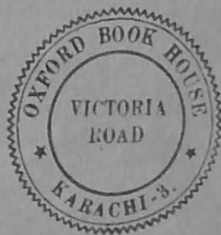


# HOW TO FACE COMMUNISM ?

By

**HIS EMINENCE**

Maulana Shah Mohammed Abdul Aleem Siddiqui,  
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## WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

It is an undeniable fact that the stand-point of all the Messengers of revealed religions as well as of all the Philosophical and Moral Reformers was solely the reform of humanity. The purpose behind the systems which came into existence under their guidance was that man may lead a better life in the light of those convictions and principles on which those respective systems were based.

So far as the first group is concerned, namely, that of the Prophets and Messengers of revealed religions, the fundamental foundation of their teaching always was that man should have faith in the existence of God, the Creator and Sustainer of the universe, and should establish the correct relation with Him. It is this belief and this faith in the Supreme Being which can keep man within the bounds of true humanity and the limits of a healthy moral existence. It is the belief in God as the Real Bestower of all Blessings which creates His love and the desire to seek His Pleasure in the human heart. This state of mind creates automatically the love of God's creatures, and establishes and strengthens the bonds of human fraternal relations.

On the other hand, the absence of that belief and that



## *What is Communism*

faith assists in breaking the bonds of moral sanctions, creates the attitude of selfishness, and limits the human relations to self-interest and expediency.

It is an established fact of human history that the nations of the world have enjoyed moral glory in the ratio of their practical faith in God. The strengthening of this faith has always caused the elevation of the moral standards, the stabilisation of the foundations of society, and the reinforcement of the ideals of justice, equality and brotherhood. The weakening of this faith has, on the other hand, lead humanity in the opposite direction.

There is no doubt that the missionaries of revealed religions and the followers of moral thinkers are engaged even today in the task of the reform of humanity, in accordance with their respective scopes of approach. But I have also no doubt that you will agree with me when I say that, in spite of all those endeavours for the moral uplift of humanity, the forces of anti-religion and anti-morality are advancing in the world with great speed and the ideals of spirituality and sublime morality are being replaced by irreligion and immoral practices. Things have, indeed, come to such a pass, and materialism, has acquired such a sway that **"Anti-Religionism"** has assumed the form of a positive creed and a faith. It is an organised movement,—a powerful and expanding movement—perhaps, organised for the first time in human history; and it is challenging the world of religion. Its challenge is not merely theoretical, but primarily physical. **It believes in crushing the freedom of opinion and belief at the point of sword and it has already compelled millions to sub-**

**mit to its dictates.** The upholders of this movement try to hide their anti-God and anti-religious aims behind the slogans of economic and political equality. They say that their main function is to establish the economic millenium on earth, but what ultimately aim at is the negation of all that religion has stood for.

Belief in God and religion is being openly condemned as an "opium for the people". Higher moral values are being described as superstitions and fraud. Who has not heard and known the tragic story of the *forcible closing* of the houses of worship—churches and mosques and synagogues—and the massacres of millions of innocent people simply because they insisted on believing in God? Who does not know that millions of mankind have been brutally forced to follow anti-religious and anti-moral ideas?

That much about those who are positively and openly anti-religious. Now, as for the majority of those who describe themselves as believers in their respective religions, their *practical* attitude is also not very flattering to the cause of religion. A matter of fact comparison of their lives with the lives of the positively anti-religious people hardly presents to us any *practical* difference. True faith in God and the Day of Judgement seems to be *practically* non-existent. The sublime principles of true justice, equality, brotherhood, truthfulness, sincerity, honesty, etc., on which the social health of humanity rests, exist in the world-affairs today only as concepts and not as facts.

Irreligion seems to be in the ascendent, not only in its open form, but also as an under-current. Its attacks on reli-

## *What is Communism*

gions are becoming more and more pronounced every day. Religion and morality are being condemned as being responsible for holding up the progress of humanity and for creating wars and bloodshed.

This allegation is not directed towards any particular religion, but to religion as such. It is not calculated to discredit any particular school of accepted Morals, but to all.

The question is: Are we ready to accept this allegation? And is this allegation true? Is it religion or irreligion which is responsible for the present unstable state of the world? Has any religion or any pro-religions Moralists ever taught to cultivate strife, and to put others to hardships for one's selfish ends, or are their teachings actually to the contrary?

I am sure you will agree with me when I say on the basis of my research in worlds religions and the pro-religious Moral schools that it is not they but the forces of anti-religion and anti-morality which are responsible and have always been responsible for war and bloodshed, cruelty and oppression, inequality and injustice.

But this reply from us cannot by itself satisfy the heart of the modern man, so long as the representatives of the different religions and moral schools continue to wrangle among themselves and do not demonstrate toleration in its sincerest form.

The view that the religions are the Moral Creeds of the world should be unified is an impracticable view. History tells us that all such attempts proved unsuccessful in the past,

and resulted only in creating one more religious group.

The only practical way is that the different religions may continue to stand where they are, but their followers should:—

(1) try to understand each others outlook, beliefs and practices;

(2) avoid attacking, vilifying and misrepresenting each others' religions;

and

(3) in those things which are common to all, form a united front, and adopt such methods of concerted activity which may be more fruitful than those employed individually so far. For instance:—

In those things which are common, the idea of the existence of God, namely of a Supreme Being Who created and sustains the universe, and the idea of the recompense of good and evil,—these two ideas are found basically in all the revealed religions, however different may be the interpretations and conceptions. Similarly, Justice, Truthfulness, Honesty, Humility, Sympathy, Fellow-feeling, etc., are the *virtues*, and Oppression, Falsehood, Arrogance, Indulgence in lustful pursuits, etc., are the *vices*, which are accepted in common.

Now, if we consider the human life, we find that all the troubles of humanity are rooted in the lack of faith in God, for saking of the high morals, and indulgence in life-destroying vices.

Therefore, is it not high time that just as the statesmen

## *What is Communism*

of the world are trying to solve the problems of humanity on the political plane, under the auspices of the United Nations Organisation, similarly the leaders of the religions and moral schools should also recognise their responsibilities, and realise that the obligation of guiding humanity through the crisis rests primarily on their shoulders?

In this connection, I would suggest the adoption of the following programme by the leaders of worlds' religions:—

(1) They should set up a model of high-mindedness and toleration for bringing about harmony and good fellowship among the masses of the world;

(2) They should work shoulder to shoulder for wiping out the evils of race and colour prejudices and of economic exploitation and for bringing about a healthy order of human society;

(3) They should cooperatively work, with the assistance of the statesmen and politicians, for introducing the moral education in all the institutions of learning, for propagating the accepted moral virtues, and for removing the agreed moral vices.

In my humble opinion, whatever the representatives of different religions have been doing separately so far in this behalf, should continue as such;—indeed, with added enthusiasm. It should, however, be reinforced with a joint effort and understanding in order to combat the common menaces more effectively and more successfully.

In pursuance of this principle, a movement was organised

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in Singapore in January 1949, under the name of "THE INTER-RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION". It was subsequently established in Indonesia. During my present world-tour, I noticed in other countries too that movements with somewhat similar aims are afoot. What is needed now is the coordination of all these isolated efforts into a real and genuine and effective world-Organisation, which should work with these ideals, and wherein all the leaders of the religions of the world should participate.

