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"Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but he is the Messenger of God and the last of the Prophets. And God has full knowledge of all things."
(The Qur'an, 33:40)
"There is no prophet after me" (The Prophet Muhammad)

The Palestine Problem and the Role of the Palestinians

The people of Palestine must be allowed to play a greater part in fighting for their rights and resisting aggression

The emergence of the Fatah

Battles are fought by men and equipment. Equipment, however sophisticated and developed it might be, does not alone win a war. A single battle may be won by the superiority of weapons, and victory in a single battle might be startling and important. But a single battle rarely is conclusive, and the outcome of war takes more than one battle to be determined. This has been true of wars throughout the ages, and is true of war even today when weapons and equipment have become extremely potent and destructive. The spirit of the men who fight remains just as important as it was when the fighting was with bows and arrows. Men with the most highly developed equipment can falter and fail in the handling of such equipment if they do not have the right spirit and the zeal and drive which motivates men to strive and struggle. There have been many examples of dispirited and unenthusiastic men abandoning altogether their equipment in battle and leaving it on a golden platter to the enemy. And even where battles are won the spirit of a people and an army defeated in one round can prevent the enemy converting a single victory into final triumph in the whole war. A country under occupation by enemy forces can present the enemy with many difficulties, and can eventually defeat its armed forces, if resistance is properly organized and the people are sufficiently dedicated and single-minded in their opposition to the enemy.

These facts may be commonplace. But they are relevant to the struggle of the people of Palestine against Zionism
and imperialism. A study of what has so far happened in Palestine reveals that the most elementary scientific and psychological aspects of war were either forgotten or purposely rejected by the Arab states engaged in the struggle. The result is what we see today. The Arab states, who rejected the United Nations' partition resolution on Palestine (and quite rightly rejected it), were defeated by Israeli forces much smaller than themselves, and with pitiable poorer equipment. After the fighting started in 1948 Israel came to occupy a third more territory than was allotted to it by the United Nations. More than a million Palestinian Arabs were also made homeless. They rotted in refugee camps in what remained of Palestine (which was annexed to Jordan) and in the neighbouring Arab countries. Then in June 1967 the Arab states were abysmally defeated in a war with Israel. It is useless to talk here about who started the war and who was technically the aggressor. The fact is that the Arab states had had about twenty years during which they were reminded of the presence of Israel in the heart of the Arab homeland and given ample proof of the aggressive designs of world Zionism and imperialism against the Arab nation. They should have been prepared. But they lost the battle, and in consequence the remainder of Palestine was taken over by Israel, which also occupied parts of Syria and Egypt. Now all the Palestinian Arabs are either under Israeli military occupation or in exile.

Facts about the June 1967 war

Enough is known about the Arab-Israel war of June 1967 to prove beyond the slightest doubt that the Arab armies and air forces that were defeated in battle did not quite excel themselves in the fighting. There was confusion and chaos in the Arab military command at the highest levels, and the soldiers at the lowest level were not given the leadership and inspiration all soldiers require. The expensive and very sophisticated equipment which the Arab armies had was little used. Indeed, most of it was abandoned before use. Many hundreds of soldiers died a most horrific death as stragglers in the scorching desert, and many were burned by napalm bombs. This may be testimony to the brutality of the Israeli war leaders. But need the Arabs be so helpless and so dependent on the good nature and mercy of the Israelis? Can they not — indeed should they not — be in a position of strength and immunity, and should they not have so established themselves that they should be free of molestation by Israel and out of the reach of its wicked hands?

The question which many people have asked themselves recently is not whether there is anything wrong with the Arabs' campaign against Israel, but what exactly was wrong? It is futile to argue that the Arabs were taken by surprise in June 1967, or that Israel was deceitful or over-strong. All this should be common knowledge about Israel. In any case, are not the Arabs a nation of more than one hundred million people? Have they not talked enough about unity? Did not Israel meet in battle more than one Arab state? Perhaps most important of all: did not Israel do in 1967 what it did in 1956, and should not the Arabs have learnt the lesson?

The Palestinians' resistance

The answer to the question as to what is wrong with the Arabs' Palestine campaign is beginning to emerge very dramatically. It is that the Palestinian Arabs themselves have not been given a sufficiently active and direct role in the campaign. For various reasons — some practicable and worthy, others false and illusory — the Palestinian Arabs have not been given the opportunity of fighting for their own country or of directly challenging the Israelis. And the most interesting fact about all this is that when the Palestinians had the chance to face their enemies — whether they be the British under the Mandate before 1948 or the Israelis after 1948 — they did extremely well. This theory has been proved correct all along. When the League of Nations established the mandate over Palestine Britain, the mandatory power, sought to bring in more Jewish immigrants to the country to fulfil the promise made by the British Government in 1917 (commonly called the Balfour Declaration) to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine. The Palestinian Arabs resisted British policy very bitterly, and there were general strikes (one lasted for three years — 1936-39) and pitched battles between the Palestinian Arab nationalists and British troops, and the British did not always come out best. The Palestinian Arabs forced upon the British some changes in policy. Admittedly these were not very substantial, but they were nevertheless significant. And it was the Arabs' resistance against the British, coupled with resistance by Jewish organizations in the other direction, that eventually induced Britain to surrender the Mandate to the United Nations in 1947.

The United Nations resolution to partition Palestine was resisted first and foremost by the Palestinian Arabs. Many battles with Jewish forces took place before and after the establishment of the State of Israel on 15 May 1948. The Palestinians were not very elaborately equipped, but they had the greater fighting spirit. They fought against an enemy they knew, and they fought to defend their families, their homes and their property. They fought with their backs to the wall, and they achieved many successes. But the position changed when the Arab states decided to intervene, on the ground that the Palestinian Arabs needed their protection. The sad truth is that very few battles were won by the armies of the Arab states. The Palestinian fighters were relegated, by order of the leaders of the Arab states, to a position of secondary importance. The regular Arab forces took on the fight. They also lost it, and retreated back to where they came from.

Harassing Israel

The idea that the Palestinian Arabs are the best people to fight for Palestine, and that they can effectively harass the Israelis, was tried and found effective in 1955 and 1956. Palestinian commandos (fidaiyyin) went into Israel from the neighbouring territory and for a short period wrought great havoc upon the life of Israel. The Israelis tried various methods to counter them, but achieved little success. Eventually Israel collaborated with Britain and France in launching a war against Egypt 1956 (on the pretext of securing freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal). The war destroyed Palestinian commando bases in the Gaza sector. An agreement was also reached whereby the Arab states neighbouring on Israel were to curb the activities of these commandos. (Israel launched severe punitive raids against neighbouring territory to remind the Arabs of this whenever it thought that commando activity had become intense.)

More recently, since the debacle of June 1967, the Palestinian Arabs have formed themselves into various national resistance groups (the most well-known of which is

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Fatih, the name being made up of the initials of the Arabic words Filastin tahyä hurrah, meaning Palestine Shall Live Free). They have started going into Israel-occupied territory, and they are reliably reported to be causing a great deal of anxiety to the Israelis. The Israelis, however, are actively playing down the existence and strength of the national resistance movement, because their propaganda machine finds it more suitable to put out the story that the Palestinians are not so opposed to Israeli rule. Also, they do not want to give heart to the civilians under occupation. They want the Palestinians under occupation to feel that they are completely isolated and on their own, and that they can expect no assistance from the Arab states or any outside sources, and that their best hope lies in an accommodation of the Israelis.

The most interesting fact about the Palestinian national resistance movement is that its members are extremely dedicated and sincere. They are mostly educated people — university graduates are not uncommon — who have come into the movement freely and enthusiastically. They are fighting against great odds. Communiqués put out by the Israeli authorities indicate the intensity of the resistance fighters' struggle. Casualties often run into 15 or 20 in a single encounter, and often not a single Palestinian is left alive. This has happened consistently over the past six months, but the resistance fighters continue to go into the enemy occupied land. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the Palestinians are not going to turn back, and will not be deterred by the high cost they will have to pay.

Some people may wonder whether there is any significance in the fact that very rarely do the Israelis capture any of these resistance fighters alive. Is it that they always fight to the finish? Or is it that the Israelis simply execute those they capture? Whatever the answer it certainly is beyond doubt that the Palestinian resistance fighters know what to expect when they go into enemy-held territory and are not unmindful of the danger which their mission entails.

The duty of the Arabs and the Muslims

There is abundant evidence that the Palestinians are determined more than ever before to wage the battle against their Israeli oppressors. They are fighting with their backs to the wall. The only difference is that justice is also on the side of the Arabs in this case.

It now becomes the duty of the Arab states, and of the Muslim states and peoples, to give every assistance to the struggle of the Palestinians. They need money and weapons. They do not need drive and zeal. They should be given the tools to finish the job. No obstacle must be placed in their way by the Arab and Muslim states. The money and weapons needed would not be beyond the capacity of the Arab and Muslim peoples. And what the Arabs and the Muslims cannot give in weapons and equipment they can more than make up by the assurance to their Palestinian brothers that they are with them all along the line and want them, at last, to have the right and the privilege to fight for their homeland and repel the aggressors.

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"Without the monistic universe there can be no universal law... The uniformity of nature may be violated by affirming the universe as the realm of different gods and by dividing the universe into the natural and the supernatural. ... Islam, like science, annihilated the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. ... There is no conception of superman in Islam. ... The growth of man is always on an ascending scale and it is from simple to complex ... and this evolution is not mechanical or spontaneous."

The conception of religion in Islam

In the ninth year after the emigration (Hijrah) the Prophet Muhammad went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On the day of the pilgrimage he received the revelation: "This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed my favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion."

Thus Islam, as it is erroneously believed in some sections, is not the religion which began with the Prophet Muhammad. On the contrary, it dawned with the very beginning of humanity. The very first man of the universe, whom we call Adam, is the first prophet of Islam. It was from Prophet Adam that the chain of prophethood started and Muhammad is the last link of this chain, the culmination of the prophethood.

Therefore, so far as the religion of Islam is concerned, it was categorically asserted: "Say ye: we believe in God, and the revelation given to us, and to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, and that given to Moses and Jesus, and what is given to (all) Prophets from their Lord: We make no difference between one and another of them. And we bow to God (in Islam)."

Thus: the due analysis of the religion of Islam is to believe in:

(i) The one universal God;
(ii) The Message to us through Muhammad and the signs (āyāt) as interpreted on the basis of personal responsibility;
(iii) The message delivered by other messengers in the past. These may be mentioned in three groups:
   (a) Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes; of these, Abraham had, apparently, a book (Qur'an, 37:19) and the others followed his tradition;
   (b) Moses and Jesus, who each left a scripture; these scriptures are still extant, though not in their pristine form; and
   (c) Other scriptures, Prophets, or Messengers of God, not specifically mentioned in the Qur'an (The Qur'an, 10:78).

We make no difference between any of these. Their message (in essentials) was one, and that is the basis of Islam.

The Qur'an is the scripture of Islam. It is an unassailable scripture. It is a (new) light and a perspicuous Book. No falsehood can approach it from before or behind it. It is sent down by One full of wisdom, worthy of all praise. God has explained principally everything in the Qur'an for the progress, uplift and benefit of mankind; as it is said, "We have explained in detail in this Qur'an, for the benefit of mankind,

NOTE: In rendering the Arabic text into English, the author has followed the English translation of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, printed by the Murray Printing Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

1 Qur'an, 5:4.
2 Qur'an, 2:136.
3 Qur'an, 41:41.
4 Qur'an, 5:17.
5 Qur'an, 61:42.
6 Qur'an, 18:54.
every kind of similitude. But man is, in most things, contentious." It is further said, "We have put forth for men, in this Qur'an, every kind of parable, in order that they may receive admonition." Thus the Qur'an, while affirming the truth of all previous revelations, itself comprises all truth for the whole of mankind for all time.

This Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. As we find, "A messenger from God, reading purified pages wherein are laws (or decrees) right and straight." The position of the Prophet Muhammad in Islam is not of a superman. He is a man like others, subject to all natural laws with the only difference that he received the revelations. The Qur'an categorically declares about the Prophet: "Say: I (the Prophet) am but a man like yourselves, (but) the inspiration has come to me, that your God is one God."30

What do we mean by science?

After this brief introductory note on Islam we now come to science.

It is very difficult to answer this question directly because science, for many scientists, is something big, many-sided and far-reaching, rich with significance and potent in influence — and much more than its specific intellectual content. But both scientists and non-scientists are unanimous on the point that the term science has a variety of common usages.

Science, as it is commonly interpreted, is a body of organised knowledge. But this is only one usage. It, with equal emphasis, is spoken of as a way or method of knowing. It may also be viewed as an area of experience — experience with nature and experience in creativity. But this is not all. It may be taken as a certain attitude, point of view, or even, in a rich sense, a way of life. Sometimes it is identified with freedom of inquiry, critical thinking and the experimental approach in the attack upon problems. Therefore, without the due consideration of all these usages it would not be possible to tell the whole story about it and its nature.31

After considering the different usages of science, we now come to the basic concepts of science.

It is but indispensable for the growth of science to have the three basic concepts:

(i) Belief in the one whole homogeneous universe. The universe should be one homogeneous whole, it must not be divided into different realms having their own divergent laws;

(ii) Belief in the law of the uniformity of nature;

(iii) Belief in the value of individual instance.32

Uniformity in the laws of nature and the Unity of God

In the absence of any one of these concepts there can be no general scientific progress, though the possibility of the progress of science individually would remain open. The first two concepts are closely related to each other. In fact, these are the two sides of the same coin. Without the monistic universe there can be no universal law. If the nature of the universe is not uniform, how can there be any possibility for the uniformity of the laws which are operating there? There are two ways by which the uniformity of nature may be violated:

(i) By affirming the universe as the realm of different and perhaps rival gods who challenge one another's authority.

(ii) By dividing the universe into two distinct regions, the natural and the supernatural. It is but obvious that different laws will operate in different regions. With the lack of uniformity of nature there is no possibility of any Induction. And without induction no scientific law can be established and no growth in the scientific thought can be made. Therefore, the insistence on "one universe" is but an indispensable condition for the scientific growth.

Not Monism but Polytheism was the creed of many primitive religions. Rival gods were recognised and separate functions and distinct regions were assigned to them. It is the unique characteristic of Islam which emphasised the unity of God in an unambiguous and unequivocal term: ła ʾilāha ʾilla-llāh ("there is nothing to be worshipped except God") is the basic tenet of Islam. It remained immutable and unalterable from the Prophet Adam to the Prophet Muhammad and it is universal and everlasting in nature. The Qur'an declares: "Here is a message for mankind; let them take warning therefore, and let them know that He is (no other than) one God. Let men of understanding take heed."33

Islam not only preached the unity of God but also the unity of Religion. The Qur'an says: "For We assuredly sent amongst every people a messenger."34 Each country and each nation had its own prophet. Each prophet preached in his own language the commandments of God according to the need of the time and the requirements of the age. But in all the preachings the fundamentals remained the same and these fundamentals are the unity of God (Ta'valu), belief in the prophethood, the divine scriptures and the resurrection. It is stated in the Qur'an: "Such of our revelations as we abrogate or cause to be forgotten, We bring (in their place) one better or the like thereof. Knowest thou not that God is able to do things?"35 In shari'ah terminology it may be expressed that the Haqiqah remained the same but there was change in the Sunnah.36

Islam annihilated the distinction between the natural and the supernatural and this conception has greatly influenced the development of science. The Qur'an, in a number of verses, has emphasised the laws of God. Laws of God are operating throughout the universe. These laws are uniform in their application. It was commanded in the Qur'an: "God is He who raised the heavens without any pillars that ye can see; is firmly established on the throne (of authority). He has subjected the Sun and the Moon (to His law). Each one runs (its course) for a term appointed. He doth regulate all affairs, explaining the signs in detail, that ye may believe with certainty in the meeting with your Lord."37

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7 Qur'an, 39:27.
8 Qur'an, 98:2.
9 Qur'an, 98:3.
10 Qur'an, 18:110.
13 Qur'an, 14:52.
14 Qur'an, 16:36.
15 Qur'an, 2:106.
16 Mohammad Noor Nabi, Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India, p. 108.
17 Qur'an, 13:2.

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There is no conception of Superman in Islam

There is no conception of superman in Islam. The prophet and the common man are equally subject to the laws of God. Here it would not be out of place to quote the tradition of the Prophet. The death of the only son of the Prophet coincided with an eclipse. The unbelieving Quraysh took it as a portent and wanted to accept Islam through superstitious fear. But the Prophet replied that the sun and the moon obey the laws of God and pay no heed to the sorrows and joys of either a prophet or a common man.18

Islam gives due recognition to the particular instances. It does not make any distinction between the transcendental and phenomenal realities or between Noumen and Phenomena in the Kantian terminology. It never recognises that nature or phenomenal realities are the copy of the supernatural world as it was asserted in Platonist Idealism or Maya (illusion) as it was declared by Advaïta Vedantism; on the contrary, it asserts that the entire universe is the creation of God; it is real and actual; it is full of signs of the power and wisdom of God. The Qur’ân describes: “And He it is who spread out the earth, and set thereon mountains standing firm, and flowing rivers. And fruit of every kind He made in pairs, two and two: He dreweth the night as a veil over the day. Behold, verily in these things there are signs for those who consider.”19 Islam draws the attention of mankind towards the particular facts of the universe and through these facts invites humanity to ponder over the blessings and the bounties of God. Thus it becomes clear as crystal that Islam provides the basic concepts for science.

The Qur’ân is scientific in nature

It would not be any exaggeration if it was said that the very spirit of Islam is scientific in nature. Here by science we mean the freedom of enquiry, critical thinking and the experimental approach in the attack upon problems. When we recite the verses of the Qur’ân, we find that most of the verses invite our attention for reflective thinking and stimulate us for the scientific inquiry. God, the author of the Qur’ân, addresses mankind:

“This is a Book that We have revealed to thee, full of blessings, that they may reflect over its verses, and that those gifted with understanding may take heed.”18

Here are some of the verses in further support of the above contention:

“Seest thou how God sendeth down water from the sky and then the earth becometh green upon the morrow? Lo! God is subtle. Aware.”20

“Unto Him belongeth all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth. Lo! God, He verily is the Absolute, the owner of the praise.”21

“Hast thou not seen how God hath made all that is in the earth subservient into you?”22

“And verily We have coined for mankind in this Qur’ân all kinds of similitudes, that haply they may reflect.”23

“It is God who causeth the seed grain and the date-stone to split and sprout. He causeth the living to issue from the dead, and He is the One to cause the dead to issue from the living. That is God: then how are you deluded away from the truth.”24

Here in this verse the terms “split” and “sprout” provide an extensive and a vast field for the botanists for their exploration.

