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WHAT PRICE PEACE?

President Bourguiba, Arabs and Israel

A proposal for peace with Israel was recently made by President Bourguiba of Tunisia. He suggested that the Arabs should negotiate with Israel a settlement of the Palestine problem on the basis of the United Nations resolution of 1947 partitioning the country between the Arabs and the Jews.

The Tunisian President's suggestion came as a great surprise to many people. The Arabs, at popular and governmental level, strongly denounced it. But Western sources welcomed it as "realistic". Western reaction generally was perhaps summed up by a comment in a London paper which described Arab attitudes on Palestine as "emotional and woolly-minded" and said that President Bourguiba was "a statesman who likes to place himself in a liberal international tradition". It went on to say that "his intellectual and political affinities were with Western Europe and that he believed that the Arabs should seek to become part of a world civilization -- that is to say, a Western civilization -- rather than withdraw into a narrow, sterile civilization."[1]

It is a fact that the West has become impatient with the struggle between the Arabs and Israel. The West wants peace and quiet in that part of the world, and security for Israel. It is equally true that the Arabs realize that in general peace is a state of affairs preferable to war, that the tension generated by the dispute with Israel saps a great deal of Arab energy and consumes a great deal of their resources on armaments at a time when their countries are in tremendous need of economic and social reform. But the one central fact which not many people seem to appreciate is something which must be kept in mind if one is to judge fairly the attitude of the Arabs, is that they are merely defending their rights against aggression by the Zionists. The war in Palestine was started not by the Arabs but by the Zionists and their friends. The Arabs had been in Palestine as the majority of the population continuously for many centuries. In 1947, as a result of ignorance or of bribes and threats by the United States of America and Zionist influence, some States members of the United Nations voted for the partition of Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews, giving the Arabs who were the majority of the population less territory than was given to the Jews who represented about 8 per cent of the population in 1918 and were allowed by Britain against the wishes of the indigenous Arab inhabitants to emigrate to Palestine in great numbers. One and a quarter million Palestinian Arabs are now in refugee camps prevented from going back to their homes by the Zionists. All but a very small minority of Palestinian Arabs have lost their homes and property in Palestine, and have not been given a penny of compensation.

What the Zionists and their friends have done to the Arabs is evil by any conceivable standard, and what they plan to do to the Arabs in the future (by seeking to invade more Arab territory to accommodate more Jews from various parts of the world and render more Arabs homeless) is also evil. To conclude peace with Israel in these circumstances is to encourage it to perpetrate more and more evil. When you fight a squatter or a burglar in your home -- as the Arabs are doing -- you are merely defending yourself and exercising a God-given right. You are not an unrealistic trouble-maker or "emotional and woolly-minded".

The traditional greeting of the Arabs, and the greeting of Islam, is "Peace". The word peace, in various forms and contexts, is mentioned many times in the Qur'an, the sacred book and guiding light of the Muslims. So the Arabs need no preaching on the desirability of peace. But peace must not be at any price. There can be no peace with wrong, injustice, aggression and evil; and Zionism for the Arabs and the Muslims has meant nothing but wrong, injustice, aggression and evil. The Qur'an bids the Muslims be peaceful, but it also bids them defend their rights. "And fight in God's cause against those who fight against you, and be not aggressive for God loves not the aggressor" (2:190). The Qur'an also says: "And make ready whatever forces you can . . . to repel the enemies of God and your enemies" (8:60).

The Arabs deserve the support of all right-thinking and justice-loving people in the world, irrespective of religious affiliations, in their determination not to compromise with the Zionist aggressors.

Finally, we think that to describe President Bourguiba as an advocate for the adoption of Western civilization for the Arabs and the Muslims in preference to one based on their own religious and cultural heritage is not to pay him a compliment but to say that he is a benighted defeatist who has overlooked the qualities and charm of Islam -- a religion and a way of life which we recognize and champion as the key to human progress in all spheres.
An Economic Assessment of the Muslim World in regard to Production of Steel

A little country like Rumania produces more steel than the whole Muslim world put together

By Mustafa Saib Samy

The potential of the Muslim world

Before comparing the economic situation of the Muslim world with its surrounding world, we must make a brief survey of its raw material resources. First, its power resources: the Muslim world today has more than half the oil and natural gas resources of the world. They are cheap and easily accessible in the first place, and secondly — and this is more important and essential — they are cheaper than coal. The Muslim world, unlike Sweden, Brazil and Australia, does not possess great iron ore deposits, although North Africa does have sizeable iron ore resources at Tindouf in Algeria, about 900 million m. tons, and near Fort Gourard in Mauritania about 240 million m. tons. Besides these, there are no other iron deposits worth mentioning. Turkey possesses great deposits, and Morocco has one of the richest potash deposits in the world.

A thorough geological survey of the mineral resources of the Muslim world has yet to be made. At present a survey of oil and natural gas is being made by foreign oil companies. This in itself is enough to make Muslims sit up and think as to how they can help those who are striving to uplift the Muslim world from its present sorry state.

Today there is only one non-European nation, Japan, which has succeeded in less than a century of effort in challenging European supremacy in heavy industries. Its planning is absolutely masterly. And this in spite of the fact that it does not possess the resources of a huge continent like Russia, for example, yet the Japanese steel industry is almost half, 40 million m. tons, that of Russia, which produces 84 million m. tons of steel. The Japanese per capita production is greater in steel; so is its per capita production of science graduates from its Universities and per capita scientists employed in industry. Muslims ought to learn a lesson from Japan.

The Muslim nations are mostly situated in dry zones of the earth: the Sahara, Rub' Khali and Dahna in Su'udi Arabia, etc. But within the lands of Islam there is also the Nile, the Indus, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, the Mesopotamia of Turkey — Cukor Ova — situated in south-eastern Turkey. Only Indonesia, East Pakistan and Malaya are situated in the tropical rain zone. Malaya and Indonesia are the chief producers of natural rubber, and East Pakistan of jute. Therefore, food production, with irrigation and with the help of more dams and more fertilizers, can be multiplied manifold. Therefore the Muslim countries have the great potential of becoming a principal food-producing part of the world. If Muslims wish to tackle this or any given problem in the agricultural or industrial field, their goal must be to reach the European mean of production.

Given money, equal experts and equal time, there is little doubt that the world of Islam can succeed in its aims. The Muslims must always remind themselves that the Muslim world from the ninth to the first half of the fifteenth century C.E. was the centre of the civilized world and that the Muslim medrassas were the seats of learning. The first pilot map of England was made by a Spanish Jewish Arab trained in Spain, and written in Arabic.

Muslims have neglected industrialization

There is but one conclusion: this sorry state of affairs is due solely to the neglect of pure science and its application. Let us look at contemporary history. In the last twenty years, for example, the Communist Balkan countries in particular have made enormous progress in higher technical education. There, industrialization exceeds by far that of any Muslim country, although many of them were as recently as 1913 dependencies of the Ottoman Empire. They now produce more steel, 2,451,000 m. tons against Turkey's 400,000 m. tons and Egypt's 149,655 m. tons. Their electricity production is almost treble that of Turkey's; their machine buildings exceed those of the whole of the Muslim world put together. Here I would stress particularly the steel tube production, which actually exceeds 450,000 m. tons. The importance of the steel tube production in Rumania cannot be much over-emphasized for the Muslim Arab world for carrying oil and natural gas.

Except Pakistan no Arab nation, in fact no other Muslim nation, has put to good use its immense natural gas resources for power generating, heating and lighting. Not only will the cheap gas resources prevent disafforestation, they will also prevent hardship to the common man, leave alone its usefulness in the making of steel tubes for carrying oil.

Today the by-products of the oil industry bring more wealth than oil royalties, but alas, no advantage is being taken of it by the Muslim peoples.

Take a look at Greece. Its merchant navy has in the last twenty years made enormous strides, and will very soon be in a position to challenge the centuries long supremacy of the British merchant navy. This is indeed a very great achievement — an object lesson for all Muslims. Greece is now building a steel complex of 1,000,000 m. ton capacity. However, we must mention one relieving feature taking shape under the new régime of Turkey: it is actually building (by private enterprise) a steelworks of 1,000,000 m. tons capacity at Zonguldak, in north-western Turkey. But against this, Rumania's steel production will go up to 6,000,000 metric tons by 1970.

Continued on page 39
THE RECAPTURE OF
RIYADH IN 1901

Ibn Su'ud's Feat of Bravery

By David Howarth

In the autumn of 1901, a column of 40 men, mounted
on camels, left the town of Kuwait on the shore of the Arabian
Gulf and rode westward into the desert of Arabia. By day, a
green standard was carried at their head, and by night a
lantern on a staff. They were led by a man of 21, con-
spicuously tall, and already a veteran of desert raids and
wars, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Faysal al-Su'ud,
the son of a royal house in exile.

In retrospect, their journey seems forlorn. The desert
had always been perilous, and at that time, for them, was
much more perilous than ever. Vast tracts of it had been
the domain of the House of Su'ud, but the young man's father
had lost his throne through murder and trickery and battle;
and for the past 11 years the desert had fallen under the
sovereignty of a rival dynasty, the House of Rashid, the
implacable enemies of the Su'udis. Recently, the ex-ruler him-
self, together with the ruler of Kuwait, had organized an
expedition of 20,000 men into the desert. It had ended in
ignominious defeat and had proved that the nomads of the
desert had lost their old allegiance to the Su'udis and were
willing to fight to the death for the Rashidis. So there was no
place in the 700 miles of desert before those 40 men where
they could hope to find comfort or safety, and any man they
met could be reckoned as an enemy.

Yet they started, in the recollection of those who com-
pleted the journey, with eager anticipation. They themselves
were Arabs of the desert or the desert towns and their ideals
of sport were either hunting or raiding other clans. Since the
fall of the House of Su'ud, they had been confined in the
coastal towns of Kuwait and Bahrayn, and town life had
irked them.

The men of the column expected no more than a winter's
raiding, certainly exciting and probably profitable within the
limits of the chivalry of the desert; but their leader had wider
plans, dreams so ambitious, so Youthfully romantic, and so
unlikely to be fulfilled, that he did not tell anyone what was
in his mind. He intended, with the help of his 40 men, to
recapture his father's kingdom, and — an even higher aim
than worldly power — to launch a crusade.

The heads of the House of Su'ud had not only been
rulers of an area of desert; they had also been the leaders,
the Imams, of a strict Puritan offshoot of the Muslim world:
the Wahhabis. This sect was founded by a holy man of the
18th century whose name was Shaykh Muhammad Ibn 'Abd
al-Wahhab. He disapproved of the superstitions and luxurious
living which had overgrown the Muslim creed since it was
first proclaimed by Muhammad in the seventh century of the
Christian era. He preached a return to the simplicity of the
eyearly religion, which had been founded entirely on the Qur'ân
(which Muslims believe to be the word of God revealed to
Muhammad) and on the sayings and manner of life of the
Prophet himself. For many years, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's
reforms attracted nobody, and he led the life of a wandering
scholar, but at length, about 1750, he won the support of the
Su'udi ruler of his time. With worldly and religious power
combined, the Su'udi domain, which had been no more than a
petty shai'khdom, expanded until its raiding parties covered
the whole of Arabia, and its doctrines were imposed on every-
one it conquered.

It was in this creed that young Ibn Su'ud, the leader of
the expedition of 1901, had had his training, and high among
its precepts was the command to wage war on all infidels and
heretics. Foremost among the heretics — Muslims who were
not Wahhabis — were the minions of Ibn Rashid, who had
seized his father's throne.

The journey began with several of the enjoyable raids
his followers had expected. They were travelling light, carry-
ing nothing but their rifles, daggers, swords, ammunition,
dates, flour and water. The men and their camels had been
carefully chosen. So they were able to descend on the camps
of nomads and the caravans of merchants, to seize camels
with impunity and carry off whatever could be carried; and
by night, between their raids, they were able to range the
desert over distances which only the hardest riders could
have travelled.

This kind of sport was almost all that the men of the
expedition would have asked of life, and Ibn Su'ud himself
was not too ambitious to enjoy it. But he can only have
thought of it then as an early step in fulfilling his deeper
secret hope: the hope of reviving the ancient loyalty of the
tribesmen and lighting a flame of revolt which would spread
through the desert and the desert towns. It had never been
difficult to rouse the desert Arabs to fight, either through the
hope of heaven or of plunder, or simply for love of fighting;
and Ibn Su'ud may well have expected to rouse them again
by a series of raids so audacious and successful that news of
them would travel, spreading both fear and admiration, and
offering the people of the desert the choice of joining him or
suffering at his hands.

But if this was his hope, it failed. From Kuwait, he first
rode west and south, into the area which had been his father's. The first of his raids were against the very tribe which had rallied to Ibn Rashid and helped to defeat his father's recent expedition. Although Ibn Su'ud and his men were able to keep themselves well provided by capturing all the necessities of life, very few of the Bedouins joined his column, and Ibn Rashid sent major forces to try to hunt him down.

He therefore turned eastward again, into the coastal area called the Has (al-Hasa), which was then under Turkish rule; but the Turks turned out their regular troops against him. Between the Turks in the east and hostile Bedouins of Ibn Rashid in the west, he was forced to ride farther south, until he came to the edge of the fearful desert within the desert which is known as the Rub' al-Khali, "the Empty Quarter"; an enormous tract of barren sandhills where even Bedouins rarely travel, where camels can find little pasture and where there were no more caravans and no more camps to raid.

At one time in the forced march to the south, the followers of Ibn Su'ud had increased to 400 men, including the slaves whom the richer Bedouins had brought with them. But as he approached the Empty Quarter, with its promise of hard living and an end to booty, the force began to melt away again until he was left with no more than when he started. Somewhere on the verge of that melancholy land he had to admit his failure and contemplate other plans; and his thoughts began to turn to the desert town of Riyadh.

Riyadh had been his father's capital, and where Ibn Su'ud had been born and had lived till he was ten. It was one of the least accessible capitals of the world, nearly 1,000 miles from the cities of the Mediterranean shore, 250 miles from the nearest sea coast and protected against intrusion by both the desert, which no vehicle could cross, and the predatory habits of the Bedouins. In 1901 it was a town of more than 5,000 but less than 10,000 people, of mud brick houses cramped together, a dilapidated rambling palace, a fort and several mosques, surrounded by crumbling mud brick walls and dependent on its own oasis.

At the time Ibn Su'ud was born, in 1880, quarrels among the early Su'udi rulers had reduced the kingdom to chaos and Riyadh to anarchy. It was terrorized by spies and counter-spies of the rival factions and by the bloody fights that surged through the markets and alleys, fights in which the losers were hanged from the battlements.

This state of civil war made the kingdom an easy victim for Ibn Rashid, whose own domain adjoined it on the north. Between 1880 and 1890, Ibn Rashid captured Riyadh and beat the reigning Su'udi several times. Even in war, however, the Arab princes were often guided by the Bedouin concept of chivalry, under which either victors or victims might ask the other, soon afterward, for hospitality and enjoy it without fear. So Ibn Rashid, each time he defeated the Su'udis in battle, put one or another of them back in power at Riyadh, sometimes alone and sometimes with a governor from among his own men to keep them in order.

But pride, and the foolishness engendered by years of anarchy, impelled the Su'udis again and again into battles with Ibn Rashid, and at length Ibn Rashid's fury at their intemperance drove him to break the bonds of chivalry. He ordered his governor to get rid of the Su'udi family once and for all. The governor invited all the men of Su'ud to accept greetings on a feast day, but the Su'udis were forewarned, and while they were sipping coffee and exchanging polite conversation with the governor, on a signal, they butchered the governor's retainers and tied up the governor himself and threw him down a well to die. Ibn Su'ud, at the age of ten, took part. Such was his childhood training.

But this was the end of the rule of the House of Su'ud. Ibn Rashid, in vengeance, laid siege to Riyadh, cut down its groves of palms and poisoned its wells. The townspeople, driven by thirst and hunger, threatened to turn against the Su'udis; and finally the father of Ibn Su'ud, with his wives and a few of his slaves and retainers, carrying his children in the saddle bags of his camels, fled from the town by night, to wander discredited in the desert until he was given sanctuary by the independent ruler of Kuwait.

When Ibn Su'ud led his weary, disheartened band to the edge of the Empty Quarter, his family had been outlaws in Riyadh since he left it in such unhappy circumstances. In the intervening eleven years, Ibn Rashid had died, but his son, who is usually known by the same family name, had kept the people of the Su'udi domain under strict control. The fire which Ibn Su'ud hoped to light in their hearts had not kindled; their spirits were dampened by fear of their present ruler. Those whom Ibn Su'ud had met in conversation, rather than battle, had made it clear that he would never win a following unless he had already been proved to be a leader. More raids were not enough; and his raids so far, rather than rousing the Bedouins, had only roused Ibn Rashid to reprisals against anyone he suspected of harbouring the raiders. Two courses were left: to go back to his father at Kuwait, defeated, or else to gamble the kingdom and his life in a single master stroke which would ring through the desert. There was only one possible place for a stroke which could be dramatic enough, and that was Riyadh.

Ever since the fall of the House of Su'ud, Ibn Rashid had kept a ruthless governor and a garrison in Riyadh, and now that Ibn Rashid knew that Ibn Su'ud was on the warpath, it was likely that the garrison would be alert and reinforced; so Ibn Su'ud decided to wait hidden, alone with his 40 men, in the desert, avoiding meetings with other Bedouins, until he was sure that Ibn Rashid would think he was dead.

That decision may have had a religious motive, in addition to being a matter of Bedouin tactics. The month of Ramadan was approaching, when pious Muslims fast between dawn and sunset from the day of one new moon till the day of the next. By custom, travellers are excused from the fast provided they observe it later on; but Ibn Su'ud's Wahhabi principles, at that stage of his career, would not have let him make use of that dispensation. Yet, on the other hand, not even the Bedouins could lead an active life of hard riding in the desert while they were fasting; and besides, an attack on a town during Ramadan was foolish, because many citizens who fasted all day stayed up all night.

The wait was a harder test of his leadership than the raiding. From the traditional moment before each dawn when a black and a white thread of cotton could be distinguished, until the sun was below the horizon again, his men had nothing to eat or drink, and nothing to shelter them, and worst of all they had nothing whatever to do; and even at night, when the strictest of Muslims can make up for the day's distresses, they had no women and no comfort and no more than a mere starvation ration. At the end of Ramadan, by argument, persuasion and threats, and by putting the men on oath to follow him to whatever death he chose, Ibn Su'ud still had the faithful 40 with him, but perhaps nobody ever searched the sky more eagerly for the first sight of the new moon. As soon as it was seen, he gave the orders to saddle the camels and march.

Riyadh was more than 100 miles away. Released from the dangerous boredom of the Empty Quarter, they rode out on a raid which became in later years a legend in modern Arabian folklore, and a story which Ibn Su'ud was often
asked to tell. While the end of Ramadhan was still being celebrated by more peaceful people, they approached the town by night and concealed the camels, and continued on foot through the groves and gardens, silently in the darkness. When they came within sight of the walls he halted, and chose six men to come with him; and he told the others to wait till midday, and then if they had heard no news of him, to escape if they could and take the camels and ride to Kuwait, because by then he would either be victorious or dead.

Ibn Rashid had neglected the walls of Riyadh, and Ibn Su'ud and his six companions scrambled over them using a palm trunk as a scaling ladder, and entered the sleeping town without alarm. They were surprised to make their way in so easily, and Ibn Su'ud had not thought what to do next; he believed his cause was God's and that God would guide him. But he led his men into the alleys he remembered from his youth. They were hushed and empty. In the centre of the town the Rashids had built a fortress, and opposite the fortress gate, across a square, they had fortified a house where the governor, whose name was 'Ajlan, kept his women. Both of these strongholds were locked and barred, but next to the women's house there was another which belonged to a seller of cattle called Juwaysir. Ibn Su'ud knocked on his door, and after a while a girl's voice answered, "Who are you?" And he remembered that Juwaysir had two daughters. "I am sent by the Amir 'Ajlan," he said through the closed door. "He wants to buy two cows. I have to see your father."

The girl said, "You should be ashamed, son of a woman accused. Does anyone knock on a woman's door at this time of night? Go away."

"Be quiet," Ibn Su'ud said. "In the morning I shall tell the Amir and he will rip your father open."

This gruesome and plausible threat was heard by Juwaysir, and he hastily opened the door and Ibn Su'ud seized him and scared him into silence. The daughters recognized the son of their exiled ruler and began to cry out a greeting, but he bundled them into the house and told his men to shut them in a cellar. In the moment of confusion Juwaysir escaped and ran away.

By then, the raiders had made a simple plan: to go up to the flat roof of Juwaysir's house and jump to the roof of 'Ajlan's and force an entrance there. But the gap was too wide. Instead, they jumped to another house, where they found a man in bed with his wife, tied them both up in their bedclothes, gagged the wife, and threatened them both with death if they made a sound. Then they waited, to see if Juwaysir had given the alarm. But the town remained silent. Ibn Su'ud sent two of his men to bring in the rest who were hiding in the palm groves.

