

# The Fragrance of East

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# THE FRAGRANCE

OF EAST

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## CONTENTS

1. Iqbal and Modern Education 9  
S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi
2. Man of Many Parts 25  
M.A. Sherif
3. Education and Employment opportunities  
for Muslims in India 45  
Maqbool Ahmed Siraj
4. Islam and the West 57  
HRH The Prince of Wales
5. *Islam between East and West:*  
The Magnum opus of Alija Izetbegovic 69  
Muhammad Al-Ghazali
6. Behind the scenes of the Iraq War 83  
Harun Yahya
7. America's Aggressive Acts:  
A threat to World Peace 93  
A.A. Faruqi

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**Editor's Note:**

**Madrasas- Powerhouses of Divine Radiance**

The wave of anti-Islam and anti-Muslim vendatta, raging throughout the whole world is specifically aimed at destroying the basic human characteristics so that the entire human race degenerates to the level of animals. Without expressing in so many words, all the programmes disseminated through media including TV, Cinema, Clubs and much of print, leave little to imagination. The attitude towards women is deplorable, with their uninhibited, blatant exploitation, made out as women's lib but actually making them servile for carnal and commercial purpose. The first step is to prevent a girl coming into existence; but arrive they do; are enticed into becoming an object of pleasure and display. The institutions and organisations, engaged in raising the level of humanity and to inculcate true human traits, are being targeted with fabricated allegations and efforts to wipe out their very existence, without which the nefarious design would not be fulfilled.

Madrasas are labelled as dens of terrorism whereas an objective unbiased assessment would reveal that in reality terrorism breeds and flourishes in modern educational institutions, with violent clashes fisticuffs to bomb explosions, becoming a routine affair. We declare without any fear of contradiction, a genuine probe into our madrasas would reveal them to be clean educational schools, with no subversive activity, whatsoever.

In the past, over the centuries, several countries produced highly learned erudite persons, well versed in religious knowledge and their writings are still an inexhaustible source of enlightenment, for all times to come. Yet Muslims in those countries are hardly aware of teachings and spirit of Islam, Muslims in name and by descent only. They have hardly an inkling of implications and duties of being a Muslim. The state of affairs is a direct outcome of

absence of ground level religious schools (madrasas).

A considerable number of Muslims in our country, under the influence of Jesuit and Qadiyani missions have turned apostate. Voices are being raised, though, in protest that these movements endeavour to take people out of madrasas to venues where humans are transformed into mere robots, divesting them of basic human values. What is more, the modern educational institutions dish out knowledge which is bereft of character and drives human race away from humanity.

The mindset behind the nefarious propaganda and actions is the all-encompassing lust for riches and power which are construed as be all and do all. The concerted drive to annihilate not only the Muslims but the entire culture and social system promulgated by Islam, evolves out of this mindset.

The situation is much akin to a deluge, threatening the very existence of *ummah* (muslim community) and needs to be confronted with adroit steps and cogent plan.

In Islamic schools (madrasas) not only is formal education imparted, but the pupils are trained to become real human beings, imbued with quality character, pious mode of life and altruism. These schools are labelled as worthless with the allegation of turning out persons who can only perform routine religious rituals and are incapable of providing even sustenance for themselves and their kin. Although some persons devoted exclusively to religious preaching for perpetuation of Islamic spirit are always needed, the madrasas include worldly disciplines and knowledge of current affairs in their courses, also. Linguistics, history, economics, sociology, political science and similar subjects are covered to an essential extent.

To a lay observer madrasas appear to proliferate all over but actually the number and coverage is far short of requirement.

The readership here comprises of people who are fired by a desire to heed and understand all the teachings and spirit of Islam. This mindset is inherited from the positive attitude of and upbringing by their progenitors. It is such people who have it in them to ensure that Islamic message and spirit, in word and deed, flourish among the present and future generations and also to be a bulwork against the nefarious designs of anti-Islam forces. The mission can be immeasurably bolstered by the madrasas and an all out effort is needed to maintain these institutions as bastions against the deluge alluded to in the preceding lines. The constant hue and cry for modification of curriculae is in fact a camouflage for the latent intention to dilute the religious mission and render the madrasas ineffective.

An important aspect, not yet fully put into effect, is that the religious and general education should be imparted to girls also, which would be the real harbinger for a better future generation, with entire enlightened families.

These institutions for religious education commonly known as madrasas, are in fact power-stations for generating and spreading of radiance, so as to convey to the entire humanity the divine promise that the faithful are brought into light out of darkness.

All out action, ground work with single-minded devotion to preserve the madrasas is the call of the hour. Mere wishful thinking would take us nowhere. ■

S.M.R.N.

English rendering : Mashhoon Ahmad

Strange are their look, out-of-this-world they seem!  
Wherefrom, O Lord, do these lovers spring!

Even in treating my pain, I choose a painful way,  
With the tip of the needle I pick, the thorns in my  
blistered soles.

God preserve the garden of my cherished hopes!  
I've watered these plants with my life-blood.

*Anokhi waza hai saare zamaane se niraale hain,  
Yeh aashiq kaunsi basti ke yaarab rahne wale hain.*

*Ilaaj-e-dard mein bhi dard ki lazzat pe marta hun,  
Jo the chhaalon mein kaate nok-e-sozan se nikale  
hain.*

*Phala phula rahe yaarab chaman meri umedon ka,  
Jigar ka khoon de kar yeh bute main ne paale hain.*

Sir Mohammed Iqbal



# IQBAL AND MODERN EDUCATION

S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi

Iqbal discovered a number of weaknesses in the modern educational system. He subjected its faults and inadequacies to frank but constructive criticism and also brought them to the notice of experts in educational methods.

When Iqbal speaks of 'schools', 'seminaries' and 'students' he generally means the Western or Westernised educational institutions and their scholars. According to him the present system of education is a curse to the rising generations. It is doing them an irreparable harm. He is displeased both with the *Madrassa* (seminary) and *Khanqah* (sufi-lodge) where is neither the zest for life witnessed nor the ardour of love, neither knowledge is fostered nor idealism.

I rose downhearted from *Madrassa* and *Khanqah* where,  
Neither life is promoted nor love nor knowledge nor vision.

He frowns equally upon the bankruptcy of the schools  
and the soullessness of the monasteries.

The scholars of *Madrassa* ignorant and listless,  
The hermits of *Khanqah* shallow and unambitious.

Iqbal asserts that modern education is an evil because it neglects both the mental and moral and spiritual development of the younger generations. The result is that a crisis of character has overtaken the youth. Having been brought up in a lopsided manner it is finding it hard to adjust itself to the environment, to the hard realities of the surrounding world. If the young men everywhere are inclined to be wayward and restless it is due to the emotional imbalance that has developed in them owing to the defective educational design. A deep chasm has been caused between their inner and outer selves, between their mind and body, and knowledge and belief. They have developed

a split personality.

The intellect of the present day youth is bright and refulgent but its soul is dark. Its spiritual degeneration has been taking place side by side with mental development. Iqbal knows the younger generation intimately, and, therefore, what he says about it and the judgement he passes is not fanciful but realistic. He laments that the goblet of the youth is empty and its soul is thirsty though outwardly it presents a picture of brightness and vitality. Its mind is luminous but in so far as discernment and perception are concerned it is blind. Hesitation, incertitude and despondency are the characteristic traits of its personality and disappointment its lot. The young men are not young; they are living corpses. They deny their own identity but are everwilling to repose faith in others. Aliens and strangers are building the church and temple out of the Islamic heaven. The energies of the Muslim youth are being frittered at the doorstep of the tavern. It has grown indolent, slothful and ease-loving. So unbounded is its apathy, torpor and insipidity that the stirrings of the ambition are hardly felt in its bosom. The modern educational system has blunted its soul and rendered it virtually lifeless.

Among the Muslim young men the unawareness of the Self and indifference towards their destiny are widespread. Under the influence of the Western Civilisation the Muslim youth is ready to barter away its soul for a few crumbs of bread. The mentors of the rising generations being themselves ignorant of their true worth take little interest in teaching them the secrets of greatness and nobility. They are Muslims yet unaware of the joy of death and unacquainted with the power of *Tawheed* (the doctrine of monotheism). They feel no compunction in borrowing idols from the West. These 'sons of Harem' are not averse to making a pilgrimage to the 'street of infamy' and prostrating themselves at the 'feet of the mistress'. The West has killed them without shedding a drop of blood. Their intellect is defunct, their hearts are dead and their eyes are shameless

Even the worst of shocks and disasters do not make an impression on them. Their knowledge and learning, faith and politics, ideas and emotions are all motivated by materialism. No wave of yearning rises in the hearts, their minds are devoid of loftiness and a state of enervation and stagnation has settled on their existence.

The idols of modern days carved in the school,  
Bear neither the touch of Azar nor possess charm.

---

My complaint against mentors of the school is this:  
To eaglets they impart the lesson of earthliness.

---

People of the seminary have strangled thee,  
Wherefrom can the sound of *La Ilah-a-Ilallah* come?

---

Does the Madrassa possess the beauty of thought?  
Is the joy of mystery in the Khanqah present?

---

From the wine of faith is the warmth of life,  
Grant this liquid fire, Oh Lord, to seminary too.

---

Is this the whole fortune of the modern world-  
Luminous mind, gloomy heart, errant eye?

---

Ah! the hot-blooded youth of the school-  
Hapless victim of the witchery of West.

---

The young are thirsty, their cup is empty,  
Their visages are polished, souls dark, intellects bright,

---

Devoid of vision, bereft of faith, shorn of hope,  
Nothing in the world did his eye perceive.

---

The worthless men, untrue to themselves, survive to others,  
The architects of the temple, from their clay, has laid the  
bricks

---

Nevertheless, Iqbal is not dismayed. He has an unshakable faith in the growing generations and his poems are full of hope and encouragement for the youth.

I am in love with young men who,  
Cast their noose on the stars.

Grant the youth my morning wail!  
To the eaglets give again feathers and wings!

O Lord! I have but one wish-  
Give to all and sundry the gift of my foresight!

A glimpse of his hopes and expectations can be seen in *Khitab Ba Jawanan-i-Islam* (An Address to the Young Men of Islam) and some other poems. His message to the scholars of Muslim University, Aligarh, for instance, contains the following verse:

From the passion of *Harem* is the glory of Arabia,  
Its place is different, its law unique.

The poem, *Ek Naujawan ke Nam* (To a young man), is also richly representative of his ideas and feelings.

Your sofas are from Europe, your fine carpets from Iran;

My eyes weep blood when I see such pampered ways among young men!

For what are rank and office, what even the pomp of Chosroes, when

You neither like Haider brave the world, nor scorn it like Salman!

Not in the glittering modern world is that contentment to be found:

It is the splendour of the True Believer, his ladder reared on faith.

When the eagle spirit is awakened in the youth,  
Its destination appears to it far off in the skies.  
Hope on! In despair is the decline of mind and soul,  
The True Believer's hopes are among the confidants of God.  
Your resting-place is not in the vaulted palace of the kings,  
You are a falcon; build your nest upon the mountain rocks.

Iqbal feels deeply hurt when he sees Muslim young men influenced more by alien ideologies than Islam. In his poem *Falsafa-zada Syed zade Ke Nam* (To a Philosophy-stricken Son of Syed) he writes:

Had you not lost your Selfhood,  
You would not be a slave to Bergson;

The end of intellect is non-presence,  
Philosophy is removal from life,

The soundless notes of thought,  
Are death for the love of action.

By faith the way of life is sustained,  
Faith is the secret of Mohammad and Ibrahim.

Hold fast to the teachings of Mohammad,  
You are the son of Ali, from Bu Ali keep away;

Since the discerning eye you do not possess,  
The Leader of the Quraish is better than that of Bokhara.

Iqbal holds the modern educational system responsible for the moral and spiritual decay of Muslims. He says that the younger generation is devoid of inner warmth and lacking in piety. Its tongue is sharp but there is not a tear of repentance in its eye nor the fear of God in its heart.

The eye that is bright with collyrium of the West,  
It's alluring, it's eloquent, but not moist.

He lays the blame squarely at the door of modern educational institutions. Another source of evil is the excessive rationalism which dampens the spirit of

advancing the argument of gain and expediency at each step.

Yet another cause of moral and intellectual degeneration is immoderate materialism and exaggerated reliance on worldly means and resources and the deplorable habit of regarding employment and the earning of place and position to be the end of education.

O high-soaring bird, death is preferable to the sustenance,

Which clips the wings and arrests the flight.

The main drawback of the modern education is that it is governed by *Ma'ash* (material life) and not *Ma'ad* (Futurity). It deprives the nightingale of its song and the nature of its beauty. It does not provide bread but takes away the soul.

It stole the song from nightingale's breast,  
And the old fire from the tulip's blood;  
Of this school and learning you are proud,  
Which placed not bread in the hand but took away life.

Mercilessly Iqbal exposes the criminal character of modern education and places his finger on its tender spots with unerring accuracy. Excessive emphasis on means of subsistence, undue expediency, artificial culture, imitative living are its foremost gifts to mankind.

The modern age is your angel to Death,  
Deprived you of soul by giving anxiety for bread;  
Your schooling has estranged you from high passion,  
That forbade the mind from toiling at evasion;  
Nature endowed you with a falcon's sight,  
Slavery stuffs a wren's eyes in your sockets,  
The school has hidden from them all secrets,  
That are laid bare in the solitudes of hill and desert.

One of the Iqbal's grievances against modern education is that it breeds self-indulgence, passivity and inaction and converts the ocean of life into a stagnant pool.

His prayer for the student is:

God bring you acquaintance with some storm,  
The waves of your sea are bereft of any turbulence.

The modern educational scheme, again, serves as an instrument of Western Imperialism in the East. It promotes the thoughtless imitation of Western customs, practices and ideals and paves the way for colonialism. It forces the Western mental attitudes upon the people of the Orient and creates new problems in the guise of social and economic advancement. By undermining the age-old Eastern values and traditions it seeks to give rise to a society which, in the words of Macaulay, is Eastern in name and origin but Western in content and reality.

For the reason that the Western education is conceived in atheism, or, at least, in mental unrest and intellectual anarchy, it instils the same ills and evils into the minds of the young and engenders skepticism, discontent and turmoil under the cover of rationalism and free-thinking. In Iqbal's view blindness is better than a distorted vision and ignorance is preferable to scholarly ungodliness.

Take it from me that the blind  
Is better than him whose vision is crooked;  
Take it from me, the good-doing simpleton  
Is better than the sage who denies God.

Iqbal repeatedly questions the usefulness of scientific achievements that may enable man to conquer space and fly in the air but sweep him off his feet and dislodge him from his spiritual moorings.

Of what use the sky-measuring intellect,  
Which revolves round the stars and planets;  
And floats aimlessly in the boundlessness of the  
atmosphere,  
Like a speck of cloud on the shoulders of wind?

The contemporary educational system tends to reduce the worth and value of man before machines, industries and

other manifestations of material progress although he is the 'desired pearl of the ocean of creation' and the 'gathered crop of the cornfield of existence'. The world should be subservient to man, not man to the world.

Put down the lamp of desire from your hand,  
Attain the stage of yearning and rapture;  
Lose not your Ego on the world's crossroad.  
Destroy the crossroad and return to yourself.

---

Draw both the worlds to yourself,  
Not that you ran away from your existence;  
See your present in the light of the past,  
Today from yesterday none can separate.

---

You bear no resemblance to man of God.  
He, a master of the universe, you a slave;  
Present in you not even the quest of the shore,  
He within him possesses the depths of the oceans.

Human understanding remains imperfect without Heavenly favour and Divine revelation. To make it free and unrestrained before the attainment of maturity is to invite capriciousness and perversity. Iqbal has written an illuminating *Qita* under the title of *Azadi-i-Fikr* (Freedom of Thought). It reads

Freedom of thought for them is ruinous,  
Who do not possess a disciplined mind;  
If mind is immature, freedom of thought,  
Is the way to make a man a beast

The manner in which unripe ideologies are becoming widespread in the East and ill-digested ideas are giving rise to mental discontent in the world is also the outcome of the modern craze of giving dignified name of philosophy to every brainwave.

People of the seminary entangled in labyrinth of their learning,



Who, in the Modern Age, cares to keep the count of good and ill?

In another poem entitled, *Asr-i-Hazir* (Modern Age), Iqbal points out the fundamental drawbacks of both the Orient and the Occident. He says that the unseemly haste and impatience of the technological Age has destroyed the solidity of everything and reduced philosophy to a hapzard collection of incoherent ideas. Love had failed to find its legitimate place in the Western design of living because atheism had left no axis about which it could revolve and intellect had not been able to attain its rightful place in the East because there was no consistency of thought in it.

Mature ideas, fully, developed thought, where is one to seek?

The climate of the present times keeps everything unripe.

The school gives the rein to the intellect but,

Love leaves the ideas vague, inconsistent, disordered.

Love is dead in the West thanks to atheistic bent of mind,

Intellect in the East is servile owing to inconsistency of thought.

The modern education encourages a blind imitation of the West among the youth till no spirit of originality or independent action is left. The world itself is a slave to convention but the educational institutions are even more narrow and bigoted where men of exceptional ability take pride in being turncoats, opportunists and time servers instead of functioning as leaders of their Age.

If the culture of rubies of Badakhshan be the aim,

The reflection of the wayward sun is futile.

The world in the web of convention is caught,

Of what worth the school, the endeavour of the scholars?

Those who could as ledaers of their Age function,

The dotards, alas, have become its slaves.

Iqbal maintains that the Muslim youth has no existence of its own; it is a shadow of the West and even the artificial life it leads is borrowed. The new generation is a structure of flesh and the matter hammered into shape by the artisans of the West but into which they have not breathed the soul. It is like a scabbard which though ornamented does not contain the sword. Iqbal bitterly remarks that in the sight of the young the existence of God is a myth but in his view their own existence is shadowy and unreal.