I have found responsible lay people in different countries in agreement with this proposal. The religious leader also have looked upon it with approbation. I have presented this point of view to the Pope of Rome, who is giving it consideration. In Britain, the Archbishop of Canterbury has shown his appreciation of it.

I feel it is the need of the hour, to which the minds of all right-thinking persons are being attracted. It is possible, and I have every hope, that just as the cooperation of the statesmen of the United States made the United Nations Organisation a reality, similarly the religious leaders of this country will come forward to shoulder the united religious front for combating the powerful and organised anti-religious and anti-moral forces.

**May the Light of the Truth of God shine in this world for all time, Amen!**

# HOW TO FACE COMMUNISM?

(This speech was broadcast from Radio Zanzibar on 8th April, 1952).

My Dear Sisters and Brothers,

I have the honour of broadcasting today from Zanzibar where I have arrived only yesterday on my way to Dar-es-Salaam where I am expected to be on Thursday morning at 10 o'clock. This is in continuation of my tour in East Africa. I believe that the topic of my today's talk has already been announced. It is—"HOW to Face Communism".

I am sure that the listeners will think that I am going to speak on international politics in the fashion of warm-blooded politicians or in the manner of armchair pacifists, but my dear Sisters and Brothers, it is neither, because I am a simple, peace-loving man and do never participate in practical politics of today. I have nothing with me but the message of peace and love.

The problem of peace and war today is generally considered to be essentially a problem of politics too, but gentlemen, I do not agree with that, because I believe that not only the problem of peace and war, but all problems of humanity are basically grounded not in politics but in religion and in

## *How to Face Communism*

moral obligations which it creates. For all those who desire peace and believe that the prosperity of mankind depends upon it, the present world situation is highly disquieting. The two world Wars that have been fought in the twentieth century have left their scars on the face of humanity. They have not yet healed up, but now the peace-loving nations of the world are again faced with another great war. The problem of Korea, the problem of Kashmir in India and Pakistan are before you. People of goodwill today are doing their best to ease the situation and it is our solemn prayer that Almighty God might guide the right and enable them to build an enduring world peace.

My dear Sisters and Brothers, as you all know, the last two world wars originated in the lust for power and conquest and executed by certain nations. They resulted quite naturally in disturbing the financial set up of the nations and in bringing about economic distress. They brought into power an anti-religious group of people and it now holds its sway over vast territories in Asia and Europe both, and it is now leading humanity into a third great world war. I wish to emphasise that the international conflict which is becoming more and more apparent everyday is actually not a conflict between nations and nations, but between ideologies. Humanity stands divided today into two blocs, namely the bloc of those who believe in God and the bloc of those who deny God's existence. Therefore, the present conflict, my dear Sisters and Brothers, I am sure you will agree with me, is one between religion and moral discipline and immorality and denial of moral values. We have atheism



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on one side and belief in God on the other side.

It is said that the evils of capitalism have compelled the starving millions to rise in revolt; that the exploitation of the power by the rich have forced them into conflict, and that the only way in which to establish justice is nothing but war. There is no doubt that the exploitation and oppression of mankind should be stopped and the destiny and prosperity of the common man should be secured, but my dear Sisters and Brothers we have to be on guard against those who are out to use this struggle for social justice for gaining certain ulterior ends of their own. The Marxists or the Communists for instance are employing the poverty in certain countries as an instrument of their aggression. They appeal to the people in the name of human equality and ask them to wage class warfares, but the theory as well as the actions of the Marxists and Communists is a positive proof that the success of Marxism puts the people into evils even worse than those which it aims to fight. Those people who want to see communism in practice may go to China and see how the people are treated there now. Those who want to make an experiment may go to South Russia to see the plight of the people there. If any one of you want to have any details on communism, if you will please, read the book "Communist Challenge to Islam" which is produced under my direction at the Islamic Research Academy in Pakistan and is published by the Makki Publications. There you will find a comprehensive record of the tactics used by the Marxists and Communists and the way in which the people are treated in the countries occupied by the Soviets.

## *How to Face Communism*

My dear Sisters and Brothers, the success of Marxism means the way to atheism and the mechanical acceptance of certain creeds which are after all man-made. For those who stand for the freedom of opinion Marxism means addition of physical slavery also. The success of Marxism further, means wide suppression of the faith in God. Who has not heard the words of Karl Marx that commendation of belief in God is a fraud and that religion is the opium for the people. Marxism cannot tolerate the faith, the brotherhood and the unity of mankind which is based on the faith in the one Supreme Being, the True God. Anyone who has studied the books of Marx will completely agree with me.

Again, my dear Sisters and Brothers, the success of Marxism means the destruction of all those higher moral values which have been the cherished treasure of humanity so far and which can only remain by faith in God. According to Marx, there is no such thing as moral values. There is no brotherhood and no morality outside class conception. Class conception is the only moral and the right thing. In his belief, he says, everything that helps Marxism is good, and everything that is against Marxism is evil. **What a good definition of good and Evil ! Everything** that hinders its progress is evil and everything that helps him in gaining his object is good. He says it is right to lie and deceive people. Lie and deceit are very useful weapons for the purpose of spreading Marxism. In Marxism morality has been reduced to expediency. I would therefore appeal to every human being to make use of the intelligence and wisdom that is bestowed upon him by the Creator to distinguish between right and wrong and the good and evil, and thus avoid falling victim to

the vile ways of Marxism which ultimately rob their lives of the higher human values.

To all those who believe in one true God, may they be Hindoo, may they be Buddhist, may they be Zorastrian—people of the sect of the Zund, may they be Jews, or Christians or may they be Muslims, people of whatever cast or creed, **my advice is that we should leave aside our group prejudices and should merge into a unified front to face the warfare of irreligion and immorality which is spreading in the world to-day.** It is the duty of all the religious leaders of the world to take the lead. The problem of exploitation of the common man should be tackled fundamentally on the moral grounds. The wealthy people should realise that it is their luxurious ways of living and their indifference to the miseries of the poor which actually create class distinction and class consciousness. The poorer people like to keep the aristocratic fashions of the rich and their failure in doing that creates bad blood. To avoid class distinction the rich people, my dear Sisters and Brothers, should keep simplicity in their lives, should regard wealth as God's trust in their hands and should work generously for the uplift of the downtrodden and the poor. That can only provide the antidote to the poison of class warfares. In the field of personal morality also it is the obligation of the wealthy to set the moral tone of the society and the correct morals for the common man. This is my belief and advice to you.

I did say so while I have been on my tours and I have emphasised it while I have been travelling through the United States of America, that unless the capitalists and the rich

## *How to Face Communism*

people change their attitude on life, the problem of Communism cannot be fought, for the common man always looks up to the rich and it is therefore primarily their duty, and I am sure I should say that most of the wisest are born in wealth and live so too. **The heart of man cannot be conquered by the atom bomb but I believe through fellow-feeling and sympathy.** It is not until the moral foundation of human lives are restored that true peace shall remain at stand still. Gentlemen, if you go deep into the working of the human mentality today, I am sure you will realise that it is selfconceit or superiority complex which is the root cause of the strife and war which we find in the world to-day. The superiority complex lead men to pride, pride leads to haughtiness, haughtiness leads to intolerance, and intolerance leads to quarrels and wars. The heart of men cannot, as I have said before, be conquered by atom bombs; it can only be conquered by regarding each individual as a brother or sister.

