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The Philosophy of the Hajj
(the Pilgrimage to Mecca)

A Great Gathering of the Great Brotherhood of Man

The Meaning of Animal Sacrifice in Islam

The Hajj commemorates the complete submission to the will of God by Abraham, who abolished for the first time in history the evil practice of human sacrifices.

Philosophy in the modern sense means looking at the whole of a question, without restrictions and simplifications; looking at ends and purposes, not merely at methods or means, and scrutinizing the latter in the light of the former.1

The word Hajj literally means repairing to something for a visit, to observe the necessary devotions prescribed for the Hajj. The Ka’bah* is the first House of Divine worship appointed for mankind. Abraham and Ishmael rebuilt the Ka’bah on the old foundations and the Quraysh rebuilt it when the Prophet Muhammad was a young man who personally took part in its building. All the main features of the Hajj as existed at the advent of the Prophet Muhammad were undoubtedly based on the authority of Abraham. The obscene practices of clapping, whistling, circumambulating the Ka’bah in a state of stark nakedness, had crept into the ceremonial which the Prophet Muhammad reformed and purified. This was one of the reasons that the polytheists were prohibited from entering the Ka’bah during the Hajj.

* This is a brief account of the Hajj, the daily and nightly prayers not being mentioned in it.

A brief description of the Pilgrimage rites

It is the most cherished desire of every Muslim man and woman to be able to make at least one pilgrimage to Mecca in the course of his or her life. It is the fifth of the five "pillars" of Islam, but it is obligatory only if certain social, economic and personal conditions are fulfilled.

People come from far and near to perform the holy ceremonies of the Hajj. Every man enters Mecca as a muhrih — wearing two unstitched white sheets, called Ihram, and then performs the 'Umrah — the little pilgrimage. Women do not don the Ihram but they wear simple forms of clothes without any make-up and they cannot wear any veil.

The Ihram creates an atmosphere of uniformity and so the rich and poor, the ruler and ruled, all appear as suppliants or beggars before Allah. The minute the Ihram is on certain acts, ordinarily lawful, are forbidden.

The 'Umrah and the Hajj both include sevenfold circumabulation (tawaf) of the Ka'bah, during which the black stone is kissed, touched or pointed at and the sevenfold running (Safa yam) between Safa and Marwah. There were 360 idols within the walls of the Ka'bah before the coming of Islam but the black stone was never regarded as an idol by the pre-Islamic Arabs, nor was it ever worshipped by them. It is a cornerstone and only a memory of Abraham.

Everyone when entering Mecca loudly recites "Labbayka Allâhumma labbayka", "Here I am, here I am, O God!"

The 'Umrah can be performed on any day of the year but the Hajj is performed on a fixed date of the 12th lunar month. Its principal day is the 9th of Dhu al-Hijjah.

On the 7th there is usually preaching in the mosque of the Ka'bah by which the pilgrims are prepared for the holy ceremonies. In the evening of the 7th or in the morning of the 8th the pilgrims leave Mecca. The plain of 'Arafat is reached via Minâ and Muzdalifah, where a halt (wuqaf) is made. Many ascend the hillock known as the Mount of Mercy (Jabal al-Rahmah) and loud cries of labbayka are heard everywhere. This is the hillock on which the Prophet Muhammad stood and preached his historic Farewell Pilgrimage Address.

The wuqaf proper takes place on the 9th and lasts from the decline of the sun to its setting. This period is filled by two Khatbahs (addresses) given by the Qâdi of the holy city. He stands up on the platform on the holy hill to read the Khatbahs. Immediately after sunset everyone rushes back to Muzdalifah, where the Maghrib and the 'Ishâ prayers are said together.

On the 10th the wuqaf is again held at the mosque before sunrise and the Qâdi again preaches a Khutbah. After the morning prayer the multitude moves on to Minâ.

Here at Minâ each pilgrim throws seven small stones at one of the three pillars, the first of which is called the "Great Devil" (al-Shaytân al-Kabîr). Each stone thrown is accompanied with the words "God is Great". The turn of the other Jamrah does not come until the following days. After the stoning the crying of labbayka ceases and the Hajj proper is at an end.

Animal sacrifices

Some ceremonies, however, are still to follow. The sacrifice is the first, which has given this day its name (the 'Id al-Adhâ — The Festival of Sacrifices). The animals that are sacrificed are sheep, goats, cows and camels. It is considered meritorious to give the flesh of the animals sacrificed to the poor. What is not used is left lying there in the open. This is, of course, contrary to the purpose and spirit of the Pilgrimage.

The sacrifice is a sunnah (following the practice of the Holy Prophet) and is observed on this day throughout the Muslim world. After the sacrifice the pilgrims cut off a lock of their hair or shave their heads. Thereafter the Ihram may be discarded and a return made to a secular state. It is usual to return to Mecca on the 10th to perform a tawaf there and ordinary clothing donned, if this has not already been done in Minâ.

The common sentiment that the Hajj engenders amongst Muslims

Supreme emotion rules the minds of the pilgrims throughout the three days of the Hajj ceremonies, which is essential for the creation and strengthening of the sentiments of brotherhood. With an emotion repeatedly seeing together, saying together, listening together or doing something together creates a common sentiment. During the Hajj they all see everybody in the simplest form of the Ihram. They all loudly cry: "Labbayka Allâhumma labbayka" — "Here I am, here I am, O God!" They pray together, circumambulate the Ka'bah together, they run together between Safa and Marwah, they listen to the preaching together, they travel to the plain of 'Arafat together, they perform the wuqaf together, continuing with the talbiyeh (Here I am, O God) together, listening to the Khutbahs together, they rush back to Muzdalifah together, return to Minâ together, and throw stones together. All slaughter animals in memory of Abraham's sacrifice, all pilgrims cut off a lock of their hair or shave their heads. All the four sentiment-forming instruments of seeing, saying, listening and doing are fully hard at work all the time during the three days of the Hajj.

The Hajj fully drives it home that all human beings are equal in value; everyone wears the same kind of Ihram and all pray and perform their duties like a component part of a single whole. Prejudices of race, colour, culture, rank, status or sex never mar the beauty of the charming brotherhood of Islam. Malcolm X, a leader of the Muslim American Negroses, went to Mecca to perform the Hajj not long before his assassination. On his return he said that for the first time in his life he saw there no white man, black man, brown man or yellow man, but they were all human beings. True to the Hadith (the saying of the Holy Prophet), he returned to his country as a transformed man. His lectures and activities which followed it showed that he was a new man with an air of purity, holiness and devotion to the cause of Islam. This was probably the reason that he was assassinated.

This is a Great Gathering of the Great Brotherhood of mankind, which is a practical refresher course to root out the prejudices and to build and strengthen the common sentiments which are the only sure foundation of love.

2 Allah is the proper name of God. The word God does not convey the non-conceptual idea about God. God may be a man-god, an idol or a stone, but the word Allah has never been used, and never can be used, for anybody but God, who is One and who has no partners.
3 "On the authority of Abi Hurayyah, who said, 'I heard the Prophet say: Whoever performed Hajj for the sake of God (wherein) he uttered no obscene word nor he transgressed a Divine commandment will return to his home as a newly born babe.'" Bukhari, chapter 25, Kitâb al-Mânisik, Hadith 814.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW & ARAB AFFAIRS
Human sacrifice in various pre-Islamic religions

The Hajj is not complete without slaughtering an animal. To an untrained observer it might seem odd that blood should be shed after three long days' devotions. Does God need blood to wash off the sins of the pilgrims? Not at all. Strictly speaking, it is not a sacrifice but a simple slaughtering of animals to provide food for the poor. It is in commemoration of Abraham's endeavour to obey the Divine commandment which he thought meant the sacrifice of Ishmael, his son. God's revelation signified a different meaning to his vision, which was that God did not need any sacrifice and that he should slaughter a ram to celebrate the good tidings so that the future generations of the believers should, on this day, demonstrate to the whole of mankind by prayers, acts of devotion and by providing food for the poor by slaughtering animals, that no man must ever be sacrificed for the sins of others. This ceremony is intended to disseminate the proclamation of God against the horrors of man's sacrifice and the wasteful practice of burning the flesh of animal victims.

Yet the human sacrifice continued well into the modern times, but the influence of Islam has, gradually, banished the practice of human sacrifice.

The terrible effects of the fiendish practice, both on the victims and the killers, can well be imagined if one glances back and looks through the pages of man's natural history as to what extent the minds of the killers became blunt and warped.

The sacrifices were made to the gods, God and the spirits. The victims were put to death in many cruel and callous ways. Millions of innocent men, women and children suffered a cruel death. Here we cite a few examples:

In South Africa at the death of Tehaka's mother he ordered 40 oxen to be offered to the guardian spirits of the tribe and several men were executed on the spot, which followed an indiscriminate massacre of seven thousand people. On the second day ten of the best-looking girls in the kraal were buried alive, along with the body of the dead queen mother. The killing went on for a year. If during the year a child was born, both parents and the child were executed.4

At the death of a Dahomey king his son performed the ceremony of human sacrifice. The victims were thrown down from a tower while tied in baskets and then torn to pieces.5

Fijians, Tongans and Tahitians offered human sacrifice.6 In Khondistan, Goomsur, the human sacrifice, was offered to the earth-god. In China, Kemeday, Patna Bundar, human victims, while alive, were hacked to pieces by the crowd. The officiating zani, or priest, used to repeat the following invocation, at intervals hacking with his sacrificial knife the back of the shrieking victim's neck:

"O mighty Manickesoro, this is your festal day... the sacrifice we now offer, you must eat..."7

A very similar custom was prevalent among certain tribes of the Lower Amazon. The name of these tribes was Tapuyos.8

The writer of The Natural History of Man has devoted the third chapter to sacrificial religion. He says: "There is no part of the world, not even Africa itself, where the principle of human sacrifice is so widely spread, and is developed so variously, as in India."9 He mentions about the murders committed by the Thugs in their worship of the dread goddess Kāli and the dreadful Suttee — the death of the widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband.

A reflection on Church teachings

Constantine's influence changed the picture of Christianity. Jesus Christ, a true messenger of God, was shown as a pagan sun-god and the worship of the crucified god assumed the name of Christianity. It became the real sacrificial religion. Man is God's best creature on this earth because he has a limitless imagination. A thing done in imagination is as good as done in reality. For instance, while at a picnic his imagination helps him choose a right place for lighting a fire. The process of trial and error takes place in his imagination. When he drinks the blood of a man and eats his flesh in imagination he is doing so as if he were a real cannibal. Doing it with some sort of emotion must destroy the human qualities. The "holy" communion was, perhaps, the cause of the bad history of the Christians. Red Indians, Australians, Tasmanians, Maoris of New Zealand suffered its consequences. South Africans, Rhodesians and the Negroes of the U.S.A. are going through hell in these modern times.

John George Haigh, executed in Wandsworth Prison, London, on 10 August 1949, used to drink the blood of his victims. He killed women, children and men and claimed in the course of his trial that it was due to the influence of Christianity.10

Human sacrifice was common in Arabia. Al-Mundhir III, the ruler of Hira, captured a son of Harith, the Ghassanid ruler, and offered him as a sacrifice to the idol, al-'Uzza, in 544 C.E.11

There were victims of the altar in Greece. In Africa children were thrown into a lake and in India 100 children were thrown into the Hugli river every year as offerings to gods.

Human sacrifice amongst Jews

In Europe human sacrifice was as common and sacred as anywhere else. Some of the victims were buried, hanging with special caps on their heads to show that the victims were volunteers.

Jews learnt from the heathens to sacrifice their sons and daughters to the idols of Canaan.12

The Prophet Job has been shown to have made burnt offerings for the sins of his sons.13

The angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven and said, "Abraham, Abraham", and he said, "Here am I." And he said, "Lay not thine hand upon the lad ..." and Abraham went and took the ram and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.14

Continued on page 39

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12 Ibid, The Book of Job, Chapter 1, verses 4 and 5.

MAY 1969
**ISLAM AND NATIONALISM**

Is Arab Unity conceivable without Islam?

Islamic Conception of Nationality

By Dr. SA'ID RAMADAN

"As things are now, the exponents of racial intolerance are in the ascendant, and, if their attitude towards 'the race question' prevails, it may eventually provoke a general catastrophe. Yet, the forces of racial toleration, which at present seem to be fighting a losing battle in a spiritual struggle of immense importance to mankind, might still regain the upper hand if any strong influence militating against race consciousness that has hitherto been held in reserve were now to be thrown into the scales. It is conceivable that the spirit of Islam might be the timely reinforcement which would decide this issue in favour of tolerance and peace."

(Professor A. J. Toynbee in *Civilization on Trial*)

**A cultural invasion of the Muslim world by non-Muslim powers**

After the many calamities which have befallen the Muslim world, there is a danger that the tragic legacy of the past will imperceptibly overwhelm the new trend towards an Islamic revival. For during the past centuries the Muslim countries were subjugated by outside powers, which are fully aware that their own supremacy has been erected on the ruins of the old Islamic system and that its continuity depends on keeping the true ideology of Islam submerged. Thus, these powers are consistently determined to distort the real picture of Islam, and to suppress its advocates, their goal being the removal of Islam from the constructive thinking of its followers.

This "cultural invasion", manifested in most of our national programmes of education, was by no means less dangerous, and was certainly more permanent in its effect, than the force of arms. In the first instance, through such cultural influences many anti-Islamic notions entered the minds of Muslims who, due to centuries of intellectual stagnation, were not sufficiently equipped with a clear Islamic concept of what is right and what is wrong. The resulting confusion reached its culminating point among the educated youth, to such an extent that some of them in fact abandoned Islam and lost all faith in God. Only two categories of Muslims managed to escape this moral confusion: those who lived in simple circumstances that preserved their primitive faith vigorous and intact, and the small minority of thinking Muslims, who understood what Islam stands for and tried to live up to it, and for it. These two categories represent, in fact, the ever-recurring element of strength which runs through the entire history of Islam.

**The deification of nationalism amongst Muslims**

One of the worst effects of the materialistic trends emanating from Europe was the birth of a spirit of hazy nationalism among the Muslims. The danger of this trend lies in the fact that nationalism derives its primary appeal from a natural, and, in itself, justifiable emotion in the hearts of men: man's instinctive love of his home and his country. Under the influence of nationalism, the hearts of many Muslims were turned from the fundamental principle of their faith, which places the love of God above all other precepts, and plunged them instead into that blind worship of one's nation, which disregards all moral considerations that may clash with the interests of that particular nation. In effect, many Muslims were led to prostrate themselves before the new idol of nationalism. Indeed, the nation itself was fashioned into a godhead and its day-to-day legislation was, in many instances, allowed to override the clearly stipulated ordinances of the Qur'anic Law: and this in the face of the explicit statement of the Qur'an (5: 44):

"Those who do not judge in accordance with what God has revealed are indeed unbelievers."

*THE ISLAMIC REVIEW & ARAB AFFAIRS*
This deification of nationalism, which so alarmingly undermines a fundamental principle of Muslim faith, has penetrated, and even become preponderant in, many Muslim lands. Yet, paradoxically enough, the most tragic aspect of its world-wide impact is the fact that the Middle East, once the cradle of Islam, has been drawn into the very centre of the whirling maelstrom. The Arabs, whose name, character and history have been so much identified with Islam, and who were the earliest triumphant bearers of its eloquent message of World Brotherhood, have miserably succumbed to endless internal conflict and mutual recrimination. Even more paradoxical is the parallel phenomenon which manifests itself in this tragic mess: the slogan of Arab nationalism that serves only as a fuel for a rapidly spreading conflagration. Yet, again, the price Islam has been paying for this relapse goes far beyond the boundaries of the Middle East. To the average non-Muslim, the Westerner in particular, not only are the Arabs identified with Islam, but Islam itself is being misconceived by its unfair, unjustifiable identification with the Arabs. Says Professor H. A. R. Gibb, in his Mohammedanism, p. 69: “Islam never identified itself with the Arabs, although at times Arabs have identified themselves with it.” This precise differentiation should have sufficed to safeguard Islam from all distortion, whether at the hands of Arabs or non-Arabs.

Arab Nationalism

In the midst of the topsy-turvy politics of the Middle East, any talk of principles or ideologies might sound too academic to be representative of the area. It is, nevertheless, necessary. For it is only at a purely intellectual level that one can see through the froth and discern the under-currents at work. Let us, for example, view the history of the Arabs as a background against which to examine and follow their active attempts at achieving unity. What shall we see? Always and without exception, it has been Islam alone that has brought unity to the Arabs, and it was only Islam that reunited them after every period of tribal or regional conflicts. Never was there any “Arab unity” without Islam providing its basic concept, and this has always meant a unity of an ideological nature, high above racial or national considerations. Salah-al-Din, who is too often mentioned in this context, was himself a Kurd and not an Arab. Islam was the melting-pot in which, under his leadership, the dissident Middle-Eastern peoples were welded into nationhood. This may well explain what historians call the “chivalry” of Salah-al-Din as compared with the “barbarity” of the Crusaders. For his was a leadership of Islam, of the principles that made him what he was. Says Thomas Arnold: “They had at their head the great Salah-al-Din himself, who is described by his biographer as setting before his Christian guest the beauties of Islam and urging him to embrace it.”

One may even go further and recall another fact of history pertaining to the Middle East. It is the recurrent phenomenon of the appearance of Plato within this area, of the leading prophets of all the great religions of the world: Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, and many others in between. All came from the Middle East, received their revelations on its soil, derived their devoted following and terrible persecution from its people, and terminated their life-long struggles within its frontiers. There must be a reason behind this. Even those to whom Divine Wisdom is unquestionable should ask themselves what was the reason for this recurrent phenomenon.

A politician may tend to conceive the reason in the strategic importance of the area, but — notwithstanding the many historic facts that run politically counter to such reasoning — one should recall that the Prophets aimed at achieving a way of life in which quality and not quantity was the determining factor. That is to say, for the Prophets the art of “strategy” would only apply to the selection of better possibilities for a better presentation of what God demands of man. Once this point is established, one may arrive at either one of two possible explanations. The first is what is often called the “sentimentality” of the people of the Middle East, a characteristic which — though sometimes of dangerous unpredictability — is the natural basis whereupon and wherefrom a Prophet can secure the power of devotion he needs to conquer the hearts of men. Alternatively, one may say that the mission of a Prophet can be completed only after he has tackled the relevant difficulties confronting its ideals and objectives in their most representative forms. Either way, the Middle East continues to be the land of devotion or the most difficult area for reformation. In fact, history proves both suppositions, and thus the remark of Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406 C.E.), the famous social philosopher: “Never without the authority of religion, whether in a prophet or in the work of a follower thereof, can Arabs achieve a stable statehood or come to a real unity. With such strong characteristics of pride, ambition and competition nothing could curb their most difficult stubbornness, except an authority stronger than all subjective considerations... an authority of religion that springs from within.”

Is the rebirth of Arab unity conceivable without Islam?

The question now is: If Arab unity has been so much identified with Islam, on what grounds, then, can one conceive of its rebirth without Islam?

There are certain Arabists, and many interested Westerners — all of whom are of a “practical” political disposition and impatient of any worldly application of religion, any religion — who try hard to limit the significance of the aforementioned background to the least possible compass. Their attitude, at its best, is one of indifference to religion or, too often, of the fashionable attitude of “liberalism” which disregards religion as a matter of principle. But most of them cannot reasonably ignore the fact that the Arabs have always needed an ideology to provide them with a dominant sense of belonging and of satisfaction. Without such an ideology they are discontented, selfishly divisive and ready to respond to any appeal to empty slogans.

Arabism no answer to Communism

This genuine need for an ideology should thus point to a correct approach to the topsy-turvy Middle East. With the Communist movement manoeuvring in the entire area, changing cards and headquarters but never losing sight of its objectives, one may discern the obvious danger underlying the unpredictable ups and downs in the Middle East. Communism is a full-fledged ideology, or, rather, a new “religion” that has its own “holy” books, prophets and disciples. Its network is everywhere and it is subversive by its very nature. It extends its appeal on a variety of levels, thus exploiting different hidden forces on their own ground. Unless there is a counter-ideology that meets its agents everywhere — in farms and factories, in schools and colleges, in cafes and clubs, in libraries and the press, and by all modern means of communication and information — the result will be disastrous. “Arabism” is no answer to Communism. “We are
Arabs” is no answer to “There is no God”. Demagogic politics can only lead to the “Dictatorship of the Proletariat”!