Your being takes all its light from Europe:  
You are the four walls her architects have built;  
But mud untenanted is the edifice,  
An empty scabbard embellished with flowery gilt.  
To your mind God's existence stands not proved;  
Your own existence is unproved, to mine.  
This only is life - the Self's spark shining out;  
Take heed to it! I do not see yours shine!

The Western educational scheme has crushed the spirit of the Muslim youth and instead of firing it with hope and ambition filled its soul with distress and disgust. It has taught the young men to live ostentatiously, made them soft and effeminate and rendered them incapable of standing up to the challenge of life. Iqbal regards the education to be worthless which robs the crusader of his manly qualities and deprives him of his weapons by supplying the goods of luxury in the battlefield of life.

Iqbal fervently appeals to the benefactors of the rising generations and when he gives expression to the following sentiments through a loving teacher and an affectionate guardian it appears that the agony of the whole world has compressed itself into his heart and the grief of the entire *Millat* has taken possession of his existence.

O old man of Harem! Give up the habits of monastery,  
Understand the significance of my morning wail;  
May Allah keep thy young men safe,  
Impart to them the lesson of Selfhood, self-denial;

Teach them the ways of piercing the rock.  
The West has taught them the art of glass-blowing;  
Two hundred years of slavery have broken their hearts,  
Think out some remedy for their confusion now;  
I speak out thy secrets in the paroxysm of madness,  
Make some allowance for my distress too.

### **Knowledge and Learning**

Iqbal's views on knowledge and learning were typically his own. They stemmed from his own mental and spiritual awareness. About poetry and literature he felt that the aptitude for it and the refinement of taste were God-given gifts by which a revolution could be brought in the lives of men. People could be roused through them to launch a heroic struggle against the depravity of the environment and to revive and establish sound and healthy values and traditions. The pen of a poet or writer should, therefore, possess the quality of the 'rod' and the 'luminous hand' of Moses and of the 'breath' of Jesus. He should be willing and able to perform the duty of the guidance and upliftment of mankind through love and compassion as well as anger and sternness.

A literature produced merely for emotional satisfaction or induced by avarice or any other unworthy sentiment is a waste of time and energy. It serves no useful purpose. It is misconceived as well as misdirected. In a poem he says that he is not indifferent to the appreciation of beauty, he does not deny it, for it is an inborn urge, a natural instinct, but what good can a sickly literature do to the society which is incapable of evoking a positive and energetic response in the people. For what transforms poetry into magic and magic into a miracle is the restlessness, warmth and vitality in the living heart. Unless the rich, warm blood of life flows the lines of a poem it can neither move the hearts nor inspire the minds. With deep anguish he asks poets, writers and artists of what worth is the thirst for knowledge that does not go beyond the the apparent and fails to reach the reality of things. What purpose can the passionate lyrics of the

poet or the magical compositions of the musician serve if they do not awaken the hearts and impart life to the atmosphere? The moving breeze blows in vain if it does not carry the message of spring to the garden.

Valuable is the taste for Art, ye men of vision;  
But vision that perceives not the Reality is worthless.  
The goal of art is the flame of immortal life,  
Not a spasm or two that vanish like sparks.

O 'rain of spring' if thou produce no turmoil in the  
ocean's bosom,

What is the worth of that shell and pearl?

The song of the poet or the minstrel's strain-

Worthless is the zephyr that makes the garden  
depressed.

Without a miracle nations do not rise in the world,

What Art is, devoid of the striking power of the Rod of  
Moses?

Such is the sublimity of Iqbal's art that when he observes the intellectual poverty and hollowness of his contemporaries he is forced to conclude that like the whole of the East, the Muslim World, too, is obsessed with sex. The poets and writers of the World of Islam are constantly engrossed in the thought of woman, the musicians never tire of singing her praises, the sculptors carve her images in clay and stone and the artists see the reflection of her beauty at all places. A new intellectual concept of *Wahdatul Shuhud* (the Unity of Manifestation) has replaced the traditional pantheistic doctrine of *Wahdatul Wujud* (the Unity of Being) in which the world begins and ends with the fair sex. The vulgar sensualism of the intellectuals and artists has been condemned by Iqbal in these words:

Their fantasy the death-bed of love and passion,  
In their dark brains the nations lie entombed;  
In their studios Death's portrait is made,  
The art of these high priests sickens of life;  
They hide from mortal eyes the life's high places,  
Arouse the flesh, put the spirit to sleep;

Oh, India's painters, poets, story-writers!  
The woman sits astride on their nerves.

On philosophy and other intellectual sciences, also, Iqbal's viewpoint is illustrative of his general approach to life. He believes that an ideology which is not sustained by the spirit of active effort and the sentiment of sacrifice cannot endure. If a system of thought confines itself to abstract reasoning, speculative hair-splitting or metaphysical pattern-weaving and fights shy of entering into the arena of practical life and grappling with social realities it is bound to shrivel up and lose its validity.

Philosophy not written with the blood of heart,  
Is either dead or in the throes of death.

Iqbal's wide study and experience of the world has taught him that it was futile to look up to philosophy for the the solution of problems fundamental to human existence. Its glossy shell was empty. It did not contain the pearl of life. Philosophy had no guidance to offer to mankind in its struggle for survival and advancement. For a comprehensive programme of life Iqbal falls back upon the message of Islam. He commends his own example to a rationalist friend. "I came from the stock of idolators and my ancestors used to worship the pagan deities," he says. "There is Brahmin blood in my veins. Yet I came out of the fold of infidelity and embraced Islam. You, on the other hand, are of Hashimite descent and related by blood to the 'Leader of the ancients and the moderns'. The high distinction of being the Prophet's progeny belongs to you. But, having renounced him you are groping in the labyrinth of unproved ideas and vain conjectures while I, (Indian philosophy may be said to be the marrow of whose bones), hold rationality to be the 'veil of truth' and the opiate which causes the weakening of the moral and physical fibre of man and makes him an escapist. Even Hegel is as empty-handed, speculative and hypothetical as anyone. The flame of the heart burns no more in your life; you have lost your Individuality, and, hence, have become the campfollower of Bergson. What the world needs

is the message of life which philosophy does not possess. The Believer's *Azan* is the call of awakening that rouses the world from sleep and illumines it. Only the legacy of Mohammad and Ibrahim (May Peace and Blessings of God be upon whom) can bring about order and organisation in faith and life. O Son of Ali, how long will you follow in the steps of Avicenna! The Leader of Quraish is far more worthy of allegiance than the leader of Bokhara".

Hold fast to the teachings of Mohammad,  
you are the son of Ali, from Bu Ali keep away.

Modern education, in fine, has been a failure. It has not succeeded in rising up a generation which could employ its knowledge to lay the foundation of a healthy society in which man was at peace with himself. It is well-versed in the topography of the North Pole and knows all about the flora and fauna of Africa but pays little heed to the discovery of humanity and the awareness of Self. It has learnt to control and use steam, electricity and nuclear power but has no idea of its own strength. It has subjugated the world but taken no steps to discipline itself. The modern man flies in the air and swims in the water but cannot walk properly on the earth.

It all is the fault of contemporary education which has disturbed the moral and emotional equipoise of the youth. The modern man is equipped with power but lacking in vision. Iqbal sorrowfully remarks that "the conquerer of the solar radiation could not brighten his own destiny, the seeker of the orbits of the stars could not chalk out a course of action for himself and the master of science could not mark the difference between good and evil."

He who enchained the sunbeams could not  
Unfurl the dawn on life's dark night;  
He sought the orbits of the stars, yet could not  
Travel his own thought's world;  
Entangled in the labyrinth of his learning,  
Lost count of good and ill.

To draw, finally the protrait of an ideal Muslim young

man from what Iqbal felt and thought and prayed and preached, he is a man of unblemished character, his youth is clean and spotless; his blow is deadly and he is as strong as a lion in war and as soft as silk in peace. he acquits himself well both in combat and in friendship. He is gentle of speech and stern in action. His desires are few and his aims are high. He is contended in poverty and rich in indigence, self-respecting in want and benevolent in prosperity. He prefers death to a life of dishonour. Sometimes, he is the dew that cools the heart of the tulip, and, sometimes, the storm that causes an upheaval in the bosoms of the oceans. He turns into a raging torrent if the mountains beset his path and passes like a singing brook through the bedchamber of love. He is an embodiment of Abu Bakr's faith, Ali's valour, Abu Zarr's contentment and Salman's devotion. His faith is a lamp of guidance in the dark night of the wilderness and his life is an example of manly courage and fortitude, of *Momin's* wisdom and foresight. He likes martyrdom better than worldly power and rule. He casts his noose on the stars and enslaves the forces of nature. The loftiness of his character is the envy of the angels and his existence is a challenge to falsehood and infidelity. Even the whole world cannot pay his price nor can he be bought by any one except by his Lord. His noble ideals have lifted him above the triviality of the world and its empty allurements. The deceptions of sound and colour mean nothing to him and he refuses to follow and imitate the peacocks and nightingales of the modern civilization, disdainfully proclaiming:

Nightingale is nothing but sound,  
And peacock no more than colour. ■

Mankind is acutely conscious of the necessity of living together in peaceful co-existence. The practical realization of such an objective demands a common conceptual foundation acceptable to all on which a humane and universal system of world relations might be built. Islam believes that it can offer such a foundation, basing its conviction on certain fundamental tenets, in particular its tolerance of any identification with other faiths, notably Judaism and Christianity; its recognition of the sense of God or 'natural religion' inherent in all men; its faith in man which represents a new humanism. Islam provides a platform for constructive dialogue in the hope that this will produce a concerted effort to formulate and harness man's awareness for the creation of a new world order in the service of God and humanity.

Ismail R. al-Faruqi



## MAN OF MANY PARTS

M.A. Sherif

The young prince Mir Osman Ali Khan ruled over his large kingdom in the Deccan with a gentle autocracy, ever mindful that effective power rested with the Political Resident appointed by Delhi. Yusuf Ali served briefly as a counsel in the Nizam's *Sarf-i-khas*, a body which administered the 'crown' lands, and later in 1921 became Revenue Member of the Executive Council of the State.<sup>1</sup> This made him responsible for land revenue, famine and revenue inspections, forests, customs and excise, and the police. It was a job that suited him ideally after the years as ICS collector and deputy commissioner in UP. The Nizam exercised a careful watch over affairs, successfully curbing the excesses of a large and feuding aristocracy and forcing key ministers to consult advisers of his appointment. His particular achievement was patronage of Osmania University, founded in 1918, which attracted scholars from all over India. Hyderabad became an island of relative affluence and stability for Indian Muslims in comparison with UP. Yusuf Ali would also have found the Nizam's politics to his liking because the K̄hilafatists were not tolerated.<sup>2</sup>

Osmania University included a bureau for the translation of textbooks and scientific literature from English to Urdu. Yusuf Ali was to be a participant in these cultural activities and would later describe his own literary contribution in the following terms: 'When I was in Hyderabad, I had the privilege of participating in the initial stages of the Urdu movement and Osmania University. The aim was to enrich our language with translations of original works and authoritative books, which could be used at the University for teaching. I also produced a small handbook [Urdu: *risala*] for them on Urdu orthography [Urdu: *kitabaf*] which was meant to systematise the writing, spelling and printing of Urdu.'<sup>3</sup>

Yusuf Ali resigned abruptly from his post in 1922, in spite of everything appearing to be just right for him. Perhaps it was his insistence that things be done according to procedure rather than the fiat of the Nizam or the whim of some *nawab* (Indian aristocrat) Yusuf Ali was 'extremely touchy' - Lord Meston's assessment based on observing him in the ICS - which would have made life doubly difficult in the face of court intrigues. His departure from Hyderabad coincided with the appointment of a Bombay contemporary, Akbar Hydari, as Finance Minister. Thicker-skinned than Yusuf Ali, he proceeded to hold high office in the state for the next twenty years. It was a model career that Yusuf Ali could so easily have made his own. A story gained circulation that Yusuf Ali was still working for the ICS at the time and the resignation came about because of a dispute between the Nizam and the Viceroy, Lord Reading.<sup>4</sup> It may not have been easy for him to set the record straight on the real reasons for leaving the Service in 1913, for fear of exposing the dark secret of the scandalous divorce. Yusuf Ali was not to bear any ill will towards Hyderabad and later contributed several articles to *Islamic Culture*, a journal which had Hydari's patronage. He also attended the Nizam's Silver jubilee celebration in 1937 and retained a friendship with Hyderabad notables like Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Husain Bilgrami, Nawab Sir Amin jung Bahadur and Nawab Sir Nizam-at-jung.<sup>5</sup> Yusuf Ali's brief sojourn also saw the birth of a son, Rashid, in August 1922.<sup>6</sup>

Yusuf Ali left Hyderabad to practice at United Province's Lucknow Bar and to write, possibly after a brief journey to England to settle his family.<sup>7</sup> Though a qualified barrister with the oratorical skills and show-manship essential for success in the profession, he was at heart a man of letters. He was particularly interested in Mughal history and collaborated with W.H. Moreland, formerly director of land revenues in the UP, on a study of Akbar's land revenue system. In March 1923 he read a paper on Babar based on the king's diary at a meeting of United

Provinces Historical Society. Yusuf Ali recognised many qualities in Babar: 'thus lived and died a brave and generous man. His hardy life filled in with his love of nature. His adventures, failures and successes never dried up the milk of human kindness in him. The sincerity of his soul, in strength and weakness, shines from every page of his self-revealing record.'<sup>18</sup> This movingly phrased admiration for a great Muslim monarch was indicative of Yusuf Ali's changing attitudes. Ten years ago George V and his *chahra-e-mubarak* had been the object of Yusuf Ali's veneration. Now at least his pantheon of heroes included a king from the Muslim past. Like Babar girding for a military offensive, Yusuf Ali was preparing for a subtle but combative campaign to shape Indian Muslims' way of thinking.

An invitation to address the Punjab Muslim Educational Conference in April 1923 in Lahore marked the start of this campaign. He presented an analysis of the intellectual and political choices confronting Muslims. The speech indicates that he had commenced thinking afresh about Islam and his mind was absorbed with the problem of accommodating this new factor with other ideas he held on Europe and progress:

Now Islam finds itself confronted on all sides with the taunt that it is an unprogressive or a narrow religion. You and I, and all who understand Islam, know that the charge is false. But we have got to show by our institutions and our practice that we are prepared to modernise and liberalise our education... the aim is to bring the Islamic intellect into touch with modern learning of the West, and to give us a fresh stimulus to grapple with our peculiar problems, social and political, with the weapons of modern education, and the methods of modern communities.... the dangers connected with the thirst for modernity have sometimes claimed too much attention from our *ulema* and our satirists, but they should not be lost sight of.. one is that the new wine may burst the old bottles, and so we may lose both the wine and the

bottles.<sup>9</sup>

If Sir Sayyid had been satirised as *ibn ul-waqt* (son of the times) for his ready acceptance of European superiority in the 1890s, there was a respectful silence by the 1920s. Yusuf Ali also addressed the problem of Muslim religious identity and Hindu-Muslim cooperation in a single nation:

For our part we are content to view religious questions from our own religious standpoint, and to cooperate in politics with all communities and parties which believe in well-ordered progress. We do not consider Indian Nationalism of the right sort to be inconsistent with progressive Islam. On the contrary we consider that progressive Islam has a large service to contribute to the growth of a stable Indian nationality.

Yusuf Ali's intellectual scheme would allow Muslims to retain their religious identity while preserving the notion of Indian nationhood, all within the umbrella of western-inspired progress. It is not known whether Iqbal was in the audience, but the drift of the argument and its optimistic vision would have made him increasingly restive.<sup>10</sup>

Yusuf Ali's host in Lahore was most likely to have been Mian Fazl-i Husain, the province's Minister of Education who owed his post to the special patronage of the Governor, Sir Edward Maclagan.<sup>11</sup>

Yusuf Ali left Lahore for Bombay in June 1923, *en route* to Britain. He next devoted his time to two books on India, *The Making of India* and *India and Europe*. These works presented a sanguine picture of India, with the minimum of detail on the problems which had arisen in the last decade: the Kanpur Mosque incident of 1913 and the anguish caused by the war against Turkey; the Rowlatt Act and its bloody aftermath at Jallianwalla Bagh in 1919; the role of the Khilafatists and the worsening relationship between Hindus and Muslims. He was diligently non-controversial, portraying India as a land of contentment with only the minor

hiccup. Even a British reviewer could not help observing of *The Making of India* that the author 'touches lightly on what he calls atrocities and unedifying facts'.<sup>12</sup> The book was dedicated to Viscount Willingdon, former Governor of Bombay, and his wife, in characteristic effusive style. It was a gesture that scored a few political points and reflected an insensitivity to Jinnah's feelings and his continued contempt of the Ali Brothers. Willingdon was despised by Jinnah, and as Governor had vowed to shoot or deport the Ali Brothers. As if to reaffirm his aloofness, *The Making of India* contained no reference to works by contemporary Indian scholars, with the exception of Ameer Ali's biography of the Prophet, first published in 1891.