“It is He who maketh the stars (as beacons) for you, that ye may guide yourselves, with their help, through the dark spaces of land and sea: We detail our signs for people who know.”25

“He it is that cleaveth the day-break (from the dark): He makes the night for rest and tranquillity, and the sun and moon for the reckoning (of time).”26

Evolution: the Qur’ân and modern scientific knowledge

The above verses provide the great astronomical universe such as the night, the day, the sun, the moon and the stars for the scientists and astronomers for their reflective thought. Giving these signs (Ayât) to mankind God says:

“Thus do We explain the signs by various (symbols): That they may say, ‘Thou hast taught (us) diligently’, and that We may make the matter clear to those who know.”20

The Qur’ân stimulates us not only to reflective thinking but it also brings home to us the experimental approach in the attack upon problems. Here, for illustration, we would like to quote the problem of “resurrection” and the Qur’ânic approach to the problem. The Qur’ân says:

“O mankind! If ye have a doubt about the Resurrection (consider) that We created you out of dust, then out of sperm, then out of a leech-like clot, then out of a lump of flesh, partly formed and partly unformed, in order that We cause whom We will to rest in the wombs for an appointed term, then do We bring you out as babes, then (foster you) that ye may reach your age of full strength; and some of you are called to die and some are sent back to the feeblest old age, so that they know nothing after having known (much). And further, thou seest the earth barren and lifeless, but when We pour down rain on it, it is stirred (to life), it swells, and it puts forth every kind of beautiful growth (in pairs). This is so, because God is the Reality: it is He who gives life to the dead, and it is He who has power over all things.”27

The above illustration may be divided mainly into three: (i) the analysis of the human being — his origin and development, (ii) the analysis of the nature around the human being, and (iii) the conclusion. We would like to discuss here the first one, i.e., the analysis of the human being — his origin and development.

What a great psychological touch we find here. In addressing mankind God first of all addresses man directly and says: “Think of yourself, I have created you out of dust,” and then points out to him his development, growth and decay. How wonderful is the physical growth of the individual, from lifeless matter to seed, fertilized ovum, foetus, child, youth, old age and death. All the above stages are the experimental facts and these may be summarized under the broad term “evolution”. We do not find in the illustration any discussion in detail on the process of evolution nor any

19 Qur’ân, 15: 2.
20 Qur’ân, 38: 30.
22 Qur’ân, 22: 64.
24 Qur’ân, 39: 27.
vast experimental data in connection with it. We only find the different stages of growth of the individual, i.e., from inorganic to organic; from plant life to animal life; from animal life to human life and then the different stages of human life. Thus we notice that the growth is always on an ascending scale and it is from simple to complex. The second chief characteristic of this evolution is that it is not mechanical or spontaneous. God is saying categorically: "I am the Creator and it is I who have the all power."

Now let us examine in brief, simply in bare outlines, some of the important theories of evolution so that a comparative study may be possible.

The first man who took up the problem of Evolution after the Qur'an was a Spanish Muslim philosopher, Ibn Tufayl

Perhaps the first man who took this problem of Evolution after the revelation of the Qur'an was a Spanish philosopher, Ibn Tufayl, in the twelfth century. He tried to present it through his allegory of Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan. In this allegory he states the first version of spontaneous birth of Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan. He says there was an island having a piece of low ground where some mass of earth got fermented in course of time. Due to the equal temperature of the place and perfect equilibrium of heat, cold, moisture and dryness that fermented mass became analogous to the human body and then was divided into two chambers by means of a thin partition and then a soul was joined to it by the command of God. After this Ibn Tufayl traces the different stages of physical, mental and spiritual growth of Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan and it culminates in the reconciliation between Philosophy and Religion.

Ibn Tufayl, in this allegory, attempts to show how from dust a human body was formed and then hastily comes to the proposition, "soul was joined to the body by the command of God." Thus he observes a complete silence in connection with the different stages of Evolution, i.e., from inorganic to organic — plant, animal and human life.

Darwin

After Ibn Tufayl, the outstanding personality in the field of Evolution, and especially the biological evolution, was Charles Darwin, born in 1809 and died in 1882. His two remarkable books, Origin of Species and Descent of Man, were published in 1859 and 1871 respectively. In the history of science Darwin's work ranks in importance with that of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, in giving new direction to human thought and in stimulating scientific research. But it is perhaps true that Darwin's method is more valuable than his theory of evolution. His method is a perfect example of the inductive method, coupled with inexhaustible patience in research and experimentation. But what was the fruit of this research?

Darwin took up only the biological evolution and concluded that evolution in this field is going on the basis of

(i) Spontaneous generation, (ii) chance variation, (iii) struggle for existence, (iv) natural selection, and (v) survival of the fittest. He declared the entire process of evolution purely as mechanical and spontaneous with not the least touch of "Telos" or "purpose." But this Mechanical theory of evolution was vehemently opposed by Teleological theory and, recently, by the Creative theory of evolution put forward by Henry Bergson and C. Lloyd Morgan.

Bergson

Henry Bergson (1859-1941), a French philosopher of evolution, a great opponent of materialism and mechanism, repudiated the Mechanical theory of evolution put forward by Darwin, Lamarck, Weissman, De-varies and others. He put forward the Creative theory of evolution and presented the concepts of “Duration”, “Intuition” and “Elán Vital” for the explanation of his theory. He says: "Evolution reveals a struggle of the positive or active tendency, the vital impulse (Elán Vital) against the resistance offered by the negative or passive tendency and concludes that God is this central radiation of life." Thus he defined, he says, has nothing of the already made: He is unceasing life, action, freedom. C. Lloyd Morgan (1852-1936), a distinguished English biologist and philosopher, in his book entitled Emergent Evolution, says: "Evolution is a series of stages, in which there supervenes at each new level a new form of ‘relatedness’ — or as we should say, perhaps, a new structure or organisation — and from this new form of relatedness something new ‘emerges’ which is effective in determining the ‘go of events’ from that stage on. Thus, from matter emerges life — and from life, mind. The world is a pyramid with ascending levels."

But what causes the emergents to emerge? What is the agency which lifts the world, so to speak, from one level to the next? Here Morgan definitely takes his stand on the necessity of affirming a power which he calls Activity, or Mind, or God. He even suggests that God acts from above as a drawing force. What a striking similarity we find in the expression of the Qur'an and the findings of C. Lloyd Morgan.

But one thing, very important, is to note that the Qur'an only supplies the basic hints for the scientists and explorers to examine and explore, it never gives the details. In the above illustration God says: "We created you out of dust, then out of sperm." But nothing is indicated how dust developed into sperm. This is the business of the scientist to examine and find out the facts.

Therefore, it can be safely concluded that Islam, instead of harrying science, provides a very fertile and congenial ground for the development of science.

30 Siddiqi, Z. A., Philosophy of Ibn Tufayl, p. 31.
32 Patrick, G. T. W., Introduction to Philosophy, p. 150.
33 Ibid, p. 115.
The Sword as Wielded by Muslims and Christians for Propagation of their Faiths

A Study of the relevant oft-quoted verses of the Qur'an on the use of the sword by Muslims to further the spread of Islam

A Comparison

By MUHAMMAD 'ALI

Comparisons are generally odious, but my justification for the comparison referred to in the heading of this article lies in the fact that Islam and its Prophet are repeatedly subjected to unjustifiable attacks by the non-Muslim writers. They never tire of calling Islam the religion of the sword and Christianity the religion of peace. A student of the Qur'an knows that it nowhere enjoins or permits the propagation of Islam by the sword. Moreover, it is asserted by them that though the Christians have sometimes been guilty of persecution, they have no shadow of justification for it in the teaching of their master.

Was Jesus averse to the use of the sword?

Let us examine the teachings of Jesus in this regard.

Jesus came in fulfilment of the expectations of the Jews, who considered the advent of the Messiah to be a sign of their supremacy and the subjugation to them of all the nations of the earth. They entertained the belief that the Messiah would lead them to conquer and subjugate the whole world. When Jesus first advanced his claim to Messiahship, he himself seems to have entertained similar thoughts. The throne of David was for a time aspired after, and these hopes were only dispelled by the concluding events of the drama of his life in Palestine. Christianity had not the power to wield the sword in the days of its founder, and when it attained such power it most unscrupulously used it for its advancement. Had Jesus the power to call a force being sufficient to overthrow the Roman empire, or had he even a few thousand brave disciples ready to sacrifice their lives at his word and had he then refrained from making use of that power there would have been reason to believe that his disciples who shed human blood quite unjustifiably in a later period when Christianity could command that power were actuated to do so by the spirit of their master. But in spite of his apparent helplessness, Jesus did not despise the sword altogether. “He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one,” he remarked on one occasion, and the later history of Christianity shows clearly that however wide may have been the departure of the Christian nations from the other teachings of Jesus, they have been quite faithful to their master in acting up to the above injunction!

There was none among them who, being smitten on one cheek would have turned the other, or being compelled to go one mile would have gone two, or being sued for the coat would have given also the cloak, but there were hundreds of thousands of Christians who provided themselves with swords and used them for the advancement of Christianity. Jesus
himself, who had such an ardent desire that his soldiers should be provided with swords, though they might have even to sell their garments, had not the good fortune to see it done in his lifetime, and accordingly he had not the occasion to direct them personally how to use the sword. But we can say with certainty what use he would have made of it had he the means to have done so. I know that pious Christians do not like to hear any name applied to their master other than the Prince of Peace, though Jesus preferred to be called the Wielder of the Sword when he said,

"I came not to send peace but a sword."

but in the interests of justice and for the sake of comparison I must refer to facts. Jesus was brought up in the Jewish law and he was well-versed in what were accepted in his time to be the inspired writings of Moses and the prophets. In religion, therefore, he was a Jew to the core of his heart. His faith in the Jewish law was so strong that he thought it easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one jot or tittle of the law to be abolished. He plainly taught that

"whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. 5: 19).

Therefore we can say with certainty that if Jesus had been able to wield the sword, he would have wielded it in the manner ordained by the Jewish law (cf. Deut. 20), which says that:

"When the Lord thy God shall deliver them (the enemy) before thee, thou shalt smite them, every man thereof . . . and utterly destroy them."

A few chapters later the commandment is given concerning an idolatrous city that

"thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword. And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it in the midst thereof, and shall burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof, every whith for the Lord thy God; and it shall be an heap for ever; it shall not be built again" (Deut. 15: 12-16).

And again:

"But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them" (Deut. 20: 16-17).

The attempt to explain away Jesus's injunction to his disciples to buy swords

A strange attempt is made to explain away Jesus's injunction to his disciples to buy swords. We are told that the swords which Jesus wanted his disciples to provide themselves with were the spiritual swords. It is maintained that where Christ speaks of a sword, he is speaking not of a literal sword but of the "sword of the spirit". He means that Christians are always and everywhere to carry on a war, both aggressive and defensive, on behalf of truth and righteousness. We need not dispute this interpretation, but we wonder if the other words used in connection with the sword are also not to be taken literally. Jesus said:

"He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one" (Luke 22: 36).

It is not out of place to remark that the sword is to be bought by selling the garment, and the close relation shows that both the sword and the garment belong to the same sphere. Now without contending that the sword here means the spiritual sword one may ask as to what "the garment" means. If the sword is taken to signify the spiritual sword, the garment must be taken to mean the spiritual garment. Jesus's advice to his disciples, therefore, was that they should sell their spiritual garments and buy the spiritual sword "to carry on a war both aggressive and defensive". But spiritually naked men are men devoid of true righteousness. Accord-
ingly the injunction would mean that the Christians should depart from the ways of righteousness and defend their own innovations and attack the other religions in whatever way they can. This interpretation does not render the injunction more edifying than if the sword was taken literally. Moreover, it is difficult to understand why the Christians could not get the spiritual sword without selling the spiritual garments, and how the transaction was to be effected or how it was actually effected; also one would like to know whether the two swords which the disciples showed to Jesus immediately on receiving the injunction to buy swords were spiritual swords or literal ones, bearing in mind at the same time that on seeing these swords, Jesus expressed his satisfaction, as Luke tells us:

“And they said, Lord behold, here are two swords, and he said unto them, It is enough” (Luke 18:38).

Jesus not the first to preach love for enemies

The Muslims, however, understand Jesus for having preached that swords should be bought by selling garments because in this he was only following the Israelite law. He was one of the Israelite prophets and he cannot be blamed for giving an injunction in accordance with the law which had been promulgated by Moses. It would be urged that Jesus preached love even for enemies, and that, therefore, he was not following the Israelite prophets who preached hatred and vengeance, but the fact is that even Jesus’s teaching of love towards enemies is taken from the earlier prophets. Solomon taught that

“if thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink” (Prov. 25:2);

and David prayed to the Lord, saying:

“If I have rewarded evil unto him that was at peace with me (yea, I have delivered him that without cause is mine enemy)” (Ps. 7:4).

Similarly, the teachings of earlier prophets are not devoid of the precepts of forgiveness and forbearance and Jesus only proclaimed the same teachings in a new garb. It is, therefore, an error to consider that the earlier Israelite prophets who fought against the idolaters did not inculcate love, kindness, mercy and forgiveness or that Jesus had no inclination to use the sword if a favourable opportunity had offered itself. Jesus Christ was a true Israelite, and accordingly, while he promulgated the Israelite doctrines of love and forbearance, he was not averse to the Israelite methods of war, but on account of his rejection by the Jews he had not the means to employ those methods, though to show his adherence to that doctrine he gave it as his dying word to his followers that they should provide themselves with swords even though they might have to sell their garments. In support of this last assertion, it should not be lost sight of that the injunction to buy swords was given by Jesus just at the moment when he was expecting arrest, and probably he thought that his faithful disciples would save him at the last moment by using their swords in his defence. A few hours afterwards Jesus was put under arrest, but his hopes were not realized, for his disciples had not the courage to stand by him at this critical moment in his life and they all fled.

A digression

There is a strange episode mentioned in the Gospels in this connection. When the disciples were commanded to provide themselves with swords, they told the master that they already possessed two swords, and Jesus considered them to be sufficient, though we are not told for what purpose. It was with one of these swords that Peter soon afterwards cut off the ear of one of the multitude which had come to arrest him. This was the only use to which one of the two swords was put. Probably some more blood would have been shed had not Jesus, on seeing a great number of men “with swords and staves”, and seeing his party in danger in case a struggle ensued, pacified the mob by ordering Peter to sheathe his sword. It is probable that Jesus was at first under the impression that taking him for an ordinary preacher, the authorities would send one or two men for his arrest, and accordingly he had prepared himself to meet the situation. Hence he expressed wonder when he saw so many well-armed men who could easily overcome any resistance that his disciples could make, and exclaimed:

“But ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves” (Luke 22:52).

Of course, it was quite advisable on the part of Jesus to give up his determination at the last moment, but the difficulty is that as a prophet his words regarding the sufficiency of two swords did not prove true. How is this difficulty to be solved?

By way of digression I may be permitted to mention here that history presents another instance of a great victory having been won with two swords. It was the victory won at the fie'd of Badr (626 C.E.) by the Prophet Muhammad with 313 companions who are said to have possessed only two swords. The enemy numbered over a thousand strong and they had among them Arab warriors of great renown. The Muslim society was in danger of utter destruction, for among the 313 the majority had never seen the field of battle before. But since it was a question of life and death for the Muslim society, therefore they had come into the field to defend themselves and their Prophet, trusting in God only for their victory. But though two swords did not prove sufficient for Jesus and his apostles, they wrought wonderful deeds in the case of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. Was Jesus prophetically thinking of the swords of one greater than himself when he said:

“It is enough!”

Or did it happen that he had a vision in which he saw two swords gaining a complete victory with the assistance of God? For the prophets of God are sometimes made to witness events which happen hundreds of years afterwards.

The circumstances under which Islam had to take up the sword

Let us now consider under what circumstances and for what purpose Islam had to take up the sword. It is a threadbare subject and instead of dwelling upon it at any length I would refer simply to two verses of the Holy Qur'ān, which is admittedly the most trustworthy history of Islam.

“Permission (to fight against the unbelievers) is given to those against whom the sword has been taken up, for verily they have suffered outrages, and God is certainly able to succour them: Those who have been driven forth from their homes wrongfully, only because they say, ‘Our Lord is God’. And if God had not repelled some men by others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques wherein the name of God is ever commemorated would surely have been destroyed!” (22:40, 41).
And again in a chapter of about the same period we read in the Holy Qur'ān:

"And fight in the way of God against those only who have taken up the sword against you : and do not go beyond this limit. . . . But if they desist, then verily God is Gracious, Merciful . . . but if they desist, then let there be no hostility save against the wrongdoer” (2 : 186, 188, 189).

These two quotations are, I think, sufficient to show under what circumstances, and with what object, the Muslims were compelled to take up the sword. Their opponents had persecuted them most cruelly so long as they remained at Mecca and had at last driven them from their homes. But the Muslims were not secure even in the place where they had now sought shelter, for the unbelievers pursued them with the sword to deal a destructive blow to the small Muslim society. Thus it was at the most critical moment in the life of Islam that permission was given to the Muslims to fight against those who had taken up the sword against them, but they were clearly told not to attack them first.

It is clear from the above that Islam did not take up the sword to compel the unbelievers to accept its principles but to defend itself. It fought not for its propagation but for its existence. In fact, the Muslims were as a mere drop in the ocean among the unbelievers and idolators. Numerous other verses of the Holy Qur'ān bear testimony to the fact that Islam was opposed to compulsion in religion. It is in a chapter revealed at Medina, the chapter in which permission is given to fight against the unbelievers as already quoted, that the golden principle is mentioned which both Judaism and Christianity failed to give. The verse reads:

"There is to be no compulsion in faith” (2 : 257).

With such a principle preached in clear words and that too at the very place where Islam had gained power, it is absurd to say that it took up the sword for its propagation. In another chapter also revealed at Medina and which undoubtedly belongs to the later period of the Prophet Muhammad’s life, we find the following verses:

"God does not forbid you to deal with kindness and fairness towards those who have not made war upon you on account of your religion, or driven you forth from your homes; verily God loves those who act with fairness. Only doth God forbid you to make friends with those who, on account of your religion, have tarried against you and have driven you forth from your homes, and have aided your expulsion; and whoever makes friends of them, these, therefore, are evil-doers” (60 : 8, 9).

These verses show clearly that the Muslims were not fighting with the Arabs to force their religion upon them but the contrary was the case. The unbelievers were fighting against the Muslims to compel them to forsake their religion and the Muslims were only compelled to fight for their lives and liberty.

Do the verses in the ninth chapter of the Qur’ān abrogate the earlier enunciated principle of the freedom of conscience?