Again, social justice through the raising of the standard of living is but one of the protections we need to counteract the social appeal of Communism. For this is only one of its many faces. Communism is a totalitarian way of life which stems from an exclusive faith in materialism. If materialism were to remain our sole source, wherefrom we derive our outlook and means to counter Communism, then it would be more or less the force of Communism driving us. Again, if force and dictatorial regimes are to be the medium wherewith to crush the dynamism of the Communists, or to check their infiltration, we are, I am afraid, only clutching at straws and making fools of ourselves. All through the course of human history, suppression has only served as a fuel for ideology and faith. An ideology can be countered only by another ideology. Materialism can be countered by a well-balanced code of life, answering the needs of man, both spiritual and material.

For Muslims, it is only natural to seek their ideology in Islam. The Islamic movement is but an organisational expression of this natural urge. As it is becoming more and more clear in the West that this issue is either “Christianity or Communism”, so Muslims in the East are growing more and more conscious of the fact that the issue there is either “Communism or Islam”.

No Discrimination

Discrimination because of religion is a much-feared aspect of any society that is based on a particular religious ideology — the more so when the latter is based on a code of law with a religious connotation and spirit. It is only to be expected, therefore, that one meets with violent controversy whenever one discusses “religion versus nationalism” or the applicability of Islam as a way of life in a society which is composed of non-Muslims as well as of Muslim citizens.

It should be recalled, however, that this controversy has not always been of a purely academic nature. A background of false historical notions seems to have misguided many writers on the subject. In the introduction of his autobiographical book, The Road to Mecca (pp. 7-8), Muhammad Asad has advanced a theory, conceived by him many years ago, which may help us to understand the prejudice against Islam commonly encountered in Western thought. He suggests that the ideas concerning Islam held by Occidentals today can be traced back to the impact of the Crusades on the Western mind. He refers to the “incredulity which greeted the early discoveries of the psychoanalysts when they tried to show that much of the emotional life of a mature person — and most of those seemingly unaccountable leanings, tastes and prejudices comprised in the term ‘idiosyncrasies’ — can be traced back to the experiences of his most formative age, his early childhood . . .”, and adds, “Are nations and civilizations anything but collective individuals? Their development also is bound up with the experiences of their early childhood. As with children, those experiences may have been pleasant or unpleasant; they may have been perfectly rational or, alternatively, due to the child’s naive misinterpretation of an event: the moulding effect of every such experience depends primarily on its original intensity. The century immediately preceding the Crusades, that is, the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, might well be described as the early childhood of Western civilization . . . This was the age when, for the first time since the dark centuries that followed the break-up of Imperial Rome, Europe was beginning to see its own cultural way. Independently of the almost forgotten Roman heritage, new literatures were just then coming into existence in the European vernaculars: inspired by the religious experiences of Western Christianity, fine arts were slowly awakening from the lethargy caused by the war-like migrations of the Goths, Huns and Avars; out of the crude conditions of the early Middle Ages, a new cultural world was emerging. It was at that critical, extremely sensitive stage of its development that Europe received its most formidable shock — in modern parlance, a ‘trauma’ — in the shape of the Crusades.”

After describing the effects of this “shock” on Europe, he observes: “The traumatic experience of the Crusades gave Europe its cultural awareness and its unity; but this same experience was destined henceforth also to provide the false colour in which Islam was to appear to Western eyes . . .” (Ibid., p. 9).

Robert Jackson, ex-Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, later conceived a similar view. He said: “These long and fanatical hostilities, often shamefully conducted on both sides, engraved on the racial memory of the West a fierce and hateful rejection of Islam and all its works as alien to our civilization, our religion and our law” (from his foreword to Law in the Middle East, I, p. 7).

It is really amazing to see many a good Western writer fall a prey to misconceptions about Islam which are in absolute contradiction to its basic tenets. Even some Western-educated Muslim authors have not always been able to overcome the confusion between their attachment to Islam and to what they have read about it in modern Western literature. As for “old-fashioned” Muslim books, they are, as a rule, either composed in an antiquated style which the modern mentality can neither appreciate nor grasp, or their authors are themselves unable to differentiate between the basic tenets of the Qur’an and the Sunnah and the traditional views about Islam held by individual scholars who, however erudite and famous they might be, were always fallible.

Islamic principles and non-Muslims in Muslim countries

Says the Qur’an (4: 58):

“...And if ye (O Muhammad!) judge between mankind, judge justly, Lo! Comely is this which God admonisbeth you, Lo! God is ever Hearer, Seer.”

All moral values, such as justice, equality, honest dealings, etc., are to be held sacred and to be practised irrespective of differences of religion. Their authority is dependent only on their equity, which recognizes no barrier between man and man. In other words, they are the ethical standards of an honest attachment to religion, and thus the more “Islamic” the Muslims become, the better the guarantee to non-Muslims that these moral values will be practised. It should be borne in mind, however, that a Muslim — like any other human being — may fail to live up to these high standards; nevertheless, he never has the right to attribute his deviation to any principle of Islam. Nor has he the right to justify that deviation on any political or economic pretext. For, according to the Islamic concept, moral values are meant to be realized in action and not merely to be accepted in theory. They are alive when people live according to them. The Prophet Muhammad once entered the Mosque of Medina and encountered some Muslims busy studying together. He addressed them in these words: “Acquire of knowledge as
much as you can afford. But always remember that God's reward comes only with action."

Although the de facto status of non-Muslim subjects might be one of unfair discrimination — as occasionally happened in the course of history — their de jure status is always safeguarded in both the Qur'ân and the Sunnah: a status meeting the most objective standards of equity and equality. This de jure status is as stable as any Qur'ânic or Prophetic text could be, and every struggle for re-establishing it in practice in an Islamic State is thereby rendered a constitutional one. Thus, religious conscience is not only not opposed to such a struggle, but definitely demands it. It was in accordance with this principle that Muslim jurists led the Muslim public in a strong protest against the Caliph Walid Ibn Yazid (d. 744 C.E.) when, fearing a Roman attack, he exiled the non-Muslim citizens of Cyprus to Syria. Not before they were brought back to Cyprus was the Caliph allowed to have rest.5 Baladhurî, the famous Muslim historian, reports that once some of the hill-tribes of Lebanon rose in revolt against the Islamic State. "Thereupon the Governor, Sâlih Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abdullâh, despatched an army to crush it and the army put all the male combatants of the revolting group to death. As for the civilians, he exiled some of them and allowed the remaining to live there. The Imam Awažâl was alive in those days, and when he learnt of it he reprimanded Sâlih vehemently. The following extract from the letter he wrote to him speaks for itself: 'Dhimmis of the hill-tribes of the Lebanon have been exiled and you know the fact. Amongst them are men who had not part taken in the revolt. I fail to understand why common people should be punished for the sins of particular individuals and be deprived of their homes and properties. The Qur'ânic injunction is quite clear that ultimately everybody will have to account for his own actions and nobody shall be held responsible for anybody else's actions. This is an eternal and universal injunction, and the best advice, therefore, that I can give to you is to remind you of one of the directives of God's Prophet that he himself will stand up as plaintiff against all such Muslims, who are unkind to those non-Muslims who have entered into an agreement with them and tax them beyond endurance" (Ibid, pp. 64-65).

Dr. Hamidullah on the nature of the Islamic system of law

Says Professor Dr. M. Hamidullah: "One should not forget the great practical importance attached to the fact that Muslims obey their system of law as something of Divine origin, and not merely the will of the majority of the leaders of the country. In this latter case, the minority permits itself a struggle so that its own conceptions prevail; and in the democracies of our time, not only the majorities change from election to election, but are also constituted or disintegrated by all sorts of commutations and combinations, and the party in power tries to upset the policy pursued by its predecessors, causing, among other changes, the modification of laws. Without entering here into the question of the adaptability of Islamic laws to the exigencies of social evolution, it is incontestable that there is a greater stability in the Muslim law — due to its Divine origin — than in any other secular legislation whatsoever. Now the Islamic law ordains justice to, and observance of, certain rules regarding the non-Muslims. These latter therefore feel no apprehension in the face of political quarrels and parliamentary elections of the country of their residence, with regard to the Islamic laws in force."

The Qur'ânic verse 4:105:

"Lo! We reveal unto thee the Scripture with the truth, that thou mayest judge between mankind by that which God showeth thee. And be not thou a pleader for the treacherous."

was revealed, along with eight other verses, acquitting a Jewish citizen of a false charge and condemning a Muslim instead. All commentators unanimously agree that these verses were revealed on the occasion of a dispute between a Muslim and a Jew. The Muslim, Ibn Ubayriq, had stolen a coat of mail, and having hidden it in the house of a Jew, afterwards accused the latter of the theft; he was supported in his false accusation by his tribe. The Prophet, notwithstanding the political intrigues of many Jews at that time, cleared the Jew of the charge and convicted the Muslim. This, as Muhammad 'Ali recalls, "was at a time when every Muslim hand was sorely needed for the defence of Islam, and a verdict against a man supported by his whole tribe meant the loss of that tribe. But such considerations did not carry any weight with the Prophet." Two of the verses revealed in the dispute read as follows:

"Whoso committeth sin, committeth it only against himself. God is ever Knower, Wise. And whoso committeth a delinquency or crime and then throweth (the blame) thereof upon the innocent, hath burdened himself with falsehood and a flagrant crime."

Thus was established a stable standard of equity, which was applied even at the risk of losing a whole tribe, accompanied by the humiliation of a Muslim at a time when the non-Muslim's co-religionists were intriguing against the State. The guilty is guilty and the innocent is innocent, to whatever religion he may belong. Says Dr. Vagliari: "It is no exaggeration to insist that Islam was not satisfied with preaching religious tolerance, but that it made tolerance a part of its religious law." And even the word "tolerance" is not the right term for what we are discussing. For "tolerance" suggests a sense of superiority tempered by charity — which does not apply in this case. It is, rather, placing the honest application of justice between man and man above all other considerations: a lofty principle that corresponds with the Qur'ânic declaration (27:10):

"Surely We have accorded dignity to the sons of Adam."

This can well illustrate the background of such a statement as that of Sir William Muir in his The Caliphate: its Rise and Fall: "Leniency towards the conquered and their justice and integrity presented a marked contrast to the tyranny and intolerance of the Romans . . . The Syrian Christians enjoyed more civil and popular liberty under the Arab invaders than they had done under the rule of Heraclius and they had no wish to return to their former state."

According to the Qur'ân all human beings are fundamentally one and the same

Not only does the authority of moral values, in the name of Islam, transcend every difference of religion; it goes far beyond that. One of Islam's moral principles is the conception that human beings, wherever they live, are fundamentally one and the same. Says the Qur'ân (4:1):

1 Al-Shâhîbî, al-Muwâfaqât, I, pp. 64-65.
2 Abû al-Âidh Maudoodi, Islamic Law and Constitution, p. 188.
3 Introduction to Islam, No. 1, p. 135.
5 The Qur'ân 4:111-112.
6 Laura Vecchia Vagliari, An Interpretation of Islam, p. 25.
"O mankind, revere your Lord, Who created you from a single soul and made out of it a pair, and there-upon brought forth multitudes of men and women."

The goal of human life is for people to come closer together and to know each other better, and not to become estranged from, and hostile to, one another:

"O people! Behold, We have created you from a male and a female and made out of you nations and tribes so that you may know one another (and be good to one another). The noblest among you before God is the best in conduct. Behold, God is the Knower, the Aware. (The Qur'an 49:13)

This implies that the Muslim, by virtue of his faith, ought to be deeply attached to mankind as a whole and conscious of the fact that geographical borders, political divisions and differences in appearance, race or language, should not be a barrier between man and man. Or, as Canon Taylor has put it: "It (Islam) thrust aside the artificial virtues, the religious frauds and follies, the perverted moral sentiments, and the verbal subtleties of theological disputants. It replaced monkishness by manliness. It gave hope to the slave, brotherhood to mankind, and recognition to the fundamental facts of human nature."

The Islamic Conception of Nationality

It is upon this basic notion that the Islamic conception of nationality is founded. The very term "nationality", which is a derivation from "nation", implies an historic attachment to the distinctions of race, common descent, language, history or political institutions, all of which have contributed to the build-up of a legal definition of "nationality". That is why Oppenheim had to warn of the confusion between nationality, in the sense of citizenship of a certain state, and nationality in the sense of belonging by race to a particular nation. There is no such confusion in Islam; out of all this gradually developed conception of nationality, only the administrative concept of nationality is acceptable to it. By this we mean the necessary organization which men need for their grouping, as well as for the interrelations between the various groups. Such an organization should be so administered that no prejudices and no considerations other than ideals and moral values are allowed to separate man from man or group from group. "Nationality" should neither involve a separation between human beings, nor should it imply the narrow conception of a nationalism that is based on an alleged supremacy on linguistic or ethnological lines. In other words, the character or quality deriving from membership in a particular nation or state can only be determined by each member's basic allegiance to his conscience; a conscience which is free from all prejudice. Thus, the political status and allegiance which arises from this membership are to be based upon two fundamentals: (1) allegiance to one's own conscience, and (2) social allegiance to the society in which one lives. Any deviation from either of these fundamentals constitutes individual or social hypocrisy, for sound membership of a society can only result from conscientious reciprocity. But once conscience is involved, religion steps in with its claim to authority; and thus it has been all through history. Whether one likes it or not, conscience and religion are very intimate; rather, they are one in every religious conception and in every religion. How then, could social life be built up among people whose sciences are dominated by different religions? An adequate answer to this question, however, is more of an ethical nature, and, therefore, not quite relevant to the subject of nationality as treated by modern legal systems. The fact remains that in any society religion should be given its proper place, so that every individual might act in accordance with his conscience, and all individuals might co-operate, despite their adherence to different religions.

This is particularly applicable to Islam, which, since its very birth, not only discarded all artificial barriers between man and man, but further introduced the objective conception of the ethnocentric oneness of all men as a matter of faith and of polity. As with every other of its moral principles, Islam aimed to set in practice what it preached. Says Kenneth Cragg: "Muhammad founded a state. He did not merely launch a religion. Perhaps even that distinction is unsound. We should perhaps say that he launched a religion in founding a State." History records how heterogeneous races, nations and linguistic units mingled peacefully in the Islamic State for many centuries. A. von Kremer writes: "Out of the numerous tribes, big and small, of a hundred different kinds that were incessantly at feud with one another, Muhammad's word created a nation. The idea of a common religion under one common head bound the different tribes together into one political organism which developed its peculiar characteristics with surprising rapidity. Now only one great idea could have produced this result, viz. the principle of national life in heathen Arabia. The clan-system was thus for the first time, if not entirely crushed — that would have been impossible — yet made subordinate to the feeling of religious unity. The great work succeeded, and when Muhammad died, there prevailed over by far the greater part of Arabia a peace of God such as the Arab tribes, with their love of plunder and revenge, had never known; it was the religion of Islam that had brought about this reconciliation."

But this reconciliation was not brought about only between the Muslims in the Islamic State. It was an all-embracing society in which people of different religions lived side by side as equals. Romera Navarro, a Spanish historian, writes in his book Histoire d'Espagne that "under their (the Muslims') regime, the Hispano-Roman and Visigothic inhabitants of the peninsula preserved their property, their laws, their judges, their churches and their priests. The living conditions of the cultivators of the soil, of the slaves and of the Jews were much improved. The Jews, in particular, who had been cruelly persecuted during the period of Visigothic monarchy, enjoyed during the Arab epoch, entire liberty: they were allowed to participate in the new Government and to occupy positions in its administration... There, men of all sects and of all races lived together in liberty. While in Christian Europe fanaticism reigned, here tolerance was practised."

And let us say here that — however strange it might sound to people reared in the modern conceptions of nationality and nationalism, whether based on theory or on actual practice — the fact remains, as Arnold Toynbee has

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7 Paper read before the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, 7 October 1887. Quoted by Thos. Arnold in his The Preaching of Islam, pp. 71-72.
8 "Nation: Distinct race or people having common descent, language, history or political institutions" (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, p. 785).
9 Oppenheim, International Law, 1, p. 644.
10 Kenneth Cragg, The Call of the Minaret, pp. 159-160.
The Early Arabs as Champions of Islam

“To the early Arabs, no danger was to great and no hurdle impossible to Surmount”

By Shaykh AHMAD HASAN al-BAQURI

Islam’s expansion compared with movements before it

During the first one hundred years following the emergence of the Message of Islam, this new faith was able to spread out its wings from east to west. It covered within its fold races and nations inhabiting regions which extended from the Pacific ocean in the east to the Atlantic ocean in the west. This fact is noteworthy and significant, for not until the emergence of Islam had any religion or faith of any kind been able to achieve such universality during such a short period of time.

The extraordinary strength and momentum with which the Arabs were able to emerge from the Arabian desert and penetrate into east and west is an amazing historical fact. It is also a unique phenomenon, recognized as such by all historians. The spread of Islam is unique not only by virtue of its fast progress, but also because this progress was accompanied with social and economic progress and development, resulting in the economic and moral uplift of the inhabitants of the countries visited by this faith.

History had earlier witnessed Alexander the Great and his sweeping conquests and adventures, and had known of the victories of the Moghuls and the Tartars, and of Napoleon. But all these were reduced to insignificance when compared with the progress of Islam. Before Islam, territorial conquests had also been characterized with violence and oppression against the defeated peoples, and destruction, depredation and injustice always accompanied such conquests. But Islam had none of these attributes. It was a movement which progressed on its journey from one country to another carrying a torch of light which disseminated the darkness of ignorance and injustice. And the nations which inhabited the countries to which Islam came rejoiced at this faith’s gifts of freedom, enlightenment and security.

Islam is easy to comprehend

Those who have studied the religion of Islam and who appreciate the purport of its Message will not find difficulty in explaining this apparently baffling event. They will understand why the religion of Islam spread at a speed with which no other religion had been able to spread before or after Islam. Students of Islam will also appreciate the role which the Arab nation played in making this progress possible; for the Arabs were the first to adopt this new faith and to champion it zealously and enthusiastically, and to devote their whole lives and fortunes to the task of making it an unqualified success.

Islam is a religion which aims first and foremost at directing the attention of the people to their Creator, and at spreading love and fraternity amongst mankind irrespective of race or colour. The Message of Islam has always been crystal clear and within the comprehension of the simplest of folk. It needs no clever dialectics or hair-splitting arguments to convince people of its value and wisdom. Once people rid themselves of their prejudices and bias, and examine the Message of Islam with an open mind, this faith can never fail to impress them with its praiseworthy attributes. Here lies the eternal truth about Islam.

History tells us that several religions and faiths were sooner or later after their emergence subjected to abuse and distortion, which eventually undermined them. There was never a scarcity of people who sought to utilize new creeds as means of achieving selfish ambitions, and as instruments for personal gain. The simplicity of the masses was always exploited by people who, under the cloak of religion, worked and plundered by devious methods to realize their ulterior motives.

The Arabs as champions of Islam

Islam, however, was fortunate in this respect. Those who carried its message in the early days possessed such attributes as enabled this new faith to march ahead, pure and unadulterated, from one country to another. The Arabs, the first bearers of the torch of Islam, were courageous and strong-willed, and well fitted to fulfill the noble task entrusted to them. It is noteworthy in this connection to recall a verse in the Qur’an (6 : 125), in which we read:

“God knows best where to place His Message.”

The Arabs were quick to realize that the new religion of Islam was a worthy cause, for which they should mobilize their strength and resources, both material and spiritual. Its new teachings impressed them very much, and enabled them to organize themselves into a powerful force. From amongst the Arabs there came forward men who devoted themselves with unequalled sincerity to the propagation and protection of the new faith, and who emerged from their traditional abodes to travel far and wide in the globe with the new Message.
The conquests made by the Muslims in various parts of the world were less military in their nature than any other conquests known to history. The Muslims who invaded foreign countries were more like social reform missionaries than anything else. They busied themselves with the remedying of social and other ills which afflicted the communities with which they came into contact. These Muslim conquerors were not concerned with subjugating the inhabitants of the new countries. They hated bloodshed, as much as they hated amassing wealth by draining the resources of countries and exacting heavy dues and taxes from the people. To them, the paramount task was to relieve their new subjects of the mischief which had enveloped them as a result of misuse and corrupt social doctrines. For this reason, there never was any serious enmity between the Muslim conquerors and the peoples of the countries they conquered. Where the new subjects accepted Islam, the Arabs gave them full rights and privileges and accepted them as their kin and equals. Where they did not accept Islam, however, they were treated gently and tactfully, so like the way in which a physician treats his patient. It was only fair and wise in such cases, where the “patients” refused to take the medicine, to try and “isolate” them from the other “healthy” members of the community — and hence the imposition of the jizyah — the special tax levied on non-Muslims. The prompt payment of the jizyah was all that was required of the non-Muslim. He was left entirely free in other respects to believe what he liked and practise his beliefs without restriction, provided he did not try to induce others, and particularly Muslims, to share his beliefs.