The one facet of British administration which grieved Yusuf Ali was racial discrimination. His harshest words were reserved for those 'British non-officials' in India who regarded themselves as a ruling class: 'Their claim gave the more offence, as, without being rulers, they claimed the status of a ruling race.' He took the opportunity to present Islam's enlightened code:

Muslims are taught by their faith to rise above prejudices of race. All races are equal in the Muslim brotherhood. Other universal religions have similar ideas of brotherhood, but none carries it out to the same extent as it is carried out in Islam ... it was so in the days of the Prophet and his immediate successors. It is so now, when the number of races and countries is infinitely larger within the pale of Islam.<sup>13</sup>

Just as India had much to learn from Britain, so too could Islam contribute to the West. Such cooperation was becoming a central feature of his emerging world view. A further passage in India and Europe reveals an interest Yusuf Ali was acquiring in the notion of a spiritual fellowship to cement harmony. Foreshadowing his involvement in the World Congress of Faiths ten years later, he wrote, 'In my view the religion of all thinking men is the same, however different may be the philosophy by which they explain their

spiritual instincts, or the moulds in which they cast their spiritual hopes.<sup>14</sup>

It was now the era of Indian political reform in which certain 'subjects', like education, agriculture and health, were transferred to the control of provincial ministers responsible to elected legislatures. To the chagrin of those seeking more fundamental change, the important function of law and order was still with the Governor and his official executive council. The Viceroy and the Governors also retained the power of certifying bills even if these had been defeated by the provincial assemblies. In November 1923, elections were held on the basis of these arrangements and Yusuf Ali, back in India after passing the summer months in England, played a minor and inconclusive role in electoral activity in the UP.<sup>15</sup> It was a matter which Jinnah took far more seriously, winning a seat in the Bombay legislature as a Muslim Independent.

Yusuf Ali returned to Lahore in 1924 on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the educational and welfare body, *Anjuman-Himayat-ul-Islam*. Its main educational venture was Islamia College, an institution for Muslim boys set up in 1892 to fulfil for Western India what Aligarh was achieving for the Muslims of North India - an institution for boys, which, in the aims of its founders, would 'provide both the *deen* and *dunya* types of education'.<sup>16</sup> The Anjuman's college committee, chaired by Shaikh Abdul Qader, was seeking a principal and the post was offered to Yusuf Ali to take up at the start of the next academic year. He accepted an offer which provided opportunity for public service in apparently congenial circumstances. The party in power in Punjab was Fazli's Unionist Party, an opportunistic ensemble of the landed gentry united against the town-based Hindu moneylenders. The British provincial administration of the Punjab needed such a rural-urban divide for its own ends and provided more electoral seats to the landlords and fewer to the urban areas. The underlying reason for conferring political patronage on the *zamindar*

(feudal landlord) class was to ensure regular access to army recruits from the Punjab, 'the Prussia of India'. These types of mutual interdependencies were at the heart of the cosy relationship between the Unionist politicians and the British governor. Coincidentally, the new governor of the Punjab was now Malcolm Hailey, of the same batch of ICS entrants in 1895 as Yusuf Ali. As on so many other occasions, Yusuf Ali possessed all the important contacts. With his plans for the following year settled, Yusuf Ali returned to his family in London.

The summer of 1925 was also taken up moving to a new home in Chiswick. It had been a glorious summer enjoyably spent with Masuma and Rashid, and they had many friends to entertain.<sup>17</sup> Before leaving for his new post, Yusuf Ali organised a publication programme with Luzac in London for a series with the title 'Progressive Islam Pamphlets'. The first of these, *Greatest Need of the age*, was published in August 1925, while the second was based on his lecture, *Islam as a World Force*, presented the preceding year in Lahore on the occasion of the Anjuman's anniversary. His debut as an Islamic scholar had commenced. He also contributed two articles to the formidable *Encyclopaedia of Islam* on the term *Khodja* and the nineteenth-century shaikh, Karamat Ali Jawnpuri.<sup>18</sup> The latter only thinly disguised the author's ideological preferences. The shaikh belonged to the *Ta'yuniyya*, an offshoot of the *Tariqa Muhammadiya*, and clashed with Haji Shariatullah's Faraidi movement. An important point of dispute related to the legality of *Juma* and *'id* prayer in British India, which the Faraidis had declared illegal. Karamat Ali held that Bengal could not be regarded as, *Dar-ul-Harb* and so these prayers should be compulsorily observed. Yusuf Ali also took pains to refute the claim that the shaikh was a *Wahhabi*, by inference denigrating the 'militant' *Faraidis*. Karamat Ali had competed for a prize offered by Sir Charles Trevelyan for the best Urdu essay on the influence of the Greeks and Arabs on the Renaissance in Europe. On this

Yusuf Ali noted with approval: 'He was thus interested, unlike the majority of contemporary Indian *Mawlawis*, in the relation of Islam to the wider questions of the world at large.' This was precisely what Yusuf Ali's own recent literary effort had been about as well.

Yusuf Ali's contacts and eminence immediately gave him a wider role in the Punjab. He was invited to the Syndicate of Punjab University and in a surprising development also accepted presidency of the *Jamiat-e-Tanzim*. This organisation had been set up by Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew a year earlier in 1924 with the specific aim of countering militant Hindu revivalist *sanghatan* activity in the Punjab. Yusuf Ali addressed the organisation at its conference in Aligarh in December 1925 in a speech with many nuances, such as a quest for a role in Indian affairs beyond educational service in Punjab. Trusting neither the Congress nor the Muslim League for bringing about 'well-ordered progress', he saw an opportunity for *Tanzim*:

This organisation is not based on the thoughts or emotions of a few individuals or a narrow class, neither does it present any sectarian views or plans. Its purpose is to overcome the centrifugal forces that are at work, and seek a unity of organisations that differ in their aims. Its purpose is to serve the community [Urdu: *qaum*] and nation [Urdu: *mulk*] in a spirited manner and with the end in view that we seek to work with other organisations rather than to oppose or boycott them... Our organisation was born in the lap of the Khilafat movement, therefore there is no rivalry between the two and there should be none. It is our duty to proceed wisely so that the Khilafat people do not think we are against their leaders and I believe we can sincerely support them personally and collectively.<sup>19</sup>

Yusuf Ali did not follow up this eloquence with further work for the organisation. The olive branch to the Khilafatists was made at a time when Kitchlew, a former Khilafatist, stood accused by Jauhar of showing partisan narrowness'.<sup>20</sup> The ground had been cut away from under the feet of the



Khilafatists by the Turks' own decision in March 1924 to abolish the Caliphate, albeit forced through by Mustafa Kemal. Gandhi too had proved a fair-weather friend, leaving the Ali Brothers in the lurch on many a crucial occasion.<sup>21</sup> The Khilafatists were fighting for their political survival and regrouping to form the nucleus of the Punjab Muslim League, which was bitterly opposed to the pro-British Unionist Party. They could not react kindly to being written off. It was only a matter of time before the principal of Islamia College would be sucked into controversy.

Yusuf Ali provided the opportunity for confrontation through his involvement in League of Nations activities. The League of Nations was despised by the Khilafatists as the instrument that dissected the *Jazirat ul-Arab*. It was a tainted body, which Iqbal had described in acerbic verse as 'an organisation of thieves for the distribution of shrouds, sitting in a graveyard'.<sup>22</sup> The League was all the more obnoxious because of the large financial contribution which India had to make to its budget. Moreover, League of Nations activities in India were championed by Sir William Birdwood, the British Army general in the Gallipoli campaign against the Ottomans. In marked contrast, Yusuf Ali and his Lahore circle of unionist friends were keen supporters of Birdwood's work. The *Zamindar* newspaper run by the Khilafatist Zafar Ali Khan had some caustic remarks to make on the participation of Shaikh Abdul Qader - who had succeeded Fazli Hussain as education minister - and Yusuf Ali at a meeting of the League of Nations Union held in Delhi in February 1926:

The League of Nations constitutes a conspiracy against the Muslim world and we want to proclaim it by beat of drum that the Indian Mussulmans do not like to hear one word in support of the League. If the League commences work in India we shall oppose it tooth and nail, in which crusade the entire Muslim press of India will be on our side. The office-bearers of the Lahore Union should have compassion on Islam and at least show some regard for

our Muslim brethren. Abdul Qader and Mr. Yusuf Ali may cooperate with Government and get posts for themselves but they should not join a movement whose object is to crush the liberty of our Muslim brethren.<sup>23</sup>

When Abdul Qader was sent to Geneva as Indian delegate to the League of Nations conference in 1926, he was to receive further admonishments from sections of the Lahore press.<sup>24</sup>

Yusuf Ali's response would come at the Punjab Educational Conference held in December 1926. He made it a point to praise the League of Nations: 'it has given the lead to international action in various matters in which all States are interested, and it has materially helped in bringing out that spirit of international co-operation which must lead more and more to the harmony of nations.'<sup>25</sup> Yusuf Ali pursued controversy with dogged determination. His address included a fulsome expression of the Unionist Party's creed, which 'cherished the Imperial tie'.<sup>26</sup>

With characteristic industry Yusuf Ali participated in numerous public engagements between 1925 and 1927 while also serving as principal of Islamia. He jointly edited 'Glimpses of the Punjab: a souvenir of the 14th Meeting of the Indian Science Congress', held in Lahore in January 1927. In the same year he published a booklet for students, *Three Travellers to India*, which contained accounts of India as seen by Hiuen Tsiang, Ibn Batuta and the seventeenth-century Frenchman, Frangois Bernier. Yusuf Ali also published another school text for use at the matriculation level, *Outlines of Indian History*. He was one of the brightest of men in a city already luminiscent with a generation of formidable intellectuals. Sulaiman Nadwi left a roll-call after a visit to the city:

For men of letters and men of learning, Lahore is today the best centre in India. It has the presence of talented men like Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, principal Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Professor Hafiz Mahmoud

Sherani, Professor Iqbal, Professor Muhammad Shafi, Professor Sirajuddin Azar, Maulvi Muhammad Ali MA, Khwaia Kamaluddin, Professor Sayyid Abdul Qadir, Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, which cannot be found in any other city. From the older generation there are Sayyid Mumtaz Ali Sahib, Munshi Mahboub Alam Sahib and Maulvi Insha Allah Khan, who, though in the autumn of their lives, leave us the memories of spring. The associations of humourists, writers and poets are no less active. Salik and Mehr, Tajwar, Abul Asar Hafeez Jalandhri, Ghulam Rubbani, Dr Taseer ... and many other men of letters are busy establishing themselves and the future awaits their success.<sup>27</sup>

Inevitably tensions were developing in the *Anjuman-Himayat-ul-Islam* between the Unionists, who were the important officeholders, and the nascent Muslim Leaguers on the continued employment of Yusuf Ali as principal of Islamia College. The Anjuman proceedings record several acrimonious discussions: on 19 June 1927 a question was asked why Yusuf Ali did not undertake any teaching; a few months later another member wished to know why the principal arrived at the College at 10 O'clock in the morning rather than at 7 a.m. during the summer season.<sup>28</sup> Relationships were deteriorating and the College Committee convened an extraordinary meeting in October. Yusuf Ali complained that aspersions were being made about him at meetings in his absence. He gave them the ultimatum that matters relating to Islamia College should not be discussed unless he was present. Yusuf Ali left Islamia College soon after to pursue various literary projects. By February 1928 he had completed work on the sixth edition of *Wilson's Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, a widely used legal digest whose previous edition had also been edited by him. A month later Yusuf Ali was in Allahabad, delivering a series of lectures in Urdu to the widely known Hindustani Academy on 'Social and Economic Conditions in Medieval India'. In the same period he was also appointed a member of the

Court of Aligarh University

Yusuf Ali left India in the spring, this time not following the usual sea route westward via the Suez Canal. He travelled instead to Baghdad and visited Karbala, using the old boat bridge at al-Musib to cross the Euphrates. He wrote an eloquent account:

I remember starting my trip from Baghdad, in that part of the country which is irrigated by the river Euphrates. I crossed the river at al-Musib on a bridge made of boats. It was a beautiful April morning and I was engrossed in thoughts of the events of past centuries. To the left of the Euphrates were the historic and ancient ruins of Babel. These were previously buried in the desert and have revealed the glory and splendour of an ancient age. The Euphrates is a unique river. Its origins are in a multitude of streams in the mountains of Eastern Armenia. It meanders through rocks, plains and then runs alongside the desert, intersecting it with rivulets and canals to produce a flourish of vegetation abounding in fruit and agricultural produce. After this it joins the marshes. There are lakes a short distance from the noble Karbala connected to the river which serve as great water reservoirs. Further down it meets up with the river Tigris and the confluence is known as Shatt al-Arab, which falls into the Persian Gulf.

In spite of the abundance of water, thirst proved a great affliction! There have been gardens in the lower regions of the Euphrates from ancient times. It was the cradle of old civilisations. The Hamiri Arabs would meet here. It was here too that the Arabs and Persians met and established contact. This is a fertile and green country. Dates and pomegranates are plentiful. The abundance of fruits sustained whole cities. The nomadic Arabs with their cattle would come to the plains. One is particularly sorrowed and grieved to see the abundance of water in the land where *Hadrat Imam* Husain, peace upon him, and his companions, in a condition of thirst, undertook *jihad*

against oppression and inequality and drank from the cup of martyrdom. With all this water and sand surrounding you the remembrance of the martyrdom of *Hadrat Husain* is overwhelming.

I was overwrought with emotion when I reached Karbala sharif. The rays of the morning sunshine were imparting to the dome of Imam Husain's shrine a particular beauty. Karbala is located in the desert at a point visited by the caravans. Kufa, which was once the capital of the Caliphate, is only present today as a small habitation on the banks of a river. The resting place for *Hadrat Ali*, may God be pleased with him, is in the city of Najf. It does not have much significance as a trading centre. Karbala is located in the desert and remains a market as well as being held a place of special respect. It is a port of the desert, just as Basra is a port of the Persian Gulf. Both Karbala and Basra are commercial centres. Goods and materials arrive here throughout the year from all parts of the world. The street leading to the shrine is unparalleled in beauty and grandeur. The shrine has a coloured roof. The inner and upper walls are decorated with mirror work. Lights flicker and reflect off these mirrors. The doors of the shrine remain closed and one can feel spiritually elevated. The shrine's buildings are not very high. There is a cellar underground where there is *Imam Husain's* shrine. It was at this spot that he was martyred. Forty miles from here is the most noble city of Najf, where there is the shrine of *Hadrat Ali*, may God be pleased with him. It is located on a height. The golden dome is visible from miles around. Kufa is four miles away from Najf and is today desolate. There is a tram which goes there from Najf. Kufa's Friday mosque is magnificent but lying empty and unused. It has a blue dome and a colourful *mihrab*, which bespeak its bygone glory.<sup>129</sup>

Yusuf Ali's knack of knowing the right people at the right place led to an invitation to the royal palace in Baghdad for an audience with the King of Iraq. 'He had a reasoned

belief in the value of the British connection,' Yusuf Ali wrote with unconscious understatement of Faisal. 'His interest in education was keen. Thanks to the facilities which he offered me I was enabled to study his nascent system of education.'<sup>30</sup> This suggests that Yusuf Ali's travels might have been officially sponsored as part of some information-gathering exercise. He also visited Turkey where he caught a glimpse of Mustafa Kemal. His impression was one of cautious approval: 'He is not without faults, and some of his reforms savour too much of extreme nationalism. But he saved them [his people] from total extinction. He safeguarded their liberty. He purged the country of many evil customs and evil traditions that had grown up in the course of centuries. He cleared out the elements which would have hampered the growth and development of modern life. He has built up new institutions without ... too great a hankering for the past.'<sup>31</sup> Yusuf Ali and the famous poetess and politician Sarojini Naidu were the only two Indians to be sponsored on educational tours of this type as the cultural ambassadors of British India.

From 1921 to 1928 Yusuf Ali tried his hand in a variety of employments and ventures in India, many ending on an unfinished note. The period commenced as Minister of land revenue in Hyderabad but concluded rather abruptly within barely a year. This was followed by practice at the Lucknow Bar and a half-hearted foray into electioneering politics. The years in Lahore were the most fulfilling, though there again he did not follow through the opportunities which presidency of the Tazim offered for someone serious about social reform in India. He might also have made more of the principalship at Islamia, but it was not his style to hold back his political views. Whether as writer or speaker he had been consistently combative in projecting his vision of a 'progressive Islam' compatible with loyalty to Empire. At the age of fifty-five he still had his most memorable achievement to come. ■

## Notes

1. *The Times*, obituary on Yusuf Ali, 15 December 1953. See also *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, 1954. When serving as Revenue Member his secretary was Nawah Fasih Jung.
2. In May 1920 the Nizam prohibited all Khilafatist meetings. He wrote to Viceroy Chelmsford, "..... it is impossible for me to countenance proceedings that have avowed intentions of resistance, euphemistically called 'passive', to British authority - indeed against all authority." See Niemeijer, *The Khilafat Movement*, p.89.
3. From Yusuf Ali's *Tarikh-i-Hind kay azmana-i-wusta mai ma'ashri aur iqtisadi halaat*, P. 17. Lectures delivered on 2-4 March 1928, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. Urdu text obtained from Quaid-e Azam Library, Lahore; this edition was published in 1939.
4. In this version of events the resignation came about because the Viceroy Lord Reading (Rufus Isaacs) insisted the Nizam appear before him in Delhi. Yusuf Ali, described as Hyderabad's 'Regent General', advised Mir Osman Ali Khan against this on the grounds that the Viceroy was merely a governmental appointee, while the position of Nizam was monarchical: it was the Viceroy who should be required to pay respects to the Nizam, rather than the other way round. The Viceroy however prevailed and the Nizam was obliged to go to Delhi. The British exacted their revenge by forcing the resignation of Yusuf Ali' from the ICS'. For a written account of this version of Yusuf Ali's resignation from the ICS see Baidar Malik, *Yaran-i-Maktab: Tehrik-i-Pakistan aur Islamia College*, p.189. A similar oral account was also given to the author in Karachi, January 1988, by Maulana Ismail Ahmed Meenai, a former magistrate in Hyderabad State.