Here I would like to deal with the notion that the verses quoted above containing these injunctions were abrogated by the ninth chapter of the Holy Qur’ān. It is said that whatever the Qur’ān may have said at other times, this ninth chapter must be taken as the final expression of the mind of Muhammad. It would not be out of place to press the point a bit further. Let us apply this logic to the sayings of Jesus Christ as recorded in the Gospels. In the early days of his ministry Jesus laid great stress upon forbearance, and the Sermon on the Mount, which marks the beginning of his career as a prophet, carries the policy of non-resistance to an extreme and recommends the turning of the left cheek on receiving a slap on the right, and the giving away of the cloak also when the coat is claimed, and going two miles when compelled to go one mile. As disciples gather round him, a departure is made from this policy until at the last moment, immediately before his arrest and crucifixion, we find him directing his disciples to provide themselves with swords though they might have to sell their garments. It would be illogical to conclude therefrom that all the teachings of Jesus relating to forbearance and non-resistance were abrogated by the injunction to buy swords, and that whatever Jesus might have said at other times, this last injunction must be taken as the final expression of his mind.

Coming back to the objection itself, however, we find that there is not the least truth in it. There is no principle which the Holy Qur’ān has contradicted after once establishing it. Now the principle of religious freedom was promulgated throughout the Holy Qur’ān, and compulsion in religion Islam hatred not only in the days of its weakness at Mecca but also in the days of its power at Medina. Therefore, having established this principle once it could not have contradicted it afterwards, for it says:

"Can they not then consider the Qur’ān? Were it from any other than God, they would assuredly have found in it many contradictions” (4 : 84).

Thus the Holy Qur’ān claims to be free from contradictions which it could not be if it promulgated contradictory principles.

The meaning of the word Jihad and fi sabl Allāh

In the ninth chapter of the Holy Qur’ān there is nothing which contradicts any earlier injunction. In order to understand this clearly the meaning of some words must be explained. The first of these is the root word ḥāḍ, various derivatives of which are used in the Holy Qur’ān. Its preterite Jahāda is explained in Lane’s Lexicon as meaning “he strove, laboured, or toiled; exerted himself or his power, or efforts, or endeavours, or ability; employed himself vigorously, strenuously, laboriously, diligently, studiously, sedulously, earnestly, or with energy; was diligent, or studious; took pains or extraordinary pains,” and its well-known derivative Jihad, about which the greatest misunderstanding exists is explained in the same work as meaning “the using, or exerting, one’s utmost power, efforts, endeavours or ability, in contending with an object of disapprobation”. Nor does the word when used in the Holy Qur’ān always mean fighting. It occurs four times in the twenty-ninth chapter, which was revealed at Mecca, and nowhere does it mean fighting. It also occurs in 31 : 14, a Meccan chapter. In chapter 25, entitled the Fizq accomplishment, also revealed at Mecca in the early days of Islam, the Prophet is commanded to carry on the most powerful Jihad against the unbelievers, where it means nothing but striving to the utmost to uproot erroneous doctrines. The words fi sabl Allāh are also misunderstood. Literally they mean “in the way of God”. These words fi sabl Allāh do
not occur in the ninth chapter only. They occur in previous chapters as well. They occur in passages in which the Muslims are plainly enjoined to fight only against those who took up the sword against them. In 2:186, already quoted, we have

wa gāʾīlā ʿa sabīl Allāh alladhīna yuqāṭilāna-kum wa la taʿtadā

("And fight in the way of God against those who have taken up the sword against you and do not go beyond this limit.")

Thus the same words which occur in the ninth chapter also occur in the chapters revealed earlier and passages in which the Muslims are plainly told not to fight against the unbelievers generally, but against those unbelievers only who took up swords to destroy the Muslims. Hence the conclusion that the ninth chapter enjoins the Muslims to persecute other people for the sake of their religion is erroneous because it is based on a wrong translation of the words ʿa sabīl Allāh. Nor does this phrase occur only in connection with fighting, for the Holy Qurʾān speaks of spending one's wealth in the way of God ʿa sabīl Allāh when it means the giving of it away to the poor, as the following verses show:

"The likeness of those who spend their wealth in the way of God, . . . Those who spend their wealth in the way of God, and do not afterwards follow what they expend with reproaches or injury, shall have their reward with their Lord" (2:263, 264).

Hence it is clear that ʿa sabīl Allāh does nowhere mean "for the propagation or advancement of God's religion", and this interpretation has been put upon these simple words to misrepresent the Islamic teaching. This phrase, as I have said above, literally means "in the way of God", and the only significance it carries is that a deed should be done for the sake of God and not for any personal motive or interest. Hence it is that the Holy Qurʾān says deeds of charity should be done only in the way of God and not with the motive of laying an obligation upon a man or showing to others such deeds of charity. And when the Muslims are spoken of as fighting in the way of God, all that is meant is that they are fighting for the sake of God because the unbelievers fought against them to destroy God's religion, i.e., Islam, and it was to defend that religion that the Muslims fought. Therefore, it is clear that neither the use of the word Jihād nor that of the phrase ʿa sabīl Allāh is by itself sufficient to show that any verse of the Holy Qurʾān containing this word or phrase inculcated the propagation of Islam by means of the sword.

**Verses 41 and 73, chapter 9, of the Qurʾān and the propagation of Islam by the sword**

The verses of the ninth chapter on which the allegation that Islam taught the propagation of religion by the sword is based may now be considered. The first verse pointed out is 9:41, which reads:

"March ye forth, light and heavy armed, and strive hard with your property and your persons in the way of God. This, if you knew it, will be best for you."

This verse relates to the expedition of Tabūk (631 C.E.), as the context shows. The expedition was against Heracleus, who had made preparations for an attack with a mighty army. The Muslim expedition was thus only a counter expedition. It was not, therefore, a case of undertaking an expedition to force the people to accept Islam, but to meet an attack of the Romans. And when on reaching Tabūk the Prophet found that the Romans had not advanced, he returned to Medina without engaging in a fight, which he would not have done if his object had been to force Islam upon any tribe. He had on this occasion 30,000 brave warriors with him, and there were yet many idolatrous tribes in Arabia whom if he so desired he could have easily conquered, but he did not do it. The expedition of Tabūk was, therefore, simply defensive, and in the verse objected to the Muslims were enjoined only to join the Prophet in this expedition. That this verse, with some preceding and subsequent verses, was revealed in reference to the Tabūk expedition has been admitted by one of the adverse biographers of Muhammad, Sir William Muir. Hence the verse does not establish "the principle of persecution for the sake of religion".

The second verse often misinterpreted is 9:73, which reads:

"O Prophet! strive strenuously against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be stern against them; for their resort is hell, and an ill journey shall it be."

The word Jihād in this verse literally means "strive strenuously". It is maintained by the traducers of the Qurʾānic teaching that "strive strenuously" is a command to the Prophet to "wage war" against the hypocrites and the unbelievers. That this signification is not true is shown by the fact that the Prophet never waged war against the hypocrites although he knew them all very well. But as the commandment relates to the hypocrites as well as to the unbelievers, and no war was waged against the former, no war could be waged against the latter in consequence of this verse. It should also be borne in mind that this verse occurs in exactly the same form in 66:9.

Another verse is the 124th verse of chapter 9, which says:

"O you who believe! Fight against such of the unbelievers as are near you."

The injunction plainly means that as the Muslims were repeatedly put into trouble by the neighbouring idolatrous Arab tribes therefore it was decided they should be fought against. The specification of the tribes that were near the Muslims in fact demolishes the allegation that the principle of persecution for the sake of religion for all time is established by the ninth chapter of the Holy Qurʾān. Besides, verse 13 in the self-same chapter is quite explicit as to against whom the Muslims were required to take up arms. The verse reads:

"Will you not fight against a people who have broken their covenant and aimed to expel the Messenger and attacked you first?"

That the war was not to be waged for the propagation of Islam is further pin-pointed when we read another verse in the self-same chapter. It reads:

"But this (injunction to fight) does not concern those idolators with whom you have an agreement, and who have afterwards in no way failed you, nor aided anyone against you" (9:4).

(to be continued)
THE CHILDREN'S PAGE

By OLIVE TOTO

The day was Friday. The Prophet and his followers had said their Friday prayers. (Friday is a day when the midday prayers are said with other Muslims in a congregation and a sermon is given.) The sermon was about being an honest citizen and doing God’s will, which is the best thing on earth. A follower of the Prophet had led the prayers and given the sermon. Although the followers always wanted the Prophet to lead the prayers and sermon, he insisted that they also did this duty. He wanted them to understand that any good Muslim could lead the prayers and that it did not need a special person, only it must be a good person. Islam wanted all men to preach, not just some particular party of men of the priest class, because Islam has no priesthood. The Muslims have Imams. But an Imam is a man who has studied the religion of Islam. He is not ordained, as in the Christian religion. As you know, any Muslim can preach Islam and lead the prayers. All God’s earth can be a mosque. No place has to be consecrated to make it into a place for prayers. The Prophet Muhammad once remarked, “I have been given by God some distinctions which the prophets before me did not have, one of these being that the whole expanse of the earth has been made a mosque for me.”

Now to come back to the story of the Prophet. After the Friday prayers the Prophet left the mosque and walked out with his followers. They all went away to their different jobs. The Prophet had to mend his shoes that day and also had a few things to get. So he went to the market, stopped outside the grain shop and there he saw sacks of grain which were being sold loose in small or large quantities. Whilst standing outside the shop by these sacks of grain, the Prophet put his hand down into the sack of grain and brought up a handful. The grain was wet inside that sack, although on the top it was dry. “What is this?” thought the Prophet. “Dry grain on the top and wet grain underneath.” He called the shopkeeper, “Why is this grain wet underneath?” said he. “Oh!” said the shopkeeper, “it must have got wet through the rain touching it.” “But why is it dry on the top and wet underneath? Now to be honest you should show that wet grain on top so that any customer can see it,” said the Prophet Muhammad. The man looked ashamed and the Prophet said in a gentle but stern voice, “Any man who cheats is not one of us.” The Prophet went through the market. But before he went out he told the people around. “A really honest, God-fearing trader will be found amongst God’s chosen people in the world hereafter.”

The Prophet now had to go and say prayers for a person who had died. They took the body out to bury it. The followers stood around the grave in a line facing Mecca. (Now at a Muslim funeral one stands and prays. One does not go on to the ground.) When the prayers were over, the followers dropped a handful of earth on to the coffin and then the followers, with their own hands, put the first spadefuls of earth down. These followers had carried the coffin on their shoulders. Before the funeral the Prophet had asked, “Does this person owe any debts and, if so, are arrangements being made for them to be paid off?” The Prophet was told that no debts were owing and so he performed the service. A few years later, when the Prophet was better off, he would pay the debt and then bury the person. He often said that the persons who died loved him better than their own lives and so he would pay their debts and their belongings would go to the relatives left behind.

Please, little ones, do not say what a miserable story! I keep saying a Muslim must be a brave person and the truth should never be bitter. Death is just a long sleep without any pain. Many a person will say, “Fancy giving that talk to children.” But as I often say, our little soldiers of Islam are realists and quite grown up in their thoughts. Our Prophet loved little children. I will tell you a little story. This happened on an ‘Id al-Fitr day. (Now don’t tell me you don’t know what an ’Id al-Fitr day is. All right, I will tell you, in case you do not know.) It is the day of festival after a month of fasting. Now, as usual, on ’Id al-Fitr days, presents, sweets and everything nice was being given to each other by all the Muslims. The poor were being fed and given presents and alms. The ‘Id al-Fitr prayers and sermon were over. Now came the ‘Id fair, to be seen specially by the youngsters. In this fair were toys, sweets, merry-go-rounds, swings and everything that a child goes mad over. The fair was now in full swing. All the little ‘Abdullahs, Hameedahs, ‘Alis and Fātimahs, etc., were flocking to it in their very best new clothes (for you know all like to have new clothes on an ‘Id day if they can). So, with their mothers and fathers went the children, holding their parents’ hands.

Continued on Page 17
In Commemoration of the 1400th Anniversary
of the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an

An International Islamic Conference held
at Rawalpindi, Pakistan, in February, 1968

sponsored by

the Institute of Islamic Research, Rawalpindi, Pakistan

CALL FOR A CONCERTED EFFORT TO RECOVER JERUSALEM

Over 70 Muslim scholars from Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Nigeria, Su'udi Arabia, Syria, Sudan, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arabic Republic, the Soviet Union, Morocco, Singapore, Ceylon, Iran, Malaysia, Indonesia and Libya participated in a four-day Conference

PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN OF PAKISTAN'S MESSAGE TO THE CONFERENCE

"In the present volcanic conditions of the world, I feel we would be serving the cause of humanity if we strive to bring a balance between the thinking of human values, national and international, and in this process achieve an equilibrium between the eternal laws of God and the ever-changing needs of human society. This is the supreme task which falls on us today. I pray that the teachings of Islam may again redeem the world which today is more than ever torn apart with conflicts and hates... Muslims the world over have a common history, and by drawing on their rich heritage they can shape a common glorious future"

Aim of the Conference

The subjects that came up before the Conference were: the role of Reason in Islam; Islam and world peace, Islamic social justice.

The objective of the discussions was to analyze in depth the answers that Islam furnishes to human needs and not to make platitudes or pay mere lip service to Islam.

The Conference split into three working committees, after the inaugural session, to discuss issues of practical importance, such as fundamental human rights and obligations, banking and insurance, and family laws.

Following is the full text of the General Declaration of the Conference:

Text of the General Declaration of the Conference

"Whereas the fourteen hundredth anniversary of the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an is a momentous and historic event in the history of civilization, and this occasion has brought together men of learning from the world of Islam to consider and reflect on the problems in this most crucial period:

"Whereas fourteen hundred years ago, the advent of Islam heralded a new and glorious era of equality, fraternity and social justice for mankind:

"And whereas it was the essence, spirit and dynamism of Islam which has sustained, guided and inspired the Muslims of the world throughout this period:

"And whereas the Muslims of the world, in spite of the differences of race, language, nationality and colour are irrevocably linked in the sublime and pristine bonds of Islam:

"Now, therefore, this Conference, having carefully surveyed the problems facing the world of Islam and the responsibility which befalls the leaders of contemporary Islamic thought, is of opinion that the demands of technology and scientific knowledge, social sciences and economic postulates, reason and rational, make it imperative that we must think not only in terms of the material and spiritual advancement of the Muslims in our times, but now prepare ground
for a leap into the new era which begins with this anniversary.

"Now, therefore, this Conference suggests that the progression of Islamic thought, keeping strictly within the confines of the Holy Qur'ân, must pave the way for the era of Muslim flowering into the realm of peace and prosperity, military security, and assurance to each one of the Believers the rights and privileges which flow unto him through the teachings and the precepts of the Holy Book.

"Now, therefore, this Conference feels more confident than ever before that an intelligent study of Islam with due emphasis on science and technology by the general mass of Muslim society is an essential prerequisite for the attainment of this period of Islamic progress, and there is universal agreement in the world of Islam on these fundamental precepts.

"Now, therefore, this Conference feels that the issues wherein the fundamental rights of Muslims are being denied by the unfortunate calculus of power politics — Jammu and Kashmir, Palestine, Cyprus, Somalia, Eritrea, etc. — are the common problems of the Muslim world, and these should be given priority considerations by the Muslim Governments, and a collective effort should be made by the Muslim world to secure their rights as speedily as is possible. This Conference condemns the genocide of the Muslims in certain parts of the world.

"Now, therefore, this Conference regards with a sense of continuing shock the ever-increasing attempts by Israel to usurp the Arab territories, and more especially condemns the sacrilege by Israel of precincts made sacred by Islam. This Conference feels that a most shameful spectacle of this violation of international ethics has been witnessed in the Israeli usurpation of Bait al-Maqdis, and a concerted effort should be made by the Muslim world to retrieve the Qiblah al-'Ulâ.

"This Conference also feels that there is a great need for Tabligh (the propagation of Islam).

"This Conference, therefore,

"(1) Recommends an exchange of students, teachers, writers and scholars,

"(2) Recommends an exchange of books, manuscripts, periodicals, magazines, and other published materials,

"(4) Recommends to the Muslim countries the establishment of Islamic Research Institutes, to enable a continuous study of Islamic thought, and for the proper dissemination of this knowledge to the people at large; and the creation of an effective machinery for the proper and mutual exchange of knowledge in the spirit of collaboration.

"(5) Recommends that in view of the awakening and realization about the teachings of Islam in countries where the spirit of Islam has only recently been felt, such as in Japan and Korea, arrangements should be made by richer Muslim countries to provide stipends and scholarships for students from these countries for the study of Islam.

"Now, therefore, this Conference calls upon all the participants to make unremitting efforts individually, through their organisations, and through their Governments, to implement the various suggestions which have been unanimously evolved at the Conference and in particular to promote the Qur'ânic way of life and thus bring about Muslim solidarity."

THE CHILDREN'S PAGE—Continued from Page 15

How happy the Prophet Muhammad felt to see these cheerful young Muslims. His eyes wandered to a palm tree. It seemed that no one wanted to stand there today. Everyone was going to the same place — the fair. Ah! But what was this? It was a little figure, forlorn and in tattered clothes. It was a little boy. "What is he doing there on a day like this?" the Prophet thought. One could see from the boy's face what he was thinking whilst he watched those parents with happy children holding their parents' hands, smiling and asking questions, sometimes doing a little hop and jump. So full of joy were they at the thought of the fair. Oh! That little boy's eyes were so full of longing and sadness as he watched those children. All this the good Prophet noticed and his heart went out to this little one. The Prophet then knew that this little boy must be an orphan. He went up to him and said, "Let me be your father for today." He then placed that little boy upon his shoulders and set off to the fair. He went with the little boy laughing and happy. I am sure you and I know that the Prophet would make sure the little boy was never unhappy again because of the Prophet's great love for little children.

The Prophet Muhammad also had great patience with his grandchildren, Hasan and Husayn. When they were very young they often found the Prophet at prayers with his forehead on the ground. They would climb on to his back. Did he get angry? Oh, dear, no! He waited until they got off his back and then he would say his prayers. Such was his love for children and the children all loved him. Now off to bed little readers if it is your bed time. And don’t forget your prayers.
The Qur’anic view of the Right

By ‘ABD AL-HAQ ANSARI

Moral laws and the Belief in God

Right in the Qur’ân has a wide connotation: there are right actions which are the subject of common ethics, and there are right actions which are purely religious. In what follows we shall be mainly concerned with the former kind of right actions. Our problem is: What is right according to the Qur’ân?

According to the Qur’ân a right action is that which conforms to its rules. Since many of these rules are the rules of common morality, it follows that actions which conform to common moral rules are also right in view of the Qur’ân and those which do not conform are wrong. But there is an important consideration which leads to the qualification of this conclusion. It can be described as follows.

