominated C.G.T. in 1948. In 1952 he became Secretary of the Guinea Democratic Party, which remains the Government party of Guinea to this day.

In 1956 he was elected President of the CGTA, the African Trade Union Movement, and at the same time he was elected Mayor of Conakry and a Deputy to the French National Assembly. He has since played a notable part in African affairs as a leading trade unionist and a supporter of Algeria and other African countries. His example forced the hand of de Gaulle to accord, shortly afterwards, complete independence.

Sekou Toure is one of the greatest men in Africa and in the free Muslim world. But his influence is felt all over Africa as an exponent of " African Marxism " — an advanced form of social organization, independent of Moscow or the West.

THE MALI REPUBLIC

Mali is an independent republic with a population of 4,300,000, of whom 65 to 70 per cent are Muslims ; 90 per cent of the population are of Negroid origin, and there are small proportions of Tuaregs, Arabs and Moors.

Mali is situated south of the Sahara, and has common borders with Senegal (to the west), Guinea (to the south-west), the Ivory Coast (to the south), the Upper Volta (south-west), the Niger (to the east) and the Islamic republic of Mauretania and Algeria to the north. It covers an area of 1,204,000 square kilometers.

After the last war the RDA (the democratic African group) was formed in Bamako, the capital of Mali. It was a radical West African nationalist group, which was represented in Mali by the Union Sudenese, under the extremely able Left Wing nationalist, with Socialist leanings, Mr. Modibo Keita, who was born in 1915. He was a Councillor of the French Union Assembly from 1953-1956, and a Deputy to the French Assembly from 1956-1958 ; Vice-President to the Constituent Assembly in Dakar from 1958-1960 ; Prime Minister of the Mali Federation from 1959-1960 ; President of Mali, Foreign Minister and Minister of Defence from 22 September 1960 onwards.

The President is also Prime Minister, and the Government is responsible to the Parliament, whose Deputies are re-elected every five years. The country is divided into six regions, which have their own governors and regional assemblies.

President Modibo Keita

Mr. Modibo Keita, who is one of the outstanding personalities in Africa, is a strong believer in African unity and neutralism. Mali was for a time united with Senegal, with Modibo Keita as Premier and Leopole Senghor, of Senegal, as President of the Assembly ; but this union broke down owing to regional differences.

Mali then established close relations with Ghana and Guinea. The government is considered to be stable, and Modibo has shown a welcome independence of France and a genuine African nationalism and radicalism, which has resulted in a peaceful evolution. Mali has been quiet in contrast to many of the other West and Equatorial African countries of Africa formerly administered by France, where there have been violent attempts, sometimes successful, to overthrow the governments.

The President of Mali loyally supported the Algerian nationalists in their struggle for independence. Recently he played an active part in bringing President Ahmed Ben Bella and King Hassan of Morocco together, which resulted in an armistice in the fratricidal fight on the Algerian-Moroccan border. President Ben Bella was particularly grateful to President Modibo Keita as a truce was signed on the eve of the Algerian independence day demonstrations.

Timbuktoo

In the past Timbuktoo was the seat of learning in Mali. It was founded by the Tuaregs somewhere between 1076 and 1087 C.E. (in the fifth century of the Hejira).

The Songhai Negroes for a time ruled over an empire which included Timbuktoo, where the Tuaregs were, to the north, the Songhai to the east, and the Mandingo tribe (the Bambara) to the west. The latter brought the town under a strong Muslim cultural influence in 1336 C.E.

The great Mandingo emperor of Mali, Mansa Musa, built the first mosque there, in 1307 C.E. In 1327 he performed the Hajj (see El Omari Masalik-el-Absur). Ibn Batuta visited Timbuktoo in 1353 C.E.

In 1434 C.E. the Tuaregs conquered Timbuktoo.

A Soninke Negro, Askia Muhammad, overthrew the tyrannical Berber, Sonni Ali, in the fifteenth century C.E. During his reign, from 1494 to 1529 C.E., the Sankora Mosque became one of the greatest cultural centres in the Muslim world.

JOINT COMMUNIQ

The Council of Kings and Heads of States of the Arab League held

The Council of Kings and Heads of the States of the Arab League held its second meeting at al-Muntazah Palace in Alexandria from the 28 Rabi' al-Thani to 5 Jumada al-Uulaa, 1384 Hejira, equivalent to 5-11 September 1964 C.E. The meeting was attended by King Husain, King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan; al-Sayyid al-Bahi al-Adgham, representing H.E. the President of the Tunisian Republic; President Ahmad Ibn Billa, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria; President Ibrahim 'Abbud, Head of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces of the Sudan Republic; Field-Marshal 'Abd al-Salam Muhammad 'Arif, President of the Iraqi Republic; The Emir Faisal Aal Sa'ud, representing the King of the Su'udi Arabian Kingdom; General Muhammad Amin al-Hafiz, Head of the National Council of the Revolution Command of the Syrian Arab Republic; President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, President of the United Arab Republic; Field-Marshal 'Abdullah al-Sallal, President of the Yemeni Arab Republic; The Emir Shaikh 'Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah, the Emir of the State of Kuwait; President Charles Helou, President-Elect of the Lebanese Republic; King Idris I, King of the Libyan Kingdom; The Emir 'Abdullah, representing H.M. the King of the Moroccan Kingdom; and al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Shuqayri, Head of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Council studied the Secretary-General's report on the principles and resolutions adopted at the first session, and on the progress made in their implementation and the means of consolidating them. It expressed satisfaction at the Arabs' unity of purpose, at the progress made in implementing previous resolutions, and at the start of participation in collective constructive measures designed to ensure the continued progress of the Arabs and the triumph of the causes of freedom for which they were struggling.

The Council attained at this session new achievements in bolstering up solidarity and joint Arab action. It also adopted resolutions complementing the resolutions of the previous session and making them more powerful and effective.

The Council unanimously defined the national aim as that of the liberation of Palestine from Zionist imperialism, and decided on adhering to a plan for joint Arab action both at the present stage, for which plans have been formulated, and at the following stage, for which it was decided to make preparations.

The Council emphasized the need for utilizing all the potentialities of the Arabs and mobilizing their power to meet the challenge presented by imperialism and Zionism and Israel's persistence in its aggressive policy and its denial of the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to their homeland.

The Council adopted the resolutions necessary for implementing Arab plans, particularly in the military and technical spheres. These provided, inter alia, for an immediate start on Arab projects for the utilization of the waters of the Jordan river and its tributaries.

The Council welcomed the setting up of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the consolidation of the Palestine Entity and as a vanguard of the collective Arab struggle for the liberation of Palestine. It also endorsed the Organization's decision to set up the Palestine Liberation Army, and specified the member States' responsibilities for assisting the Organization in the carrying out of its functions.

The Council devoted attention to political and economic studies regarding the Arab States' relations with foreign States, and to the results of the tours undertaken by the Arab Foreign Ministers. It expressed appreciation of the attitude of the States which demonstrated support for Arab causes, particularly the Palestine cause. It also decided that these contacts should continue and that further studies be made in order to implement the principle adopted at the first session and which provided that the Arab States' relations with foreign States should be regulated by reference to the attitude these foreign States adopted in regard to the Palestine cause and other Arab causes.

The Council reaffirmed Arab determination to confront the forces hostile to the Arabs, chief amongst them Britain, who was colonizing certain Arab regions and exploiting their wealth, and who was engaged in acts of extermination in the occupied South in violation of the principles and Charter of the United Nations, the right of peoples to self-determination, and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Committee for the Liquidation of Colonialism.

The Council resolved to combat British imperialism in the Arabian Peninsula, and to offer assistance to the liberation movement in the occupied South and Oman.

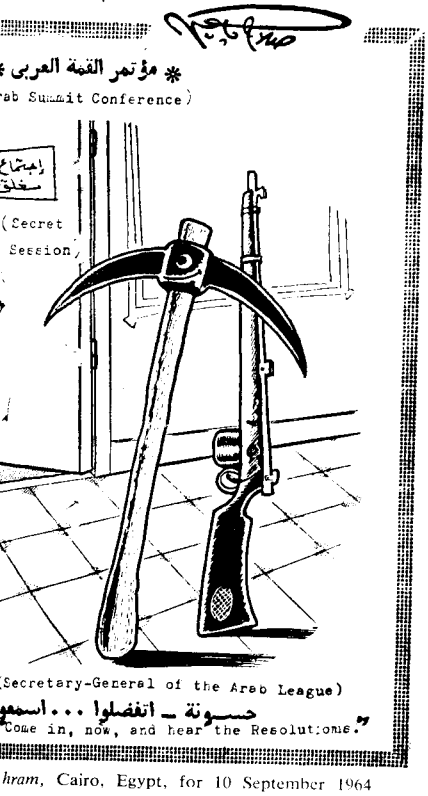
The Council devoted attention to the strengthening of fraternal Arab relations with the Emirates of the Arab Gulf as a means to safeguarding indivisible Arab freedom and attaining common interests.

The Council discussed means for strengthening unified Arab action within the framework

Courtesy, The Editor, *al-Ahram*, Cairo.

A view of the Council of Kings and Heads of the States of the Arab League in session at Alexandr Su'udi Arabia in the chair. The Secretary-General of the Arab League, Mr. 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Hassı

MUNIQUE ISSUED BY
e held at Alexandria, United Arab Republic, 5 to 11 September 1964



hram, Cairo, Egypt, for 10 September 1964

of the League in the political, defence, economic and social spheres, and studied the question of directing joint efforts for the promotion of Arab progress.

The Council devoted special attention to the strengthening of Arab economic co-operation and the implementation of agreements in this regard on the ground that such co-operation would be the primary basis of the Arabs' strength and progress and their ability to counter foreign challenges, and also in view of the fact that this is the first objective of modern international groupings.

The Council emphasized the need for increased economic co-operation with and support for the countries of the Arab Maghrib.

The Council decided to set up a joint Arab council within the framework of the League for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It also decided to set up an Arab court of justice. It further decided that the meetings of the Council of Arab Kings and Heads of State should be held annually in the month of September. Furthermore, the Council decided that the Follow-up Committee should continue to function and to meet once a month on the existing level, and once every four months in one of the Arab countries on the level of Prime Ministers or Deputy Prime Ministers, this latter meeting to act as an executive committee for the Council of Arab Kings and Heads of State in order to decide on urgent matters in conformity with the resolutions of the Arab Kings and Heads of State, and to speedily implement agreed plans. This meeting would likewise draft proposals for submission to the Conference of Kings and Heads of State. It can also request an extraordinary meeting of Kings and Heads of State should there arise any emergency or development necessitating an urgent meeting.

The Council welcomed the accession of the remaining members of the League to the Joint Arab Defence Treaty, which had thereby become fully effective in the greater Arab homeland from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf.

The Arab Kings and Heads of State emphasized that any attack against any Arab State would be considered as an attack against all the Arab States, which they would all undertake to repel immediately.

The Council, believing in Afro-Asian solidarity, supports the results of the second African Summit Conference held in Cairo during the month of July. It pins hopes on the development of African unity and on the events unmasking the fact that neo-colonialism is using Israel as a tool for implementing its designs on the developing States, for obstructing these States' aspirations for progress, strength and unity, and for perpetuating unlawful foreign exploitation.

The Council affirms that the just causes of peoples and their right to freedom, self-determination and liberation from imperialism and racial discrimination are an indivisible whole. It also affirms that Arab-African co-operation is a basis of Arab policy because of historical and geographical considerations and also in view of common interest and aims.

For this reason, the Council supports the struggle for freedom by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, the so-called Portuguese Guinea and South Africa. It also denounces attempted foreign intervention in the Congo.

In view of the Arab States' belief in the fact that international co-operation and world peace are the fundamental bases for the prosperity of the world and the happiness of mankind, the Council expresses regret at imperialism's recent show of force and call for the use of force in the settlement of international disputes contrary to the universal trend which prevailed in recent years towards affirming the policy of peaceful co-existence and the easing of world tension.