There are many strands in this story that can be traced to actual happenings in Hyderabad but they do not add up: Lord Reading did issue a petulant edict summoning the Nizam, yet this was not in 1921 but 1926; a resignation did take place in Hyderabad in September 1922, but it was of Sir Ali Imam, president of the Nizam's Executive Council. No doubt the colourful tale involving Yusuf Ali gained popular appeal because it provided an example of a Muslim taking a principled stand against the British administration at the cost of high office. When the general tenor of Muslim behaviour was fawning and servile, there was need for uplifting examples. Yusuf Ali became a vicarious symbol of Muslim self respect.

*The Holy Qur'an: text, translation and commentary*, third edition

- (1938) contains, in its section 'Translations of the Qur'an' a reference to Nawab Husain Bilgrami; the June 1935 instalment of *The Holy Qur'an* (first edition) contains a warm commendation by Nawab Sir Amin Jung Bahadur. Nawab Nizamat Jung published a poem in honour of Yusuf Ali in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, January 1954.
6. Rashid's birth is not on record at the General Register Office, Somerset House, London, suggesting that he was born in India. Yusuf Ali's will indicates that Rashid was to reach the age of majority, which at the time was twenty-one years, on 4 August 1943. It is on this basis that Rashid's date of birth is presumed to be 4 August 1922. After World War II, Rashid worked for the Hyderabad Police Force, suggesting a connection with the Principality.
  7. In September 1922 he granted power of attorney to a Reverend Ernest Foster, presumably to care for his young family in his absence: "I George Brian Foster of 'The Brentor Hotel', Brentor near Tavistock in the County of Devon, hotel proprietor, retaining possession of a power of attorney dated 15th day of September 1922 and under the hand and seal of the Very Reverend Ernest Foster relating to freehold property known as Number 3 Mansel Road, Wimbledon, in the County of Surrey and other properties hereby acknowledge your right to production of the said document and to deliver copies thereof and I hereby undertake for the safe custody thereof. As witness my hand this twelfth day of August 1928." [Author's emphasis.] This document was discovered by the owners of 3 Mansel Road, Yusuf Ali's final London address.
  8. *The Self Revelation of Babar*. Paper read on Saturday 31 March 1923. Yusuf Ali also offered an explanation for the decline of the dynasty, "if only the mughals had been able to purify their home life by avoidance of indiscriminate and polygamous marriage, the history of Mughal India might have been entirely different."
  9. This and the quotation that follows are from Yusuf Ali's *Muslim Educational Ideals - Presidential address to the Punjab Muslim Educational Conference*, 1923.
  10. As early as 1909 Iqbal had written: "I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from this country and even now act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national identities is desirable for both the Hindus and Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal and has a poetic appeal ... but appears incapable of fulfilment." Rajmohan Gandhi, *Eight Lives*, p. 54.



11. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal kay akhri do saal*, p.118-119. Fazli unsuccessfully tried to enter the ICS after studies at Cambridge.
12. *The Times Literary Supplement*, 3 December 1925. Yusuf Ali's determination to be non-controversial led to tortuous understatements which hid the drama of the times. For example: "When Lord Chelmsford was succeeded by Lord Reading in April 1921, Mr Gandhi was in the plenitude of his influence. Lord Reading analysed the factors in that influence, and his patience and skill gradually unravelled the knots. In November 1921, the brothers Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were convicted of tampering with the loyalty of Muslim soldiers and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The Prince of Wales's visit in the cold weather of 1921-1922 was marred by some ugly incidents which did not help to promote British and Indian unity." *The Making of India*, p.298.
13. *India and Europe*, p.82.
14. *ibid.* P. 97.
15. He was once asked in 1933 to describe his electoral experience and whether he had ever contested seats for the Provincial Council or the Central Legislature in the last twelve years. Yusuf Ali replied "I did not actually contest a seat, but I have been in touch all the time, and I was a candidate for a while in the United Provinces." See the statements of the All-India Muslim Conference delegation to the joint Committee, reproduced in K.K.Aziz, *The All-India Muslim Conference 1928-1933 - A documentary record*, p. 156.
16. *Faran*, October 1981 (magazine of Islamia College, Lahore); see article in Urdu by M. Siddiqui on the College's history, pp.76-137
17. Letter in Urdu to Sughra Humayun Mirza Sahiba, dated 2 June 1925; reproduced in *Nuqush - Makateeb Number*, Vol.2, p.843. Yusuf Ali's address was *Marash*, 12 Grange Road, Chiswick, London W 5. Their summer guests included 'Nawab Sada Noor and his wife' and one Mr Yaseen working at the Indian High Commission.
18. For the entry on 'Khodja' see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol II, Leyden, 1927, p.960-962. It includes a reference to the 'sacred person' of the Aga Khan. The entry on Karamat Ali is in the same volume, p. 752-754.
19. All-India Tanzim conference, Urdu text of presidential address, December 1925, obtained from Quaid-e-Azam Library, Lahore.

20. Minault, *ibid.*, p.199. Kitchlew is erroneously described as a physician, p.83. He was a barrister and obtained his doctorate by submission of a thesis at a German university.
21. There were at least two occasions when Gandhi betrayed the trust placed in him by the Ali Brothers; first in 1922 when he arbitrarily called off the civil disobedience campaign, leaving many of his followers exposed to the authorities; second in 1924 when he commenced a hunger strike while a guest in Mohamed Ali Jauhar's house, in sympathy for Hindus affected in a communal riot in Kohat. The statement he issued worsened the situation, "There is no doubt in my mind that in the majority of quarrels the Hindus come out second best. My own experiences but confirm the opinion that the Mussulman as a rule is a bully, and the Hindu a coward. Where there are cowards, there will always be bullies." For further details see: Sharif Al-Mujahid's article *The Khilafat Movement in Mohamed Ali: Life and Work*, Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1978; Rajmohan Gandhi's biographical essay on Muhammad Ali in *Eight Lives*, p. III.
22. Iqbal had slightly differing Persian and Urdu versions of this poem on the League of Nations. The quotation is the last sentence of the Persian version. In *Payam-i-mashriq, Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, (Farsi) Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1973, p.363. The Urdu version is equally scathing:

Since a long time the sickly creature is in its death throes I am afraid I may not utter the sad news.

Though the end seems to be almost near, its Christian devotees pray that it may survive!

Perhaps this lean structure of European diplomacy through the blessings of Satan may last for a time still .....

From Iqbal's *Zarb-i-Kalim, Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1973, p. 618.
23. PP: Zamindar. 5 February 1926.
24. For example:

"It is the duty of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir to draw the attention of the League of Nations to the attitude by France and Spain towards the Riffs, the destruction of Damascus by the French and the inhuman tyrannies committed by them in Syria. He should also raise his voice against the Pharaoh-like policy pursued by the English in Egypt. It is important to invite the attention of the League to the fact that the English have acquired possession of the Hejaz through Nejd. At present the League is

- undoubtedly the slave of the English and no help can be expected from it. Nevertheless, if the Shaikh speaks out and Persia supports him, the world will come to know the grievances and feelings of Muhammadans." PP: Lahore *Siyasat*, 8 July 1926.
25. From Yusuf Ali's presidential address to the History and Civics Section of the Punjab Educational Conference, December 1926; Punjab Public Library, Lahore. These were similar sentiments to those expressed in *India and Europe*, published a year earlier: "The League of Nations, with all its faults and imperfections, and they are many, is going about in the right way in budding slowly and rallying round its standard all the nations it can persuade of its good faith and its power to further the progress of mankind."
  26. *ibid.* Yusuf Ali's Empire-Loyalism was in full swing: "Above the Government of India we have an Imperial tie, which is symbolised by the British flag, the flag of the British empire. The flag is a symbol. It is even possible for us to have a distinctive national flag and yet to recognise and cherish the Imperial tie ... If you strain at the leash, the fault may possibly be yours. The leash is elastic. I know of no character more adaptable than the British character, and no institutions more responsive to local needs than British institutions. It is for you to understand them and then to adapt them to your needs in the common bonds of empire."
  27. M.A. Chughtai, *Iqbal kay Suhbat mai*, PP. 212-213. Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi's visit took place in April 1927.
  28. AHI: Volume for period 3 October 1926 - 22 December 1928
  29. *Masjid*. Urdu weekly, Lahore, 16 April 1937 (YA10S). Translated by the author.
  30. Obituary note on King Faisal, *The Times*, 11 September 1933; reproduced earlier in Note 33, Chapter 3.
  31. *The Eastern Times*, Lahore, 3 June 1936; article by Yusuf Ali with the title 'Mustapha Kemal Ata-Turk', describing his visit to Ankara in 1928 (YA4).

## JAMA MASJID TAKES STEPS TO RESTORE UNIQUE QURAN

Made on special handmade paper with distinctive calligraphy, the Holy Quran in Vadodra's Jama Masjid attracts many visitors every year. Little wonder since the 250 -year-old Quran is a huge 6.5 ft. in length and 3 ft. in width.

With years of exposure to the elements leaving the copy in dire need of restoration, the masjid sabha has finally initiated steps for its restoration after senior restorer C.B. Gupta from the National Museum of Delhi did a preliminary check on the copy.

The entire copy which has been written in fifteen volumes by Mohammed Gaus, also has a translation as well as commentary on the verses in Persian. Decorative motifs in red, blue and gold border the Arabic calligraphy. "The deterioration is two-fold in some of the volumes. The paper has become brittle at places, while some spots have fungus," says Gupta. "The special black ink used in many of the volumes also need urgent attention," he adds.

The black ink is believed to have glue content and the blue ink prepared with a technique found in Iran using copper acetate. "We had carried out intensive restoration work around 25 years ago. Many suggestions for restoration were made recently, but, for the first time, we feel genuine efforts are being made," says Mohammed Daymakumar, Chairman of the Masjid sabha.

Presently, only one volume is on display while the rest are stacked together. "Each volume needs to be kept separately in air tight chambers," says the senior restorer. MAG Secretary Ilesh Vyas says, "we are awaiting a detailed report from Gupta to take up the restoration work." Gupta has promised a report as he believes the paper is unique, Vyas adds. ■

Courtesy: Indian Express (31-3-04)

# EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Maqbool Ahmed Siraj

## The Problem

The dilemma faced by Indian Muslims in the sphere of education is evident in an instance, quoted by Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi (in his newsletter *Sidq e Jadeed* Lucknow, 1977) when an agonized Muslim father of Lucknow received a letter written in Hindi from his son educated in Hindi medium of instruction in post-Independence India. The letter began with "pujjayvar pitaji". The Hindi term, essentially a part of Hindi letter composition style, when translated would mean "a father worthy of worship". Though a highly respectful term for a Hindu, it amounts to divine derogation among Muslims, hence outrageous. The Muslim father's indignation was, of course, only in earnest Islamic spirit.

Here lies the dilemma. Alienation from cultural and religious heritage, is apparent on a number of fronts. For over four decades Muslims in India have been groping in darkness to find a way out of the maze of such dilemmas. Sudden departure of Urdu language from the educational scene in northern states threw two inconvenient options before the vast body of Muslims inhabiting atleast seven states: opt for either secular educational curriculum or go over to theological schools. Neither system was attuned to the needs of a diffident community emerging from the trauma of partition and communal violence. Secular education without Urdu led to the steady dilution of the Muslim identity. Theological education without science and mathematics made it irrelevant for the contemporary world. However, the two systems came to entrench themselves. The split between the secular and religious education proceeded longitudinally over the decades and carried the two segments further apart with collaboration efforts sorrowfully missing. The divisions among the educated class

deepened the dilemma. If Indian Muslims continue to suffer from dearth of visioned leadership, the blame, to a certain extent goes to the educational system. Individuals from secular educational system do not carry the religious authority and those from the theological institutions lack vision to guide the community in the socio-economic field. The community still awaits an educational system which integrates the two and which could be made available to every Muslim child in India.

### **The Causes and Consequences**

The problems which Muslim community faced following the removal of Urdu language as a medium of instruction in schools, were exacerbated by the mass exodus of Muslim middle class from Urdu hinterland to Pakistan and the fury of communal riots that followed. Urdu became the vehicle of discrimination against Muslims.

Division of states on linguistic basis did not leave any sizable geographic area and Urdu speaking population, which could constitute a state on its numerical strength. As economic competition increased the younger generation switched over to local languages and particularly to the official link languages, Hindi and English. Abandoned by its patrons Urdu became alien in its own homeland.

It was during 1970 that Muslims began to seriously examine their decline in education and relate to the elimination of Urdu in the North. Thus began a political struggle to secure recognition of Urdu at the official level. It bore fruits. The state of Bihar accorded it the status of the second official language. Till then only Kashmir had adopted it as the medium of instruction. Now Bihar had started offering Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and Indian Police Service (IPS) examinations in Urdu medium. Uttar Pradesh Muslims awakened late and the government announced similar status for Urdu only in October 1989, while the country was poised for the eighth general election.

## Not All States are Equal

While replacement of Urdu in the North preoccupied the concern of Muslim educationists, the South witnessed Muslims making strides in Education. Muslim educational society of Kerala, Muslim Educational Association of South India, Madras, and Al-Ameen Educational Society of Karnataka stirred awareness in their respective areas, often overlapping territorial jurisdictions. A series of conferences brought into bold relief the diverse dilemmas the Muslim education was caught in. In Kerala a rigid orthodox lobby was denying education to Muslim women resulting in the irony that women's literacy hovered around 50 per cent in the most literate state of India. In Tamilnadu, the Muslims belatedly realised the hardship in planning and misplaced priorities in education. Lest they be outpaced, they had set up more colleges than their actual needs. while deficient attention towards the primary education sector deprived the colleges of the feeder institutions. This led to a situation where infrastructural facilities for higher education created out of huge investment by Muslims were benefitting others. In the 13 colleges which Muslims managed in the state, only a single college in Madras had around 51 per cent Muslim students and the others had 15 to 30 per cent Muslims.

While majority of the colleges had 15 per cent or less Muslim students, there seems to be an increasing awareness followed by efforts to widen the base of primary education and secondary education and thereby to set right the inverted pyramid. In Karnataka, according to a study by the Gokhale Institute of Pune, a large proportion of Muslim children remained unschooled while a massive drop out rate marred the secondary education statistics, thus aborting the education drive. Of the drop-outs, 45 per cent walked off in so elementary stages of education, that they almost reverted to illiteracy, the study pointed out.<sup>2</sup> Child labour was obviously the villain. Karnatak Muslims who predominantly speak Urdu also suffered on account of official apathy towards Urdu schools. Lax supervision by indifferent Urdu

school inspectorate led to poor performance. Liberal evaluation of exam answer books by Muslim teachers from Urdu schools proved to be a disastrous bonus for incompetent students. A large number of Urdu schools in three districts of Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar, which once formed part of Hyderabad State of the Nizams, were receiving only 25 per cent aid from the government against 100 per cent in other districts. The anomaly persists even after 25 years of separation of these districts from Hyderabad and amalgamation into Karnataka. The financial constraints have resulted in fall in standards of schools of an area which in the past supplied the top brass to a former princely state.

Voluntary effort in setting up Muslim education institutions in Delhi, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh was conspicuous by its absence till 1970s. This is borne out in a comparative study of madrassahs and schools. according to a study conducted by the Centre for Promotion of Science (CPS), functioning under the aegis of the Department of Physics in the Aligarh Muslim University. Bihar had 1,931 madrassahs against 45 high schools while Uttar Pradesh had 642 madrassahs against 167 high schools.<sup>3</sup> Compare this with Maharashtra which has currently nearly 400 high schools registered and run by the Muslim minority, besides government run Urdu medium high schools which benefit only Muslims.

Muslims represented 50 per cent or less in professional courses in Aligarh Muslim University and Jamia Millia Islamia. The supply areas had no quality Muslim high schools to feed the two universities. Muslim students themselves fared poorly vis-a-vis their non-Muslim classmates in Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) Senior Secondary Schools, with the result that those non-Muslim students got admission in courses which carry a premium in the job market.

### **Professional Education and Employment Opportunities**

An overriding concern for the Muslims everywhere in



India relates to their dwindling share among graduates from professional institutions. Meagre or less than proportional representations in such institutions essentially meant under representation in technical cadres and administrative channels of the government and the economy. This results in framing the laws that either discriminate against Muslims or ignore their cultural or economic interests. According to one estimate, Muslim students in professional educational institutions constituted only 3.5 per cent in 1977. Situation in the South in this regard is slightly better but is still far from satisfactory. Kerala Muslims constituting 20 per cent of population, enjoy 12 per cent reservation and occupy seats in professional colleges a little less than their share. A mixed effort of merit and Backward Class privilege available to certain sections among Muslims, enabled them to occupy seats in medicine and engineering more or less proportionate to their percentage in population in Tamil Nadu (5.1 per cent). However, the proportion gradually declines as one moves upwards, insofar as it declines to less than 2 per cent in states such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. In the prestigious Indian Institute of Management and Institute of Design at Ahmedabad, the share of Muslims was found to be less than one per cent during a study in 1981. Similarly Muslims were under 2 per cent in the Indian Institute of Technology which produced the best Engineering graduate for the nation.<sup>8</sup>

The steep decline in Muslim representation over the years in administrative services is quite symptomatic of the falling educational standards among them. Statistically speaking Muslims constituted just over 3 per cent of officers in Indian administrative services (IAS) (105 among 3,378)- a drop from 4.3 per cent in 1972.<sup>9</sup> Among central Secretariat Services (CSS), out of 1,681 officers only six were Muslims, while among second grade's 2000 employees, Muslims were represented by merely a couple. Similarly, only 3 per cent officers (i.e., 53) were Muslims among Indian Police Service's 1,661 officers. The harsh conditions that Muslims

suffer due to poor educational standards are evident from above mentioned statistics.