One of the moral rules accepted generally and also laid down in the Qur’ân, is that it is wrong to appropriate anybody’s rightful property against his will. Since all human action is an appropriation of God’s created property — the objects of nature, human body and mind, and there is absolutely no action which is not the appropriation of God’s property — it follows that no human action is right that violates divine will. It also follows a fortiori that no action is right if God’s lordship is not admitted. Hence there are two conditions which must be satisfied if an action is to be a right action. First, it must conform to moral rules, and second, the rules themselves must be taken and obeyed as God’s command. The second stipulation, therefore, makes belief in God a necessary condition of righteous conduct. But it does so on strictly moral grounds.

Now, since actions are right if and only if both the conditions are satisfied, it follows that an action will be wrong if both the conditions are not satisfied, or if even one of the conditions is not satisfied. We have, therefore, three kinds of wrong actions:

(i) Actions which neither conform to moral rules nor are accompanied by a belief in God.

(ii) Actions which do not conform to moral rules, but are accompanied by a belief in God.

(iii) Actions which conform to moral rules but are not accompanied by a belief in God.

The first two kinds of actions are wrong in the judgment of both the Qur’ân and the common morality. The third kind of actions are wrong only in the view of the Qur’ân. But although they are not regarded to be right they differ from the other two kinds of wrong actions in two important respects, namely, in the way they are referred to in the Qur’ân and in the treatment which is accorded to their doers in the hereafter. I shall here confine myself to the elaboration of the first difference.

The Qur’ân refers to the first two kinds of actions, none of which conforms to moral rules, as sâyyîdîn, khalîyyûn, âthâm, etc. But it refrains to use these adjectives for the third kind of actions, namely those which conform to moral rules although they are not accompanied by a belief in God. On the other hand, it also avoids to call them hasanîn or sâlihûn, adjectives which it uses only for actions which satisfy both the conditions. The Qur’ân refers to them simply as actions without any qualification of either kind. Consider, for instance, the following verses:

"A similitude of those who disbelieve in their Lord: Their actions are as ashes which the wind bloweth hard upon a stormy day. They have no control of ought that they have earned. That is the extreme failure." (14:18)

"Whoso denieth the faith, his actions are vain and he will be among the losers in the Hereafter." (5:5)

It is obvious that the actions of the unbelievers referred to in these verses are good actions which in the eyes of their doers merit divine reward, since nobody expects to be rewarded for his evil deeds. But they do not merit divine reward according to the Qur’ân, because they are not accompanied by a belief in God. Nor do they deserve to be called perfectly right (hasan).

We propose to call right in a weak sense those actions which only conform to moral rules but are not accompanied by a belief in God, and right in the strong sense those actions which fulfil both the conditions. The first kind of actions are right in a narrow human perspective. But if the perspective is widened to include God also, as it should be according to the Qur’ân, then they cease to be right in the real sense. It is only the second kind of right actions which fulfil both the conditions that are right in the real and proper sense.

Out of the properly right actions, that is, right in the strong sense, there are those which are done with a belief in God, but the belief does not in any way affect the choice of those actions. But there are right actions whose choice is influenced in one way or the other by the agent’s belief in God. It is the second class of actions which are considered by the Qur’ân to be chosen for the pleasure of God (Ii Wâlî Allâh). The Qur’ân calls actions of this class d’nîlî sâlihîn, that is actions which being chosen for the pleasure of God deserve His commendation and reward. As the belief in God may affect the choice and performance of actions in varying

I See also 9:17; 7:147; 18:104-105.

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degrees, the degree in which actions are for the pleasure of God may also vary. Similarly, the commendation and reward of God merited by right actions will be of varying degrees.

**Motive underlying an action**

The Qur‘án often emphasises the importance of the motive of God’s pleasure as an essential condition of a sâlih action. This does not imply, however, the exclusion of other motives. All motives are fully compatible with the motive of God’s pleasure, provided they are good and provided also that the agent ultimately seeks God’s pleasure by pursuing those motives.

To take an example: Suppose that a person offers some money to one of his poor relatives from his rightful earnings with a view to pleasing a relative and to help a man in distress, and by so doing he ultimately wishes to carry out God’s will which is expressed in this verse of the Qur‘án:

“Lo! God enjoineth justice and kindness and giving to kinsfolk and forbideth lewdness and abomination and wickedness” (16 : 90).

This act is perfectly sâlih, because the money that he is offering is his rightful earning, the two motives, namely, the motive of pleasing a relative and the motive of helping a man in distress, are good, and that by offering the money and by pursuing those motives he ultimately wishes to fulfil God’s will and thus please Him. But the action will not be sâlih if the person only wishes to please his relative and help him out of his difficulty, but has no intention thereby to fulfil God’s will. Such an action will be only right in the strong sense, if performed by one who believes in God, and will be merely right in the weak sense, if performed by one who does not believe in God.

The presence in actions of other motives, altruistic or egoistic, does not affect the purity of the ultimate motive of God’s pleasure, if the motives are good and are pursued with a view to fulfilling God’s will in the best possible way. Nor do they affect God’s commendation and reward in the Hereafter.

MOTIVES influence the moral goodness of the doer’s will and his inner disposition of which the will is an expression. If the motives are bad, the will which pursues those motives is also bad, whether actions through which the motives are sought are right or wrong. Likewise, the inner disposition which finds its habitual expression in evil volitions is vicious. Similar is the relation among good motives, goodwill and virtuous disposition. Moral approbation or disapprobation in this life is directed really to will or to the disposition of the doer. They are not primarily directed to actions, though they are often extended to them.

MOTIVES do not affect the rightness or wrongness of actions which are solely determined by the conformity or non-conformity of actions to moral rules. There are right actions which are performed with bad motives and wrong actions which are performed with good motives. Conformity to rules is, however, viewed in the Qur‘án in a way somewhat different from that viewed by some modern deontologists. For it does not exclude the consideration of the consequences of an action in its final evaluation. The evaluation of an action depends upon both the nature of the action and its consequences.

The Qur‘ánic rules are incumbent in varying degrees. Pleasing the parents is more incumbent than pleasing the friends, and obedience to God is more incumbent than obedience to parents. To save life is a higher duty than to speak truth, and so on. And the variation in the obligatory nature of these actions is due to the nature of these actions and not due to their consequences.

**Consequences of an action**

But the consequences of actions are also important for the rightness or wrongness of some actions. There are occasions on which the consequences are the decisive considerations or the only considerations in choosing a course of action, either because the situation is very complex and involves many rules, or because the situation is very simple and involves only one principle. An example of the former is planning on state level, and an example of the latter is the choice of a menu for a friend’s dinner. In both cases the choice is guided mostly or exclusively by consequences. Examples in the Qur‘án of consequences determining the rightness or wrongness of actions are many, such as the prohibition of wine and the justification of war against persecution.

Consequences are taken into consideration not only when one has to decide between a right and a wrong action, but also when one has to choose the lesser of the two wrong actions, or the better of the two right actions. But all such cases are not decided on the basis of consequences only, differences in the nature of actions often influence choice. In fact, there are two principles to guide choice in complex situations — the nature of actions and their consequences. It is only on the twin bases of the nature and consequences of actions that the division of acts by the Muslim jurists into five categories of mubah (permissible), mustahab (commendable), fard (obligatory), makhraj (undesirable) and harâm (forbidden) can be explained and made intelligible. The Qur‘ánic approach in this regard is a combination of the utilitarian and deontological methods.

Before concluding this essay, we may briefly refer to the epistemological side of the problem. The moral rules of the Qur‘án which are generally accepted by humanity at large are mostly known by common human means, probably by intuition, independently of any prophetic revelation. Speaking truth, keeping promise, and showing gratitude are instances in point. There are other rules which are known through revelation, either wholly or partly; our common faculties are insufficient in varying degrees in apprehending them. Prohibitions of some relations for marriage, the justification of taking meat, and prohibition of commercial interest are examples of such rules. Later thinkers of Islam who tried to reduce all our knowledge of moral rules to one type or the other were equally mistaken.

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2 2 : 219.
3 2 : 217.
King Hasan of Morocco & I
on the importance of closing their ranks by Muslims to
Texts of speeches of their Majesties King Faysal and King Hasan on

The text of King Faysal’s Speech of Welcome
to His Majesty King Hasan II of Morocco

In the name of God, the Beneficent and the Merciful:

Permit me, Your Majesty, to extend to you, in the name of the people and Government of this country, a warm welcome and profound sentiments. I am welcoming you to your home and to your people. I should like Your Majesty to know that what you witness and feel in this country is the product of genuine love and brotherhood and of the esteem in which you are held by a people who believe in God and in their religion and traditions, and who feel that you are worthy of this appreciation because you represent the highest principles. By your wise leadership and by your continuation of the struggle waged by your great father, the liberator and saviour of our sister country, Morocco, you have continued to build high a great edifice, and you have continued to make great efforts to serve your religion, your country and your people. For all these principles and reasons your people in the Kingdom of Su’udi Arabia heartily welcome you and properly reckon all the efforts that you make in the service of this religion and this Arab homeland, and also for the benefit of your loyal people.

Your Majesty: At the present juncture in history the Arab nation, nay the Muslim nation, stands in need of wise leadership, sound directions, and high qualities in leadership. We find all these qualities in Your Majesty, qualities inherited from your ancestors.

We are, Your Majesty, in great need of establishing contact with one another, and of bringing about meetings between brothers in order to examine our problems, co-ordinate our policies and endeavour to unify efforts in the service of God and in the service also of our cause and our problems as Muslims and Arabs. We have not one problem but many. We see many problems, but the one problem which is in the forefront of those afflicting the Arabs and the Muslims is the problem of our beloved homeland, Palestine, which has suffered brutal aggression and shameful betrayal by the imperialists and also by those who had pretended to be friendly and loyal towards us but who simultaneously collaborated with our enemies and plotted against us. We are not, thanks be to God, few, nor are we weak. But we lack one thing, namely, faith in God and reliance upon Him. We also need unity in resolve, in endeavour and in loyalty in order to attain our objectives. We should be like a strong and monolithic edifice, every part of which supports the other. We should not deceive one another nor contradict one another. We should not plot one against the other. Yes, we should be like a monolithic structure. We should be sincere in our aims and in our actions and words. We should not hide in our hearts something different from what we show openly, and must only think of what is good for our nation, our religion and our homeland. We must not deceive or mislead our compatriots by our words, and we must not, when the time for action has come, depart from our promises and adopt a different course. Such is not the way of our nation or the tradition of our nation, nor is it what our Arab honour requires.

I hope you will forgive me for seeming to dwell too much on this point. The fact is that at this time in particular we are in need of the qualities I have mentioned. We are in need of faith in God, in need of being truthful in our speech, in need of determination in our action, and in need of solidarity, co-operation, fraternity and loyalty. We must pursue the right path. If, God forbid, we were to depart from these fundamental principles, I doubt if we would ever succeed in attaining the objectives we desire. But if we firmly pursue the right course and adopt the means that promote the right effort, we shall, with God’s help, triumph and regain our usurped rights, and we shall also force the enemy to abandon the haughty arrogance which it has displayed at and by which it is showing complete disregard not only for the Arabs and the Muslims but for the whole world.

Continued on page 22
King Faysal of Suʻudi Arabia

meet the expansionist designs of Zionism in the Middle East

on the occasion of King Hasan’s state visit to Suʻudi Arabia on 20 April 1968

The text of King Hasan II of Morocco’s reply

in response to King Faysal’s Speech

Praise be to God, and peace and blessings upon the Messenger of God and his family and companions:

Your Majesty: We are deeply touched by the great ceremony and the profound welcome which you extended to us upon our arrival in this peaceful Arab homeland. This is matched only by our great pleasure at meeting you, a hope which we have cherished for a long time. We thank Your Majesty for the noble sentiments, the great feelings, the tremendous friendship and the genuine brotherhood which you and your Government have extended to us and to our people. We feel very happy that this occasion has given us the opportunity to renew our contacts with Your Majesty and your noble people, and to enable us to acquaint ourselves with your accomplishments in the economic, construction, social and cultural spheres, and also to exchange views with you on various Arab and Islamic problems. We have experienced great happiness the moment we returned to this land, the place where revelation took place and the home of the eternal message of Muhammad. We take great heart from what we have seen, and we hope that there will always be such strong bonds between our two brotherly Muslim countries, and that this may serve to strengthen understanding, co-operation and solidarity among the Arab and Muslim peoples, and also encourage general solidarity and unification of ranks in order to bring about dignity, glory, fortitude and prosperity.

Your Majesty: The gracious visit which you paid to our country, Morocco, in the summer of 1966 C.E. has had the most profound effect, and has left the most pleasant of memories among us and our people. One of its most important and best effects has been the fostering of the links of friendship between our two peoples, friendship which has existed for a long time and which has been bolstered up by fruitful co-operation between the Kingdom of Suʻudi Arabia and the Kingdom of Morocco in the various spheres. We have not the slightest doubt that these direct contacts between the leaders of the Arabs and the Muslims will help bring closer together the views entertained by these leaders, and will co-ordinate efforts and consolidate ranks, and in the end make possible the realization of the good of our States and peoples. We are in the greatest need of unifying our ranks and our hearts and of consolidating our efforts and making sacrifices in life and property to face existing problems and to counter imminent dangers. The forces of evil and of aggression have joined hands against the Muslim nation as a result of the disunity, the disharmony and rancour which has afflicted us. The hand of aggression and evil has struck against our most sacred and holy, and vast areas of our Arab homeland have fallen victim to usurpation and occupation. The aggressors against the lands of the Muslims have gone to great lengths in destruction, torture, killing and murder. The greed of the usurper Zionists now extends to the annexation of territory that is amongst the holy and amongst the most precious in the estimation of the Muslims. They also want to annex other land that has been trodden by prophets and messengers. These sinful people have committed their aggression and their misdeeds unmindful of the resolutions of the United Nations and caring little for the conscience of the world and its wishes. The Arab and Muslim countries have unanimously denounced the aggression and have demanded the withdrawal of the aggressors and their forces from the territory they occupy. But the dangerous situation which continues in the Middle East, and the persistence of the Israelis in their aggression and in the exposition of their blatant expansionist aims, requires that we should undertake further united efforts and should close our ranks even more in order to regain the usurped Arab rights, secure the return of the Arab territory which has been taken by the aggressors, and ensure that the aggressor forces of occupation withdraw unconditionally.

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Our enemy refuses to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations or heed world public opinion. It is haughtily boasting about its crimes and about the misdeeds it has committed against those of our brothers whom it had made homeless or is persecuting in the lands it occupies. God shall help us, and with His assistance we shall achieve victory. But we must first of all adhere to God's will, if we are to seek His assistance. We must do what He ordains, and we must avoid what He has forbidden. That will be the way in which we can ensure that victory will be on our side.

Your Majesty: I shall never forget the happy time I had when I visited your hospitable land and our brothers the sons of beloved Morocco. Our visit passed too quickly, and we enjoyed every moment of it without exception, thanks to the sincere friendship and the brotherhood shown us by our brothers the sons of beloved Morocco, headed by Your Majesty, and also thanks to the noble character and abounding qualities of the sons of our sister country Morocco. This is only to be expected of the Moroccan people who believe in God, profess noble principles, and undertake struggle for the defence of their ideals. It is not strange that a people like that should have noble qualities and high principles.

We pray to the Almighty that He may grant us all His grace, and enable us to remain loyal to noble principles and character, for character is what makes the nation. Thanks be to God, we adhere to the best of laws and derive our ideas from the best source, namely the Islamic Shari'ah.

Your Majesty: I should not like to be repetitious, but I must affirm the clear fact that in your country, the Kingdom of Su'udi Arabia, you are not a guest nor a stranger. Please accept my assurance, on my own behalf and on behalf of every single citizen of this homeland, that you are here in your own country, in your own home, and among your own people. If, God forbid, there should appear to be any shortcoming or deficiency in the welcome extended to you in this country you will know that this does not in any way arise from any lack of interest or attention, but simply because we consider you here as one of us, in your own home and among your own people.

We pray to Almighty God that He may grant you health and fortitude and enable you to discharge the heavy responsibilities which you have undertaken in the service of your nation and your homeland to enable them to attain their rightful place among the family of nations. We know very well what Your Majesty and your wise Government are doing in order to promote the welfare and prosperity of the citizens and raise the standard of living of the sister kingdom of Morocco. The projects you have undertaken speak for themselves, and Your Majesty is keenly and anxiously supervising these projects and ensuring that their objectives are fulfilled. There is nothing strange or unusual about this, for we expected Hasan, the son of Muhammad Ibn Yüsuf, and the descendant of very noble parents, to undertake such great deeds in the service of his people and his country. Indeed, it would have been very strange if he were not to do these great things.

Your Majesty: I need not introduce you to your brothers in this country. You need no introduction, and there is not a single person in this country who does not know a great deal.
The Muslim Minorities of the Chinese People’s Republic

By FRANÇOIS JOYAUX

The history and present-day conditions of Islam in the Chinese People’s Republic is a subject about which very little has been written because very little is known about it. In this article we will deal only with its political aspect: the theoretical definition of the Communist policy towards the Muslim minorities, the operation of this policy as from the period 1949-50, and the resulting difficulties and opposition encountered since that time.

The Muslim Minorities in China

The number of Muslims living in China is a question which has never been elucidated with much accuracy. H. Cordier wrote in 1909: "There exist no statistics, even approximate ones, as to the number of Chinese Muslims. According to M. Dabry de Thiersant (whose figures must be considered with reserve), there are in China from 20 to 22 million Muslims. A. H. Keane gives the number as 30 million, which Sara Chandra Das has increased to 50 million, which to me appears ridiculous." And since that time these statistics have never been accurately determined. In 1950 the China Handbook gave the figure as 50 millions, whereas in 1954 the Annuaire du Monde Musulman gave the figure as 10 millions. Among the Communists themselves we find a number of divergencies. In 1957, Chou En Lai, replying to a

Catholic journalist at Warsaw, declared that in China there were "...10 million Muslims, of whom 6 million lived in the Hui region". On the other hand, many official publications give the figure as 8 million, of which no more than 3½ million are Hui. It is thus quite impossible to fix any precise figure. The one given by the Communists — between 8 and 10 million — seems the most likely. Incidentally, the Communists are the only people to have carried out a proper census of the population — in 1953 — and it is their figures which are now adopted by the majority of Western publications.

Muslims are to be found in every one of the regions, including Tibet and Mongolia. They are especially numerous in Sinkiang (Turkestan), that is to say, on the route taken by the old Silk Road, where there are 40% of the total number; in Kansu and Chinghai, at the end of the road; in Yunnan and the Eastern provinces of Hopeh, Shantung and Honan.