How the Arabs triumphed

These thoughts on the progress of Islam flashed across my mind as I proceeded on a tour of the Far East, when I visited Indonesia, China, the Philippines, Java, India and Pakistan. It was always a thrill to me to meet Muslims of all classes in these countries who were descendents of the original Arab conquerors of these lands. The question always came to my mind — how did the Arabs find it possible to reach these parts of the world at a time when communications were difficult and the dangers of travel great? But the answer was simple. No danger was too great, and no hurdle impossible to surmount, to the Arabs in those days. They were driven forward with a fiery spirit and a strong determination, which reduced to insignificance everything else. And that spirit and determination came from Islam, the faith which made of the weak and disorganized Arabs of the desert a strong and united force of tremendous power. The dark oceans, the barren deserts, the impassable mountains, the bitterly cold winters, and the scorchingly hot summers, all succumbed to this spirit and determination.

The flag of Islam flew high and dignified over a part of Europe, and from there the light of Islam was diffused to other distant parts of the world.

An al-Azhar Fatawa on the uses of Zakah al-Fitr

Can the Zakah al-Fitr Money be used to build a Mosque, Library, etc.?

"After studying the question concerning the Zakáh al-Fitr in connection with the building of a mosque and an Islamic library, the Fatáwá Committee of al-Azhar, Cairo, decides that, according to the Qur’ánic verse 9:60, the Zakáh al-Fitr would be distributed among the following people: the poor and needy; and those employed to administer (the funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of God; and for the wayfarer.

"There is no clear statement about a mosque in the above-mentioned list of beneficiaries of the Zakáh but the Qur’ánic verse “in the cause of God” also applies to mosques and Islamic libraries. The majority of the learned Imams have confirmed that the words in the verse fi sábil Allâh apply to Jihád against Kuffár, but the meaning of the words could not be confined only to Jihád, for it has a much deeper and wider connotation. This is why some of the learned Imams hold the view that this verse covers all good actions which serve the cause of the Muslim community and that the doers of such actions would be rewarded. According to the above interpretation the building of a mosque and an Islamic library are also covered by fi sábil Allâh.

"Undoubtedly the fundamental aim of the Zakáh al-Fitr is to look after the poor and the needy and to support Jihád against Kuffár.

"Taking into consideration the purpose of the Zakáh al-Fitr in its wide sense and the interpretation by the learned Imams, the Fatáwá Committee are of opinion that some amount from the Zakáh al-Fitr funds can be used in building a mosque and an Islamic library, while a part of it should be utilised for Jihád; if necessary, as well as for the poor, if they could be found, so that their financial requirements would not be jeopardised and by acting in this way (i.e. distributing the Zakáh among the poor, building a mosque and an Islamic library, etc.) the aim of the Shi`át `ah, as explained by the learned Imams, in connection with the words fi sábil Allâh, would be achieved.

"God knows best."

1 The original, in Arabic, is at The Islamic Cultural Centre, London, N.W.8.

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put it, that "as things are now, the exponents of racial intolerance are in the ascendant, and, if their attitude towards the race question' prevails, it may eventually provoke a general catastrophe. Yet, the forces of racial toleration, which at present seem to be fighting a losing battle in a spiritual struggle of immense importance to mankind, might still regain the upper hand if any strong influence militating against race consciousness that has hitherto been held in reserve were now to be thrown into the scales. It is conceivable that the spirit of Islam might be the timely reinforcement which would decide this issue in favour of tolerance and peace."

13 Arnold Toynbee, Civilization on Trial, pp. 205-206.
Islamic Studies as a University Discipline

In the Muslim Universities of Cordova, Seville, Granada, Baghdad and those of today, tradition recognised an identity of values, in the studies of Science, Philosophy, Theology, Law and Music

By Dr. A. M. MOHAMED MACEKIN

I

An outline of the concept and definition of Islamic studies

The members of the Inter-University Council Delegation, headed by Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, were invited to advise on the scope and structure of a proposed university of Northern Nigeria. Their report was published in April 1961. A feature of enormous interest in this report is the recommendation concerning the institution of a "school of Islamic Studies" as an integral school of the proposed university of Northern Nigeria. Behind this bold proposal lay an imaginative grasp of the scope and trends in the changing intellectual horizons of Islam. The concept and definition of Islamic studies as a university discipline in the modern era bears far-reaching implications, which I propose to outline in the following pages. The area for a wider discussion of this theme was depicted in an abstract contributed to the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, held in New Delhi in January 1964, on inspiration drawn from recent developments in the universities of Northern Nigeria and Malaya in this field of interest.

It goes without saying that institutions of higher learning and education and the search for knowledge in a spirit of inquiry and sustained devotion were stable traditions cherished and freely fostered in the early history of Islam. But under the stimulus of changing political and economic patterns of the twentieth century and the accompanying release of fresh energy and intellectual vigour, the subject appears as a new star in an old firmament. A project of the scope and purpose of that envisaged in the setting up of a school of Islamic studies in a modern university is, therefore, fraught with questions of immense interest to educationists the world over. This brief essay is not an analysis of the specific recommendations of the Carr-Saunders Commission, but rather an attempt to capture something of the range of the issues involved in the emergence of the present drive towards constituting "Islamic Studies" or "Islamics", as some would call it, in a university grouping.

Semantic Interpretation

The semantics of the term "Islamic Studies" provides scope for interpretations at once infinite and challenging. The expansion of Islam, it must be remembered, led the way, on the one hand, to a unique integration of peoples and cultures and, on the other, to a wide range of intense intellectual activity which embraced the classical Muslim achievements in historiography, philology, belles-lettres, medicine, mathematics and that supreme science, geography, which blossomed in all its aspects—political, organic, mathematical, astronomical, natural science and travel. These are but a few of the landmarks in the historical development of Islam and its civilization. The geographical area of Islam as eventually built up bore the impress of a truly heterogeneous belt of adherents—Arabs, Persians, Berbers, Caucasians, Copts, Slavs, Turks, Kurds, Tartars, Chinese, Indians, Indonesians, Malays, Africans—and comprised ethnic and linguistic groups of widely differing tastes and attainments.

This vast empire of Islam stretching from the fringes of the Maghrib in the West across the Middle East to Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, China and the Philippines, represents also an amazing amalgam of languages and the cultures associated with them—Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Berber, Urdu, Malay, Chinese and a number of dialects. Of all these tongues, Arabic, the original medium of transmission of Islam, enjoyed a pre-eminence in many ways unparalleled in the history of the world. It was not merely the language of the Arabs but the common channel through which the Persians, Turks, Berbers, Copts and others expressed the intel-

2 This abstract is limited to a discussion of the structure of the theme and the method of inquiry; cf. R. N. Dandekar, Summaries of Papers, 26th International Congress of Orientalists (New Delhi, 1964), pp. 66-67.
3 The Department of Islamic Studies in the University of Malaya was established in the year 1959 and is subject to the authority of the University Senate in all but executive matters, for which the ultimate authority is the Council of the Muslim College, which, in the exercise of its functions, normally acts on the advice of the University. The Muslim College, founded in 1955, is a centre of Muslim theological learning modelled on the Azhar prototype, and is outside the jurisdiction of the University. However, it finds the constitutional basis for its existence in the sanction derived from the Conference of Rulers, the supreme authority on all matters pertaining to Islam in the country.
lectual achievements and culture of the Muslim empire. It was in Arabic and in the Middle East that Islam received its first classical formulations and identity. The pages of Broekelmann’s *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, a monumental work on the history of Arabic literature and bibliography, bear ample testimony to the inescapable fact that the literary history of Islam was indeed the literary history of Arabic.

Though with the progressive disintegration of the Muslim world — from about the tenth century onwards — Persian and Turkish and, in contemporary times, other regional languages like Indonesian, Urdu, Malay and Hausa, superseded Arabic as the chief literary medium outside Arabic-speaking countries, yet the universal appeal and the common historic identity which Arabic evokes in the minds of the Muslims, whatever be their nationality and language, are ineffaceable. The re-emergence of Persian, with its rich vocabulary of Arabic loan-words, and Turkish, with its close dependence on Arabic and Persian borrowings, far from narrowing the scope for creative expression in Islam, widened its horizons to astonishing dimensions in which especially the Persian genius rose to the heights of brilliant creative vision. Given a lease of peace and internal stability, much is expected of the other regional languages of Islam now in their periods of animated self-expression. These languages, though displaying structural differences, are united by a common cultural tradition maintained chiefly by their adoption of Arabic loanwords and the script. It is quite apparent, therefore, that Islamic studies, on whatever basis they be defined, must for all times rest on the foundations of Arabic philology and literature. Just as the learning of Latin was fundamental to the study of Western Christianity, so is Arabic to the study of Islam, with this difference, that Arabic is still a living force in a wide geographical area, and the language of speech, literature, legislation, songs and the cinema from North Africa to the frontiers of Iran. To countless Muslims the world over it is still the language of greetings, of sermons, of religious festivities, of *ma'wld* sessions and, above all, the language of the Qur’ān and the Prophet’s Traditions. To anticipate, therefore, that Arabic will eventually be relegated to the fate that befell Latin in Christendom may not be justified.

**To Muslims Islam meant a faith as well as a civilization**

Notwithstanding the breadth of its political, cultural and linguistic domain, the nomenclature “Islamic Studies” appeared in the eyes of the non-specialists — this includes Muslims and others, particularly of Western Christian persuasion — as essentially a term grouping theological studies of defined purpose and content. They who have this impression are not entirely unimaginative. After all, Islam arose and matured into one of the great monotheistic religions of the world with a revealed Scripture and a chosen Prophet. It was a dominant religious force of world-wide consequence. All forms of human thought and activity, whether in the political, cultural, intellectual, economic, legal or scientific fields, were ultimately subordinated to the dictates of religion, and efforts were not spared by the ablest of the Muslim thinkers to rationalize apparent inconsistencies into a real unity. But those who are nurtured in the political and religious climate of the West, with its established traditions of the Church and the State, Christianity and Christendom, saw in Islam the parallel of Christianity in its relation to Christendom and nothing more. To them it was solely a religious phenomenon. To Muslims Islam meant not merely a faith but a civilization, not simpy, as in the West, a system of belief and worship divorced from political, cultural and national interests but a whole ideology. In short, it is a “term that corresponds to Christendom as well as Christianity in the West.”

This central point in the whole movement of Islam must be understood and appreciated in its proper context if the claims of a civilization like that of Islam, in which even the Jews and the Christians, protected by the tolerance of the Muslim State, participated and made significant contributions, are to be translated into practical terms. In a graphic description of the civilization that is Islam, an outstanding contemporary scholar observes: “The arcade and the minaret of the mosque, the arabesque and geometrical patterns of decoration, the rules of sequence and association of both poetry and cookery — all these, despite many variations, show a fundamental unity of tradition and aesthetic which is Islamic, and which derives essentially from Middle Eastern — Arabic, Persian or Turkish — archetypes. In music, buildings, carpets and koubas, this unity in diversity of Islamic civilization can be heard, touched, seen and tasted. It is also present, though less easy to identify and understand, in such things as law, government and institutions, in social and political attitudes and ideas.”

The demand for the establishment of departments or schools of Islamic Studies in modern universities was the academic expression of a trend that emerged from the scattered embers of a civilization in revolt in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The idea, therefore, is of recent origin, having its roots probably in the revivalist movements of the Muslims in India from the nineteenth century onwards. The circumstances that led to this reaction are to be found in the somewhat harrowing tale of the history of Muslim education as it evolved through the disruptive forces of the post-classical period and in its subsequent confrontation with the political, economic and intellectual hegemony of the West, beginning in the eighteenth century. Already by the end of the ninth century, after a long period of vigorous agitation and conflict, Islam had been furnished with a firm intellectual basis. The classical formulations of Muslim thought, idealized and impractical in certain respects as they were, had emerged from the formidable challenges of the ‘Abbāsid regime and had stood the test of the pulls exerted, on the one hand, by the birth of “a new social order based on a peace economy of trade and agriculture with a cosmopolitan ruling class of officials, merchants, bankers, landlords and the ‘Ulamā,”’ and, on the other, by the great philosophical controversies of the age, like those of Mu’tazilite rationalism, free thought, Hellenic philosophy and Shi’ism.

**A fateful dichotomy**

Viewed in its broader setting beyond the immediate limits of religious orthodoxy, the most remarkable feature in the whole history of Muslim intellectualism is its flexibility

9 Ibid., p. 25.
10 See ibid., pp. 21-22, for the rôle of the Christians and the Jews in the Islamic Empire.
14 Published in five volumes: Vols. I and II (G) in 1898-1902 (reprinted in 1943-49); Vols. I, II and III (Suppl.) in 1937, 1938 and 1942; Broekelmann interprets Arabic literature in the widest term of Islamic civilization, classifying his materials into “Arabic National Literature” and “Islamic Literature in the Arabic Language”, which includes the entire range of the literary and intellectual groundwork of Islam, whether it relates to prose and poetry or to theology, law and science.

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and mutability within an area limited only by the spiritual and moral conscience of Islam. The starting point, however, of the devolution that followed from the tenth century and thereafter was the rift that occurred between representatives of secular Muslim interests and those of the ideal Law. The result was indeed a false dichotomy which, through the intrinsogeneity of either one or both of these factions, and derived from other historical and political causes, eventually erected a permanent barrier between what turned out to be two distinct and opposing schools of thought. Their differences, at best a matter of personal, political and legal attitudes, were between those who postulated an ideal Islamic State and those who accommodated some compromise between idealism and practice. This conflict in political conviction did not however, extend to the educational field straightforwardly.

For many centuries Muslim studies apparently preserved a certain freedom in the curriculum which included the theological, linguistic and legal subjects given at the mosques, and also supplementary courses in philosophy and science. Well known scholars like al-Fārábī, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), al-Rāzī, al-Khwārizmī and al-Kindī, who rose to international levels of scholarship, were splendid examples of the products of classical Muslim education. With the gradual breakup of the Muslim empire and the emergence of subsequent provincialism, the intellectual horizon became narrower and narrower, until it was reduced, in the name of Muslim education, to one of theological definition in which the study of alien subjects was discredited and even viewed with grave suspicion. Western penetration of the Muslim countries, which began from about the eighteenth century, with its entire machinery of confrontation, at last sealed the fate of Islamic education. Henceforth it was to embrace only the traditional religious topics and to be geared only to the needs of practical religion and family life.

New economic, political and intellectual challenges

From about the middle of the eighteenth century, mankind as a whole was challenged by new economic, political and intellectual concepts. It was the age of machinery, democracy and free thought. Round the steam engine, the factory and the industrial town grew powerful economic thought. On the political plane arose ideas concerning the cosmopolitan world-state. In intellectual and spiritual spheres, a deep faith in reason, which brushed aside the authority of tradition, inspired humanity into dependence on the discoveries of science. These enormous forces stretched out to the very heartlands of Islam. New concepts and norms of education arose and were embodied in the curricula of modern universities. These stood in sharp contrast with the institutes of traditional Islamic learning, which carried the names of madrasah and māhad. That rift in classical Islam, earlier confined to the realm of political attitudes, at last found its way into the educational system. The result was a duality of the educational system with an astonishing disparity of standards between them. The ultimate practical outcome of this calamity is the juxtaposition of two categories of scholastic enclaves. One is the modern university, aided and recognized by the State, whose graduates represent the cream of the intelligentsia and are assured reasonable economic rewards. The other is the Muslim theological seminary, mostly maintained by private endowments, which produces scholars with a definite religious bias and provides no comparable guarantee of economic security.

This is not the place to discuss the ethics of the rôle of the West in its domination of Muslim countries. Here I may refer the reader to an admirable chapter on this theme written with profound and candid scholarship by Professor Bernard Lewis in his recent work The Middle East and the West. That the West brought many benefits to the conquered lands of Islam is incontrovertible, but that they also deeply damaged institutions of Muslim polity and society is now an acknowledged fact. Referring to the Middle East, Professor Bernard Lewis sets out his observations with great lucidity: “From time to time in recent years Middle Eastern thinkers have put the question: what is the result of all this Westernization? It is a question which we of the West may well ask ourselves too. It is our complacent habit in the Western world — the more so the further west one goes — to make ourselves the model of virtue and progress. To be like us is to be good; to be unlike us is to be bad. To become more like us is to improve; to become less like us is to deteriorate. It is not necessarily so. When civilizations clash there is one that prevails and one that is shattered. Idealists and ideologues may talk glibly of “a marriage of the best elements” from both sides, but the usual result of such an encounter is a cohabitation of the worst.”

It was with the dawn of the awareness that a civilization had been put on trial by corrosive forces that Muslims began to respond to the challenge with firm convictions, or perhaps in Turkey, where the Kemalist revolution, failing to create fresh stimulus to invigorate the flagging energies of a deformed civilization, translated a military defeatism into abject surrender on all fronts to the forces of disruption. But the position has greatly improved in recent years, especially with the constitution in 1958 of the National Commission on Education, which at last discovered for the good of the country and its people the true image of Turkish civilization.

Universities in the Muslim world

In the field of higher education, however, this response expressed itself in three types of development in all Muslim countries, as shown in the table drawn elsewhere. First, new departments or whole faculties of Islamic and Arabic Studies came to be established within the framework of modern national universities. At the start this trend was more pronounced in the universities of India, which thenceforth provided the award of degrees in Islamic and Arabic Studies. “Islamic Studies” thus received their first academic, though somewhat inarticulate, form as a university grouping. In our times, with the rapid expansion of universities and the birth of a new consciousness, the concept of “Islamic Studies” as a University course is beginning to provide new avenues of knowledge and research. The universities of


14 See infra and notes 48, 49, for curricula of the universities at Cordova and Granada.

15 For scope of Muslim traditional education see S. & N. Ronart, Concise Encyclopedia of Arabic Civilization (Amsterdam, 1959), s.v. Education; there were many aspects in the curricular studies which had no practical significance whatever.

16 This work contains the substance of six public lectures delivered by Professor Lewis at Indiana University, Bloomington, in 1963, and is published as An Encounter Book, London, 1963-64; Chap. II deals with “The Impact of the West”.

17 Bernard Lewis, ibid., p. 45.

18 Ibid., p. 43.


20 See Appendix; the table is based on materials culled from The World of Learning, London, 1961-62, and from the International Handbook of Universities, Edinburgh, 1962. See also Enc. of Islam (New Edition), s.v. “Djami‘ah”.

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Aligarh, Decca, Karachi, Punjab, Sind, Cairo and the Université Islam in Djakarta provide evidence of this category of development, while the newly founded universities of Malaya, Northern Nigeria, Ibadan, King Sa’ūd University of al-Riyād, and the remodelled university of al-Azhar stand as examples of recent origin symptomatic of new trends.

Second, there arose universities like those of Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Rabat, Baghdad and Indonesia, in which certain courses on Islam were integrated and assigned within the organization of existing departments in the realm of Arts covering the usual disciplines of language, literature, history, law, and so on, without the establishment of an independent department of Islamic Studies. In the University of Cairo, Islamic Studies found a place of their own under the aegis of a faculty which went by the name of Dār-al-‘Ulam.23 the title of an institute founded in 1871 for studies related to religion, language, literature and engineering science. In 1946 this institute was brought within the University with the full rank of a faculty after some reorganization and changes.

Third, in a few universities of the Middle East, like those of Ankara and Tehran, and in the Muslim University of Aligarh, studies in Islam were incorporated within the university structure under a more specific classification as faculties or departments of theology based on Western models of the faculties of divinity and theology found in the major universities of Europe to this day. As a result of the gradual recovery from the shock of its banishment by Kemal Atatürk, Turkish ideology has of recent years found healthy outlets in the sphere of education, especially with an Islamic bias. The School of Divinity, created in 1949 “to study religious principles in the light of scholarly principles,“24 and the Advanced Islamic Institute, founded in 1959 in Istanbul for “furthering the understanding of Islam in the light of contemporary science and social principles,”25 are two institutions born out of necessity.