### **An Emerging Conciousness**

A major resurgence is now evident in Muslim thinking. Instead of squarely laying the blame at the doors of goveremnt or a "prejudiced administration", the Muslim intelligentsia now tends to look inwards and is more instrospective. Proportional representation in government services, the Muslims now realise, could be achieved only through qualitative improvement and quantitative expansion of the literacy base. Steadily the Muslims have discovered that lack of competitive spirit is a greater impeding factors than the hitherto much touted discrimination theory. If nothing else, the admission statistic for medicine and engineering and mangement faculties of the Aligarh Muslim University and the Bachelor of Engineering course at Jamia Millia amply proves it. At Aligarh Muslim University the two faculties have 100 and 350 seats, yet Muslim students have rarely exceeded 40 per cent of the total. In 1991 the Aligarh Muslim University M.B.B.S course had, for the first time, 59 per cents Muslims. In Jamia's Engineering course, Muslims represent only 30 per cent and the benefit of 25 per cent reservation is solely appropriated by them.

However, Muslim educationists feel no reason for any relaxation in demand for quota for Muslims in professional educational institutions or government jobs at par with the Harijans. (described as scheduled castes). As Dr. Bahauddin observed in the Al Ameen Educational Conference in Bangalore in 1985, Harijans in Kerala fare better in education beyond eighth standard in comparison to Muslims. Findings of a survey conducted at Ahmedabad in the industrial city of Gujarat, are similar. According to Prof. J.S. Bandukwala, at Boroda University, only 2.5 per cent Muslims were matriculates against 4.5 per cent Harijans, while among graduates the Muslim-Harijan ratio worked out to be 1: 1.5. Certainly this amelioration in the condition of Harijans is the direct outcome of the special privileges

through quotas, which are made available to them on sustained basis since independence of India in 1947. Conversely, it is perhaps the absence of it that caused the retrogression among Muslims.<sup>10</sup> The only state at present that offers, quotas to Muslims is Kerala, where all government services and admissions in colleges guarantee 12 per cent reservation. In Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, Muslims have been identified as Backward class (BC) and get the benefit of quotas. However, in Karnataka they have been classified on the upper limits of Backward Classes and do not benefit adequately from the quota allotted for the category.

However, the psychological turn around in Muslim community with regard to educational strategy and planning, is yet to be completed. The futility of establishing institutions of higher learning without adequate qualitative feeder institutions at the base, is yet to be fully comprehended by all concerned. There still exists a vociferous segment which often raises the call for setting up of medical and engineering colleges or Urdu University, in order to enhance Muslim representation. But these are misplaced demands; for only through a net work of better schools, Muslims can improve the chances of adequate representation in all higher educational institutions.

### **A Tower of Babel**

Confusing and diverse array of language policies of the India's linguistically divided states, places Muslim children in disadvantage vis-a-vis their non-Muslim classmates everywhere. An Urdu speaking Muslim child is subjected to learn at least one additional language in most states. Under the language policy, a Muslim student opts for Urdu, Hindi and English in Hindi states; Hindi, English, Urdu and the regional language in Karnataka, Orissa, Maharashtra, and Andra Pradesh; Hindi, English and the regional language in Kerala and Gujarat; English and the mother tongue in Tamil Nadu. But it appears that the three-language policy does not suit Muslims everywhere. In Hindi

states, except Bihar and Haryana, Urdu is denied a place in the formula and the Muslims have to study Sanskrit in its place. In Tamil Nadu, Urdu speaking Muslims need to forgo either Urdu or Tamil, both being inconvenient options. In Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Gujarat, Muslims need a four-language policy, as under the 3-language formula they will have to choose either Urdu or the regional language. However a better situation is obtained in Maharashtra where Hindi and the regional language have been combined into one paper. Similarly in Assam, a predominant majority of Muslims speak Bengali but can not study it under the 3 - language formula.

### **Medium is not the Message**

A demand for English medium education which is available mainly in Christian missionary convent schools, has created other problems. Muslim students are required to learn the basics of Christianity and the mores and ethos of that religion and culture. Coming as they do from affluent sections of Muslim community and generally from urban centers, these students carry the promise of representing Muslims in India's top bureaucratic cadres. It is a matter of conjecture as to how effective would be the case of Islam or Muslims pleaded by a section which itself has poor perception and vague conception of Islam.

The fact remains, however, that English education in India facilitates cross country mobility, while it helps to dilute the ethnic, regional, religious and linguistic identity of an individual in situations when such an identity is a cause of discrimination or disadvantage. English medium education also has the potential to bring overseas employment, and after Hindi, it is the next best suitable medium in India for intra-community communication. Yet, Muslim community has not made efforts at setting up English medium schools in numbers adequate for meeting its needs and continues to depend on the institutions operated by other communities for the education of its future leadership. This problem needs to be addressed immediately.

## **An Agenda for Education of Indian Muslims**

To improve the standard of education among Muslim of India, the following suggestions may be considered for adoption by Muslim educational societies in India:

1. Promote universal and compulsory education among Muslims through widening the network of schools.
2. Reduce the dropout rate among Muslims by providing:
  - a. free or low tuition, books, midday meals and uniforms in poor and slum area schools.
  - b. unisex schools for girls after the 7th, standard.
3. Provide informal education for Muslim children by arranging on-site coaching in places such as bidi factories, carpet making workshops, and in automobile-garages, where many school age children work as hired labourers.
4. Provide youth hostels in towns and cities and set up large number of endowments in order to help the students from rural areas to continue education.
5. In the field of professional education, work towards a fair representation in government colleges, and set up tutorial institutes and professional colleges in Muslim areas.
6. South India has a substantial number of professional educational institutions by and for Muslims. Efforts should be made to make these facilities available to increasing number of Muslim students. Endowments, should be set up to finance education of North Indian as well as South Indian Muslim students in these colleges.
7. Muslim students should be encouraged towards employment oriented courses such as engineering, architecture, law, medicine, veterinary science, agricultural sciences, etc.
8. To enhance exposure to religion, history, and culture,

prepare adequate Islamic enrichment literature such as story books, slide shows, documentaries, video programmes, and publish quality material in vernacular languages.

9. Set up diploma courses for Muslims girls where Islamic and modern home science curricula are integrated.
10. Establish institutes for research on Muslim education, languages and literature, society and culture.
11. Start magazines and newsletters to encourage and monitor Muslim progress in education.
12. Set up model schools in cities or hill resorts.

The following areas of Muslim concentration may be targetted for launching superior educational facilities with the specific objective of improving the currently prevalent adverse conditions in the field of education among Muslims in India: Malabar, or northern Kerala; Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh; Gulbarga in Karnataka; Aurangabad in Maharashtra; Tonk and Jaipur in Rajasthan; Kashmir Valley, Mewat in Haryana and Rajasthan; Okhla in Delhi; Aligarh, Moradabad, Meerut, Azamgarh, Rampur in Uttar Pradesh; Gaya, Purnea, Katihar, Araria, Kishanganj districts in Bihar; Malda, Murshidabad, Jangipura, Berhampura, in West Bengal; Cuttack, Nalbari and Karimganj districts in Assam; Lilong in Manipur. ■

### Notes

1. K.M. Pathusha, "Statement showing Details of Muslim Colleges in Tamil Nadu" OMEIAT, Madras, December 1987. According to statistics quoted in the above mentioned article only 31.6 per cent of the students in 12 Muslim managed colleges in Tamil Nadu were Muslims.
2. M.A. Siraj, "Muslim Educational Priorities Listed" *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, April 14, 1984.
3. This information was obtained from the Center for Promotion of Science set up by Aligarh Muslim University to promote science and mathematics in Madrassas.

4. In 1990, of the 17 rankers in the senior secondary school of Aligarh Muslim University, 12 were non-Muslims. Under its admissions policy, the Aligarh Muslim University is bound to give preference to its "internal" students, irrespective of their religious affiliations. Thus the top rankers will secure admissions readily.
5. According to Dr. Bahauddin, Pro-Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University only nine Muslims were selected for 700 Bachelor of Engineering seats in Uttar Pradesh in 1984 through open competition. (information presented by him in Al-Ameen Educational Conference at Bangalore in 1985.)
6. In Tamil Nadu only 20 Muslims were selected among 1200 for MBBS studies in 1984. Of them 8 had managed to come out on merit basis while the rest were selected on the basis of Backward Class status. This is according to OMEIAT sources in Madras. Dr. S. Sathikh, Director, Madras Institute of Technology reported that in 1985, 11 Muslims were selected among 200 students for the 3-year course at the MIT. There were only 100 Muslims among the 5,000 applicants which means that Muslim applicants were far less in proportion both at the application and entrance examination stages. It may be recalled that Muslims are 5.1 per cent in Tamil Nadu population.
7. In 1970, the Nettur Commission Report had put the percentage of Muslims in Kerala's medical colleges at 11.5 per cent in engineering colleges at 9.3 per cent, in science and degree colleges, at 6.7 per cent, in law colleges at 7.9 per cent, in Ayurveda colleges, at 11.5 per cent and dental colleges at 3.2 per cent. Representation of Muslim children in 10th standard in Kerala was 8.2 per cent.
8. In South India the Muslims have set up their own professional colleges in large numbers. They run 11 engineering colleges, two medical colleges, nearly a dozen polytechnics, 30 ITIs, 3 Management studies institutes, etc. According to statistics collected by their author in 1985, of the 1,770 bachelor of engineering seats available in nine Muslim engineering colleges, only 660 were occupied by Muslims, which works out to 37.3 per cent. But Muslims would not have produced even 660 engineers, had they not started these colleges as their percentage in government run colleges is less than 6 per cent.
9. Muslim representation among successful candidates in IAS, IPS, IFS and other Central Services (Main) Examinations during last few years.  
12 among 850 in 1984 (*The Hindu*, 25-5-1984)

9 among 790 in 1986 (*The Hindu*, 5-5-1986)

12 among 855 in 1987 (*The Hindu*, 8-6-1987)

21 among 840 in 1990 (*The Times of India*, 1-6-1990)

23 among 940 in 1991 (*The Times of India*, June 1991)

10. Absence of quotas is one factor which retards educational development of Muslims. But a bigger factor is the dropout problem. Acute poverty forces the families to press children into employment. The problem is compounded by lack of education in mother tongue which makes studies hard and uninteresting. A lot of Muslim children complain that they do not find adequate space at home to pursue their school work.

*He who loved for Allah, hated for Allah, gave for Allah and refused (to give) for Allah, perfected the faith.*

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him)



# ISLAM AND THE WEST

HRH The Prince of Wales

## Introduction

The links between the world of Islam and the Western world matter more today than ever before, because the degree of misunderstanding between the two worlds remains dangerously high, and because the need for the two to live and work together in our increasingly interdependent world has never been greater.

Despite the advances in technology and mass communications of the second half of the twentieth Century, despite mass travel, the intermingling of races, the ever growing reduction - or so we believe - of the mysteries of our world, misunderstandings between Islam and the West continue. Indeed, they may be growing! As far as the West is concerned, this cannot be because of ignorance. There are one billion Muslims world wide. Ten million or more live in the West, and around one million in Britain where the Islamic community has been growing and flourishing for decades. There are nearly 500 mosques in Britain. Popular interest in Islamic culture in Britain is growing fast and enhanced by events such as the Festival of Islam which Her Majesty the Queen opened in 1976. Islam is all around us. And yet distrust, even fear, persists.

In the post-Cold War world of the 1990's, the prospects for peace should be greater than at any time in this century. In the Middle East, the remarkable and encouraging events of recent weeks have created new hope for an end to an issue which has divided the world and been so dramatic a source of violence and hatred. But the dangers have not disappeared. In the Muslim world, we are seeing the unique way of life of the Marsh Arabs of Southern Iraq, thousands of years old, being systematically devastated and destroyed and the unmentionable horrors being perpetrated in

## Southern Iraq.

Elsewhere the violence and hatred are more intractable and deep-seated, as we go on seeing every day to our horror in the wretched suffering of peoples across the world - in the former Yugoslavia, in Somalia, Angola, Sudan, in so many of the former Soviet Republics. In Yugoslavia the terrible sufferings of the Bosnian Muslims, alongside that of other communities in that cruel war, help keep alive many of the fears and prejudices which our two worlds retain of each other. Conflict, of course, comes about because of the misuse of power and the clash of ideals, not to mention the inflammatory activities of unscrupulous and big leaders. But it also arises, tragically, from an inability to understand, and from powerful emotions which out of misunderstanding lead to distrust and fear.

## The Ties that Bind

It is odd, in many ways, that the misunderstandings between Islam and the West should persist. For that which binds our two worlds together is so much powerful than that which divides us. Muslims, Christians - and Jews - are all "peoples of the Book". Islam and Christianity share a common monotheistic vision: a belief in one divine God, in the transience of our earthly life, in our accountability for our actions, and in the assurance of life to come. We share many key values in common: respect for knowledge, for justice, compassion towards the poor and underprivileged, the importance of family life, respect for parents. "Honour thy father and thy mother" is a Quranic precept too.

Our history has been closely bound up together. There, however, is one root of the problem. For much of that history has been conflict; fourteen centuries too often marked by mutual hostility. That has given rise to an enduring tradition of fear and distrust, because our two worlds have so often seen that past in contradictory ways. To Western school children, the two hundred years of the Crusades are traditionally seen as a series of heroic, chivalrous exploits

in which the kings, knights, princes - and children - of Europe tried to wrest Jerusalem from the wicked Muslim infidels. To Muslims the Crusades were an episode of great cruelty and terrible plunder, of Western infidel soldiers of fortune and horrific atrocities, perhaps exemplified best by the massacres committed by the Crusaders when, in 1099, they took back Jerusalem, the third holiest city in Islam. For us in the West, the year 1492 speaks of human endeavour and new horizons, of Columbus and the discovery of the Americas. To Muslims, 1492 is a year of tragedy - the year Grenada fell to Ferdinand and Isabella, signifying the end of eight centuries of Muslim civilisation in Europe. The point is not that one or other picture is more true, or has a monopoly on truth. It is that misunderstandings arise when we fail to appreciate how others look at the world, its history, and our respective roles in it.

### **Images and Realities**

The corollary of how we in the West see our history has so often been to regard Islam as a threat - in mediaeval times as a military conqueror, and in more modern times as a source of intolerance, extremism and terrorism. One can understand how the taking of Constantinople, when it fell to Sultan Mehmet in 1453, and the close-run defeats of the Turks outside Vienna in 1529 and 1693, should have sent shivers of fear through Europe's rulers. The history of the Balkans under Ottoman provided examples of cruelty which sank deep into Western feelings. But the threat has not been one way. With Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, followed by the invasions and conquests of the 19th century, the pendulum swung, and almost all the Islamic world became occupied by the Western powers. With the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Europe's triumph over Islam seemed complete. Those days of conquest are over. But even now our common attitude to Islam suffers because the way we understand it has been hijacked by the extreme and the superficial. To many of us in the West, Islam is seen in terms of the tragic civil war in Lebanon, the killings and bombings

perpetrated by the extremist groups in the Middle East, and by what is commonly referred to as "Islamic Fundamentalism". Our judgement of Islam has been grossly distorted by taking the extremes to be the norm. It is like judging the quality of life in Britain by the existence of murder and rape, child abuse and drug addiction. The extremes exist, and they must be dealt with. But when used as a basis to judge a society, they lead to distortion, misunderstanding and unfairness.

For example, people in the country frequently argue that the Sharia law of the Islamic world is cruel, barbaric and unjust. Our newspapers, above all, love to peddle those unthinking prejudices. The truth is, of course, different and always more complex. My own understanding is that extremes, like the cutting off of hands, are rarely practised. The guiding principle and spirit of Islamic Law, taken straight from the Qur'an, should be those of equity and compassion. We need to study its actual application before we make judgments. We must distinguish between systems of justice administered with integrity, and systems of justice as we may see them practised which have been deformed for political reasons into something no longer Islamic.

We should also distinguish Islam from the customs of some Islamic societies. Another obvious Western prejudice is to judge the position of women in Islamic society by the extreme cases. Yet Islam is not a monolith and the picture is not simple. Islamic countries like Turkey, Egypt and Syria gave women the vote as early as Europe did its women - and much earlier than in Switzerland! In those countries women have long enjoyed equal pay, and the opportunity to play a full working role in their societies. The rights of Muslim women to property and inheritance, to some protection if divorced, and to the conducting of business, were rights prescribed by the Qur'an fourteen hundred years ago, even if they were not everywhere translated into practice. In Britain at least, some of these rights were novel even to my grandmother's generation! Benazir Bhutto and Begum

Khalida Zia became prime ministers in their own traditional societies when Britain had for the first time ever in its history elected a female prime minister. That, I think, does not smack of a mediaeval society. Women are not automatically second-class citizens because they live in Islamic countries.

### **How the West is Viewed**

We in the West need also to understand the Islamic world's view of us. There is nothing to be gained, and much harm to be done, by refusing to comprehend the extent to which many people in the Islamic world genuinely fear our own Western materialism and mass culture as a deadly challenge to their Islamic culture and way of life. Some of us may think the material trappings of Western society which we have exported to the Islamic world - television, fast-food, and the electronic gadgets of our everyday lives - are a modernising, self-evidently good, influence. But we fall in the trap of dreadful arrogance if we confuse "modernity" in other countries with their becoming like us. The fact is that our form of materialism can be offensive to devout Muslims - and I do not just mean the extremists among them. We must understand that reaction, just as the West's attitude to some of the more rigorous aspects of Islamic life need to be understood in the Islamic world. This, I believe, would help us understand what we have commonly come to see as the threat of Islamic fundamentalism. We need to be careful of that emotive label, "fundamentalism", and distinguish, as Muslims do, between revivalists, who choose to take the practice of their religion most devoutly, and fanatics or extremists who use this devotion for political ends. Among the many religious, social and political causes of what we might more accurately call the Islamic revival is a powerful feeling of disenchantment, of the realisation that Western technology and material things are insufficient, and that a deeper meaning to life lies elsewhere in the essence of Islamic belief.