In the short time before me, it is impossible for me to give you in detail the root causes of the development of the Communism movement and the ways and means of uprooting them. I will give to you what I have said uptil now in a few words so that you may remember it. As I have told many people previously, I have three concrete proposals for combating Communism:

*Firstly*, I want that the leaders and clergies of all the religions in the world should unite their forces to uplift the human morals and to preserve the common heritage and the belief in the Supreme Creator and in moral values. I, as a representative of the Muslim group and the preacher of

Islam, would say what that great Prophet Mohammed thirteen hundred years ago pronounced with a loud voice:—

يا اهل الكتاب تعالوا الى كلمة سواء بيننا وبينكم ، الا نعبد الا الله  
الا نشرك به شيئا ولا نتخذ بعضنا بعضاً ارباباً من دون الله فان تولوا  
فقولوا شهدوا بانا مسلمون

**O People of the Book! Come to common terms as between us and you: That we worship non but God; that we associate no partners with him; that we erect not, from among ourselves, Lords and patrons other than God "If than they turn back, say: Dear witness that we (at least) are Muslims (blowing to God's will.**

I would ask all the leaders of any divine religion to come into the common cause and join hands with Islam. Let us all today, while facing atheism and Communism, join together and stand shoulder to shoulder and once again try to teach the Oneness of the Almighty God.

The second time and the *second concrete proposal* I have to make is that the Governments of all those states which are not anti-God should place all the social functions of the people on sound moral footing. They should not eliminate religious education and should universalise moral education in classes of their state schools. Unfortunately I have noticed that here in East Africa, as in many places in the world, secular education is given to the students and no attention is paid to moral or religious education.

My *third proposal* is that all those who stand for human integrity should wipe out all notion of separate creeds or

### *How to Face Communism*

nations; here is an Arab and here is a Swahili; here is an Indian and here is a Pakistani; here is an European and here is an Asian. All the human beings are the creation of Almighty God, the Creator of the Universe. I firmly believe that if we consider ourselves as brothers and sisters surely and undoubtedly we will have peace. I believe that if only half the energy we waste on, excuse me if I say so, halfway endeavours are devoted on any such basic programme, my dear Sisters and Brothers, that will bring us nearer to peace. I believe in this and I pray to God Almighty that he may guide the human destiny through the stormy waters to the shores of security and to an enduring peace.

والله يدعو الى دارالسلام ويهدي من يشاء الى صراط مستقيم

**“And Allah Leads you to the abode of peace, and he guides whom he pleaseth to the straight path.”  
May Allah guide us to the right path.” Amen!**

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**Note by the Translator.**

Hazarat Ali, the Great Khalif of Islam and the first in the line of the Imamate, apart from his abiding contribution to spiritual thought, is known to the Arabic world as a great jurist and man of letters. According to the historian Masudi (Murooj-uz-Zahab Masudi Vol. II, p. 33. Egypt), Hazarat Ali is credited with not less than 480 treaties, lectures and epistles on a variety of subjects dealing with philosophy, religion, law and politics, as collected by Zaid Ibn Wahab in the Imam's own life time. So highly valued are these contributions both for their contents and their intrinsic literary worth that some of his master-pieces have formed throughout the course of Islamic history subjects of study in centres of Muslim learning. Indeed, his reputation seems to have travelled into Europe at the time of the Renaissance; for, we find that Edward Powcock, (1604-1691) a professor at the University of Oxford published the first English translation of his 'Sayings' and delivered in 1639 a series of lectures on his "Rhetoric."

I have given below a translation from Arabic into English of Hazarat Ali's famous letter of instructions addressed as Khalif to the then Governor of Egypt Malik Ashtar. This letter according to Fehrist-i-Tusi (p. 33) was first copied in the time of Hazarat Ali himself by Asbagh bin Nabata and later on reproduced or referred to in their writings by various Arab and Egyptian scholars, chief of them being Nasr ibn Mazahim (148 A.H.), Jahiz Basari (255 A.H.) Syed Razi (404 A.H.) Ibn-i-Abil Hidaid (655 A.H.) and Ibn-i-Abduh the reformer of Egypt, and Allama Mustafa Bek Najib, the great living scholar of Egypt. The last named regards this letter "as a basic guide in Islamic administration."

*Rasheed Turabi.*

14, Clayton Road,  
Karachi.

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## THE RICHEST TREASURE.

Be it known to you, O, Malik, that I am sending you as Governor to a country which in the past has experienced both just and unjust rule. Men will scrutinize your actions with a searching eye, even as you used to scrutinize the actions of those before you, and speak of you even as you did speak of them. The fact is that the public speak well of only those who do good. It is they who furnish the proof of your actions. Hence the richest treasure that you may covet should be the treasure of good deeds. Keep your desires under control and deny yourself that which you have been prohibited from, for, by such abstinence alone, you will be able to distinguish between what is good to them and what is not.

Develop in your heart the feeling of love for your people and let it be the source of kindness and blessing to them. Do not behave with them like a barbarian, and do not appropriate to yourself that which belongs to them. Remember that the citizens of the state are of two categories. They are either your brethern in religion or your brethren in kind. They are subject to infirmities and liable to commit mistakes. Some indeed do commit

mistakes. But forgive them even as you would like God to forgive you. Bear in mind that you are placed over them, even as I am placed over you. And then there is God even above him who has given you the position of a Governor in order that you may look after those under you and to be sufficient unto them. And you will be judged by what you do for them.

Do not set yourself against God, for neither do you possess the strength to shield yourself against His displeasure, nor can you place yourself outside the pale of His mercy and forgiveness. Do not feel sorry over any act of forgiveness, nor rejoice over any punishment that you may mete out to any one. Do not rouse yourself to anger, for no good will come out of it.

Do not say: "I am your overlord and dictator, and that you should, therefore, bow to my commands", as that will corrupt your heart, weaken your faith in religion and create disorder in the state. Should you be elated by power, ever feel in your mind the slightest symptoms of pride and arrogance, then look at the power and majesty of the Divine governance of the Universe over which you have absolutely no control. It will restore the sense of balance to your wavered intelligence and give you the sense of calmness and affability.

Beware! Never put yourself against the majesty and grandeur of God and never imitate His omnipotence ; for God has brought low every rebel of God and every tyrant of man.

Let your mind respect through your actions the rights of God and the rights of man, and likewise, persuade your companions and relations to do likewise. For, otherwise, you will be doing injustice to yourself and injustice to humanity. Thus both man and God will turn unto your enemies. There is no hearing anywhere for one who makes an enemy of God himself. He will be regarded as one at war with God until he feels contrition and seeks forgiveness. Nothing deprives man of divine blessings or excites divine wrath against him more easily than cruelty. Hence it is, that God listens to the voice of the oppressed and waylays the oppressor.

### **THE COMMON MAN.**

Maintain justice in administration and impose it on your own self and seek the consent of the people, for, the discontent of the masses sterilises the contentment of the privileged few and the discontent of the few looses itself in the contentment of the many. Remember, the privileged few will not rally round you in moments of difficulty : they will try to side-track justice, they will ask for more



than what they deserve and will show no gratitude for favours done to them. They will feel restive in the face of trials and will offer no regret for their short-comings. It is the common man who is the strength of the State and of Religion. It is he who fights the enemy. So live in close contact with the masses and be mindful of their welfare.