' Ajlan's house was a storey higher than the others. They climbed on each other's shoulders, forced the roof door open and crept through the house, seizing the slaves of the household one by one, until they came to the bedroom which seemed to be 'Ajlan's. Ibn Su'ud went in with his rifle; another man followed with a candle. There were two mounds in the bed, and he peered at them — but neither was ' Ajlan; one was his wife and the other was her sister. He unloaded his gun and prodded them, and they jumped up screaming. "Enough," he said. "I am 'Abd al-'Aziz."

' Ajlan's wife was a Riyadh woman and knew him. "What do you want?" she asked in terror.

"I want your husband; shameless woman, you who have taken a Rashid."

"I am no shameless woman," she said. "I only took a Rashid when you left us. What brings you here?"

"I have come to look for your man to kill him," he said.

"You may kill Ibn Rashid and all his people," she said, "but I could not wish you to kill my husband. And how can you deal with him? He sleeps in the fortress, with 80 men, and if he discovers you, you will never have the power to save your souls and escape from the country."

Ibn Su'ud asked her when 'Ajlan would leave the fortress. "He will not come out until after sunrise," she said. The raiders locked her up with her sister and the slaves, broke a hole in the soft mud wall and brought the rest of the party in from the house next door. Then they settled down to rest, ate bread and drank the governor's coffee, slept and prayed and wondered what they should do. They had come too far to retreat.

During the vigil while they waited for the dawn, their only thought was to lure the governor into the house and kill him there. With that in their minds they chose one of the men who was small enough, dressed him in the woman's clothes and left him to let 'Ajlan in when he knocked.

The others went up to a room above, where there was an opening from which the gate of the fortress could be seen across the square. It was a heavy studded wooden door with a very small postern in it, only two feet high, so designed that a man could only go through it head first, exposing his neck to the sword of the keeper inside.

After the call to prayer from the mosques of the town, when the raiders hidden within the house performed their own devotions, and as the morning light refilled the square, the gate was opened, and servants began to bring out the governor's horses. The sight of the open gate was too much for Ibn Su'ud. He jumped to his feet and ran downstairs, determined to rush it, shouting to some of his musketeers to cover him from the window. But while he was going down, 'Ajlan himself emerged with a dozen men, and the gate was closed behind him.

The fight was merciless. Ibn Su'ud flung open the door of the women's house and charged across the square. 'Ajlan and his followers turned at the sound, and seeing him, the followers ran for the fortress gate and bolted through the postern one by one. When Ibn Su'ud reached it, 'Ajlan was left alone. He had drawn his sword; Ibn Su'ud had nothing but his rifle. 'Ajlan made at him, sword raised to strike. Ibn Su'ud covered his face with his arm and fired his rifle point blank, single-handed, heard the sword clatter on the ground and knew he had wounded 'Ajlan. 'Ajlan plunged at the postern, Ibn Su'ud caught his legs, and his own men pulled his arm. 'Ajlan gave Ibn Su'ud such a kick in the stomach that he started to faint, and let him go. For a half second then the history of Arabia hung on the postern gate. Before the defenders could slam it shut, a cousin of Ibn Su'ud named 'Abd Allah Ibn Jiluwi thrust himself into the hole and wriggled through. In the narrow gateway within, the defenders were too confused to decapitate him as he came, and he laid about him with his sword. Others followed and threw the main gate open, and the rest of Ibn Su'ud's warriors swarmed in and started a bloody fight, outnumbered two to one, through the courtyards and towers of the fortress. They slaughtered half the defenders. Some fell or were thrown from the battlements. Ibn Jiluwi cut 'Ajlan down and killed him. Nearly 40 surrendered and were locked in their own dungeons; and before the morning ended, Ibn Su'ud sent his men through the town to proclaim that God's will had been done, and the House of Su'ud was master again in Riyadh.

1 Courtesy, the Editor, Aramco World, Vol. 16, No. 1, for January - February 1965, New York, U.S.A. Spelling of some words have been changed to conform to The Islamic Review usage. This article is a condensation of the first chapter, "To Light a Flame," of The Desert King by David Howarth, London 1964.
Islamic Family Law in Pakistan in the Context of Modern Reformist Movements in the World of Islam

Part II
Succession; Polygamy; Divorce; the Charge of Modernism

By Kemal A. Faruki

To wait for such differences to resolve themselves before proceeding further has been found to be clearly impossible. The march of events is too likely to come to a standing still until the Muslims have been able to make up their minds collectively on these issues. Nor can they ignore the present separation of the world-wide Muslim community into different States. Meanwhile, development and exertion have to continue.

In this struggle for better understanding, the question of competence to understand is raised. Increasingly, conservatives are abandoning the attempt to defend the present applicability of the classical theory of uncompromising taqlid. Instead, many now do not question the right to exercise ijtihad, but seek to challenge the competency of modernists in this respect. They seek to restrict competency to themselves on the ground that the conservatives themselves are alleged to have sole knowledge of the classical textbooks and the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. But competence, in the modernist view, must mean a grasp of modern conditions and a capacity to evaluate them in the context of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

Succession

What are these conservative-modernist differences on the specific issues of family law? There are, broadly speaking, three substantial issues: namely, succession, polygamy and divorce, although relatively lesser differences also exist on other issues, such as registration, the age of majority and maintenance. On each of the three main issues, the conservatives maintain that the interpretations of the classical and medieval textbooks are infallibly correct and must be followed unquestioningly, regardless of how much it may be shown that the shari'ah has a fuller meaning in the light of our experience and our conditions.

On the specific question of succession, the conservatives quote the medieval textbooks which have interpreted the shari'ah in such a way that where, for example, a man dies leaving one son and also a grandson by another son who has pre-deceased him, the son excludes the orphaned grandson from inheriting by right in the grandfather's property. This interpretation has been questioned by Islamic modernists both in Pakistan and elsewhere in the Muslim world. But before examining these differences further, it is advisable to state clearly the shari'ah norm or ideal on which there is general agreement, before going into the fiqh rules on which disagreement exists. The question of inheritance is mainly dealt with in the Qur'ān 4:8-10. Let us examine these verses:

"And when kinsfolk and orphans and the needy are present at the division (of the heritage) bestow on them therefrom and speak kindly unto them.
"And let those fear (in their behaviour towards orphans) who if they left behind them weak offspring would be afraid for them. So let them mind their duty to God, and speak justly.
"Lo! Those who devour the wealth of orphans wrongfully, they do but swallow fire into their bellies, and they will be exposed to burning flame."

The word for “orphan” in these verses refers to both a fatherless child or a child bereft of both parents. The Qur'ān's position on this matter may be summarized as follows: that there is an obligation to provide for near kin and orphans, besides the needy, out of the property of the deceased. On this proposition there is general agreement and it would seem, therefore, that a grandson by a pre-deceased son, being both near of kin and an orphan, would have an exceptionally strong claim to inherit by right. Yet, under the classical rules for interpreting the shari'ah, in such a situation, the grandson was excluded from inheriting in favour of the living son by the application of a rule of the classical fiqh that in matters of inheritance “the nearer in degree exclude the more remote” which had the effect of the nearer (living son of the propositus) in degree excluding the more remote (the grandson) another pre-deceased son of the propositus. This rule was set out in order to implement the change brought by Islam from pre-Islamic times, whereby the family replaced the tribe as the important unity of social life; the nearer (the family) excluding the more remote (the distant blood-relatives who had become imperceptibly merged with the tribe). The reason why, in actual fact, no violation of the verses quoted above took place in those times would seem to be because in earlier times the family was a large and yet closely-knit unit and, doubtless, family pressure and the opinion of the community was strong enough to ensure that the favoured uncle looked after his orphaned nephew.

For reasons beyond the control of anyone, however, the very structure of the family has been undergoing great changes in recent times. The coming of industrialism (which can only be resisted by those indifferent to the question of their very survival) has meant a growing urbanisation which, in turn, has meant a constant movement of the population from the villages into the towns and cities and also from one village to another at considerable distances from each other. A high rate of population mobility has developed with people moving from place to place or being transferred for reasons of employments on an individual basis. Such movement takes individuals far from the ancestral village home where the family was
Based and where it had been able, in previous times, to remain closely-knit together, not merely between father, son and grandson, but also between brothers, uncles and nephews. The result of these changes has been that the occasions increasingly arise where the grandson cannot be assured of being provided for by his uncle (when his own father has died prematurely) and finds himself excluded from inheriting from his grandfather by the same uncle's stronger rights under the classical rules of succession. Yet the effect (in today's conditions) is clearly to violate the Qur'anic norm that near of kin and orphans must be provided for and, indeed, is not even in consonance with the purpose of the Islamic change, of strengthening the immediate family.

In ascertaining priorities in this immediate family, the classical rules recognized that descendants take priority over ascendants and that ascendants take priority over collaterals, yet by the mechanical application of the classical rule of the nearer in degree excluding the more remote, this effect is to exclude a direct, lineal descendant. It might seem that the classical scholars attached such importance to this rule of the nearer in degree excluding the more remote that they allowed no exceptions to it whatsoever. Yet this is not the case. For example, two uterine sisters of the deceased (sisters from the same mother only) share in the inheritance with two full sisters of the deceased and are not excluded by the full sisters, although the full sisters are clearly nearer in degree (in terms of the strength of the blood-tie) than the uterine sisters. Another case which is even more clearly an exception to the rule is when a daughter fails to exclude a brother's son or his son. Yet another exception is the fact that a father, though nearer in degree, does not exclude the mother's mother or her mother.

We come here to the point at which the difference between the “imitation” of the conservatives and the “exertion” of the modernists shows itself. However illogical (given today's conditions) the classical rule may be and however unjust it may prove to be today, in practice, and however much the Qur'anic norm may be transgressed as a result, the conservatives are prevented, by their own theory of unquestioning “imitation”, from attempting to bring about changes which will ensure that present practice conforms to the shari'ah norms.

What, in effect, the 1961 Family Laws Ordinance in Pakistan has done is to add one more exception to the other exceptions already made in classical law (some of which are noted above) to the classical rule of the nearer in degree excluding the more remote, in order to ensure that rules constructed by classical or medieval jurists do not stand in the way of ensuring that Qur'anic norms are implemented in conditions as they exist today; placing, in other words, a desire to attain and implement the Islamic norm, as derived from a direct reading of the shari'ah, above an excessive veneration and idolization of past legal thinking. The effect of this section (§4) of the Ordinance is to implement the aim of Islam that immediate family bonds must be strengthened and ensure that on a person's death his estate goes to his immediate family, which must include his direct, lineal descendants.

A section of conservatives have criticized this measure, along with others in the statute, as being attempts to “Westernize” Islamic law. The question, therefore, arises as to what exactly is the Western attitude towards inheritance and the family? The trend there is (on the basis of the allegations of the conservatives alone) is to a weakening of family ties and to enabling a person disposing of all his property as he please by will on his death. The 1961 Ordinance, by §8, so far from following this Western trend, has gone in precisely the opposite direction. A further claimant by right from amongst the immediate family has been added to the sharing of the estate, regardless of the deceased's wishes and, in doing so, the aim has been to strengthen the immediate family bonds which have been weakened by modern conditions.

Polygamy

The second main point at issue on family law has been on the question of polygamy and, before anything else, it is desirable to set out the Qur'an's statements regarding the Prophet Muhammad's own marriages:

“It is especially for thee, not for the believers — We know that We have ordained for them concerning their wives and those whom their right hands possess in order that no blame may attach to thee. And God is ever Forgiving, Merciful.” (The Qur'an, 33:50).

The next consideration that must be borne in mind is that when Islam came to the world it did not find it monogamous and permit polygamy but that, on the contrary, it found the world polygamous without limit and reduced the number of permissible marriages at one time to four. The effect was thus to restrict the number of marriages, regardless of circumstances, to four. An extreme section of conservatives have argued that not merely is a plural marriage, therefore, permitted in certain circumstances, but that Islam approves of it in an unqualified way and yet, in the same breath, they will assert that it hardly constitutes a “problem” as less than one per cent in Pakistan, in their estimate, practise polygamy. This extreme and self-contradictory view need not detain us, except to add that permission alone cannot be construed as approval, as the example of Islam's attitude to slavery clearly shows.

Once again, on this question as well, it is advisable to be clear about the shari'ah ideal or norm on which there is general agreement between the taqlidiyah and the ijtihadiyah. First of all is the importance of genuine ties of affection and understanding between husband and wife. In one verse of the Qur'an, they are referred to (in the singular) as being “a garment” each to the other (2:187), and the love and compassion which should exist in the highest and most Islamic state of marriage are referred to as follows:

“And of His signs are this, that He created mates for you from yourselves that you might find quiet of mind in them, and He put between you love and compassion. Surely there are signs in this for a people who reflect” (The Qur'an, 30:21).

Secondly, the community must see that those who are single get married, regardless of whether they are free or in conditions of servitude, or are rich or poor:

“And (help to) marry those among you who are single, and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves. If they are needy, God will make them free from want out of His grace. And God is Ample-giving, Knowing.” (The Qur'an, 24:52).

Marriage is thus an obligatory institution for a Muslim, whether man or woman, and the community have a duty to assist to the best of their ability in this regard.

Thirdly, there is broad agreement between conservatives in general and modernists that the Islamic norm for normal conditions is monogamy, but that, in certain circumstances, polygamy is permissible or, at any rate, permitted. The Qur'an deals with the question of a plural marriage in two verses
which clearly establish the conditional nature of the permission so granted:

"And if you fear that you cannot do justice to orphans, marry such women as seem good to you, two, or three, or four; but if you fear that you will not do justice, then (marry) only one or that which your right hands possess. This is more proper that you may not do injustice" (The Qur’án, 4 : 3).

And again the question of injustice is dealt with in a later verse of the same chapter:

"And you cannot do justice between wives, even though you wish (it), but be not disinclined (from one) with total disinclination, so that you leave her in suspense. And if you are reconciled and keep your duty, surely God is ever Forgiving, Merciful" (The Qur’án, 4 : 129).

From the foregoing, certain aspects of the shari’ah norm regarding marriages become clear. First, that the highest and most Islamic form of marriage is that in which there is love and compassion between husband and wife; second, that those who are single should get married (an obligation that is bound to be more difficult of realization where polygamy takes place in a society where men and women are equal in numbers or there is a shortage of women, on which question more will be discussed later) ; third, that in a plural marriage, real justice is impossible of achievement and that the most that can be hoped for is that "technical 'adl" (justice) which concerns itself with outward form alone and which must inevitably militate against the love and compassion which is an essential concomitant of the most Islamic form of marriage; fourth, for these reasons, only certain circumstances can justify a second, third or fourth marriage at the same time.

On these propositions, there is a substantial measure of agreement between the main sections of the conservatives and the modernists. But before examining the two crucial points at which differences arise between them, consideration should be given to one other reason adduced by conservatives: that in certain Western countries there is an excess of women and that some Western writers have expressed the view that, therefore, polygamy would be the solution to this Western problem. Obviously, however, what is crucial for our purposes is the sex-ratio in the world in general and in the Muslim world in particular.

It is true, according to the most recent available census figures for each country, that females outnumber males, in the United States (by over two million); in the Soviet Union (by twenty million); in the United Kingdom (by about two million); in West Germany alone (by nearly four million); and in Japan (by nearly two million). On the other hand, in certain European countries which were neutral or unaffected by the 1939-45 war, the excess of women is negligible, such as Sweden and Switzerland, and in Iceland there is a slight excess of men.

The sex-ratio argument in favour of polygamy in Pakistan can only carry weight if it is established that similar conditions exist there as well as in the war-affected countries. Instead, we find that the latest census reports give an excess of men, in Pakistan (of five million): in India (of thirteen million); in the U.A.R. (of one hundred thousand); in China (of twenty-one million); in Iran (of two hundred and fifty thousand); and in Turkey (of just under one million). No statistics of this nature exist for the Yemen, Su’udi Arabia and Afghanistan.

(For the figures and census years for the figures are given in Table "B" below.)

TABLE B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Sex-Ratio*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>88.331,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>94,590,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>25,477,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>25,476,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>45,871,193</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>3,738,096</td>
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<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>2,671,203</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAKISTAN</td>
<td>49,308,645</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>72,241,752</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>224,055,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>297,535,518</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.A.R.</td>
<td>12,958,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>9,642,944</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sex-ratio is expressed as the number of males in the population for every 100 females.

It is also true that a full appreciation of the significance of these figures requires a greater breakdown of these sex-ratios, by age, for example. At any rate, for Pakistan, according to the detailed 1961 census figures (which are similar in this respect to those of earlier counts) the preponderance of males is very low in the under nine years age group, but rises sharply after that from the age of ten to sixty, until in the over 60-years age-group there is a slight drop in the preponderance of males.

Generally speaking, it seems that women outnumber men in a country which has recently been through a war (although in the total wars of the future with their effects on civilian populations, this may become less likely) and that men outnumber women in poor countries with inadequate health services which are unable to reduce appreciably the deaths of women in childbirth, for example. The effects of early and continuous child-bearing on the health of women may also explain this difference in the sex-ratio. It would appear that the sex-ratio tends to balance out where there is neither poverty nor war, such as in the case of the three countries of Sweden, Switzerland and Iceland cited above. Here the slight excess of women in the first two appears to be due to the greater longevity of women, less subject to pressures of modern work, and is more apparent in the later age groups.

If the argument for polygamy is based by the conservatives on an excess of females in the population, this is clearly not the case in Pakistan, and to argue for its necessity here because of a problem and situation peculiar to some Western countries is only likely to add further confusion to the question.

To return to the two crucial issues on which the taqlidyyah and the ithnadhyyah differ on this question of a plural marriage, they are, first, the conservative apprehension that any admission on their part regarding the relative merits of monogamy and polygamy must imply some reflection on the polygamous marriage of the Companions of the Prophet. This is to misunderstand the situation that existed then. For in their conversion to Islam, they separated from and divorced the number of wives they had in excess of four and may well have refrained from a further reduction on the grounds of the avoidable distress this would have caused. Further, the early wars which came soon after had the effect of reducing the number of men and it became necessary to provide for the excess females and the orphans.

The second crucial difference is the view of the conservatives that this conforming to the shari’ah norm should continue to rest, today as in the past, on the conscience of the individual and that society is not entitled to intervene and attempt to regulate this by law. Now while classical law was content to leave it to the conscience of the individual believer to decide when the exceptional circumstances had arisen which permitted the second, third or fourth wife, Islamic modernism, in Pakistan as in an increasing proportion of the rest of the Muslim world, has come to the conclusion that these exceptional circumstances should be the subject of regulation by the community.

Society is enjoined (The Qur’án, 24 : 32) to ensure that
the single amongst Muslims get married and where, so far from there being a preponderance of women, there is a preponderance of five million men (overwhelmingly in the marriageable age groups), the community’s task is to ensure, as far as possible, that those who are single obtain a priority in getting married and to restrict polygamous marriages to those special circumstances only under which the conditional permission is given by the Qur'an. Obviously, Islam gives society the right to enforce or regulate Islamic rules in many matters (e.g., the rules of inheritance and legacies, the treatment and freeing of slaves, the conditions under which a divorce is regarded as valid) and this question of when anything should be left to the individual and when, on the contrary, it should be regulated by society, is essentially a matter not of the shar'i'ah but of the fiqh interpretation, whether classical or modern.

Of course, where the taqlidiyyah choose virtually to idolize the decisions of the classical and medieval jurists, placing them on the same high pedestal as Revelation itself for all practical purposes, the possibility of reaching an agreed conclusion is greatly reduced. The aim of the jihatadiyyah, however, is to ensure that, given our conditions and our understanding of the shar'i'ah ideal of marriage, the fiqh rules seek to achieve the ideal as much as possible. In an increasingly industrial and urbanized society, the pressures of families and neighbours to ensure that individuals only marry a second time under the genuine conditions by which it is permitted, are all too likely to be ignored. There is also a fallacy in thinking that such social control by law of a plural marriage is likely to lead to adultery. The attitude of mind which leads people to adultery is different in nature to that which occasions a second marriage. Indeed, where there is an excess, in terms of millions, of men in a society and some people have four wives and are, therefore, only with them once every four days (or one-quarter of their domestic life), the chances of adultery on the part of wives with the single men in society are greatly increased. Even where the wives remain chaste, on the three days out of four (or three-quarters of the time when their husband is with his other wives) the love and compassion that should exist between the wives and their husbands is almost bound to be greatly reduced by the infrequency with which they see and know their husbands. There is, further, the effect on children who only know their father on this reduced basis, particularly where each wife has her separate home.

Here again can clearly be seen the absurdity of the charge that this reform is an attempt to Westernize Islamic family life. Western family life and the marriage bond itself are alleged to be by “conservatives” themselves (and undoubtedly are amongst those influenced by Hollywoodism) increasingly weaker. But the provisions of the Pakistan Family Land Ordinance in this question (in §6), so far from weakening marital ties and the understanding between a father and his children, are designed to strengthen them and to ensure that no disrespect for the institution of marriage takes place through an abuse of the conditional permission to marry more than one wife.