## **Islam, the Middle Way**

We must not be tempted to believe that extremism is in some way the hallmark and essence of the Muslim. Extremism is no more the monopoly of Islam than it is the monopoly of other religions, including Christianity. The vast majority of Muslims, though personally pious, are moderate in their politics. Theirs is the "religion of the middle way". The Prophet himself always disliked and feared extremism. Perhaps the fear of Islamic revivalism which coloured the 1980's is now beginning to give way in the West to an understanding of the genuine spiritual forces behind this groundswell. But if we are to understand this important movement, we must learn to distinguish clearly between what the vast majority of Muslims believe and the terrible violence of a small minority among them which civilized people everywhere must condemn.

## **Partners in Progress**

If there is much misunderstanding in the West about the nature of Islam, there is also much ignorance about the debt our own culture and civilisation owe to the Islamic world. It is a failure which stems, from the straitjacket of history which we have inherited. The mediaeval Islamic world, from Central Asia to the shore of the Atlantic, was a world where scholars and men of learning flourished. But because we have tended to see Islam as the enemy of the West, as an alien culture, society and system of belief, we have tended to ignore or erase its great relevance to our own history. For example, we have underestimated the importance of 800 years of Islamic society and culture in Spain between the 8th and 15th centuries. The contribution of Muslim Spain to the preservation of classical learning during the Dark Ages, and to the first flowerings of the Renaissance, has long been recognised. But Islamic Spain was much more than a mere larder where Hellenistic knowledge was kept for later consumption by the emerging modern Western world. Not only did Muslim Spain gather and preserve the

intellectual content of ancient Greek and Roman civilisation, it also interpreted and expanded upon that civilisation, and made a vital contribution of its own in so many fields of human endeavour - in science, astronomy, mathematics, algebra (itself an Arabic word), law, history, medicine, pharmacology, optics, agriculture, architecture, theology, music. Averroes and Avenzoar, like their counterparts Avicenna and Rhazes in the East, contributed to the study and practice of medicine in ways from which Europe benefited for centuries afterwards.

Islam nurtured and preserved the quest for learning. In the words of the tradition, "the ink of the scholar is more sacred than the blood of the martyr". Cordoba in the 10th century was by far the most civilised city of Europe. We know of lending libraries in Spain at the time King Alfred was making terrible blunders with the culinary arts in this country. It is said that the 400,000 volumes in its ruler's library amounted to more books than all the libraries of the rest of Europe put together. That was made possible because the Muslim world acquired from China the skill of making paper more than four hundred years before the rest of non-Muslim Europe. Many of the traits on which modern Europe prides itself came to it from Muslim Spain. Diplomacy, free trade, open borders, the techniques of academic research, of anthropology, etiquette, fashion, alternative medicine, hospitals, all came from those great city of cities.

Mediaeval Islam was a religion of remarkable tolerance for its time, allowing Jews and Christians the right to practise their inherited beliefs, and setting an example which was not, unfortunately, emulated for many centuries in the West. The surprise is the extent to which Islam has been a part of Europe for so long, first in Spain, then in the Balkans, and the extent to which it has contributed so much towards the civilisation which we all too often think of, and wrongly, as entirely Western. Islam is part of our past and our present, in all fields of human endeavour. It has helped to create modern Europe. It is part of our own inheritance,

not a thing apart.

More than this, Islam can teach us today a way of understanding and living in the world which Christianity itself is poorer for having lost. At the heart of Islam is its preservation of an integral view of the Universe. Islam refuses to separate man and nature, religion and science, mind and matter, and has preserved a metaphysical and unified view of ourselves and the world around us.

At the core of Christianity there still lies an integral view of the sanctity of the world, and a clear sense of the trusteeship and responsibility given to us for our natural surroundings. But the West gradually lost this integrated vision of the world with Copernicus and Descartes and the coming of the scientific revolution. A comprehensive philosophy of nature is no longer part of our everyday beliefs. If we could now only rediscover that earlier all embracing approach to the world around us, to see and understand its deeper meaning, we could begin to get away from the increasing tendency in the West to live on the surface of our surroundings, where we study our world in order to manipulate and dominate it, turning harmony and beauty into disequilibrium and chaos.

In so many ways the external world we have created in the last few hundred years has come to reflect our own divided and confused inner state. Western civilisation has become increasingly acquisitive and exploitative in defiance of our environmental responsibilities. This crucial sense of oneness and trusteeship of the vital sacramental and spiritual character of the world about us is surely something important we can relearn from Islam. What is urgently needed is a wider, deeper, more careful understanding of our world; for a metaphysical as well as material dimensions to our lives, in order to recover the balance we have abandoned, the absence of which will prove disastrous in the long term. If the ways of thought found in Islam and other religions can help us in that search, then there are things for



us to learn from the system of beliefs which we ignore at our own peril.

### **The Shrinking Globe**

We live today in one world, forged by instant communications, by television, by the exchange of information on a scale undreamed of by our grandparents. The world economy functions as an inter-dependent entity. Problems of society, the quality of life and the environment, are global in their causes and effects and none of us any longer has the luxury of being able to solve them on our own. The Islamic and Western worlds share problems common to us all: how we adapt to change in our societies, how we help young people who feel alienated from their parents or their society's values, how we deal with AIDS, drugs, and the disintegration of the family.

Of course, these problems vary in nature and intensity between societies. The problems of our own inner cities are not identical to those of Cairo or Damascus. But the similarity of human experience is considerable. The international trade in hard drugs is one example; the damage we are collectively doing to our environment is another. We have to solve these threats to our communities and our lives together. Simply getting to know each other can achieve wonders. Somehow we have to learn to understand each other, and to educate our children - a new generation, whose attitudes and cultural outlook may be different from ours - so that they understand too.

We have to show trust, mutual respect and tolerance, if we are to find the common ground between us and work together to find solutions. The Islamic and the Western worlds can no longer afford to stand apart from a common effort to solve their common problems. We cannot afford to revive the territorial and political confrontations of the past. We have to share experiences, to explain ourselves to each other, to understand and tolerate, and build on those positive principles which our two cultures have in common. That

trade has to be two-way. Each of us needs to understand the importance of conciliation, of reflection - *TADABBUR* - to open our minds and unlock our hearts to each other. The Islamic and the Western worlds have much to learn from each other. Just as the oil engineer in the Gulf may be European, so the heart transplant surgeon in Britain may be Egyptian.

### **Muslims in Britain**

If the need for tolerance and exchange is true internationally, it applies with special force within Britain itself. Britain is a multi-racial and multi-cultural society with sizable Muslim communities who live throughout Britain, both in large towns like Bradford and in tiny communities in places as remote as Stornaway in Western Scotland. These people are an asset to Britain. They contribute to all parts of our economy - to industry, the public services, the professions and the private sector. We find them as teachers, as doctors, as engineers and as scientists. They contribute to our economic well-being as a country, and add to the cultural richness of our nation. Of course, tolerance and understanding must be mutual. For those of us who are not Muslim, that may mean respect for the daily practice of the Islamic faith and a decent care to avoid actions which are likely to cause deep offence.

For the Muslims in our society, there is the need to respect the history, culture and way of life of our country, and to balance their vital liberty to be themselves with an appreciation of the importance of integration in our society. Where there are failings of understanding and intolerance, we have a need, on our own doorstep, for greater reconciliation among our own citizens.

### **Conclusion**

The Islamic and the Western worlds are today at something of a crossroads in their relations. We must not let them stand apart. Nor can we accept the argument that they are on course to clash in a new era of antagonism. Our

two worlds have much to offer each other. We have much to do together. There are encouraging signs that show dialogue has begun, both in Britain and elsewhere. But we shall need to work harder to understand each other, to drain out any poison between us, and to lay the ghost of suspicion and fear. The further down that road we can travel, the better the world that we shall create for our children and for future generations. ■

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## IBN TAYMIYYAH'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE EXTREMES OF MYSTICISM

Ibn Taymiyyah fought heretical innovations in religion which were wide spread during his time all over the Muslim world, especially certain acts and beliefs of some Sufi orders, like saint worship and visiting saints' tombs, and throwing themselves in the fire. His attack on the Sufis caused him a lot trouble with the authorities whose leaders were under the influence of certain Sufi leaders. As a result of Ibn Taymiyyah's popularity, some influential religious scholars became jealous of him and even annoyed because he challenged the *Qadis* on juridical matters. They, therefore, sought ways and means to discredit him in the eyes of the Government and the people. Ibn Taymiyyah rejected the teachings expounded in the *al-Futuhaat al-Makkah* (*The Makkan revelations*) and *Fusoos al-Hakeem* (*The Mosaic of Wisdom*) of Shaykh Muhiuddin ibn al-' Arabi (d. 638 A.H./1240 C.E.) the most respected Sufi and teacher of *tasawwuf* - as incompatible with the teachings of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, thereby earning the wrath of the Sufis, and by being outspoken on Government policies, he earned the hostility of the government.

## **ISLAM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: THE MAGNUM OPUS OF ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC**

Muhammad Al-Ghazali

It is perhaps not known to many that Alija Izetbegovic, the celebrated Muslim statesman and the President of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is no less gifted as a scholar and thinker. This contention, which we have essayed to substantiate in this paper, testifies to the perennial vitality of Islam, to its capacity to produce persons of great intellectual stature in all periods of history and in virtually every part of the world.

Ever since the emergence of Islam on the stage of history, the vocation of its understanding and explication and of the application of its teachings in the flux of history has virtually embraced all humanity and transcended all geographic, racial and linguistic boundaries. This capacity to produce great men was not monopolized even by the first recipients and early addressees of Islam, namely the people of the Arabian Peninsula, among whom the Prophet (peace be on him) was born and lived. Soon after the dissemination of Islam within the lifetime of the Prophet (peace be on him), its teachings gave birth to a global brotherhood and a world civilization that speedily went beyond the Arabian Peninsula. This global brotherhood and world civilization were greatly enriched by diverse elements entering its fold from varied ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This universal character of the nascent Islamic community was signified, among other things, by the rise to prominence of such people among the Prophet's companions as Salman of Persia, Suhayb of Byzantium, and Bilal of Abyssinia. It was again during the Prophet's life-time and in the decades immediately following his demise, that a large number of the Prophet's companions and other followers of Islam migrated to different corners of the world, particularly to various regions of the Islamic realm, spreading the light of Islam far and wide.

Thus the universal thrust and content of the creed and culture of Islam, coupled with the dominant broad-mindedness of the community of its followers, gave Islamic society and civilization a centrifugal outwardness. This in turn provided an impetus to different groups from diverse stocks to embrace Islam and absorb its simple and humane unitarian message. That is why we find that the knowledge of Islam crossed the borders of the Arabian peninsula in a surprisingly short span of time and it was progressively and in consecutive turns, enthusiastically embraced and promoted by people belonging to a vast variety of human stocks. The Arabs, the Persians, the Mesopotamians, the Indians, the Turks, the Byzantines, the Central Asians, the Mongols, the Africans and the Europeans, each made a visible contribution to the understanding and application of Islam in different times and contexts of history.

Therefore, the contention made at the outset should cause no surprise to those familiar with the universal nature of Islam and the liberality of its monotheistic culture throughout history.

From the past, let us now move to our own time and see how Alija Izetbegovic a, Bosnian intellectual and activist, enriched contemporary Islamic thought through his work *Islam Between East and West*.

Alija Izetbegovic (born in 1925) is not only an outstanding Islamic thinker and a master theoretician of its ideology in the contemporary world, but is also a great *mujahid* who has devoted his life to a relentless and heroic struggle to preserve the Muslim identity of his people in Bosnia Herzegovina, both during the Communist and post-Communist periods. He was imprisoned twice for several years by the repressive Communist regime in the former Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic courageously endured much suffering to keep the torch of truth aloft in that part of the world. He was also destined to assume the leadership of

his people and guide them to independence in 1992. Throughout the trauma of the Serbian aggression that followed the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1996), Alija Izetbegovic remained at the helm of his country's affairs as its elected President in which capacity he displayed matchless qualities of leading a defenceless, war-torn country and its armless and persecuted people. He combined in himself the rare qualities of courage, valour, wisdom and sagacity that have been so typical of all the genuine successors of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) throughout Islamic history. During the entire tumultuous period of four years, a period during which the Muslims of Bosnia- Herzegovina went through the most horrific blood bath of the modern age, at the hands of Serbs, the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina remained united under the leadership of Alija Izetbegovic. The people of Bosnia-Herzegovina not only persevered in their resolve to defend their independence from the Serb aggressors, but also remained steadfast in trusting the singularly sincere and sagacious leadership of Alija Izetbegovic throughout their struggle to preserve their independence. While the multifaceted personality and the numerous achievements of Izetbegovic deserve serious study, we shall confine this paper to the momentous contribution made by him to contemporary Islamic thought through his seminal work, *Islam Between East and West*.

## II

This book was originally written by the author in the Bosnian language. It was first published in English in 1983 by the American Trust Publications. This was followed by two more editions in 1989 and 1993 by the same publishers. The citations made in the present paper refer to the 1993 edition. The English version does not carry the name of any translator. This makes one inclined to the view that perhaps the author himself has either translated or at least overseen the translation of his work into English.

The English edition of the book runs into 291 pages

followed by an appendix and an index of names (10 pages). It is divided into two parts. Part I is entitled: "Premises: Consideration About Religion", while Part II has been given the title: "Islam - Bipolar Unity". Each part has been subdivided into a number of chapters. Part I has six chapters under specific titles and Part-II has five chapters and a supplement entitled: "Submission to God". Besides, the book opens with a two-page preface by Hasan Karachi, a three-page author's note and a four-page introduction written by the famous Bosnian scholar, Dr S. Balic, who in the past was associated with the University of Frankfurt's Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies. There is another introduction to the theme in eight and a half pages entitled: "About the Theme". This does not bear the name of its author. Possibly this also issued from the pen of the learned author of the book himself.

### III

Since the beginning of the present century, the contacts between the scholars of the Muslim world with the Western world, increased, both during the colonial and post-colonial periods. In the latter period, there emerged two powerful channels of influencing Muslim minds with the ideas of the Western thinkers: education and media. These influences from the West elicited, by and large, two kinds of responses from Muslim scholars: complete rejection or total acceptance. However, with the passage of time, a significant number of scholars attempted to formulate a critical, albeit balanced approach toward Western ideas and institutions. These attempts betray a critical awareness of Western thought as well as a deep understanding of the spirit and vision of Islam. This approach was typically represented by men like Muhammad Iqbal (1874-1938) in India, Malek Bennabi in Algeria, 'Allal al-Fasi in Morocco and Abdul Hakim in Pakistan. In recent years this approach has been represented by such scholars as Seyyed Hossein Nasr of Iran, Sayyid Muhammad Naquib al-Attas of Malaysia, Abdel Wahhab El-Messiri of Egypt and the late Ismail al-Faruqi of



Palestine.

All these men followed more or less the pioneering trend set by Mahammad Iqbal in his encounter with Western modernity. The approach of Muhammad Iqbal was epitomized by his famous sentence in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*: "Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought and to maintain an independent and critical attitude towards it".

Despite their apparent diversity of approach toward the prevailing Western ideas of secular and liberal modernity, most of these men have shared a desire to regain the once dynamic spirit of Islam and have generally challenged some of the basic assumptions and premises of the modern Western thought. At the same time, some of them have either explicitly or implicitly endorsed the ideas of freedom, power, social democracy, *laissez faire* economics, the different patterns of representative government, parliamentary democracy, civil liberties, distribution of power, etc. that are the characteristics of the modern liberal Western culture. Other scholars in the Muslim world have, on the other hand, tried to develop an interpretation of Islam that would enable the Muslims to adapt themselves to the over-all framework of modernity's project of progress and development. Nonetheless, most of these contemporary thinkers of Islam did criticize significant aspects of Western thought and made commendable contribution to liberating the present Muslim mind from its sense of inferiority in regard to the Western intellectual and scientific tradition. Moreover, many of them passionately pleaded for a confident return to the traditional sources of Islamic thought. This latest trend is reflected, among others, in the writings of Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Sayyid Muhammad Naquib al-Attas and Abdel Wahhab El-Messiri. These men have confidently criticised Western thought and have, at the same time, highlighted the richness of the Islamic intellectual and scholastic tradition. A major contribution of these scholars is that they have succeeded, to a large extent, in

restoring the confidence of Muslim intellectuals in their intellectual universe. There have been some others who have lately scrutinized, in a critical spirit, a number of assumptions of modern Western thought and have boldly advocated the Islamic point of view on some of the central issues of the present times. However, the parameters of the discourse of some of these intellectuals have been mostly defined by the Western scholars themselves. These include such outstanding men as Paryez Manzoor and Ziauddin Sardar.

While the contributions of these scholars are indeed commendable in many ways, there has not so far come to the fore any seminal critique of the Western thought as a whole which could also set a new and original trend for an authentic contemporary Islamic discourse. Such a seminal scrutiny of the Western ideas in their historical perspective has, to our knowledge, been single-handedly and quite successfully attempted by Alija Izetbegovic. In *Islam Between East and West* Izetbegovic delves deep in the Western intellectual tradition and attempts a profound critique of its major contentions and their evolution in the relevant social and historical contexts. At the same time, he puts across the alternative Islamic point of view which he directly derives from the original sources of the Islamic tradition, without being inhibited by the space-time limitations of the tradition of Muslim scholarship.