Keep at a distance him who peers into the weaknesses of others. After all, the masses are not free from weaknesses. It is the duty of the ruler to shield them. Do not bring to light that which is hidden, but try to remove those weaknesses which have been brought to light. God is watchful of everything that is hidden from you, and He alone will deal with it. To the best of your ability cover the weaknesses of the public, and God will cover the weaknesses in you which you are anxious to keep away from their eye. Unloose the tangle of mutual hatred between the public and the administration and remove all those causes which may give rise to strained relations between them. Protect yourself from every such act as may not be quite correct for you. Do not make haste in seeking confirmation of tale-telling, for, the tale-teller is a deceitful person appearing in the garb of a friend.

## THE COUNSELLORS.

Never take counsel of a miser, for, he will vitiate your magnanimity and frighten you of poverty. Do not take counsel of a coward also, for, he will cheat you of your resolves. Do not take counsel of the greedy too : for he will instill greed in you and turn you into a tyrant. Miserliness, cowardice and greed deprive man of his trust in God.

The worst of counsellors is he who has served as a counsellor to unjust rulers and shared their crimes. So, never let men who have been companions of tyrants or shared their crimes be your counsellors. You can get better men than these, men gifted with intelligence and foresight, but unpolluted by sin, men who have never aided a tyrant in his tyranny or a criminal in his crime. Such men will never be a burden on you. On the other hand, they will be a source of help and strength to you at all times. They will be friends to you and strangers to your enemies. Choose such men alone for companionship both in privacy and in the public. Even among these, show preference to them who have a habitual regard for truth however trying to you at times their truth may prove to be, and who offer you no encouragement in the display of tendencies which God does not like his friends to develop.

Keep close to you the upright and the God-fearing, and make clear to them that they are never to flatter you and never to give you credit for any good that you may not have done: for, the tolerance of flattery and unhealthy praise stimulates pride in man and makes him arrogant.

Do not treat good and the bad alike. That will deter the good from doing good, and encourage the bad in their bad pursuits. Recompence every one according to one's deserts. Remember that mutual trust and good will between the ruler and the ruled are bred only through benevolence, justice and service. So, cultivate good-will amongst the people; for, their good-will alone will save you from troubles. Your benevolence to them will be repaid by their trust in you, and your ill-treatment by their ill-will.

Do not disregard the noble traditions set by our forbearers which have promoted harmony and progress among the people; and do not initiate anything which might minimise their usefulness. The men who had established those noble traditions have had their reward; but responsibility will be yours if they are disturbed. Try always to learn something from the experience of the learned and the wise, and frequently consult them in state matters so that you might maintain the peace and

good-will which your predecessors had established in the land.

## **THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PEOPLE.**

Remember that the people are composed of different classes. The progress of one is dependent on the progress of every other ; and none can afford to be independent of the other. We have the Army formed of the soldiers of God, we have our civil officers and their establishments, our judiciary, our revenue collectors and our public relation officers. The general public itself consists of Muslims and Zimmis and among them of merchants and craftsmen, the unemployed and the indigent. God has prescribed for them their several rights, duties and obligations. They are all defined and preserved in the Book of God and in the traditions of his Prophet.

The Army, by the grace of God, is like a fortress to the people and lends dignity to the state. It upholds the prestige of the Faith and maintains the peace of the country. Without it the state cannot stand. In its turn, it cannot stand without the support of the state. Our soldiers have proved strong before the enemy because of the privilege God has given them to fight for Him ; but they have their material needs to fulfil and have therefore to depend upon the income provided for them from the

state revenue. The military and the civil population who pay revenue, both need the co-operation of others—the judiciary, civil officers and their establishment. The Qazi administers civil and criminal law; the civil officers collect revenue and attend to civil administration with the assistance of their establishment. And then there are the tradesmen and the merchants who add to the revenue of the state. It is they who run the markets and are in a better position than others to discharge social obligations. And then there is the class of the poor and the needy, whose maintenance is an obligation on the other classes. God has given appropriate opportunity of service to one and all; and then there are the rights of all these classes over the administration which the administrator has to meet with an eye on the good of the entire population, a duty which he cannot fulfil properly unless he takes personal interest in its execution and seeks help from God. Indeed, it is obligatory on him to impose this duty on himself, and to bear with patience the inconvenience and difficulties incidental to his task.

### **THE ARMY.**

Be particularly mindful of the welfare of those in the army who in your opinion, are staunchly faithful to their God and Prophet and loyal to their

chief, and who in the hour of passion can restrain themselves and listen coolly to sensible remonstrance, and who can succour the weak and smite the strong, whom violent provocation will not throw into violent temper and who will not falter at any stage.

Keep yourself in close contact with families of established reputation and integrity with a glorious past, and draw to yourself men brave and upright in character, generous and benevolent in disposition; for such are the salt of society.

Care for them with the tenderness with which you care for your children, and do not talk before them of any good that you might have done to them, nor disregard any expression of affection which they show in return; for, such conduct inspires loyalty, devotion and goodwill. Attend to every little of their wants not resting content with what general help that you might have given to them, for sometimes, timely attention to a little want of theirs brings them immense relief. Surely these people will not forget you in your own hour of need.

It behoves you to select for you Commander-in-chief one who imposes on himself, as a duty, the task of rendering help to his men, and who can excel in kindness every other officer who has to

attend to the needs of the men under him, and look after their families when they are away from their homes ; so much so, that the entire army should feel united in their joys and in their sorrows. This unity of purpose will give them added strength against the enemy. Continue to maintain a kindly attitude towards them so that they might feel ever attached to you. The fact is that the real happiness of the administrators and their most pleasant comfort lies in establishing justice in the state and maintaining affectionate relations with the people. Their sincerity of feeling is expressed in the love and regard they show to you, on which alone depends the safety of the administrators.

Your advices to the army will be of no avail, unless and until you show affection to both men and officers, in order that they might not regard the Government as an oppressive burden or contribute to its downfall.

Continue to satisfy their needs and praise them over and over again for what services they have rendered. Such an attitude, God willing, will inspire the brave to braver actions and induce the timid to deeds of bravery.

Try to enter into the feelings of others and do not foist the mistake of one over another and do not.

grudge dispensing appropriate rewards. See to it you do not show favours to one who has done nothing but merely counts on his family position; and do not withhold proper rewards from one who has done great deeds simply because he holds a low position in life.

### **THE REAL GUIDANCE.**

Turn to God and to His prophet for guidance whenever you feel uncertain as to what you have to do. There is the commandment of God delivered to those people whom He wishes to guide aright : “O people of the Faith! Obey God and obey His prophet and those from among you who hold authority over you. And refer to God and His prophet whenever there is difference of opinion among you.” To turn to God is in reality to consult the book of God ; and to turn to the prophet is to follow his universally accepted traditions.

### **CHIEF JUDGE.**

Select for your chief judge one from the people who is by far the best among them—one who is not obsessed with domestic worries, one who cannot be intimidated, one who does not err too often, one who does not turn back from a right path once he finds it, one who is not self-centered or avaricious,



one who will not decide before knowing full facts, one who will weigh with care every attendant doubt and pronounce a clear verdict after taking everything into full consideration, one who will not grow restive over the arguments of advocates and who will examine with patience every new disclosure of fact and who will be strictly impartial in his decision, one whom flattery cannot mislead or one who does not exult over his position. But it is not easy to find such men.