Divorce

The third main point at issue between the “conservatives” and the “modernists” relates to divorce. Here again, it is desirable to be clear about the Islamic ideal of norm in this matter on which there is, doubtless, general agreement between conservatives and modernists. Ideally, Islam regrets that divorce takes place at all, and the Prophet Muhammad has said: “Of all things permitted by God to man, the most hateful is divorce.” Now, the main change wrought in this by Islam over the customs of pre-Islamic times was the introduction of the waiting period of ‘iddah. Superficially, the object of the ‘iddah was, of course, to ascertain whether the wife was pregnant or not, but the Qur’an itself expressly describes this period as one in which there should be efforts at reconciliation and for reducing the incidence of divorces taking place in haste and impetuously:

“...and make not God by your oaths a hindrance to your doing good and keeping your duty and making peace between mankind. And God is Hearing, Knowing.

“...God will not call you to account for what is vain in your oaths, but He will call you to account for what your hearts have earned. And God is Forgiving, Merciful.

“...And if they resolve on a divorce, God is surely Hearing, Knowing.

“...And the divorced women should keep themselves in waiting for three courses. And it is not lawful for them to conceal that which God has created in their wombs, if they believe in God and the Last Day. And their husbands have a better right to take them back in the meanwhile if they wish for reconciliation. And women have rights similar to those against them in a just manner, and men are a degree above. And God is Mighty, Wise” (2:224-228).

It is to prevent “vain” oaths from becoming a “hindrance” to the doing of good and to ensure that the waiting period is made a period for attempting reconciliation as desired by the Qur’an, in the verses cited above, that §7 and 8 of the Ordinance have been introduced.

We come again to the recurring point of difference between the taqlidiyyah and the jihatadiyyah, that while the former refuse to examine the reasons for the classical interpretations of the shar'i'ah and where necessary revise those interpretations in order to better implement the Qur’anic ideal, the jihatadiyyah, while recognizing that weighty reasons at that time must have caused earlier fiqhah in classical and medieval times to derive the fiqh rules that they did refuse to idolize these medieval fiqh rulings at the expense of the shar'i'ah itself. The changes in conditions which exist today have created situations where the families of both parties to a marriage are less and less likely to be living in the same villages or even region as the married couple themselves. The essential function of reconciliation is likely to be neglected, be impractical of realization, if left to the families, as in the past, when the couple now live in a city or distant village, separated by hundreds of miles from their families at the crucial time of marital discord. Hence the community have sought, by the Family Law, to step in and undertake the necessary function of reconciliation and provide by law for the Qur’anic period of “waiting” and reflection which might, in the static communities, essentially rural, of earlier ages, have been virtually enforced on the couple by their respective families.

Perhaps nowhere is the inaccuracy of the charge of “Westernizing” brought against the Islamic “modernists” more clearly shown than in this matter of divorce ijtihad. While the tendency of the West is, or is alleged to be by the “conservatives”, towards easier and speedier divorce (and serial polygamy), the whole object of this Islamic modernist legal reform is to reduce thoughtless and hasty ease of divorce (and its incidence) without getting into the situations that other sections of the West have got into, such as Latin America, where the result of regarding marriage as an indissoluble sacrament and the near-impossibility of obtaining a
divorce from the religious authorities has forced a situation in which large numbers of the population, in cities particularly, are living in extra-marital, adulterous relationships and with a high rate of illegitimate children.

The pseudo-Taqi'id

The foregoing examination of the reforms of Islamic modernists of the medieval interpretations of the shari'ah as contained in the classical and medieval law books are often sarcastically referred to by certain "conservatives" as pseudo-

ijtihad by incompetent persons. These same conservatives, at the same time, pride themselves on being consistent adherents to the theory and practice of the taqlad. Yet an examination of the stand of present-day taqlidities will show that they are far removed from the classical meaning of mughalids (conservatives) which, by definition, should be unchanged from generation to generation. After all, if A is imitated or blindly followed by B who is similarly imitated by C who is similarly imitated by D, what D does should be the same as what was done by A in his time. This is clearly not the case and the alleged changes in "effective causes" which are raised to justify this is belied by the way the present-day pseudo-
taqlidities react to change in the first stages. Medieval Islamic law books, such as the Hedayata and Fatawat 'Aalamigiri regard slavery, for example, as permissible (even if not positively approved) and set out elaborate rules for their humane treatment but also, it must not be forgotten, these medieval law books provide for the recovery by law of slaves who seek unilaterally to leave their masters. The true taqlid of the classical law would require, for example, that this recovery by legal means be upheld and advocated today, and that slavery itself be permitted. A more pertinent example of the disintegrated nature of the taqlid of present-
day "conservatives" can be shown in the way in which, at one stage, they have regarded such "Western" devices as electricity, microphones and aeroplanes as heretical (as also translations for understanding of the Qur'an for those unable to understand Arabic) and at a later stage they have themselves accepted such changes from the classical position. Pure imitation has proved itself, even for the taqlidiyah themselves, to be virtually impossible, in the sense it was classically understood, of following without question decisions once made through ijtihad and upon which consensus or the ijma' had been reached, and regarding them as not being open to change.

The future

It can be seen that Islamic legal modernism as it exists in Pakistan and, indeed, in an increasing number of other Muslim countries, is not an isolated phenomenon. The trend has been there for many decades and in many places. Commissions set up under one Prime Minister have continued their work through a change of governments and been published under yet a third Prime Minister, as was the case with the Marriage and Family Laws Commission itself. The trend has continued, in colonial times and in independence; whether the system of the State has been Parliamentary or Presidential; in Pakistan and in many other Muslim countries besides Pakistan; yesterday, today, and, assuredly, tomorrow as well.

As can be seen from this consideration of Islamic "modernism" as applied to family law, this government, in asserting itself, so far from being a trend towards Westernization and Western fashions, is in the very opposite direction in essence: in the struggle to ensure in this changing world that the ideals of family life and law as set out in the Qur'an and in the shari'ah generally, are realized.

Yet this inexorable movement towards Islamic modernism and the reassertion once more of ijtihad does not mean that Islamic modernism is likely to commit the error of its opponents and regard its own conclusions as infallible and not open to change. The very difference between "conservatism" and "modernism" is that while the former believes that it is possible for the community to be infallibly correct in its interpretations of God's commands, for all times to come and all places, the Islamic "modernists," in greater humility before the uniquely All-Knowing God, and in recognition of the inherent limitations of human knowledge, whether single or collective, acknowledge that all exertion towards true understanding of the shari'ah is, by the very nature of human beings, limited in its wisdom. Further, that when its limitations are shown in practice in a particular matter, the error must be immediately corrected by further exertion. To that extent, therefore, change in family law, as in all other effort to Islamicize our society and its laws, is always liable to further change, development and improvement.

Examples of such change or possible change can already be seen. In the matter of succession, for example, the provision for a granddo (or grand-daughter) presupposes that the propissus has left behind a son with lesser claims in terms of need than the grandson. Yet there may be occasions when the son has greater claims than the grandson by another pre-deceased son. For example, if A (the propissus) has two sons, B and C, and B marries at 25 and dies at 26, leaving one son, D, aged twelve months at the time that A dies, the justice of providing for D along with C out of A's estate is clear. But supposing, for example, that A dies at the age of 80, B dies at 50 (before A) leaving a son, D, aged 30 already well settled in life, and that the youngest son of A, namely C, is less than 20 at the time of the death of A. Justice in the second case according to Islam may well require that C excludes D as in the classical system, however less frequent such a situation may be. The point this illustrates is that true justice may require different solutions according to the facts of particular cases, and it may well be considered whether this is not best left to a special tribunal or court to decide on merits on each occasion, within the margin of choice between the classical rules and the modernist rules.

A more immediate example of where change may be indicated is in the setting up of special family law courts, manned by specialists both in law and in the problems of the family, and aided by advisers from the taqlibiyah and the ijtihadiyah; such courts being empowered to deal with the questions put before them in an expeditious manner and without the crushing burdens that normal litigation often involves.

Yet another direction in which re-examination is required from time to time is the nature of the penalties provided for infringements of the law and the validity of acts in contravention of the law.

Such changes in which society intervenes according to agreed rules to ensure that Islamic norms are achieved are entirely possible and, conversely, changes in the reverse direction where society finds it no longer necessary or desirable to intervene or elaborate rules for achieving Islamic norms, may also prove desirable. Ours is a society in flux and transition and nothing could be more dangerous than to resist

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE HISTORY OF THE IDEA OF THE MIRACLE (I'JAZ) OF THE QUR'AN

The development of the idea of the Qur'an being a miracle during the 8th-10th centuries C.E.

By NA'IM AL-HUMSI (V)

The second century A.H. (eighth century C.E.)

But the close connection between the idea of the i'jaz of the Qur'an and the Arabic science of rhetoric is that the term i'jaz is often used to denote rhetoric. It is also well recognized that the idea of the i'jaz of the Qur'an had great effect upon the development of the science of rhetoric, although i'jaz was confined more to purely Qur'anic matters. Later scholars, however, developed i'jaz into a more specialized technical study, and the strange fact is that they lost touch to a considerable degree with ordinary pure rhetoric and literary taste. These scholars also forbade writers from imitating the style of the Qur'an for fear that they might appear to be detracting from it. The main cause of this lack of concern by the scholars of rhetoric in i'jaz, however, is the general malaise which affected the Islamic world in general, and the Arab world in particular, during that period.

The four groups which studied the i'jaz — the mutazilites, the mutakallimun, the muhaddisun and the litterateurs — have at no time been divided into distinct or conflicting groups. Some leading scholars combined qualities associating them with more than one group. Thus al-Jahiz was a literary scholar in addition to being a mu'tazilite, and al-Zamakhshari was a mu'tazilite, a mutakallim and a muhaddis. It would also appear that the best proof adduced about the i'jaz came at a later period. The subject was first dealt with by the mutakallims, then by the muhaddis in the mutazilites and lastly by the scholars of rhetoric — and these latter treated the subject more efficiently and successf

I shall now deal with the main scholars who studied the subject of the i'jaz. I shall classify them according to the period of history in which they lived, and later according to the schools of thought to which they belonged.

The second century

There are no records to be found at present of works on the subject of the i'jaz of the Qur'an. This should not mean that the subject was not discussed during this period, for it was undoubtedly the most important subject discussed in the controversy between the Muslims and the non-Muslims with whom they come into contact. During this period many new converts to Islam were accused of apostasy and condemned to death for it. One of the most well-known of these was Ibn al-Muqaffa', who was condemned to death by the Governor of Basra for criticizing the Qur'an and writing a book attacking Islam. Ibn al-Muqaffa' was first accused of this by al-Qasim Ibn Ibrahim al-Razi (246 A.H. — 850 C.E.), who wrote a book entitled al-Radd 'ala al-Zindiq al-La'in Ibn al-Muqaffa' (Reply to the Cursed Apostle Ibn al-Muqaffa') in which he discussed the views of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and gave arguments criticizing them. Recent scholars have expressed doubts on the authenticity of these two works of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and al-Qasim. 'Abd al-'Alim al-Hindi believes that al-Radd 'ala al-Zindiq al-La'in Ibn al-Muqaffa' was written by al-Qasim, but he does not consider that there is adequate proof that the criticism of the Qur'an was in fact written by Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

Another writer, al-Rafi'i', ridicules the idea that Ibn al-Muqaffa' criticized the Qur'an. He gives these reasons for his view. One is that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was one of the greatest scholars of rhetoric, and he therefore must have appreciated the superb literary quality of the Qur'an and the impossibility of matching it. The second reason is that those who accused Ibn al-Muqaffa' of being critical of the Qur'an did in fact admit that he eventually abandoned his hostility to the Qur'an when he read (or, in one version, heard a boy reciting) the verse 11: 44, which says, "And it was said: O earth, swallow thy water, and O cloud, clear away". But is it reasonable to think that Ibn al-Muqaffa', who was a wise man, would embark upon wholesale criticism of the Qur'an before reading it all more than once, and therefore reading this particular verse? The story that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was hostile to the Qur'an until he read this verse, or heard a boy recite it, sounds highly improbable. The third reason, according to al-Rafi'i', is that the work entitled al-Durrah al-Yatimah (The Solitary Gem) in which it is said that the criticism by Ibn al-Muqaffa' of the Qur'an consists only of a few pages in which he collects wise sayings translated from foreign sources.

* For the previous installment of this Essay see The Islamic Review for February 1965.
1 See The Islamic Culture, 32nd Year, Nos. 1 and 2.
3 I am not sure what al-Rafi'i' means by al-Durrah al-Yatimah. There is a work by Ibn al-Muqaffa' entitled al-Adab al-Kabir which sometimes, wrongly, been called al-Durrah al-Yatimah. There is another work entitled al-Adab al-Yatimah, but it is now extinct.
and adapts from the Imam 'Ali's work Nahj al-Balaghah. Again, al-Raafi'iyy believes that the idea that Ibn al-Muqaffa' ceased his criticism of the Qur'an the moment he came across this verse is a story concocted by some people with the idea of showing that however learned and skilled in rhetoric Ibn al-Muqaffa' was he could not deny the great unsurpassable qualities of the Qur'an — and that persons less gifted than him cannot therefore possibly hope to oppose the Qur'an. But the truth about Ibn al-Muqaffa' is perhaps that he was accused of criticizing the Qur'an, and of being an apostate, simply because the scholars of rhetoric in his days were misunderstood. For although none of them denied the i'jaz of the Qur'an, they disagreed about the exact nature or reasons of the i'jaz, and this led some of the people to think that they doubted the idea of i'jaz altogether.

In my opinion the book criticizing the Qur'an attributed to 'Abdullah Ibn al-Muqaffa' was not in fact written by him. I have four reasons for this. One is that this book was never recognized as his work during the Abbasid era, although his works were well known at that time; and the only reference to the work as his was in the book of al-Qasim Ibn Ibrahim al-Razi. The second reason is that the style of this book is not as immaculate in the literary aspect as would be expected of Ibn al-Muqaffa', who was a great master of rhetoric and style. The third reason is that there is no record that Ibn al-Muqaffa' had such weak belief in Islam, and the only allegations against him are based on this book. The fourth reason is that Dr. Paul Kraus, the well-known Czech orientalist (1904-1944 C.E.) is of opinion that this book was written by someone else — Muhammad Ibn al-Muqaffa'. It is quite possible that Muhammad Ibn al-Muqaffa' may have written it and attributed it to 'Abdullah Ibn al-Muqaffa' in order to give it prestige. It may also be that some unknown writer sought to give the book currency and fame by attributing it to 'Abdullah Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Again, it is possible that al-Qasim Ibn Ibrahim al-Razi may have come across the book and readily attributed it to 'Abdullah Ibn al-Muqaffa' simply because Ibn al-Muqaffa' was known to be a free thinker on Islam and sometimes accused of apostasy (but this, of course, presumes that the Reply was in fact written by al-Qasim Ibn Ibrahim al-Razi).

To sum up, it can be said that in regard to the subject of the i'jaz of the Qur'an in the second century A.H. (ninth century C.E.) the main landmark was the writing of a book attacking Islam, the author at one time thought to be 'Abdullah Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

The third century A.H. (ninth century C.E.)

Serious and organized study of the question of the i'jaz of the Qur'an began in the latter part of the second century A.H. and the early part of the third century. One of the men of the Caliph al-Ma'mun (198-218 A.H. — 813-833 C.E.), 'Abdullah Ibn Isma'il al-Hashimi, sent a letter to his Christian friend, 'Abd al-Masih Ibn Ishaq al-Kindi, inviting him to embrace Islam. In this letter he gave details of the reasons for believing in the prophethood of Muhammad, one of which is the miracle of the Qur'an. Al-Kindi replied criticizing Islam and rejecting the invitation to become a Muslim.

During this period most of the main ideas about the i'jaz were formulated. They were mainly sponsored by free thinkers, mutazilites and mutakallims. There was increased discussion of religious matters, such as prophethood and the i'jaz of the Qur'an as part of the subject of prophethood. This era was characterized by great interest in translation from foreign literary works, and by wider contact with foreign culture, particularly Greek culture. Contact between people of different religions gave an impetus to the study of religion and introduced liberal thinking on this subject. The mutazilites appeared at this stage, and became strong. There was also introduced suspicion about the authorship of the Qur'an. This became intense during the days of al-Qadi al-Mu'tasim Ahmad Ibn Abi Dawud (220 A.H. — 835 C.E.). This matter had to be seriously discussed, and the mutazilites had the task of offering a reply to those who impugned or criticized Islam and the Qur'an. The first book on Kalam was written by 'Ali Ibn Rabban al-Tabari during the days of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-247 A.H. — 846-861 C.E.). The i'jaz was also discussed by literary writers such as al-Jahiz. But recorded works of muqassirs on this subject date only from the fourth century A.H. (tenth century C.E.).

The scholars who discussed the question of the i'jaz in the third century A.H. (ninth century C.E.) can be classified into four categories:

1) Those whose faith in Islam was weak, and who denied the i'jaz of the Qur'an. These consisted of free thinkers and believers in other faiths, and included such scholars as Ibn al-Raawandi and 'Isa Ibn Sabeel al-Mizdar.


3) The literary group of the mutazilites, one of whom was al-Jahiz.

4) Mutakallims, who believed in the i'jaz of the Qur'an from the point of view of literary style — one of these was 'Ali Ibn Rabban al-Tabari.

Those who denied the i'jaz of the Qur'an

The two most well-known scholars who did not accept the idea of the i'jaz of the Qur'an were Ibn al-Raawandi and 'Isa Ibn Sabeel al-Mizdar.

Al-Raafi'iyy says that Ibn al-Raawandi maintained that the Qur'an was false.1 Al-Raafi'iyy says that al-Raawandi's full name was Abu al-Husayn Ahmad Ibn Yahya, and that he became well-known for his criticisms of the Shar'iah of Islam and wrote a book entitled al-Taj (The Crown) and another entitled al-Dafi' (The Defender).2 Al-Khayyat and Abu 'Ali al-Jubba'iyy wrote in reply to al-Dafi' with arguments countering al-Raawandi's views. It is also said that al-Raawandi himself later published anonymously works opposing the views expressed in his book, and that al-Raawandi was in the habit of writing books opposed to Islam at the request of the enemies of Islam, for money, and also of writing replies to such books, also for money. Abu 'Ali al-Jubba'iyy writes that al-Raawandi was patently insincere in his opposition to the Qur'an, and may in fact have been a believer in Islam at heart. Not many of al-Raawandi's views have been recorded. But al-Raafi'iyy gives one argument put forward by al-Raawandi to deny prophethood, namely, that the mere fact that a challenger had not been met would not be enough to prove prophethood — thus if a scientist were to write a book on any subject, and challenge others to do the same, the mere fact that the book was not matched would not make the scientist a prophet.

Dr. Kraus reports al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi as saying that al-Raawandi said, "There is no reason why one Arab tribe should not be more eloquent than the other tribes, nor that some members of that particular tribe should be more eloquent than the other members of the tribe, nor that a single

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1 i'jaz al-Qur'an (The i'jaz of the Qur'an) by al-Raafi'iyy, p. 143.
2 Ibid., p. 187.
individual should be the most eloquent amongst the whole tribe. And supposing that that person’s eloquence could not be matched by the Arabs, what would this prove as against the foreigners who do not speak Arabic, and what significance would it have to them?" Kraus says that Ibn al-Raawundi not only denied that there was ḫaz in the Qur’ān from the literary point of view but also from the point of view of the meaning of the verses. Ibn al-Jawzi in Al-Muntazam fi Tarikh al-Umam and ‘Abd al-Rahim al-‘Abbas in Ma‘āhid al-Tansis report many of the accusations levelled by Ibn al-Raawundi against the Qur’ān. Kraus says that the views of the apostates (zanadiqah) generally against the Qur’ān, and the replies professed by the mutakallims, are summed up in the book entitled Tanbih al-Qur’ān ‘an al-Mata‘aqin (In Defence of the Qur’ān against Criticism) by ‘Abd al-Jabbar, the Mutazzilite. ‘Abd al-‘Alim al-Hindi says that Ibn al-Raawandi wrote his book al-Dafi‘ at the request of Jews with whom he lived when he was in hiding, and that the book is very much like the work of a freelance ghost writer who would use his pen in defence of or opposition to any cause if adequate payment be made to him.

Another critic of the Qur’ān is ‘Isa Ibn Sabeel al-Mizdar, the leader of the so-called Mizdari school of the Mutazzilites. He was a very pious man, and was nicknamed “the monk of the mutazzilites”. But he was very rash in ascribing apostasy to others, and once said that all the people of the world were apostates. He believed that the Qur’ān could be matched by human beings from the literary point of view.

Perhaps the chief criticism that can be made against Ibn al-Raawundi is that he was not sincere in what he wrote. He supported or opposed views purely for money. This accusation cannot, however, be made against ‘Isa Ibn Sabeel al-Mizdar, who was famous for his piety although he was narrow-minded and bigoted, as well as rash and hasty — a fact proved by his having declared the whole of mankind to be apostates. Ibn al-Raawundi was clever in his arguments, and his attitude was very similar to that of the Sophists. These two critics of the Qur’ān agree that human effort can produce something similar to the Qur’ān. Al-Mizdar stops at making this claim, while Ibn al-Raawundi in fact puts forward works of his own which he considers to be a good match for the Qur’ān. It is reported that Ibn al-Raawundi alleged that the Qur’ān was falsehood and lies simply because the letters of these two words in Arabic (ṣūfih and kaziib) were to be found in the text of the Qur’ān. If this report be true it would show that Ibn al-Raawundi must have been very simple-minded and juvenile in his thoughts. But it may be that this argument was attributed to him to make him look ridiculous. Ibn al-Raawundi’s view that the mere offering of a challenge which is not eventually met does not prove prophethood — as stated earlier — indicates acumen and a good command of logic. But it really does not prove that the Qur’ān is not a mu‘jizah.