The originality of Alija Izetbegovic lies in his successful attempt to cast a critical glance at the whole baggage of Western cultural and scientific heritage. Izetbegovic places Western intellectual tradition in the historical perspective of the overall evolution of human thought and exposes its terrestrial outlook in contrast to the celestial outlook of the major religions of the world. In the first place, Izetbegovic essays the classification of all systems of thought and modes of culture under three categories: materialistic, religious and Islamic. None of the contemporary or recent thinkers of Islam had been able to arrive at such an original and telling typology that could comprehensively cover all the major ideologies

of the world. The genius of Izetbegovic expresses itself, more than anything else, in his superb ability to make this highly perceptive generalization of diverse systems of thought. He introduces this classification at the very outset of his book. The discussion that follows in the book offers lucid substantiation of this classification in logical sequence. This classification constitutes the basic thesis of the book.

There are very few books that so faithfully and cogently develop and substantiate their thesis, propounded so precisely at the outset of the book, as the present work by Alija Izetbegovic. Through the perspective that this book defines for its discussion, the reader gains a definite historical vision of the evolution of ideas. All particulars that one comes across in the vast jungle of ideas throughout human history can be placed in their proper positions according to the schem of this classification. The ability to conceive and arrive at this significant generalization is indeed a great achievement of Izetbegovic and bespeaks his genius. In fact, all those perceptive thinkers who have been recognized as great geniuses in the intellectual history of man have been so recognized precisely because of this rare ability to generalize.

Alija Izetbegovic establishes his contention at the very outset of his work that all systems of ideas that fall outside the orbit of Islamic culture, in one way or the other, are related to either of the two streams of thinking: religious or materialistic. He includes in the former category all those modes of thought and behaviour that emphasize the other world, the esoteric and the spiritual dimensions of the human condition to the exclusion of this immediate phenomenal world of human experience and observation. These modes were typically represented by those apostles, sages, hermits and spiritual teachers who placed a premium on the spiritual promise of life. They taught mankind in multifarious ways the insignificance or even futility of this material world and its transitoriness, and stressed the need to transcend its finitudes in order to attain eventual

redemption in the spiritual order of being.

The latter mode of thought and conduct that constitutes the second category of the classification invites man's attention to the immediate fulfilment that lies within the given resources of this material world of time and space. This approach ignores or denies the esoteric and spiritual possibilities of the human self and amplifies the material potentialities and prospects of human existence. All ideologies and modes of thought which seek the immediate fulfilment of human urges within the matrix of this material world of immediate experience fall in this second category.

According to Izetbegovic, Islam stands prominently distinct and unique in so far as it is neither wholly this-worldly nor entirely other-worldly. For it is neither exclusively concerned with the material amelioration of human life here, nor does it dictate its followers to wholly dedicate themselves to the other-worldly concerns. It is a combination of both. This combination, according to Izetbegovic, is inherent in the very tenor of Islam and the texture of the Muslim temperament. Both these dimensions are so integral and intertwined at every stage that one can hardly dissect them into two distinct parts out of the body of creed and culture that Islam is. Every precept of Islam that appears to have a spiritual import has such an intrinsic terrestrial dimension that a bifurcation of the two is simply not possible. Similarly, every injunction or ordinance of Islam that seems to be of a this-worldly nature is so inseparably linked to a deeply underlying spiritual substance that a line of demarcation cannot be drawn without sacrificing the overall import of that injunction.

The first part of the book entitled: "Premises: Consideration about Religion" consists of the following six chapters: (1) "Creation and Evolution", (2) "Culture and Civilization", (3) "The Phenomenon of Art", (4) "Morality", (5) "Culture and History" and (6) "Drama and Utopia". As would appear from the titles of the chapters, the author brings into focus an inherent tension between the two

parallel streams of ideas and attitudes represented by the two ideologies namely religion and materialism. Through his masterly analysis he shows that a constant tension between religion and materialism has always manifested itself in history. This tension was traceable to an inherent duality and a necessary incongruence between religion and materialism. The conflicting perspectives that gradually evolved out of the two parallel traditions of religion and materialism were represented by such a dual phenomenon as creation in contrast with evolution, culture in contrast with civilization, art in contrast with science, morality in contrast with rationality, humanism in contrast with materialism, and drama in contrast with utopia.

This comparison between the two mutually inconsistent and parallel developments in ideas and expressions provides an altogether different perspective on the past history of mankind. It is in terms of this perspective of history that Izetbegovic defines the reconciliatory and mediating role of the third and the only other alternative to the above two contending ideologies, namely Islam. According to Izetbegovic, history is an endless polemic between atheism and religion. Each contender in this historical polemic has contributed in its own way to the fermentation of thought and enrichment of ideas. Yet the conflict between them has remained unresolved due to their own inherent logic. It was Islam alone which was able to resolve this conflict both in thought and practice.

Highlighting the above conflict that has surfaced on the stage of history in numerous ways and countless forms leads, *ipso facto*, to the most pertinent question which is the crux of Izetbegovic's thesis in the book. The question is: Is there any possibility to overcome this contradiction? Or is man fatalistically destined to remain a hostage to this push and pull between the two opposing poles? In the author's own words: "Could the utopia of *civitas solis* be inhabited with human beings instead of anonymous and faceless individuals and have the features of God's kingdom

on earth"? (The author's note in the book p. xviii.)

The second part of the book provides the answer to the above question. The answer consists in the affirmation of this world, life, matter, man, society, spirit and God, an affirmation that characterizes Islam. In this part, the author marshals compelling evidence to establish his contention that Islam simultaneously affirms man and his world under the writ of God. For it is not only a religion but it is "primarily the principle of the organization of the Universe". (*Loc. cit.*)

In the second part which articulates the conclusion of Izetbegovic's thesis propounded in this book, the author sets out to define the Islamic foundation of humanism. But Izetbegovic's conception of humanism is radically different from its Western materialistic connotations. For it is rooted in the Qur'anic principle of *khilafah*, which grants a unique and matchless position to man in the order of existence. While Western materialism explains away man as merely a certain stage in the evolution of nature, the Qur'anic conception of man as a *khalifah*, presupposes an essentially free agent with a choice. Indeed, according to Izetbegovic, Islam constitutes the very principle by which man was created. Hence one finds an inherent harmony between man and Islam in contradistinction to the necessary tension which the author has so elaborately shown between religion and human nature in the first part of the book. Just as man, seen in the Qur'anic matrix of *khilafah*, is a unity of spirit and body wherein there is no disharmony, Islam also provides a unity of religion and social order, without any conflict between the two. According to Izetbegovic, this unity, which is foreign both to Christianity and materialism, is the basic and the "most Islamic" characteristic of Islam" (*Ibid.*, p. xix).

The second part also presents an interesting and significant comparison between the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) and two other previous Prophets namely Moses and Jesus. Through this comparison, the writer attempts to highlight three primeval answers to humanity's encounter with history represented by these three Prophets.

According to the author, while the Old Testament takes a realistic and positively this-worldly attitude, the New Testament pursues an idealism that makes it oriented to other-worldliness, turning its back on this world and the requirements of here and now. The Qur'an, however, represents a unique synthesis of the realism of the Old Testament and the idealism of the New Testament.

This highly instructive comparison between the three Prophets is followed by an analytical discussion of the five pillars of Islam in which *salah* occupies a pivotal position. This discussion shows how the unity of body and spirit, religion and society, this world and the hereafter, envisaged by Islam, permeates the philosophy as well as all the concrete formulations of the pillars of Islam. Thus the writer furnishes ample evidence to establish his basic thesis that the bipolarity of matter and spirit is fully interwoven and homogenized in all the precepts and practices and is so germane to the texture and temperament of Islam that a line of demarcation cannot be drawn between the two. For there never comes a stage in the entire existential scheme of Islam where the body might wholly depart from the spirit or the latter could be freed from the physical occupations of this world's life. In fact any attempt to do so would always be at the cost of Islam itself.

This is followed by a discussion of the Islamic concept of Law. This discussion penetrates the very roots of the current notions of legal theory to establish that the Islamic concept of law at once caters to the requirements of socialbility and responds to the demands of religiosity. It protects both 'interest' and 'Pight' in a real sense and yet it does not let man and society loosen or lose their essential link with God. (See *ibid.*, pp. 237-244.)

In the characteristic Islamic spirit of broadmindedness, Alija Izetbegovic also takes a positive notice of 'a third way outside Islam', which he discusses in a full-fledged chapter. This 'third way', according to Izetbegovic, is mainly represented by the model of England and to a certain extent

by the Anglo-Saxon world in general. (See *ibid.*, pp. 271-286.) According to Izetbegovic, while Europe as a whole passed through two distinct stages of its intellectual, social and political developments, in which one stage could be definitely characterized as the age of religion and the other as that of science, the Anglo-Saxon world in general and England in particular represent an exception to this periodization that is typical of European history. For in England's peculiar experience with society and polity, we find an attempt to follow a middle road between religion and science. In the writer's view, in as much as the builders of the English brand of democracy did not break with the institution of religion, their blending of metaphysical and secular principles could be likened to the bipolarity that is characteristic of Islam. This fact, according to Izetbegovic, puts in relief Spengler's parallel between Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) and Cromwell. (See Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, tr. Charles Francis Atkinson, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, pp. 211-213), the two personalities who appear as 'contemporary' in his vision of world history'. (See Izetbegovic, *op. cit.*, p. 272.)

At the end of the Part II of the book, there is a supplement entitled: "Submission to God" (pp. 289-292). The writer himself sums up the gist of this supplement in these words: "Nature has determinism, man has destiny. The acceptance of this destiny is the supreme and final idea of Islam" (*Ibid.*, p. 289). Thus in this supplement the writer briefly, but quite succinctly, explains the Islamic conception of human destiny and choice.

The book has been appended by a 'table of the opposites'. This table provides a very instructive comparison between certain key concepts that inform us about the three main worldviews of the world that have been discussed by the writer in the book, namely: (i) the religious (ii) the Islamic and (iii) the materialist. The table contains three separate vertical columns. While the first column 'R' signifies religion, the second column 'I' signifies Islam, and the third column



'M' signifies materialism. The first key concepts listed under these three columns are 'spirit', 'man' and 'matter' respectively. Some of these key concepts listed in these columns are given below for illustration:

Column 'R'	Column 'I'	Column 'M'
Charity	<i>Zakah</i>	Tax
Monastery, Temple Art Gallery	Mosque, School	School, Laboratory
Morals	Law, <i>Shariah</i>	Power
Love, Non-violence	Justice, <i>Jihad</i>	Class struggle, violence in use of interest
Monk, Saint	<i>Shahid</i> (Martyr)	Knight, political fighter, hero.
Culture	Man	Civilization
Spiritual Community	<i>Ummah</i>	Social Class
<i>Civitas Dei</i>	<i>Ummah, Khilafah</i>	Civitas Solis
Jesus	Muhammad	Moses

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that Alija Izetbegovic belongs to the galaxy of savants and intellectual masters of the Muslim scholarly tradition that includes such luminaries as al-Ghazali, al-Razi, Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn al-'Arabi, Ibn Rushd, Shah Wali Allah, Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi and Muhammad Iqbal. However, Muslim scholars of the present times have yet to give Alija Izetbegovic the place and recognition that are his due. ■

**ABUL HASAN ALI NADWI  
ON IBN TAYMIYYAH**

**Ibn Taymiyyah interpreted the Qur'an and Sunnah, established the superiority of Islam over heresy, philosophical concepts and other faiths and contributed to a genuine revival of religion after a deep study and deliberation that was necessary for lighting the religious and intellectual waywardness of the time. Seeking to surpass his opponents, he mastered the methodology employed by them to attack Islam. In fact, his learning, his erudition, his intellectual attainment and his mental grit always left his adversaries spell-bound." (Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi in Saviours of the Islamic spirit, Vol. 2)**

## BEHIND THE SCENES OF THE IRAQ WAR

Harun Yahya

The plan for the Iraq war, which has erupted in the face of opposition from the entire world, was drawn up at least decades ago, by Israeli strategists. In its attempt to realise its strategy of destabilising or dividing the Middle Eastern Arab states, Israel has Egypt, Syria, Iran and Saudi Arabia on its list of subsequent targets.

As these lines are being written, the United States of America has begun striking at Iraq. Despite the fact that most countries of the world, and even the majority of the USA's allies, opposed it, the US administration was determined for the strike to go ahead. When we look behind the scenes of this insistence, it is Israel, solely responsible for the bloodshed and suffering in the Middle East since the beginning of the twentieth century, which emerges. The state of Israel's policy aimed at the fragmentation of Iraq has lengthy historical roots.

### Israel's Plans to Divide Iraq

The report titled "A Strategy for Israel in the Nineteen Eighties," by the Department of Information's Hebrew-language magazine *Kivunim* (Directions), aimed at making the whole of the Middle East a living space for Israel. The report, drawn up by Oded Yinon, an Israeli journalist and formerly attached to the Foreign Ministry of Israel, set out the scenario of the "division of Iraq" in these terms:

Iraq, rich in oil on the one hand and internally torn on the other, is guaranteed as a candidate for Israel's targets. Its dissolution is even more important for us than that of Syria... Iraq is, once again, no different in essence from its neighbours, although its majority is Shi'ite and the ruling minority Sunni. Sixty-five percent of the population has no say in politics, in which an elite of 20 percent holds the power. In addition there

is a large Kurdish minority in the north, and if it weren't for the strength of the ruling regime, the army and the oil revenues, Iraq's future state would be no different than that of Lebanon in the past. In Iraq, a division into provinces along ethnic/religious lines as in Syria during Ottoman times is possible. So, three (or more) states will exist around the three major cities: Basra, Baghdad and Mosul, and Shi'ite areas in the south will separate from the Sunni and Kurdish north.

We believe there is little need to recall how this scenario was partially implemented after the 1991 Gulf War, with Iraq being effectively, if not officially, divided into three parts. The fact that the US plan for the occupation of Iraq, which is on the agenda at the time of writing, could again spark off such a division, is a concrete threat.

### **Israel's Role in the Gulf War**

The implementation of the Israeli strategy goes back to 1990. Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in a sudden attack on August 1, 1990, giving rise to an international crisis. Israel headed the list of those forces which encouraged that crisis. Israel was the fiercest supporter of the attitude adopted by the United States in the wake of the invasion of Kuwait. The Israelis even regarded the United States as moderate, and wanted a harsher policy. To such an extent in fact that the President of Israel Chaim Herzog recommended that the American use nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the Israeli lobby in the United States was working to bring about a wide-ranging attack on Iraq.

This whole situation encouraged the idea in the United States that the attack against Iraq under consideration was actually planned in Israel's interests. The well-known commentator Pat Buchanan summarised this idea in the words "There are only two groups that are beating the drums for war in the Middle East - the Israeli Defence Ministry and its amen corner in the United State." Israel had also initiated a serious propaganda campaign on the issue. Since this

campaign was largely waged in secret, Mossad also entered the equation. Former Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky provides important information on this subject. According to Ostrovsky, Israel had wanted to wage war with the United States against Saddam long before the Gulf crisis. So much so in fact, that Israel began to implement the plan immediately after the Iran-Iraq war. Ostrovsky reports that Mossad's Psychological Warfare department (LAP - LohAma Psicologit) set about an effective campaign using disinformation techniques. This campaign was aimed at representing Saddam as a bloody dictator and a threat to world peace. (Victor Ostrovsky, *The Other Side of Deception*, pp. 252-254).

### **A Mossad Agent Describes the Gulf War**

Ostrovsky describes how Mossad used agents or sympathisers in various parts of the world in this campaign and, how, for example, Amnesty International or "volunteer Jewish helpers (sayanim)" in the US Congress were brought in. Among the tools employed in the campaign were the missiles launched against civilian targets in Iran during the Iran- Iraq war. As Ostrovsky makes clear, Mossad's later use of these missiles as a propaganda tool was quite peculiar, since those missiles had actually been directed towards their targets by Mossad, with the help of information from US satellites. Having supported Saddam throughout his war with Iran, Israel was now trying to portray him as a monster. Ostrovsky writes:

The Mossad leaders know that if they could make Saddam appear bad enough and a threat to the Gulf oil supply, of which he'd been the protector up to that point, then the United States and its allies would not let him get away with anything, but would take measures that would all but eliminate his army and his weapons potential, especially if they were led to believe that this might just be their last chance before he went nuclear. (Victor Ostrovsky, *The Other Side of Deception*, p. 254)

The Israelis were so determined on this matter, and with regard to the United States, that on August 4, 1990, Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy issued a diplomatically worded threat to William Brown, the American ambassador to Israel, stating that Israel "expects the U.S. will fulfill all of the goals it set for itself at the beginning of the gulf crisis," in other words that it attack Iraq. According to Levy, if the United States failed to do so, Israel would act unilaterally. (Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, *Dangerous Liaison*, p. 356.)

It would be of enormous benefit to Israel to have the United States engage in the war and for Israel to remain entirely uninvolved: and that is indeed what happened.

### **Israel Forces the USA to War**

However, the Israelis were actively involved in the United States' war plans. Some US staff officers involved in planning Operation Desert Storm received fine tactical advice from the Israelis that "the best way of wounding Saddam was to strike at his family."