Once you have selected the right man for the office, pay him handsomely enough, to let him live in comfort and in keeping with his position, enough to keep him above temptations. Give him a position in your court so high that none can even dream of coveting it and so high that neither back biting nor intrigue can touch him.

### **SUBORDINATE JUDICIARY. .**

Beware ! The utmost carefulness is to be exercised in this selection : for it is this high office which adventurous self-seekers aspire to secure and exploit in their selfish interests. After the selection of your chief judge, give careful consideration to the selection of other officers. Confirm them in their appointments after approved apprenticeship and probation. Never select men for responsible

posts either out of any regard for personal connections or under any influence, for, that might lead to injustice and corruption.

Of these, select for higher posts men of experience, men firm in faith and belonging to good families. Such men will not fall an easy prey to temptations and will discharge their duties with an eye on the abiding good of others. Increase their salaries to give them a contented life. A contented living is a help to self-purification. They will not feel the urge to tax the earnings of their subordinates for their own upkeep. They will then have no excuse either to go against your instructions or misappropriate state funds. Keep to watch over them without their knowledge, loyal and upright men. Perchance they may develop true honesty and true concern for the public welfare. But whenever any of them is accused of dishonesty, and the guilt is confirmed by the report of your secret service, then regard this as sufficient to convict him. Let the punishment be corporal and let that be dealt in the public at an appointed place of degradation.

### **REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.**

Great care is to be exercised in revenue administration, to ensure the prosperity of those

who pay the revenue to the state ; for it is on their prosperity depends the prosperity of others, particularly the prosperity of the masses. Indeed, the state exists on its revenue. You should regard the proper upkeep of the land in cultivation as of greater importance than the collection of revenue, for revenue cannot be derived except by making the land productive. He who demands revenue without helping the cultivator to improve his land, inflicts unmerited hardship on the cultivator and ruins the State. The rule of such a person does not last long. If the cultivators ask for reduction of their land cess for having suffered from epidemics or drought or excess of rains or the barrenness of the soil or floods damaging to their crops, then, reduce the cess accordingly, so that their condition might improve. Do not mind the loss of revenue on that account for that will return to you one day manifold in the hour of greater prosperity of the land and enable you to improve the condition of your towns and to raise the prestige of your state. You will be the object of universal praise. The people will believe in your sense of justice. The confidence which they will place in you in consequence will prove your strength, as they will be found ready to share your burdens.

You may settle down on the land any number of people, but discontent will overtake them if the land is not improved. The cause of the cultivator's ruin is the rulers who are bent feverishly on accumulating wealth at all costs, out of the fear that their rule might not last long. Such are the people who do not learn from examples or precedents.

### **CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT.**

Keep an eye on your establishment and your scribes; and select the best among them for your confidential correspondence such among these as possess high character and deserve your full confidence, men who may not exploit their privileged position to go against you and who may not grow neglectful of their duties and who in the drafting of treaties may not succumb to external temptation and harm your interests, or fail to render you proper assistance and to save you from trouble, and who in carrying out their duties can realise their serious responsibilities, for he who does not realise his own responsibilities can hardly appraise the responsibilities of others. Do not select men for such work merely on the strength of your first impressions of your affection or good faith; for as a matter of fact, the pretensions of a good many who are really devoid of honesty and good breeding may

cheat even the intelligence of rulers. Selection should be made after due probation—probation which should be the test of righteousness. In making direct appointments from people, see to it that those selected possess influence with the people and who enjoy the reputation of being honest ; for such selection is agreeable both to God and the Ruler. For every department of administration, let there be a head, whom no trying task might cause worry and no pressure of work annoy.

And remember that every weakness of any one among your establishment and scribe which you may overlook will be written down against you in your scroll of deeds.

### TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

Adopt useful schemes placed before for those engaged in trade and industry and help them with wise counsels. Some of them live in towns, and some move from place to place with their ware and tools and earn their living by manual labour. Trade and Industry are sources of profit to the State. While the general public is not inclined to bear the strain, those engaged in these professions take the trouble to collect commodities from far and near, from land and from across the sea, and from mountains and forests and naturally derive benefits.

It is this class of peace loving people from whom no disturbance need be feared. They love peace and order ; indeed they are incapable of creating disorder. Visit every part of the country and establish personal contact with this class, and enquire into their condition. But bear in mind that a good many of them are intensely greedy and are innured to bad dealings. They hoard grain and try to sell it at a high price ; and this is most harmful to the public. It is a blot on the name of ruler not to fight this evil. Prevent them from hoarding ; for the Prophet of God—Peace be on him—had prohibited it. And see to it that trade is carried on with the utmost ease, that the scales are evenly held and that prices are so fixed that neither the seller nor the buyer is put to a loss. And if inspite of your warning, should any one go against your commands and commit the crime of hoarding, then deal him appropriately with severe punishment.

### **THE POOR.**

Beware ! Fear God when dealing with the problem of the poor who have none to patronise, who are forlorn, indigent and helpless and are greatly torn in mind—victims to the vicissitudes of Time. Among them there are some who do not question their lot in life and who notwithstanding their

misery, do not go about abegging. For God's sake, safeguard their rights ; for on you rests the responsibility of protection. Assign for their uplift a portion of the state exchequer (Baitul-mal), wherever they may be, whether close at hand or far away from you. The rights of the two should be equal in your eye. Do not let any preoccupations slip them from your mind; for no excuse whatsoever for the disregard of their rights will be acceptable to God. Do not treat their interests as of less importance than your own, and never keep them outside the purview of your important considerations, and mark the persons who look down upon them and of whose condition they keep you in ignorance.

Select from among your officers such men as are meek and God-fearing who can keep you properly informed of the condition of the poor. Make such provision for these poor people as shall not oblige you to offer an excuse before God on the day of judgement ; for, it is this section of the people more than any other which deserves benevolent treatment. Seek your reward from God by giving to each of them what is due to him and enjoin on yourself as a sacred duty the task of meeting the needs of such aged among them as have no independent means of livelihood and are averse to seek alms. And it is the discharge of this duty that

usually proves very trying to rulers, but is very welcome to societies which are gifted with foresight. It is only such societies or nations who truly carry out with equanimity their covenant with God to discharge their duty to the poor.

### **OPEN CONFERENCES.**

Meet the oppressed and the lowly periodically in an open conference and, conscious of the divine presence there, have a heart-to-heart talk with them, and let none from your armed guard or civil officers or members of the police or the Intelligence Department be by your side, so that the representative of the poor might state their grievances fearlessly and without reserve. For I have heard the Prophet of God saying that "no nation or society will occupy a high position in which the strong do not discharge their duty to the weak." Bear with composure any strong language which they may use, and do not get annoyed if they cannot state their case lucidly, even so, God will open for you his door of blessings and rewards. Whatever you can give to them, give it ungrudgingly, and whatever you cannot afford to give, make that clear to them in utmost sincerity.

There are certain things which call for prompt action. Accept the recommendations made by



your officers for the redress of the grievances of the clerical staff. See to it that petitions or applications submitted for your consideration are brought to your notice the very day they are submitted, however much your officers might try to intercede them. Dispose off the day's work that very day, for the coming day will bring with it its own tasks.