The Azhar University

Side by side with these new universities, the well-known centres26 of theological learning — the former Azhar in Cairo, the Zaytūnā in Tunis, the Qarawiyyīn in Morocco, and many others elsewhere — with their roots deep in the past, continued to produce the mass of the ‘Ulamā’. These seats of learning, despite their decline, rigidity, and loss of recognition, still enjoyed the enormous support of an overwhelming public opinion. In recent times these traditional academies, too, have felt the impact of the changing needs and notions of the present era. While retaining their original colour, adjustments are being made with great circumspection both in the curricula of studies and in staff recruitment. Whether these bodies would eventually vanish out of the scene or blossom into entirely new types of institutions is difficult to forecast. The new University of al-Azhar,27 proclaimed in 1961, is a modern Muslim university, built upon a thoroughly Muslim conscience and comprising the following constituent colleges:28 Colleges of Islamic Studies,29 College of Arabic Studies, College of Management and Administration, College of Engineering and Industry, College of Agriculture, College of Medicine. Each of these colleges is presided over by a dean30 and his deputy,31 while a director32 supervises the entire academic and administrative functioning of the University. The University of al-Azhar (Jamā‘ah al-Azhar), it must be explained here, is only a single constituent of the wider Azhar organization, which comprises, in addition to the University, an Academy for Islamic Research,33 a Department of Culture and Islamic Missions,34 the Azhar Colleges,35 and a Supreme Azhar Council.36 In this Council, with the Shaykh of al-Azhar as its head, is vested the ultimate authority for the government of the entire Azhar — a huge organization which seeks to treasure the grandeur that al-Azhar always was. The Shaykh of al-Azhar, in addition to being the symbolic head37 of the whole Azhar, is also the recognized authority on all questions relating to Islam in al-Azhar.

A novel feature in this set-up is the appointment of a Government Minister, probably of cabinet rank, for al-Azhar. This bold step and complete breach with the past of a centre of learning so ancient, mighty and unforgettable as that of al-Azhar is but a facet of a civilization that has refused to capitulate. Whether or not this modernization of the structure of al-Azhar is the solution to the academic problems that surrounded the educational curricula of the former Azhar is a question best left to later generations to answer.

The Islamic University at Medina

There is no doubt, however, that two contemporary events of momentous educational interest to the entire Muslim world are the rebirth of al-Azhar with a revolutionized programme, and the founding of an Islamic University38 in Medina in the year 1960. This Medinan University, created for Islamic theological studies, is the modern counterpart of the previous Azhar in Cairo. Based on the prototype of traditional theological seminaries, its courses are related to religious sciences39 and cater for the needs of an international student population converging in Medina from all parts of the world of Islam. It is, of course, too early to evaluate its scope and purpose at this stage. One cannot, however, fail to observe a definite pattern of response in the nature of these two developments. The former Azhar was situated in Cairo in a zone that was the meeting point of successive waves of Western domination and influence, while the University of Medina has risen in a city that is the sacred territory of Islam, sheltered and far removed from the immediate confrontation of the West. The ruthless reformation and expansion of al-Azhar a few years ago represent the triumphant effort of a sovereign Muslim country to accord to Islamic

22 Nuri Eren, op. cit., p. 201. 23 Ibid., p. 201.
24 Some of these survive as “Universities,” e.g. Université Qarawiyyīn, Fez, Morocco, and Université Zeitounienne in Tunis. Cf. International Handbook of Universities, op. cit., pp. 464, 582; in Asia countless such centres still exist as madrasah.
26 The following are the Arabic names of these colleges respectively: kulliyāt li al-dirāsāh al-islāmiyyah; kulliyāt li al-ārābiyyah; kulliyāt al-mu‘āmalat wa al-idārah; kulliyāt al-handāsiyyah wa al-sindī‘at; kulliyāt al-zirā‘ah; kulliyāt al-tibb. See Al-Azhār fi iḥnā‘ ‘as‘aruh ‘āmīm, p. 110.
27 The number of colleges for Islamic studies is to be determined by the Schedule: the former kulliyāt usūl al-din and kulliyāt al-ṣab‘ah are still retained and form two of the Colleges of Islamic Studies. Cf. al-Azhār fi iḥnā‘ as‘aruh ‘āmīm, pp. 110, 237.
28 Arabic ‘amīm. 29 Arabic wakil.
29 Arabic madir. The Director is appointed by Presidential decree on the suggestion of the Shaykh of al-Azhār and the sponsoring by the Minister of al-Azhār.
31 Majmaʿ al-ḥukūt al-islāmiyyah.
32 Islārah al-ḥaqqāqīyah wa al-ḥaqqāth al-islāmiyyah.
33 Al-Ma‘ārif al-Azhārīyah.
34 Al-Mu‘allaj al-‘āthā li al-Azhār.
35 Al-Imām al-Azhār.
37 Ibid., p. 885.
studies their proper place in the realm of knowledge, while the establishment of an independent Islamic university in Medina on the lines of the former Azhar implies, above all, an innocent perpetuation of the very cause which al-Azhar, after centuries of trial, error and foreign confrontation, has finally condemned to extinction.

Brief reference may be made at this point to the place accorded to studies of Arabic and Islam in Western universities. These developed in a different way in the West. Islamic studies are not a grouping usually found in a country like Great Britain. Formerly Orientalism was in a sense co-extensive with imperialism, and found patronage in the departments of Oriental studies or in those which represented either regional or language interests. Islam was seen essentially as a regional or ethnic phenomenon which lent itself to classification on a linguistic basis. A department of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, therefore, would include departments of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and so on.

The problem of Islamic studies as a university discipline

The problem of Islamic studies as a university discipline is not merely one of semantic interpretation, but also one of location. Could a department of Islamic studies be incorporated into the academic design of modern non-denominational universities founded upon the concepts of free and independent inquiry and owing no allegiance to any one religion or ideology? It may be argued that Islam, being one of the monotheistic religions of the world, would necessarily involve studies which rotate around certain basic dogmatic postulates and would, therefore, be inimical to free research and investigation. It has often been said that the culture which pervades modern universities is scientific, the very opposite of the "classical culture" which has for so long dominated our educational thinking.

Is it, therefore, a workable proposition to graft one set of values into that of another? The nature, purpose and value of university education are matters which could be debated endlessly. But the answer to this question may be summarized as follows: first, the question represents a die-hard reactionary tendency among those, Muslims and others alike, whose thoughts are conditioned by an extremely limited vision of the fundamentals of Islam. The solution to this problem has already emerged in the rise of the modern universities in almost all Muslim countries in which studies pertaining to Islam were instituted in one of the three ways enumerated earlier. Furthermore, the question as it stands above reveals a glaring misconception of the nature and scope of Islamic studies, which, far from being reduced to one of mere theological content, should be appreciated in the wider horizons of Islamic civilization and culture. It is precisely this challenge, that of defining Islamic studies in terms of an academic discipline, that faces the scholars of today. It may be worth remarking that Islam as a religion historically has provided a greater degree of latitude in and encouragement toward scientific thought and reasoning than appears to the general observer. To those contemporary scholars who are interested in merely the material interpretation of world history and philosophy, it may be said that "Islamic religion had a much more material bent than Greek philosophy." Viewed even in a narrower theological sense, there is no reason why "Islamic Studies" should not take their rightful place amidst a diversity of intellectual norms and values which permeate the atmosphere of most universities of today. This, indeed, was the case in the major universities of Europe in which, amidst the clamour of a great many disciplines, in the social as well as empirical sciences, faculties of divinity and theology maintained their position with efficiency and dedicated purpose.

Christian concept of education

But the orthodox exponents of Muslim learning and civilization may be disposed to reject this unholy alliance as unworkable and even destructive. They might assert with some justification, that an independent institution built upon a wholly Islamic basis, an intellectual centre where Muslims may study, teach and carry on research in the congenial atmosphere of healthy values limited only by the spiritual and moral conscience of Islam. In short, it must be a Muslim university which could be the nursery of all that is creatively Islamic in literature, arts and science. Beyond this purposeful view of education, in Islam, as in Christendom, lies a rich historical tradition with roots going right back to the Middle Ages. Medieval studies in Europe had a definite religious and professional aim; they rested on the fundamental assumption that Christianity must embrace all life's thought and activity and were designed to produce scholars qualified "to serve God both in Church and in State." In spite of the vast and enormous conceptual developments that have determined educational progress since medieval days, the tradition of learning in its broadest sense still finds its anchorage in moral and religious ideology. One might say that the religious norms and moral codes which prevailed in Britain in the nineteenth century are no longer rigidly maintained, but one would be reluctant to deny that "British life is grounded in a deep sense of Christian obligations and a profound reverence for the Christian religion because of its insistence on the sanctity of the individual personality." It was the need to harmonize the tradition of the Church with the growing demands of philosophy and learning that provided the basic motivations for the intellectual activities of the Middle Ages. Writing of the place of religion in the Oxford University of today, the Right Reverend F. R. Barry says: "There is perhaps no place in the world where more lavish provision is made both officially and unofficially for the teaching and practice of religion. Certainly College authorities regard the moral and spiritual welfare of undergraduate members as a constant and searching claim upon them." The University may not be described as a Christian university, but it has "never repudiated its Christian heritage."

Jewish concept of education

This religious and moral aim is even more pronounced in the Jewish concept of education. The modern Hebrew University of Jerusalem, officially inaugurated in 1925, is essentially the university of the Jewish people, a centre where "the Jewish student, like the Jewish teacher, finds himself spiritually and physically at home, in a congenial environ-

39 Cf. Calendar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1956-1957), pp. 82-89. My observation here must be qualified, however, by the remark that this was the classical notion of Orientalism, while in recent years the angle of vision of the Western Orientalists appears to have changed. Groupings like Islamic art and archaeology, Islamic law, economics, and political studies of Islam are now being gradually introduced in the curriculum; cf. Ibid., pp. 83, 99, 100.
41 Ibid., p. 113. John Bernal, as quoted in G. F. Kneller, op. cit., p. 113.
42 Ibid., p. 9.
43 Ibid., p. 183.
A modern university experiment of amazing vision and results is the International Christian University of Tokyo in Japan, which came into being on 23 March 1953, 53 years after the idea was first mooted. It is not a theological institute but a college of liberal arts, covering studies in the humanities, social sciences, languages and education. Its object is set forth as “an effort to realize on the campus a Christian international community demonstrating the feasibility of a world of reconciliation and co-operation. Being a Christian university, our academic programmes and activities are to be permeated with the spirit and values of Christian truth in the interpretation of man, history and the universe.”

In the Muslim universities of Cordova, Seville, Granada and those of today, tradition recognised an identity of values in the studies of science, philosophy, theology, law and music

This moral aim of higher education, which subjects all forms of intellectual activity to the all-pervasive influence of a given civilization or philosophy, was, in fact, a classical tradition in Islam, one which recognized an identity of values in the studies of science, philosophy, theology, law and music. The celebrated House of Wisdom in Baghdad, and the famed universities of Cordova, Seville and Granada in Spain stood in the forefront of this movement, and were the shining symbols of Muslim educational interest. The University of Cordova provided for the departments of astronomy, mathematics and medicine in addition to theology and law. The curriculum of the Granadian University included theology, jurisprudence, medicine, chemistry, philosophy and astronomy. A favourite motto of some universities reads: “The world is supported by four things only: the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayers of the righteous and the valour of the brave.” In the modern period the Muslim University of Aligarh, originally a Muslim college founded in 1875 C.E. by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, for long remained and perhaps continues as the sole bastion of the classical ideal of a Muslim institute of higher learning, in which all the hallowed components of a modern university — faculties of art, engineering and technology, science and medicine — found full and free expression. The Universitet Islam Indonesia, founded in 1945 C.E. in Djakarta, with its faculties of social economics, law and education, in addition to Islamic studies and theology, would appear to embody the Aligarh concept. The reconstituted University of al-Azhar also seeks to uphold this same principle. It is not within the province of this study to plead for the merits of any particular type of university, for either the ideal grand Muslim university or the modern cosmopolitan type. That is a staggering challenge for all interested in the progress of mankind. The question to be settled is the nature of the ultimate criterion for evaluation.

APPENDIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University (Year)</th>
<th>Groupings</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algiers (1859)</td>
<td>Arabic Language and Literature</td>
<td>Institute of Islamic Studies</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ayn Shams (1950)</td>
<td>Islamic Philosophy</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria (1942)</td>
<td>Arabic Language</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Azhar (1970)</td>
<td>Arabic Literature</td>
<td>Faculty of Law</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo (1908)</td>
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<td>College of Islamic Studies</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aligarh (1875, 1921)</td>
<td>Islamic Law</td>
<td>College of Arabic Studies</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahabad (1887)</td>
<td>Islamic History</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi (1922)</td>
<td>Islamic Philosophy</td>
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1 Dates indicated in column one refer to year of founding.
2 Groupings refer to departments, professorial chairs or independent courses.
3 Organization indicates the larger structure of which the department or chair concerned is an integral part, i.e., either Faculty of Arts or Faculties of Law or Theology, or Faculty or College or Institute of Islamic Studies.
4 Blank spaces indicate that no definite data regarding groupings or organizations were immediately ascertainable.

(Continued on page 36)
Modern Evolutionary theories of the Origin of Life and of Man and the Holy Qur’an

By Dr. MAHMUD MUFTIC

PART 2

The anthropoid basis of man

The fact that man builds roads, constructs skyscrapers, composes string quartets, writes poetry, plays games, invents kinship terminologies, lives by codes remembered and handed down from generation to generation, and organizes compassion systems to aid the weak and sick members of his own species does not exclude him from the category of animal. Nor do the observations that man commits matricide, patricide, genocide and suicide exclude him from that fact. The Holy Qur’an in the above mentioned verse (6:38), at the head of the article, explicitly says that we are of the animal kingdom, the same as the birds and other animals. Therefore we can say that man, being originally from the animal kingdom, can be put in the following zoological categories:

Kingdom: Animalia.

Phylum: Chordata (lampreys, frogs, snakes, birds, wallabies, opossums, bats, rats, cats, moles, whales, elephants, hares, man).

Class: Mammalia (wallabies, opossums, bats, rats, cats, moles, whales, elephants, hares, man).

Infraclass: Eutheria (bats, rats, cats, moles, whales, hares, elephants, man).

Cohort: Unguiculata (moles, bats, primates, man).

Order: Primates (tree shrews, lemurs, lorises, tarsiers, monkeys, apes, man).

Suborder: Anthropoidea (monkeys, apes, man).

Superfamily: Hominidea (gorillas, orang-outangs, gibbons, australopithecines, man).

Family: Hominidae (Ramapithecus, australopithecines, man).

Genus: Homo (pithecanthropines, Neandertal man, modern man).

Species: Homo sapiens (Neandertal man, modern man).

Homo sapiens is the only species of man whom we can still see living today, for the good reason that it is he who displaced all the other types of hominids on the surface of the globe.

There are two main views on human evolution. The first regards the australopithecines and Neandertal man as not ancestral to modern races, as populations not fertile in the human ancestors and destined for extinction and replacement without contribution to human physical or cultural development. The second main view regards the fossil populations as belonging in general to the single trunk of human development and constituting most local subspecies. Today it is well established that the more highly organized forms of life, the more complex organisms, have developed through time from simple organisms. Modern man is probably the latest primate species to have developed. The first primates appear in Paleocene, a period that began about 75 million years ago. The adaptive complex of the Hominidae appeared at least 12 million years ago, within the Hominidea. But the major events of human evolution clearly differentiated from the hominid stock occurred during the late Pliocene and early Pleistocene epochs. All fossils referable to the genus Homo came from Pleistocene deposits, and it appears that the Pleistocene began 1.700,000 years ago. The Pleistocene was an epoch during which several major glaciers advanced and retracted. The transformism point of view is that man is also animal, a member of the order Primates. Therefore, the first thing to which we shall turn our attention is the transition from an anthropoid to a humanoid way of life.

The humanoid basis of man

The psychoneurological evolution obviously proceeded also in the primate line to the point where a primate, which we would unquestionably recognize as a member of the genus Homo, was able to symbol. A symbol is a thing with physical form that is given meaning by those who use it. The physical form can be a wavelength of light, a frequency of sound, a nod of the head. The physical sensation is transmitted to the brain. It is in this organized neurological tissue that a meaning is attached to the physical sensation. Symbols are given

1 For the first installment of this article see The Islamic Review for January 1969.
meanings arbitrarily. There is no inherent connection between the physical form of a symbol and its meaning. This ability also made possible the accumulation and transmission of information from one generation to the next. Culture and symboling, closely connected in their origin, the former dependent upon the latter, may be seen as the consequence of certain characteristics that Homo sapiens developed, characteristics not present in other primates. The human species, by virtue of its symboling faculty, can store up information about objects and pass it on to the next generation.

Regarding this faculty of symboling, the Holy Qur'ān says:

"And He taught Adam all the names: then presented them to the angels, and he said: Tell Me the names of those if you are truthful. They said: Glory be to Thee! We have no knowledge except that which Thou has taught us. Thou are the Knowing, the Wise. He said: O Adam: Inform them of their names. So when He informed them of their names, He said: Did I not say to you that I know what is unseen in the heavens, and the earth? And I know what you manifest and what you hide?" (2 : 31-33).

From this verse it becomes clear that no other creature is capable of symboling except man. The faculty to symbol and the development of culture are closely associated with man’s erect posture, bipedal locomotion, opposable thumb and sociality. The organ of association and control, the cerebral cortex, developed rapidly as the visual sense grew more complex and refined. At the same time, a fine control over the limbs and digits developed to a greater extent, as did voluntary control of the muscles. Man comes from a stock pre-adapted for symboling and culture. This pre-adaptation the Qur'ān has mentioned in the following verses:

"(God is) Who perfectioned everything that He created, and He began the creation of man from dust. Then He made his progeny originating from muddy water. Then He made him more perfect and inspired into him of His spirit, and created to you hearing and seeing and understanding! Rare are those who (among you) give thanks" (32 : 7-9).

From this verse it is clear that the Creator inspired man first after his physical evolution (described in the verse as perfectioning) was accomplished. Then it is mentioned in the Qur'ān (95 : 4-6):

"Certainly We created man in the best (physical) form. Then We render him the lowest of the low. Except those who believe and do good: so theirs is a reward which will never be cut off."

By perfectioning his physical form, endowed with the best possible faculties of hearing, seeing and understanding, man was predisposed to learning, and learning is not possible without the use of symbols. The Holy Qur'ān says for this phase:

"(The Beneficent) created man. He taught him the interpretation (of symbols)” (55 : 3-4).

Through this faculty of choosing symbols and interpreting them, man’s consciousness developed and as a result of this the way was prepared for the inspiration of supraconsciousness, which is identical with the Creator’s spirit, and which raised man above all other creatures, compelling them to submit to him.

The following two verses of the Holy Qur’ān comment on this process of human evolution:

"So when I have completed his (physical) evolution and breathed into him of My spirit, (you angels) shall hurry to submit to him!" (15 : 29);

and then,

"See you not that God has made subservient to you whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth, and granted to you extrinsically and intrinsically His favours? And among (you) men is he who disputes about God without any scientific basis, or (inspired) guidance or an enlightening Book” (31 : 20).

The unique characteristics of man’s mental abilities, symboling and the so-called “power to reason”, have elicited mystical, theological and supernatural answers to anthropocentric questions. Other animals cannot reason, cannot remember complex systems of symbols, nor can they write or produce bodies of knowledge. Man is the only animal that passes any significant knowledge from generation to generation. A man can teach another man the same thing, but a chimpanzee cannot teach this to a man, and one chimpanzee cannot teach this to another chimpanzee. The concept of man himself as wholly a creature of God did not begin to penetrate the mental fog induced by an excessive dose of supernaturalism. There is a most important socio-cultural chapter in the story of evolution of man, but the fundamental parts of the story are strictly biological. In the scheme of evolution, culture is a new kind of biological adaptation with a non-genetic mode of inheritance. The mode of inheritance of culture depends upon symbolic contact and transmission rather than upon fusion of gametes. To some extent evolution has been supplemented by cultural evolution. Culture is a trait which only one genus of the order Primates developed and the reasons it developed must be sought in the evolutionary history of that genus — Homo.

According to Taylor (d. 1871 C.E.), culture is that complex whole of which includes: belief, morals, law, knowledge, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. White’s (d. 1947 C.E.) definition of culture is: an extrasomatic, temporal continuum of things and events dependent upon symboling. Culture is one of the most impressive adaptations achieved by any evolving organism. Every human individual is born into a culture of some kind or other. This culture determines the language he will speak, the kinds of clothes he will wear, the rules for choosing a mate, the ritual he will participate in, the musical scale he will consider normal, the standards of interpersonal behaviour he must achieve. Culture is based upon an ability, a trait, which appeared during the course of primate evolution, the ability to symbol. The ability to symbol is dependent upon consciousness, and consciousness depends upon the faculties of seeing and hearing. Evolution and transformism teach us, that the more conscious regularly succeeds the less. All those teachings are concordant both with modern anthropology and the Holy Qur’ān, and in general there is no contradiction between both of them. Evolution and transformism do not logically imply either materialism or atheism. According to the French anthropologist, Teilhard de Chardin, spirit and matter, commonly regarded as two opposing universes associated for no comprehensive reason, are simply two poles joined by a flux, through which the elements, however ontologically different we suppose them to be, are so governed that they can appear only in one zone; that is to say, in a determined order. “We have formed the bad habit of separat-
ing the psychic from the material as if they belonged to two different worlds, for no exact scientific reason, but simply as a result of impression and routine,” says T. de Chardin.