The Surfah school of the Mutazzilites

One group of the mutazzilites, led by Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Nazzam (220 A.H. — 835 C.E.), who was the teacher of al-Jahiz, believed in what became known as al-surfah (Arabic for deflection). They say that the ḫaz of the Qur’ān was by way of surfah, in the sense that God “deflected” (saraafa) the Arabs from opposing the Qur’ān, although they could in fact have opposed it and matched it. This surfah was itself a miracle. Thus it is the surfah which is the ḫaz in the Qur’ān, and not the Qur’ān itself. Of this group some believe that the ḫaz in the Qur’ān in the stories about past events and future events (see ḫaz al-Qur’ān by al-Rafi‘i, p. 144).

Al-Fakhr al-Razi reports that al-Nazzam said, “God Almighty did not reveal the Qur’ān in order that it would serve as proof of prophethood. The Qur’ān, like all other revealed books, was intended to show the difference between right and wrong. The Arabs did not oppose it because God deflected them from this” (Nihaya al-īlaj fi Diwya‘ al-ī-faz).  

None of the books of al-Nazzam is extant. His views have come to us through books written by others in which he was quoted. It is interesting to note here that the idea about surfah in fact represents a denial of the theory of the ḫaz of the Qur’ān made under a deceptive guise induced by fear of popular disapproval or anger.

The views of literary mutazzilites

Al-Jahiz was a mutazzilite, and one of the most celebrated of literary scholars. He wrote a book about the ḫaz of the Qur’ān entitled Nizam al-Qur’ān. He also expressed other views on the ḫaz in the books Al-Bayan wa al-Tabyin and Kitab al-Hayawan.

Al-Jahiz believes in the ḫaz and maintains that despite the very high literary achievements of the Arabs they could not match it during the days of the Prophet Muhammad. He writes at length about the controversy about the Qur’ān between the Prophet Muhammad and the Arabs after the Prophet had challenged them to match the Qur’ān. He says that the Arabs perceived the Qur’ān as a mu‘jizah in the literary aspect and did not succeed in matching it (see al-īftan by al-Suyuti, Vol. II, p. 198). Al-Shahristani reports that Ibn al-Raawundi said about al-Jahiz that al-Jahiz had claimed that the Qur’ān was a body which at times takes the form of man and at other times the form of animal (see al-Malal wa al-Nihal, Vol. I, p. 53, London edition). This is a very ridiculous view which scholars who have any knowledge of al-Jahiz would reject outright.

Al-Jahiz discusses two views on the ḫaz — the view about al-surfah, and the ḫaz by way of style. One wonders whether the belief in al-surfah was expressed at a time when al-Jahiz was still under the influence of his teacher, al-Nazzam, and the second expressed when he had become fully established and independent. Or did he in fact hold these two views at one and the same time? There is little evidence to enable us to be precise about this, and al-Jahiz expresses the two views equally prominently in his book Kitab al-Hayawan (Vol. IV, pp. 31 and 32). In regard to al-surfah he says: “The mind of the Arabs was deflected from opposing the Qur’ān after the Messenger had challenged them to match it. That is why we find that no one had aspired to this... If anyone had simulated any part of the Qur’ān it would have been a great matter for the Arabs and the non-Arabs... This would have posed a problem for the Muslims, and they may have sought parleys and rapprochement with some of the Arabs, and there would have been a great deal of gossip. You would have seen the friends of Musailamah and Bani al-Nawwahah clinging to the words which Musailamah had written for them and which are known by those who have heard them to be copied from the Qur’ān.”

On the ḫaz of the Qur’ān from the literary and stylistic aspect, al-Jahiz has this to say: “Al-Dahir, who does not believe in tawhid (the oneness of God) has nothing left to him but to ask us about the origin of the idea of tawhid, and the proof about the Messengers in our revealed Book, which Book proves to us that it is true, with its beautiful style which
cannot be matched by humans; all this in addition to other evidence given in it."

Al-Jahiz also says in his book al-Hayawan (Vol. I, p. 5) that he had written a book dealing with the style of the Qur’ān and its unusual form. He wrote this book in reply to the views expressed by some mu'tazilites who maintained that the eloquence of the Qur’ān was not a mu‘jizah. According to al-Baqillani this was the first book to be devoted to the question of the ‘i̯az of the Qur’ān. Al-Jahiz later wrote another book entitled al-Hujjah fi Tathbit al-Nabwawwah (Proof Establishing Prophethood). All this shows that al-Jahiz had discussed many of the philosophical problems tackled by the mu‘tazilites in regard to the ‘i̯az of the Qur’ān. In my opinion, it is unlikely that al-Jahiz had expressed at one and the same time the two views earlier mentioned, and I am inclined to this opinion because of his reputation for clear thinking and strong argument — and the two views attributed to him appear so contradictory. Al-Jahiz did not go into any great detail in examining the theory about the style of the Qur’ān and did not quote much from the Qur’ān and Arabic literature in support of his arguments, as was done by subsequent writers such as al-Jurjani. But he did lay the foundation upon which subsequent scholars built the edifice of their arguments on the ‘i̯az.

Mutakallims who hold the style of the Qur’ān as a mu‘jizah

The theory that the literary style of the Qur’ān is proof of its ‘i̯az was first put forward clearly and forcefully in the book Al-Din wa al-Dawlah (Religion and the State) by ‘Ali Ibn Rabban al-Tabari, a contemporary of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil. Al-Tabari says in his book: “When I was a Christian I used to repeat what a learned and eloquent uncle of mine used to say, namely, that the style of the Qur’ān was not a mu‘jizah and was not one of the marks of prophethood because it could be imitated by people. But when I myself tried to imitate this style, and when I grasped the meaning of its words, I began to appreciate that the followers of the Qur’ān were right in their claim about it, for we have never come across a book like the Qur’ān which exalts to good, forbids evil, explains the laws of God, the belief in prophethood, the desire for heaven and the abhorrence of hell, and does all this so smoothly, with such influence upon the mind, with such success. And from an illiterate person who never learnt the art of writing and rhetoric such a book is undoubtedly a mark of prophethood” (p. 40). Thus according to al-Tabari the ‘i̯az of the Qur’ān lies in its aim for reform and its realization of this aim, in what it commands and forbids, its stories about heaven and hell, and its beautiful and grand style despite the fact that the Prophet was illiterate.

The fourth century A.H. (tenth century C.E.)

The most important people to deal with the ‘i̯az of the Qur’ān in the fourth century were the great Arab poet al-Mutanabbi, who was accused of opposing the Qur’ān; Abu al-Hasan al-Ash’ari, who at first was a mu‘tazilite and later became a follower of the Sunni school and became one of the leading mutakallims of this school; Bandar al-Farisi, the mutaffailim; al-Tabari and al-Qimmi, the mu‘jassirs; al-Wasiti, al-Khattabi and al-Rummani, the literary mutakallims; and Abu al-Hilal al-‘Askari, the litterateur. I shall now deal with their writings and the views expressed thereon.

Al-Mutanabbi, the poet

Abu al-Tayyib Ahmad Ibn al-Husain al-Mutanabbi, the famous poet (354 A.H. — 965 C.E.), was accused of claiming to be a prophet and of opposing the Qur’ān. He was imprisoned by the Governor of Homs for this. It was said that at one time he claimed in Wadi al-Hamawah (between Kufa and Damascus) to be a prophet, and that many of the tribe of Bani Kalb became his followers. He pretended to perform miracles, and some of these are mentioned by al-Maarrir in Risalat al-Ghufran (The Message of Forgiveness, p. 220). It is also said that he recited to the people what he claimed was a Qur’ān revealed to him. Only a few verses of this alleged Qur’ān are recorded. Al-Ra‘if examines some of them and says that quite clearly they do not match anything in the Qur’ān.

Abu al-Hasan al-Ash’ari, the mutakallim

Abu al-Hasan al-Ash’ari (324 A.H. — 965 C.E.) wrote about the question of the ‘i̯az, but most of his books have been lost. Some of his views, however, have been reported in books by other writers. His views were summed up as follows: Ibn Hazm (in al-Fasl fi al-Milal wa al-Ahwa wa al-Nahl — The Arbiter on Sects, Views and Reports, p. 15 et seq.) reports al-Ash’ari as saying that the challenge made to mankind in the Qur’ān was in regard to something which remains unrevealed and known only to God. Ibn Hazm replies to this by saying that a challenge cannot be made to something not known. Al-Ash’ari thus maintains that the Qur’ān known to us is not the subject of the ‘i̯az. Ibn Hazm also says (as noted by al-Ra‘if in ‘Ijaz al-Qur’ān) that the measure of the ‘i̯az with the followers of al-Ash’ari is that of the shortest verse of the Qur’ān. They support their view by quoting the verse, “Say, come forth with one chapter like this” (2 : 23), and claim that the Qur’ān did not make a challenge to anything in any other respect. These reports do not adequately explain the views of al-Ash’ari. The first may mean that al-Ash’ari did not believe in the ‘i̯az of the existing Qur’ān, while the second only speaks of the ‘i̯az in one aspect.

Bandar al-Farisi, the mutakallim

Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, in discussing the question of the ‘i̯az (al-‘I’iqan, Vol. II, p. 198), considers the views of Bandar al-Farisi in this matter. He says: “Bandar al-Farisi was asked his opinion about the ‘i̯az of the Qur’ān, and he replied that this was axiomatic. ... Every part of the Qur’ān is a masterpiece in itself, a miracle to anyone attempting it, and a light to the one reciting it. Mankind cannot be aware of all the aims of God in His words and His secrets in His Book. That is why the mind has been amazed and perplexed.” It would appear from these reported views of Bandar al-Farisi that he was a mutakallim who cleverly avoided detailed discussion of the subject by claiming that the Qur’ān was a mu‘jizah because it was a mu‘jizah, because it was the word of God and the word of man would not therefore be equal to it. Instead of seeking to prove the truth of the prophethood of Muhammad and the authenticity of the Qur’ān as the word of God by showing that it has the quality of the ‘i̯az, he reversed the pattern and assumed without argument that the Qur’ān was the word of God and that therefore it was a mu‘jizah. This represents a new approach to the question of the ‘i̯az of the Qur’ān.

Al-Tabari, the mutassir

In his Taafsir, al-Tabari discusses the question of the ‘i̯az of the Qur’ān in the course of his commentary on the verse
in which the challenge was made to the Muslims (“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” (2:23)). His views on this subject can be summed up as follows:

1. The Qur’ān is a mu’jizah, and shall remain so for ever, and no human effort can ever match it.
2. The Qur’ān is a mu’jizah because of its capacity to express its intentions.
3. The Qur’ān made a challenge to the Arabs to match it, and this challenge was made in their own language.

4. The Arabs did not succeed in matching the Qur’ān, and there were only purile efforts such as those of Musailamah to imitate it.

On the question of the style of the Qur’ān, al-Tabari says: “One of the most noble aspects of our Book which surpasses the qualities of all previous books is its unusual and beautiful style; and the orators have failed to match even the smallest of its surahs, the scholars of rhetoric have failed to imitate its style, and the poets have been amazed at it” (al-Tafsir of al-Tabari, Vol. I, p. 65).

Islamic Family Law in Pakistan continued from page 12

a legal change when it is necessary for the better implementation of Islam.

But what is unlikely to change is the necessity for constant “exertion” and the increasing rejection of unthinking “imitation”. The principle behind Islamic “modernism” can only be rejected at the cost of attempting vainly to reject the entire meaning of the history of the last hundred years and more. In this process of change, the true tools of ijtihad will evolve in the light of experience and the basis for according sanction to the results of ijtihad will become clearer in the process.

Meanwhile, the world will not wait for us, and in the dialectic or ikhtilaf between the genuine “conservative” and the “modernist”, between the mutadides and the jihaddites, we can see the stirrings of the Muslim community emerging from a long slumber to assume its rightful place in a world which stands in real need of Islam’s enduring message.

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June 1965
THE 1960-65 PLAN OF PAKISTAN
A Review of the Success
By Sartaj 'Aziz

The completion of the Second Five Year Plan in June 1965 will be a major turning point in Pakistan’s brief economic history because it marks the end of the early phase of development in the country. Almost all the important targets of the Second Plan have been achieved or exceeded, but of great significance is the fact that the economy has been geared up for high growth rate and a larger development effort in future. The rate of investment has gone up from an average of 9 per cent in 1959-60 to 18 per cent of Gross National Product (G.N.P.) in 1964-65 and domestic savings are now 11 per cent of G.N.P. compared to only 6.6 per cent in 1959-60. Exports have been increasing at an unprecedented rate of 7 per cent per annum and the growth of the G.N.P. during the Second Plan period is estimated at 30 per cent compared to a target of 24 per cent set in the Plan.

The regional pattern of this growth rate is even more encouraging. While the economy as a whole grew at 5.2 per cent per annum during the Second Plan period, the average growth rate in East Pakistan was 5.3 per cent, and 4.9 per cent in West Pakistan. This acceleration in the growth in Pakistan’s eastern province is an important step towards the long-term objective of removing economic disparity between the two provinces.

Agricultural sector

One of the most heartening features of the performance during the Second Plan has been the break-through in agriculture. This sector, which provides livelihood to 80 per cent of the population and contributes over 50 per cent of the national income, was almost stagnant during the First Plan period, growing at only 1.4 per cent per annum. During the Second Plan period, agricultural production has been increasing at 3.7 per cent per annum and has been primarily responsible for accelerating and sustaining the growth of the economy. Without progressive agriculture, it is not possible to feed a growing population, produce enough raw materials for an expanding industry or maintain the country’s export earnings. During the First Plan period, since agriculture production increased at such a tardy rate, there were chronic food deficits leading to a severe drain on the country’s foreign exchange resources. Export surpluses of agricultural raw materials were declining, and the pressure on prices was mounting. But now, following the impressive increases in the production of agricultural crops — notably cotton and rice — the food situation has remained satisfactory, prices have remained stable and export earnings have been rising steadily.

The Second Plan target of a 20 per cent increase in food production was achieved in 1963-64 — one year in advance. The total increase in food production over the Plan period is expected to be 25 per cent. If non-food crops are taken into account, the performance is even better.

Expansion of key industries

The contribution of the manufacturing sector to G.N.P. has been increasing at about 8.5 per cent per annum during the Second Plan period. The expansion in the output of several key industries is shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1959-60</th>
<th>1964-65 Estimate</th>
<th>Percentage Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. cotton yarn (million lbs.)</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. jute manufactures (000 tons)</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. white sugar (000 tons)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. paper and paper board (000 tons)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. cement</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. nitrogenous fertilizers</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>1,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. phosphatic fertilizers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. vegetable products (000 cwt)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

President Muhammad Ayyub Khan talking to His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran

Increase in Industrial Production during the Second Plan period:

This acceleration in the growth of the industrial output was the result of a series of important policies and programmes. Direct administrative controls on the economy were gradually relaxed and incentives for increased investment
greatly strengthened. Direct controls are now restricted to overall industrial policy and targets as manifested in the periodical Investment Schedules, the detailed task of sanctioning individual investments has been left to development banks like PICIC (Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation) and IDBP (Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan). This has led to a sharp acceleration in the rate of private investment and the first Investment Schedule published in November 1960 was over-committed to the extent of 40 per cent within the first three years of the Second Plan, necessitating the issuance of a revised Schedule to utilize more fully the investment potential of the private sector. It is expected that the overall provision for industrial investment in the Second Plan will be exceeded by at least 15 per cent.

The next important set of measures taken during the Second Plan were aimed at a fuller utilization of installed industrial capacity. Before 1959, the dwindling foreign exchange earnings had forced the successive governments to curtail imports which reduced the availability of industrial raw materials and spare parts, and led to a sharp fall in industrial production. The declining production increased pressure on prices, which caused a further decline in export earning leading to still larger cuts in imports, thus setting a vicious circle into motion. One of the first steps taken during the Second Plan period was a decisive liberalization of imports, particularly industrial raw materials and spare parts. This policy of liberalization has been gradually extended over a wider front. At present almost 90 per cent of materials required by industries can be imported without restrictions. The result of these liberalizations measures is clearly reflected in the sharp increase in industrial output over the last two years.

A third important step has been the diversification of the industrial sector by increasing emphasis on heavy industries. While the initial spurt of industry had to begin with conventional consumer goods, goods industries such as textiles, vegetable oils, sugar and leather goods, the long-term viability of an economy depends on the growth of basic industries such as steel, heavy machinery, machine tools, transport equipments. A major programme of developing heavy industries has already been initiated. Once these industries are set up, it will be possible for the country to effect a sharp reduction on foreign assistance for the import of capital goods and machinery.

More and more reliance on domestic resources

Another heartening feature about the performance of the Plan is the country's ability to rely more on domestic resources than was originally expected. The Plan had estimated that the total development outlay of $4.8 billion would be financed to the extent of 48 per cent through foreign aid. Current expectations are that dependence on external resources will not in fact exceed 32 per cent. The balance will be financed from domestic resources. This is a reassuring index of the country's progress towards self-sustaining economic development.

Another important index of the increasing capability of the economy to generate resources for its accelerated growth is in the large exports. As against the Plan estimate of $2,362.5 million over the entire Plan period, exports in the first four years add up to $2,150 million. It is expected that exports during 1964-65 will exceed $630 million. The total export earnings of $2,782.5 million during the five year period will thus exceed the Plan target by over $42 million. In percentage terms the export earnings over the five-year period have been increasing at an annual rate of 7 per cent as against only 3 per cent forecast in the Plan. This increasing export performance has enabled the country to finance a larger proportion of its imports particularly of capital goods and raw materials, and to reduce its dependence on external resources.

Increase in the production of electricity

The installed power capacity in Pakistan increased by about 6 per cent during the Second Plan period, from 2,250 M.W. to 2,600 M.W. In addition, the augmentation in the total circuit miles of transmission and distribution lines was 15,000 during the five-year period. The programme of extending electricity to villages also continued and about 2,500 additional villages were electrified during the period. The per capita consumption of electricity is now about 40 units. The Third Plan programme aims at increasing per capita consumption to 78 by 1970.

The implementation of this transport programme in the Second Plan has exceeded the financial targets in the Plan by about 25 per cent. The development programme for 1964-65 provides an allocation of $183 million for the transport and communication sectors or 19 per cent of the total. With this allocation, total investment in the transport and communications sectors during the five-year period will be $620 million. The freight ton miles handled by the Pakistan Western Railways increased from 4,095 million in 1960-61 to 4,822 million in 1963-64. Similarly, passenger miles increased from 5,545 to 6,067 million in 1963-64, thus reflecting an annual average increase of 6.9 per cent in ton miles and 4.3 per cent in passenger miles. The increase on the East Pakistan Railways was much higher — 9.4 per cent in ton miles (from 945 million in 1960-61 to 1,057 million in 1963-64) and 4.3 per cent in passenger miles (from 1,882 million in 1960-61 to 2,015 million in 1963-64). In East Pakistan, Inland Water Transport has also been developing rapidly.

The Second Plan had recognized the concept of education as a vital national investment and an important department of the nation's development effort. The Plan also recognized that different levels of education must grow and expand in line with one another. So high priority was assigned to scientific and technical education and to specialized training in the most essential specific activities. The Plan also stressed the importance of the content and quality of education.

Education and health

The Second Plan provided $186.9 million for educational programme during the Second Plan period. It now appears that actual expenditure in the education sector will exceed the Plan target by 5 per cent.

During the short period of four years, the expenditure on education has increased manifold, which is expected to go a long way towards the eradication of illiteracy. Similarly, the emphasis on technical education has also been increased, which is bound to give an industrial bias to the economy of the country, which was hitherto predominantly agricultural.

The implementation of the educational programme during the Plan period has been highly successful and it is expected that by June 1965, almost all the important physical targets will be achieved. The allocations for the Third Plan propose a three-fold increase in the allocation for education which will be the highest proportionate increase in any sector.

The Second Plan assigned greater priority to the prevention and eradication of malaria, smallpox and tuberculosis.

Continued on page 40
MODERN SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE Qur'an's Ontological Solution

"O ye mankind! surely We have made you out of male and female tribes that you may recognize one another. Surely the most righteous of you among you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you."

All religions dream of the brotherhood of man; but Islam alone has to offer suffering mankind a social system in a class by itself and entirely its own that rids man of race consciousness and colour hatred.

The American Negro Muslim, the late Malcolm X, who was brought up on hatred of his white compatriots, on "the defence mechanism which his subconscious intelligence forced him to erect against the conscious racism practised by American whites", wrote of the transformation that came upon him after having accepted Islam as the norm of his life in the following words:

"There are Muslims of all colours and ranks here in Mecca from all parts of the earth. "During the past seven days of this holy pilgrimage (to Mecca), while undergoing the rituals of the Hajj (pilgrimage), I have eaten from the same plate, drunk from the same glass, slept on the same bed or rug, while praying to the same God — not only with some of this earth's most powerful kings, cabinet ministers, potentates and other forms of political and religious rulers — but also with fellow-Muslims whose skin was the whitest of white, whose eyes were the bluest of blue and whose hair was the blondest of blonde — yet it was the first time in my life that I didn't see them as 'white' men. I could look into their faces and see that they didn't regard themselves as 'white'.