### **COMMUNION WITH GOD.**

And then do not forget to set apart the best of your time for communion with God, although every moment of yours is for Him only, provided it is spent sincerely in the service of your people. The special time that you give to prayer in the strict religious sense is to be devoted to the performance of the prescribed daily prayers. Keep yourself engaged in these prayers both in the day and in the night, and to gain perfect communion, do not as far as possible, let your prayers grow tiresome. And when you lead in congregational prayer, do not let your prayer be so lengthy as to cause discomfort to the congregation or raise in them the feeling of dislike for it or liquidate its effect: for in the congregation there may be invalids and also those who have to attend to pressing affairs of their own.

When I had asked of the Prophet of God on receiving an order to proceed to Yaman, how I should lead the people over there in prayer, he said "perform your prayers even as the weakest among you would do ; and set an example of considerateness to the faithful."

### **ALOOFNESS NOT DESIRABLE.**

Alongside of the observance of all that I have said above bear one thing in mind. Never for any length of time keep yourself aloof from the people, for to do so is to keep oneself ignorant of their affairs. It develops in the ruler a wrong perspective and renders him unable to distinguish between what is important and what is not, between right and wrong, and between truth and falsehood. The ruler is after all human ; and he cannot form a correct view of anything which is out of sight. There is no distinctive sign attached to truth which may enable one to distinguish between the different varieties of truth and falsehood. The fact is that you must be one of two things. Either you are just or unjust. If you are just, then you will not keep yourself away from the people, but will listen to them and meet their requirements. On the other hand, if you are unjust, the people themselves will keep away from you. What virtue is there in your

keeping aloof? At all events aloofness is not desirable specially when it is your duty to attend to the needs of the people. Complaints of oppression by your officers or petitions for justice should not prove irksome to you.

Make this clear to yourself that those immediately about and around you will like to exploit their position to covet what belongs to others and commit acts of injustice. Suppress such a tendency in them. Make a rule of your conduct never to give even a small piece of land to any of your relations. That will prevent them from causing harm to the interests of others and save you from courting the disapprobation of both God and man.

Deal justice squarley regardless of the fact whether one is a relation or not. If any of your relations or companions violates the law, mete out the punishment prescribed by law however painful it might be to you personally : for it will be all to the good of the State. If at any time people suspect, that you have been unjust to them in any respect disclose your mind to them and remove their suspicions. In this way, your mind will get attuned to the sense of justice and people will begin to love you. It will also fulfil your wish that you should enjoy their confidence.

## PEACE AND TREATIES.

Bear in mind that you do not throw away the offer of peace which your enemy may himself make. Accept it, for, that will please God. Peace is a source of comfort to the army; it reduces your worries and promotes order in the State. But Beware! Be on your guard when the peace is signed; for, certain types of enemies propose terms of peace just to lull you into a sense of security only to attack you again when you are off your guard. So you should exercise the utmost vigilance on your part, and place no undue faith in thier protestations. But, if under the peace treaty you have accepted any obligations, discharge those obligations scrupulously. It is a trust and must be faithfully upheld and whenever you have promised any thing, keep it with all the strength that you command, for whatever differences of opinion might exist on other matters, there is nothing so noble as the fulfilment of a promise. This is recognised even among the non-muslims, for they know the dire consequences which follow from the breaking of covenants. So never make excuses in discharging your responsibilities and never break a promise, nor cheat your enemy. For, breach of promise is an act against God, and none except the positively wicked acts against God.

Indeed divine promises are a blessing spread over all mankind. The promise of God is a refuge sought after even by the most powerful on earth ; for there is no risk of being cheated. So, do not make any promise from which you may afterwards offer excuses to retract ; nor do you go back upon what you have confirmed to abide by ; nor do you break it, however galling it may at first prove to be. For, it is far better to wait in patience for wholesome results to follow than to break it out of any apprehensions.

Beware ! Abstain from shedding blood without a valid cause. There is nothing more harmful than this which brings about one's ruin. The blood that is wilfully shed shortens the life of a state. On the day of judgement it is this crime for which one will have to answer first. So, beware ! Do not wish to build the strength of your state on blood ; for, it is this blood which ultimately weakens the state and passes it on to other hands. Before me and my God no excuse for wilful killing can be entertained.

Murder is a crime which is punishable by death. If on any account the corporal punishment dealt by the state for any lesser crime results in the death of the guilty, let not the prestige of the state stand in any way of the deceased's relations claiming blood money.

## LAST INSTRUCTIONS.

Do not make haste to do a thing before its time, nor put it off when the right moment arrives. Do not insist on doing a wrong thing, nor show slackness in rectifying a wrong thing. Perform every thing in its proper time, and let everything occupy its proper place. When the people as a whole agree upon a thing, do not impose your own view on them and do not neglect to discharge the responsibility that rests on you in consequence. For, the eyes of the people will be on you and you are answerable for whatever you do to them. The slightest dereliction of duty will bring its own retribution. Keep your anger under control and keep your hands and tongue in check. Whenever you fall into anger, try to restrain yourself or else you will simply increase your worries.

It is imperative on you to study carefully the principles which have inspired just and good rulers who have gone before you. Give close thought to the example of our prophet (Peace be on him), his traditions, and the commandments of the Book of God and whatever you might have assimilated from my own way of dealing with things. Endeavour to the best of your ability to carry out the instructions which I have given you here and which you

have solemnly undertaken to follow. By means of this order, I enjoin on you not to succumb to the promptings of your own heart or turn away from the discharge of the duties entrusted to you.

I seek the refuge of the might of the Almighty and of His limitless sphere of blessings, and invite you to pray with me that He may give us together the grace willingly to surrender our will to His will, and to enable us to acquit ourselves before Him and His creation ; so that mankind might cherish our memory and our work survive. I seek of God the culmination of his blessings and pray that He may grant you and me His grace and the honour of martyrdom in His cause. Verily, we have to return to Him. I invoke His blessing on the Prophet of God and his pure progeny.

# THE SOLUTION OF MAN'S PROBLEMS

By

**HIS EMINENCE**

Maulana Shah Mohammed Abdul Aleem Siddiqui,  
Al-Qadri

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THE MERCIFUL**

## **THE SOLUTION OF MAN'S PROBLEMS**

Complex and complicated problems confront man in his day-to-day life, and he is always plunged in anxiety to discover their solution. This is so, because human life is, in its very nature, complex. On the one hand, man possesses an unlimited urge for scaling the loftiest heights of ambition and of attaining the pinnacle of perfection in the multifarious domains of his activity. On the other hand, his limitations exist to such an extent that he is simply incapable of determining the ultimate consequences of his actions with any amount of certainty.

Man is capable of deducing the particulars from the universals, and the universals from the particulars. He possesses the power of building up philosophical axioms and postulates. He has the capacity of soaring into the realm of the Abstract on the wings of poetic fancy and speculative imagination. He can also analyse the properties of matter and break up the atom. But, with all this, he finds that the universe is too vast for his tiny, though brilliant, brain. The more he advances in his quest for knowledge, the more he becomes convinced of the

infiniteness of the expanse of reality. His discovery of a new fact is at the same time a discovery of the truth that there exist numberless un-known facts yet to be discovered. The thirst for knowledge is never satisfied.

With all his struggle for knowledge, man can only know partial reality as revealing in the present, or as recorded in the past. About the future, he is always in utter darkness. He tries to infer on the basis of the inductive method, but he himself can hardly be positively certain of that inference. He seeks the help of Astrology in this behalf, but that science also proves to be fallible. Comprehensive and infallible knowledge about the past, the present, and the future, remains a distant dream.