Only under pressure of competition and struggle for existence our consciousness increases. Parallel with pressure increases does vitalised matter react, in order to survive. Teilhard de Chardin says that men are extremely likely not to say certain not to be, as we imagine ourselves to be the only thinking corpuscles that can rise in the firmament. It seems also that consciousness is an eternal existing phenomenon, the Spirit of God, before the creation of matter and energy, and is not created during evolution but only distributed to hominids after physical evolution had achieved a certain conscious receptivity level.

In the beginning of what is called the Quarternary Age (let us say about four or five hundred thousand years ago, perhaps a little more) nothing seems to prophesy the incursion of thought except a gradual ascent of instinct towards those supplier and richer forms that we recognize in the simian anthropomorphs. Man is perhaps already there; but we cannot distinguish him. And then, in a period so brief that, transferred to the ancient geological era it would not count at all, everything changes. The most important phenomenon in evolution is the “power of thought” (that is to say, a being’s power of reflecting on himself) and it may be understood to mean the discontinuation of the first order. Thought is an actual physical energy sui generis. D. Graham supports the idea that in the Quarternary, a new era opened, the Psychozoic. It is no doubt that Psychozoic formation is a result of the pressure of wishful thinking. It is not only a simple stimulus from the surrounding world that incites humans to action or thinking (which is, in other words, a preparation or planning for action) but even our intrinsic desires which are the product of our phantasies, and not only of direct extrinsic stimulation, produce competition pressure and expansion of consciousness. The Holy Qur’ān (14 : 34) says:

“And He gives you all you ask of Him. And if you count God’s favours, you will not be able to number them. Surely man is very unjust, very ungrateful.”

In the Holy Qur’ān 3 : 30 it is mentioned that Adam informed angels of the names of things. It means it was a certain verbal communication between them. It is not only the symbolizing and interpretation of symbols that started the humanisation of hominoids, but was the spoken word. Man’s imitation of sounds he hears in his environment, including the sounds heard from other animals, must be one of the roots of origin. What is the selection pressure which produced vocal imitative use good enough for some kind of transmission of symbolic vocalizations from one generation to another in Homo sapiens? It might be that the development of vocal mimicking must have been an important feature in the origin of language.

The First Prophet to the human society: Adam

The Holy Qur’ān refers to the dawn of humanisation with an extraordinary tact so as not to confuse the followers of the Biblical Scriptures. In the Qur’ān 6 : 134 we read:

“And thy Lord is the Self-Sufficient One, the Lord of Mercy. If He please, He may remove you, and make whom He pleases successors after you, as He raised you up from the seed of other people.”

It seems that before our modern human species spread over the earth another kind of hominoid was largely dominating the continents. In another place the Qur’ān says:

“And He it is who has made you successors in the land” (6 : 166).

It is also probable that another species had ruled the continents before our species displaced and replaced it. Other thinking creatures are mentioned in the Qur’ān. They are also supposed to submit to our species. The Holy Qur’ān does not accept the Biblical theory, as enunciated in Genesis, of direct and imminent creation of Adam from dust. The Qur’ān does not mention at all when and how Adam was born, except in verse 3 : 58-59, when He said:

“Surely the likeness of Jesus is with God as the likeness of Adam; He created him from dust, then said to him, be, and he was. This is the truth from your Lord, so be not of the disputers.”

In his commentary Ibn Tabari (Vol. III : 203) says that Ibn ‘Abbās interpreted the word Adam as a synonym for man (insān) and not Adam, God’s first Messenger to human-kind. The Imám Bāğir Mūsawī says: “Thousands and thousands of Adams (human beings) had passed away before the Prophet Adam . . . ” The great mystic Muhī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī mentions in his The Fatūhār that forty thousand years before the Prophet Adam there was another Adam. For if we believe that all God’s messengers are alike, dedicated and righteous people, who never commit sins and who are the obedient servants of Almighty God, how can we say that his Prophet Adam committed a sin and forgot a strict order of Almighty God not to eat certain fruits? And also how can we believe that it was for this reason that he was expelled from Paradise? The only way we can explain it is by believing that it was a quite different person (Adam) and not the Prophet Adam. And also that that Adam was in earthly gardens and not in the Paradise of the hereafter, about which God says in the Qur’ān (15 : 48):

“Toil afflicts them not therein (in Paradise), nor will they be expelled therefrom.”

It might be that the Prophet Adam was sent to an already existent human society possessing a language and ability of symboling, by bringing to it the message of monotheism, moral code and divine law, which brought to an end the era of hominisation and introducing the era of humanisation.

The other Adam, who was probably the prototype of the intermediary link (the missing link) between anthropoid and hominoid is also referred to in the Qur’ān as insān, bashar or nafs. This creature, like God’s other creatures, evolved from an animal stem. Nothing makes a complete beginning. All things are born from what existed before them. The Egyptian scholar Sayyid Qub, in his Mu'ālim il Tarīq, says: “Man is an individual being in this Universe. His nature is determined by factors which are not isolated from the law governing the Universe. God has created man with a physical structure originally made from clay of this earth. God has bestowed on him some characteristics which have made him man. Biologically and physically he is subject, whether he likes it or not, to natural laws laid down by God the Almighty.”

To recapitulate the evolutionary steps of man’s creation we shall mention the following phases.

(1) Organic transition from anthropoid to humanoid physical forms.

Continued on page 40
Dear Children,

A Muslim must wash before prayers, or, as we grown-ups would say, “make ablutions”. Little Haroun Khan is showing you in the photos below exactly what to do.

**Action 1**
Start washing with the right hand first up to the wrist three times and then do the same action to the left hand three times. Always use running water if you can. If not, pour water out of a jug or can. Do not place hands, feet or face into a bowl of water.

**Actions 2 and 2a**
Rinse the mouth three times after cleaning the teeth.

**Action 3**
Clean your nose inside and outside. The best way is to sniff water up three times and then wash the tip of the nose three times.

**Action 4**
Wash the face three times.

Little Haroun Ali Khan, the little boy in these photos, lives in London and is getting ready to lead the prayers at home because he has enough brothers and sisters to lead them in prayers.

**Actions 5, 5a and 5b**
Wash the arms from the wrist up to the elbow. Washing the right arm first three times and then the left arm from the wrist up to the elbow three times. In the photos I show the right arm. I know that you will know by these photos how to wash the left arm.
Wudhu—or washing before prayers

Wudhu is the Arabic word for Ablutions

Islam makes cleanliness its great cry and there are many sayings from our Prophet about cleanliness—

Wudhu is performed only when the whole of the body is clean otherwise a bath must be taken before the Ablutions

Actions 6, 6a and 6b
Pass your wet hands over your head, starting from the top of the forehead, using the insides of the hands.

Action 7
Pass the hands right over the back of the head to the neck, ending up by the ears.

Action 7a
Put the forefingers into the ears and work around all the grooves of the ears and the ear holes as well. Work on both ears at the same time.

Action 8
Go around all the back of the ears with your thumbs and work upwards, then carry on with the next action.

Action 9
Turn your hands over and with the back of the hands wipe all around the back of the neck, ending up by the ears.

Action 10
Wash the feet up to the ankles three times, the right foot first. Having washed that three times, wash the left foot three times.

MAY 1969
Dear children,

Today I have given you the directions for the ablutions before prayers. I hope you can understand them. The photos of little Haroun Khan explain it well for you. You say that you cannot understand the transliteration of prayers in Arabic, which is used in the Children’s Page. I will try below to help you. I feel certain no Arabic student will like this, but this is how it sounds to an English ear. Just get your prayer page out, which I wrote some time ago for you, and then you will be able to follow what is printed below.

This may be an unusual way of transliteration of the prayers in Arabic, but you will be able to pronounce the Arabic words if you follow the sounds from the words I have shown you below.

a as in allow, another.
á as in car, bar.
u as in put, cushion, cuffy.
ú as in flute, flute, jute.
ia as in Bainam, Jain, maiden.
i as in listen, list, lit, lice.
f as in Biafra, justify, justification.
u as in hound, house, found, pound.

’ on any of these letters, e.g. á, ú, í, means that the vowels are long.

’ before or after a letter means that the sound is guttural.

A dash under h means light h, otherwise heavy. These two sounds can better be learnt by listening to someone pronouncing them.

Position 1. Al-láhu akbar.

Position 2. Sub há na kal-láhum ma wa bi ha m di ka wa tabára kasmuka wa ta’á lá jad du ka wa lá ilá ha ghairu ka. A’ü zu bil lá hi minash shaitánir rajim. Bis mil lá hir Rah mà nir Rahim.


Bis mil lá hir Rah má nir Rahim.

Qul hu wal láhu Ahad. Al-láhhus sa mad. Lam yaliid wa lam yú laad wa lam ya Kúl la hu kufu wan ahad.

Then say: Al-láhu akbar, and bend down in that position.

Position 3. Sub há na rab bi yal ‘azím (repeat three times).


Position 5. Al-láhu akbar. Sub há na rab bi yal a’lá (repeat three times).

Position 6. At ta hiy yá tu lil láhi wasa wátu wat tay yi bá tu. As sa lá mu ‘alaika ay yu han na biy yu wa rah ma tul láhi wa bara ká tu hú. As salámu ‘alainá wa ‘alá ‘ibá dil láhí sáli hín. Ash ha du al lá ilá ha il-lal láhu wa ash ha du an na muhammadan ‘ab du hú wa ra su luh.

The following words are to be recited only in position 6 on the last Rak’ah: Al lá hum ma sal li ‘alá muhammadin wa ‘alá ‘alá muhammadin ka má sal laita ‘alá ibrá hima wa ‘alá ‘alá ibráhíma in na ka hamídum majíd. Al lá hum ma bá rik ‘alá muhammadin wa ‘alá ‘alá muhammadin kamá bá rak ta ‘alá ibráhíma wa ‘alá ‘alá ibráhíma in na ka hamídum majíd; and

Position 7. Sub há na rab bi yal a’lá (repeat three times).

Position A and position B. As sa lá mu ‘alai kum wa rah ma talláh.

Position C. Give your own praises to God.

Please remember when on the point of going to bed one performs a prayer of 4 Rak’ahs, 2 Rak’ahs and then 3 Rak’ahs. Now in the last Rak’ah of the 3 Rak’ahs when in position 4, recite the prayer given below:

Al láh hum ma nas ta ‘inu ka wa nas tagh fi ru ka wa nu’ minu bi ka wa na ta wak kalu ‘alai ka wa nuth ni ‘alai kal khair wa nash kuru ka wa lá nak fu ru ka wa nakh la’u wa nat ru ku man yaf ju ru ka. Al láh hum ma iyyá ka na’ budu wa la ka nu sal li wa nas ju du wa i lai ka nas’a wa nah fidu wa nar ju ruh ma tak wa nakh shá ‘azá bak. Inna ‘azá bak bil kuf fári mul hiq.

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Please send your contribution towards the printing of a much needed children’s book in English (illustrated) on Islam, Muhammad the Last Prophet, and the history and culture of Islamic countries, which Muslim children would like to know about. This will be the first book of its kind. Please help.

Kindly send your contribution, large or small, to

**The Islamic Children’s Book Fund, 18 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1**
A Jewish Scholar examines critically the claim of the Zionists that the State of Israel is the Fulfilment of the Prophecies in the Old Testament

The State of Israel is "not the Temple of the Lord"

"Prophecy, Zionism and the State of Israel"

By ELMER BERGER

III
THE SACRED PEOPLE?

2. The second proposition is that not alone was the soil or land itself incidental to observance of and commitment to the covenant, but the people restored to Zion were subject to precisely the same conditions of justice, righteousness and faithfulness to the covenant of God. In perhaps more worldly — or if you will, political — language, the prophets envisaged a restored state or government in a true Zion only as a result of the restoration, or with some of the prophets, of a broadening and deepening of the commitment of the people to the covenant with God.

Zion was never to be restored using the vehicle of people who relied upon treaties, alliances, balances, or superiority in sophisticated weaponry or military establishment of demonstrated superiority compared to Israel’s neighbours.

I can understand American politicians and a war-weary American public sighing with relief in 1967 when Israel’s military efficiency finished off the third Arab-Israel war in the so-called “six days”. I can understand a not very edifying member of the Senate of the United States stating publicly that he was happy a “doughty little state in the Middle East proved it could take care of itself.” I do not happen to believe that the Senator’s politics are very good. But I do say — with certitude — that these criteria are just poles apart from the criteria clearly evident in the prophetic tradition. They would have been rejected by those who fashioned this tradition as means for restoring the children of Israel to a sacred and a holy Zion.

The prophet of the return, or of hope — the unknown man we call the Second Isaiah — provides perhaps the most logical place to begin any recitation of supporting evidence. A great observer of world affairs, this anonymous prophet saw Cyrus, as a matter of imperial policy, permitting the Babylonian exiles to return to the land from which Nebuchadnezzar had taken them decades earlier. But despite the prophet’s certainty about the impending political-military events, there is nothing at all in his prophecy suggesting alliance, or currying favour or even political position on the part of the exiled people about to return. Nor does the prophet credit either the political sagacity or the military prowess of the Persian with the authority which will facilitate the return. Rather, Chapter XLV contains a long and eloquent insistence that although Cyrus has not known this God in Whose name the prophet speaks, I — God —

Will go before thee,
And make the crooked places straight; . . .
I have called thee by thy name,
I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known Me.
I am the Lord, and there is none else,
Beside Me there is no God;
I have girded thee, though thou hast not known Me;
That they may know from the rising of the sun, and
from the west,
That there is none beside Me; . . .
I make peace, and create evil;
I am the Lord that doeth all these things.

It is also notable that this most worldly internationalist among the prophets hails neither Cyrus nor any descendant of the House of David as the new king who will sit on the throne of the resurrected Israel.

I am the Lord, your Holy One,
The Creator of Israel, your King.

It may be more than coincidental that in this latest of the Old Testament prophets there is an echo, if not a clear reiteration, of the suspicion, perhaps even the antipathy to a worldly king which marked the earlier years of Samuel’s ministry. In fact, it can be said with some certainty that one of the nourishing roots of Hebrew prophecy is the adversary relationship between the people’s craving for thrones and government, on one hand, and the prophets’ advocacy of the unchallenged supremacy of God — with kings no more than a tool in the Covenant relationship — on the other hand.

And there is another passage in the peroration of the Second Isaiah’s vision of hope which should caution those who are tempted to equate June 1967’s climactic military vic-

* For the first part of this article see The Islamic Review for March-April 1967.
16 The Honourable Jacob Javits in the course of a television debate with Dr. Harry N. Howard on Channel 13, New York, on 12 February 1968.
17 XLV : 2ff.
18 XLIII : 15.
tory of Zionism with the word of the Lord. For when God’s Zion was to be established, the prophet of hope observed:
... ye shall go out with joy.
And be led forth with peace.
The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing.
And all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. 21

The attitude of the Prophets towards a state that depends on treaties or repressive administration

Whatever else the prophet may have meant, it is clear that the return and restoration had to be a part of a universal era of peace and justice. The “house of Jacob, who are called by the name of Israel and are come forth out of the fountain of Judah”, were to be restored only in order to bring to the “isles” and to the “peoples from afar” the unmistakable recognition of the victory of God’s justice and righteousness. And this is something different from the do-it-yourself Messianism which holds that a military and/or political conquest of a given piece of territory is a sign from God of the establishment or the near-establishment of His kingdom on earth. In fact, the second is a clear reversal of the logic of the first and no amount of human rationalization can substitute the reversal for the original.

But it is the earlier prophets, in the years of Israel’s and Judah’s decline — rather than in the new hope and anticipated rebirth — who most decisively removed the prophetic tradition from power politics and reliance upon the arts of militarism and statecraft. There can be no doubt about the attitudes of these earlier prophets toward state or governments which relied upon treaties or repressive administration in the vain hope of surviving as the Israel, or the Judah, made secure in a land made sacred by the Covenant. However essential such human dealings and manoeuvrings may have been, there was absolutely nothing in them or in anything they produced which, on its own merit, could lay claim to being the Zion of the prophetic tradition restored. Such treaties or such armaments as might be acquired in the world’s market places for such items might defend the land (although none of the prophets would agree even to this), but these artifacts of statehood would most certainly not redeem Zion.

So, for example, hear Isaiah:
Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord,
That take counsel, but not of Me;
And that form plots, but not of My Spirit,
That they may add sin to sin:
That walk to go down into Egypt,
And have not asked at My mouth;
To take refuge in the stronghold of Pharaoh,
And to take shelter in the shadow of Egypt!
Therefore shall the stronghold of Pharaoh turn to your shame,
And the shelter in the shadow of Egypt to your confusion. 22

And again, and more explicitly,
Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help,
And rely on horses,
And trust in chariots, because they are many,
And in horsemen, because they are exceeding mighty;
But they look not unto the Holy One of Israel . . .
Now the Egyptians are men, and not God,
And their horses flesh, and not spirit;
So when the Lord shall stretch out His hand,
Both he that helpeth shall stumble,
and he that is helped shall fall,
And they all shall perish together. 21

The Prophets not tolerant of the people’s reliance on military power

Nor were the prophets more tolerant of the people’s reliance upon any military power of their own if the people themselves were in a state of violation of the Covenant. When Zedekiah sent emissaries to ask Jeremiah to ascertain the intentions of God in the impending battle with Babylon, the prophet declared both against the validity of any redemption by armaments and for the redemption which was possible only in the reconstructed morality of the people.

Then said Jeremiah unto them:
Thus shall ye say to Zedekiah: Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel:
Behold, I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands,
wherewith ye fight against the kind of Babylon, and against the Chaldeans,
that besiege you without the walls,
and I will gather them into the midst of this city.
And I myself will fight against you with an outstretched hand and with a strong arm, even in anger, and in fury, and in great wrath.

And unto this people thou shalt say: Thus said the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death.

Execute ye justice and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of
the hand of the oppressor; and do no wrong, do no violence, to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place. For if ye do this thing, indeed, then shall there enter in by the gates of this house kings sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots, and his people. But if ye will not hear these words, I swear by Myself, said the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation. 22

The Israeli 1967 war was not in defence of the Messianic hopes of the Jews

The society which is to fulfill the Messianic promise cannot rely for its strength on the power politics of alliances with world nations or on the power of armament.

Now again, all this is not at all to pass political judgment on Israel’s diplomacy, on the demonstrated quality of its military establishment or on the Israeli government’s policy of employing this military establishment in support of national objectives. Such judgments are in a different category. In the jungle of power politics, Israel is as much entitled to wage what its own government calls “pre-emptive war” as is any other state. But it is not any more entitled to do so by having its national objectives or interests invested with the white-
wash of a holy war conducted in defence of the Messianic hopes of those religionists in the world who revere such hopes. Depending upon how you look at the whole complex of the Middle East claimed and acknowledged rights, Israel's "preemptive war" in June 1967 may have been unavoidable in defence of the security of its citizens, or it may have been an opportunistic strike to realize the full territorial aspirations of its most vigorous expansionists. But one thing that war was not — definitely — a war in support of the vision of the redemption, which was articulated by the "suffering servant" of God.

IV

"BY MY SPIRIT . . ."

3. My final and last proposition is really an inquiry into the authority, the credentials of authenticity, the validation of the Messianic dream itself. If it is not the land, in and of itself, that is sacred, and if it is not the people, in and of itself, just because it is on the land which authenticates the vision, what then does offer the criteria of validity? This may be the most important proposition of all, for in the inevitable polemics which envelop this problem there are those who will either dispute my interpretation, or who will temporize by saying that while my interpretation is essentially correct for the moment, the present status in Palestine is nevertheless one step along the road to the fulfilment of prophecy. The State of Israel, they say, is still young. In time, it will — by the sheer reunion of land and people — restore sanctity to both and usher in the era of redemption for mankind.

To some extent I have already given my answer. The sacred place of the prophets of Israel, in our common tradition as Christians and Jews, did not derive either from their presence on the land or from authority invested in them by the government, or the kings of the people who lived on the land. It is probably consistent with the hardship and the rigorous character of the prophetic role that were they alive today these deputies of God would command far smaller audiences than the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mr. Abba Eban, who, however eloquent, is not above falling back for defence of his diplomacy on the purely physical fact that the Palestine of today is populated by a majority of Jews, and therefore is holy. Ergo, Mr. Eban is the Foreign Minister of a state which is where it is to bring the blessings of divinity to the land, to the people, to the expatriated Arabs, to the rest of the Arabs, to Africa and to the world. It is perfectly good diplomatic demagoguery — which Mr. Eban may perform more eloquently but certainly not as a unique member of the fraternity — to claim that God is on the side of your state, your war, your national interests. "The woods are full of such," as we say in the United States. But it is an entirely different thing for anyone to take Mr. Eban's protestations in this vein any more literally than Mr. Johnson's, or Mr. Wilson's or Charles de Gaulle's, or Ian Smith's, for that matter.