The Mossad-inspired propaganda campaign reported by Ostrovsky set up the necessary public backing for the Gulf War. It was again Mossad local assistants who lit the touchpaper for the war. The Hill and Knowlton lobbying firm, run by Tom Lantos of the Israeli lobby, prepared a dramatic scenario to convince members of Congress on the subject of war against Saddam. Turan Yavuz, a noted Turkish journalist, describes the incident:

October 9, 1990. The Hill and Knowlton lobbying firm organizes a sitting in Congress on the subject of "Iraq's Barbarities." A number of "eye witnesses" brought to the session by the lobbying firm maintain that Iraqi troops killed new-born babies in the hospital wards. One "eye witness" describes the savagery in enormous detail, saying that Iraqi soldiers killed 300 new-born babies in one hospital alone. This information deeply disturbs the members of Congress. This works to President Bush's advantage. However, it later emerges that the eye witness brought by Hill and Knowlton

to Congress is in fact the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to Washington. Nevertheless, the daughter's account is sufficient for members of Congress to give Saddam the nickname "Hitler". (Turan Yavuz, *ABD'nin Kurt Kart The US' Kurdish Card*, p. 307)

This leads to just one conclusion: that Israel played an important role in the United States' to wage its first war on Iraq. The second one is not much different.

### **The Pretext of "War Against Terrorism"**

Contrary to popular belief, the plan to attack Iraq and overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime by force was prepared and placed on Washington's agenda long before the environment of the "fight against terror," which emerged in the wake of September 11. The first indication of this plan emerged in 1997. A group of pro-Israeli strategists in Washington began to put forward the scenario of the invasion of Iraq by manipulating the "neo-con" think-tank, called PNAC (Project for The New American Century). The most notable names in the PNAC were those of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney, who as defence secretary and vice-president would be the most influential figures in the George W. Bush administration.

An article titled "Invading Iraq Not a New Idea for Bush Clique: 4 Years Before 9/11 Plan Was Set" written by William Brunch and published in the *Philadelphia Daily News*, sets out the following facts:

But in reality, Rumsfeld, Vice President Dick Cheney, and a small band of conservative ideologues had begun making the case for an American invasion of Iraq as early as 1997 - nearly four years before the Sept. 11 attacks and three years before President Bush took office.

An obscure, ominous-sounding right-wing policy group called Project for the New American Century, or PNAC - affiliated with Cheney, Rumsfeld, Rumsfeld's top

deputy Paul Wolfowitz and Bush's brother Jeb - even urged then-President Clinton to invade Iraq back in January 1998. (William Bunch, *Philadelphia Daily News*, Jan. 27, 2003)

### Is Oil the Real Objective?

Why were the PNAC members so determined to overthrow Saddam? The same article continues:

While oil is a backdrop to PNAC's policy pronouncements on Iraq, it doesn't seem to be the driving force. [Ian] Lustick, [a University of Pennsylvania political science professor and Middle East expert,] while a critic of the Bush policy, says oil is viewed by the war's proponents primarily as a way to pay for the costly military operation.

"I'm from Texas, and every oil man that I know is against military action in Iraq," said PNAC's Schmitt. "The oil market doesn't need disruption."

Lustick believes that a more powerful hidden motivator may be Israel. He said Bush administration hawks believe that a show of force in Iraq would somehow convince Palestinians to accept a peace plan on terms favourable to Israel... (William Bunch, "Invading Iraq not a new idea for Bush clique" *Philadelphia Daily News*, Jan. 27, 2003)

This, therefore, is the principal motivation behind the plan to attack Iraq: to serve Israel's Middle East strategy.

This fact has also been identified by other Middle East experts. Cengiz Candar, a Turkish Middle East expert, for instance, describes the real power behind the plan to attack Iraq thus:

Who is directing the attack on Iraq? Vice-President Dick Cheney, Defence Secretary Rumsfeld, National Security Adviser Condoleeza Rice. These are the "senior level" backers of the attack. Yet the rest of the iceberg is even richer and more interesting. There are



a number of "lobbies."

Heading these lobbies are the Jewish Institute for Security Affairs team, pro-Likud and Israeli-right and known for their close relations with US arms manufacturers. These have close relations with the "arms lobby," Lockheed, Northrop, General Dynamics and Israeli military industries ... JINSA's fundamental principle is this: America's and Israel's security are inseparable. In other words, they are the same thing:

JINSA's objective is not solely the overthrow of the Saddam regime in Iraq; it also supports the overthrow of the Saudi Arabian, Syrian, Egyptian and Iranian regimes with a logic of "total war," and the subsequent importation of "democracy - " ... In other words, a number of American Jews on the same wavelength as the most extreme factions in Israel at the moment comprise the hawks in Washington. (Cengiz Candar, "Iraq and the 'Friends of Turkey' American Hawks", *Yeni afak*, September 3, 2002.)

### **Israel's Project of "Secret World Domination"**

In short, there are those in Washington who are encouraging a war aimed first at Iraq and then at Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran and Egypt. The most distinguishing feature of these is that they are lined up alongside, and even equivalent to, the "Israeli lobby."

No matter how much they speak of "American interests," these people are actually supporting Israeli interests. A strategy of waging war against the whole of the Middle East and turning all the peoples of the region against it cannot be to the United States' advantage. The adoption of such a strategy can only be possible if the United States is bound to Israel, by means of the Israeli lobby, which is unbelievably influential in the country's foreign policy.

It is for these reasons that behind the strategy which began to be set in motion after September 11 and is aimed

at re-arranging the entire Islamic world, lies Israel's secret plan for "world domination." Ever since its foundation, Israel has aimed at restructuring the Middle East, making it manageable and no threat to itself. It has been using its influence in the United States for that purpose in recent years, and to a large extent directs Washington's Middle East policy. The post- September 11 climate gave Israel the opportunity it had been seeking. Pro-Israeli ideologues who for years had been propounding the falsehood that Islam itself - not some militant radicals who use Islam as a shelter - posed a threat to the West and the United States, and who encouraged the mistaken concept of a "clash of civilisations," have been trying to incite the United States against the Islamic world in the wake of September 11. As early as 1995, Israel Shahak of the Jerusalem Hebrew University wrote former Israeli Prime Minister Rabin's obsession with "the idea of an Israeli-led anti-Islamic crusade". Nahum Barnea, a commentator from the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Ahronot*, stated that same year that Israel was making progress "[to] become the Western vanguard in the war against the Islamic enemy." (Israel Shahak, "Downturn in Rabin's Popularity Has Several Causes", *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, March 1995.)

All that has happened in the years which have followed is that Israel has made its intentions even clearer. The political climate in the wake of September 11 prepared the ground for this intention to be made a reality. The world is now witnessing the step by step implementation of Israel's policy of the fragmentation of Iraq, planned decades ago.

### **The Only Way to World Peace: An islamic Union**

The situation may be summarised as follows: Israel's aim is to restructure the Middle East in line with its own strategic interests. In order to do this, in order to rule the Middle East, one of the most sensitive regions in the world, it needs a "world power." That power is the United States; and Israel, thanks to its influence there, is trying to place a mortgage on that country's Middle East policy. Although

Israel is a small state with a population of only 4.5 million, the plans drawn up by Israel and its backers in the West are directing the whole world.

What needs to be done in the face of this?

1) "Counter lobby activities" need to be adopted in the face of the Israeli lobby's influence in the United States in order to develop dialogue between the United States and the Islamic world and to invite it to seek peaceful solutions to Iraq and similar problems. A wide section of the United States wish to see their country adopt a fairer Middle East policy. Many statesmen, strategists, journalists and intellectuals have expressed this, and a "peace between civilisations" movement must be carried forward in co-operation with them.

2) The approach inviting the US administration to peaceful solutions must be carried forward at governmental and civil society organisation level.

Alongside all this, a deeper rooted solution lies in a project which can resolve all the problems between the Islamic world and the West and deal with the fragmentation, suffering and poverty in the Islamic world and totally alter it: An Islamic Union.

Recent developments have shown that the whole world, not just Islamic regions, stands in need of an "Islamic Union." This Union should heal the radical elements in the Islamic World, and establish good relations between Muslim countries and the West, especially the United States. It should also help to find a solution to the mother of all problems: The Arab-Israeli conflict. With Israel retreating to its pre-67 borders and Arabs recognizing its right to exist, there can be real peace in the Middle East. And Jews and Muslims - both children of Abraham and believers in one true God - may peacefully co-exist in the Holy Land, as they have done during the past centuries. Then, Israel would need no strategy to destabilize or divide

the Arab States. And it will not have to face the results of occupation in forms of terrorism and constant fear of annihilation. Then, both the Israeli and Iraqi (and Palestinian) children may grow up in peace and security. That is a Middle East that any sane person should work to see. ■

## AMERICA'S AGGRESSIVE ACTS: A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

A.A. Faruqi\*

If we go through the post war history of the U.S. we will find that she had brought about anarchy and lawlessness in dozens of countries. The secret subversive acts of CIA included fostering rebellion and conspiracy, getting the rulers killed or apprehended, overthrowing various governments, pounding the civilians, using napalm bomb, nuclear bomb, biological weapons and cluster and carpet bombing against states. Other American misdeeds covered causing friction between the countries, selling weapons, looting natural resources, political and economic blackmailing, trade and fiscal terrorism, pressing the U.N. to impose international sanctions against the disenchanted countries and exploitation of the U.N. by veto power.

Henry Kissinger who served Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford in high capacities took a very negative view of human rights and considered it as a non-concern for the U.S. foreign policy. Both the administrations identified human-rights as an issue of mere 'real politik' and declared it to be of no use and interest to the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Truly speaking, terrorism has its origin in the U.S. in modern times. Time and again the U.S. had been actively supporting terrorist and rebel groups in various countries in order to promote her national interest. Even the biggest name in terror today Osama-bin-Laden was initially supported and propped up by the very U.S. which now regards him as enemy one. We must have a look at some of the inhuman and criminal acts committed by the U.S.:

In 1964 American CIA spent \$ 30 lakhs in Chile, a Latin American country, during the Presidential election to get her stooge president elected. Initially the U.S. could not succeed in her mission but in early 70s she was successful

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in deposing and elected President Salvador Allende through a rebel soldier. The newly installed general Pinochet postponed the election for infinite period, imposed restrictions on political parties and press, detained, tortured and murdered his opponents. But American Government kept extending economic, military and technical aid to the dictator.<sup>2</sup>

In 1961 CIA recruited hired soldiers from among the Cuban refugees residing in America, trained them, provided weapons and made them attack Cuba. During the aggression the CIA air fighters bombed the Cuban territories and American navy gave logistic support to the rebel attackers. The Americans instigated the Cuban people through a radio station situated on an American island to rise in revolt against Fiedel Castro. In this war America suffered a humiliating defeat. She had to pay lakhs of dollars in compensation for the release of her detained soldiers.<sup>3</sup>

In 1962 CIA drew up a comprehensive plan to assassinate the active members of Cuban ruling party to cause health hazards to the peasants and other civilians through biological warfare and to destroy the means of communication, mines, industrial units, roads and bridges in Cuba. But the plan could not be implemented for one reason or another. During 1960-65 CIA made dozens of plans for the assassination of Cuban President and to cause incurable diseases to him. A senatorial committee of enquiry has mentioned in its report the documentary evidence of such conspiracies. Besides, in 1975 President Castro provided American senator George Mc Gorn evidences according to which C.I.A. had conspired twenty four times for his murder.<sup>4</sup>

The disgraced dictator of Dominican Republic Rafael Trujillo, despite his inhuman and atrocious acts, remained favourite to American President from 1930 to 1960 and American Government kept promoting its interest in Latin America through him. But in 1960 it was discussed world wide that the U.S. opposed only those dictators who had

not toed her line. Eisenhower instructed the C.I.A. to assassinate Trujillo and the intelligence agency provided fund and weapons to the rebels and eventually got Trujillo assassinated by them.<sup>5</sup>

When the elected President of Guatemala Juan Jose Arevalo imposed restrictions on the plundering by American Companies doing business in his country, America became his enemy. World Bank suspended loans to her at the instance of the U.S. America stopped military aid to Guatemala. Not only this, C.I.A. hand is reported in more than twentyfour attempts to overthrow his regime during his four years tenure of Presidency. In 1951 the U.S. succeeded in their mission and Jacobo Arbenz Guzman assumed the office of President in place of Arevalo. But when he started implementing agricultural reforms and nationalized this unpopulated agricultural land after paying compensation to an American Company namely United Fruit which possessed this land, the puppet rulers in North America and Latin America had started hatching conspiracy to overthrow the Arbenz Government. Therefore a military Colonel Armas alongwith hired soldiers attacked his own country crossing over the Honduras border. The U.S. supplied fifty ton small weapons and machine guns for this aggression. Four American fighter planes helped the hired soldiers by pounding Guatemala city and thus Arbenz rule came to an end and American stooge Armas came to power.<sup>6</sup>

In 1960 a provincial level leader Moise Tshombe rose in revolt against the elected Prime Minister of Congo Patrice Lumumba. In this revolt Britain, Belgium and Rhodesia (present Zimbabwe) started supporting Tshombe. Whereas the Governments of Russia, Egypt, Syria, Ghana and Guinea supported Lumumba. The case was referred to the U.N. The U.N. force was sent to Congo. But due to political expediency the force did not take effective action against the separatist Tshombe. During this period the U.S. started conspiring to deprive the African nationalist Lumumba of

power and to make the puppet of the West Tshombe occupy the entire Congo. Desperate due to these conspiracies Lumumba gave himself up to the protection and control of the U.N. force but C.I.A. continued its manoeuvrings and this resulted in the kidnapping of an elected Prime Minister from the protected control of the U.N. force and his pathetic assassination.<sup>7</sup>

In 1951 succumbing to the pressure of his subjects, the king of Iran Raza Shah Pahlavi appointed Dr. Musaddique as Prime Minister of Iran. Three days after assuming office of the Prime Minister Musaddique nationalized Anglo- Iranian Oil company which for the past fifty years had been keeping control over the oil wealth of Iran. The U.S. and Britain got agitated over this decision of Iranian authorities and exerted pressure on the King to remove Musaddique from his office. Raza Shah issued an order for the removal of the Prime Minister but the people and the loyal military supported Musaddique and the King had to flee from the country. At this stage C.I.A. within four days, brought defamed citizens, wrestlers, boxers, weight lifters and courtiers of the king on road by distributing ten million dollars among them. These people kept collecting the crowd by showing their adventures and suddenly started shouting slogan 'Long live Shah Iran'. In order to avoid conflict and save the agitating mob from any harm, the law enforcement agencies abstained from taking action. But the loyal military of the king took advantage of the situation and attacked the soldiers of Musaddique. In the day-long battle Musaddiq's loyalists had to suffer defeat and he was arrested.<sup>8</sup> According to Major General Stuart, Director Military Assistance Programme, "the guns which Shah's supporters possessed were provided by us. They were moving by the trucks given by us. They were commuting on roads in our baktarband vehicles and they were having contact with one another by the telecommunication devices provided by us. Had there been no organization of ours there would perhaps have been anti-American regime in Iran even



today".<sup>9</sup> In return for these services by Americans Shah incorporated American Oil Companies in Iranian oil industry and the monopoly of British oil companies ended.<sup>10</sup>

In 2002 heavy pounding on Afghanistan culminated in casualty of thousands of non-combatants. The U.S. smashed all previous records in barbaric behaviour with the prisoners of war violating Geneva conventions and human rights.<sup>11</sup>

If we go into inhuman acts committed by America in Iraq alone we will find that she has surpassed Al-Qaida and all other terrorists outfits in the world. During 1991-2002 the U.S. has directly or indirectly caused the death of fifteen lakh Iraqi people including five lakh innocent children.<sup>12</sup> In March 2003, the U.S. ignoring the opposition and protest from the people all over the world (including the U.S. and Britain) did horrific and disastrous bombing on Iraqi cities for three weeks. Her behaviour with the prisoners of war has been atrocious and against Geneva conventions. Hospitals, schools, libraries, and museum, were not spared in showering bombs which resulted in death and injury to thousands of children, women and innocent people. Innumerable civilian houses were destroyed. The use of heavy explosives resulted in environmental pollution.<sup>13</sup>

The U.S. and its ally Britain launched air attack on Iraq on the ground that Saddam Husein does possess nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. It is interesting that neither U.N. Weapons Inspectors' Commission led by Hans Blix before the war nor western militia after the war could trace out those weapons. Expressing his view before the Council of Foreign Affairs in New York on 23rd of June 2003 Mr. Blix said the U.S. reached the conclusion on the presence of WMD in Iraq on the basis of false and hastily gathered evidences. He remarked:

"This is strange that you are hundred per cent sure about the presence of weapons but your information is zero on their whereabouts. The evidence of the presence of

restricted weapons is very weak."<sup>14</sup> Joseph C. Wilson, a retired U.S. ambassador to several African countries said that the war was not over the issue of alleged possession of WMD but for redrawing the map of West Asia and taking total control over the oil-wealth.<sup>15</sup> According to a later report, the chief of the 1200 weapons experts' team entrusted with the task of searching for WMD David Key said that at the moment there was no trace of the existence of such weapons therein. The report handed over to the Congress on 2nd October 2003 pointed out that there might have been a mild attempt in that direction but there was no conclusive evidence to suggest that such programme was underway in Iraq.<sup>16</sup>

Some important points emerge from the above discussion on America's acts of commission and omission. One, the main concern of the U.S. foreign policy has been to sustain her suzerainty all over the world. Two, the U.S. ruthlessly countered and suppressed the challenge Islam posed to her domination after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Three, the U.S. intervened in the Persian Gulf states with a view to acquiring control over their oil wealth. Four, the U.S. outrightly rejected the international law and moral values while promoting her national interests. Unless and until the nation of the world stand together to oppose the arbitrary acts of the U.S. and contain her hegemony the world peace will be in jeopardy. ■

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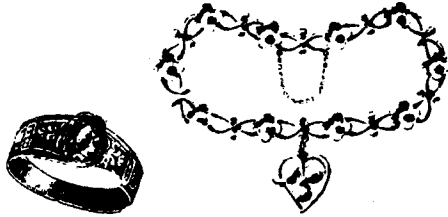
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