These Muslims comprise 10 different races, of which six are to be found exclusively in Sinkiang. They are as follows:

(1) The Uighurs (Ougres), who number more than 3 million. They inhabit most of the oases of Turkestan: Char-chan, Turfan, Yarkand, Merket, etc. The majority are farmers but often take up trade or handicraft work as a secondary activity. Some remain nomads and are cattle-breeders, but they constitute a minority. They speak Neo-Uighuran dialects which are related to the Eastern branch of the family of Turic languages.

(2) The Kazakhs number some 500,000, and are found particularly in the north-west of Sinkiang along the Chinese-Soviet frontier of Kazakhstan (or Kazakhskaya). In contrast to the Uighurs they are all nomads and live by raising cattle. Their language shows they belong to the Turic group.

(3) There are 70,000 Kirgiz, who live in the south-west of Sinkiang and are of the same race as those who live in the Soviet Republic of Kirgizskaya. Among them there are both nomad and sedentary elements.

(4) There are also 15,000 Tadjiks (Tadzhiks) in the south-west of Sinkiang. They are related to the Tadjiks of Soviet Tadzhikskaya (Tadjikistan) and Afghanistan. It is interesting to note that they are the only Muslims of Sinkiang who follow the Shi'i rite and are not Sunnis, like all the others.

(5) There are 8,000 Uzbeks. Many of these are refugees from the U.S.S.R. and are merchants at Kashgar and Kuldja.

(6) At Kuldja and Chuguchak there are 5,000 Tartars, refugees from Russia. Their influence is greater than their number would lead one to suppose, for they are the most evolved of those inhabitants of Sinkiang who speak a language of the Turic group.

In the other provinces there are four races (three of them not very large, numerically speaking):

(7) There are 150,000 Tonchangs in the Lanchow region of the province of Kansu. Their language belongs to the Mongol group.

(8) There are 80,000 Salars in Chinghai.

(9) There are a few Baoans, about whom very little is known.

(10) The largest of the Muslim minorities is the Hui people, who, according to statistical sources, number from 3½ to 6 million souls. The ethnic characteristics of this minority have been the subject of much discussion, some students maintaining that they are Chinese of the Han race who became Muslim, that is to say, that they are a religious minority. On the other hand, there are those who believe them to be of mixed nationality, of Persian, Turkish, Afghan and Arab origin. They are to be found in all the Chinese provinces. Some 30%, are town-dwellers and are mostly tradesmen (in the meat trade). They often live clustered in homogeneous colonies around their mosques. The great majority speak only Chinese but in their conversation frequently use words of Persian or Turkish origin.

From the above statistical details alone it seems fairly clear that "Chinese Islam" is, in fact, a rather vague abstraction. Sociologically, the Muslim religion comprises ethnic groups which differ greatly from each other. Some are of Chinese, others of Indo-European origin. Some follow the Shi'i rite, but the majority are Sunnis. Some speak Chinese, others speak languages of Turic origin. Some are nomads, the others town-dwellers, and so on. And yet they constitute a unique problem, for which the Communists are trying to find a solution within the Marxist-Leninist framework.

Definition of the Communist policy towards Muslims

The policy of the Communists vis-à-vis the Muslim minorities is only one particular phase of the policy followed with regard to the racial (or national) minorities of the country. This comprises two aspects, the one general, and applied to all nationalities, and the other specifically concerned with Muslims. This second aspect is the most interesting facet of what is generally referred to as "the Communist policy towards Muslims", and it is this aspect which we shall study in particular.

Initially, from 1920 to 1930, the Chinese Communists took up the position concerning nationalities as defined by Lenin and Stalin: "The right of nations to self-determination, i.e., to political separation". The Constitution drawn up in 1931 for the occupied regions of China at this period specified the following: "The Soviet Government of China recognises the right of the national minorities of China to self-determination, their right to complete separation from China, and the right of each national minority to the formation of an independent State... They can either join the Soviet Union of China, or, if they so desire, separate and form their own State."

But the policy of "regional autonomy" which superseded this initial programme no longer recognised these minority rights, and the present-day Constitution leaves no doubts as to the unitary structure of the State. According to this new policy, problems affecting nationalities and particularly "local nationalisms", must be solved by the socialist transformation of society. "Liberation", by the transposition of nationalities from the pre-capitalist stage to the socialist stage, must aim at undermining all nationalistic tendencies and transcending the problem of "socialist patriotism", that is to say, patriotism which is no longer based on ethnic considerations but by the socialist character of the proletariat.

Such is, generally speaking, the position of the Chinese Communists vis-à-vis the national minorities. What then are the specific aspects of this policy when applied to Muslims?

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First, the Communists endeavoured to dissociate the religious and the ethnic aspects of the problem. For example, they pointed out the fact that all the Muslims of China are not Hui. The Communists were the first to draw attention to this, for before 1949 it was customary to refer to Chinese Muslims as “Hui-Hui”, without seeming to take into account the ethnic diversity which this term comprised. What is more, the Hui had not always been Muslim — at the time of the Mongols many were still Nestorians. In these circumstances where were the connecting-links between the Hui nationality and Islam?

In addition to this the Communists sought to dissociate the sociological and the religious elements in the life of the Muslim minorities, and yet these elements were closely linked. All cultural manifestations had to take place inside the mosques and the Arabic language was proscribed — it was permitted only in the religious life: “Arabic may be used only in the religious domain, it cannot be an element of socialist life. It is only by using written and spoken Chinese that Muslims can hope to attain to greater development in the future.”

Finally, some considerable time before the Sino-Soviet dispute, the Chinese set to work to sever the Muslim nationalities of China from their sister-nationalities in the U.S.S.R. Arabic characters, hitherto used in writing Uighur, were replaced by Latin characters. This rendered impossible all inter-relation across the frontier, since on the Soviet side Arabic characters had been replaced by Cyrillic (Slav) characters. Further, after 1956, no pilgrimage to Mecca was organised and the Chinese Muslims became totally isolated from their co-religionists in the Near East.

In brief, this policy, placing emphasis on the heterogeneous composition of Chinese Islam, effectively denied all legality to any future Pan-Islamic-Chinese movement.

The policy of assimilation put into operation by the Communists was to reinforce this tendency still further. All the features common to both Hui and Han were systematically exploited. Do not the Han and the Hui speak the same language? Were not the Han and the Hui proletariats united in the struggle against Manchu feudalism, and again later against the war-lords of the Kuo-Min-Tang? Are there not less “points of difference” between the Han and the Muslims than there were in the pre-capitalist society before 1949 between the Muslim proletariat and the rich Muslim landowners or the Imams? Besides, the union of the Han and the Muslim proletariats would make all “contradiction” between nationalities an anachronism. And to speed up this movement Latin alphabets were prescribed for ethnic groups speaking languages of Turkic origin (as was done for Chinese). If these languages were transcribed by using the same system, they would all the more rapidly assimilate the socialist vocabulary and the Muslims would be more easily integrated into the Chinese masses.

The Operation of this Policy as from 1949/50

In order to counteract any separatist tentative by the Muslims when the change in regime took place — since 1917 the difficulties confronting the Soviets had shown the threat to be a real one — in 1950 Peking put into operation its policy of regional autonomy. In five provinces where the populations for the greater part were Muslim — Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang — regional coalition govern-ments were set up. In 1951 an administrative programme was drawn up for Sinkiang “… whose object was to create a United Democratic Front of all nationalities which would be strong and effective”.  

Then, in the autumn of 1952, appeared the “General Plan for the Installation of Regional Autonomy”. As from this date, autonomous institutions were put into operation with increasing rapidity.

First, in 1954, Sinkiang became the “Autonomous Region of the Uighurs”. Of the 375 deputies of the local Assembly, 314 were Muslims, and there were 231 Uighurs (who constitute 74% of the population of the region). In 1964 the region comprised three “chou”, four “chian”, and a number of autonomous “chiant”.

Later on autonomous zones were set up in a number of other Chinese provinces — Chinghai, Kansu, Hopeh, Kwanchow and Yunnan — as well as several dozen autonomous “chiant” scattered over all the provinces.

Finally, in 1958, two of the “chou” in Kansu province were united to form the “Autonomous Region of the Hui of Ninghsia”, where some 570,000 Hui make up 33% of the population of the region.

So that the Muslims are to be found in two autonomous regions, two “chou”, nine “chian”, and approximately 150 “chiant”. And since an unknown proportion of Muslims live scattered over the whole of China, they are obviously not governed or administered in accordance with the principles of local autonomy.

Within these zones, governments were set up on the model of the central government, thus comprising an Assembly and a Council. The powers delegated to these bodies are defined in the Programme of 1952 and the Constitution of 1954 (Chapter 2, para. 23 et seq.). In the strictly administrative and political domain, the scope given to local bodies is extremely limited. In all the domains where the Programme grants certain administrative powers to autonomous districts (local finances, education, boundaries of autonomous districts, formation of local bodies), ratification by the central power is always necessary. This is not the place to make a more detailed study of this local autonomy, since the same situation is common to all countries and is not confined to Muslims alone, but such a study would indeed show how insignificant is the actual degree of local autonomy enjoyed. It could not be otherwise in a State which is politically unitarian, and where economic planning is a supplementary feature of this centralisation.

In 1950, concurrently with this administrative policy, a religious policy was put into operation. Article 88 of the Constitution stipulated that “… the citizens of the Chinese People’s Republic shall enjoy the right to liberty of religious belief”, and the Press has always emphasised the effective character of the policy of religious liberty exercised towards Islam.

In 1952-3, in order to promote this religious policy, an “Islamic Association of China” was formed. Its Presidency was entrusted to Burhan Sahidi, the ex-Nationalist Governor of Sinkiang, who had gone over to the Communist cause in 1949. It is true that the Association was able to undertake a few religious activities — celebration of all the Muslim festivals, pilgrimages to Mecca in 1955 and 1956, etc. — but it was its political role which rapidly became its essential
feature. The installation of the headquarters of the Association at Peking instead of Urumchi (the capital of Sinkiang and principal Muslim city of China), shows that the Chinese authorities intended not only to keep the Association under close surveillance but also to use it as a medium of propaganda. On the occasion of its first Congress in 1955, the Association "... exhorted believers to ensure the transition to socialism, and encouraged the Muslim peasants to speed up their progress on the road to collectivization". This was far removed from the original objectives of the Association, as defined in 1952 by the Preparatory Committee: "... To put into practice the Governmental policy of religious freedom". In spite of a number of actual religious activities (formation of an Islamic Institute, publication of the Qur'an in several languages), the Association appeared above all to be a political instrument for ensuring control of Muslims by the Party.

The cultural policy adopted vis-à-vis the Muslim minorities can in many ways be interpreted in the same sense. It is true that since 1950 substantial efforts have been made in this domain. During the early years of the People's Republic the Communist Party made a point of fostering and developing the cultural heritage of the ten Muslim nationalities, and of filling the void which had developed over the centuries. The first efforts were made in the domain of linguistics. In 1955 teams of linguists trained at the Institute of Linguistics and Philology and the Central Institute for Minorities began the study of Tongchih, Uighur, Kazakh and Tadjik. In 1959-60 Latin transliterations were adopted for the Uighur and Kazakh languages. Although it is true that such studies had never been made by previous regimes, we should nevertheless point out that these new transliterations — as has already been mentioned — had the effect of completely severing the Uighurs and Kazakhs of China from communities of the same race living in the U.S.S.R. Further, they were essential to the promotion of Communist propaganda. Incidentally this policy constituted a striking success in the matter of nationalities, which was by no means negligible from both the internal and the external points of view. Stalin wrote: "Let a minority use its own language, and discontent will vanish automatically."

The second point dealt with by the cultural policy was that of school-attendance and the training of teaching staff. From 1952 to 1960 the number of Muslim children attending primary schools rose from 300,000 to 957,000, and in 1957 there were already 10,000 Hui teachers trained at the College of Nationalities at Urumchi, the College of the North-West at Lachow, and the Institute of Nationalities at Peking. The result of this basic policy was that the number of Muslim teachers increased from 12,000 in 1950 to 36,000 in 1955, but only 5% of these held responsibilities higher than those appertaining to a "chiang". The higher posts are held by Chinese and when a Muslim occupies an important post he is always assisted by a Chinese "adviser".

Difficulties and Opposition

The opposition met with by the Communists in the Muslim regions — it was more often twofold in nature, nationalist and anti-Communist — and which was a recurrent feature in China, was particularly evident, after the Liberation of 1949, among the Kazakhs, the Uighurs and the Hui.

Since 1937, 17,000 Kazakhs had emigrated from Khotan (held by the Soviets since 1936), to the Muslim region of India and thence to Turkey, where they arrived in 1942. When, in 1949-50, the Communists definitely became masters of the region, 18,000 Kazakhs tried to flee. The Chinese authorities opposed this, and called in the police in an attempt to stop the exodus. All these Kazakhs were killed, with the exception of 350. These managed to survive the attacks by the Chinese aviation and succeeded in crossing the Tibetan plateau and reaching India. They continued on to Turkey, where they settled at Adana. Here, in 1953, they were visited by Mr. Philip Price, Member of the House of Commons. These facts are confirmed by numerous other reliable authorities (see Kazak Exodus by Godfrey Liass). Recently, in 1963, M. Tychkabiev, a Kazakh of Kuldja, who had become a refugee in Soviet Kazakhstan, reminded readers of the Soviet Gazette Littéraire of the tension existing between his people and the Chinese. He drew special attention to the fact that all relations had been broken off between Alma-Ata (the capital of Kazakhstan, near Kuldja) and the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. He described how Kazakhs were deported to the hinterland and how he himself chose voluntary exile at Alma-Ata, when he was asked to compile a manual "... extolling the close similarity between the Kazakh and the Chinese culture". This latter detail is a perfect example of the "assimilationist" objectives of the Chinese authorities.

These difficulties and obstacles must have been serious for the Chinese Communists, since they saw it fit to launch a campaign against "... the imperialists, the special agents of the reactionaries of the Kuo Min Tang, and certain nationality-groups among the reactionary bourgeois class, such as the Pan-Turkestanists and the Pan-Islamists, who continue to engage in various kinds of reactionary propaganda in the hope of winning over the large masses of the workers among the ethnic minorities and of undermining the solidarity between the various races within the Chinese Peoples' Republic". Such words, coming from the Communist authorities — in this case President Burhan — confirm the reality and the extent of the troubles and the revolts.

Similar tendencies were reported among the Uighurs, and in 1958 there were disorders in Sinkiang. At Urumchi, the capital, 35 Communist agents were killed. The Mayor, Ah Said, was expelled from the Party on the grounds of "local nationalism". For, in the words of the Communists "... a number of Uighurs have dared to ask for their national independence and for self-determination. They wanted to bring about the formation of a Republic of Uighuristan ...".

There were also nationalist movements on foot among the Hui. In 1958 documents were discovered bearing the letterheading "Democratic Islamic Party". They revealed that 'Abdullah Ma Chen-wu, one of the vice-presidents of the Chinese Islamic Association, who was held to be responsible for having fomented revolts in Kansu in 1950 and 1952, envisaged the constitution of an Autonomous Muslim Republic of Ningshia. It was because of this incident, and in order to counteract any separatist movement, that the Chinese set up the "Autonomous Region of the Hui of Ningshia", at whose head was Liu Ge-ping.

But all this opposition — the existence of denunciatory Communist documents is proof of its authenticity — was redoubled after 1958, the date of the "great leap forward". The economic policy put into operation after this date intensified still further the nationalist reactions of the Muslim minorities. In Sinkiang, for example — where the movement
A non-Muslim Scholar’s Approach to Islam’s* Key Problem—Economic Development**

The possible trend of a Muslim Economic System — A peep into the specific nature of the objectives which Muslims may decide upon in the economic domain

By Professor JACQUES AUSTRUY

Muslims have to rediscover the creative power of the Qur'án. Islam is looking for a new dynamism

It is always a hazardous venture — making forecasts about the future, even more so to suggest solutions to the problems which may lie ahead, yet today history is moving ever more rapidly, so much so that even to mention the fact is to utter a commonplace. Consequently the best way of keeping abreast of the times is often to risk a peep at the future so that the theories regarding the essential nature of the type of economy which may be planned by Islam, although they must necessarily remain somewhat vague, may nevertheless be submitted to the test of time in the near future. That is why our preoccupation with the possible trends and tendencies of a Muslim economy does not seem to us to be a fanciful caprice, but a serious concern as to the possible mode of evolution on the road we are following.

In order to get a clear idea of the specific nature of the Muslim economy now in the making, we should first of all study the resources and the means which are available for the realisation of the aims proposed. The nature of the means used will in fact determine to a great extent the attainment of the objectives in question, but, inversely, the careful consideration given to the specific nature of the objectives, regarded from the Muslim religious standpoint, could influence the choice of means. So we shall now examine the specific nature of the objectives which Islam may decide upon in the economic domain.

I. THE WAYS AND MEANS RELEVANT TO A MUSLIM ECONOMY

The importance of the role of the Qur'án in the economic development of Muslim countries

We consider it essential to state, before going any further, that in our opinion the economic development of Islam can be achieved only if it transmits or channels, in a progressive direction, that formidable force — the Qur'án. In order to combat the out-of-date but deep-rooted traditions which have imposed on the Muslim the anti-economic attitude so often criticised, it is on the very terrain where these traditions are prevalent that they must be fought. This is possible because the majority of modern Muslim thinkers are in common agreement that the spirit of the Qur'án has been betrayed and misinterpreted by the views on the decadence of Muslims. It is improper that formal traditionalism and retrograde attitudes of Muslims are traced to the Qur'án, for the Qur'án, on the contrary, is "... the Book of Progress and Science". This is one of the fundamental ideas insisted on by M. Bennabi. In the opinion of this author, a real return to Islam means a return to the authentic text of the Qur'án, that is to say, "... stripped of its threefold dross — theological, juridical and philosophical".

To this basic fundamental reason, which shows the essential role which should be played by a re-discovery of the creative power of the Qur'án, must be added the fact that in Islam, more than anywhere else, any doctrine which does not get its authority from the prestige of the past will remain ineffective. "Any doctrine which takes no account of tradition

* In articles written in European languages the words Islam and Muslims are interchangeable.

** For previous instalments see The Islamic Review for February-March 1968.

1 This is the theme which is defended — very reasonably in our opinion — by A. Huxley in: Le fin et les Moyens, Paris, 1939.
2 Bennabi writes in his Vocation de l'Islam, p. 52: "By a methodical confrontation of tradition with Islam, Islamic culture would be freed from a great number of sacrosanct 'tabûls', The Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid Bin Baldis will succeed in ridding Algeria of this false tradition, known as 'maraboutism'...
3 The expression of Tahâ Husayn.
4 Malek Bennabi: Vocation de l'Islam, p. 56.
is a doctrine without a future because it is without a past; it knows nothing about the end of things because it knows nothing about their beginning."