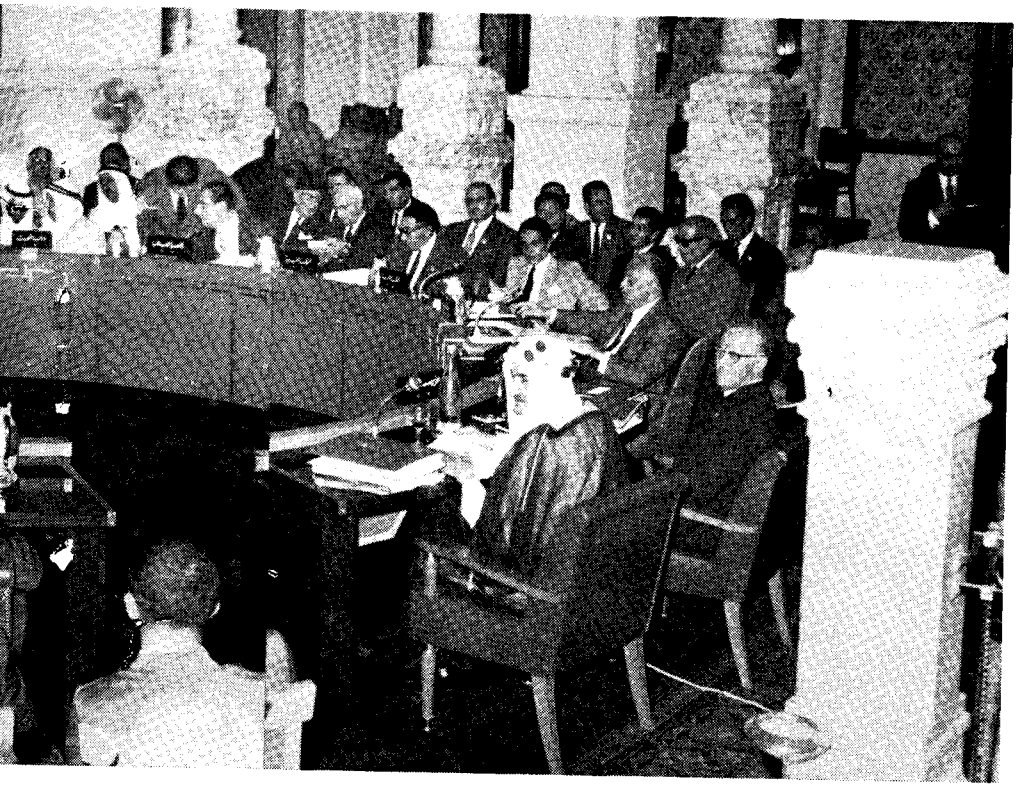
The Council emphasizes the need for liquidating imperialist bases which threaten the peace and security of the Arab region, particularly in Cyprus and Aden.

The Council urges the big Powers to be guided in their policies and actions by the will of the people and the principles of peace founded on justice and the right of people to independence and self-determination.

The Council attaches great importance to the activities of the International Trade and Development Conference, and hopes for an increase in international co-operation in the economic sphere for the benefit of the whole of mankind.

The Arab Kings and Heads of State, who have pledged themselves to collective Arab action in the service of the causes of freedom and progress in the greater homeland and for world peace and co-operation, urge every Arab citizen at this decisive stage to fulfil his duty. They pray to the Almighty to guide their nation in its legitimate and just struggle and to ensure the triumph of right, justice and peace throughout the world.

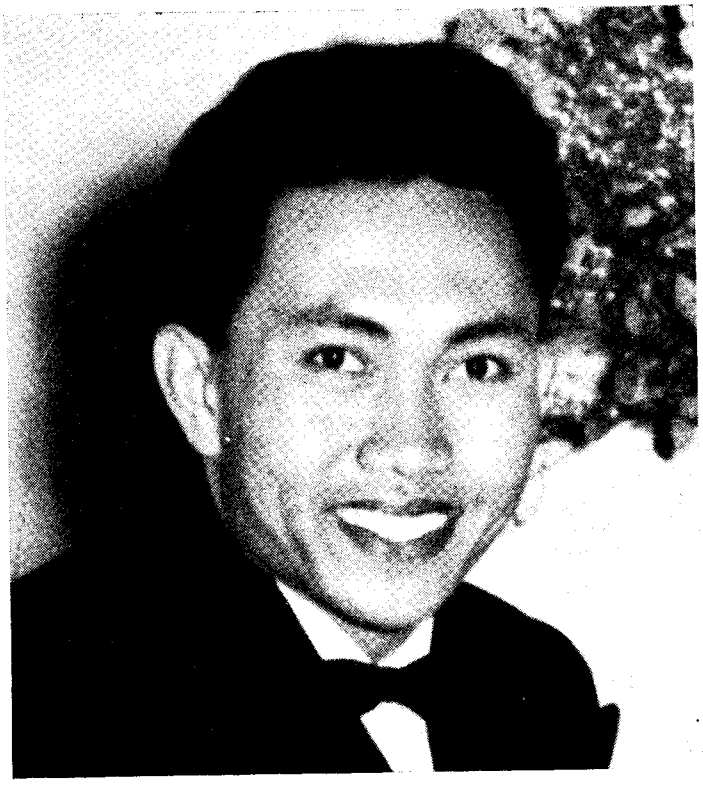
In response to the invitation of His Majesty King Hasan II, the Council decided to hold its forthcoming session in September 1965 in the Moroccan Kingdom.



t Alexandria, Egypt, from 5 to 11 September 1964, with His Royal Highness The Emir Fairal of iq al-Hassunah, is sitting on the right of the Chairman (right-hand part of the picture)

The Role of Muslims in Nation-Building in the Federation of Malaysia

By Abdul Taib Bin Mahmud



The writer, Mr. Abdul Taib Bin Mahmud

Nation-building process posits three conditions

In the process of nation-building three general conditions should be fulfilled before success can be expected :

(1) to unite the people ;
(2) to establish a stable form of government ; and
(3) to adapt the people for changes that are bound to come with modern life.

In all these three major tasks the force of ideals, the impact of those ideals on existing institutions, and the flexibility of any new machinery emerging from that impact in order to accommodate further changes, determine the success of building a new nation. In a country where Muslims exercise predominant influence in politics, Islamic ideals, the prevalent understanding of those ideals, and the skilful application of those ideals to changing circumstances, are some of the decisive factors. Malaysia is such a country.

Malaysia is a Federation of the eleven widely separated States of the old Malaya, Singapore and the two former British colonies in Borneo. Three major racial groups — the Malays, who are Muslims, the Chinese, and the Indo-Pakistanis — form the population of this Federation. These States of Malaysia have had a long tradition and a fairly crystallized culture of their own even before they came under the British rule. The British occupation, though long enough to give the people of Malaysia a taste of the democratic form of government, was too short-lived to hand them down a tradition or what Dicey calls " convention " of a working democracy. The British rule left behind it the same dis-orientating effect as Western secularism normally leaves on an Eastern society. In fact, when the British left, the racial balance in the Civil Service was so disproportionate and the control of economy was so much concentrated in one race that Malaysia could easily have turned into another Congo or Cyprus. It seems nothing short of a miracle, however, that Malaysia has now emerged as a stable democratic nation with a fast-growing economy.

Islam as a unifying force in Malaysia

Malaysia has declared Islam as her official religion and Malay as her national language. This wide acceptance of Islam and Malay shows that the vast majority of people in Malaysia recognize the unifying force of religion and language on a nation. The Muslims, being the biggest and the most active political group in Malaysia, regard Islam and the Malay culture as a combination characterizing the national identity of the Federation. Appeal to Islam and the Malay culture have always had a unifying response from the Malays, as was witnessed on the occasion when, in 1947, the United Malay National Organization Party succeeded in foiling the British attempt to reduce Malaya to virtually a complete colonial status. Again the point was proved when the same party, in alliance with the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress, made a drive to achieve inde-pendence during the period from 1954 to 1957. The Chinese and the Indians, who have for generations enjoyed Islamic tolerance and hospitality from the early times when they were still helpless minorities, have no serious doubt that Islam would be the compromising framework within which they could enjoy equality of status, opportunity and freedom. In fact a vast majority of the non-Malays take pride in being members of this tolerant system of government and gladly adopt Malay as their language. They do this in spite of the fact that this linguistic change is likely to alienate them from their respective countries of origin. They fully appreciate the fact that they have been unreservedly accepted into the Muslim community and given respectful positions even in social life. They have always enjoyed the opportunity to own land, to pursue their normal commercial activities, and to identify their fate with the destiny of the country. Islam, Malay culture and the religious institutions of the Sultanate have always existed side by side in Malaysia.

Malaysia symbolizes a concept of an evolution towards a modern nationhood

The general acceptance of these facts by both the Malays and the non-Malays gives to the Malaysians a local tradition, a much-needed historical background of their own, and a sense of continuity with the past, all of which helps the Malaysians to build a common nationhood. Independent Malaysia symbolizes a concept not of a revolution against a bitter past, but of an evolution towards a modern nationhood. This feeling of unbroken continuity with the past lays a foundation for their cultural and, with the help of conscientious leadership, for their political stability. The loyalty of the people has been gradually transferred from the old Sultanate to a Parliamentary Government. This change can be identified with the person of Tunku Abdul Rahman, who became the head of their first elected government. This Prime Minister has inherited from his royal upbringing a natural confidence and the political maturity to lead. He has easily won the loyalty of the vast majority of the people. By his own example, he has inspired in the hearts of those working with him a confidence to face up to the task of building a new nation. Unlike those people who have become restless, fickle and distrustful because of the after-effects of revolutions, the people of Malaysia have acquired a calm attitude towards politics, a patient disposition in solving their problems, and a faith in the sincerity of those entrusted with the government. They are conscious of their peaceful past, and they have reason to hope for a bright future. They do not feel any necessity of resorting to drastic changes, in spite of Communist attempts to lead them to extremes.

The Prime Minister of Malaysia, The Tunku Abdul Rahman

Islam awakens in the hearts of Malaysian Muslims a sense of purpose

However, most of the leaders, inspired by either their religious leanings or by political ideals, are sensitive to the need to improve the lot of the people. On the eve of independence the Muslims suddenly realized they were economically weak and that they were lagging behind the Chinese in education. This realization was responsible for a sudden change in the outlook of the whole nation. Both the pulpits of the mosques and the political platforms started preaching the Islamic teachings, viz., destiny of man depends on his own effort; the exhortation of Muhammad on all Muslims to seek learning; the Holy Qur'án's blessings on material welfare as one of the means to spiritual advancement. The call to work together as a religious duty awakens in the hearts of most Muslims a sense of purpose, a zeal and a patriotic devotion to strive for national prosperity.

And when the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak, introduced his Rural Development Plan in 1959, the response of the people was enthusiastic, their cooperation was generous, and consequently the success of the Economic Plan became certain. Now only after seven years of Malayan independence, there are in Malaysia rapidly expanding cities as well as productive rural areas owned and cultivated by a hard-working common people, with a network of roads for easy communication, and a widely operating cooperative system to save the farmers from the evil clutches of moneylenders and of the middle-men.

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AL - GHAZZALI

(1058 — 1102 C.E.)

A glance through his *Deliverance from Error*

Abu Hamid Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-Ghazzali, one of the most brilliant theologians the Arab world has produced, was born at Tus in 1058 C.E. His father died when al-Ghazzali was quite young, leaving the boy and his brother in the care of a local Sufi teacher. This man cared for the boys until there was no money left and then saw to it that the two brothers were installed in a *madrasah*, or endowed school, as scholars. It was customary at this time in Islam for men of piety to found trusts to pay stipends for scholars at *madrasahs*, so that bright boys could attend school even though poor.

As a part of his studies at the *madrasah*, al-Ghazzali travelled to Jurjan to study with the Imam Abu Nasr al-Isma'ili. When al-Ghazzali returned from these studies, he carried a large knapsack full of the notes he had taken down while listening to the Imam's lecturing. As often happened on the roads in those days, he was set upon by robbers and stripped of all he carried with him. He had little of value since he was only a wandering scholar, but he did put up a fight. When he had lost, he still pleaded with the leader of the robbers for the return of his notes, at least, since these notes could be of no value to the robbers.

When the robber chief asked al-Ghazzali what was in the notes that made him value them so highly, al-Ghazzali explained that they contained all the knowledge that he had travelled so far to find and to make his own. The robber chief only laughed, saying, " I have not taken anything that belongs to you, because the knowledge is no longer yours. You have given it to the paper, not kept it in your mind, and now the knowledge belongs to the paper."

Al-Ghazzali, instantly shamed by the obvious truth of the robber's remarks, fell silent. The robber kindly relented and returned al-Ghazzali's notes to him, but al-Ghazzali knew that the robber had been set on him by no less an agent than the hand of God for the express purpose of teaching him, al-Ghazzali, a lesson. From that time on, al-Ghazzali made every effort to learn rather than to study, to understand the meaning rather than to remember the words.

Al-Ghazzali next studied at Naysabur (Iran) with the Imam al-Haramayn, for whom the Nizamiya *Madrasah* was founded by Nizam al-Mulk, vizier to the Turkish Sultan Alp Arslan. *Circa* 1095 C.E., the Imam al-Haramayn died and al-Ghazzali went to the court of Nizam al-Mulk and became part of the Nizam's retinue of canon lawyers and theologians.

In 1101-1102 C.E. al-Ghazzali was appointed by Nizam al-Mulk to teach at the *madrasah* at Baghdad. Here he taught and wrote on canon law, and studied the philosophers. In philosophy he was a self-avowed sceptic, more concerned with the logic of proof than in the basis of truth. But during his term of teaching at the *madrasah* at Baghdad, two things happened which greatly influenced his later life.