This limitation of man is at the basis of his inability to solve his problems with any degree of satisfaction. Add to it the conflicts between the various emotions and between emotion and reason, and you can get a fair idea of the muddle with which man is confronted.

Man is in a state of constant struggle for the attainment of Peace and Comfort. But he seeks them through material things, and fails. He starts in one material direction and obtains a certain amount of success. But when he evaluates it in the light of his ultimate ideal, he finds that he is far away from it. *Neither wealth, nor health, nor even a decent home life, can separately guarantee that peace of the mind and comfort of the soul which every one of us cherishes so intensely.* They can work only as contributory factors, if the fundamental requirement of the realisation of the ideal exists.

The question is : *What is that fundamental requirement ? What is that which the whole of humanity seeks but fails to find in its material pursuits ? What is that which can cause a man to say : "I feel actually satisfied", or, "I have real peace of mind", or, "I have achieved true happiness."*

Common people feel envious of those who are wealthy, and think that they are capable of claiming that. But in actual fact, no capitalist can ever feel satisfaction with that he has achieved. Similarly, weak and small nations feel jealous of the imperialistic and expanding nations who can dictate their will to others, and who appear to have achieved satisfaction. But "land-hunger" is, by its very nature, something which can never be satisfied. In fact all the material pursuits of man possess that characteristic. For, the physical world is obviously a world of limitations. And it is a world of transitory and fleeting experiences.

My Friends!

The problem before us is **the fundamental problem of man**. In my experience as an individual, I have tried to grasp it and to solve it. I have travelled from country to country and from continent to continent. I have seen the world from end to end. I have sought the reality in the universities and the libraries. I have tried to be in contact with the scientific endeavour in the laboratories. I have observed the trends of humanity in the market-place and the industrial enterprise. I have passed through the ups and downs of life. The happiness



and the satisfaction obtainable from material things is not unknown to me. But, of all my experiences, if there is one experience which is certain and clear and vivid, it is that such happiness has always been *temporary* and *fleeting* and *momentary*, ultimately to be concealed behind a storm of worries and anxiety, even as the dense black clouds cover the fair face of the moon in a pitch dark night of rain and thunderstorm and permit it to show itself only at long intervals.

I have sought the peace of the mind, the satisfaction of the heart, the comfort of the self,—in short, I have sought True Happiness. The material world did not give it to me. The material world has no concern with it, as a matter of fact. Neither the market-place, nor the industrial factory, nor the scientific laboratory, are the places where it can be found. It is only in true religious pursuit, which opens the vistas of the spiritual and moral worlds, that it can be available. It is in religion alone that we can seek it. Because, it is religion alone which claims to deal with it. In fact, it is the vital concern of religion.

This brings us to the question: *What do we mean by religion? What is religion in its truest sense?* Today, the world is full of religions, and cults, and “isms”, by the score. If we define religion as “an ideology which deals with human life fundamentally and in its totality, namely, which is a philosophy of life”, there are numerous ideologies which claim to provide it. During modern times, many a scholar and thinker has stood up as a Teacher, has propounded a new “ism”, and has claimed for it the

function of religion. *Marks-ism*, *Hitler-ism*, and *Gandhi-ism*, are some instances. Among the older "isms", *Confucianism* and *Shintoism* have played important roles in human life.

When we consider those "isms" seriously, the very first fact that strikes us is that they are the products of human brains, which, however, embellished they may be with intellectual development, are after all human. Even when we grant that those human beings who created them were sincere and impartial in their approach, and possessed the best information humanly possible, the fact remains that, as human beings, their capacities were limited, their knowledge was limited, and their angle of view was limited. Neither can their knowledge be credited with the attribute of certainty, nor their conclusions about the consequences.

How, then, can we rely on those "isms" and those Teachers for the attainment of our ultimate salvation and success and happiness? And, consequently, if a rational and sensible human being adopts their guidance and follows them blindly, what else can we say but that he is acting in an irrational manner.

In fact, the very first requirement which might lend authority to those "isms" is absent. As for the fallacies inherent in their teachings, this is not the occasion to state them in any detail. Suffice it to say, that they are the creations of human brains, which, in the very nature of the case, are not, and have never been infallible.

An imperfect instrument of knowledge like the human brain can never be regarded as a sure dictator in matters on which rests our ultimate salvation. Sure and comprehensive and trust-worthy guidance can be only that which comes, not from the finite and the imperfect, but from One who is Infinite and Perfect,—One whose knowledge comprehends the whole past, present and future,—One whose vision is above the limitations of Time and Space,—One whose knowledge of the reality of things leaves nothing to be desired.

*Is there any such Being ? Is there any such means or medium through which knowledge could be obtained from Him ? Can that knowledge and guidance, when followed faithfully, ensure success in life and True Happiness ? Is there any practical and positive proof that those who followed that guidance achieved the ideal ?* These are the questions which have to be answered. These are the questions to which we should attend as wise and rational persons, because on them seems to rest the solution of our difficulties and problems.

When we see the universe around us,—the starry heavens above and the multifarious creation below,—and observe the order and design which exists everywhere, we are unavoidably led to the conclusion that there must be a Great First Cause, a Designer, a Creator. It is rationally inconceivable that this mighty system of the universe could have come into existence without a Maker. The idea of the existence of the Creator is inherent in the very fact of creation. Common sense leads to it. All true and un-biased philosophical and

scientific thought upholds it. And logical inquiry brings out that that Creator must of necessity be All-Powerful, All-knowing, All-Seeing and Omni-Present.

This belief has been universal in the life of humanity, except in the case of those whose emotional bias led them to think irrationally. Side by side with it is the fact that if we study history closely, we come across a special group of persons. Their special attribute was that they did not receive any schooling in philosophy or science, and were invariably born in an environment which was corrupt and dark; and yet they served as Teachers of high wisdom and sublime morals. They rose from the background of illiteracy and proclaimed their status to this effect:— "We do not speak anything on our behalf. What we say is not the creation of our brains. We were without knowledge, when some Superior Power taught us of His own accord and appointed us as Teachers. We are entitled to teach only what He commands us to teach. We are authorised to proclaim only what he makes us to proclaim."

This process of receiving Guidance is called in religious terminology, Revelation and inspiration. Those who were blessed with this high office were, all of them, essentially human beings. But they were born with a special faculty, endowed specially by God,—the Faculty of Receiving Divine Revelation. Those of us who possess the experience of the workings of the faculty of Intuition, which is the universal possession of humanity, can form an idea of how those Special Personages received the Messages from God for delivery to the people.

It was this function of receiving Messages from God and conveying them to His creatures, which gave them the titles of "Messenger" and "Prophet", according to the religious terminology. Deprived of all schooling and apparent education, they could yet teach the highest wisdom and knowledge. Lacking all human opportunities of imbibing sublime morals, they could yet bring about the moral transformation of whole communities. In this lay the greatest proof of their status as Messengers of God. Further proof of their truthfulness and greatness and ability of guiding humanity aright lay, and lies, in the fact that those who followed them could achieve true success in their lives, could attain to heights of human perfection in accordance with their capacities, and could obtain true Happiness.