This profound thought is worthy of study by the creators of plans for modernisation.

The sentiment of solidarity is felt very profoundly in Islam. There exists a territorial unity between the members of the Muslim community, and the events which affect Muslims in one part of "Dār al-Īslām" are profoundly felt by all the members of the "Umūmah", as can be seen by the present-day political reactions. There exists also a solidarity in time between the succeeding generations of Muslims. Many years ago the Prophet Muhammad enjoined: "Study your genealogies!") The meticulous care and attention to detail which is taken with research into the "silsilat" (ancestral "chains" or "trees"), going back as far as the Companions of the Prophet (Sahībah), is one of the aspects of Muslim religious science which always intrigues and astonishes the foreigner. But in spite of the abuses which might arise from these more or less formal manifestations of community spirit, they express a profound sentiment which one cannot and dare not overlook, even in an economic analysis. Did not Saint-Exupéry write: "I have always found them poor — those who no longer knew why they were so firmly united in fellowship ... There is no real honour except at the origins"?  

It would thus seem that in the Muslim economic system the co-ordinating motive — the catalyst of the various social values — must perforce take the Sacred Book as its inspiration. Incidentally, the Qur'ān declares that:  

"God does not change the condition of a people until they change their own condition" (13:11), and that "Man shall have nothing but what he strives for" (53:40)  

thus giving some idea of the human effort and enterprise that is essential.

The inadequacy of Muslim thinkers on the methods of economic development in the Muslim countries

This striving after moral and material betterment enjoined by the Qur'ān has been brought into prominence by many of the modern Muslim thinkers, who thus show that the application of methods of development in the Muslim countries is proceeding in accordance with the precepts laid down in the Qur'ān. But the method of development which they mention are, in our opinion, too traditional. When the plans proposed are not of too grandiose a nature, but have been devised with the intellectual mental equipment of the West and expressed in terms of growth, savings, extensive investments, etc., the method followed is practically the same as the one described by H. de Balzac more than a century ago in Le médecin de campagne. Incidentally, this method has its good points and men of action, like Danilo Dolci, or the economists find in many of the details the problems and the solutions described by Dr. Bennabi, the hero of Balzac's book. However, these methods appear to us to be still too incomplete. Although not negligible, the sociological and psychological modifications which can be produced by the "half-hour of voluntary work", or the collective activities in clearing and tilling land, removing stones, etc., must be co-ordinated by a central idea-authority if they are to be effective. If the changes in the domain of detail, of commonplace, of the everyday, can be of vital importance, they cannot in our opinion set in motion the fundamental cumulative movement which is deemed necessary unless they are made to form part of an extensive and global type of "drive". This "drive" must draw its motive power from the highest values of a society — incidentally, they are also the most powerful. And it is only the meeting of a superior type of dynamism with an elementary type of adaptation that will give birth to the social revolution — the revolution which will start off an economic development.

Indeed, if the observance of ritual gestures can help a person to become a believer, as Pascal remarks, "There must exist a fundamental religious background for these gestures to have this significance. Thus the essential factor for the economic development of Islam appears to be the discovery of a powerful religious motive."  

The inadequacy of Muslim thinkers can be overcome by Jihād and Jihād

The awareness of an extended and up-to-date significance of the Qur'ānic message is conditioned by the widening of the opportunities presented by the modern world. The forward-looking men of today, who have greatly extended their field of vision, are bringing to light an aspect of the message which had been hidden by the limited outlook of a society which was static or in a state of decadence.

The liaisons of the Calvinist Reformation and the birth of the economic development of Europe have been brought into prominence by M. Weber and Treltsch. Material success — a sign of the Divine blessing — becomes legitimate, and wealth which is no longer ephemeral is directed towards investment. Whether it was the cause, or the effect, of the transformation in material conditions and the moral and scientific outlook, the Calvinist Reformation was significant.

5 Lacordaire : Ninth Conference of Notre Dame, 1849.
6 Quoted in : Quelques réflexions au service du Plan de Constantine, in fine.
7 We think it would be useful to give the opinion of a Muslim modernist like Malek Bennabi, who explains in detail all that a Muslim, even one endowed with an extensive Western type of culture, still expects from religion: "During the course of history no temporal 'ersatz' has ever succeeded in replacing that unique source of man's entire being. The social role of religion is nothing but that of a catalyst promoting the transformation of values which pass from the natural state to a psycho-temporal state, corresponding to a certain level of civilization. This transformation changes the 'biological' man into a sociological entity, belonging to time — simply a chronological period evaluated in the number of hours which pass, and a 'sonological' period evaluated in hours of work — and to the soil — which provides man's nourishment unilaterally and unconditionally, through a simple process of consumption — a terrain which is technically equipped and conditioned to provide for the multiple needs of social life in accordance with the conditions of a process of production. Thus the catalyst of the social values is religion in its nascent state, and in its expansive and dynamic state when it expresses a collective idea" (Vocation de l'Islam, pp. 26-27).
8 Bennabi, for example, Vocation de l'Islam.
9 It would be interesting if the experiments described by Balzac in 1833 were seriously studied by the economists. They have a curiously present-day character, and it would doubtless be of advantage to look for the meaning of the permanent nature of these pre-occupations between the two epochs separated by 130 years of time. The description of the method of development by Dr. Bennabi is specially dealt with, on page 26 et seq., for social development, and on page 37 et seq., for economic development.
10 A suggestion, for example, by M. Bennabi (op. cit., p. 214). He gives the example of the Chantier ("Work-colony") of Saint-Eugene as "... a means of attaining what is believed to be impossible."
12 Pascal : Pensées, Prenez de l'eau bénite, etc.
It was the expression of a profound change in the orientation of Christian thought. In this connection it would be interesting to study the transformation of the Jewish religion, which, though rigorous and formal during the time of the Exile, was obliged to unbind and expand in order to promote the most up-to-date adaptations and the efforts at development in territorial Israel.12 Even more than the two religions of the “Book”, Islam, which claims to be a “theocracy of the people”,13 must re-discover the road to progress in all its forms. It must of necessity be a re-discovery, for, as has so often been said, the Qur’ân is “the taking-hold of, the embracing, of life”14.

This re-orientation, which will not only permit economic growth, but will promote it very decisively, can, in our opinion, find support from two fundamental ideas of Islam:

“ijtihâd”, seeking for the “effort”, which should transform Muslim mentality.

“jihâd”, the “Holy War”, which can give the Islamic community a new field of battle — that of the conquest of progress.

A. IJTIHAD

AND THE NEW-FOUND EFFICIENCY

The three Qur’ânic precepts which govern all modes of economic development

We have already seen that the re-opening of the “door of effort” has been demanded by many thinkers. This renewal of effort is understood as applying not only to religious exegeses,15 but especially to the spheres of political and religious life. It is this re-opening of the “door of effort” (Fath al-ijtihâd), now finding expression in the Arab restlessness of modern times, which is, it seems, the fundamental means of re-orientating the Muslim towards the search for efficiency and success in the economic domain.

Indeed, the Qur’ân contains precepts which can, if they are applied with their full authority, become the decisive factors in this specific economic growth which Islam is bent on attaining. We can classify these Qur’ânic precepts under at least three main headings, which appear to govern all modes or processes of economic development:

1. The need for effort and individual initiative.
2. The importance of thrift (savings).
3. The value of labour.

1 Effort
On the need for effort, the Qur’ân and the Sunnah are very explicit. They enjoin effort on the intellectual and moral plane, but also on the material plane. Let us recall the Qur’ân 53 : 40 :

“Man shall have nothing but what he strives for.”

This verse is confirmed by numerous Hadiths in which the Prophet Muhammad insists on the importance of effort. On one occasion he declared : “He who makes an intellectual effort and is successful thereat, gains a twofold merit, and he who makes an effort, without success, nevertheless gains merit.” On another occasion he declared : “Seek knowledge, even in China if necessary.” He rebuked the facile fatalistic attitude, and even “tawakkul”, as is clearly shown in the tradition where the Prophet retorts, to one of his companions who declares that he trusts in God for the safe-keeping of his camel : “Tie it first.”

There is no doubt that this injunction regarding effort is above all an exhortation to the study of science and particularly the Sacred Science. It is in this sense that we should interpret Qur’ânic verses, such as Verse 113 of Chapter 20 :

“O Lord, increase my knowledge”,
or the Qur’ân 35 : 25 :

“Those of His servants only who are possessed of knowledge fear God.”

But it seems this encouragement of effort has a wider significance — it aims at the search for progress in all its forms. Numerous passages in the Qur’ân show the need for action.

“Did they not consider that We have made the night that they may rest therein, and the day for action? Surely there are signs in this for a people who believe” (27 : 88 and 10 : 68).

And again, it is declared in the Qur’ân, 28 : 73 :

“And out of His mercy He has made for you the night and the day, the one for rest and the other for work, that you may seek of His grace, and that you may give thanks.”

And 18 : 44 considers riches to be good things in this world if they do not blind the believer.

“Wealth and children are an adornment of the life of this world. But the true riches, those which are pleasing to God and whose reward is certain, are good works.”

This verse merits serious meditation, for it reconciles economics and morality. The same illustrous lesson is learnt from the Hadith :

“Work in this world as if you were going to live here for ever, and act for the life hereafter as if you were going to die tomorrow.”

14 An expression used by L. Gardet, op. cit.
16 As implied by the doctrine of “abrogating and abrogated verses”, based on actual verses of the Qur’ân : 3 : 5 :

“Some of its verses are decisive — they are the basis of the Book, and others are allegorical” and 13 : 39:

“God makes to pass away and establishes what He pleases.”

Thus it is not a question of saying, like Victor Hugo, that the Qur’ân is a bazaar where one can find anything, but that it carries with it the possibility of an “internal dynamism”, something that is an essential for a book with such vast meaning and importance. Besides being the dogma of the Muslim religion, the Qur’ân is also the Civil Code, the penal Code, and the charter of Islam, that world community which transcends nations and races. It is the civil law which regulates in the smallest details the life of the individual and that of the entire community. Religion and daily life, faith and politics, are inextricably bound up in a hundred and fourteen suras (Chapters), and six thousand two hundred and thirty-six Ayâts (verses) of this “Book of Life”, which for the Believer is the Rule which cannot be broken or even questioned, since each of the seventy-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-nine words of which it is composed is an utterance — an utterance of God. (George Royer, quoted by ‘Abd al-Jawád, op. cit.)

18 Even more precise is the injunction given in 62 : 10 :

“And when the prayer is ended disperse abroad in the land, and seek the good things that God has given men, and remember much good that you may be successful.”

Although we are not qualified to carry out the exegesis of the sacred texts, it would seem that we can agree with the Muslim modernist thinkers that the inspiration and the motive for economic development can be found in the Qur‘ān and the Hadiths. Not only is the creative effort tolerated by the Sharī‘ah, but it is very strongly recommended in the spiritual and material domains, as can be seen from an objective study of the sacred texts.

Can one find a better “recommendation to invest” in Islam than the injunction contained in the Qur‘ān and the Sunnah?

(2) Savings

Now the sacred texts which extol creative effort, and consequently, in the more limited economic domain, encourage investment, also recommend savings. And there are two chapters of the Qur‘ān which denounce extravagance. Chapter 25:67 declares:

“The servants of the Merciful One are those who, when they spend, are neither extravagant, nor parsimonious, but thrifty.”

And Chapter 4:33 says:

“O believers! do not squander your wealth by prohibited practices. Let your trading be by mutual consent, and do not kill each other, for God is Merciful to you.”

Thus we must avoid the erroneous prejudice which imputes to Islam an unsophisticated type of fatalism, and a laissez-faire attitude to indifference, showy ostentation and extravagance. Indeed, on the contrary, the Qur‘ān enjoins effort and forethought. And the mistaken idea that Islam despises work should also be revised, if we are to go by an accurate knowledge of the Sunnah.

(3) Value of labour

In addition to the already-quoted verses which declare that “God has made the night for rest and the day for work” (The Qur‘ān 27:88, 10:68, 28:73, etc.), some famous Hadiths insist on the essentially religious importance of work:

“God is pleased when one of you carries out a work, that he does it well.”

However, we must recognize that certain Islamic injunctions, such as, for example, the fasting period of Ramadān, are obstacles to the tempo of work as demanded by the present-day economy.

However, this problem, of which the leaders in Muslim countries are fully aware, is not insoluble. Muslim leaders and savants have already made tentative efforts at development and adaptation to suit modern needs. It was with this object in view that the Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hamid Bakhif, professor at al-Azhār university of Cairo, took steps to point out that the fast should be observed only by those able to do so without difficulty. According to the Shaykh, since the traveller, the sick person, the pregnant woman and the combatant (mu‘ādhid) can be excused the fast, owing to their particular circumstances, there is logically no reason why the workman or the civil servant (mental worker), whose tasks are fatiguing, should not also be excused. Indeed, the view of the Shaykh Bakhif is that the special necessity justifying dispensation in the classic cases of the soldier and the sick person should be extended to the worker, in a world where the very nature of his work has changed.

Although this declaration (fatwā) by a doctor of the great Qur‘ānic university caused some scandal at the time, and gave rise to refutations by other doctors of al-Azhār, it is not unreasonable to consider that this opinion constitutes a new departure in the interpretation of the Sunnah, and one which will bear fruit. In fact this “fatwā” is a step towards the adaptation—or the “adaptation”—of the Qur‘ān to the conditions of modern life. And no doubt this is a step forward on the “Right Path” (huda).

Thus the effort at “interpretation” now being renewed in Islam is perhaps the first step in a vast awakening. This spiritual renaissance may be expressed by a new type of economic upsurge, since intellectual creativity can re-act on the future role of a people and wholly transform existing conditions and circumstances. This very practical expression of spiritual effort can, more than anywhere else, prove to be decisive in Islam, which is a “laic theocracy”, and which has at its command the “Holy War” (Jihād), and a paramilitary discipline which can be utilised on man and on conditions to further its ideals.

B. A NEW MANIFESTATION OF THE “HOLY WAR” (Jihād)

The meanings of the word Jihād as used in the Qur‘ān

Although familiar to the Muslim, the idea of a “holy war” is not a very precise one. It is mentioned in the Qur‘ān under several connotations. Sometimes it signifies effort or striving (29:69; 2:21), sometimes it means war in the real sense of fighting (6:109; 5:33, 6:45; 8:57). It may also mean perseverance (Aṣbahān 9:107; 87:17). Jihād is mentioned as a constant in the life of Muslims and appears as a duty. But the word ‘jihād’ as a verb is also sometimes used to refer to all kinds of activity for Islam and for Muslims (9:107; 2:256; 21:97; 21:107; 29:1; 9:109; 6:16; 9:109; 87:17).

20 Here we will once more recall the remarkable book by M. Benabed, Vocation de l'islam, where the author writes, p. 49: “It was not a question of teaching (Muslims) a belief they already had, but of restoring to this belief its authority and power.”
21 This is a specific reference to gambling and usury.
22 As noted by M. Dresch during the conference (previously mentioned) on Islam and capitalism, the fasting month of Ramadān seriously hampers the productivity of Muslim workers and disorganises essential economic activities.
24 Ibid.
25 One would also do well to abandon the nonsensical but widespread idea that Muslims, unlike other people, are constitutionally unsuited for work. When this fallacy is not intentionally propagated, it can be explained by that particular tempo or rhythm resulting from the influence of the climate or of customs on the work of Muslims. A passage from the writer Benoist-Méchin sheds some light on this point: “It appears to be impossible to reconcile the tempo of (modern) work with the natural indolence of Muslims and their love for continually putting-off things... till tomorrow.” And yet this antinomy is explained when we go more deeply into the matter. An Arab will never act in an unseemly haste. During the whole of my stay in Arabia I never saw an Arab rush. In the Arab world, a more active man incurs a loss of dignity — they could be taken for slaves. For them, leisureliness is a way of affirming their status of free men. But I have known them work as much as fourteen hours a day. “Un prin-temps Arabe,” pp. 120-121.
26 Cf. ‘Abd al-Jawād, who writes: “From the terminological point of view the term ‘Holy War’ (hur al-muqaddasah) exists neither in the Qur‘ān nor in the Hadiths of the Prophet, nor in any classical or modern work on Islam. The term ‘war’, either as a noun or as a verb, can be found in the Qur‘ān six times (2:279; 5:33, 64; 8:57: 9:107 and in 47:4), but always without an adjective. This does not mean that ‘holy war’, in its real connotation, is unknown in the Qur‘ān. Both the Qur‘ān and the Hadiths of the Prophet extol highly ‘jihād’, of which the ‘holy war’ is one type. The real meaning of the word ‘jihād’ is ‘struggle’. There are many kinds of struggle, and all of them constitute ‘jihād’, even the struggle against self.”

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The orientation of Jihad to the furtherance of economic growth

No doubt "jihad" can be of significance in the economic domain, if the advantageous character of progress and economic growth is recognised on the plane of religion. Now this orientation of "jihad" in the direction of striving for economic efficiency and improvement of the living conditions of Muslims appears to us to be a powerful means — available to Islam — for the furtherance of economic growth.

Indeed, such an orientation would bring together the individual and the community in a global effort, and would offer a practical meeting-place for the moral aspirations and the material desires oppose each other in the soul of the Muslim. And above all it would mobilise, in a practical and effective manner, that formidable potential force possessed by Islam — discipline.

When Cnosrots of Persia saw Muslims recite their prayers before going into battle, he was amazed and exclaimed: "Umar teaches his dogs discipline." And even today C. Lévi-Strauss points out, rather ungraciously, the resemblances between "... two types, so remarkable from the sociological point of view — the Germanophile Muslim and the 'Islamised' German. If a regiment of guards could be religious, then Islam would appear to be its ideal religion — strict observance of the rules (five daily prayers, each including a fixed number of genuflections), attention to detail and strict cleanliness (the ritual ablutions), masculine company in spiritual matters as also in the accomplishment of organic functions — and no women."

But this "militaristic" aspect of Islam, condemned by C. Lévi-Strauss, can be judged and appraised from a different standpoint. Even if we do not approve of the motive underlying it, the rapprochement between Germanic discipline and Muslim discipline is significant for the purposes of our illustration. The economic power of Germany was built up mainly on this discipline, and is it not possible that the same discipline — a salient feature of Islam — can also be controlled and utilised for the furtherance of economic growth and development?

Be that as it may, Islam has enormous potentialities. If it succeeds in setting foot on the happy road to progress — which can be found only in origins and principles — and if it can "modernise" these potentialities, then many difficulties will be solved, difficulties which, to the arid and "logical" reasoning of the orthodox economist, seemed insurmountable.