First, his patron, Nizam al-Mulk, who had held the Seljuk kingdom together in the face of enemies abroad and sectarian strife at home, died in 1102 C.E. After his death the kingdom fell apart of its own discords. Many of al-Ghazzali's contemporaries felt that he suffered a fall from preferment when his patron died. However, since al-Ghazzali kept his post at Baghdad for nearly four years after Nizam al-Mulk's death, there seems to be some doubt about this theory.

Secondly, and more important, al-Ghazzali's own reliance on sense perception as a basis for truth was profoundly shaken. He noted that when the eye looks at the sun, it sees that the sun is small — the size of a golden dinar — but geometrical computations show that the sun is actually greater than the earth in size. The radical change that this discovery wrought in al-Ghazzali's philosophical life was explained by him in his famous book, *Deliverance from Error* (al-Munqidh min al-Dalal).

As a result of both these events, al-Ghazzali subsequently decided to leave Baghdad and to take up the wandering life of a Sufi, or mystic. In his *Deliverance from Error* he describes the intellectual activity which led him to renounce, in turn, the theologians, the philosophers and the *Talimites* (sticklers for authoritative instruction, a troublesome heretical section of Islam at that time) and finally to ally himself with

the Sufi mystics who seek to enter into the presence of God directly. His experience is described in the book as follows :

" From my early youth, since I attained the age of puberty before I was twenty, until the present time when I am over fifty . . . throwing aside all craven caution, I have poked into every dark recess, I have made an assault on every problem. . . . All this I have done that I might distinguish between true and false, between sound tradition and heretical innovation.

" To thirst after a comprehension of things as they really are was my habit from a very early age. It was instinctive with me. . . . Consequently as I drew near the age of adolescence the bonds of mere authority *(taqlid)* ceased to hold me and inherited beliefs lost their grip upon me. . . .

" I proceeded therefore with extreme earnestness to reflect on sense perception and on necessary truths, to see whether I could make myself doubt them. The outcome of this protracted effort to induce doubt was that I could no longer trust sense-perception either. . . . (For) The most powerful sense is that of sight. Yet . . . it looks at the heavenly body (i.e., the sun) and sees it small, the size of a dinar ; yet geographical computations show that it is greater than the earth in size.

" In this and similar cases of sense-perception the sense as judge forms his judgments, but another judge, the intellect, shows him repeatedly to be wrong. . . .

" When these thoughts had occurred to me and penetrated my being, I tried to find some way of treating my unhealthy condition. . . . The disease was baffling and lasted almost two months, during which time I was a sceptic in fact though not in theory nor in outward expression. At length God cured me of my malady. . . .

" Whoever thinks that the understanding of things Divine rests upon strict proofs has in his thoughts narrowed down the wideness of God's mercy."

Al-Ghazzali then set out to discover the truth about things divine. His programme was as follows :

" I came to regard the various seekers (after truth) as comprising four groups :

(1) the *Theologians* (mutakallimun), who claim that they are the exponents of thought and intellectual speculation ;

(2) the *Batiniyyah,* who consider that they, the party of ' authoritative instruction ' *(ta'lim),* alone derive truth from the infallible *imam ;*

(3) the *Philosophers,* who regard themselves as the exponents of logic and demonstration ; and,

(4) the *Sufis* (or mystics), who claim that they alone enter into the ' presence of God ', and possess vision and intuitive understanding.

" I now hastened to . . . investigate what these (four) groups had achieved. . . ."

When al-Ghazzali had thoroughly studied the first three schools of philosophy and theology, he categorogically rejected them as teaching only partial truths. At last he " turned with set purpose to the method of mysticism (or Sufism) ".

" I knew that the complete mystic ' way ' includes both intellectual belief and practical activity ; the latter consists in getting rid of the obstacles in the self and stripping off its base characteristics and vicious morals, so that the heart may attain to freedom from what is not God and to constant recollection of Him.

" It became clear to me, however, that what is most distinctive of mysticism is something which cannot be apprehended by study, but only by immediate experience *(dhawq* — literally ' tasting '). by ecstasy and by a moral change. . . . What a difference between being acquainted with the definitions of drunkenness—namely that it designates a state arising from the domination of the seat of the intellect by vapours arising from the stomach — and being drunk.

" Next I considered the circumstances of my life, and realized that I was caught in a veritable thicket of attachments. I also considered my activities, of which the best was my teaching and lecturing, and realized that in them I was dealing with sciences that were unimportant and contributed nothing to the attainment of eternal life. I saw for certain that I was on the brink of a crumbling bank of sand and in imminent danger of hell-fire unless I set about to mend my ways."

Al-Ghazzali travelled to Damascus and then to Jerusalem, always seeking solitude and the mystic " way ". Later he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca, then returned to Baghdad to take up his former life. In spite of his return to the cares of active life, he continued his search for truth in moments of solitude. He himself states that he experienced pure ecstasy only occasionally, although he did not cease to hope for it.

He described the Sufi way *(Tariqah)* as follows : " The purity which is the first condition of it . . . is the purification of the heart completely from what is other than God most high ; the key to it, which corresponds to the opening act of adoration in prayer, is the sinking of the heart completely in the recollection of God ; and the end of it is complete absorption *(fana')* in God."

At the end of his life al-Ghazzali returned to Tus, his birthplace, and led the contemplative life in company with some of his closest followers. Here he taught and led a Sufi monastery until his death in 1102 C.E.

Al-Ghazzali influenced Islamic thought in three ways. He taught that the common man need not be an expert on the canon law and need not base his faith on logically demonstrated articles *('aqa'id),* but that the people should have their faith protected by the secular arm of the State. He demonstrated to the Islamic thinkers that Western philosophy, which had been considered such a mysterious study, was virtually only " thinking ", and could be comprehended by any man. He believed that the basis of all religious certainty was ecstatic direct experience of God and that through this experience one could arrive at a simple faith. His writings and actions based on this belief gave Sufism a firm footing in orthodox Islam. Although he was a canon lawyer, a theologian and a philosopher, he did not put his faith in these sciences as a way to God. He denied them as anything more than partial measures, and himself took the " Sufi " way, recommending it to all men as the base of their faith.

The writer, Mr. Na'im al-Humsi

THE HISTORY OF THE IDEA OF THE MIRACLE *(I'JAZ)* OF THE QUR'AN[1]

By NA'IM AL-HUMSI

(I)

The nature of the miracle of the Qur'án

Islamic jurists have substantiated the view first stated in the Qur'án that miracles would not have satisfied the early Arab opponents of the Prophet Muhammad. They maintained that miracles of a physical nature would have been conceived by them as insults to their intellect, and as proof offered only to less mature or less mentally developed people. The Arabs as a very intelligent people would have required something different as proof—they would have needed an intellectual miracle, something which they would find impressive from the spiritual or intellectual point of view. Such was the Qur'án, which also had the advantage of being permanent, and thus a perpetual testimony compared with a physical miracle which would impress only those originally witnessing it and would have had little or no effect on subsequent generations. The Qur'án says: "Surely We have revealed the reminder, and surely We are its Guardian" (15 : 9).

Historians have studied the form which the challenge presented by Islam to the Arabs has taken place, and also the miracle of the Qur'án. They maintain that the miracles which convinced a people of a prophethood took different forms at different times and places. Such miracles had to be something especially connected with the people to whom they were presented, and of special appeal to them. Thus the miracle which Moses presented was of a magical type, while Jesus's main miracle was connected with medicine. Muhammad's miracle was connected with something for which the Arabs had been famous for a long time, namely, literary style. It is maintained by some that the Arabs at that time had achieved great excellence in this regard, and that the tribe of Quraish was particularly pre-eminent. This tribe was also better organized than the other Arab tribes, and richer and more progressive. The geographical position it occupied, its trading activities and its various contacts with the other tribes had helped it achieve pre-eminence in cultural and other fields as well. But the view that Arab literature and culture was at its highest at the time that the Qur'án was revealed, and that it had never since reached the same heights, is not subscribed to by other historians, who maintain that while the standards at that time were very high indeed they were not the highest, and that during the 'Umayyad and Abbasid periods Arabic verse and prose and general culture reached more sublime heights. I am personally inclined to believe in the second view, and to maintain that this in no way detracted from the quality of the *i'jaz* or miracle of the Qur'án. The Qur'án is a *mu'jizah* and miracle not only by reference to the standards of the time when it was revealed, but by reference to all times. The challenge presented by the Qur'án was a permanent one, and the Qur'án appeared matchless not only during the days when it was revealed but at later times in history. It has always stood out as a *mu'jizah* from all points of view. Many attempts have been made at various stages in history to match the Qur'án, mostly in the literary aspect, and these attempts were all by general recognition failures. The quality of the Qur'án can be explained from the purely rational and non-Islamic religious point of view by the fact that Muhammad experienced tremendous emotions during the time when the Qur'án was revealed (he retired alone and sweated profusely as he received the revelation). From the Islamic religious point of view this is quite understandable, whether one adopts the view put by some Muslim scholars that the ideas in the Qur'án were revealed by God and then translated into words by Muhammad, or that both the ideas and the words were revealed by God to Muhammad.

All those who, throughout the history of Islam, have investigated the question of the *i'jaz* of the Qur'án (and to whom we shall refer in some detail later) have agreed that the Qur'án is a *mu'jizah*, and proof of prophethood. Al-Baqillani maintained that there really could be no serious argument about this, although scholars might have disagreed as to the aspects in which it was miraculous. It was not the scholars, however, who first spoke about the *i'jaz* of the Qur'án. The Qur'án itself contains many references to this question, all of which proves that the argument about the *i'jaz* of the Qur'án started not long after the Qur'án was first revealed. The Qur'án also on several occasions refers to itself as the evidence of the prophethood of Muhammad.

The following are some of the verses on this point: "And you (Muhammad) did not recite before it any book, nor did you transcribe one with your right hand, for then

1 Continued from *The Islamic Review* for November 1964.

could the liars have doubted " (29 : 48) ; " God thus makes clear to you His messages that you may understand " (2:242) ; " And thus have We revealed it (the Qur'án), clear arguments, and God guides whom He will " (22 : 16) ; and " And they say : Why are not signs sent down upon him from his Lord? Say : Signs are with God only, and I am only a plain warner. Is it not enough for them that We have revealed to you the Book which is recited to them? Surely there is mercy in this and a reminder for a people who believe " (29 : 50-51).

Muslim scholars say the Qur'án, alone amongst sacred books, is a *mu'jizah*. Other books do not stand alone or self-contained, and their style was never considered a *mu'jizah*. The main aspect in which these sacred books were a *mu'jizah* was in the reports they contained about the past and the future. This the Qur'án has, in addition to other distinctly unique qualities (al-Baqillani in his *I'jaz al-Qur'án*, p. 17).

The Qur'án found impressive

The Qur'án undoubtedly impressed the Arabs when they first heard it. They found it superb in style and literary quality, and their respect for it did not therefore depend on their belief in it. Al-Suyuti says in *al-Itqan* that al-Hakim reports that Ibn 'Abbas had said : " Al-Walid Ibn Mughirah came to the Prophet, and the Prophet recited the Qur'án to him and he was very much impressed. Abu Jahl heard about this and he went to Ibn Mughirah and said : ' O Uncle, your people want to collect some money to give to you so that you would not go to Muhammad and praise him.' Ibn Mughirah replied : ' The Quraish know that I am one of the richest among them.' Abu Jahl then said : ' Then why do you not say something about him which would prove to your people that you dislike him ? ' To this Ibn Mughirah answered : ' But what can I say? By God there is not among you a better poet than myself, but that which Muhammad is saying is not like poetry. What he is saying is sweet and polished, and cannot be excelled.' Abu Jahl then said : ' Your people will not be pleased with you until you say something about him.' Ibn Mughirah thought deeply and said : ' Yes, what he is saying is magic from of old '." The Qur'án refers to this story in the chapter of al-Muddathir (The One Wrapping Himself Up) : " Leave Me (God) alone with him (disbeliever) whom I created, and gave him vast riches, and sons dwelling in his presence, and made matters easy for him, and yet he desires that I should give more. By no means ! Surely he is inimical to Our messages. I will make a distressing punishment overtake him. Surely he reflected and determined. But may he be destroyed how he determined ! Then he looked, then frowned and scowled, then turned back and was big with pride, then said : This is naught but magic from of old ! This is naught but the word of a mortal ! I will cast him into hell " (74 : 11-26).