The sanctity of the land is not intrinsic to the soil and the sanctity of the people doesn't derive from its mere physical presence on the soil

The prophetic tradition makes clear that the sanctity of the land is not intrinsic to the soil and the sanctity of the people does not derive from its mere physical presence on the soil. Both were sacred, worthy of Zion, only when the Divine covenant was operative, fully sustained and manifested in the observable conduct of the people.

Only the same covenantal relationship gave the prophets authority. The fact that it was an authority not recognized by the consensus, by the masses or even by the kings of their time, is entirely irrelevant. Or, if this fact has any relevance at all it is only to validate the Divine authority of the prophets and to sanction their role in the midst of a corrupt people, led by corrupt governments in a land corrupted by such devastating moral crimes as those inventoried by the prophets. The great prophets neither sought nor desired their offices.

The imperatives of the Covenant sanctified their ministries and they could not do other than comply with their demands.

Jeremiah again puts it perhaps more explicitly than the others:

And if I say: "I will not make mention of Him, Nor speak any more in His name,"
Then there is in my heart as it were a burning fire Shut up in my bones, And I weary myself to hold it in, But cannot. 25

The components of the Covenant are stated differently by many of the prophets. The differences are not of kind, but of degree, of refinement. There was an evolution between the austere Amos and the hopeful Second Isaiah. To Amos the land and people would be redeemed if they

Let justice well up as water And righteousness as a mighty stream. 26

Hosea could add compassion and love, taught him by his own tragic experience with his faithless wife. Jeremiah could articulate more clearly the inwards of the "new covenant" written in the people's "inward parts and in their hearts." 27 Face to face with the exile, Jeremiah could see such an inner and personal covenant observed and kept in the Babylon of physical captivity where he advised his people:

Build ye houses, and dwell in them, and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; and to multiply ye there, and be not diminished. And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace. 28

And when the covenant relationship was restored — in the hearts, the minds and the conduct of Israel even in Babylon — after 70 years, these exiles will "return to this place" to Zion. Note that the restoration of the indispensable covenant relationship did not await the return to Zion. The return to Zion awaited the restoration of the Covenant, when "ye shall seek Me, and find Me and I will hearken unto you". 29

The point is crucial. For it set the stage for the climacteric visions of universalism, of the God Who could say, in effect, to the Second Isaiah, that even though the people of Israel in exile had not fulfilled all of the covenantal demands, the God of all the world could restore Israel to its land for the single purpose that

23 XX : 9.
24 V : 24.
25 XXXI : 33.
26 XXIX : 5 - 7.
27 XXXIX : 13.
“All the ends of the earth shall see
The salvation of our God.”

Now it must be said again, in this context — even though I have alluded to it before — that the Second Isaiah observed the people of Israel were to be returned to Zion even though they had not completely restored the Covenant relationship during their exile.

Yet thou hast not called upon Me, O Jacob, Neither hast thou wearied thyself about Me, O Israel. . . .
I, even I, am He that bloteth out thy transgressions for Mine own sake; And thy sins I will not remember.
And it is also true, according to the Prophet, that Kings shall see and arise, Princes, and they shall prostrate themselves. But — for what end? Because of the Lord that is faithful.

The whole thrust and purpose of the restoration is for the single purpose of demonstrating the Omnipotence of God — but not the God of Israel, alone, or the God of Palestine, or the Power of Israel. Rather this is the God of Whom the prophet warned the still unreconstructed people,

The heaven is My throne, And the earth is My footstool, Where is the house that ye may build Me? And where is the place that May be My resting place?”

And the house in which the God could rest — and which no man could build — was to be “a house of prayer for all peoples.”

And it shall come to pass in the end of days, That the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established as the top of the mountains, And shall be exalted above the hills; And all nations shall flow unto it. And many peoples shall go and say: “Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, To the house of the God of Jacob; And He will teach us of His ways, And we will walk in His paths.”

For out of Zion shall go forth the law, And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge between the nations, And shall decide for many peoples; And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, And their spears into pruning-hooks; Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, Neither shall they learn war any more.

Now, the crucial point is that here, too, is the definition of the Covenant. It was the compelling, irrepressible, inescapable demands of such a Covenant which composed the reciprocal obligation to the privilege of Israel restored to Zion. To the prophet these were no mere words of poetical peroration or fanciful vision. You must remember that the prophets spoke out only reluctantly. They resisted their mission. But the imperative character of what they believed God had to say through them would not let them be silent.

I do not believe, therefore, that we (the Jews) have any right to try to have it both ways. We cannot, it seems to me, take the part of the conventional relationship which flatters our theology — or our policies — and ignore, or leave to chance or speculation, the part of that relationship which is demanding, unflattering, which must make us ashamed of our pretensions, if we but measure the reality against the ideal. This is to buy salvation too cheaply to justify any claims to stand in the prophetic tradition. If we pretend to see the Messianic era in the events of June 1967 we are obliged in the prophetic rather than the false prophetic tradition — to avoid crying, “Peace! Peace! When there is no peace”. And we cannot escape the severely critical judgments of what exists in Zion, using the measure of what the prophets were so convinced had to exist that at the peril of their lives they spoke out when they preferred, personally, to remain silent.

The crushing burden of the Covenant which drove them to speak contained nothing of racism, nothing of superiority fashioned of material power or goods. There is nothing of provincialism. For all the men who dream today of one world, here is the rock whence they were hewn. And if in this dark and agonized age we know we are far from that dream, it is because from this tradition we hear the still small voices of our consciences reminding us that we know the immensity of the chasm between ourselves and this ennobling vision of God.

The denial of the rights of the Palestinian refugees by Israeli leaders like Dayan and Ben Gurion, who cannot be reconciled with a Zion restored “as a house of prayer for all people”

It is not possible, in my opinion, to reconcile a Zion restored as a “house of prayer for all people” with the declared position of General Moshe Dayan with respect to recognition of the rights of the Palestinian refugees to repatriation.

On 11 June 1967, in an interview televised in the United States on the Columbia Broadcasting System’s programme, “Face the Nation”, Dayan replied to a question about Israel’s ability to absorb the Arab population in the recently occupied territories and said:

“Economically we can; but I think that is not in accord with our aims in the future. It would turn Israel into either a binational or poly Arab/Jewish state instead of the Jewish state and we want to have a Jewish state. We can absorb them, but then it won’t be the same country.”

The former Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, stated the same proposition on another occasion. He was not speaking on a chaotic situation created by war, but in the context of deliberated long-range policy. Here is how he put it:

“. . . Israel is the country of the Jews and only of the Jews. Every Arab who lives here has the same rights as any minority citizen in any country of the world, but he must admit the fact that he lives in a Jewish country.”

28 Isaiah, LII: 10.
29 XLIX: 7.
31 LXVI: 1.
32 Isaiah II: 14.
34 Ibid.
Or, let Chief Rabbi Nissim, of Israel’s Sephardic Jews, speak on another issue in the war between the State of Israel and the Arabs. To the question of Israeli withdrawal from territories taken in conquest last June, he said:

“It is forbidden by the Torah for all Jews, including the Israeli Government, to return even one inch of the territory of Eretz Israel now in our hands.”

The ruling was one of three hundred similar ones given by Israeli rabbis in answer to queries concerning the future of the occupied territories.35

The Chief Rabbi must suffer from a mental blockade or have lost the page from his copy of Scripture on which he could read the explicit words of Isaiah:

Woe unto them that join house to house, That lay field to field, Till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell Alone in the midst of the land!36

The point, I think, is obvious. The State of Israel may have reasons for a policy designed to solidify a society practising ethnic or religious or any other kind of discrimination. It may have its own reasons for refusing to surrender territory acquired by the use of force. And those Israeli reasons may be no better and no worse than similar reasons advanced by other states with similar national objectives. I am not, at this moment, making this political judgment. What I am saying — in this context — is that only a twisted logic or a prostituted theology or a corruption of the genuine prophetic tradition can employ some different criteria to judge Israel’s world politics and diplomacy on the grounds that this state is integrally a part of the Messianic tradition and therefore its actions are the unfolding of the Divine plan. That is all I am saying here. And I will now summarize all that I have said in a few sentences.

V

ZION AND ZIONISM

1. The present State of Israel has absolutely no rights to any of its present positions on the grounds that this state is all — or even part of — the fulfillment of God’s plan for the Messianic era.

2. Any responsible examination of the case that the Zionists, joined in later years by the Israelis, have made, discloses that they have really reversed the covenantal process which was to be the basis on which the Messianic Zion was to be restored. The Zionists and the Israelis have argued, rightly or wrongly, that Jews have lived in Palestine continuously for all the years of the exile; Jews have bought land in Palestine; Jews have developed whatever “Jewish” agriculture, “Jewish” fishing, “Jewish” industry may be; Jews have developed or begun to reconstruct a national culture in the Palestinian and now the Israeli polity; Jews, in Palestine, have demonstrated that they are militarily superior to Arabs. The list could be extended. And it is the contention of those who seek a super-highway to universal salvation, that by the mere physical chemistry of these activities having been performed by Jews in what so much of the world calls the Holy Land, the result is ipso facto holy. Within the Zionist-Israeli propaganda directed more specifically at Jews, the claim is often advanced that the physical presence of Jews on the soil of what is called “the Jewish state” makes whatever is developed in this Israeli society central, superior, to what is developed elsewhere by Jews.

Not so! This is blood and soil demagogy. The concentration of Jews on this land is not entitled to consideration as anything other than another sovereign state in the world until it becomes crystal clear to the ends of the earth — and to all men — that what comes forth from Zion is really “the word of God”. Neither the people nor the land is, of itself, holy or entitled to spiritual deference from the world. The observance of the drastic puritanical demands of the Covenant sanctified both the people and the land; and God did not hesitate to exile the people and to reduce the land to rubble if the covenant was broken. It is, I think, incumbent upon the apologist or do-it-yourself Messianists to prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the present state of Israel either is, or really wishes to be, the embodiment of this covenant. In fact, it can be argued with overwhelming evidence that the Zionist/Israel sovereignty exists and boasts of its existence in order to make the “kingdom of priests and holy people” into a nation like “all other nations”. Like Kipling’s east and west, the two are not only not the same; they are antithetical.

Two Jewish personalities and their reactions to blood and soil demagogy of Zionism

Ahad Ha’am

There are two more things which need saying to give balance to this presentation. One is a fact of history and the other is a philosophical-political speculation or question.

The fact of history is that Zionism — the movement which preceded the state — was not without its prophets, its advocates of an effort really to harmonize the return to and restoration of Zion with the great prophetic tradition. One of these was the giant of a man known to the world as Ahad Ha’am, born Asher Ginsburg. Ahad Ha’am was a Zionist long before Theodor Herzl formulated his political-national programme to salvage persecuted Jews. He attended the first Zionist Congress at Basle, in 1897. What he saw and heard separated him from the organized movement for the rest of his life, although he went eventually to live in Palestine and he continued until he died trying to make the Zionist movement into what he believed a movement called by the name of Zion should be.

His essays, letters and memoirs abound in critical but sympathetic analyses of the state-building apparatus. I implore you longer, to recite only one example. In 1922 (C.E.), Ahad Ha’am heard that a group of Zionists had killed an Arab as reprisal for anti-Jewish riots. In a leading newspaper published in Tel Aviv, he wrote:

“Is this the dream of the Return to Zion for which our people yearned for thousands of years: that we should come to Zion and pollute its soil with the spilling of innocent blood?

“There is a tendency to sacrifice, on the altar of the national revival, its prophets, that is the great moral principle for which our people lived and for which it suffered and for which only it thought it worthwhile to labour to become a people again in the land of its fathers. For without those — God in Heaven — what are we and what is the future of our life in this country . . . ?

“If this is the Messiah, let him come and me not see him.”

36 V : 8.
Dr. Judah Magnes

A generation later, at the opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on 29 October 1947 — just on the eve of the United Nations' recommendation to partition Palestine — Dr. Judah Magnes, President of the University, spoke out in protest against what he saw. Magnes was an American who had gone to Palestine to dedicate his life to the deepening and enriching of the Jewish tradition among the people who had come — or would come — there to make their homes. He saw the use of force, the political deceit, the power-politics which were about to separate Jew from Arab along political lines. And in what must stand as one of the great moral pronouncements of recent years, in his valedictory in the land he had helped to build, Magnes spoke with the voice of the prophets.

"That strange phenomenon — a kind of Zionist assimilation — has been pointed to long since, and it is this which had led not only large sections of the Yishuv but also myriads of Jews throughout the world, particularly in America, to yield to that Zionist totalitarianism which seeks to subject to its discipline the entire Jewish people and every individual therein, and, if necessary, by force and violence... This totalitarianism is on the way to converting us from that People of whom it was said, 'Who is like Thy People Israel, a unique Nation on earth?' to that people of whom it was said, 'House of Judah — like all the nations'..."

And then Magnes addressed himself to the apologists, who argue that the exigencies and expediencies of the modern world require that the restoration be accomplished by the use of such methods.

"You may say (he said), that under present conditions in the world and in view of the tragic and abnormal plight of our people, there is need, to our regret, to employ these tactics; but that when we are able to stand erect on our own land and establish our state, freedom of thought and opinion will prevail, and everything will be in order, and we shall be privileged then to live in harmony with the spirit of Israel. You may say, it is because of our straitened position, from which there is no escape, that we have declared a kind of moratorium, or, in today's terminology, a freezing of our morals. It is possible to freeze preserves, or to freeze money for a time, and after that to restore its value. But it is not within the power of man to freeze his morals."

These men need no approval from me. On the contrary, I am happy to be able to lean upon them for support of my position. Their words — and their acts — confirm my contention that to salute the present situation in Palestine as any part of the prophetic millennium is a deviation, if not a serious heresy. To so identify it, I believe, is to indulge in that "ease in Zion" which was a term of derision and contempt to the true prophets.

The philosophical-political speculation or question I wish to raise is whether it is at all possible to sustain a sovereign state in the contemporary world which is, at one and the same time, an effective political sovereignty and also the embodiment of the transcendent spirituality of the Messianic tradition. Can Mr. Eban claim that his country is enacting only administrative legislation for the city of Jerusalem — as he did at the United Nations — and also be the messenger of God when he knows full well, even as he speaks, that his government has decided to annex the Holy City? Can Mr. Ben Gurion be regarded as the regent of God when he speaks publicly of peace — as he did in 1956 — all the while playing a chief rôle as a conspirator in the tragic Suez Affair?

The attempted marriage of the two traditions — the spiritual and the political power-play — is fantastic nonsense. It buys for Israel a fleeting moment of indulgence. But in the prophetic sense, there is nothing more Jewish about the State of Israel's armies, or its international diplomacy, or its internal policies, or its treatment of its Arab minority, or of its Oriental Jewish majority than there is anything Jewish about comparable policies of your country or mine. This means Israel should be judged under the usual law of man and, insofar as morally sensitive men, inspired by God's law, stand in judgment of the imperfect moralities of all states, Israel must be subject to exactly the same criteria. Israel's legitimate, established rights under the law of nations should be recognized. And the limitations upon those rights, under the same imperfect law, should be clearly stated and enforced. But Israel is not outside, or above, this human law on grounds that it exists and operates as a tool of the higher law of the God of all men. This is the crux of the matter.

VI

"THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD" OR "LYING WORDS"?

In the United States it was once considered indiscreet, perhaps in bad taste, for a rather new and unknown guest at a dinner party or a social evening to initiate conversation about either politics or religion. I have come to you today† and plunged headlong into a discussion of both of these sensitive subjects. I am somewhat comforted by the knowledge that I was asked to address myself to these problems and I can hope only that some new insights have been offered to justify what otherwise could be interpreted as an intrusion on matters of an intimate and personal character. I am reminded of the wise and sensitive words used by a former Assistant Secretary of State of the United States who, in a rare departure from the typical and usually incomprehensible clichés of diplomacy, from the usual patterns of bureaucracy, spoke out clearly on the Arab-Israel problem. He offered clear and unambiguous advice to both the Arabs and the Israelis and then, mindful of the confusions of spiritual and political issues, he added:

"I was not referring in any way to, or casting aspersions upon, the natural feeling of affinity one feels for a brother or his own religious faith, wherever he may be. The principles of the United States on matters of religious freedom are so well known that this assertion of mine should need no expansion.

"Nor was I referring in any way to proper philanthropic support, in its broadest sense, by American citizens of Jewish faith in the economic development necessary to achieve a reasonable standard of livings of Israel's people — nor to support of religious, educational, and cultural enterprises in Israel. There is no divergence between our Government and American citizens of the Jewish faith who are interested in the development and welfare of the State of Israel."

Continued on page 40

† Being the text of a lecture delivered at the University of Leiden on 18 March 1968.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW & ARAB AFFAIRS
Initiation into the Holy Qur’an

Teachings of the Holy Qur’an compared with those of the Old and New Testaments

By the late Dr. M. A. DRAZ

What is a real Believer according to the Qur’an?

The human soul is not nourished only on “theoretical” truths. Besides his need to know and to believe, man’s insistent demand is for some practical rule by which he can direct his every act, both as regards his personal behaviour and his relationship with others or with God. The last Revelation, in the form of the Qur’an, supplied this need in the most comprehensive and precise way. For each branch of human activity it marked out a definite path to follow.

To be a real Believer, it is not just sufficient for a man to have an unshakable faith in the revealed truths. He must put himself at the service of that faith, by devoting his wealth and his energies to its furtherance (The Qur’an 49:15). He must do his duty as an exemplary believer and a good citizen — love God, and do good (The Qur’an 8:2, 3:22:77). Religion is dogma and law, belief and obedience (The Qur’an 2:285). Belief in the higher truths and the practice of personal and unselfish virtues — that is the Qur’anic definition of Goodness in the fullest sense of the word (The Qur’an 2:177).

Murji’ite views on sin and forgiveness

In the Qur’an the practical side of religion is given such importance that the text refers to it very frequently and in very precise terms, as a necessary condition for ultimate salvation and eternal happiness. And when the Qur’an does not actually refer to it in words, it is not difficult to “decipher” it under the term Mu’min, in accordance with the definitions we have just discussed. Does not this two-fold exigency imply a certain hierarchical link between its two elements? No one, practically speaking, will deny that acceptance of the faith is necessary for salvation. Does this apply to observance of the Law? And to what degree? In the case of a grave sin for which there has been no repentance before death, is it absolutely unpardonable? In other words, does this irrevocably imply eternal perdition (the majority of Mu’tazilites think so); or temporary punishment (some Mu’tazilites think so); or, on the contrary, should not the sinner’s faith automatically cancel out his sin by virtue of the mercy of God (the opinion of the “pure” Murji’ites)? or has God the power to forgive certain sins for certain Believers under certain conditions, without our being able to know who or what (the opinion of the Ash’arites)?

This theological discussion, which concerns secondary and negative aspects of the problem (the degree, the duration, the certainty of Divine punishment for this or that sin), excludes or nullifies not only all moral and social responsibility, but also, and especially, the positive value of virtuous action.

It is by progress in virtue that we climb on the ladder of merit (The Qur’an 6:13; 46:19).

It is not our intention here to make a list of the precepts whose ensemble constitutes the practical wisdom of the Qur’an; this would be a diversion from the narrow limits of this study. We will be content with indicating certain aspects of this wisdom through the medium of which the Qur’anic teaching undoubtedly won over many souls, as much by the matter and the contents of the doctrine as by the manner of its presentation.

Firstly, the method.

Whoever or whatever we may be, in every one of us there dwells a moralist. However base the turpitude and the degradation into which we may have fallen, and excluding exceptional cases where a misguided conscience has led us astray, we recognize, love and admire virtue for its own sake, and when we see it expressed in another person, even when we would not have the courage to raise ourselves up to its level. We are repelled at the sight of an unworthy or disgraceful act, even when we might be tempted to do the same thing with which we reproach others. We detest our faults and shortcomings, and, where we do not strive continually to correct them, we always try to find some excuse for them. Where is the man who would care to be looked upon as a liar, hypocrite, coward, swindler, drunkard, or as having some other serious shortcoming?