A motive which obtains its power from religious sources can become the lever necessary for the sweeping changes entailed in economic development. It can not only give the initial start to the economic "take-off", but can also coordinate the structural adaptations which must necessarily accompany the process of economic growth. In order that a system may develop which will search for new and original solutions in the economic domain, it must be animated by a powerful mystique. It is only by utilizing this "powerline" that it will be able to take the risks inherent in all new and original creative activity.

Those who suggest "short cuts" in economic development, and are at pains to point out the advantages which might accrue from the rapid exploitation of new structures, must recognise that it is more difficult to create than to imitate successes already attained. In order to impart the stimulus necessary for any original innovation in the domain of economic systems, there must first be a motive, an objective, whose scope goes far beyond the narrow confines of economic calculation. All the strata of social reality and all aspects of life must be revolutionized. The Industrial Revolution of Europe and even the Marxist Revolution have given expression, in the domain of economic results, to the radical transformation of outlook and of world organization which they entailed. Their economic success is simply the consequence — very apparent but doubtless very limited — of their global and total conception of the world.

It would, therefore, appear that Islam will look for a new "dynamism" in its own resources, its own wealth, with the aim of promoting its economic growth in a manner specifically adapted for it. Or it will be forced to submit to uncontrolled changes in structure caused by the type of economic growth imposed from without. In which case it will cease to exist as an autonomous civilisation and will become the legendary and anachronistic aspect of a foreign proletariat. But this eventuality does not appear to be likely, for the Awakening of Islam, and the formation of a basic motive for a dynamic Muslim economy, are plainly and definitely apparent.

One particular and significant experiment is worth mentioning — that carried out by the Muslim Brothers in pre-Nasserite Egypt. For many Muslims this was a revelation of their economic possibilities. Here is how M. Bennabi describes this experiment: "The gigantic motor (constituted by the creative mystique propagated by the Muslim Brothers) then went into action and set in motion the entire life of the country, by setting up banks to canalize the capital, a powerful press to diffuse culture, and industry to create and absorb labour. Thousands of millions were collected and invested by the Muslim Brothers, thus establishing the two foundations necessary to the life of the individual — the moral foundation and the material foundation."

This new creative current, which sometimes springs forth from an experiment, even one that miscarries, is reinforced by all the hopes which inspire effort, and by all the practical experience obtained through successes or through setbacks. And there is no doubt that it inspires hope for a new level of economic attainment for a world of four hundred million souls.

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28 Here we recall Verse 62 of Chapter 4 of the Qur'an: "O you who believe! Obey God! Obey the Messenger, and those from among you who are in authority. And if you dispute about anything, refer it to God and the Messenger.
With this Verse as a basis, the ex-President of the League, Chaudhari Khalfal al-Zamân, drew up a detailed plan for a Qur'anic State. (Cf. Rondot, op. cit., p. 258.)
30 M. Bennabi: Vocation de l'Islam, p. 144.
Shi‘ah and Sunni—in the eyes of a non-Muslim

The relevance of these two concepts, one theological and the other mystical, to Persian thought and history is sufficiently manifest to those who visit Persia today and who may chance to read some Persian literature in translation, especially the incomparable poetry. What traveller has failed to remark upon those splendid mosques, shrines, and madrasahs for which the country is renowned, or any monument to the Shi‘ah faith, and who can read the classic poets without being conscious of that profound mystical insight which is the essence of Sufism? Less readily apparent, perhaps, is the effect of religious particularism upon the history and politics of Persia, yet this point should not be overlooked. Persia’s historical isolation is not simply a matter of geography, apparent though this is, but also of doctrine; the breaking away of the Shi‘ah Muslims from their Sunni co-religionists has left a cleavage which is far greater and less reconcilable than that between Catholic and Protestant, and even that analogy is hardly appropriate.

To most people the world of Islam seems united, the principles, doctrine and dogmas of the Muslim faith universal and undeviating, yet in truth that is far from the case since Islam has not been spared schisms, heresies and sectarianism. Two broad divisions stand out, however: the orthodox Sunni and the heterodox Shi‘ah, the former being in the great majority throughout the world whilst the latter are confined mainly to Persia and adjacent countries, notably Iraq. Of Persia’s population most by far are Shi‘ah and in the more remote parts of the country it is considered almost inconceivable that one could be other than of that persuasion.

Differences based on succession to the Prophet Muhammad

The schismatic Shi‘ah differ from the Sunni principally in their doctrine of “apostolic succession” rather than in propounding a new theology, though it will be seen that in guidance and interpretation of the divine law the Shi‘ah have adopted an attitude differing from that of their opponents, but even this attitude itself has been subject to divergencies from the original conception. It will be recalled that on the death of Muhammad there was no male issue to succeed the Prophet; the claim of ‘Ali, Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law (married to the illustrious Fatimah), was advanced, only to be scorned by the rival Syrian Arabs, who championed Abu Bakr, father-in-law and companion of Muhammad, and he in due course was succeeded by ‘Umar and ‘Uthmán as second and third caliphs respectively. On the death of ‘Uthmán, ‘Ali was elected fourth caliph, only to be deposed and subsequently murdered in 661 C.E. At this important point the Shi‘ah broke with the Sunnis, for the former held that ‘Ali was, in fact, the first rightful caliph, his three predecessors being classed as imposters and usurpers; in Shi‘ah eyes the caliphate stemmed from ‘Ali’s. Hasan and Husayn, sons of ‘Ali and claimants to the caliphate on ‘Ali’s death, had their lives abruptly terminated, and the anniversary of the murder of Husayn at Karbalá on the tenth of Muharram, 680 C.E., is today celebrated with a great show of mourning throughout the Shi‘ah world. At this juncture, too, the doctrine of the Imamate emerges, the Shi‘ah sects (for they, too, tend towards fragmentation) holding that ‘Ali’s successors composed the line of Imams in whom reposed infallibility in the interpretation of the divine law: thus it is seen that the Shi‘ah (partisans of ‘Ali) sustain a form of spiritual absolusion, whereas the Sunni (followers of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad) acknowledged the communal consensus of opinion in accordance with custom and under the leadership of the caliph. The majority of Shi‘ah, colloquially known as “Twelvers”, recognize twelve Imams, the last being Muhammad al-Muntazar, who disappeared about 883 C.E., and it is believed that this “hidden Imam”, sinless and incorruptible, will appear at a second coming to deliver the faithful and restore righteousness. This Messianic vision was most probably inspired by the hopes of Jews and Christians, of whom the sects the Muslims had some knowledge. Self-styled Muhids, or claimants to the Imamate, have appeared at various times in the last thousand years and we recall especially the Mahdi of the Sudan, who overcame General Gordon and, more recently, the “Mad Mullah of Somalia”. The Ismá’íl sect of the Shi‘ah, which embraced the Assassins of earlier times and of whom the Aghá Kháín is acknowledged leader, regard Ismá’il as the seventh Imam and so set themselves at variance with the majority “Twelvers”: the Ismá’ilis, however, are of small consequence in Persia today.

The concept of Islam

It is important that the concept of the Imam should be fully appreciated, for it is here that Shi‘ah and Sunni diverge without much hope of reconciliation. Sunnis do, indeed, recognize an Imamate, but it is an office rather than the personification of quasi-divine attributes, and the Imam is regarded as Muhammad’s successor as constitutional head and leader but not, of course, as prophet. In other words, this is the Caliphate with which perhaps we are more familiar. On the other hand, to the Shi‘ite the Imam is the mystical mediator between God and mankind and only through the guidance of intercessions of this sinless being can men hope to avoid Divine wrath and punishment. Further, it is not necessary that the Imam should appear alive or visible to the faithful, and in his concealment from the world he still carries on his

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spiritual functions, whilst his temporal power is vested in a legatee deriving authority from the Imam. It is in this sense that the Shah is the Imam’s viceroy and, as Grunebaum has pointed out, “as late as 1906 the first constitution of Persia embodied the statement that parliament was to be established with the agreement and consent of the (Hidden) Imam of the Age.” The Shi’ah Imamate, if considered in its entirety, appears to have two distinct aspects in its genesis, the one political, the other esoteric. First and expedient, there was the desire for a legitimate leader of the community whose eligibility and authority would be beyond dispute, and then by development of the idea there was incorporated the age-old theory of the divine king whose sway is infallible. This has been adequately expressed by Wickens, who states that “the nearest equivalent of the Shi’ite Imam is not, as has been often asserted, the Pope . . . but the Nestorian Chirist.”

Political reasons

Political reasons have tended to favour the development of Shi’ism in Persia; the Iranians are of ancient non-Arab stock and were proselytes of Islam at the point of the sword. Shi’ism therefore tended to suggest differentiation from the rest of the Islamic fold not only in its sectarianism but also nationally, especially against the growing influence and intrusions of the Sunni Ottoman Turks. Early in the sixteenth century a new Persian dynasty, under Sháh Ismá’Il, summoned anew this old non-conformist sect, establishing it as the national religion; that position it has held there to this day known as the Imamí sect, otherwise Ja’farítes, after the name of the sixth Imam, who did much to codify Qur’ánic law.

There is also a pleasing tradition that Husayn, son of ‘Ali, married a daughter of Yeţezídird III, the last reigning king of the Sassanian dynasty, and this would serve to confer a further sense of political legitimacy and continuity to the claim of the Imamate. That this doctrine of the Imamate has been of great benefit to the incumbent of the Persian throne is indisputable, since the divine right of kingship is invoked; it has also assisted greatly in the shaping of a national consciousness which is paramount throughout Persia today. Indeed, it is not strainings the point in stating that political stability and territorial integrity have been greatly fortified in Persia by adherence to Shi’ism, which has been the nation’s rallying point in a rebellious and fissiparous Muslim world, even if it may have been at the cost of a self-imposed political and religious isolation. Reciting “There is no God but God; Muhammad is the Prophet of God and ‘Ali is the Friend of God” the Shi’ite enters the holy tomb of the Imam Rezá at Mashhad but before doing so he delivers a kick upon the threshold of the shrine of the Sunni caliph Hárún al-Rashíd which stands nearby. This not only epitomizes religious contempt but is symbolical also of Persian pride in the face of a hostile world. Perhaps, too, it is some imperfectly comprehended gesture of defiance against a religious creed imposed upon them by the alien Arabs who, for their part, would scarcely tolerate the Gnostic and other mystic cults of the ancient Near East which have still their vestiges in contemporary Shi’ah thought and which are further discussed below.

Other minor differences

Other practices have been associated with Shi’ism which distinguish it from the Sunní world and may here be briefly mentioned, though they are entirely subordinate to the major theme expressed above. Sacrifice and possibly atonement forcibly recalled in the slaughter at Karbalá and the Prophet’s daughter Fátimah holding the world as a dowry are quite possibly accretions from the Shi’ites’ early contacts with the Christians, whilst on a more mundane plane there are practices such as the legitimacy of denying one’s faith under duress, a disposition towards martyrdom which appears to be in strange contradiction to the veneration of saints (though this is not exclusively a Shi’ah idiosyncrasy) and the system of temporary marriage which has been a great boon to travellers. In these respects and in others which need not be entered into here, there is sufficient indication of a wider divergence from the views held by the Sunnis, so that the Shi’ah are by no means Sunní without the validity of their orders but on the contrary have gradually built up a characteristic corpus of law and practice.

Sufism

From earliest times a strain of mysticism appeared in the uncompromising fundamentalist attitude of Islam generally professed and whilst mystics have been viewed with distrust by the more orthodox they have also acted as a necessary leaven. Shi’ism, with its belief in the hidden Imam, its esoteric doctrine and secret knowledge has been a favourable breeding ground for mysticism and this connection is greater than is generally supposed, although even the formalist Shi’ítes have not hesitated to condemn the extravagances of mystical speculation. Muslim mystics are styled Sûfí, a word derived from súf (wool), since the early mystics practised an asceticism which included wearing garments of undyed wool. Other attempts to derive the word from Safaví (the dynasty founded by Sháh Ismá’Il) or from sôphos (Gr. wisdom) cannot be considered successful. In common with mystics of other faiths, they devoted themselves to austerity, ecstasy, prayer and contemplation, qualities which would set them apart from their worldly and ascetic fellow Muslims, and which would suffice to incur the suspicion and hostility of orthodox theologians. However, it is their pantheistic doctrine of the unity of God and the world which is their distinctive attribute: all comes from God, all is directed towards God, nothing exists beyond God, all is God; this naturally leads to the desire for union of the individual soul with its Maker, from whom it has been separated in long exile. The early mystic al-Hallâj, who suffered martyrdom for his heresy, summed up this idea in the words:

In that glory is no “I” or “We” or “Thou”.
“I”, “We”, “Thou” and “He” are all one thing.

This idea is in marked contradistinction to the orthodox dogma, for “in thus setting man as it were face to face with God,” writes Gibb, “without any mediating spiritual or personal elements, Islam necessarily emphasized the contrast between them.” Yet surely these mystics could turn to the Qur’ân for legitimate inspiration, for is it not written that “Wherever ye turn there is the face of God” and also “We are nearer to him (man) than the vein of his neck”?

Naturally the Sûfí tended to band themselves together and in time established religious orders under spiritual directors and in accordance with a rule, though many continued to roam freely without corporate affiliations; in Persia the


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mystics are termed *dervish* and have been renowned for their bodily contortions and other physical manifestations when celebrating their rites which momentarily summon up visions of paradise. Veneration of saints, unprovided for in early Islamic ideas, is a Sufi concept which has spread far beyond its original confines and, in common with the exaltation of the Prophet and the practice of celibacy, indicates the influence of Christianity on Sufi thought.

In a sympathetic and penetrating study of the subject, C. Rice has indicated that the prime purpose of Sufism was to purify and spiritualize Islam from within and certainly in this respect al-Ghazâlî (d. 1001 C.E.) would provide more than adequate personal testimony. An interesting and possibly valid suggestion is further made that "Persia's revenge for the imposition of Islam and the Arabic Qur'an was her bid for the utter transformation of the religious outlook of all the Islamic peoples by the dissemination of the Sufi creed and the creation of a body of mystical poetry which is almost as widely known as the Qur'an itself . . . In this way Persia has conquered a spiritual domain far more extensive than any won by the arms of Cyrus and Darius, and one which is still far from being a thing of the past." This is an interesting corollary to the inference suggested above of the effect of Shi'ism upon Persian thought and attitudes.

The interplay between Sufism and poetry has been remarked upon by many authorities and leads to ambiguities in expression; immortality of the soul is postulated in the language of allegory to such a degree that it is difficult at times to distinguish between divine and earthly love; imagery and symbolism are given full play to dwell upon the essence of Sufism, which is that God is the only reality, all else is illusion. A parallel with "The Song of Solomon" and certain books of the Apocrypha comes readily to mind. In Persia especially some of the greatest poets — Jâmi, Rûmi, Sa'dî, Hâfiz — have been greatly influenced by these mystical strains and all have drunk deeply at the well of al-Ghazâlî, who is pre-eminent as theologian, philosopher and mystic. Sufism is one of Persia's spiritual roots which has inspired much of the beauty of literature, painting and architecture through the ages. Sufism, as expressed by Persia's poets, is comprehensive and all-embracing in its tenets, there is no narrow exclusiveness and no assumption that the truth is reserved only for the elect. Hâfiz, in Nicholson's beautiful translation, makes this manifest in his poem to the Beloved:

> Love is where the glory fails
> On Thee face on convent walls
> Or on tavern floors, the same
> Unextinguishable flame.
> Where the turbanned anchorite
> Chanteth Allah day and night,
> Church bells ring the call to prayer
> And the Cross of Christ is there.

Whilst the mystical doctrine that everything of which we are conscious, good or evil, is in some way an attribute of the Divine is brilliantly expressed in Fitzgerald's quatrains from Umar Khayyám:

> Heav'n but the Vision of fulfilled Desire,
> And Hell the Shadow from a Soul on fire, Cast on the Darkness into which Ourselves So late emerged from, shall so soon expire.

In more recent times Sufism has experienced a revival of somewhat more orthodox tendencies; much of its more immoderate speculation has been modified and the inclination towards pantheism has been slightly abated, though its essential if subtle tenets remain unimpaired. Sufism, moreover, is to be found at all social levels, clerical and lay. The Murshid of Kerman, guardian of the shrine at Mahun and himself a Sufi, once expressed to Sir Percy Sykes the comforting view that the Sufi teaching of universal love would sweep away ignorance and bigotry, creating instead an atmosphere of religious tolerance, which even the most ardent protagonist would be constrained to admit is not paramount in Islam today. Were that to be so, then the world's debt to Sufism would be beyond all doubt.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that in moulding the theology of Shi'ism and the mysticism of Sufism, Persia herself has of necessity been influenced reciprocally by these two complementary strains. Her politics, nationalism, culture, and above all her poetry have reflected these influences, which are by no means dead things but are much alive today. How often one encounters in some Persian street or garden that young man earnestly reading Sa'di or Hâfiz aloud to himself whilst perambulating! Truly can it be said that the key to understanding Persia today, as yesterday, is her theology and esoteric philosophy, for these have permeated the thought and conduct of her people down through the generations.

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Significance of Pakistan’s Cultural Heritage
in the Light of Hindu-Islamic Cultures of
Pre-Divided India

Islamic Culture is evidenced in Pakistan by universality where diverse
elements, ethical and ethnographic, have gone into its making

The technique of investigation, an Arab innovation, became the basis of modern science

By SHAMEEM AKHTAR

The problem facing different cultural systems in the present-day world

There is no precise definition of the word “culture” which has many connotations. It is not the purpose of the present study to attempt at a comparative appraisal of the varied contextual meaning given to the term. The inquiry will therefore be confined to the correlation between education and the cultural system of Pakistan. Such an approach postulates the evaluation of the legacy of the past and its utility to the intellectual needs of a changing society. The efforts of educators in bringing about a rational harmony between education and cultural heritage are often beset with difficulties due to the deepening cultural crisis which stares us in the face. The introduction of modern science and technology as a living factor in our lives tends to destroy the particularism and distinctiveness which has so far characterized the different cultural systems of the world. While on the one hand the trends generated imperceptibly by these agents of change have brought about a world-wide cultural breakdown, on the other, they are in the process of creating a new — and definitely a universal — culture. This important development, the full implications of whose impact has yet to be recognized, has called in question the relevance and utility of the cultural heritage of all nations, including Pakistan. Since in a shrinking world cultural insularity is no longer possible, only that culture can survive which is cosmopolitan in its nature and outlook. Only that culture can survive which is inherently assimilative in character and can receive outside influences without losing its identity.