In the Qur'án there is also indication of the great confidence shown in the impression which it will make upon those who hear it, both disbelievers and believers. The following verses illustrate this point : " And those who disbelieve say : Listen not to this Qur'án, but talk at random while it is being recited, that you may gain the upper hand " (41 : 26) ; " God has revealed the best announcement, a Book consistent, repeating (its injunctions), whereat do shudder the skin of those who fear their Lord, then their skins and their hearts soften to God's remembrance. This is God's guidance — He guides with it whom He pleases. And he whom God leaves in error, there is no guide for him " (39 : 23) ; and " Had We sent down this Qur'án on a mountain, thou wouldst certainly have seen it falling down, splitting asunder because of the fear of God. And We set forth these parables to men that they may reflect " (59 : 21).

It seems that when the leaders of the movement against the Prophet Muhammad found that the Qur'án would make a very great impression upon its listeners they tried to prevent the people from hearing it. They also levelled all kinds of criticism against the Qur'án with the aim of showing that it was not revealed by God but was the work of man — and hence that Muhammad was not a Prophet. The Qur'án records this fact in the following verses : " And when Our messages are recited to them, they say : We have heard. If we wished, we could say the like of it ; this is nothing but the stories of the ancients " (8 : 31) ; " And they say : Stories of the ancients, which he has got written, so they are read out to him morning and evening ! Say : He has revealed it, Who knows the secret of the heavens and the earth. Surely He is ever Forgiving, Merciful " (25 : 5, 6) ; " When Our messages are recited to him, he says : Stories of those of yore ! " (68 : 15) ; " Nay, say they : Medleys of dreams ! nay he has forged it ! nay, he is a poet ! so let him bring to us a sign such as the former (prophets) were sent (with) " (21 : 5) ; " And when Our clear messages are recited to them, they say : This is naught but a man who desires to turn you away from that which your fathers worshipped. And they say : This is naught but a forged lie ! And those who disbelieve say of the Truth when it comes to them : This is only clear enchantment ! " (34 : 43) ; " And they honour not God with the honour due to Him, when they say : God has not revealed anything to a mortal. Say : Who revealed the Book which Moses brought, a light and a guidance to men — you make it into (scattered) papers, which you show and you conceal much? And you are taught that which neither you nor your fathers knew. Say : God. Then leave them sporting in their idle talk " (6 : 92) ; " And We have not taught him poetry, nor is it meet for him. This is naught but a Reminder and a plain Qur'án, to warn him who would have life, and (that) the word may prove true against the disbelievers " (36 : 69, 70) ; and " And when Our clear messages are recited to them, those who disbelieve say of the Truth when it comes to them : This is clear enchantment. Nay, they say : He has forged it. Say : If I have forged it, you control naught for me from God. He knows best what you utter concerning it. He is enough as a witness between me and you. And He is the Forgiving, the Merciful. Say : I am not the first of the messengers, and I know not what will be done with me or with you. I follow naught but that which is revealed to me, and I am but a plain warner " (46 : 7-9).

Other criticism of the Qur'án

When such criticism did not produce the desired effect, the enemies of Muhammad said : " What you bring forth is much like what our poets and our orators produce. They speak as occasion demands, and get their inspiration from the occasion. Why can you not produce the whole of the Qur'án all at once ? " The Qur'án answers this : " And those who disbelieve say : Why has not the Qur'án been revealed to him all at once? Thus, that We may strengthen thy heart thereby and We have arranged it well in arranging. And they cannot bring thee a question, but We have brought thee the truth and the best explanation " (25 : 32, 33). Muhammad's critics also invited him to change the Qur'án, and the Qur'án says of this : " And when Our clear messages are recited to them, those who have no hope of meeting with Us say : Bring a Qur'án other than this or change it. Say : It is not for me to change it of my own accord. I follow naught but what is revealed to me. Indeed I fear, if I disobey my Lord,

the chastisement of a grievous day " (10 : 15). And when the sublime qualities of the Qur'án from the literary and spiritual points of view could no longer be challenged, the enemies of the Prophet began to say that they themselves could produce something of a comparable nature. Of this the Qur'án says : " And when Our messages are recited to them, they say : We have heard. If we wished, we could say the like of it ; this is nothing but the stories of the ancients " (8 : 31).

With the opposition to Muhammad so severe, the Qur'án offered a counter-challenge with the object of demonstrating that the Qur'án was a *mu'jizah*, and thus silencing the critics. Verses of the Qur'án containing such a challenge were revealed as the occasion demanded. Al-Aalusi explains this in his study of the Chapters of *al-Isra (Bani Israeel* — The Israelites) (Chapter 17), *Hud* (Chapter 11) and *al-Baqarah* (The Cow) (Chapter 2). As regards the Chapter of *al-Isra* he says : " It is reported that a group of the contemporaries of the Prophet said to him : ' Tell us, O Muhammad, about the Truth which you have brought forth, is it truth from God? We do not see that it is harmonious like the Bible.' The Prophet replied : ' Yes, by God, you know that it is truth from God.' They then said : ' We can bring for you something similar.' God then revealed this verse." Al-Aalusi earlier says that this verse was a reply to the Jews and to the members of the tribe of Quraish who claimed that they could match the Qur'án. In another place, al-Aalusi says that a group of the members of the tribe of Quraish asked the Prophet to bring forth something other than the Qur'án as proof of his prophethood, because they claimed that they could match the Qur'án, and that it was as a result of this that the aforementioned verse of the Qur'án was revealed. This is mentioned in the Qur'án : " And they say : We will by no means believe in you, till you cause a spring to gush forth from the earth for us. Or you have a garden of palms and grapes in the midst of which you cause rivers to flow forth abundantly. Or you cause the heaven to come down upon us in pieces, as you think, or bring God and the angels face to face (with us). Or you have a house of gold, or you ascend into heaven. And we will not believe in your ascending till you bring down to us a book we can read. Say : Glory to my Lord ! Am I aught but a mortal messenger? And nothing prevents people from believing, when the guidance comes to them, except that they say : Has God raised up a mortal to be a messenger? Say : Had there been in the earth angels walking about secure, We would have sent down to them from the heaven an angel as messenger. Say : God suffices for a witness between me and you. Surely He is ever Aware of His servants, Seeing " (17 : 90-96). The reason for the revelation of the Chapter of *Hud* is given in the Qur'án thus : " Then, may it be that you will give up part of what is revealed to you and your breast will be straitened by it, because they say : Why has not a treasure been sent down for him or an angel come with him? You are only a warner. And God is in charge of all things. Or, say they : He has forged it. Say : Then bring ten forged chapters like it, and call upon whom you can beside God, if you are truthful. But if they answer you not, then know that it is revealed by God's knowledge, and that there is no God but He. Will you then submit ? " (11 : 12-14). Of the verses of challenge in the Chapter of *al-Baqarah*, al-Aalusi says : " The reason for the revelation, as Ibn 'Abbas has said, is that they had said that what Muhammad brought for us was was not like revelation, and that they were suspicious about it."

There were other occasions where a challenge was made in the Qur'án : " And this Qur'án is not such as could be forged by those besides God, but it is a verification of that which is before it and a clear explanation of the Book, there is no doubt in it, from the Lord of the worlds. Or say they : He has forged it? Say : Then bring a chapter like it, and invite whom you can besides God, if you are truthful. Nay, they reject it, whose knowledge they cannot compass and whose final sequel has not yet come to them. Even thus did those before them reject : then see what was the end of the wrongdoers " (10 : 37-39) ; " And if you are in doubt as to that which We have revealed to Our servant, then produce a chapter like it and call on your helpers besides God if you are truthful. But if you do (it) not — and you can never do (it) — then be on your guard against the fire whose fuel is men and stones ; it is prepared for the disbelievers " (2 : 23, 24) ; " Or say they : He has forged it. Nay, they have no faith. Then let them bring a saying like it, if they are truthful " (52 : 33, 34) ; and " Say : If men and jinn should combine together to bring the like of this Qur'án, they could not bring the like of it, though some of them were aiders of others " (17 : 88).

The chronology of the challenges of the Qur'án to the opponents of Muhammad

There has been disagreement among Islamic scholars regarding the order in which these verses of the Qur'án were revealed. Most of the scholars maintain that the Qur'án first challenged the enemies of Muhammad to bring forth the equal of the Qur'án (this challenge was made in the Chapter of *al-Tur* (Chapter 52)). When the enemies of Muhammad failed to do this the Qur'án challenged them to bring forth ten chapters like those of the Qur'án (the Chapter of *Hud*, Chapter 11). And when this produced no result the Qur'án challenged them to produce a single chapter (the Chapter of *Yunus*, Chapter 10). This challenge was repeated in the Chapter of *al-Baqarah* (Chapter 2), where the Qur'án asserted that they could not meet the challenge. Finally, in the Chapter of *al-Isra* (Chapter 17) the Qur'án emphasized that the challenge can never be successfully taken up by the critics. Al-Suyuti in his *al-Itqan*, Vol. 2, p. 198, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi in his *al-Tafsir al-Kabir* and al-Rafi'i agree with this order of the challenge in the Qur'án. Al-Aalusi says that there is a preponderance of views to the effect that the challenge to produce ten chapters came before the challenge to produce one chapter. He also reports that Ibn 'Abbas had said that the first challenge made in the Qur'án was a challenge to produce ten specific chapters, namely the ten chapters which come first in the arrangement of the Qur'án now current. He mentions the objection made by Abu Hayyan that the chapter which made the challenge was revealed in Mecca. and that it would not be reasonable to refer to something which had not then been revealed. Al-Aalusi comments : " But this is not true about Ibn 'Abbas." Al-Aalusi reports that Ibn 'Atiyyah and al-Mubarrad maintained that the challenge to produce one chapter came before the challenge to produce ten chapters — in other words, that the verses in the chapters of *Yunus* and *al-Baqarah* were revealed before the verse in the chapter of *Hud*. He quotes a report that Ibn 'Abbas had said that the Qur'án challenged the critics to produce one chapter like the Qur'án merely in its rhyme. He argues that although the chapters of *al-Tur* and *Hud* came first, yet since they were revealed gradually and piecemeal, some of their verses may have come later than the verses of the chapters which began to be revealed later. Al-Shihab and al-Mubarrad confirm this view — that the challenge was made for one chapter, and then for ten.

If the order of the verses of the Qur'án in which the challenges were made be examined on the authority of al-

Suyuti (*al-Itqan,* Vol. 1, p. 15), it can be seen that the chapter of *al-Isra* came first, and was followed by the chapters of *Hud, al-Tur* and *al-Baqarah.* The first three were revealed in Mecca, but the verse in which the challenge was made in the chapter of *al-Isra* was revealed in Medina. This would lead to the conclusion that the verse in the chapter of *Hud* in which the challenge of ten chapters was made was revealed before the verse in the chapter of *al-Tur* in which the challenge was made to produce the like of the Qur'án. This order would seem contrary to the views he had expressed elsewhere in his treatise. In *al-Kashshaf,* the order of the chapters is the same as in *al-Itqan,* with the exception of the verse in the chapter of *al-Isra.* This would give the order of the challenges as follows: (1) to produce the like of the Qur'án, (2) to produce ten chapters, (3) to produce the like of the Qur'án, and (4) to produce one chapter. Noeldeke's order of the chapters is as follows : (1) *al-Tur,* (2) *al-Isra,* (3) *Hud,* and (4) *al-Baqarah.* He makes no distinction between verses revealed in Mecca and those revealed in Medina. Thus if we accept that the verse of challenge in the Meccan chapter of *al-Isra* was revealed in Medina, and that it came after the chapter of *al-Baqarah,* we would reach the conclusion that the challenge was first made for the like of the Qur'án (in the chapter of *al-Tur),* then for ten chapters (in *Hud),* then for one chapter (in *Yunus* and *al-Baqarah),* finally declaring that the challenge can never be met (in *al-Isra).*

The gradation in the challenges

The logical view is that the Qur'án first made a difficult challenge, and subsequently made the challenge easier. Some scholars maintain the quantity of the chapters to be matched was not intended to be taken literally, and that the gist of the challenge was simply to produce anything like the Qur'án, this order of the challenges would have little logical or practical significance. The fact is, however, that these challenges were made, and that the quantity of chapters to be matched was of no importance, since the nature of the challenge did not require any quantity to be specified. Al-Shihab al-Khaffaji holds this view. In support of his argument it should be noted that the verse in the chapter of *al-Isra* (which was the last of the verses of challenge in order of revelation) did not mention any quantity, but simply spoke of producing " the like of this Qur'án ", either wholly or partially. If we accept the view that a specific quantity was not intended in this verse, a meticulous examination of the order in which the verses appeared would cease to be of any great importance. It should be noted in this regard that the order of the verses in the various chapters of the Qur'án is at present accepted as not absolutely reliable chronologically, and that it is reported that when a verse was revealed the Prophet Muhammad simply used to ask his Companions to place it in a particular chapter, in a specified place. Thus some chapters which were originally revealed in Medina contain verses which were revealed in Mecca, and *vice versa.* No rational examination could settle this problem — it is merely one of the authenticity of reports. Consequently it is not reasonable to attach any great measure of importance to this problem.