It is on this more or less universal notion of the just and the unjust, the good and the bad, that the Qur’an for the most part bases its exhortations. And it is to this principle that it

1 A very small minority of oral commentators — their historical origin is doubtful, as well as the precise import of their doctrine. (Razi : Tafsir, Vol. 1, p. 407.) Etymologically, the verb arjü, a term borrowed from the Qur’an (9:106), means “... not to predict or forecast the future destiny of men, but to be resigned to the decision of God”. This does not prevent a man from judging himself, or other men, according to their conduct during life. From this, to saying that everything depends on faith, and that, if there is faith, all sins are forgiven, is a far cry. For this would be not only predicting or forecasting in another manner, but would be going against the whole moral law as well as the social law. And we know that, while refraining from making decisions about religious controversies and political conflicts, a number of Murjiites demonstrated against the injustice of al-Hajjaj (Ibn Sa’d, Vol. 6, p. 205). We also know that a man like Ibn Sifin, reputed for his indulgent forbearance towards Believers, was very severe as far as his own conduct was concerned. (Nawawi : Tahdhib, p. 108.)

2 For this readers should consult the Appendix of the author’s work Le Morale du Koran.
makes reference when defining its practical teaching. We give here a few passages in which it sums up and synthesizes its moral message. The Qur'ān commands men to do what their souls recognize as good, and forbids them to do evil. It authorises wholesome things and makes unlawful to them impure things (literally and figuratively) (7:157). God enjoins justice and charity to all. He specially prescribes — and this is often forgotten when people boast of their charity to all and sundy — generosity towards one’s kinsfolk. It forbids indigence, and evil and rebellion (16:90). God does not enjoin indigence. He has enjoined justice (7:28, 29). He has only prohibited indigences, those of them that are apparent as well as those that are concealed, sins of the body or of the heart, as well as sin and rebellion without justice (7:32).

There is no need to quote more of the numerous passages on this subject. It suffices to note that in the Qur'ān there are more than 45 separate references to this “universal moral conscience”, to this conception, innate in every man, of the good and the bad.

However, since this natural sentiment to which appeal is made is not always possessed by everyone to a degree which would induce him to submit to the rule of the Divine, a satisfactory method of education cannot be limited to such appeal. A teacher who is concerned with the effectiveness of his teaching must have recourse to some other method, one that is no less potent, but which is independent of our individual proclivities and temperaments. Now, collaterally with the moral sense and the higher qualities, the human soul is endowed with intelligence and reason. In cases where there may be an absence of this lively notion of good and evil, there is always the idea of duty, an idea, or rather principle, which is universally recognized. The best way of awakening this idea, and of making it transcend our everyday sentiments and feelings, would be to invoke in its support the testimony of competent authorities, namely, the saints and sages of all epochs.

The Divine guidance

This is why there is a procedure, a method, on which great emphasis is laid in the last Revelation — that of remaining firmly linked and associated with the revelations which preceded it, and of rekindling the Divine flame which they had brought, but which, over the years, had become dimmed and diminished. Along with the knowledge of religious truth, the principal duties of man are presented by the Qur'ān as having already been taught to the ancients. All the messengers of God held the balance (“the measure”) of justice (57:25). All of them were enjoined to earn their living honestly, to adore God and to practise virtue (23:51, 52). Prayer and almsgiving were instituted by Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (21:73), Ishmael (19:55), Moses (20:14) and Jesus (19:31). Fasting was also prescribed to peoples who preceded the Arabs (2:183), and pilgrimage was established by Abraham (22:27). All the nations had their sacred rites (22:34, 67). Materialism, excessive love of the world, aggression and corruption, were condemned by Hūd and Sālih (26:128, 152). Lot condemned the debauchery of his people (26:165), and Shu'ab the fraudulent practices in commerce (26:181-3). When educating his son, the sage Luqman strongly counselled him to exhort others to do good, to prevent them from doing evil, and to endure with patience the troubles he might encounter when engaged in this noble task. He enjoined on him gentleness and modesty (31:17-19).

It is not by pure coincidence that Muhammad teaches the same Law as his predecessors. The Qur'ān says, addressing itself to Muslims:

“God desires to teach you, by guiding you into the path of those who preceded you.” (4:26).

And it says to the Prophet himself, after having enumerated the Divine messengers, his predecessors:

“These are the men whom God guided. Therefore follow their guidance” (6:90).

In fact, nowhere do we find a moral precept quoted or proclaimed by the Qur'ān as having been previously taught by some prophet or sage, which has not been repeated somewhere in the Holy Book as being a duty incumbent on the Muslim community.

Apart from Qur'ānic chronology, can we find the moral precepts of Moses and those of Jesus set out as they were rendered in the Holy Bible? Although nuances of style may not have been preserved, nevertheless we shall find them meticulously reproduced in the Qur'ān. They do not appear en bloc, as in the Decalogue or the Sermon on the Mount, but we find them distributed over various Meccan and Medinan chapters. In the majority of cases each of them is enunciated as being a definite ruling or decision applicable to some particular situation or set of circumstances.

Apart from Sabbath-Day observance, which in the Qur'ān is considered as being a local and “conditional” duty, the following table shows how the Ten Commandments (of the Decalogue) are confirmed in the Qur'ān:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Pentateuch</th>
<th>The Qur'ān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt have none other Gods but Me</td>
<td>17:23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image</td>
<td>(among other passages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain</td>
<td>2:224; 8:89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honour thy father and thy mother</td>
<td>17:23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt do no murder</td>
<td>4:29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt not steal</td>
<td>5:38; 60:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour</td>
<td>22:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house</td>
<td>4:32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These are the foundations of the Moral Law. Jesus said that he who should break one of the least of these commandments and should teach men, so would be called the least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever would observe them, and teach others to do so, would be called great in the kingdom of heaven.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But we should be under-estimating the mission of Moses if we were to confine it to the mere enumeration of these elementary duties. If we consult the "Torah", we shall find other commandments which deal with the "religion of the heart" as well as with external acts, and which are forerunners of the Gospel precepts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Pentateuch</th>
<th>The Qur'ān</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt not spread false rumour and slander</td>
<td>24:11, 19; 49:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou shalt not associate with the wicked, in order to do evil</td>
<td>5:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a lawsuit, thou shalt not favour the poor man</td>
<td>4:135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3 For examples of this, see my Morale du Koran, Chapter 3.
| Thou shalt help thy neighbour | 5 : 2 |
| Thou shalt treat the stranger as one of thine own people | 4 : 36 |
| Thou shalt give help to the poor man, whether brother or stranger, who asks thy help | 70 : 24, 25 |
| Thou shalt not oppress the foreigner | 4 : 36 |
| Thou shalt not afflict the widow or the orphan | 4 : 127; 93 : 9 |
| Thou shalt not deliver an unjust verdict | 4 : 58 |
| Thou shalt not make use of lies or deceit | 22:30; 2:204; 4 : 107, 108 |
| Thou shalt not take revenge | 3 : 134 |
| Thou shalt not give a wrong measure (in trade) | 83 : 123 |
| Do not harbour ill-feeling against the children of thy people | 59 : 10 |
| Be holy | 3 : 79; 9 : 108 |
| Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself | 59 : 9 |
| Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart | 2 : 165 |

However “negative” these precepts may appear to be, a voice which was both deeper and stronger and more positive was heard during the Sermon on the Mount, when there was given to the world a veritable moral treasure of inestimable value. Here again the Qur’an fulfills singularly well its first objective, that of being the faithful guardian and transmitter of all the Sacred Books (5 : 48). But, still using its preferred method of presentation, instead of concentrating all these precepts at one particular point in the text, more often it teaches each lesson at the most appropriate place — somewhere where it would be most relevant and applicable. Let us follow step by step the famous Gospel Sermon, and see how its principles are fully confirmed in the holy book of Islam:

**The Gospel**

**The Qur’an**

| Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven | 2 : 212; 3 : 14 |
| (among other passages) |
| Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted | 2 : 155-157 |
| Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth | 3 : 133, 134; 27 : 83 |
| Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled | 83 : 29, 36 |
| Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy | 90 : 17, 18 |
| Blessed are the pure in heart | 26:89; 50:33 |
| Blessed are the peace-makers | 4 : 114 |
| Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake | 2:214; 3:186 |

Let us continue our comparison.

Jesus was indeed proclaiming a profound truth when he said that he had come, not to destroy, but to fulfill. He also said: “Ye have heard that it was said to those of old time, do this, or do that ... but I say unto you ...” By this he doubtless meant that he was continuing the work of moral cleansing which had already begun before his time, but in which there was still ample scope for progress and improvement.

**The Eternal Law : Justice and Mercy**

From the above list we have omitted two passages from the New Testament which appear to be in contradiction to the Mosaic law on divorce and the law of retaliation (“blood vengeance”). In contrast to the unrestrained liberty of action which the Pentateuch seems to have granted to the husband to repudiate his wife if he finds something in her which he considers “shameful”, or if she arouses his “aversion”, the Gospel appears to have substituted the indissolubility of the marriage bond, except in cases of unfaithfulness. Similarly, in contrast to the implacable demand for the life of a murderer, and satisfaction for an injury received by the infliction of a similar injury (“an eye for an eye”, etc.), Jesus teaches men not to resist or contend with the offender, and to forgive him. Judging from the literal rendering of these passages it would seem as though Christianity had abolished those laws which it acknowledged to have been established previously. But if we look at things a little more closely, we shall see that there are two aspects or two degrees of the same eternal law, one being justice, and the other mercy.
These are two boundaries, or limits, between which morality will continually oscillate. But it must never swing beyond either of them. At the same time it cannot reasonably be limited to one of them to the definite exclusion of the other. For the man who insists on his rights, justice lays down humanitarian conditions which he must not infringe. But it has no quarrel with the man who willingly forgives his just dues. We are invited, in the name of charity, to show mercy and forbearance, even when we have been wrongfully treated, but we are not asked to condone crime or encourage vice. We should be lacking in moral tact if, on occasions when we are able to show leniency of this kind, we insist on having our "pound of flesh". But it would be absurd to show leniency to the detriment of other more essential virtues. According to the circumstances, we have to choose one or other of the two alternatives. Here we can make an analogy with the treatment of an illness, which would vary according to its degree of seriousness and the state of the patient's organism. The doctor can either apply the usual and normal measures, or he can use finesse and circumspection, or he can prescribe "the maximum treatment".

**Morality and conduct in the Old and New Testaments**

So that in our opinion the two codes of morality and conduct — the Old Testament version and the New Testament version — must either be complementary to each other, and interacting mutually, or we have to admit that each version is separately concerned with only a limited group of people, or a limited period of history. But while the Gospel sets up as the ideal example the indissoluble union of our First Ancestors, it seems to us to recognize the harsh reality for those unable to arrange a happier solution (St. Matthew 19: 8-11). And the Torah, which, more often than not, demands a life for a life and injury for injury, sometimes invites us to be satisfied with reprimanding the offender, and not to take vengeance on our neighbour (Leviticus 19: 17, 18).

Thus the real moral teaching will be the one of which both Holy Books have apparently each retained a part, leaving the other part more or less "understood". The Qur'an undertakes to enunciate this integral teaching in the most explicit manner, without omitting to give these two elements their respective values. It says:

> "If you have to retaliate, let not the punishment exceed the just limits. But those who endure with patience accomplish a more meritorious act. So endure with patience. God will help your constancy." (16: 126).

So much for the law of retaliation and that of forgiveness. As to the right of divorce, if we read the Qur'an (4: 19, 35, 128), we shall discover the obstacles and objections that a man must negotiate before he can begin to think about the rupture of this sacred union. We should also read other passages (2: 228-230; 65: 1, 2), which will inform us precisely as to how many attempts at reconciliation must be made before this rupture can be definitely pronounced. But where a husband has second thoughts about a proposed separation and changes his mind in favour of remaining united with his spouse, has he not, in so doing, accomplished an act capable of nullifying his fault and attracting the Divine mercy (2: 226)? Thus, in Islam, divorce cannot be considered as a "freely-permitted" act, or one that can be treated casually. And the Prophet declared: *Akhbād al-Halāl ilā la-Lāh al-Talāq*. (Among those things which are tolerated, the act which God detests the most is the rupture of the marriage bond). 4

**An outstanding feature of the Qur'ān**

Thus the Qur'ān explains the life-work of the different Prophets, and justifies their missions by assembling and synthesizing their activities. We hope to find in this unity-in-variety, and in this manner of acknowledging the existence within the moral law of varying degrees of merit, one of the very important factors by means of which the Islamic doctrine has spread over a considerable part of humanity. And this dissemination has been all the more successful because it has sheltered under the same orthodoxy such a variety of thoughts, tendencies and characters, that neither an abstract and intransigent severity nor an excessively inert tolerance would have produced such tangible results. In pointing out this conciliatory method — an outstanding feature of the Qur'ān — we have at the same time begun our discussion of the subject-matter which it teaches. It is a splendid achievement when a book which teaches morality and conduct has not only synthesized and unified the wisdom of the ancients, but has at the same time imparted teachings which, although converging towards the same objective, are far apart in time, and sometimes very contradictory in their wording.

But the Qur'ān goes farther than this.

Although its principal aim was to safeguard and consolidate the moral treasure bequeathed to humanity by previous Revelation, it had another no less important mission to fulfil. It was, as the Prophet declared, to complete, to consummate, to bring to perfection the Divine edifice which, little by little, the Prophets before him had built up. 5 *Innā-mā bi'tihiš li-Uttamomina makārim al-Akhālīq hādī thi Mithillā wa nhilth al-Anībiya ḫa-Rajūn banā Baytanā* or, as the Qur'ān itself puts it, to point out to men the most righteous and the most moral way of conducting their lives (17: 9).

What is there in the moral teaching of the Qur'ān which is new and progressive? The objective seeker is given his clue in a few brief passages.

In the domain of personal morality, we find in the Qur'ān at least one entirely new precept and one new principle — the abolition of alcoholism and the removal of its cause by prohibiting the use of all intoxicating drinks (5: 90, 91). Here the principle we wish to emphasize is the one which concerns essentially the moral objective. To encourage his people, Moses would offer them the dazzling perspective of the Promised Land, victory over their enemies, blessing and abundance in all the domains of earthly life. The coming of Jesus Christ marked a new era in spiritual teaching and spiritual dispensation. According to the Gospel the much-desired happiness would no longer be found in life on earth. The aspirations of the soul must henceforward be turned away from earthly existence and directed towards heaven.

Then the Qur'ān arrives, with a method which is always constructive, never destructive. And though it maintains the two promises, it declares that they should not constitute the sole "motive power" behind man's spiritual striving. The goal which the virtuous man seeks is not in the kingdom of heaven, nor is it in the kingdom of this world. It is found in the highest possible level of attainment, in Absolute God. Man's goal must be God Himself, and it will be reached by doing His will (among other passages, see 2: 272; 92: 20).

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4 Among other passages, see 3: 186; 42: 40-43.  
6 Ibn Sa'd and Hakim, quoted by Suyūtī.  
7 Bukhārī: *Sahih, Kitāb Manqub*, B. 18.
Inter-human morality

Here again is a new kind of progress — the one concerned with the moral law which regulates our relations with our fellowmen. With the precepts of the Pentateuch and those of the Gospel, we already have the tree of virtue, with its leaves and branches. In the garden of the Qur'an, this evergreen tree will blossom into flower and bear fruit. To its treasury of justice and mercy, which the Holy Book of Islam has jealously preserved, it will now add a valuable chapter dealing with what may be termed as ethical advancement. This takes the form of a veritable code of good manners and politeness (4:86; 24:27, 28, 58, 59, 61, 62; 49:2-5; 58:8-11), of discretion (49:12), of decorum (24:31, 60; 33:32, 33, 53, 59).

Collective and communal morality in Judaism and Christianity

An outstanding characteristic of the Jewish moral law is the impassable barrier which it raises between an Israeli and a non-Israeli. Although the charity which an Israelite is called upon to practise is not limited to his own people, it does not extend beyond his country ("... the stranger sojourning with him..."). "Thou canst not take interest from the foreigner, but thou shalt take none from thy brother" (Deuteronomy 22:20). "Thou canst constrain (in law) the foreigner, but thou shalt forgo thy right regarding thy property which is in the keeping of thy brother" (Deuteronomy 15:3). "Thou shalt not make him (thy brother) do the work of a slave" (Leviticus 25:39). "Thou shalt not domineer over him with harshness... it is from the nations which are thy neighbours that thou shalt take thy slave... thou canst also buy them from among the foreigners dwelling among thee" (Leviticus 25:43-45).

Christian morality has the great glory of having destroyed this barrier separating man from man. "For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?... and if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?" (St. Matthew 5:46, 47). But, in contrast, we do not notice that social cohesion, that spirit of collective responsibility, which is revealed to us in Hebrew texts, such as: "Thou shalt teach these laws to thy children" (Deuteronomy 6:7); "In this way thou shalt banish evil from thy people" (Deuteronomy 13:5); "Ye shall observe all my laws... so that the country shall not vomit you forth" (Leviticus 26:21). Christian social morality, as set forth by the four Gospels, can be said to be more inter-individual than collective, in the real sense of the word. Before Christianity the community spirit operated, so to speak, in a two-fold way — for oneself and against others. Christian love, by spreading itself beyond its own frontiers and embracing the whole of humanity, has abolished this "exclusivity", and replaced it by universal brotherhood, though it has not laid enough emphasis on the special need for strengthening the sacred communal bond.

Would it not be possible, while practically and wholeheartedly observing world-wide charity and brotherly love, to set up in this great human family another family, one that is smaller, more coherent, more conscious of its rôle as a nucleus of cells, together forming one single organism in this vast body?

The Qur'an, unlike Judaism and Christianity, affects the "marriage" between universal and collective morality

It is the Qur'an which effected the auspicious "marriage" between universal morality and collective morality. It teaches us that, in addition to fraternity in religion there is fraternity in Adam (49:10, 13), that the great diversity of religious beliefs and sentiments must not prevent us from being charitable and benevolent towards others (60:8), that the wickedness of unbelievers directed against us must neither make us aggressive towards them, nor prevent us from dealing with them justly (5:2, 8). Muslims are forbidden to lend money at interest to anyone (2:275), and that which is righteous and just within the community is righteous and just outside of it (3:75, 76). Although in certain cases a Muslim must do his utmost to liberate his captive brother (4:92), in other cases the freeing of a slave is for him, generally speaking, either an obligation (5:89), or a highly meritorious action, and one which the Qur'an praises very highly (2:177; 90:13). Thus the conception of a "universal morality" proclaimed by the Gospel becomes further developed and made more precise by its extension to the various spheres of life. Does this mean that the Muslim community must relax its internal bonds and lose itself in the ocean of humanity? On the contrary, two important precepts remind it forcibly of its rôle as a separate and more organic collectivity.

Two important precepts meant especially for the Muslim community

The first of these commandments is the one which firmly enjoins Believers to band together as one indivisible unity, without schism or dissension, around their ideal and behind their Leader (The Qur'an 3:103; 4:59; 8:46). A certain number of "Orientalists", however, have seen fit to portray the Muslim as an "... incorrigible individualist", who has never known the "bond of solidarity". "The Muslim religion respects and reverences individualism. It knows nothing of the communion of souls at one large gathering — the ritual acts practised in common, the Friday prayer, the ceremony at 'Arafat, and the prayers on festival days — all these are at individual acts carried out by the faithful at the same moment and in the same place, but are definitely not ceremonies of the congregational type, controlled, regulated and harmonious." 9

Anyone who has been present at a communal Muslim prayer-gathering will see at once that nothing is more inaccurate. He will see the Faithful, but they will not be scattered about in relative disorder, each one reciting his own prayer or looking on passively while their leader carries out on their behalf this essential part of the religious duty. They will be standing in orderly lines, shoulder to shoulder, the rich man and the poor man side by side, the chief next to his subordinate, all assuming the same position, facing the same direction, using the same words, each man praying for everyone else: lyād-ka na'būda wa tyyād-ka nasta'īn. "Thee (O Lord) do we worship and Thee do we beseech for help. Guide us on the right path" (1:5, 6).

All of them offer their best greetings, not only for the assembly present, but for... all the good servants of God", wherever they may be (Al-Salāmī 'alaynā wa 'alā 'Ibād allāh al-Sālihīn). This external harmony doubtless serves only as a means of fostering the intimate communion of hearts and minds. (Li-tasuwwunna Sufi'ā-jum la il-halīfijumna Allāhu bayn wujāhi-kum. 10

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8 Gautier: Mœurs et Coutumes des Musulmans, p. 216.
9 Gauldroy-Dénonomyes: "L'Islam" in Histoire et Historiens, p. 739.
10 Muslim: Sahih, Kitāb al-Salāh, B. 28. Wujāhi-kum means Qulīhu kum (see Nawawi).

The writer is thinking of the Fardh prayers, while the "Orientalists" were perhaps thinking of the Sunnah prayers, which are said individually and they are more numerous than the Fardh. The purpose and aim of the Fardh prayers are neutralized by the Sunnah prayers when said in the mosque.
Islam is not only a religion, but also a fraternity (49:10). In the Hadiths, a comparison is made between the firm solidarity of the Believers and that of the human body, in which all the parts are sensitive to the pain felt in one of the organs, and co-operate in its defence. The two essential duties, which Muslims term "twin duties", are prayer and obligatory alms, and cases of omission of these are dealt with very severely. This is but one of the many eloquent examples of the Muslim spirit of solidarity.