"Their belief in the Oneness of God had actually removed the 'white' from their minds, which automatically changed their attitude and behaviour toward people of other colours. Their belief in the Oneness of God has actually made them so different from American whites, their outer physical characteristics played no part at all in my mind during all my close associations with them...

"In fact, what I have seen and experienced in this pilgrimage has forced me to 'rearrange'

(Biological aspects of race...

The undersigned, assembled by Unesco in order to give their views on the biological aspects of the race question and in particular to formulate the biological part for a statement foreseen for 1966 and intended to bring up to date and to complete the declaration on the nature of race and racial differences signed in 1951, have unanimously agreed on the following:

1. All men living today belong to a single species, Homo sapiens, and are derived from a common stock. There are differences of opinion regarding how and when different human groups diverged from this common stock.

2. Biological differences between human beings are due to differences in hereditary constitution and to the influence of the environment on this genetic potential. In most cases, those differences are due to the inter-action of these two sets of factors.

3. There is great genetic diversity within all human populations. Pure races — in the sense of, genetically homogeneous populations — do not exist in the human species.

4. There are obvious physical differences between populations living in different geographic areas of the world, in their average appearance. Many of these differences have a genetic component.

Most often the latter consist in differences in the frequency of the same hereditary characters.
THE UNSOUND THEORY OF RACISM

Solution to the Race Problem

male and female. And We have made you into nations and
the most honoured of you in the sight of God is he who
is of you” (The Qur'an, 49:33)

much of my own thought-pattern, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions.

"The Muslims' sincere submission to the Oneness of God, and their true acceptance of
all non-whites as equals, makes the so-called 'whites' also acceptable as equals into the
brotherhood of Islam with the 'non-whites'. Colour ceases to be a determining factor of a
man's worth or value once he becomes a Muslim. I hope I am making this part very clear,
because it is now very clear to me.

"If white Americans would accept the religion of Islam, if they would accept the Oneness
of God, then they could also sincerely accept the Oneness of Man, and they would cease
to measure others always in terms of their 'differences in colour'.

"The American Negro should never be blamed for racial 'animosities', because his are
only reactions, or defence mechanisms which his subconscious intelligence has forced him to
erect against the conscious racism practised... by American whites.

"But as America's insane obsession with racism leads her up the suicidal path, nearer
and nearer to the precipice that leads to the bottomless pits below, I do believe that whites of
the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, through their own young, less hampered
intellect, will see the 'handwriting on the wall' and turn for spiritual salvation to the religion
of Islam and force the older generation of American whites to turn with them" (The New

Below, we reproduce the text of the findings of a meeting sponsored by Unesco held in Moscow in August 1964 immediately after the XII Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences which had taken place in that city. It was attended by anthropologists and ethnologists from 17 countries — Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Senegal, Great Britain, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Venezuela.

Different classifications of mankind into major stocks, and of those into more restricted
categories (races, which are groups of populations, or single populations) have been proposed
on the basis of hereditary physical traits. Nearly all classifications recognize at least three
major stocks.

Since the pattern of geographic variation of the characteristics used in racial classification is a
complex one, and since this pattern does not present any major discontinuity, these classifications,
whatever they are, cannot claim to classify mankind into clear cut categories; moreover,
on account of the complexities of human history, it is difficult to determine the place of certain
groups within these racial classifications, in particular that of certain intermediate populations.

Many anthropologists, while stressing the importance of human variation, believe that the
scientific interest of these classifications is limited, and even that they carry the risk of inviting
abusive generalizations.

Differences between individuals within a race or within a population are often greater than
the average differences between races or populations.

Some of the variable distinctive traits which are generally chosen as criteria to characterize
a race are either independently inherited or show only varying degrees of association between
them within each population. Therefore, the combination of these traits in most individuals
does not correspond to the typological racial characterization.

In man as well as in animals, the genetic composition of each population is subject to the
modifying influence of diverse factors: natural selection, tending towards adaptation to the
environment, fortuitous mutations which lead to modifications of the molecules of desoxyri-
bonucleic acid which determine heredity, or random modifications in the frequency of qualitative

hereditary characters, to an extent dependent on the patterns of mating and the size of populations.

Certain physical characters have a universal biological value for the survival of the human species, irrespective of the environment. The differences on which racial classifications are based do not affect these characters, and therefore, it is not possible from the biological point of view to speak in any way whatsoever of a general inferiority or superiority of this or that race.

7 Human evolution presents attributes of capital importance which are specific to the species. The human species, which is now spread over the whole world, has a past rich in migrations, in territorial expansions and contractions.

As a consequence, general adaptability to the most diverse environments is in man more pronounced than his adaptations to specific environments.

For long millennia, progress made by man, in any field, seems to have been increasingly, if not exclusively, based on culture and the transmission of cultural achievements and not on the transmission of genetic endowment. This implies a modification in the role of natural selection in man today.

On account of the mobility of human populations and of social factors, mating between members of different human groups which tend to mitigate the differentiations acquired, has played a much more important role in human history than in that of animals. The history of any human population or of any human race is rich in instances of hybridization and those tend to become more and more numerous.

For man, the obstacles to inter-breeding are geographical as well as social and cultural.

8 At all times, the hereditary characteristics of the human populations are in dynamic equilibrium as a result of this inter-breeding and of the differentiation mechanisms which were mentioned before. As entities defined by sets of distinctive traits, human races are at any time in a process of emergence and dissolution.

Human races in general present a far less clear-cut characterization than many animal races and they cannot be compared at all to races of domestic animals, these being the result of heightened selection for special purposes.

9 It has never been proved that inter-breeding has biological disadvantages for mankind as a whole.

On the contrary, it contributes to the maintenance of biological ties between human groups and thus to the unity of the species in its diversity.

The biological consequences of a marriage depend only on the individual genetic make-up of the couple and not on their race.

Therefore, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races, or for advising against it on racial grounds.

10 Man since his origin has at his disposal ever more efficient cultural means of non-genetic adaptation.

11 Those cultural factors which break social and geographic barriers, enlarge the size of the breeding populations and so act upon their genetic structure by diminishing the random fluctuations (genetic drift).

12 As a rule, the major stocks extend over vast territories encompassing many diverse populations which differ in language, economy, culture, etc.

There is no national, religious, geographic, linguistic or cultural group which constitutes a race ipso facto; the concept of race is purely biological.

However, human beings who speak the same language and share the same culture have a tendency to inter-marry, and often there is as a result a certain degree of coincidence between physical traits on the one hand, and linguistic and cultural traits on the other. But there is no known causal nexus between these and therefore it is not justifiable to attribute cultural characteristics to the influence of the genetic inheritance.
Most racial classifications of mankind do not include mental traits or attributes as a taxonomic criterion.

Heredity may have an influence in the variability shown by individuals within a given population in their responses to the psychological tests currently applied.

However, no difference has ever been detected convincingly in the hereditary endowments of human groups in regard to what is measured by these tests. On the other hand, ample evidence attests to the influence of physical, cultural and social environment on differences in response to these tests.

The study of this question is hampered by the very great difficulty of determining what part heredity plays in the average differences observed in so-called tests of overall intelligence between populations of different cultures.

The genetic capacity for intellectual development, like certain major anatomical traits peculiar to the species, is one of the biological traits essential for its survival in any natural or social environment.

The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any civilizational level. Differences in the achievements of different peoples must be attributed solely to their cultural history.

Certain psychological traits are at times attributed to particular peoples. Whether or not such assertions are valid, we do not find any basis for ascribing such traits to hereditary factors, until proof to the contrary is given.

Neither in the field of hereditary potentialities concerning the overall intelligence and the capacity for cultural development, nor in that of physical traits, is there any justification for the concept of “inferior” and “superior” races.

THE BIOLOGICAL DATA GIVEN ABOVE ARE IN OPEN CONTRADICTION TO THE TENETS OF RACISM. RACIST THEORIES CAN IN NO WAY PRETEND TO HAVE ANY SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATION AND THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS SHOULD ENDEavour TO PREVENT THE RESULTS OF THEIR RESEARCH FROM BEING USED IN SUCH A BIASED WAY AS TO SERVE NON-SCIENTIFIC ENDS

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Professor J. A. VALSK, Department of Anthropology and Genetics, J. A. Komensky University, Bratislava (Czechoslovakia).
Dr. JOSEPH S. WEINER, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London (U.K.).
Dr. VSEVOLOD P. YAKIMOY, Director, Institute of Anthropology, Moscow University (U.S.S.R.).
The Importance of the African Peoples to the Arabs in particular and Muslims in general

The Tactics of Israel
Some Suggestions

By Kamil Sharif

Increased attention to Africa

The continent of Africa is at present the centre of attention for the leading world Powers and political observers in all countries. It is generally agreed that the deliverance of the continent of Africa from colonialism, and the attainment of independence by many African countries, has brought about a fundamental change in the world's political scene. While in the past the African countries were mere possessions of strong Powers and appendages to them in all respects, with their natural resources and wealth exploited for the selfish benefit of the colonizers, these African countries have now become on the whole a force of substantial weight in the international sphere. The big Powers now woo these African countries and seek their support and allegiance in the main struggle for power in the world. It is for this reason that some noted political observers have held the view that the changes now taking place in the political sphere in Africa are in many respects as important for the world's future as the conquest of outer space. One aspect of the increasing importance being attached to the African countries can be seen at the United Nations. The big Powers always take into very serious consideration the views of the Afro-Asian bloc, and rarely has a decision been taken without the consent and support of this bloc. The continent of Africa did not have any significance in world politics fifteen or twenty years ago.

There is more than one reason why the Muslims, and particularly the Arabs, should devote serious attention to the progress of the continent of Africa, and why they should seek to establish close diplomatic and other links with the African peoples. For one thing, a common destiny is shared by the inhabitants of the region, a destiny shared for many centuries by virtue of neighbourliness. The Arab countries thus cannot help but be affected by events in the African continent. Another reason why the Arabs should devote attention to the African continent is that their enemy, Israel, has for some time now been trying to strike a friendship with the African countries, to exploit their wealth and to enlist their support in international circles against the Arabs in regard to Palestine. There is also the fact that there remain in Africa vestiges of the old Western imperialism, and the seed is being sown for Communist imperialism — and imperialism of these two kinds in this part of the world represents a substantial threat to the Arab countries. All these factors make it imperative that the Arabs should evolve a new policy in regard to the countries of the African continent, a policy designed to foster relations with the peoples of this region with whom the Arabs share an irrevocable common destiny. But for the formulation of this policy it is essential that the situation in the African countries should be assessed realistically, and that there should be a genuine appreciation of the political, cultural and spiritual trends prevailing in Africa. At no time must reliance be placed on the superficial information about Africa available in books written by foreign writers whose sole purpose has often been to serve the selfish material interests of their countries.

Arab relations with the African countries differ very much in their nature and effect from relations between the African countries and other foreign countries. There are common denominators between the African countries and the Arab countries in the historical, cultural and spiritual aspects, and these factors would dictate to the Arabs a realistic attitude to the African continent. But to be truly realistic, this policy should be based on a thorough study of the special circumstances of each African country. It would be wrong to classify the African countries into rough categories — some labelled as nationalist and free and others as subservient to imperialism. It would also be wrong to use for any classification of this kind the traditional criteria applied in other parts of the world — such as the Arab world. Every African country has its special circumstances, and these dictate the attitude of its government and its relations with foreign countries. Any keen observer of African affairs can see abundantly clearly that the African peoples on the whole are very sensitive to anything that appears to them to be intervention in their domestic affairs. This feeling prevails both in the African countries which openly profess hostility to the West as much as in the countries which appear to have close friendly ties with the West. There is utter abhorrence of foreign meddling in African affairs, and antagonism to anything in the nature of patronization by foreigners, and the African people will accept only such relations with the West or the East, or with any other part of the world, which are on a basis of equality and which help them without being condescending.

African unity

An important factor in African life is the quest for African unity throughout the continent. This factor is often the one which determines the African countries' relations with foreign countries. Unity is perhaps not a realistic thing to the masses in Africa, where thinking remains on the level of tribes and clans, and the horizon too narrow even for the conception of a nation or a whole country. In many African countries the tribe is the primary and perhaps the highest or largest unit, and the people in some African countries cannot easily feel a common denominator with people outside their own narrow circle. If you ask a member of the Hausa tribe or the Yoruba tribe in Nigeria about his nationality he would immediately give you the name of his tribe, and not the name of his country. But the idea of African unity dominates the minds of the intellectuals and the political leaders in Africa. To some extent, however, some of the ramifications of this idea remain vague. In Guinea and Ghana unity means
something different than it means in the Ivory Coast or Chad. Often the main consideration in the desire for unity is the hope by some politicians that it would enable them to be leaders of even greater units — in other words, personal hegemony is often the main reason for the quest for unity. But in some cases a great measure of unity has been achieved between neighbouring African countries because of close and immediate common interests of a pressing nature.

The big Powers — both Western and Communist — are trying to play a significant role in the matter of African unity. The pattern seems quite clear: where a big Power succeeds in establishing firm beneficial relations with an African country it tries to push that country along the path of unity, and this is done with the sole object of enabling the big Power, through the African country with which it already has close ties, to widen its sphere of influence into other African countries and to infiltrate into them through this unity. When I visited the Cameroons not long ago to attend a conference of French-speaking African countries — which represent a larger group than the French community, which is made up of the countries officially affiliated to France — I tried to find out the factors which brought these African countries together and which can serve as a basis for their unity. It appeared to me that there were two predominant factors. The first was the French language, which the members of the group considered as a useful medium and basis for cooperation in the various spheres. The other factor was the positive encouragement given by the West which was demonstrated by two messages to the conference, one from President de Gaulle and the other from President Kennedy, in which they praised the aims of the conference and expressed readiness to help in economic and other aspects in their realization. In my visits to other parts of Africa — in Conakry and Bamako — I witnessed another method for the realization of unity. It is based on the attainment of complete independence and the combating of imperialism. This policy is supported by all the anti-imperialist countries, chiefly the Soviet Union. There are also attempts being made to bring about African unity on bases entirely African, uninfluenced by any outside considerations. This policy was demonstrated at the conferences recently held in Monrovia and Lagos.

Many African leaders entertain doubts about the likelihood of establishing complete African unity. They consider the various efforts so far made towards the realization of African unity as dissipation of precious energy and a cause for increased suspicion and friction between the African countries. They believe that the African countries as a whole could at present be more usefully occupied in strengthening their own domestic edifices. Relations with neighbours should be closer but should not in any way involve the imposition of political or other creeds. The leading advocate of this policy is the Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria, Haj Abu Bakr Tafawa Balewa, whose country has succeeded in establishing good relations with its neighbours.

The Arabs’ aims and policies

It is important for the Arab and Muslim countries to realize that African unity has not yet crystallized, and no definite pattern has so far been established for its implementation. For this reason it would be hasty and inadvisable for foreign countries to identify themselves with any particular African group or bloc or to seek closer relations with one section of the African countries rather than another. This might incur for these foreign countries the hostility of one group or another, and impose upon them unnecessary hard-ship or handicaps in that group. For the Muslim and Arab countries, if they seek to promote the cause of Islam, this would be a sad situation. The Muslims and the Arabs must also never forget the fact that their bitter enemy, Israel, is lying in wait for them in Africa and ready to pounce and take advantage of any indiscretion or mistake on their part. Israel would also meticulously distort Muslim and Arab policy and intentions to its advantage. It would also not be slow in exploiting the situation of the Muslim and Arab countries to adopt a policy which for any reason were to make them, rightly or wrongly, suspect in the eyes of the African countries.

The Arab countries, as the part of the world of Islam nearest to the African countries, must devise a definite policy determining the nature of their relations with Africa. But before doing this they must ask themselves the simple question: What is it that they want of Africa and in Africa? Perhaps the aim of the Arabs could be simply summed up in the statement that they would wish to bring about a relationship which would promote co-operation for the benefit of the geographical region inhabited by the Africans and the Arabs. Such co-operation should be in the economic, political and other fields. It should prevent Israel from utilizing the African countries as a means of support against the Arabs. The Arab countries also should not allow their territories to be used in any way as a threat to the sovereignty or independence of the African countries, or as a springboard for any political or spiritual invasion of the African countries whether emanating from East or West. Needless to say, the most essential prerequisite for the attainment of such co-operation is mutual confidence between the Arabs and the Africans. The Arabs should also avoid participation in anything likely to be interpreted by the Africans as intervention in African domestic affairs, or as bias towards any particular African political group working for the realization of one form of unity or another or any other aim. And if in fact the policy of the Muslim and Arab countries towards Africa were to be based on the genuine interest of the Muslims and the Arabs it cannot but be opposed to intervention in domestic affairs or bias towards partisan groupings. This would be the only way in which the Muslim and Arab countries can ensure that all doors remain open for them in the African continent. The doors that are closed to them would be open to their enemy, Israel, and this would be catastrophic.

There is an important common denominator between the Arab countries and the African countries — Islam. Recent statistics show that there are about 80 million Muslims in Black Africa, forming the majority of the population or a substantial minority in many countries. Even in the countries in which the Muslims are a minority their influence upon the life and thought of the country as a whole is often very real.

The bonds of brotherhood which bind the Muslims require the Arabs to consider it their duty to render whatever assistance is needed by their African brothers. They should help to lift the standard of life of the African countries and promote their progress in all respects. In this regard, however, it must be pointed out that in recent times there has developed a trend which seeks to distort Islamic culture and depict the religion of Islam as unsuitable for the needs of modern times. It cannot be denied that unscurious people in the Muslim world have often utilized religion as a means of exploitation and oppression, and that this has given rise to the idea that Islam is synonymous with backwardness and stagnation. Nothing, of course, could be farther from the truth than this about Islam, which is a religion of progress particularly suited for curing the social and other ills of this
age, Islam should be portrayed in its true light, and applied to help the Muslims of Africa along the path of modernization and progress. The results which would be achieved by the implementation of this policy would give rise to the accusations levelled against Islam by its detractors.

The Arabic language and Arab nationalism

The falsehoods spread in Africa about Islam and Islamic culture have also had a detrimental effect upon the promotion of the Arabic language in that part of the world. Many Muslims and non-Muslims in Africa are anxious to learn the Arabic language, and some African political leaders believe that the Arabic language can serve as an important instrument of nationalism. They are of the opinion that Arabic should be taught as a primary language at school and that it can serve to inculcate a sense of nationalist personality in the African countries as a whole, in preference to the European languages which are relics of imperialism. And while it may be thought that such a hostile attitude to Western languages and culture as a whole is unjustifiable, since Western languages and culture have made substantial contributions to the progress of mankind, the Arabs should nevertheless give serious consideration to this desire to learn their language. This would not only be beneficial to the Arabs but would also enable the peoples of Africa better to understand the religion of Islam in the original tongue of Islam, and thus be of assistance to them in implementing Muslim ideas in their life.

If the Arabs formulate plans to spread the Arabic language and Islamic culture in Africa, they would not be doing this for selfish motives, nor would they be utilizing religion as a tool for exploitation or colonization. Islam emphasizes the brotherhood of man and requires all Muslims to co-operate with one another for the common good. For this reason I think some extreme facets of Arab nationalism as professd by some Arab leaders appear un-Islamic and can cause suspicion among Africans. This misunderstanding of Arab nationalism would create an obstacle between the Arab nation and the Muslims of Africa. Arab nationalism must therefore be clarified in this respect, and it should be emphasized that it is in essence no more than a bond linking together the members of the Arab nation and uniting their ranks to enable them thereby better to serve the universal message of Islam and protect it. Undoubtedly, anti-Arab propaganda, particularly Zionist propaganda, have distorted the nature of Arab nationalism for the purpose of undermining the relationship between the Arabs and the non-Arab Muslims of the world, by portraying Arab nationalism as a purely racist movement designed to further the interests solely of the Arab peoples as against the non-Arabs, including the remainder of the people of Islam. The Zionists have often said to the Africans that the Arabs utilize the religion of Islam as a means to attain selfish Arab motives to the detriment of other Muslims. And it must be admitted that there have been statements by some extremist Arab nationalists which lent themselves easily to such malicious distortion by the Zionists. The truth about Arab nationalism, as a movement to unify the ranks of the various Arab peoples and consolidate their material and spiritual resources against their enemies, should be made known to the African peoples, through the radio, the press and other information media. This is an urgent task, for there can never be any real progress towards the realization of real harmony and co-operation between the Arabs and the people of Africa, particularly the African Muslims, while these false ideas about Arab nationalism remain rife. And co-operation between the Arabs and the Africans is most decidedly to the great benefit of both of them.

Islam v. Christianity?