It is also not possible to determine the date or order of the revelation of verses from their length and style, because some Meccan verses have what would be considered a distinctly Medinite style, while some Medinite verses have a Meccan style, and because the length of the verses depended on the occasion rather than on the date or the place of the revelation. Scholars have not agreed about the measure of the challenge. Many say that the challenge was one to produce the equal of the shortest chapter of the Qur'án (i.e. the chapter of *al-Kawthar,* Chapter 108). Others say that the quantity of the challenge — that is, if one can in fact properly speak of quantity here, rather than the general spirit of the Qur'án — was unspecified, and would be anything that could give a comprehensive sample. Thus it might even be shorter than the chapter of *al-Kawthar,* e.g., one verse like " And there is life for you in retaliation, O men of understanding, that you may guard yourselves " (2 : 179). There was also disagreement at a later date as to those parts of the Qur'án which could be considered a *mu'jizah.* The fact is, however, that the Prophet Muhammad uttered the challenge but did not give any specific details of it, and there have been no reports of the Sayings of the Prophet on this subject. The most reasonable attitude to adopt in this matter is to assess the challenge in the light of the conditions prevailing at the time and of the circumstances of the Arabs. The challenge was one to produce anything like the Qur'án in style, idea, sentiment, imagination, wisdom, understanding and knowledge of the past and of the future. Such a thing the Arabs did not produce.

Why the Arabs failed

The challenge was made at an early date. Muhammad lived twenty-three years amongst the Arabs after his prophethood, and the verses of challenge came at intervals. The challenge could not therefore have been unknown to the Arabs, as some have suggested, and it is inconceivable that the Arabs did not understand the purport of the challenge, because the Prophet Muhammad was available for a long time to offer any explanation needed. Scholars and historians are agreed that the Arabs were so proud that they could not have ignored the challenge, and that they had attained such great heights in the literary sphere that they would have attempted to try to meet the challenge, and would have succeeded had not the Qur'án been of the standard of a miracle. Some writers have said that the literary and oratorial qualities of the Arabs were so strong that it was later said that they had not lived up to he challenge presented by the Qur'án simply because God had made them tongue-tied and deprived them temporarily of their capacity.

Other writers disagree with this explanation, and say that the Arabs could not have matched the Qur'án because nothing they had produced at any time before or after the challenge was comparable to the Qur'án in any essential quality. It is also claimed by some writers that the equal of the Qur'án was in fact produced by the Arabs. but did not survive because there was strong opposition to it which suppressed it. To me this is not a convincing explanation, because if anything like the Qur'án had been produced it would have spread like wildfire and would have soon displaced the Qur'án. Historians record that many attempts were made to produce the like of the Qur'án, and that these were all failures. In the *Sirah* of the Prophet Muhammad mention is made of some of those who tried to compete with the Prophet Muhammad both during his life and after his death. They tried to imitate the Qur'án and lead religious movements opposed to Islam or found new religions. One of these was Musailamah Ibn Habib, known as *al-Kadhdhab* (the Liar). He claimed prophethood during the days of Muhammad, after he had met the Prophet and become a Muslim. In the year 10 A.H. (632 C.E.) he wrote to the Prophet Muhammad, saying : " You and I are equal partners in this earth, and half the earth belongs to us and the other half to the Quraish ; but the Quraish are an aggressive people." Musailamah claimed that he had a Qur'án which was revealed to him from heaven by an angel called Rahman. Another claimant to prophethood

was Tulaihah Ibn Khuwailid al-Asadi. He claimed prophethood during the days of the Prophet Muhammad. He did not claim that he had a whole Qur'án, but alleged that some short sayings which he said had been revealed to him from above. There is record of only one of these sayings, in *Mu'jam al-Buldan* by Yaqut. Tulaihah finally embraced Islam and fought well in the battle of al-Qadisiyah. Yet another claimant to prophethood was Bint al-Harith of the Tamim tribe. She claimed prophethood after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. She married Musailamah. At no time did she claim a whole Qur'án, but she had a few sayings which, like Tulaihah, she said were revealed to her from above. Some of her sayings were not much different from those of Musailamah. Another claimant to prophethood was 'Abhalah Ibn Ka'b, nicknamed *al-Aswad* (The Black), who made his claim during the life of the Prophet Muhammad and was killed after the death of the Prophet. He had no Qur'án. There was also al-Nadr Ibn al-Harith. He did not claim prophethood or revelation, nor did he have a Qur'án. He merely opposed the Qur'án of Muhammad. He concocted a history of Persia and foreign lands and set this against the Qur'án.

The inferiority of competitors

An examination of all these alleged Qur'áns and sayings shows very clearly that they are altogether inferior to the Qur'án of the Prophet Muhammad. Any scholar of the Arabic language would be struck by the very poor literary quality of the pretended Qur'áns compared with the excellence of the real Qur'án. It is not possible to be definite about the details of all the Qur'áns claimed, or to be sure of whether any part of what was attributed to the alleged prophets was truly their own or something said about them by the Muslims in ridicule. But what is known of these alleged Qur'áns and sayings is described by al-Rafi'i as "stomach Qur'áns" devoid of higher inspiration. There is, however, no doubt that the opposition presented against the Qur'án of Muhammad by the alleged Qur'áns of various claimants to prophethood was not successful in the slightest degree. It failed to undermine the stature of the Prophet Muhammad in the political or religious spheres, and did not make any lasting impression upon the Arabs nor did it survive against the Qur'án of Muhammad. The claimants to prophethood received some support from their own tribes, and this was based on purely tribal loyalty and ambition, and on political hostility towards the tribe of Quraish.

It would seem that the brilliant eloquence and literary excellence of the Qur'án had almost silenced all opposition by the Arabs, who realized that they were incapable of matching it. Finding themselves unable to undermine the prestige of the Prophet by words, they took up the sword against him. They also accused him of being an impostor, and said that they would not follow the religion brought forth by him because they wanted to be loyal to the religion of their fathers and forefathers. The final defeat of the enemies of Muhammad was thus recorded in the Qur'án: "Say: if men and *jinn* should combine together to bring the like of this Qur'án, they could not bring the like of it, though some of them were aiders of others" (17 : 88). Al-Jahidh sums up this battle of words in *Dala'il al-I'jaz* (p. 298): "If one had read to their poets and men of letters a single chapter, it would have become evident to them that in its style, construction and meaning it was matchless, and if a challenge had been made to the most capable of the Arabs to match this he would have failed in style and construction". Al-Suyuti says in *al-Itqan* (Vol. 2, p. 200): "God sent forth Muhammad (may the peace and blessings of God be upon him) at a time when the Arabs had the best poets and orators, and when they were in very strong command of their language. The message called upon all the Arabs to believe in the oneness of God and in the truth of His message. The call to them was based on reason. The excuses were banished and the suspicions dispelled, but when the only thing that prevented them from believing was arrogance rather than ignorance and perplexity, they were urged by the sword. All the time the Qur'án was held as evidence, and they were invited morning and night to counter it, if it were false, by one chapter or even by a few verses. And the stronger the challenge to them became the more their weakness was exposed. When they failed to find any excuse or pretext they said to Muhammad: 'You know about the history of peoples more than we do, and therefore you are capable of more than we are.' So Muhammad replied: 'Then bring forth the like even if that be in falsehoods and concoctions.' But not an orator or a poet took up the challenge or feigned to do this; and had this happened there would have been no lack of supporters who would have said that the challenge was met and matched."

All this demonstrated that, despite the literary distinction of the Arabs and the fact that many of their poets and orators were antagonistic to the Prophet Muhammad, not one succeeded in bringing forth anything like the Qur'án in any of its many superb qualities. The Prophet Muhammad lived for twenty-three years after his first claim to prophethood, and throughout this period he made repeated firm and unequivocal challenges. But not one succeeded in meeting the challenge. This was indeed a remarkable thing.

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Progress of Oil and Gas Industry in Pakistan

By S. A. Kidwai

Exactly eleven years after the birth of the modern oil industry in 1959, active interest in the oil possibilities of the Punjab, now a part of West Pakistan, was shown. Since then search in what now constitutes Pakistan has continued intermittently, and during the pre-Independence period, resulted in the discovery of four oil-fields — Khaur in 1915, Dhulian in 1937, Joya Mair in 1944 and Balkassar in 1946. The Balkassar oilfield was, however, developed only *after* Independence, and commercial production started in 1949. All these fields lie in the Potwar area, and to this day, though some more oil has been found, it is the only major oil-producing area in the country.

Intensive

Oil search in Pakistan became really intensive only after Independence. The first success was the discovery of oil in the BOC[1]-held Chakwal concession. This actually proved to be an extension of the Attock Oil's Balkassar field, and therefore the two areas have since been developed jointly as one field.

It was in 1952 that the significant discovery of gas at Sui was made in the desert wastes of Baluchistan. The field, with its original recoverable reserves now estimated at 6,300,000,000,000 cubic feet, now ranks among the ten largest gas fields of the world.

Abundant energy

While the Sui discovery gave the country an abundant indigenous source of energy and chemical raw material, it also provided further impetus to the oil search in the country. Until then only the Burmah Oil Company, through its subsidiary the BOC(PC) Ltd., and later through its Pakistani company, Pakistan Petroleum Ltd., and the Attock Oil Company and its logically incorporated company, Pakistan Oilfields Ltd., was engaged in oil exploration.

At this stage other companies joined in the oil search; Stanvac (now Esso) came in 1954, Hunts in 1955, Shell in 1956, Sun Oil in 1957 and Tidewater in 1958.

Successful

As a result of their continued search for oil, the petroleum industry has been successful in discovering 13 natural gas fields, a small oifield at Karsal, and a new oil-producing horizon at Dhulian. Of the 13 gas fields, seven lie in West Pakistan — Sui, Zin, Uch, Mazarani, Khairpur and Kandhkot (all discovered by Pakistan Petroleum Ltd.) and Mari (discovered by Stanvac). The other six fields lie in East Pakistan, of which those of Sylhet and Chatak were discovered by Pakistan Petroleum Ltd., and Rasidpur, Kailas Tila, Habibganj and Titas fields were found by Pakistan Shell.

The discovery of the Karsal oil-field in 1959 was a joint venture of Pakistan Petroleum Ltd. and Pakistan Oilfields Ltd. The discovery of oil at a greater depth in the Dhulian oil-field in 1960 was made by the Attock Oil Company.

The other oil companies were not fortunate enough to locate any new sources of oil or gas.

Investment

In achieving these results the oil companies, in partnership with the government and/or public investors of Pakistan, have surveyed over one-third of the total land mass of the country and have so far drilled 117 exploratory and development wells, making a total investment of about Rs. 540 million at the end of 1963.

The new discoveries and development of the oil-fields increased indigenous production of oil and natural gas. Oil production in 1948 amounted to only 0.5 million barrels — in 1963 it had gone up to 3.1 million barrels, showing an increase of over 500 per cent.

Natural gas discovered at Sui in 1952 was brought to the doors of the consumers by the end of 1955, and its production in 1956 had amounted to 8,025 million cubic feet. In 1963 it had jumped to 48,351 million cubic feet, a rise of 500 per cent.

Gas fields

Of the thirteen gas fields, only three are producing fields — Sui in West Pakistan and Sylhet and Chhatak in East Pakistan. The rest have been closed and will be developed when demand warrants. Schemes for further utilization of the developed gas reserves are in hand and under consideration. A gas transmission line is already being laid to take Sui gas from Multan to Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Wah in the north via the main industrial centres of West Pakistan. Plans to utilize the undeveloped Titas gas deposits in East Pakistan are under way, and it is only a matter of time before these reserves are put to use.

Comparison

Besides gas, the Sui and Sylhet fields also produce small

1 Burmah Oil Company.

quantities of condensate (an intermediate hydrocarbon which is gas while under pressure in the reservoir, but becomes light liquid oil when released from it). In 1963 the production of condensate had amounted to 38,700 barrels.

The total indigenous production of oil, natural gas and condensate in terms of heating value was equivalent to 1,455,000 tons of oil, and met almost 40 per cent of the country's total demand for petroleum hydrocarbons in 1963. As compared to the 1948 production of petroleum hydrocarbons of 51,000 tons, the 1963 production of petroleum hydrocarbons shows an increase of over 2,700 per cent.

Government venture

With a view to providing further impetus to oil search, the Government of Pakistan decided to enter the field of oil exploration on its own in addition to working in partnership with the oil companies. It negotiated a loan from the Soviet Union in 1961 to the extent of 30 million American dollars. This amount was to be used to pay for the Soviet oil exploration equipment and technical know-how.