The second aspect, which is of the highest moral importance, is the obligation for everyone to see that evil does not triumph in their midst (The Qur'an 8:25). It is the necessity to enjoin on each other truth and virtue (The Qur'an 103:3; 90:17). It is not only the right, but the duty, of every Muslim, whether he be important or insignificant, to enjoin his co-religionists to do that which is right and just, and to prohibit all incorrect behaviour. As we are solicitous for their material welfare, so we should not be indifferent to their spiritual happiness. We must all unite and work together for the establishment of virtue and piety among us (The Qur'an 5:2). The value placed by the Qur'an on the practice of this moral solidarity is such that it has made it the criterion of the "best nation known to history" (3:110).

International and inter-confessional morality

But in the Book of Islamic morality, the Qur'an, there is a chapter which is quite new. At the time of their founders, neither Judaism nor Christianity at any time entered into relations with hostile States. On the one hand there was the peaceful and "localized" teaching of Jesus, and on the other, in contrast, the warfare waged by Moses against neighbouring countries, who were quickly exterminated. With Muhammad the situation was very different, for during a period of about ten years he was in constant touch with foreign nations and religions. Sometimes these were hostile, sometimes they were nations that had been subdued. Due to these special circumstances our moral and spiritual Guide also became a diplomat and a military commander, and this rendered necessary a code of moral legislation dealing with conditions of peace and of war.

We find the fundamental principles of this legislation in the Qur'an, among them being the one which defines legitimate warfare as being warfare which is waged on the defensive (2:90), and which should cease as soon as the enemy ceases his aggression (4:90; 8:61). There is another principle which makes binding all agreements which have been entered into, however unequal may be the chances involved. A treaty which has been concluded must be faithfully and solemnly observed, even though it may be manifestly to our disadvantage (61:91, 92). Even if the enemy has begun to break the pact we made with him, we have no right whatsoever to do the same and pass to the attack, without giving him due warning. We must first repudiate his alliance in unmistakable terms, so that he is as fully aware of the situation as we are (8:58).11 We will not mention the regulations established by the Hadiths, which have succeeded, if not in eliminating the scourge of the human race, at least in attenuating considerably its disastrous consequences.

11 Here Goldzhiher has committed an error which amounts to a contradiction. He has translated this verse as follows: "If you fear treachery on the part of a people, send them back the same" (Dogme et Loi, p. 23). Kasimirski makes the same mistake "... return them the same", and Savary also "... treat them as they act". One has only to read the continuation of the verse to perceive the incompatibility of this interpretation with the text.

ISLAMIC STUDIES AS A UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINE—Continued from page 18

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW & ARAB AFFAIRS
What Our Readers Say . . .

An Open Letter to Conscious Muslims in Pakistan, Indonesia and other Muslim Countries

70 Ockenden Road,
London, N.1
May 1969

Dear brother in Islam,

Assalamu ‘alaykum

I am writing this letter purely for the pleasure of God and so there is absolutely no consideration of any mundane personal ambition, gain or recognition. The object is to offer an outline of an Islamic Plan of government, the only plan that can save and revivify Pakistan, Indonesia and other Muslim countries, and it shall satisfy all sections of our people except those who have completely lost their personality and their faith in Islam. Whether you accept it, appreciate it or throw it into the waste-paper basket is not my concern. I am doing my duty. Yours depends upon the insight, the grasp and the urge to see it done.

I, therefore, consider myself fit enough, if not the expert, to write on the indicated subject. You will find it is the simplest possible plan but it holds tremendous possibilities for a limitless growth.

The future of Pakistan is manifestly but painfully precarious and enigmatic. The emergence of the unsalubrious factional climate, controlled for a while, may gather momentum the minute you controlling power slackens, weakens or is removed. The disintegration or fragmentation of Pakistan into linguistic or racial units will prove to be a coup de grace for the hopes and expectations of those who sacrificed for and dreamt about the rising of the Islamic Phoenix from the ashes into which it disappeared after the emergence of the Monarchal Caliphate. The significance of the sacrifices of the Imam Husayn and of the big and small bands later on was never understood by the general public of that time nor by the later generations.

The Imam did not oppose the monarchical rule because of his personal ambitions but his stand was to save the Sublime Democracy (the word democracy is used for want of any other suitable word) which had been established by his grandfather, the Holy Prophet, and which was buried with the assassination of his father, ‘Abd

These sacrifices were made to serve as a constant reminder to guard against the megalomaniacs and hereditary monarchs. But the general public and the ‘ulamā’ failed to do their duty then and all through the centuries. Some of them even practised and preached rajd’. The lamentable default on the part of the ‘ulamā’ as a whole to tread on the footsteps of the Great Imam in order to re-establish the Sublime Democracy brought about the inevitable changes in the beliefs and practices of the ensuing generations. The accumulated effect of the changes was that they invited the terrible catastrophes and calamities on the Ummah in various forms and shapes, like Halaku Khan’s massacre. European domination, the massacre in India, dissensions, disunion, disharmony, megalomaniac leaders, etc. Our present-day behaviour, rather misbehaviour, is the proof of God’s wrath.

It is woefully manifest that, generally speaking, the educated Muslims do not care for Islam any more, but they readily and unscrupulously exploit its name to bamboozle the common man for their selfish motives, as we can notice in the announced aims of the recent opposition parties of Pakistan. Many may not consider it ridiculous if someone says: so many men, so many Islands.

The governments of Muslim countries have also become inert and neglectful about their duties towards Islam. Two recent press reports have revealed the rot that has set in. Not a single embassy or High Commission wrote a single letter of protest to the press when Professor Toynbee drew an odious comparison between the Holy Prophet Muhammad (may the blessings and peace of God be upon him) and Gandhi, but Cecil King’s remarks about the Ḥādid-i ʿAzam agitated the government and students of Pakistan!

The Sublime Democracy could be revived only through a new country like Pakistan or Indonesia. But eleven years of European-type democracy brought more harm to Pakistan than doing any good. And the ten years of martial and Presidential rule, a mixture of the European type of democracy and the Hindu Panchayat system, missed a golden chance. Immediately after he assumed power I wrote to remind Field Marshal Ayub Khan about the potentialities and possibilities afforded to him by God, but I did not even receive an acknowledgement of my letter. He probably did not receive it. Similarly, but not so briefly, I am writing this letter to you. The difference this time is that the country is really at the brink of a pit of fire and the well-wishers are only praying for a miracle to save it and put it on a wholesome and fruitful course.

We are standing in a cul-de-sac and the enemies of Islam would never — if they could help — let us get along. It needs a daring and dauntless personality to accomplish what seems to be unattainable. Only a real soldier can have these qualities, provided he has the Islamic sentiments fully developed. It may be my wishful thinking but I sincerely imagine that this is a unique and perhaps the last chance to extricate Islam and the Muslims from the strangle-hold of the legacies bequeathed by the anti-Islam forces which have been snowballing ever since the unholy day when Mu’āwiya grabbed the power and then nominated his son to succeed him, the act which started monarchy in Islam, misnamed as caliphate, contrary to the spirit, teaching and practice of the Last Messenger of God.

I am proudly convinced now that the only way to bring back the glory and power of Islam and the Muslims is to re-

1 This is a facsimile of the letters, with minor changes, some curtailments and additions, which were posted on 7.5.69 by registered airmail to their Excellencies General Yahya Khan and General Subarto, Presidents of Pakistan and Indonesia respectively.

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establish the Sublime Democracy, and to establish it does not involve a complicated process but it does require guts.

This is the way not only to keep Pakistan united but eventually it will attract, like a magnet, other Muslim countries. And this is the only bright way which can overcome the separatist tendencies and movements, false and derogatory nationalist feelings and the ‘asabiyyah demon’.

So many forces are at work to destroy the whole fabric of a united Pakistan that even the two languages which depend upon the discarding and incongruous scripts — Arabic and Hindi — are playing a potent part. The effect of a language is second only to a good religion.

Some leaders of some religious movements actively aspire to establish a theocracy in Pakistan, as the assistant editor of The Observer, of London, wrote to me on 9 April 1969 in answer to my criticism dealing with a long article entitled “The Short Sad History of Pakistan”, which appeared in The Observer for 30 March 1969, to say (paragraph 6):

“...True, Islam has no ordained priesthood, but it certainly has, in West Pakistan, recognized religious leaders whose active declared desire is to see their country adopt a policy which would be for all practical purposes a theocracy.”

The truth of the matter is that our so-called ‘ulama’ imagine that by learning Arabic and cramming up a few Hadith and passages of the Holy Qur’an one can become a learned man. The Qur’an itself points out that knowledge is essential to understand the Qur’an and have a faith in it. It is of little consequence if they do not understand that there is no ordained priesthood in Islam, hence no theocracy.

The people trained and educated in the European universities and offshoots thereof need have no qualms on this score. Everybody therein would have an equal opportunity to rise to any position but with one difference in their attitude towards Islam, and that is — involvement instead of indifference.

They may not be able to comprehend the far-reaching effects, consequences and benefits of the real democracy. The present-day muddle would have never taken its shape and there would not have been such a vast gulf between the rich and the poor, for the economy would have remained rock-bottom steady. The person responsible for bringing it back would have achieved a status, both everlasting and glorious, such that no ordinary man had ever attained since the destruction of the Sublime Democracy which took place in 661 C.E. at the battle of Siffin. His cherished and blessed memory would have remained perpetually evergreen.

The Sublime Democracy

I have deliberately departed from calling it an Islamic State for an obvious reason. The reason is: that “Islamic State” has lost its real meaning and real significance; so have the words “Islam” and “Muslim”. Grammatically and etymologically the meanings of Islam and Muslim are not what are universally accepted by the Muslim world and the phrase “Islamic State” signifies a variety of shapes and forms as the opposition parties of Pakistan have demonstrated, and so it does not convey a particular type of State.

The word “Sublime” I have chosen because it has a transcendental force through sublimation which was the object and function of the type of State that the Holy Messenger of God established.

It was a government with Shurá (consultation) which looked after and kept alive both the spheres of the Democracy, namely, political as well as social. The monarchical caliphate dropped not only the Shurá but both the spheres by abandoning the seat and source of the power of a caliph. But the social sphere continued on its own for many centuries, though steadily waning. During this destructive phase the remaining influence of Sublime Democracy and the built-in force in the beliefs and practices of the believers, whereby equal evaluation was accorded to man, both rich and poor, weak and strong, kept the Muslim society basically egalitarian and attractive enough for the European societies — wherein human rights were an unknown commodity — to copy it. Thus the top of the Muslim society displayed “might is right” while the bottom showed “egalitarianism”. The top had made various grades of individual status-monarch, courtiers, and general public — while the society as a whole looked like a real brotherhood. The copy was bound to show the effects of both top and bottom. That is what we see in the European type of democracy whose political sphere is stronger than the social one; in some respects the social sphere does not exist. The adopted cover is deceptively beautiful while under it everybody is eating everybody.

This type of government is not suitable even for those countries which never had a better type of government, but for the Muslims the government established by the Holy Prophet is a transparent guide. It has been clouded and obscured by the later developments brought about by the monarch-caliphs. The Umayyads revived the tribal wars, consequently only two out of twelve successors of Mu`awiyyah ascended their thrones without the tribal wars.

The European societies which were laden with serfs and slaves who had no human rights, and were backward in every sphere of life, were under the unavoidable impact of the Muslim society.

Europe has had the word “democracy” for 3,000 years, which now means: government of the people, by the people and for the people. But prior to the Islamic influence it did not mean what it does now, in other words, the concept was deceptive. Serfs and slaves had no say in it and so the Athenian and Roman democracies were oligarchies. But when influenced by the Muslim society and their sciences, they (the Europeans) basically evolved, in spirit, a similar type of government as of the monarch-caliphs under the same old name of democracy which till today has remained based upon the tribal system — although the tribes are not there but the concept abides. The stronger party, acting as a stronger tribe, rules the country and enacts laws which are more often than not contrary to the interests of the minority and weaker party. Other weaker sections in it have little human rights, e.g., in a part of the United Kingdom the Ulster Catholics are fighting for their civil rights; in the U.S.A. the Negroes are dying for their civil rights; the indigenous populations of Rhodesia, South Africa and Australia have no human rights. It is absolutely unsuited to the Muslim society in which weaker sections and individuals must enjoy equal rights with more favourable weightage in their favour. They are hesitant to pay their debt to the Sublime Democracy but in the European democracies not only do they not receive any help but interest is charged too. The irony of fate is that Muslims have readily adopted this Yazídite type of democracy for want of better knowledge. The resultant output of the European democracy is that its immoral philosophy permeates the society through and through, destroying all moral standards in peace and war, affecting property...
The picture of the Islamic Democracy has been obscured so much by the mixture of Sublime Democracy and the government of the monarch-caliphs that no one seems to be able to sift out right from wrong, and so they imagine that Islam has nothing to offer in this field.

The Muslim brain has been rendered incapable of thinking, pondering and reasoning on the part of the followers of, and believers in, the Book which proclaims in organ tones that only those will believe in it who, with knowledge, may ponder and reflect. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, the grandson of Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, invented a shell for the Muslim brain to hide therein for a thousand years. His invention was a doctrinal formula of Bilā Kayf (without questioning) in 935 C.E.

The Sublime Democracy will create an environment to build up proper and strong Islamic sentiments upon which depends the esprit de corps. Islam is the only system in the whole world that develops a positive group of common sentiments which are a sure foundation of love and brotherhood. The Sublime Democracy will, therefore, lead to stronger brotherly feelings, banish the ideas of nationalism and bring back the high standards of honesty and morality in all dealings, as the history of the Muslim guilds of the 11th century C.E. shows.

Strong men came and strong men went. One day the strong men of today will have to go but if they create this machinery now, they will reap the rewards in this life, and that to follow in the Hereafter. Their established model is sure to be copied by all the Muslim countries and thus the scattered Ummah will once again become a Bunyadum Marsus (solid foundation).

You will be remembered as a benefactor of the Muslim world for all times to come. Many have missed a heaven-sent chance. It was not so bad then although it has given birth to the present crises. I hope and pray that some of you will grasp it by its forelocks with both hands and start it now. If you miss the chance at this juncture the consequent events will render it beyond any repair and Pakistan and other Muslim countries will remain divided and their downward trend will press forward with an unprecedented acceleration and Islam and Muslims will, at best, remain the laughing stock of the world.

Pause for a moment and think and then ask yourself:
Is it only an accident that Muslims of the whole world are passing through the most trying conditions? Every Muslim country has been involved in her own troubles. Think of the revolts of West Iran of Indonesia, Kurds of Iraq, South Sudanese of Sudan, Chinese of Malaysia, separatist movements in Pakistan, the dispute between Iran and Iraq. Are these spontaneous or are they fomented by the foreign agents? How can you know about these things without a proper discipline?

Is anybody interested in the revival of the Sublime Democracy? If so, I may be able to give you the straightforward, unadulterated and simple recipe. It will be only in a few words, an acorn to grow into an oak tree, branches of which shall rise to the Heavens.

Your sincere brother-in-Islam.

'ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN.

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1 "To al-Ashʿarī is also attributed the introduction of the formula bilā kayf (without modality), accordingly one is expected to accept the anthropomorphic expressions in the Qurʾān without any explanation demanded or given. This new principle served as a damper on free-thought and research.

2 "It was al-Ghazzālī who fixed the ultimate form of the Ashʿarīyah and established its dicta as the universal creed of Islam." History of the Arabs, by P. K. Hitti. London, 1964.

Since then the West and the East have parted company, the former progressing, while the latter stood still.

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EDITORIAL—Continued from page 5

Noah is supposed to have offered burnt offerings on the altar.\(^{15}\)

The Lord spoke to Moses, saying:

"Command Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the burnt offering. It is the burnt offering because of the burning upon the altar..."\(^{16}\)

Muslims

Muslims believe that these are false ideas fathered on the fair names of these holy Prophets of God. God would never have demanded any killing for atonement. The prophecy of Micheas about the Last Messenger of God, Muhammad, is an ample proof for this belief:

"In the same spirit he sees through the meaning of sacrifice, dwelling more on the value of good life than on the offering of victims."\(^{17}\)

Compare the above prophecy with the following verse of the Holy Qurʾān:

"Neither their flesh, nor their blood reaches God, but to Him is acceptable the obseerence of taqwa"\(^{18}\) — volitional control — on your part... And give good tidings to those who do good (to others)" (22 : 37).

The Hajj is thus the overt and palpable service for the creation and strengthening of the common sentiments of Brotherhood, the self-restraining quality of taqwa and practical demonstration for the enforcement of God’s commandment given to Abraham (confirmed by the verse of the Holy Qurʾān that God, the Most Merciful and Most Beneficent, needs no sacrifice to sustain or please Him nor an atonement to forgive sins).

(Dr.) 'ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN

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15 Ibid. Chapter 8, verse 20.
16 Ibid, The Third Book of Moses, called Leviticus, Chapter 6, verses 8, 9 and 25.
18 The Arabic word taqwa means to preserve oneself from something, control of the sense of self, self-control, piety, volitional control. When it is used in conjunction with the word Allah, it means: honour God, fear God, have volitional control for the sake of God. Lack of taqwa results in sins, crimes, wars, etc. Thus it is the most important quality to establish peace and comfort in the world.

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(2) Humanoids are endowed with faculty of symboling and speaking. This is a phase characteristic of the expansion of consciousness.

(3) God’s Messenger Adam was sent to the already evolved society of hominoids, and thus by God’s inspiration was created consciousness, and also started an era of the humanisation of hominoids.

As regards evolution and transformism we can say that they do not impose any philosophy. Reduced to its essence, transformism is not a hypothesis. It is the particular expression, applied to life, and the law which conditions our whole knowledge of the living matter. The relation between science and faith shows that religious truth is safe from any sudden turns that the experimental science of man may take, but it would be unpardonable to ignore or inveigh against the work of anthropologists and prehistorians, and especially because their findings are much more in accordance with the Holy Qur’ān than is the case with the Bible. Teilhard de Chardin, in his The Appearance of Man (London 1965, p. 32), mentions: “The letter of the Bible shows us the Creator forming the body of man from earth. Careful observation of the world tends to make us see today that by this ‘earth’ we must understand a substance slowly developed from the totality of things, so that man has been drawn not precisely from a little amorphous matter but by a prolonged effort of ‘Earth’ as a whole. Gradually agreement will be reached, quite naturally, between science and dogma in the burning field of human origins. In the meantime, let us take care not to reject the least ray of light from any side. Faith has need of all the truth.”

The proper attitude for the believer cannot be in doubt. He has merely to seek patiently and confidently on both sides. Faith guaranteed man that there cannot be contradiction between his creed and the empiric human knowledge. Transformism was generally regarded as anti-religious by nature. Would it not be more just and more efficacious to claim that it is capable of forming an excellent basis for Islamic thought and action? By carefully studying the following verses of the Holy Qur’ān (23:12-14) it seems to be so:

“And certainly We create man originating from clay. Then We make him a cell with predetermined properties. Then We make cell a worm, then We make worm molluscus, then We make molluscus an exoskeleton, then We created skeleton surrounded by tissue, then We transformed it into other forms of life. So blessed be God, the best of Creators.”

Prophecy, Zionism and the State of Israel — Continued from page 28

"What I was referring to were matters of grave concern in my own field of foreign affairs.”37

I, too, have not the least desire here to pass judgment upon anyone’s religious beliefs, to engage in debate with anyone's particular predilections in Middle East politics. If I raised questions of both theology and politics and if the questions were responsibly raised, I will have served at least something of my purpose. If, in order to retain for the spiritual tradition the sanctity it has claimed in the minds and hearts of religious men for these millennia of time, it is necessary to raise annoying or even disputatious questions about certain political claims. It is my firm conviction this is in the tradition of Jeremiah standing at ‘the gate of the Lord’s house” and lifting his voice for all in Judah to hear him say:

"Trust ye not in lying words, saying: ‘The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these.’ Nay, but if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings; if ye thoroughly execute justice between a man and his neighbour; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt; then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever and ever.”38

Measured by any of the rigorous, covenanted criteria of the prophetic tradition, the State of Israel is not “the temple of the Lord.” Those who credit it with such sanctity, in my opinion, perform a disservice to the great, spiritual tradition we share. They do no lasting good, even in the world of realistic politics, to either the State of Israel itself or — more importantly — to the people who live there.

37 The Middle East, by Henry A. Byroade, op. cit., p. 21.
38 VII: 4-6.
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