Difficulties of assimilation between Hindu and Islamic Cultures

Islamic culture, especially Pakistani culture, is marked by universality in this respect, that diverse elements, ethical and ethnographic, have gone into its making; it is neither composed purely of what Spengler calls Magian culture, nor is it exclusively Syrian. In fact several and varied strands, Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Indian, have been blended into a colourful mosaic pattern that is Pakistani culture. It may, however, be borne in mind that due to the exclusiveness of Hindu culture, there could not take place the give and take between the two peoples as was natural in similar historical situations: “Neither the Hindus nor the Muslims imbibed the chief characteristic features of the other’s culture.”

Though Islam struck roots in its new home in India and made deep inroads upon the caste-ridden social structure, it retained its original intellectual and psychological heritage. The Muslim regarded himself as part of the larger Ummah, which was spread over three continents and brought within its fold the people of all races and colour united in allegiance to their Creator.

The Hindu could not understand the nature of Muslims’ loyalty. In the words of Dr. Tara Chand, “The Hindu felt no kinship with the Arab past which the Muslim hugged to his bosom. The Muslim did not feel at home in Vedic India.” Nor was this conflict confined to the political plane, where the Muslims and Hindus appeared to each other as adversaries due to unavoidable historical circumstances. The intellectual attitudes of the two were irreconcilable: while the Hindu mind expressed itself in the “concrete and the iconographic; the Muslim mind tended to be scientific and iconoclastic.” There could hardly be any effective intercommunication, with the result that though “the element of territoriality was common to both systems, the content of

2 Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 76. The writer, however, concedes that the mutual interaction of the two communities influenced only the surface. See ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
6 Aziz Ahmad, op. cit; p. 74.
the two could not coincide and blend".7 It is due to this reason that the principle of repulsion, and not of attraction, was more pronounced in the history of Hindu-Muslim relations in India.8 Everywhere else in the world the Muslims experienced less difficulty in living with peoples of other races and creeds. Though ever impervious to liberalising influences, the Hindu society could not escape the revolutionary tide of Islam, whose message of equality between man and man inspired reform movements led by Ramanand, Nanak and Chaitanya.9 The efforts of Akbar in abolishing the accursed practice of the burning alive of the Hindu widow is well-known to the students of history. The emergence of Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj movements, which sought to end the caste-system of Hindu society, was due largely to the living example of Islam.

The Muslim genius which had broadened the cultural frontiers of Islam from its original Arab surroundings to include the Persian, Turkish and Hellenic elements absorbed all that was good and beautiful in the Indian culture. The native and regional dialects which had fallen into disuse due to the wilful neglect by caste Hindus were revitalized as a result of the patronage of the Muslim rulers and sufis and poets. The Muslims made these dialects a vehicle of Islamic thought and mysticism, which was diffused among the broad masses of India. Such was the charismatic appeal of the sufis that the Hindus flocked in thousands to Islam. The inter-marriage of Persian, the official language of Muslim rulers, and Hindu and other regional languages resulted in the development, through natural process, of a new language, composite in character, which later became known as Urdu.

The birth of the Urdu language, which is the result of the Muslim genius to forge a cultural unity in India

The new language was Indian in origin and was the product of Indo-Islamic culture. The Hindus had made no mean contribution to the growth of Urdu but later, under the influence of their revivalist movement, they rejected this invaluable cultural heritage. The Persian words and literary themes and popular romances and the stories of Muslim heroes found their way into the works of the Muslim Bengali writers, who freed Bengali from the incubus of Sanskrit and evolved what came to be known as Musalmani Bengali. Even Hindu historians of Bengali literature admit that the Musalmani Bengali was different from the Shudh Bengali of Vidaya Sagar and Bankin Chaterji.9 Nor could other regional languages of the parts now called West Pakistan, such as Pushto, Sindhi, Balochi and Punjabi, remain immune from the cultural influences of Persian and Arabic. These languages adopted the Arabic script and Islamic themes.

In spite of the barrier of script, the literary works of Muslim writers bear the stamp of Islamic themes. Also their writings can be distinguished from those of the Hindu writers in that they are replete with Persian and Arabic vocabulary,10 allusions to Qur’anic verses and references of the prophets. The Muslim genius thus forged a cultural unity in diversity. Nor was this experimentation peculiar to the growth of Islamic culture of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent alone. The assimilative genius of Islam has always been at work. For soon after the advent of Islam, the non-Arabs, such as Persians, Turks and Moors, who had embraced Islam made great contributions to theology, jurisprudence and other sciences.11 Sufism, so far tolerated in Islam, became an integral part of its culture. Nowhere, perhaps, did sufism play a more effective role in the regional formulation of universal Islamic culture than in India. The influence of sufism, which had become the hallmark of Indian Islam, spread beyond the frontiers of India. The Qadiriyah sufi order found is way to the Sudan, where it became popular among the Muslims.12

The process of cultural accumulation continued throughout the Muslim rule in India and immigrants kept pouring in from Samarkand, Bokhara, Khwarizm, Khorasan, Iran and Afghanistan. The immigrants from Iran were patronized by the Mughal rulers and their contribution in the field of arts, literature, architecture enriched the Islamic culture in India.13 The Muslims bequeathed to India a rich culture. Most of the works of arts and architecture which now lie in India bear eloquent testimony to the influence of Islamic culture on Indian soil.

The new responsibility of Pakistan — a criticism of Pakistan's educational system

Pakistan, an old country but a new nation, can rightfully claim the credit for their cultural heritage left behind by the Muslim rulers. This claim is further strengthened by the fact that Hindus have disowned the cultural and artistic contribution of Indian Muslims.14 After partition the capital of Islamic culture has shifted from India to Pakistan. This imposes a great responsibility upon the new-born nation.

The present and the future generation of Pakistanis must be educated and trained in a manner that not only should they be able to preserve their cultural legacy but also make positive contribution to the development of Islamic culture. For the purpose of education is to transmit culture.15 A sound education should therefore enable the students to comprehend the full meaning of culture. It is only then that education would rouse their remembrance to their social heredity. Taylor, who was the first to introduce the term in its technical sense in English in 1865, defined culture as "a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Arnold takes the view that culture is more comprehensive than religion.16 Although he regards culture as the ultimate value, he recognizes religion as its necessary element which gives it an ethical basis.

Islam as a faith discourages the renunciation of the world and recognizes the importance of matter. The Qur’an enjoins the believer to probe into the mysteries of nature, in order to understand the order of the universe. The word "ilm", or knowledge, has been used in the Qur’an in one form or another more than eight hundred times,17 which shows that Islam encourages an independent inquiry in quest of truth. This attitude gives rise to the view that the universe is

7 Tara Chand, op. cit.
8 Azaiz Ahmad, op. cit, p. 76.
10 Ibid, p.v.
11 Ibid.
13 S. M. Ikrar, op. cit, p. 8.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid, p. II.
16 T. E. Elliot, op. cit, p. 96.
18 Arnold.
19 Khalid Ishak, Education in the light of Koran (Dawn, 1960).
“dynamic in its origin, finite and capable of increase”." The Muslim thinkers and scholars who had first adopted the Greek thought without question began to take a critical view of the speculative method. The break from the Greek tradition led to the adoption of the scientific method of observation and experimentation. This technique of investigation, an Arab innovation, later became the basis of modern science. But this creative and critical spirit died, with the result that the Muslim thought stagnated after the thirteenth century. The Muslim intellectuals lacked the inventive ingenuity which had been the chief characteristic of their predecessors.

It should be the object of our education to foster the spirit of inquiry and stimulate the human mind to explore the universe and unravel the hidden truth. True to the intellectual tradition of the early Muslim thinkers, who adopted the Greek methods in the past, the educated Muslims of today can derive great benefit from the Western science and technology. It was with this end in view that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan established the scientific society of Aligarh and Mohammadan Educational Conference. He popularized the cause of modern education among the Muslims and tried to create the scientific temper at a time when such ideas were regarded as heresy. He laid equal stress upon religious education of the Muslim youth. At Aligarh, Sir Syed established the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, which revolutionized the thinking of the Muslims. The reform movement initiated by Sir Syed had a liberalizing effect on the Muslim thought and traditional ethics. The movement threw up eminent publicists, such as Ameer 'Ali and Maulavi Chiragh 'Ali, who emphasized the need for a revaluation of Islamic thought.

Later Iqbal strongly pressed for the reconstruction of religious thought, since he feared that Islam would lose its dynamic character and relevance to the human needs. He suggested reform in the system of legal education and a comparative study of the contemporary jurisprudence.

The modern system of education is deficient in many respects. The tradition established by the British rulers persists until today, for it is not possible to obliterate its traces within a short time. The educators have failed to bring about the needed change in the attitudes and habits.

Rather than interpret and transmit the national culture, the universities of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent prescribe the course of study borrowed from the syllabus of foreign universities. The students have to rely upon the text-books written by the foreigners. The institutions of higher education continue to use English as the language of instruction. The university-educated youth has a Western orientation, with the result that he is cut off from the mainstream of Pakistani culture. The present educational system of Pakistan inhibits the cultural integration because it has created a special culture for the 'elite' as distinguished from the masses, and has consequently accentuated the class distinction in the realm of culture. This development runs counter to the spirit of Islamic culture, which is universal in nature.

Nor does it accord with the contemporary cultural trends. For as a result of the new forces at work the world is moving towards a universal culture. There is a great need for the dissemination of the cultural values of Islam through education.

Why Pakistan came into being

Islam preaches tolerance and freedom of conscience. The Qur'an proclaims that there is no compulsion in faith. It recognizes the truth of other religions and the prophets of other faiths. It proclaims the "evolutionary view of religion." The inculcation of these values through the media of education would contribute to the easing of tension between nations and serve the interests of peace.

The Islamic way of life stands for social justice and universal brotherhood, which have become the integral parts of religious belief. It is for the preservation of these values that Pakistan was created. No system of education would therefore suit the genius of Pakistan if it did not embody the Islamic values.

21 Ibid, p. 128.
22 Ibid, p. 131.
24 H. A. R. Gibb, Muhammadanism, p. 182.
25 Iqbal, op. cit., p. 176.
28 Ibid.
‘ALI SHIR NAWA’I —  
The Great Uzbek Poet and Thinker

by PROFESSOR HAMID SULAYMANOV

Five volumes of Nawā’i’s lyrical poetry contain more than 56,000 verses and there is a total of 58,000 lines in his six long poems

“For five centuries now his literary heritage has been a factor in the critical and aesthetic education of many generations in many countries”

The 525th birth-anniversary of Nawā’i at Tashkent

Guests from many countries are expected to come to Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, for the ceremonies in honour of the 525th birth-anniversary of the great Oriental poet and thinker ‘Ali Shir Nawā’i. Sessions in his honour will be held in Samarkand, Andizhan, Ferghana, Bukhara, Namangan, Kokand, Termez and other Uzbek towns. The anniversary is to be observed throughout the Soviet Union, and special editions of his works will come off the press.

‘Ali Shir Nawā’i was a man of many parts—philosopher, historian, linguist, teacher, musician, artist and diplomat.

He was born in ancient Gerat, capital of Khorasan, in the middle of the 15th century. His childhood and youth were spent at the court of the descendants of Timur. He obtained his education in Samarkand. He returned to Gerat in the territory of present-day Afghanistan, as Sultan Husayn’s Grand Vizier and Keeper of the Seal.

In his harsh times Nawā’i was a patron of science, literature and art. In poetry and prose he championed reason and human freedom; he was a singer of true love and sincere friendship. And for five centuries now his literary heritage has been a factor in the ethical and aesthetic education of many generations in many countries.

The works of Nawā’i a great landmark in Oriental classical poetry

‘Ali Shir Nawā’i’s writings are a landmark in Oriental classical poetry. He played a great part in the development of the Uzbek literary language. In his famous linguistic treatise, Mukhamad al-Lughāt, he showed that Uzbek,

one of the ancient languages of the East, possessed great possibilities, thanks to its rich vocabulary, its grammatical structure and ability to convey fine shades of meaning, and could be an excellent medium for expressing ideas. ‘Ali Shir Nawā’i’s own writings were an example of that.

The five volumes of his lyrical poetry contain more than 56,000 lines, and there is a total of over 58,000 lines in his six long poems. His major works include Farhād and Shirīn, Laylā and Majnūn, The Seven Planets, Iskander’s Wall, The Language of Birds and Fānī, a collection of verse discovered and studied by Soviet literary scholars. He is also the author of many treatises in prose on philosophy, philology and history.

Unfortunately, no original Nawā’i manuscripts have been discovered as yet. His writings are known from copies made by calligraphic artists, some of which, illustrated with splendid miniatures, are works of art in their own right.

Manuscript copies of Nawā’i’s works are in the possession of libraries in Paris, London, Berlin, Rome, Washington and many countries of the Middle East. In the Soviet Union they are to be found in Tashkent, Baku, Dushanbe, Ashkhabad and Leningrad.

The study of Nawā’i in Russia began in the 18th century, but deep and serious research into his times and his writings started only in the Soviet period. A number of monographs on Nawā’i’s life and work have been written and many of his works analysed.

Uzbek scholars take a lively interest in manuscript copies of Nawā’i’s writings in libraries abroad. The present writer recently returned from Paris, where he worked in the National Library. French colleagues kindly consented to copy and microfilm particularly valuable works of Nawā’i and send them to the ‘Ali Shir Nawā’i Museum of Literature, to be opened in Tashkent during the anniversary celebrations. There are more than 1,000 Nawā’i manuscript copies in Tashkent, some made during his lifetime by famous calligraphers of Herat. Copies of the latter will be sent to France.

Co-operation among the scholars of different countries can undoubtedly contribute much to a further study of Nawā’i’s writings, the property of all mankind.

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PILLARS OF ISLAM.—These are five in number: (1) Declaration of faith in the Oneness of God, and in the Divine Messengership of Muhammad; (2) Prayer; (3) Fasting; (4) Alms-giving; (5) Pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine at Mecca.

ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.—The Muslims worship One God—the Almighty, the All-Knowing, the All-Just, the Cherisher of All the worlds, the Friend, the Helper. There is none like Him. He has no partner. He is neither begotten nor has He begotten any son or daughter. He is indivisible in Person. He is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Glorious, the Magnificent, the Beautiful, the Eternal, the Infinite, the First and the Last.

FAITH AND ACTION.—Faith without action is a dead letter. Faith by itself is insufficient, unless translated into action. A Muslim believes in his own personal accountability for his actions in this life and the Hereafter. Each must bear his own burden and none can expiate for another's sin.

ETHICS OF ISLAM.—"Imbue yourself with Divine Attributes," says the noble Prophet. God is the prototype of man, and His Attributes form the basis of Muslim ethics. Righteousness in Islam consists in leading a life in complete harmony with the Divine Attributes. To act otherwise is sin.

CAPABILITIES OF MAN IN ISLAM.—The Muslim believes in the inherent sinlessness of man's nature, which, made of the goodliest fibre, is capable of unlimited progress, setting him above the angels, and leading him to the border of Divinity.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ISLAM.—Man and woman come from the same essence, possess the same soul, and they have been equipped with equal capability for intellectual, spiritual and moral attainments. Islam places man and woman under the like obligations the one to the other.

EQUALITY OF MANKIND AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF ISLAM.—Islam is the religion of the Unity of God and the equality of mankind. Lineage, riches and family honours are accidental things: virtue and the service of humanity are matters of real merit. Distinctions of colour, race and creed are unknown in the ranks of Islam. All mankind is of one family, and Islam has succeeded in welding the black and the white into one fraternal whole.

PERSONAL JUDGMENT.—Islam encourages the exercise of personal judgment and respects difference of opinion which, according to the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, is a blessing of God.

KNOWLEDGE.—The pursuit of knowledge is a duty in Islam, and it is the acquisition of knowledge that makes men superior even to angels.

SANCTITY OF LABOUR.—Every labour which enables man to live honestly is respected. Idleness is deemed a sin.

CHARITY.—All the faculties of man have been given to him as a trust from God for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. It is man's duty to live for others, and his charities must be applied without any distinction of persons. Charity in Islam brings man nearer to God. Charity and the giving of alms have been made obligatory, and every person who possesses property above a certain limit has to pay a tax, levied on the rich for the benefit of the poor.
about you and who has not heard great things about you. It is for this reason that you have earned the love of everyone in this country and the appreciation of all for the gigantic efforts and great reforms which you have carried out in sister Morocco. I pray to Almighty God that He may grant you every assistance and enable you to attain the objectives which you are seeking in the service of your religion, your nation and your homeland.

Before I conclude, I should like once more to thank you and my brothers in our sister country Morocco for what we have experienced in Morocco, as well as for what every citizen of this country who has set foot in sister Morocco has experienced. There we do not consider ourselves on foreign land, but in our country and among our people. We sincerely hope that the efforts and the contacts which Your Majesty is making among your brothers in the Muslim and Arab countries will achieve the unification of ranks and the consolidation of efforts, so that we may go forward in unity to serve our religion, to put an end to aggression against us, to repel the harm afflicting our homeland and our compatriots, and to stand united against aggression from whatever direction it comes. I pray to the Almighty that good may come from your efforts, and that we may all justify the hopes which our Muslim and Arab brothers have pinned upon us, and that we may all proceed along the right path. And may peace and the blessings of God be with you.

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THE MUSLIM MINORITIES OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC — Continued from Page 26

spread quickly, since in January, 1960, 96% of the population was organised into 451 people’s communes which included 30,000 public eating-houses, and 50% of the shepherds were made “sedentary” (town-dwellers) — “vehement attacks against the communal system were heard, resistance by all the methods imaginable spread far and wide, some organised reactionary sects and others carried out act of sabotage”.

In 1963 M. Tychkabasov described this situation. He wrote: “In 1958, when the Chinese authorities... ordered ‘the big leap forward’, and organised the people’s communes, the farms and gardens disappeared before my very eyes, all the vines perished, and also the livestock in the commune of Turfan.”

And recent developments in the Sino-Soviet dispute have led the Soviets to reveal that numerous Muslims from Sinkiang were fleeing to the Muslim Republics of the U.S.S.R. to escape from the persecution of which they were the object in China. Further, if the conflict, originally ideological, continues to develop as it is now doing, that is to say, towards vulgar territorial disputes, it is probable that the Soviet accusations concerning the Chinese policy vis-a-vis the Muslims of Sinkiang would become — due account being taken of the effects of propaganda — an important source of material for the problem of Islam in China.

In any case it is certain — the Communists themselves confirm it — that very serious trouble has been reported among Muslims since 1949 in various provinces and at different times. It means that the policy of local autonomy is a long way from having brought a solution to the autonomous tendencies which, since the revolt of Haji Ma De-xin in Yunnan in 1855, or that of Yakoub Beg in Turkestan in 1864, still agitate the Muslim communities of China.

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