The Government then formed the Oil and Gas Development Corporation to carry out geological and geographical surveys in the two wings of the country and to drill for oil. According to present plans, OGDC is to drill two test wells — one in the Chittagong area of East Pakistan and the other in the Potwar area of West Pakistan before 1965.

While the exploration companies were busy finding new sources of petroleum for Pakistan, the marketing companies put forward proposals for the setting up of oil refineries based on imported crude oil, which would help reduce Government expenditure on the import of oil products.

Refinery

At the time of Independence, Pakistan had a small oil refinery at Morgah, near Rawalpindi, which processed the indigenous crude oil. As indigenous production rose, the Morgah refinery's capacity was increased, and today it is processing about half a million tons of local crude oil per annum.

Pakistan's consumption of petroleum products has increased with the implementation of its various development projects. From 419,000 tons in 1948 it had shot up to 2,710,000 tons in 1963.

An agreement was, therefore, concluded between the Government of Pakistan and the consortium of four oil companies — Burmah Oil, Shell, Esso and Caltex — to set up an oil refinery at Karachi. This oil refinery went into production in October 1962 with a processing capacity of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons per annum. Since then its capacity has increased to 2.3 million tons per annum.

Capacity

Sanction for the setting up of two more refineries — one in East Pakistan at Chittagong and another at Karachi — has since been given to local industrialists. Another offer from Iran for the setting up of one more refinery is under consideration by the Government. The East Pakistan refinery, which will also be based on imported crude oil, will have a refining capacity of one million tons per year. The other refinery at Karachi, which will refine heavy crude oil, will have a processing capacity of a little over 500,000 tons per year. Both these refineries are scheduled to go into production by 1966.

With the completion of these two refineries the total refining capacity in the country will be nearly 4,500,000 tons per year.

An oil lubricants blending plant has also been set up at Chittagong this year. The plant's authorized capacity for blending is 3,500 tons of various types of lubricants per year, but its output can be increased without additional equipment to 7,500 tons per annum.

The search for more oil continues in the country, and the day may not be far off when Pakistan can claim to be self-sufficient in her growing requirements for petroleum.

An oil camp in West Pakistan, showing derrick and living accommodation for employees at oil site

"God is free from all defects. And all praise to Him. God, the Mighty, is free from all defects"

The Creed of Islam and the World of Today

INTELLECT, INTUITION, NIHILISM

By Abul Hashim

The Islamic conception of " religion " is fundamentally different from its Western interpretation

A survey of human affairs

The world today is in a state of constant internecine war. The flames of war burn the crust of the whole earth ; they do not spare either the crowned heads of Windsor Castle, the dollar-gods of the White House or the humble dwellers of some jungle cave in the forests of Africa. Discontent is as intensive as it is extensive. Each individual and each nation has a tendency to suck with the aid of all available weapons the blood of the other individuals or nations whether one needs it or not. When in its external appearance war is actually visible, there is open mass cannibalism — killing and plundering on a gigantic scale. Killing provokes more killing and plunder more plunder until the world frets, foams and is completely exhausted. They take rest for a while and this period of respite they call a state of peace. In this so-called state of peace they make for a yet greater killing secret preparations which they in hypocritical and diplomatic language call post-war reconstruction ; they have a League of Nations or a United Nations' Organization apparently to end war, but really to secure allies for the next game. There is invidious distinction and strife between man and man, class and class, and nation and nation. Equality and brotherhood of man are on everyone's lips like lipstick on the lips of modern women — a mockery and a sham. Such is the actual state of human affairs of the modern civilized world.

Humanity today has lost every confidence in its environment, society and State, and is in active revolt against all prevalent views of human existence. This refractory attitude of man seeks salvation. But where is that salvation? Development of this mental frame is but natural in the poor who from birth to death find little or no respite from the hard and strenuous struggle for bare existence ; they are born in want, live in want and die in want, and they seldom taste the pleasures of life. Are the rich happy? The rich could be happy if there were happiness in affluence and abundance. What Rousseau said two hundred years ago is still good — " Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains ". Man plods his weary way of life and breathes his last a prisoner within the prison walls of the environment he gets from his ancestors as a legacy. This is the normal way of human life. But at decisive stages of history some uncommon man appears and declares war against the traditional and common way of existence and strives relentlessly with grim determination and hope to create a new world after his own image. In this manner from out of the conflicts of the past and the present new futures arise. But still there is no happiness anywhere. Enslaved humanity liberates itself from one bondage and embraces another. Man shakes off the prison of his ancestors and enters a new prison of his own making. Will then humanity never find salvation? Is then life a continuous change of prison? As a bird in water or a fish out of it cannot be happy, so man can never find happiness in an environment hostile to his own nature. True, the future stands on the ruins of the past, but truer still there is no happiness in an order of existence which does not provide rights and opportunities for easy and natural satisfaction of the natural needs and developments of the body, mind and intellect ; but on the contrary, with the sledge-hammer of false ethics born out of ignorance tends to oppress, suppress and mutilate the very nature of man. Man can be liberated from bondage and be really free in an order of life which will be in perfect harmony with his nature, will fully recognize the psycho-physical needs of man and prescribe definite methods for their orderly satisfaction.

But how to discover and ascertain the pristine nature of man? The story of man when he lived in a state of nature, and when his destiny was moulded under the influence of nature, is lost in the midst of oblivion. What now appears as the nature of man to a superficial eye is not the true nature of man but is his artificial image — actions and reactions of his artificially created and developed habits uncongenial to his nature. A hardened opium-eater may even find his life in danger, if he does not get this narcotic when his system demands it. But it will be a fatal mistake to think that opium-eating is by any means a part of his nature but it is an opprobrious habit artificially created and is hostile to his nature. As in this manner some very useless and unnecessary

necessities are artificially created for the body, so does man's artificial material environment pervert the mind and intellect. Actions and reactions of the perverted body, mind and intellect make an artificial man of the natural man. Environment, society and State, in fact, views of human existence, of these artificial men are in a state of constant war with nature. Thus cut off from nature, the starved soul of man has no communion with the Universal Soul. The unhappy man, in fond hopes and expectations, is ever engaged in a restless struggle for liberty and freedom. He destroys the past and creates a future of his own choice, but how can the creation of his perverted body, mind and intellect bring him real peace and happiness? When maimed and mutilated, the feeling and thinking of man cannot reveal the true nature of man — when reason and intellect are utterly helpless, who will take kindly light to this unhappy blind man and show him the right path? Not reason and intellect or conscience and ideas moulded under the influence of man's immediate material environment, but direct perception of transcendental truth received through intuition can give the right angle of vision. A dispassionate study of the history of evolution, of knowledge and of science reveals this incontrovertible truth that epoch-making discoveries and findings owe their origin to intuition and not to the power of observation of the gross sense organs. Newton's Law of Gravitation, Stephenson's steam engine, Addison's employment of electric energy, the epics of Shakespeare and Kalidasa, Darwin's doctrine of evolution and Karl Marx's doctrine of surplus-value — none of these is a contribution of subjective reason and intellect, but they are all gifts of direct perception through intuition. In a sudden brainwave it flashed upon Newton's inward eye the epoch-making question, why does the apple fall? Newton saw apples falling times without number in his life, but never before did this question occur to him. In a similar manner intuition discovered steam and electric energy.

This direct perception of truth again taught Rousseau " Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains ". Direct perception of truth cannot be experienced through the external sense organs. For this are needed actions of the super-sensitive senses or super-senses which lie hidden below the five external sense organs. To activise these inner senses single-hearted devotion to their culture and development is necessary. Human reason and intellect depending solely upon gross sense organs cannot lift man above his material environments, and so the wisdom of his intuition has always been endeavouring to acquaint bewildered and misguided humanity with its real self, and even today man can, with the aid of his intuition, pierce through the mists of his perverted and artificially developed body, mind and intellect which the Vadantists call " Avidya ", and find his real nature. Man will be happy when he will have a clear and direct perception and conception of his naked nature, and will cease war and establish perfect harmony and peace with it. Thus the siren-call of the Voice of God revealed in the Holy Qur'án directs man to be steadfast in religion which is defined as the Nature of God which moulded the nature of man.

Intellect and intuition

Intellect is not a faculty of perception ; it conceives things, draws inferences and formulates conclusions. The mind perceives through sense organs. These sense organs are two-fold, namely, the five external sense organs of sight, sound, odour, savour and touch and their corresponding internal sense organs collectively known as intuition. Intuition is, therefore, not instinct, but is like the eye and the ear sense organs ; and instincts are natural habits. The five external sense organs are not the only sources of direct perception. They see gross material forms and shapes, but intuition sees realities of things and phenomena, and as such external sense organs bring to the mind relative truth while intuition reflects on the mind the absolute nature of things. Intellect when detached from intuition is a mere reflex of material phenomenon, and as such forms ideas and tends to explain everything in terms of its immediate environment. In this particular and limited sense only is it true to say that our ideas and conscience are the products of our immediate material environment. But when the mind is enlightened by and is in touch with intuition, the intellect rises above the influence and domination of material phenomenon and bears wisdom and incubates real creative genius.

Creative genius is the monopoly of intuition. Intuition infuses creative genius into the intellect through the mind, which then in its turn, like a female in creation, incubates it and gives it a concrete and understandable shape and form. Perception of material phenomenon through external sense organs needs some material medium like air and light. So intuition has its own mediums for direct perception of things ; it has also, like external sense organs, its own foci. As the eye is the focus of the external sense organ of sight, the ear of sound, so the heart and similar other organs of the body are so many foci of the inner sense organs for the direct perception of things which cannot be perceived through external sense organs. Knowledge of transcendental truth and acquisition of objective conscience and ideas are the products of co-ordination of the mind with intuition. The Rishis and the Sufis of the East made a very careful study of the culture and development of intuition or the internal sense organs of direct perception of truth. All branches of knowledge of the East — religion, philosophy, law and ethics — owe their birth to high-power intuition of the East and their growth and development to co-ordinated functioning of the intellect and the mind enlightened by intuition. Frederick Schlegel, the great European scholar of Indian philosophy, gives tribute to the genius of the Rishis of India in the following words : " Even the loftiest philosophy of the Europeans, the idealism of reason, as it is set forth by Greek philosophers, appears, in comparison with the abundant light and vigour of Oriental idealism, like a feeble Promethean spark in the full flood of heavenly glory of the noonday sun — faltering and feeble, and ever ready to be extinguished."

Intuition, if not properly cultured and developed, slowly becomes inactive and almost blind, but if it is cultured according to prescribed methods, then its potentialities develop in progressive degrees. Sensation received through highly developed sound intuition or subtle sound sense organs is generally known as revelation. Decay and death-like anaesthesia of the East are due to virtual abandonment of culture of intuition and the influence of immediate material environment on the intellect detached from intuition. Any attempt to restore the genius of the East must, therefore, necessarily begin with a systematic culture and development of intuition.

Intuition is not within, but lies beyond the range of external sense organs, and as such its existence cannot be proved in the manner in which the presence or absence of a gross material phenomenon is ascertained, but it has to be directly experienced. Nothing can be more fatal to natural evolution of man and his happiness than to ignore and deny the existence of intuition as organs and faculties of seeking

truth on the ground that it cannot be perceived through external sense organs.

Belief in the unseen

Belief in the unseen is a necessary pre-condition to seeking truth. Referring to this in the Holy Qur'án the voice of God declares : " This is the Book ; there is no doubt in it, it is a guidance for the cautious, those who believe in the unseen . . ." (21 : 2-3). The pursuit of science is seeking systematic and formulated knowledge of things and phenomena unknown and unseen from deduction, induction or inference from things seen. Science, in its strictly material sense, is knowledge of matter and material forms which can be perceived through the gross sense organs. This eternal struggle for the knowledge of the unseen keeps the torch of progress burning ever fresh and bright. If, therefore, it be accepted as a sound and infallible principle that there exists nothing except what can be experienced through external sense organs, there would be complete stagnation of human knowledge and there would be no further search for the unseen.

The unseen is not an absolute but is a relative term ; it means things unknown but not things unknowable. Things unseen to some may be things seen to others, and things unseen at some time or place may be things seen at some other time or place. What is more, things unseen to the naked eye are things seen when looked through some instrument, a telescope or a microscope. Thus things unseen to the gross or the external sense organs are things seen to intuition or the subtle sense organs. In its technical and specific sense the unseen means things which cannot be perceived or conceived through external sense organs but are or can be directly perceived through intuition.