Another problem which must be considered is regard to the prospect of Islamic joint action and co-operation in Africa is the struggle between Islam and Christianity there. These two great religions have been battling against one another for many years in the African continent. The result of the struggle has been the liquidation of imperialism — which served as one of the media of Christianity — and the revival of Islam and its consolidation in large stretches of the African continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean. The advocates of Christianity, however, do not accept this result and have recently changed their tactics in Africa in an effort to conform to the new spirit in the African continent. They are new tactics are based on two factors. One is the establishment of an “African Christianity” not outwardly linked to the West or connected with imperialist policies. A step in this direction has been the handing over of ecclesiastical powers to African priests. The second factor is the isolation of the Muslim Africans from the more developed Arab and Muslim countries, and the creation of an “African Islam” which it is hoped, would be easier to liquidate in due course. The propaganda which seeks to create a gulf between the Arabs and the Africans is in line with this policy.

The counter measures to be launched by the Muslims should have as their objective the bringing closer together of the Muslims of Africa and of the Arab world through assistance by the latter in the solution of the endemic problems of Africa, social, economic, political and cultural. Only when the African peoples see progress being achieved in these directions will they be able to join the general Muslim caravan in unity.

But it must be made clear from the outset that in these efforts the Arabs would not be seeking to extirpate Christianity from Africa. This should never be an Arab objective. The primary consideration should be that Muslims in the less developed countries should not be allowed because of ignorance to fall victim to Communism and perversian doctrines. The idea that Islam should be liquidated from Africa is very naive. So is the idea that Christianity should be liquidated. The only beneficiary from a bitter struggle between Islam and Christianity is world Communism and Zionism, and it is high time that two great religions agreed on co-operation against the common enemy. The Muslims, however, cannot stand idle by as the Communist tide spreads in Africa. They believe that Communism cannot possibly survive in the genuine atmosphere of Islam, and that it thrives only in the atmosphere of superstition, ignorance and backwardness which exists in some nominally Muslim countries where Islam is little understood. The main mission of the Arabs in Africa at present is not to preach to non-Muslims but to preach to Muslims and make them better understand the religion they profess.

Arab expatriates in Africa

The Arab governments should devote more attention to the problem of Arab expatriates in Africa. There are many thousands of these in various African countries. They are mostly engaged in commerce and have a dominating position in the economy of certain African countries. But the regrettable fact is that they play no part in the social or spiritual life of the host countries, and often do not identify themselves sufficiently clearly with the nationalist movement in these countries. They are also not in very close touch with Arab

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THE MO'TAMAR AL-‘ALAM AL-ISLAMI
(The World Muslim Congress)

A brief description of its Sixth Conference held at Mogadishu

Mottoes of the conference: 1. Muslims of the World Unite
2. Africa, the Muslim Continent

By In’amullah Khan

A short history of the growth of the Congress

The Mo’tamar al-‘Alam al-Islami, otherwise known as the World Muslim Congress, is the oldest and largest international Muslim organization. It was founded in 1926 in Mecca, following the Hajj in 1346 A.H. Today it has 42 branches and affiliates besides correspondents in different parts of the world. Since the abolition of the great institution of the Caliphate, which in its heyday served as the symbol around which the entire world of Islam revolved and which even in its weakest days served as the symbol of world Muslim unity, the thinking minds amongst the Muslim leadership of the world have been agitated and worried. The Allies held the defeat of Turkey as an end of the “Crusade.” So believed Sir Percy Sykes. So thought General Allenby. But the course of events have belied those false prophets. The wave of unrest and uneasiness which was, however, set loose thereby made the Muslim world revile about their future, and a new wave of awakening was the result. And this awakening, taking different forms and shapes in different parts of the world, combined of course with other world factors, has within fifty years seen thirty-six independent Muslim countries adding their colours to the Council of the free nations of the world.

It was this desire to restore that symbol of world Muslim unity that the leaders of the world of Islam met in Mecca and founded the Mo’tamar. Among its founders were great and noble sons of Islam. To name just a few: Hajj ‘Umar Tjokrominoto, who set the ball of Islamic renaissance rolling in Indonesia by founding the Sharikat Islam Party; the famous ‘Ali brothers (the Maulana Muhammad ‘Ali and the Maulana Shaukat ‘Ali); the Musti Kifayat Ullah and the renowned scholar Syed Sulayman Nadavi of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent; the then Shaykh al-Azhar, the Shaikh Ahmad al-Zawahiri; the well-known Commander Adib Sarwal of Turkey; His Eminence Hajj Muhammad Amin al-Husayni of Palestine; and the late King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ibn Su’ud.

Amongst those associated with the Mo’tamar it would not be out of place to mention a few, viz., Muhammad Iqbal, the great Pakistani poet of Islam; Sayyid Ziya al-Din Tabatabai of Iran; Shukri Qowatli, a former President of Syria; the late Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat ‘Ali Khan; ‘Abd al-Karim Rifi; the late Egyptian scholar Dr. ‘Abd al-Wahhab ‘Azzam Bey; His Eminence the late Ayatullah Kaasheful Ghiataa of Iraq; His Eminence the late Muhammad ‘Ali ‘Alluba Pasha of Egypt; His Excellency President Habib Bourguiba; His Excellency President Aden ‘Abdullah ‘Osman; His Excellency Sir Ahmadu Bello; His Excellency Tunku ‘Abdul Rahman, associated with the Mo’tamar in one way or the other.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention His Excellency Dr. Sukiman and His Excellency Dr. Muhammad Natsir, both leaders of the now defunct Mashumi Party and ex-Premiers of Indonesia.

Till 1951 it used to meet in world conferences and disperse, but at the 1951 Conference at Karachi the objectives of the Mo’tamar were defined. But it was only in 1962 that the Mo’tamar at its Baghdad session formally adopted its Constitution. And since then it has been organizing itself like any other well-based and properly run international organization. The headquarters of the Mo’tamar are at present in Karachi, and apart from its branches it has regional offices at Beirut for the Middle East, at Kuala Lumpur for South-East Asia, at Manila for the Far East, at Dakar for West Africa and (at the last Mogadishu Conference in December 1964 it was decided to have a regional office for East Africa at Mogadishu). There is also an office in New York which serves as the regional office for the North and South Americas, and which also acts as liaison office with the U.N. and its agencies, councils and commissions.

The message of the Mo’tamar

The message of the Mo’tamar is the message of the Holy Qur’an, as is evident from its motto. It stands for building bridges of goodwill and understanding between the Muslims spread in all corners of the globe. Through its delegations, conferences, seminars, publications, etc., it is doing its very best to further cement the bonds of fraternal ties between Muslims of the world. It has given the world of Islam the slogan Muslims of the World Unite. It submits that it is a catchy, heart-warming and inspiring slogan. It has recently given another slogan, Africa the Muslim Continent (as out of 250 millions of Africans, the Muslims number 150 millions). It wants its slogan to be contagious, and in this it seeks the co-operation of all Muslims. The Mo’tamar stands for friendship and fellowship between the Muslims, spread the world over. Its edifice rests on the words of the Holy Qur’an, “Verily, all Muslims are brethren.” Its guiding principle is another verse of the Holy Qur’an, “Cling ye to the cord of God and be not divided.” Thus the Mo’tamar holds the olive branch of goodwill towards all Muslims, nay, towards all men. It does not meddle with the domestic matters of any Muslim country. It does not waste its time on negative activities. It is a positive pro-Islam movement, with a constructive programme of varied healthy activities.

The resolutions of the Sixth World Muslim Conference at Mogadishu

The Sixth World Muslim Conference was held in
Mogadishu from 26 December 1964 to the 2nd January 1965, and inaugurated by the President of Somalia, His Excellency Mr. Aden 'Abdullah 'Osman. It was the sixth in the world series of conferences but the first in Africa. The Congress chose Somalia for two obvious reasons. First, because Somalia is the only country in the whole of Africa which has a 100 per cent Muslim population. Second, Somalia is a "problem area", as it still bears the ugly scars of the effects of the colonialists' designs of splitting up one people into five units. During the sad days of the "scramble for Africa", the Western colonial powers drew arbitrary lines and carved up the country as suited their whims and their designs. The Mo'tamar firmly believes that it is time that the injustice of the colonialists must now end, and an era of justice and fair play must dawn everywhere.

At the Mogadishu Conference, 33 countries from Africa, Asia and Europe were represented, and they worked in a spirit of fraternity and cordiality. They joined their united voices to demand that colonialism, in whatever form or shape it be, and wherever it be, must end. It declared that in the post-U.N. era which champions the cause of Universal Human Rights, colonialism was an anachronism and that it should go, the sooner the better. The delegates also declared that, as followers of Islam, they could have no truck with any kind of colonialism, imperialism or slavery, for according to Islam all these are crimes against humanity, and the sooner the ugly chapter of human exploitation closed the better for all. No wonder, therefore, that the delegates gave their unanimous support to the freedom and unification movement of all Somali lands. For the first time the forgotten Muslims of Eastern and Western Turkistan were also mentioned at the Conference and attention was drawn to their problems.

The delegates, with unanimity, declared that as Muslims "We are men of peace", but they also added that there should be no peace in areas where persecution was the order of the day. The Mo'tamar supports all movements and all efforts for establishing an aura of peace, but it wants peace with honour and it does not subscribe to the theory of peace at any price. Hence the delegates showed their deep concern at the plight of Muslims in India and Ethiopia. They made it clear that they ask for no favours but plain justice and simple restoration of their basic human rights and demanded that the Muslims in these countries should not be discriminated against on grounds of religion.

The Sixth World Muslim Conference has offered its most unstinted support to the peoples of the world for their basic right of self-determination with regard to their future. The delegates made it crystal clear that they made no distinction between one country and another and supported the right of self-determination as a matter of principle, and hence they offered their wholehearted support to the people of Palestine, Kashmir and Eritrea in their just and righteous demand that the children of the soil (and not the imported and imposed foreigners) be given the right to determine their own future, in a free and fair manner.

All the above cases are the legacies of colonial conspiracies, which wanted to draw unwanted wedges among the Muslim people of the world and thus break and weaken them.

The delegates also made it clear that the Muslims are the greatest champions of the freedom of all the peoples of the world, but with equal emphasis they also explained that they believed in justice and fair play. The rule of one community over the other against the dictates of justice was a flagrant violation of the other community's constitutional, legal and moral rights, and that this could not and should not be defended. This explains the Conference's support of the cause of the Cypriot Turkish Muslims. Just because a community happens to be in a minority, it should not be allowed to be exterminated. In Cyprus two distinctive communities live and the rights of both must be respected and safeguarded.

The Conference was unanimous in its feelings that the world was tired of threats and tensions and that all nations must join hands to reduce these nerve-shattering tensions. The Conference, while supporting disarmament, urged upon all the Big Powers of the world to stop further nuclear explosions. Nay, it has appealed to the members of the nuclear club, in the name of humanity, to utilize these great powers of science for furthering the cause of peace and human welfare.

The Muslim world has no aggressive designs

The Sixth World Muslim Conference once again reiterated that the Muslim world had no aggressive designs and it believes in the principle of "Live and let live." Subscribing to the cause of peace, the Mo'tamar refuses to join blindly any of the existing belligerent blocs. On the other hand, it wants to build up a "buffer area" of peace and goodwill, and hence the Conference's plea to all the Muslim governments to set the ideal of building up a Commonwealth of Muslim countries before them, with the objective of working for the common weal of all Muslims. The Conference suggested that for the achievement of this ideal the Muslim governments should start building up wider and wider areas of understanding and co-operation between themselves in different branches of life. The Delegates also announced that they did not subscribe to the theory that there were just two blocs or two groups or two worlds, viz., the Capitalist world and the Communist world. The Muslim world, they asserted, was the Third World, and the rest of the world, they submitted, could no longer ignore this world. They sounded a note of hope when they said that this growing and resurgent world of Islam had to be taken note of by the rest of the world.

The need of a World Muslim News Agency and a Muslim University at Mogadishu for East Africa

The attention of the world of Islam was once again seriously drawn by the Conference to the sad lack of proper publicity of the good work done in the Muslim countries and both to save Islam and the Muslim world from nefarious propaganda on the one side and on the other with a view to projecting their points of view. The Conference urged all the Muslim countries to pool their resources and build up an effective World Muslim News Agency.

At the Sixth World Muslim Conference a number of resolutions were adopted about putting the house of Islam in order. The old disarray, the remnants of the bad old days, it was urged, should end, and that social evils in the world of Islam had to be eradicated, for Islam believed in an equi-poised and healthy social order: it must gradually be introduced in all Muslim lands, both through the spread of education and through legislation. Education, it was emphasized, should be Islamicized at all levels so as to save Muslim children from falling a prey to the glitter of a purely materialistic culture. As to the "economies" of the Muslim countries, they had to be seriously looked into. It was pointed out that while politically there were 36 independent Muslim countries, economically, and by large, most of them were tied to the apron-strings of one big Power or the other. The Conference offered numerous suggestions as to how to make their
economies more and more sound and stable. Self-reliance and mutual reliance formed the keynotes of the suggestions for economic development. Stress was laid on more and more intra-Muslim trade and for going into joint multi-purpose projects for building up large areas of economic co-operation, and thus pave the way for ultimately establishing a Common Market of their own.

The Conference did not ignore the field of religion and culture because the whole basis of the structure of the Muslim world is its religion — Islam — but not in the restricted sense of the word "religion" but in the Islamic sense of Deen, a way of life, a code of conduct. Numerous suggestions were offered as to how to retrieve the true spirit of Islam in everyday life, and as how to make effective and vigorous this Islamic conduct and behaviour in the day-to-day life of a Muslim. Suggestions for greater cultural exchanges between the Muslim countries were also made. It was recommended that a well-planned Islamic University be established in Mogadishu to serve the whole of East Africa, with a view to creating more informed and better-acquainted Muslim leadership for Africa.

The General President of the Conference was the President of the Mo'tamar itself. The leader of the Somali delegation, His Excellency Shaikh Mahmud Muhammad Farah, was unanimously elected the General Vice-President of the Conference. Among others who presided over the Plenary Session of the Conference were His Excellency Rahman Kawakibi (Minister of Wa'f, Syria), the Shaykh Muhammad Sadiq al-Mujaddidi of Afghanistan, His Excellency the Shaykh Sa'di Yasin of the Lebanon, Mr. Osman Kasoglu of Turkey, Mr. Muhammad Faal of Gambia, and Professor Lokman Musa of Malaysia. We are most grateful to all these gentlemen who so kindly and so ably conducted the deliberations at the Plenary Sessions.

The Secretariat of the Congress gave each delegation a set of five books in Arabic or English or French. The books were as follows:

1. *The World Muslim Gazetteer*. It is a one-volume encyclopaedia of the Muslim world. Part I deals with all the 36 independent Muslim countries. Part II deals with such countries or areas as have a Muslim majority area but are either not fully independent or are under non-Muslim control. There is a separate section which gives figures of Muslims in areas where they are in a minority.

2. *Some Aspects of Islamic Economic System*. It is a scholarly compilation which covers different aspects of this very important subject describing the Islamic economic system.

3. *Islamic Culture — a Few Angles*. This is a very scholarly compendium wherein different aspects of Islamic culture have been discussed.

4. *Some Economic Resources of the Muslim Countries*. This book, with its facts and figures and charts, is an eye-opener: it is very educative and informative.

5. *Some Studies on the Commonwealth of the Muslim Countries*. This is a peep into the future of the world of Islam. It answers whether Muslims should be tied to the apron-strings of one Power bloc or another or if Muslims should, like a respectable world community, build up a world of their own.

Copies of the multi-coloured wall map of the Muslim world was also presented to the delegates.


politics. Little or nothing is done by the Arab countries to benefit from the services which these people can render for Arabism and Islam in Africa. The problem about the Arab expatriates is not only that they render no service to their countries of origin — rather it is that they render a disservice, for in many African countries they are hated by the indigenous inhabitants as opportunist groups and relics of imperialisms. This does injustice to them. But the cause of such misunderstanding of Arab expatriates is not difficult to find: it is that they have not integrated themselves more fully into the life of the host countries.

There are tremendous opportunities for co-operation and real friendship between the Muslim peoples in the Arab world and the Islamic world generally, and the peoples of Africa to the great benefit of them all. The Muslim world should formulate a joint policy in this matter and should take practical steps towards its implementation very soon. Suggested measures would be the setting up of a fund made up of contributions by Muslim governments and popular organizations to be devoted to spreading the message of Islam in the African countries, and for facilitating the study of the Arabic language in Africa. The Arab and Muslim countries generally should co-operate closely with one another in the diplomatic sphere in the African countries, particularly in regard to combatting the evil of Israel and Zionism. More information about Islam should be provided to the peoples of Africa by special radio broadcasts and publications in the English and French languages, and in African languages. There should be set up a fund to be subscribed to by Arab governments and private organizations for advancing loans to finance development projects in African countries. In brief, the peoples of Africa should be enlightened about Islam, and be given practical examples in the economic and other spheres of what they can expect from Islam and the neopoles of Islam. These endeavours to reach the peoples of Africa can succeed only if they are undertaken jointly by the Muslim countries as a whole.

The Qur'an says: "Help one another in good and righteousness" (5: 3).
The Arabic writing above is the first half of the Kalimah, which in English means:  
"There is but the One God"

The Philosophy of the Kalimah—There is but one God and Muhammad is His Messenger—and the ownership of material wealth

By Abul Hashim

"Such is the miracle of the Kalimah. The right to the enjoyment of the fruits of one's own labour is a great and natural incentive to development of man's creative genius and efficiency. The Kalimah fully recognizes this natural instinct of man and so it does not destroy absolutely individual incentive to the development of his genius but restricts the right of private possession of wealth so that incentive to work and to increase efficiency may be vigorously alive not in a few but in all. Economy of the Kalimah, therefore, gives impetus to individual efforts, but only so far as it is consistent with and is necessary for the common weal. It condemns accumulation of wealth and prescribes definite and concrete methods for just and equitable distribution and use of the material wealth of the earth. From the standpoint of the ideals of the Kalimah, establishment of anarchy is not the end of human progress but is the beginning of real development and progress of man, and so socialism of the Kalimah is founded not on hatred, force and violence, or on the dictatorship of any class, but on man's natural instinct of self-preservation and self-development and on his knowledge of preservation and development of life acquired from the knowledge of the laws of nature's economy.

The Kalimah brings a new orientation in the sphere of man's economic existence

The social and political revolution of the Kalimah brought in its wake a new orientation in the sphere of man's economic existence. One God and one humanity, equal social status and equal political rights and privileges visualize a social order which gives equal right to the enjoyment of material resources of the earth to all. God of the Kalimah, the Nourisher of the Universe, is the absolute owner of material wealth of the earth. The Kalimah liquidated pretensions of man to ownership of wealth — private or public, individualistic or collective. "For to God belongeth the dominion of the Heavens and the earth, and the all that is between" (5:19) is the clear verdict of the Holy Qur'án in this matter. Man is entitled to possession and use of wealth and that too in his capacity as the Caliph or vicegerent of God on earth for his own nourishment, consistently with the nourishment not merely of the rest of the creation. The Holy Qur'án lays down, "It is He Who hath made you Caliphs of the earth (inheritors of earth as Caliphs). He hath raised you in ranks, some above others: that He may try you in the gifts He hath given you: for thy Lord is quick in punishment: yet He is indeed Oft-forgiving, most Merciful" (6:165).

To earn one's bread by the sweat of one's brow is the birthright of man, as it is of all other species of the creation. A casual observation of nature and her work fully corroborates this. All living organisms which are in the state of nature work and get satisfaction of their material needs; they get according to their needs but not more than that. An elephant needs more and he gets more, while an ant needs less and he gets less. God manifests Himself in nature through His attributes. God introduces Himself to man in the opening verse of the Holy Qur'án as Rabb of all the worlds, i.e., Creator, Nourisher and Evolver of the Universe. Rabb is the greatest attributive name of God and all other attributes of God mentioned in the Holy Qur'án in their ultimate analysis merge in it. In the second verse of the Holy Qur'án He

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1 For the previous instalment see The Islamic Review for May 1965.
reveals Himself as Rahman and Rahim. Rahman is one who anticipates the needs of His creatures and in His beneficence makes free gifts of things and materials which His creatures need for their existence but cannot themselves create and produce by their own efforts, things which in terms of economics are called gifts of nature such as air, water and land; Rahim is one who in His mercy rewards those who make proper use of His free gifts. To put it in other words, in nature's economic planning each creature gets free materials and opportunity to work and get the fruits of his labour, viz., satisfaction of its needs. To put it again in the language of the Holy Bible, nature gives each and all the right and opportunity to “earn their bread by the sweat of their brow”.

In the state of nature, creatures have no right of ownership over means of production, but they enjoy freely the right to possessions and use of them according to their individual and collective needs. As in every other sphere of existence man has, in production, consumption and distribution of wealth invited by his wanton revolt against nature, the will of God, all the ills and miseries of life. What is still more tragic is that man in the pride and vanity of his intellect and freedom of action which God in His beneficence has given him is not conscious of his own sins of revolt and calls Him the arch-enemy of man. This all-out campaign against God which, in effect, is total war against man’s own self and nature will, if not resisted, make complete his misery and ruin and will bring total annihilation of the human race. Economic content of the Kalimah is that man as the viceroy of God on earth must emulate the economy of God as visible in nature, in the affairs of man himself. He must not pretend to own but may possess and use individually and collectively the material contents of the earth for the satisfaction of the actual needs of each and all.