As there are seekers of truth by direct observation of things and phenomena through external sense organs and instruments, there are also seekers of truth by direct observation of the secrets of nature through intuition or the internal sense organs. Moses, Buddha, Jesus and Muhammad were seekers of truth of the second category. Epoch-making leaders of thought and action belonging to this noble brotherhood were seen in every country and nation at every stage of development and evolution of human nature until man and his nature were made complete. The Holy Qur'án fully corroborates this when it says : " We assuredly sent amongst every people a Messenger " (16 : 36). They discovered the secrets of creation and interpreted life in relation to the universal nature. They taught an order of life which produced marvellous concrete results. Their contributions to human knowledge and progress cannot be dismissed and discarded as unreal unless one in the name of reason and intellect decides to remain stupid and blind.

To discard these models of perfect humanity as insane or impostors would be just as unsound as it would be to discard Vasco da Gama, Columbus, Newton and Darwin as dreamers and story-tellers because one, due to ignorance, is unable to appreciate the truth of what they postulate. If any test is needed, test the purity of their character, intensity of faith and deliberateness of action, as also the net concrete result of all these. If one is satisfied that they were men of unquestionable honesty and integrity, had unflinching faith in their knowledge and wisdom and made the greatest struggle and sacrifice for materialization of their findings and above all brought real peace and happiness to man and put him in the right track of evolution, then one will find no difficulty in accepting their wisdom as truth. The Rishis of the East prescribe three methods — Bhakti, Karma and Jnan — for finding truth. Bhakti means faith in God and in the finding of great teachers, Karma means knowledge acquired from good deeds and experience of struggles of honest and active life, and Jnan means wisdom achieved through direct perception. The Holy Qur'án insists upon *Iman,* or faith, *'Amal,* or good deeds, and *'Ilm,* or expansion of knowledge. The so-called worshippers of idealism of reason and intellect divorced from intuition insist upon faith in Hume, Marx and Engels, but ridicule the prophets and Rishis. This attitude is an insult rather than an honour to reason and intellect.

Nihilism

Agnosticism, atheism and nihilism are today on top in everyone's mind. Faith in one or the other of these is the order of the day. Agnosticism is a wavering and unsettled attitude of mind ; it entertains doubts as to the existence of God or of anything but material phenomenon. Atheism goes a step farther and settles down to the conviction that nothing exists except matter and material forms, and as such develops positive disbelief in the existence of God. Nihilism is the logical culmination of agnosticism and atheism ; it rejects as unreal all religious and moral principles and is opposed to all constituted authority. Philosophically, nihilism does not believe in the absolute or eternal nature and reality of anything. In the past nihilism was an exception found in some stray individuals or groups of individuals, but now it is almost universal. It has been given a scientific basis and has been accepted by a considerably powerful and dominant section of humanity as the cornerstone of all progressive schemes of human existence. It is the creation of a mind reluctant to accept anything as truth which the gross or external sense organs do not convey to the mind. This false ego arises out of ignorance — ignorance of the real potentialities of man. Nihilism takes into cognizance nothing but matter and material conditions. Thus it tends to make man a slave of his material environment and totally ignores man's potentiality to rise above the influence of his immediate material environment. Nihilistic materialism does, therefore, extol matter and ridicules with contempt faith in the eternal and immortal spirit or self of man. According to Lenin, nihilistic materialism or Marxist Communism has no external morality, and whatever is necessary for overthrowing by force and violence all existing constituted authority, spiritual or temporal, is moral, and to him the job of nihilistic materialism is to wage a relentless war against God, Who, he thinks, is the arch-enemy of man.

Nihilism demands concrete proof for the acceptance of anything as truth, conveniently forgetting that faith and experience are the only two methods of proof of even a very commonplace material truth. Hydrogen and oxygen mixed in certain proportions make water. This simple truth is directly experienced only by those who have some knowledge of chemistry. But for the laymen there are but two methods for accepting this as truth. The first method is implicit faith in the knowledge of experts who teach and propagate this truth, and the second method is experience acquired through experiment according to methods prescribed by the experts. If some unfortunate individual refused to have faith in the experts and also is unable or is unwilling to make experiments according to prescribed methods, then surely the door of knowledge is firmly banged in his face and he is blind. Such a person cannot be convinced of anything material or otherwise, for there is no third method of concrete proof of a truth. These two methods of proof can with equal convenience and sound-

ness be applied for proving truths acquired through intuition. To put it more concretely, for the acceptance of things unseen to external sense organs either have faith in the wisdom of the Prophets and the Rishis or make experiments according to methods prescribed by them. As has already been said, the Rishis and the Sufis of the East have laid down in detail systematic and formulated knowledge as to how intuition can be activised for acquisition of knowledge of transcendental realities or wisdom.

Faith and experience are the only two methods of proof of commonplace truths

The venerable Kapila and Patanjali, the reputed authors of the Sankhya and Yoga systems of Indian philosophy, have in their Sankhya and Yoga Sutras dealt in a masterly manner with this subject, and have laid down in concrete terms well-formulated and systematized methods of such experiments. The great founders of the five schools of Sufism and their disciples have greatly developed this science. The labours and single-hearted devotion of these great Rishis and Sufis of the East have left for us their accumulated knowledge and experience of a previous legacy. Misguided and practically blinded by the immediate comforts and advantages of material prosperity, the East has neglected culture and development of the subtle organs of perception for centuries. This explains the causes of decay and the morbid state of the genius of the East. The reappearance of the East on the horizon of knowledge and wisdom in her full glory depends on her ability to revive her ancient genius and spirit.

Intellect cut off from intuition will help us only to complicate matters and to intensify human miseries and to create artificial humanity always at war with nature. Intellect co-ordinated with intuition can bring real peace and happiness and create opportunities for evolution of man according to his pristine natural genius. Intellect without intuition will make machines and intellect with intuition will make men. The prophets, philosophers and scientists of much vaunted materialism will save humanity from inevitable disaster if they shake off their prejudice and ego in an unbiased and objective attitude of mind and seek truth with the aid and guidance of the accumulated wisdom of the prophets and Rishis of the East. Thus only man can see his real image and evolve an order of existence which will establish peace and harmony between him and his nature and will give him immense joy and pleasure in his struggles for his existence and evolution.

Conception of religion in the East and the West

Religion is the most abused expression in the civilized world of the so-called reason and intellect. They call it superstition and attribute to it all the miseries of man. They are of opinion that negation of religion must necessarily be the cornerstone of all progress and enlightenment.

In Western countries religion means theology — a science which deals with the existence of God and His relation to man. Man's relation with man is omitted from the scope and jurisdiction of religion. Religion, thus according to Western conception, is one hundred per cent spiritual, completely divorced from the material existence of man. As such it is a matter of private belief and contemplation of individuals, having little or no bearing upon man's worldly affairs ; it is mainly concerned with the problems of the other world. Life is divided into two water-tight compartments, namely, private life and public life. Private life is entrusted to God and public life to the king. If this be religion then of course every sensible man will declare war against it. The Churches of Europe and the *mullahs* and pundits of the East are responsible for the growth and development of this idea among the intellectuals of the world. They most dishonestly and wickedly exploit the prestige and good name of religion in order to advance their selfish ends.

If we look into the history of the intellectual development of Europe, we will find that the Church hindered progress in every manner. It persecuted ruthlessly philosophers and scientists as heretics, and thus created an atmosphere in which unbiased and free pursuit of knowledge became impossible. Political and economic despots utilized the services of the Church to intensify and perpetuate their domination and exploitation with the sanction of religion. In this context lack of faith in religion is inevitable. There is an Arabic word, *Rahbaniyyat,* which means complete abandonment of the pleasures of material life and acceptance of a life of asceticism as an ideal. *Rahbaniyyat* teaches other worldliness and looks with indifference and indignation on the world of matter and form. This Arabic word is the real equivalent of " Religion " as it is understood today. Not *Rahbaniyyat* but the Arabic word *Rabbaniyyat* expresses the true spirit of religion. The Holy Qur'án categorically refutes *Rahbaniyyat* of Roman Catholic monks and nuns and emphatically asserts that Jesus Christ and all other true prophets appeared not to preach *Rahbaniyyat* but to teach *Rabbaniyyat. Rabbaniyyat* means natural philosophy of creation, sustenance and evolution of the universe. The Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said, " There is no *Rahbaniyyat* in Islam." In a way, therefore, negation of religion, as it is interpreted today, is also the corner-stone of Islam.

The Eastern conception of religion is fundamentally different from its Western interpretation. In the East the contents of religion cover all the aspects of human existence. It is not merely a matter of private faith and contemplation but is a totalitarian view of life. The Arabic *Deen* and Sanskrit *Dharma* are erroneously translated as " Religion ". In fact religion misinterprets rather than correctly interprets *Deen* and *Dharma.* The Arabic *Deen* is defined in the Holy Qur'án as the *Fitrat* or nature of God and " Sunnah " or Laws of God. *Deen* and *Dharma,* therefore, denote the composite law of nature which holds and moulds the destiny of the universe. The universe is a composite whole and not a sum-total of isolated fragments. Every item of creation, every genus and specie bears a relation with the rest of the universe — each depends upon the other and none is wholly independent. Nevertheless, each item of creation is dominantly governed by a particular set of laws and each of these is a science. For instance, that particular set of laws which dominantly governs the movements of the sun, moon and the stars is called astronomy ; biology governs life ; and geology deals with the crust of the earth. *Deen* or *Dharma* is not dogma and ritual or theology, but is the science of all sciences, and nothing in creation, whether it desires it or not, can escape the jurisdiction of *Deen* or *Dharma* or the laws of nature. The Holy Qur'án enjoins, " So set your face steadily on *Deen,* the *fitrat* of God, the pattern on which He has made mankind. There is no change in the creation of God. That is eternal *Deen.* But most of mankind do not understand " (30 : 30).

(To be continued)

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES IN TURKEY

The High Islamic Institute of Istanbul,
Istanbul, Turkey.

Sir,

The first High Islamic Institute of Istanbul was opened on 19 November 1959. The educational course of studies at the Institute extends over four years. Since the founding of the Turkish Republic, it was the first professional college in Turkey, which trains *waa'iz* (preachers), *muftis* and scholars in Islamic studies.

The students who are enrolled at the Institute are graduates from the Imam-Khatib schools instituted in 1951. The Imam-Khatib schools accept graduates who have passed from the primary schools. These schools are controlled by the Ministry of Education and are not privately owned. Some of them are boarding colleges. The Government gives stipends to the scholars thereat.

In these schools, besides the subjects which are taught in the curricula of the Government high schools, e.g., history, geography, literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, philosophy, sociology, logic, foreign languages (English, French, German, Persian), Islamic subjects are also taught, especially the Qur'án, Arabic, *al-Tafsir* (commentary of the Qur'án), *al-Hadith* (traditions of the Prophet Muhammad), Methodology of Religion *(Usul al-Hadith),* Islamic law and its methodology *(Usul al-Fiqh),* Islamic philosophy, sociology of religion, history of religions, history of Islam, history of Islamic arts, *Sirat al-Nabiyy* (biography of the Prophet Muhammad) and *Akhlaaq* (Muslim ethics), *'Aqaa'id* and *Kalaam* (Muslim theology) In fact, all these courses of studies are spread over a period of seven years.

The number of Imam-Khatib schools in Turkey is at present 26 in all. The aim of these schools, scattered over several large cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Konya and Kayseri, is, as is evident from their appelation, to train Imams as *Khatibs* (leaders of the ritual prayer), *waa'iz* (preachers), *muftis* (those who give legal judgments) and students for the High Islamic Institutes. The graduates work as *waa'iz, muftis* and Imams in different cities and towns of Turkey. We are sure the future holds great possibilities for their development.

The Imam-Khatib school-leavers continue their studies at High Islamic Institutes. It is essential to pass the compulsory examination before enrolment. The examination papers are on the Qur'án, Arabic, *al-Tafsir, al-Hadith* and composition. Here, during the period of four years, members of the teaching staff teach the students the subjects whose details are given below.

The general aim is to prepare specialists in Islam, preachers, *muftis* and professional preachers of religious subjects for the Imam-Khatib schools.

There are seven professors at Istanbul University who are in charge of the Institute. The teaching staff has three graduates of al-Azhar University, while the others are specialists in different Islamic sciences. The number of the students is over 300. Since 1963 the graduates have been appointed teachers in the Imam-Khatib schools, also preachers and *muftis* in different cities.

The second High Islamic Institute, founded in 1962, is at Konya. It has on its register 300 students.

Both these Institutes are run by the Government. In part they are boarding-colleges and linked to the Ministry of Education. In both Institutes there are students who receive fellowships from the Department of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education. The High Islamic Institutes of the Imam-Khatib schools are controlled by the head office of Religious Education, which is a directorate in the Ministry of Education at Ankara.

The Institutes are yet in the early stages of their establishment. There are not adequate possibilities for their ideals and organization. The libraries are not well-equipped and not so rich in periodicals and other publications as to allow their students to follow the events in the Muslim world. Besides books, brochures, magazines. it is our earnest desire to correspond with foreign students wishing to know about our studies. It would indeed be a source of encouragement if students abroad will show us the courtesy of telling us something about themselves and their own universities.

THE CURRICULUM OF THE HIGH ISLAMIC INSTITUTE

(The numbers denote the hours devoted to each course of study each week)

		First year	*Second year*	*Third year*	*Fourth year*
1.	Al-Qur'án	2	2	1	1
2.	*'Ilm al-Vucuh* (Science of Diverse Readings of the Qur'án)	–	–	–	1
3.	*Al-Tafsir* (Commentary of the Qur'án)	–	1	2	2
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		First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year
10.	*Islam dini ve Mezhebleri Tarihi* (The History of Islam and its Schools of Thought)	–	1	1	–
11.	*Mukayeseli Dinler Tarihi* (The History of Comparative Religion)	1	1	1	–
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13.	*Tasavvuf Tarihi* (The History of Mysticism)	–	2	1	1
14.	*Ahlaq* (The Ethics)	–	–	1	1
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18.	*Arap Dili ve Edebiyati* (Arabic and its Literature)	6	4	4	4
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27.	The History of Turkish Civilization	2	2	–	–
28.	The History of Islamic Civilization	2	2	1	–
		25	28	28	27

Yours sincerely,
THE SECRETARY,
Executive Committee of the Students' Association.

* * *

THE YEMENI TANGLE AND ITS SOLUTION

43 Bury Park Road,
Luton, Beds.

7 October 1964.

Sir,

It was a great joy to see *The Islamic Review* in circulation again after a long pause. This magazine has always rendered services of great value to Islam and the Muslim cause in general. I pray that it may continue to do so in the future.

However, I must confess a feeling of disappointment after reading your leader, " The Yemen Tangle and its Solution," in your issue for October 1964. This leader is absolutely prejudicial to the entire Arab revolutionary movement and its aspirations, led by the *Mujahid* Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir.

Allow me, Sir, to deal with a few of your views.

While discussing the policies of the Ba'th party and of Nasir, you have put both Nasir and Michel Aflak in the same bracket. How can you give Aflak the same position as that of Nasir? Aflak's position in the arena of Arab politics is that of a dwarf as compared to that of Nasir's gigantic stature.

In connection with the Egyptian intervention in the Yemen situation, you have used the words " Egyptian invasion ". The word " invasion " suggests the implication of aggression and unauthorized entry. In view of the fact that the Republicans of the Yemen appealed to the Egyptians to come to their help, the use of the word " invasion " amounts to distortion of facts.

Your concluding remarks, inferring that the majority of the people of the Yemen support the Imam al-Badr, are based on an obviously wrong hypothesis. The map in your article is misleading in the sense that the larger area of the Yemen shown as Royalist is nothing but barren mountains and very sparsely populated. It would be absolutely wrong to deduce from the size of the map that it contains a majority of the population.

To suggest a plebiscite is tantamount to giving the anti-Arab forces another opportunity of causing more mischief and bloodshed of the already oppressed Muslims there. The simple-minded tribesmen of the Yemen, most probably, do not even know the real issue and what is at stake in the whole struggle.

Yours truly,
ZAFAR IQBAL QURESHI.

. . . . . .

64 Cotswold Way,
Tilehurst,
Reading, Berks.

13 October 1964.

Sir,

The editorial in the October 1964 issue of *The Islamic Review* sets out at length the views of the Republicans and the Royalists in the Yemen and their supporters, and in conclusion simply says that the Qur'án provides that where two Muslims are in dispute other Muslims should endeavour to make peace between them.

Now it is to me rather doubtful that the ways of the Imam Ahmad of the Yemen are truly Islamic. A real Muslim is not simply one who calls himself a Muslim, but rather one who practises the principles of Islam. The Yemen under the venerable Imams became the most backward and reactionary country in the world, and the policy practised by the Imams in oppressing and tyrannizing their wretched subjects was not based on the principles of Islam. The abysmal and disgusting horrors of the benighted régime of the Imams in the Yemen is common knowledge, and it is wrong to present the Yemen problem as a contest between two rights, and to urge reconciliation.

It is not right against right in the Yemen, but right against downright evil, and it is wrong to be impartial in this matter. The Prophet Muhammad said : " He who sees evil should remove it by his hand, or by his tongue or by his heart — but this latter is the weakest kind of faith." President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir has pledged the military and economic resources of the United Arab Republic to combating this evil, and many of his men have died to promote this cause. It behoves you and all other Muslims to give him support at least with your pen or heart. This noble cause is bound to triumph ; the Qur'án says : " Say : Truth has come and false-

hood has been defeated — surely falsehood is ever bound to be defeated " (17 : 81).

Yours faithfully,
MUSA E. MAZZAWI.

(In view of the comparatively backward conditions in the Royalist Yemen, the efforts of the Republicans to bring about radical changes in the country are commendable. The motives behind the Egyptian support are equally praiseworthy, but the fact remains that protracted war still continues with no end to it in view. Blood is being spilt and money that could be spent on far more urgent needs is being wasted. It is in this context that we tried to emphasize in our leading article in the October issue that changes of such magnitude should go hand in hand with the mental capacity of the people concerned. An imposed revolution ultimately fails in the achievement of its goal, unless it is brought about as a result of evolutionary process of education and understanding. In the case of the Yemen, a plebiscite is the only way to ascertain the wishes of the people. If the people directly concerned wish to continue their existence in antediluvian conditions, it should be their affair and nobody else's. What is needed, and needed very urgently, is a sort of Court of Appeal, comprising all the Muslim countries where this and other disputes between two Muslim countries could be adjudicated.—Ed., I.R.)

* * *

LOCAL CUSTOMS AND RELIGION

Levelette House,
Shillong,
Assam, India.

Dear Brother in Islam,

Assalamu 'aleykum

On the occasion of the Prophet's Birthday in our town, when I had the honour of delivering a speech, there was an unbecoming commotion within the mosque as a highly-qualified theologian in Islam did not stand up during the *Qiyám* while the *Salaam* to the Prophet was being chanted. I am sure you are aware that in the *miláds* in India the *Salaam* is always sung in chorus. May I solicit your kind opinion on this point?

Yours in Islam,
Q. T. RAHMAN.

(Reply : The theory about the *Qiyám* (standing) while reciting blessings of God on the Prophet rests on the view that at that time the Prophet appears (though invisible) at the meeting and the congregation should stand up to show him respect. This does not find any support in the Qur'án or any authentic hadith. We recite *darood (al-Salaat 'ala 'l-Nabiyy)* in our prayers in a sitting posture. Nobody has the right to make things obligatory on Muslims which are not mentioned in the Qur'án or the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. That is why that learned theologian did not stand up, but it does not mean he had no respect for the Prophet. The real respect lies in following the teachings of the Prophet. It need hardly be pointed out that such practices are local, and not part and parcel of the teachings of Islam. In some Arab lands nobody stands up for the recital of *al-Salaat 'ala 'l-Nabiyy*. Even so, local practices have a meaning and value of their own. As such, we believe they should be respected.—S. Muhammad Tufail, Imam, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.)

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW AND "MIRZA'ISM" (QADIYANISM)

129 Albert Road,
Aston,
Birmingham 6,
23 November, 1964.

Sir,

I have read your appeal, circulated along with your October 1964 issue, in which you have requested your readers to help *The Islamic Review* by enlisting subscribers to it. I have been a great admirer of *The Islamic Review*. In response to your appeal, I started making an approach to my friends. But it did not take me long to realize that many of them were biased against this journal. They refused to respond to my appeal on the ground that this was a "Mirza'i" journal and that your organization was a "Mirza'i" set-up.

I personally am fully convinced that such allegations against you are not correct. After having been reading this magazine for some time I know that your sole aim is to propagate Islam — free from all sectarian prejudices. But I am finding it very difficult to convince my friends of it.

It will help me greatly in my efforts to promote the cause of this magazine if you will be good enough to clear your position categorically and once and for all in relation to this accusation.

I am enclosing a postal order for £3.

Yours truly,
P. NAZIR.

REPLY

Dear Mr. Nazir,

Assalamo 'aleykum.

I am ever so grateful to you for your kind letter and also the sum of three pounds.

The unpleasant "accusation", as you style it, is something quite common. I knew that you, and many others of our well-wishers, in their efforts to help us, would come up against it sooner or later. Our organization and *The Islamic Review*, let me assure you and your friends, are *absolutely non-sectarian*. They are not even sectional. Anyone can read *The Islamic Review;* he will fail to find anything sectarian or sectional in any one of its issues published during its long, long life.

The misconception that this magazine is the organ of a "Mirza'i" organization is to be traced to the historical fact that its founder, the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (d. 1931 C.E.), was a disciple of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908 C.E.) who, unfortunately, is claimed by a large section of his followers to be a "Prophet", equal in status with other Prophets of God! This has led to lots of confusion and cast a cloud of suspicion on our own activities. "Mirza'i" is a derogatory term applied by the general Muslims to describe one who believes in Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian as a "prophet" and also to one who regards him as a *Mujaddid* (renovator), this latter being quite a common and acceptable feature in the spiritual history of Islam.

Please take it from me that the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din *never* believed in Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet. He, like all of us, believed in the "finality" of the prophethood of the Prophet Muhammad without any mental reservation. We most sincerely believe that the Prophet Muhammad was the last prophet and that no prophet would come after the Prophet Muhammad. The late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din,

as he put it to the writer of these lines, looked upon the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as his religious perceptor and mentor, and nothing more.

The Editorial page of each and every issue of *The Islamic Review* shows how much importance we attach to the belief in the "finality" of the prophethood of the Prophet Muhammad by starting with the following quotations from the Holy Qur'án and the Hadith :

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the last of the Prophets . . ." (The Holy Qur'án).

"There will be no Prophet after me" (Hadith).

The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, which controls *The Islamic Review,* was created by the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din on 27 April, 1930. Its Clause No. VIII(a) categorically lays down that "The Trust will keep the Muslim Mission, Woking, and its activities alive under its original name on the same *non-sectarion* principles as heretofore." (Italics added.)

Its first Board of Trustees, appointed in 1930, included some well-known personalities in the Muslim world. None of those mentioned below had any direct or indirect connection with any section of the so called "Mirza'i" movement.

1. The Rt. Hon. Sir Rowland George Allanson Allanson-Winn, Baron Headley Al-Hajj (El-Farooq), B.A. (Cantab.), M.I.C.E.I. (Chairman).
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6. K. S. Badru 'd-Din, son of His Highness Shaikh Jehangir Mian Sahib, Ruler of Mangrol State (Kathiawar), India.

Since then our organization has had the benefit of numerous prominent Muslims as its Trustees, who had no connection with the "Mirza'i" movement.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha'at Islam of Lahore, Pakistan, have always been financially assisting *The Islamic Review*. The members of this Anjuman believe in Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a *Mujaddid* (renovator) and reject in most unambiguous terms the imputation of the claim to prophethood by him (the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad). The propaganda literature produced by this Anjuman centres round dispelling this harmful imputation and in maintaining that its members are as good Muslims as a member of any other section or school of thought in Islam. It is but right to point out that without the help of this Anjuman this magazine could not possibly have survived for so long. In addition to their donations in cash, their regular advertisements for their books, such as the translation of the Holy Qur'án by Muhammad 'Ali, is a permanent and indispensable source of revenue to this magazine. But this does not mean that *The Islamic Review* is the official organ of their organization. The Woking Muslim Mission and, for that matter, *The Islamic Review,* would never have accepted any subsidy or financial help if it was not clear to the Trustees of *The Islamic Review* that in principle and fundamentally they were accepting the hand of co-operation from a body with the self-same objects. We have been accepting their help in the same way as we have been accepting help from various other organizations and individuals in all parts of the world.

What we want our readers clearly to understand is that their monetary help has never been allowed by us to entitle them to influence the magazine's editorial policy. *The Islamic Review's* editorial policy, as has been said before, has always been, and will always remain, non-sectarian and non-sectional. If this line of action cannot be observed and maintained, the *raison d'être* of *The Islamic Review* ceases to exist.

It is a great pity that, owing to this misunderstanding, some Muslims have been withholding their patronization from this magazine. Such people have, unfortunately, failed to appreciate that their little support would have gone a very long way to enable this magazine to render unprecedented service to Islam. It has always been, and still is, the only Muslim journal which is not fettered by considerations of petty doctrinal or dogmatic differences. There are innumerable publications in Muslim countries which are regularly dealing with such matters as are of interest to Muslim readers alone. *The Islamic Review's* function is to present Islam in its pristine purity both to Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

I hope that those who have been genuinely under a misunderstanding about the position of *The Islamic Review,* will no longer hesitate to support it. (Ed. *I.R.*)

The Editors of *The Islamic Review* invite writers in all Muslim countries to send them articles on religious, political, social and other subjects in relation to their countries.

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