**Private ownership of means of production is a means of exploitation of surplus value of individuals**

Private ownership of individuals over means of production is a means of exploitation of surplus-value of individuals. Similarly, ownership of a nation of its national wealth and means of production is a means of exploitation of other nations and collective ownership of the entire humanity of the resources of the earth would be a menace to all other creatures of the earth. Socialism according to its modern conceptions means social ownership of wealth as opposed to individual ownership. But according to the Kalimah, socialism does not mean transference of right of ownership of wealth from the individual to the society or community. Economic universalism of Islam completely abolishes man’s ownership of the earth or any part thereof and gives to an individual, a society or a community only the right to the possession and use of social wealth for satisfaction of actual needs of its individuals consistently with the right of other individuals and societies to the satisfaction of their just needs. So socialism of the Kalimah means social possession and enjoyment of wealth as opposed to and distinct from individual or social ownership of wealth. None of the ills that disturb the peace and harmony of the world shall ever cease until man, both in his individual and collective capacity, makes balanced use of the resources of the earth. God in His bounty and munificence has spread the fair earth producing fruits and corn for the use and enjoyment of His creatures, and this beneficence is never denied to any so long as he does not exceed limits. Emphasizing the need of maintaining balance with justice in the affairs of man the Holy Qur’ān proclaims, “And the earth — He had spread it for creatures; therein is fruit and date-palms, having spathes (enclosing dates); and corn, with stalk and sweet smell. Then which of the bounties of your Rabb will ye deny” (55: 10-13). Whatever out of individual possession remains surplus after satisfaction of his actual needs has to be placed at the disposal of the society if the society requires it to meet deficit of other individuals and so must a society or a community transfer its surplus without bargain to other deficit and needy societies and ultimately man must as a part of his duty ungrudgingly leave his surplus for the use and appropriation of other creatures.

Now again, need is not an absolute term; it is relative and variable. In a capitalist and nationalist society need of an individual is determined in relation to the standard of living of his own class and varies with the progress of his society. For instance, the needs of a maharaja, a nawab or a duke are determined by the standard of living of his class and show astounding and iniquitous difference with the needs of a factory labourer, which are determined by the standard of his growing rather than living of his class. In like manner, the need of a society or a nation is measured in relation to the need of other nations of the same standard and it varies with the progress of the world. The national needs of England are very nearly the same as those of France and Germany, and are much greater than those of backward countries like Afghanistan and Persia. And again, England’s national need has been increasing in unison with the general progress of the world: fifty years ago it was much less than what it is today. Socialism, which is the anti-thesis or historical development of capitalism, does not abolish ownership of man over means of production but merely transfers such ownership from the individual to the society or nation and determines individual need in relation to the standard of living of a common man of the society or nation, but as between nations behave in precisely the same manner as individuals behave with one another in a capitalist society. In the spirit of the Kalimah individual need is determined by the standard of living of a common man of a society and the social or national need is determined in relation to the standard of living of an average civilized nation of the world.

**The kind of society the Kalimah created in the days of the Prophet**

Inspired by this economy of God the people of the Kalimah created a society in which the Caliph, the highest dignitary of the State, equitably shared with a common man the resources of the Caliphate. The Kalimah, teaching the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, goes a step further and gives each according to his needs when a society has enough resources to meet everyone’s need, but if a society has less than that then as children of a common father men are to divide among themselves equally as brothers and sisters the available materials. The Caliph ‘Umar (d. 637 C.E.) was a tall man and required more linen than a man of average height to make a shirt for himself. One day when he appeared in the mosque with a new shirt on, he was questioned by a common Arab as he was proceeding to lead the prayer as to where he got the extra cloth to make a new shirt for himself. The Caliph replied, “My son ‘Abdullah will give the answer.” ‘Abdullah said that his father, the Caliph, shared available linen with others equally but he had offered his own share for the extra requirement of his father. The congregation was then satisfied that the Caliph had not appropriated more than the others and permitted him to lead the prayers. Nihilistic materialism has no external morality and considers the establishment of dictatorship of a particular class, the proletariat, by the annihilation of all classes by the use of force and violence as the greatest virtue and morality has not yet been

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able to produce concretely a better example or even an equal example of real brotherhood of man as the people of the Kalimah did fourteen hundred years ago when centralization of labour and industry was not known at all and private ownership over the means of production was not the dominant means of exploitation and when there was enough space and materials for the satisfaction of the material needs of man.

The doctrine that God owns the wealth of the universe negates man’s absolute right of possession of wealth

Private possession

Ownership is the absolute right of possession, enjoyment and disposal of a thing. The doctrine of divine ownership of the wealth of the universe, therefore, negates man’s absolute right of possession of wealth and means of production of wealth. Right of private possession of an individual or a society consistently with divine ownership of wealth is restricted so that private possession may not be anti-social or anti-humanitarian. Economy of the Kalimah gives to individuals the right of private possession of wealth only during the pleasure of the society and under conditions the society may prescribe from time to time which may be necessary for just and equitable distribution of wealth amongst all the members of the society and discharging its obligations to its individuals, viz., protection and promotion of the common weal.

A society or a nation enjoys the right of collective private long as such possession is consistent with the happiness and possession of social or national wealth only so far and so welfare of the entire human race and the right of man to the common citizenship of the world. There are vast tracts of surplus land in America and Australia while in East Bengal, the world’s most densely populated area, there is no space even for the bare existence of its population. The Americans and Australians, for existence, do not permit mass migration of hungry people from other parts of the world into their territory and give them the right of citizenship of their state, but they preserve their surplus land for their exclusive future use when other peoples of the world starve. What is more cruel and inhuman is that for screwing up the margin of their individual and national profit they throw their surplus production of food and other consumption goods into the sea or into the furnace while millions in other parts of the world die of hunger, disease and pestilence. This immoral and anti-humanitarian collective right of private possession of wealth is not recognized and accepted by the economy of the Kalimah.

Every living organism, big or small, requires a definite space for its nutrition and bare existence. A tiger in the jungle of Sunbardan in Bengal, India, requires for his existence sufficient space where his foodstuffs, such as deer, may thrive and grow. So is it with man as well. In the case of man this space ratio diminishes with the development of the means of production and progress of human knowledge. Nevertheless, at every point of time there is a fixed space ratio for man’s existence and survival. When the ratio between available space and its population falls below this fixed space ratio of existence, the soil throws off its surplus population. If the surplus population thus thrown off finds space elsewhere, it survives, but on the contrary, if the thrown off surplus is thrown back into the land of its origin then comes war in the case of free and powerful nations and disease, pestilence and starvation in the case of backward peoples to destroy the unbearable surplus. War in Germany and famine in Bengal are recent illustrations of this law of space and population. Therefore it is clear that all talks of world peace must end in fiasco, and war, disease and pestilence will not cease until the world’s available space be made open for the use of all the needy peoples of the world.

Restrictions on the right of private possession of wealth and means of production of individuals and nations is one of the contents of the Kalimah, its doctrine of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. The Caliphs strictly followed these principles as a part of their faith. The fought battles but they never did plunder or pillage the wealth of other nations to raise their own standard of living or even utilized the wealth of other nations for their own bare existence at the cost of other people’s life, health and happiness. True to their principles of world citizenship of man they kept the Caliphate invitingly open for all irrespective of colour, race or territorial nationality. The Arabs of the Caliphate, inspired by the Kalimah, did not only live and let others live, but at times starved with pleasure to let others live.

Hoarding of wealth, the Zakat

Hoarding of wealth is inconsistent with nature’s economic planning and the teachings of the Kalimah — the right of each and all to work and live. The Holy Qur’ān severely condemns the hoarders and warns them of the inevitable consequence of hoarding in these clear terms, “Accursed are those who accumulate wealth and count it; they think their wealth will give them security; certainly not, it will drag them into what will break them into pieces” (104: 2-4). These verses of the Holy Qur’ān very much perturbed the theologians of Damascus and Baghdad, who had sold their conscience to the sultans and had no scruples like scientists of modern times to lend their talents in support of the exploitation of the masses. The wicked theologians distorted the spirit of this verse and explained that hoarding of wealth meant hoarding without payment of the Zakat or taxes on assets. Thus they helped the sultans of Damascus and Baghdad to build up a fundamentally anti-Islamic imperial state and a capitalist society.

Incentive to hoarding comes mainly from a desire for making existence comfortable and insuring against an apprehended future insecurity of existence. The Holy Qur’ān goes to the root and kills the very incentive to hoarding by informing man that the accumulation of wealth does not create security of existence and comfort of life, but on the contrary it drags him to destruction. Abu Zarr Ghaafari, a famous and revered Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, was so much inspired by the verse quoted above that he made it his life’s mission to carry on an extensive propaganda against the accumulation of wealth, so much so that he would often stand on crossroads and ask every passer-by how much wealth he had and would insist that all who had more than what was actually needed for three common means should deliver the surplus accumulation to the public treasuries for communal use. The Russian translation of the life and work of Abu Zarr Ghaafari is freely distributed in Muslim countries of the U.S.S.R. This verse read in the full context of the Holy Qur’ān points to the ideal, and as such condemns severely anti-social and anti-humanitarian accumulation of wealth, but does not interfere with such accumulation of wealth as is not inconsistent with other’s welfare.

Implementation of the ideal in actual life is seen in the life of the Prophet. The Prophet Muhammad, while one day leading a congregational prayer, suddenly stopped in the midst of his prayer and left the congregation and went to his quarters attached to the mosque. In a few minutes he came
back and resumed the prayer. This was an unusual event. After finishing the prayer he explained this incident and said that in the midst of his prayer it occurred to him that he had an unspent dirham, and since the performance of a prophet’s duty to God was not acceptable if he had any hoarded wealth, he broke away from the prayer to dispose of his dirham for the satisfaction of others’ needs. In the management of the Caliphate the caliphs also rigidly followed the example of the Prophet Muhammad. The Caliph ‘Umar was assassinated in a mosque by a Jew, and when death approached him he requested some of his companions to go and spend out for useful purposes any unspent wealth in the treasury of the caliphate, for he said he did not like to approach God leaving behind accumulated social wealth.

Capital, interest and profit

According to the economics of the bourgeois capitalism, accumulated wealth when used for the production of value and utility is called capital. As such, it is recognized as one of the four agents of production, and interest is the share of capital in the distribution of the national dividend. The three other agents of production, land, labour and organization, have also their shares in the distribution of wealth. Land gets rent, labour wages and organization gets profit. In the actual working of this system of economics, big capital eats up small capital and big organizations eats up small organization, with the result that all the material resources of the earth come under the exclusive control and possession of a minute few. These few control, in the name of prudence and efficiency, the entire organization of production, distribution and consumption of wealth.

It hardly needs much intelligence to see how, in this context, unorganized millions are ruthlessly exploited by a few organized capitalists. Capitalism has destroyed the dignity and independence of labour. Labour is now a purchasable commodity and the capitalists are its only consumers. Having the monopoly control of labour, the capitalists dictate to it its wages and conditions of labour. The more trade, commerce and industry develop the more they become centralized. Consequently labour also becomes centralized and properly organized. Now organized capital and organized labour stand face to face competing with each other as to which can best exploit the other in the name of justice, equity and fair deal.

All the religious system of the world, as they are today, and the ethics and morality of the civilized world of today, lend their unblushing support to the capitalists for their exploitation of labour. In this unholy background the negation of religion, ethics and morality, invidious class distinction and class struggle, and the creation of a classless society by annihilation of the capitalists as a class through force and violence, is inevitable. I nihilistic materialism, which is the philosophy of the proletariat, is not the creation of the proletariat but is the historical development of the materialistic philosophy of life of the capitalists and their machine civilization. There cannot be real and abiding peace and prosperity of the world until this inhuman and beastly materialism of the machine civilization as it developed through the centuries in the imperial and capitalist social order of Europe is shaken to its foundations. The world will gain nothing but stronger fetters if there is merely a change from the imperialism and capitalism of the bourgeois to the imperialism and centralized capitalism of the proletariat. Materialism of the bourgeois capitalism is the root and the nihilistic materialism of the proletariat socialism is the fruit. The fruit shall be inevitable so long as the root is there. Therefore the root or the mental attitude and the social order of the bourgeois materialism must be destroyed. For its destruction will alone end all the ills and miseries of the world. If the root is cut the fruit will not be there.

The Qur’ân on the question of interest

The Holy Qur’ân goes to the root and abolishes interest but permits trade and commerce. The Holy Qur’ân puts it like this: “Those who devour interest will not stand except as stands one whom the Evil One by his touch hath driven to madness. That is because they say: ‘Trade is like interest,’ but God hath permitted trade and forbidden interest. Those who after receiving direction from their Lord, desist, shall be pardoned for the past; their case is for God; but those who repeat are Companions of the Fire: they will abide therein” (6: 275). Here again the theologians appear to support capitalism. They explain away the verdict of the Holy Qur’ân by a clever explanation of the Arabic word ribâ; which means interest. They say ribâ means usury and not interest, deliberately ignoring that the difference between interest and usury is not qualitative but is quantitative. The modern commentators of the Holy Qur’ân in the context of the prevailing world order apprehend that the economic structure of the world will collapse and trade and commerce will fail if a reasonable interest is not allowed. This apprehension has no scientific foundation. Trade and commerce can not only be maintained but it can be far more efficiently developed and made really useful to society by a centralized social banking system having no incentive to interest. By forbidding interest, the Holy Qur’ân denies a share of the national dividend to capital and thus in the economy of the Holy Qur’ân capital is not recognized as an independent agent of production. This is a virtual abolition of capital and capitalist order of society.

The private transaction of loans, big or small, in kind or in coin, is a social necessity whatever may be the character of a society, capitalist or socialist. The Holy Qur’ân does not lose sight of it and prescribes a golden rule of taking and giving loans for useful purposes. Loans are permitted only when it is free from interest and is “payable when able”, and such loans are described in the Holy Qur’ân as the “beautiful loan”. Giving such a loan is a virtue, for it can only flow from a genuine and sincere desire and readiness to help needy brothers and sisters and is free from the tendency of making a bargain out of a fellow brother’s difficulties. This “beautiful loan” is according to the Holy Qur’ân a loan given to God Himself. The relevant verse of the Holy Qur’ân on this point is, “Who is he that will loan to God a beautiful loan, which God will double unto his credit and multiply many times? It is God that giveth want or plenty, and to Him shall be your return” (2: 245).

Trade and commerce

Trade and commerce is equally a social necessity. The Holy Qur’ân enjoins, “O ye who believe! Eat not up your property among yourselves in vanities: but let there be amongst you traffic and trade by mutual goodwill: nor kill yourselves: for verily God hath been to you most merciful!” (4: 29). Thus Islam sets forth excellent ethics of trade and commerce which makes it beneficial without destroying incentive to individual and collective enterprise. Free circulation of wealth is maintained by a catechismal condemnation of accumulation of wealth and excess profits is disallowed by severely forbidding artificial fluctuation of prices by hoarding and withholding from the consumers’ commodities particularly foodstuffs and the necessities of life in the expectation of getting higher prices and profits. As in every other case, in the
matter of loans, trade and commerce, there is but one rule of
court both for the individual and the society. A nation
must, therefore, deal with another nation precisely in the same
way as individuals are expected to deal with one another.

How the Zakat and the law of inheritance in Islam operate

Those who, like the sultans or the theologians of the
sultans of imperial Baghdad and Delhi and Agra, cite scriptures
to justify their anti-Islamic use and accumulation of
wealth, argue that the law of inheritance and the Zakat
pre-suppose accumulation and the right to accumulate wealth.
They may deceive themselves in any manner they like, but the
fact is otherwise. The law of the Zakat and inheritance do
not make it mandatory for all to accumulate and leave behind a
fortune for their inefficient and idle heirs' subsistence and
luxury. These laws do not encourage accumulation of wealth
but are methods of disintegration of wealth and as such are
very effective anti- hoarding measures. The law of inheritance
and the Zakat shall be operative as forces of disintegration of
wealth so long as social or world conditions will permit
individuals' and nations' small savings without prejudice to
the general conditions of man's economic existence.

The Zakat is not a tax on income but it is a tax on assets,
portion of the net assets has to be given over to the society
for the satisfaction of the needs of the needy. The Zakat is
the minimum mandatory contribution of individuals for the
subsistence of the needy like the old, the invalid and the
orphans who are unable to work for their subsistence. The
law of inheritance divides assets of a deceased Muslim among
a large number of heirs and thus completely disintegrates
even the little that an individual is permitted to save after
discharging his social obligations. It is not only the heirs but
others also are entitled to the use of the assets of a deceased
person, and even the society may take a share out of it if it
needs for the provision of the needy and the indigent. The
Holy Qur'an directs, "But if at the time of division other
relatives, or orphans, or poor, are present, feed them out of
the (assets) and speak to them words of kindness and justice"
(4:8).

The doctrines and methods of just and equitable distribu-
tion of wealth are so real, so concrete and so effective that in
spite of centuries of wilful distortion and mutilation of the
principles of Islam their influences are still visible in Muslim
societies. Muslims all over the world are economically back-
ward and are practically the proletariat everywhere. Some are
of opinion that this universal financial bankruptcy is due
to their loss of political power. This is not correct, for the
Jews, who for centuries had no political status and had not
even a collective political existence or a homeland, are now
controlling world finance. Financial backwardness of Muslims
is directly due to the influence of Islamic principles and
methods of disintegration of wealth.

The basis of the economy of the Kalimah

Economy of the Kalimah is not based on hatred of any
class or individual and for its implementation in the affairs
of man force and violence are not necessary, for it is in
perfect harmony with nature and is conducive to the welfare
of all, irrespective of class distinctions, and hence it does not
contemplate the establishment of dictatorship of any particular
class by violent and forcible overthrow of all other classes.
The Holy Qur'an definitely suggests that anti-social and anti-
humanitarian use and accumulation of wealth or affluence
of capitalism is unnatural, and as such hostile to man's natural
development and it ultimately destroys him. Condemning
affluence and extravagant standard of living the Holy Qur'an
says, "Affluence keeps man astray till his death" (102:1-2).
The fall of nations and its causes indicate the same thing.
When the famous carpet of the Persian court was presented to
'Umar the Great he burst into tears, and crying like a child
he exclaimed, "In this carpet I see destruction and death of
my people". The history of the fall of Muslim nations all
over the world when they were at the height of affluence and
luxury justifies the apprehensions of the great Caliph. The
affluence of material wealth and extravagant standard of
living, like the germs of a fatal disease, eats into the very
vitality of life, and ultimately causes death. Unconsciously,
and ignorant of this law of nature, man to his own damnation
ruthlessly exploits and oppresses others for his immediate
pleasure and ultimate security. The Holy Qur'an makes him
conscious of this tragic consequence of affluence and of the
beneficent effects of a balanced existence.

An individual is an integral part of the whole body of
the human race. If some individuals or some class of indi-
viduals thoughtlessly suck the blood of the rest of humanity
for their extravagant growth they themselves perish in the
process of their own unnatural growth. Some part or parts of
an organism cannot have healthy growth if the rest of the
body of that organism is starved, for a happy and healthy
growth and development of an organism, balanced and har-
monious development of its parts is needed, and reciprocally,
unnatural starvation and want of some of its parts at the cost of
the rest impairs growth of the whole body and threatens its com-
plete destruction. Hence it is in the interest of all individuals
and classes that exploitation must cease and a social order
which encourages unfair and inequitable distribution and use
of wealth must disappear.

The Kalimah successfully made the Arabs conscious of the
evils of man's ownership of material wealth, its un-
restricted possession and hoarding and the virtues of just and
equitable distribution of wealth, and thus a socialist order of
human existence was created in Medina spontaneously without
force and violence. The economic order of the Kalimah is,
therefore, a blessing not for a particular class and a curse to
other classes but is a blessing for the entire humanity and
for all the worlds of living organisms. Inspired by this con-
sciousness the Arabs found greater pleasure in satisfying the
needs of others than in the satisfaction of their own needs; an
Arab would not take a full meal himself starving even a
hungry dog.

Such is the miracle of the Kalimah. The right to the
enjoyment of the fruits of one's own labour is a great and
natural incentive to development of man's creative genius
and efficiency. The Kalimah fully recognizes this natural
instinct of man and so does not destroy absolutely individual
incentive to the development of his genius but restrains the
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knowledge of the laws of nature's economy.
Early Muslim Post-Ascetic Developments
Tannukhi, Junayd, Abu Muhammad Ruwaym
By M. U. H. Nanji

Sirri’s pupils — Junayd and Tannukhi

It is said that Junayd refused to discuss Sufism as long as Saqati was alive. “But the Prophet bade him, in a dream, to speak, as his words would prove the means of saving a multitude of mankind. Saqati inwardly knowing this, directed Junayd to obey the Prophet’s command.” It is related that once Sirri dreamt of a very lovely woman and asked her, “For whom are you predestined?” “For him who drinks not from a cooling jug,” called the houri. When he awoke, his daughter brought for him a jug of cool water which Sirri dashed to the ground into pieces. In one of his discourses Sirri is reported to have said: “If God were rewarded in hell to the people of hell, sinful believers would never think of Paradise, since the sight of God would so fill them with joy that they would not feel bodily pain.”

Sirri’s pupil Hasan Tannukhi (d. 869 C.E.) was the first Sufi who initiated the practice of collecting around him bands of listeners in the mosques of Baghdad. It was from this time onwards that Sufism came to be preached openly in places of worship. Tannukhi’s pupil Muhammad al-Sadafi (d. 879 C.E.) continued the practice of his master and used to deliver sermons from the pulpit of the mosque on the mystical meanings of various Sufi terms. He was a frequent visitor to the Imam Ibn Hanbal and used to participate in the latter’s theological meetings. When any questions arose relating to Sufism, the Imam Hanbal would invariably turn to Sadafi and say, “What have you to say about it, O Sufi?”

Sa’id al-Kharaaz

At about this time another Sufi, Sa’id al-Kharaaz, also known as the Shaikh of the Sufis, rose into prominence. He died in 899 C.E. Kharaaz was the first to treat the subject of Fana’ wa Baqa’ (i.e. the state of annihilation and subsistence) in a systematized manner. Amongst those he had met were Dhu l-Nun Mishri, Bishr and Sirri.

Bistami

The Persian Sufi Bayazid Tayfoor al-Bistami (or Abu Yazid of Bistam, as he is sometimes called) lived in an era when the doctrine of Sufism was being gradually recognized at both government and orthodox levels. Of Zoroastrian ancestry, his grandfather was the first in his family to become a convert to Islam. Bayazid was an “intoxicated” pantheist and he aired his views boldly, not to say without moderation. His reply to a man who knocked at his house enquiring of Bistami was, “Is there really anyone in the house other than God?” To another person in the same quest he replied, “I have sought Bayazid for many years and I cannot find him.” His explanation of the relationship between God and man was, “Information about God is in man, knowledge of Him is in man, love of Him is in man, His heart is in the heart of man.” Bistami used to wash his mouth before uttering the name of God. Many of the pantheistic sayings of Bayazid have been preserved in ‘Attar’s Tadhkirat al-Awliyya’. For instance, Bistami once said that it was wrong for people to imagine that they were bowing down to God in reverence; in reality it was God Himself who was bowing down to Himself.

Sufi writers make it a wont to write at length about Bistami, who has been termed by Sa’di as the “Peacock of the Mystics” in Persian, Taa’ooos-i-Aarifeen. ‘Attar relates how Bistami once announced, “I am a sea without bottom, without beginning, without end…” I am Abraham, I am Moses, I am Jesus. All that is swallowed up in God is God.” It is therefore no wonder that instead of calling out Subhaan Allah (God is free from all defects) he exclaimed, Subhaani (I am free from all defects), and added, “How great is my majesty! Verily I am God: there is no God beside me, so worship me!” Despite such blatantly heretical utterances Sa’di says that he was extremely pious and humble. When ash was once thrown over him from a window, he shook it off from his turban and hair saying, “I who am deserving of the fires of hell, why should I protest when I am sprinkled with ashes?”

Abu Yazid was perhaps the first Sufi to depict his own mystical experiences as a Miraj (ascension) in imitation of the Prophet. Hujwiri quotes Bayazid’s works in Kashf al-Mahjub: “I saw that my spirit (sirr) was borne to the heavens. It looked at nothing and gave no heed, though Paradise and Hell were displayed to it, for it was freed from phenomena and veils. Then I became a bird, whose body was of Oneness and whose wings were of Everlastingness, and I continued to fly in the air of the Absolute (Huwwiyah), until I passed into the sphere of Purification (Tanzih), and gazed upon the field of Eternity (Azaliyyah) and beheld there the tree of Oneness. When I looked I myself was all those. I cried, ‘O Lord, with my egoism I cannot attain to Thee, and I cannot escape from my selfishness. What am I to do? ’ God spake : ‘O Abu Yazid! Thou must win release from thy “thouness” by following my Beloved (i.e. Muhammad). Smear thine eyes with the dust of his feet and follow him continually.”

Junayd

In glaring contrast to the extravagant inebriety of Abu Yazid’s language — which actually scared away the orthodox elements from Sufism — we come across in Junayd a welcome combination of clear perception and unique self-control which won for him many followers. A number of Sufi orders owe their allegiance to him. He died in 909 or 910 C.E., and was held in such high esteem that reportedly 60,000 persons attended his funeral in Baghdad.

Junayd studied jurisprudence under Abu Thawr al-Kalbi, a pupil of the Imam Shafi’i, and acquired such proficiency in the subject that his views on juridical problems were eagerly sought after by persons interested in this branch of study.

12 Outlines of Islamic Culture, by A. M. A. Shushtery, p. 351, footnote 53.

14 The Kashf al-Mahjub, folio 238.
15 In all 183 works on this subject are ascribed to Junayd (Hammer-Purgstall).
verse of the Qur’ân: “And when your Lord brought forth descendants from the loins of Adam’s children, and made them bear witness concerning themselves, He said, ‘Am I not your Lord?’ They replied, ‘Yes, we bear witness.’”

Junayd then queries: With whom did God take this pre-eternal covenant? If man did not exist as man before his existence, was not God addressing some “pure, fine and holy spirits” who had their existence in Him. He could speak to them at a time when they had no formal existence, as God’s omnipotence can perceive them in their spiritual existence. “This then is the highest stage of true realization of the Unity of God in which the worships who maintains this unity loses his individuality.”

To Junayd, however, this loss of individuality does not necessarily mean the total extinction of the soul but merely its passing away in (not as) God through God. When Junayd refers to tasawwur as “to die to self and live in Him” he is merely reiterating his own version of the term Fanâ‘a’ namely, the endowment to the mystic of a perfected and eternalized individuality in which he tastes immortality and becomes conscious of survival in God whilst living a life in the world. This latter awareness of continuance-in-Him is called Bobâ‘a. “At the same time,” says Arberry,22 “the return to continued existence is a source of trial Balâ‘at) and affliction, for man is still apart and veiled from a God, and so al-Junayd uses the imagery of the lover yearning after the Beloved, yet taking intense joy in the suffering which this separation causes him. Having enjoyed mysteriously anew the experience of life-in-God, and being restored to material life — after their union with Him, He separates them from Himself and grants them their individuality again, for He makes them absent (from this world) when they are in union with Him, and makes them present (in this world) when He has separated them from Himself — thereafter the souls of those who have known God seek after the verdant pastures, the beautiful vistas, the fresh green gardens and every lovely thing in this physical world, to console them, as examples of God’s handiwork, for the loss of the artist’s own Presence.”

Abu Muhammad Ruwaym

Junayd’s friend and pupil Abu Muhammad Ruwaym, to whom we shall now turn, was profoundly versed in the study and interpretation of the Qur’ân. He was renowned for his austere living and renunciation of the world (Ta’fird). Author of a well-known work, Ghalat al-Wajdid (i.e. The Error of Ecstatic Persons), he followed Dawud al-Zahiri in the matter of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence). Sufism, according to Ruwaym, consists of the three states of poverty, self-abasement and destruction of the will. Von Kremer is convinced that Ruwaym belonged to the orthodox school; however, A. Krymsky23 points out the following saying of Ruwaym in ‘Atar’s Tadhkirat al-Awliya’ “which is ambiguous in any case”: “Acknowledgment of the unity of God (Tawhid) consists in rooting out the nature of man and revealing divine signs.”

(To be continued)

16 Abu Nu’aym, Hilya X, p. 74.
17 Professor Macdonald says in this connection: “This was probably Tawhid in the theological and not in the mystical sense — against the Mutazilites and not on the union of the soul with God.”
19 Hindu and Muslim Mysticism, by R. C. Zechner, p. 135.
20 Chapter 7, verse 172.
23 The Zâhirî School (i.e. those accepting the “literal” meaning of the Qur’ân) is opposed to the Bûnî School (i.e. those upholding its “inner” meaning). The Zâhirîs derive the law from the literal text of the Qur’ân and Sunnah without any “subtle sophistry”, whereas the Bûnîs seek the inner or mystical meaning of the Qur’ân.
What our Readers Say . . .

ID AL-FITR IN NIGERIA

C/o The Ministry of Works,
Owerri,
Eastern Nigeria.
30 March 1965.

Dear Sir,

The month of Ramadan had begun in the red-walled town of Azaré in Northern Nigeria, and every morning one could hear the drums announce that sunrise was near. In the evening small groups of men and boys were squatting on the ground outside their red laterite houses attentively listening to a Mallam1 who was reciting and explaining the Holy Qur’ân. The light from the kerosene lamps and the white candles flickered over their serious brown faces and the long cotton rigas and round colourful Hausa caps on the men’s clean-shaven heads. Some al-Hajis were telling the listeners around them about their long journey to Mecca. There is quite a great number of people in Nigeria — men as well as women — who have performed the pilgrimage, but they are mostly old people. Some ministers have visited the Holy City several times.

The Emir of the Katagum Division, Northern Nigeria, proceeding to the ‘Id al-Fitr prayers

The night before “Sallah”, or ‘Id al-Fitr, everyone was eagerly watching the western sky where the crescent should appear, but the sky was black and cloudy, and disappoint-

1 An honorific title equivalent to Mister. The word is the distorted form of the Arabic word Mu'allim, meaning a teacher.

ment spread in the town. Later in the evening the Fulani Emir, the ruler of the Katagum Division, was informed by telegram that the crescent had been sighted at Kaduna, the capital of Northern Nigeria. At once the drums told the happy message that the month of fasting was over. Most of the night there was drumming and celebrating and few people could sleep. Fasting is very hard in the hot and dry Ramadan month in Northern Nigeria; so little wonder everybody was happy.

On the morning of the ‘Id young and old joyously dressed in their best or in new clothes. The prayer-ground was outside the high city wall, and after breakfast Muslims of the three tribes — Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba — went there on foot, on donkeys, on horses, and even a few Arabs went there on bicycles. Everybody was waiting patiently for the Emir so that the ‘Id service could begin. The men were sitting in the open under the burning sun, and the women and children sat in the shade of big trees. The blind and crippled were given money, and some old Hausa women put sugar-lumps in the beggar bowls. They wanted to give the Zakat out of the little they had to people poorer than themselves.

About nine o’clock the Emir’s horse could be seen walking slowly to the prayer-ground, the Emir riding in the shade of a large sun umbrella and being fanned by a courtier who was also on horseback. His mounted bodyguard stayed in the saddle as they were supposed to face west while he prayed towards the east. This is a custom from olden days when pagans could be expected to attack any time. All the worshippers got up and the Emir went over and stood shoulder to shoulder amongst his people, and the Imam commenced the ‘Id service.

Then came the “Jafi” procession to the Emirs palace, in which all the men of the Katagum Division joined to greet their ruler. This happens only at the two ‘Id celebrations. The palace is next to the masallah or mosque, as is the custom of the country. District heads and town councillors wearing thick riga robes and purple shining turbans rode on fast horses and greeted the Emir, who was sitting on his horse below the balcony of the entrance house to his palace, by raising their right hand, in which they held a flag or a long spear and shouting Ranke-ye-dade — a phrase used to convey greetings to superiors. The young men who had no horses made do with bicycles, which they had hired from the cycle shop at 5d. an hour. The Fulani shepherds had come all the way from their villages on the savannah, and they walked in a long procession to greet their Emir.

No women could be seen anywhere near the palace or inside it, but there were many children. The Hausa women and town Fulani women are kept strictly in purdah, and the men do not appear in public with their wives.

It is not only in Northern Nigeria but all over the country the ‘Id al-Fitr is celebrated as an important festival.

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs.) AYESHA EHSANULLAH.

JUNE 1965
BOOK REVIEW

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A FAMOUS WEST AFRICAN MUSLIM POLITICIAN


The author of this deeply interesting book is Premier of the 29,758,875 population of Northern Nigeria (the total population of Nigeria according to the 1963 census was 55,620,268). Most of the inhabitants of the Northern Region are Muslims and in the recent elections to the Federal Parliament, the Northern Nigerian Association won 198 out of the 312 seats.

The Federal Premier, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, is a close friend and political associate of Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, who is considered by most students of Nigerian politics to be the most powerful and shrewdest of North Nigerian statesmen and the strong man in the country who has for long opposed the manoeuvres of the Yoruba politicians from the Western Region and the Ibo politicians from the Eastern Region.

Since this book was written the leading politicians of the Action Group from the West, the chiefs Awolowo and Enohoro, have been arrested, and there was general unrest in the Eastern and Western regions during the last election, in which the opponents of the Government formed a political group called the UGPA and won 108 seats, in spite of partial abstentions in the Western region. The President, Dr. Azikiwe (who is an Ibo and the veteran Nigerian nationalist), expressed his dissatisfaction at the way things were going and it looked at one time as if the Federation would break up. Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello expressed the view that the rich oil-producing Eastern region could, if it wanted to, withdraw from the Federation. But temporarily, at least, things have been patched up and a new Federal Government has been formed once more under Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

Events in Nigeria, with its vast population, are of the greatest importance in the Muslim world, and if, as a recent writer to The Islamic Review claimed, Christian politicians are too prominent in the newly independent predominantly Muslim countries of Africa, such is not the case in Nigeria, where the Muslims according to the Christian opponents exercise too great a share of power and where the Muslims have rallied in the past twelve years largely due to the efforts of Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello and the Federal Premier.

The author comes from Sokoto, on the extreme north-west of Niger Province, covering 36,338 square miles and with a population of about 3,000,000. Sokoto was founded by the Fulani Sultan Bello, the son of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio (born 1744 C.E.), who overthrew the Hausa kings. It is still the home of the Sultan Sarkin Musulmi, whose influence reaches outside the boundaries of Sokoto. Sir Ahmadu, the grandson of the seventh Sultan of Sokoto, was educated at Katsina. He was appointed a teacher (or Mallam) in the Sokoto Middle School at a salary of £60 per annum. Later, in 1938, he became one of the 48 District Heads of Sokoto at the age of 24. The District Heads were appointed by the Sultan from local families from father to son: they were virtually responsible for everything that happened in their district, including the collection of taxes and the arrest and detention of criminals who were tried by the District Alkali.

In this book a very clear picture is given of the emergence of representative government in Northern Nigeria, where under the 1922 Constitution the people "... had absolutely no say in the legislation or finances of the country for a quarter of a century." The British Governor "... personally, without advice or recommendation, could and did enact legislation affecting the Northern Provinces, as the Region was then called. ..." A few unofficial members of the Legislative Council did their best, but the people were virtually unrepresented.

In 1948 Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello went into politics after a visit to England. Certain reforms had been carried out after the implementation of the "Richards Constitution" in 1946, named after Sir Arthur Richards, which in the opinion of the writer was "... odd and undemocratic almost throughout," but an improvement on the static 1922 Constitution.

The future Premier of Northern Nigeria was elected by the Native Authority Council of Sokoto to sit in the House of Assembly at Kaduna, the administrative capital of the Northern Region. It was at this time that the future Premier of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and the future Minister of Finance, Makaman Bida, emerged in the Northern Nigerian political field.

In 1949 Sir Ahmadu went to Lagos and for the first time got a clear picture of the political scene there and the development of political parties and met the experienced Eastern leader Dr. Azikiwe, who is now President of Nigeria. Sir Ahmadu and the Northern Nigerian leaders realized that they must organize if they were to be able to compete with their Eastern and Western comrades, who had had the advantage of better educational facilities for a number of years.

A great deal of this book is devoted to the struggle with the politicians of the Western region, such as the chiefs Awolowo and Enohoro, who wanted immediate self-government in 1956, whereas the Northerners wanted a more gradual evolution so that they would have time to build up a team of responsible administrators to take over the country. The frontiers between the Northern and the Western regions were also a matter of dispute, and the Northerners insisted that representation in the emerging Legislative Assembly in Lagos should be based on universal suffrage so that the numerical strength of the North should have its full say in the administration of the country.

The Northerners were often received with open hostility by the crowds of Westerners in Lagos during the debates leading up to home rule and independence, and this is most likely the reason why Sir Ahmadu prefers to remain Premier of the Northern region rather than Federal Premier, leaving that office to the Northern politician Sir Abubakar Tafawa. He has also been created Sardauna of Sokoto, a title formerly held by the Sultan. To do Sir Ahmadu honour, a new province of Northern Nigeria which sought to join the Federation rather than the Republic of the Cameroons has been named the Sardauna Province after Alhaji Sir Ahmadu. It became part of Nigerian territory on 1 June 1961.

That Alhaji Sir Ahmad is a scholar of Islam is evidenced by his frequent references to Islam and the Qur'an. He quotes...
the Holy Qur'ān 11:88 in his introduction, "I only desire reform as far as I can. There is no power in me save through Allah. In Him do I trust and to Him do I turn."

It is interesting to read the views of Sir Ahmadu on business parties held in London for purely mercenary reasons at which alcoholic drinks were served and at which the Muslims from the North would not drink alcohol, as did some of their Eastern and Western region compatriots.

With regard to votes for women, the author admits that women have the vote in the Eastern and Western regions but states that he would be "very loath" to introduce this electoral reform in the Northern region. He admits that it would strengthen the influence of his party but claims that serious and widespread trouble would ensue and that the older men would not be able to appreciate so revolutionary a change, although women may eventually get the vote in the North. But he admits that "this point of view is not due to prejudice nor to Islamic teaching: for there have been many important and influential women, as well as many highly educated and pious ones, in the history of Muhammadan countries. But we here simply have not reached the right stage for so great an innovation."

It is claimed by Sir Ahmadu that "kingship plays an important part in Islam" by saying that there were queens in Daura, the most ancient Hausa State. Current movements in favour of the republican form of government in Muslim States would tend to contradict this view. Sir Ahmadu's views are that Islam does not encourage the appreciation of art, except in its own stylised forms; and although we are deeply interested in our own history, it does not go far enough back for us to be interested in those great antiquities that thrill the European people so profoundly.

This is a very lucid account of the events leading up to independence written from the point of view of the leading North Nigerian statesman, and it is to be hoped that it will be brought up to date to include recent events.

Nigerian statesmen have an immense task before them. Under British rule the Northern region was encouraged to develop slowly, and the task of keeping the regions together and of developing a democratic form of government fully representative of all the regions is a challenge to them.

AN ECONOMIC ASSESSMENT OF THE MUSLIM WORLD continued from page 4

from 2,451,100 m. tons. No Muslim nation yet has taken such a bold and imaginative step even in project form.

What Muslims should do now

Let us draw our final conclusions. The Muslim countries should:

1. bring their universities up to the Western European standard and increase the number of graduates per capita of the population to the West European mean;
2. plan heavy industrialization by following Japanese methods, which has achieved all this under the capitalist régime and free enterprise. Free enterprise posits ability in every individual to fend for himself. It is also opposed to the gregarious monolithic Communism which is harsh and cruel, and not compatible with the Islamic teaching.

The Muslims must face the hard and harsh reality that Muslim countries constitute the under-developed parts of the world after black Africa. But let us not forget that their past heritage was great. It is therefore their solemn duty to bring about an industrial revolution.

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establishment of maternity and child welfare and health centres and provided about 60 per cent of the total allocation for health for these services. The remaining 40 per cent was assigned to curative services such as construction and expansion of hospitals, dispensaries and rural health centres. The total allocation for the health sector was $75.6 million. It is expected that the actual expenditure on health services will be $86.2 million and will thus exceed Plan allocation by 13 per cent.

The Plan target in respect of doctors has been exceeded. There are 15,000 doctors in the country against the Plan target of 13,000. Three new medical colleges, one each at Dacca, Sylhet and Mymensingh, have been started and preliminary work has been initiated for setting up a college at Barisal, also in East Pakistan. Existing medical colleges have been improved and expanded. A total population of 47.2 million has been covered under the malaria eradication programme. One hundred and four rural health centres had been completed by the end of 1963-64 and 80 were under construction. Thirty-six mobile units are working in the country under B.C.G. vaccination programme. There are now 2,750 family planning centres, 1,161 in East Pakistan and 1,589 in West Pakistan. The entire population of East Pakistan has been vaccinated against smallpox during the period under review. Fifty new TB clinics have been established during the Plan period. Similarly, there has been all-round improvement in the training facilities for para-medical personnel for whom new training institutions have been set up and the existing ones improved. The number of hospital beds has increased from 28,000 to 33,000. The number of nurses has increased from 2,000 to 3,200 and that of lady health visitors from 500 to 1,000.

Pakistan’s Second Five Year Plan has been remarkably successful in achieving its basic objectives. This success is the cumulative result of a number of measures. Enlightened fiscal and monetary policies introduced financial discipline in the economy and increased incentives for investment. Improvements in the institutional and organizational framework for development led to a more effective use of internal and external resources. The basic prerequisites for these policies and reforms, political and administrative stability and positive political support to economic development as a major national objective have also been there.

These accomplishments lend fresh hope to the nation’s aspirations for the future. The 20-year Perspective Plan which is now being formulated sets out these long-term goals and objectives. It is planned to bring about a three-fold increase in the national income, allowing the per capita income to be doubled by 1985. Other targets envisage full employment, universal literacy, and elimination of dependence on foreign aid by the end of the Perspective Plan. It is also expected that by then the economic disparity between East and West Pakistan would have been eliminated. These goals will not be easy to achieve but considering the tempo and dynamism of progress witnessed during the Second Plan period, they are well within the reach of a nation determined to shake off the burden of poverty and ignorance within the shortest possible time.
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