Those Prophets continued to come from time to time. In fact, whenever the Message of a Prophet was forgotten or misrepresented, a new Prophet invariably appeared, cleared the misrepresentations and perfected the Message according to the conditions. In history, we find a continuous line of Prophets, starting from Adam, running through the different tribes, communities and nations, and passing through such Holy personages as Noah, Solomon, David, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. The function of each one of them was to work among his community or nation and to reclaim his people to the right path. They all continued to come and to work, until there came a stage in the life of humanity when it found itself in a state of universal darkness. As the Holy Quran says:

ظهر الفساد في البر والبحر بما كسبت ايدي الناس

**“Corruption has appeared on land and sea because of what the hands of men have wrought.”**

All nations and communities fell away from the Divine Message. A universal Message for a universal Reformation became a necessity. And the same God who had revealed His Guidance to the Prophets, from Adam to Jesus, revealed it again to the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be with him and them all !), who, for the first time in the history of mankind, proclaimed under Divine Command :—

يا ايها الناس اني رسول الله اليكم جميعا

**“O mankind! Verily, I am the Messenger of God unto you all”.**

The Message which he delivered was the same which the preceding Messengers had delivered in the background of the local conditions of their respective environments. It was a recapitulation of all those Messages, delivered in a perfected form for the needs of a matured humanity. Thus proclaimed the Scripture which he brought,— the Scripture known by the name of the Holy Quran :—

ان هذا لفي الصحف الاولى صحف ابراهيم و موسى

**“Verily, it is (to be found) in the previous Scriptures: the Scriptures of Abraham and Moses”**

The Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be with him!) came at the time when the printing press and other means of preserving the Message for all time were about to come into existence, through the scientific efforts launched by his followers. He came with an Enduring and Abiding Message. For its preservation, God Himself proclaimed His promise :—

انا نحن نزلنا الذكر و انا له لحافظون

**“Verily, We have revealed the Message, and most surely We are its Guardian”.**

As regards its attribute of perfection, God proclaimed :—

اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم و اتممت عليكم نعمتى و رضيت لكم الاسلام دينا

**“This day I have perfected your religion for you, and have completed My favour on you, and have chosen for you Al-Islam as your religion.”**

In that Divine Book of Guidance, the Holy Quran, God corrected all those mistaken notions and ideas under which humanity was labouring, and expounded that philosophy of life and that system of living which is based on the eternal laws appointed by God. The underlying principle of this philosophy is that just as there are laws that govern the physical existence and growth of man, there are also spiritual and moral laws that govern the

spiritual and moral life. And just as the violation of the physical laws brings about physical disease and deterioration, similarly the violation of the spiritual and moral laws creates spiritual and moral ailments and disintegration. Consequently, True Happiness and Real Success can be obtained only by means of a harmonious development of the physical, moral and spiritual aspects of life in accordance with those laws which our Creator has appointed for us and revealed through His chosen Messengers.

It was only yesterday that an American lady related to me that her right hand had become affected with pain because of the wrong use of muscles in playing on piano. She continued to suffer from it for quite a long time, until she herself studied human physiology and the nervous system, and discovered the method of co-ordinating the activity of the various nerves and muscles. Subsequently, her ailment was cured. Now, without attempting any perfect analogy, we might say that we will have True Happiness if we follow the principles of our spiritual, moral and physical growth, and follow them with co-ordination and harmony. Otherwise, the achievement will be just the opposite.

In the short time at my disposal, it is not possible to expound the "Code of Life" under discussion in any detail. Such a task demands from the student serious study and application. Those of you who wish to study it thoroughly should read the "English Translation and Commentary of the Holy Quran by Allama Abdulla Yusuf Ali", obtainable from the Washington Mosque



Foundation Committee. Here I shall state some basic facts, and the principles pertaining thereto, so that if you practise them, you may attain peace of mind, comfort of the soul, and Eternal Happiness,

My Friends !

It is a well-known fact that man possesses the faculty of perception and distinction, under which works the power of the will. It is this power of the will,—this power of thought combined with emotion, which plays the most important part in our life. The power of thought fixed on a certain point assumes the form of belief, which effects our whole activity. If a person thinks he is feeling feverish, even though he may have no actual attack of fever, his physique will begin to give way under the pressure of that thought, until the feverish condition will actually come into existence. In fact, the effect of our mental attitude on our physical life is a matter of common experience. We realise it in the ordinary turns and twists of our life. It should not, therefore, be difficult to understand that it is the fundamental beliefs of man concerning his destiny and the universe around him, which play the greatest part in making or un-making his life.

Consequently, the first lesson which is taught in the school of Islam is that, when your innate feeling and your reason leads you to realise that there is a Creator of this universe, who is All-Powerful, All-Knowing and All-Seeing, you should not stop at that formal belief, but should move towards Him with all the intensity of

your love, regarding Him as the Source of all Life and Light and Perfection, and considering Him as the Bestower of all Blessings, and believing Him to be close to you every moment, watching you not only in your actions but also in the most secret thoughts running through your mind, and sustaining you at every stage. This consciousness, this belief, and this concentration of thought, will endow you with a new life and will create in you a new power. Let me illustrate it by an analogy. In your day-to-day life, you all experience the fact that if you come in close relation with any human being who possesses any attribute of power, you begin feeling a new power within yourself. What then about the effects of closeness to Him who is the Source of all Life and Light and Perfection and Power?

Here a question might arise in your minds: "How can we actually come close to God, and how can we know that we are close to Him?"

**My Friends !**

I have just told you that God is Infinite, and He can neither be confined in the bounds of Space nor in the limitations of Time. Time itself is a dimension of physical existence. And Space as a dimensional fact is, of course, well known to all. We are accustomed to think of closeness always in terms of Space and Time. But God as the Infinite Being cannot be conceived in those terms. He is certainly close to us, as religion teaches us and as we ourselves realise when we concentrate on Him rightly. God Himself tells us in the Holy Quran:—

وإذا سألك عبادى عنى فانى قريب \* اجيب دعوة الداع اذا دعان \*

**“And when My servants question thee concerning Me, then surely I am near, I answer the prayer of the suppliant when he crieth unto Me,”**  
(II:186).

But the question may be asked: How it is that most of us remain un-conscious of that closeness? Let me explain it by an illustration. Suppose you have in your pocket near to your heart something which is very dear to you. But during your moments of absorption in other things you totally forget its closeness to you, nay, even, its existence. In actuality, it exists and remains close. Only your thought wanders away and creates a distance and a gap between you and the thing. Similarly, without attempting perfect analogy, we can say that so far as God is concerned, He is near to us every moment, but so far as we are concerned, we are either conscious of His nearness or un-conscious of it *in our thought*. It is, thus, by the effort of our thought that we can realise His nearness, and it is by remembering Him constantly that we can make that realisation permanent. The more permanent that realisation is, the more at rest will be our heart, and the more shall be the happiness that we shall achieve.

The lesson, therefore, which the Holy Quran teaches us, is:—

الَا بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ تَطْمَئِنُّ الْقُلُوبُ

**“Ya verily, in the remembrance of God do hearts find solace”.**

True Happiness is born of the remembrance of God. But is there any special way for making that remembrance truly efficacious? Has God Almighty, Who loves us more than a father or a mother, and Who has, therefore, taken upon Himself the obligation of guiding us through His chosen Messengers,—has He taught us the best way of remembering Him also? Are the symbolic forms of worship, or worshipping once in a while, fruitful or sufficient? These are the questions which arise in our minds and which the Holy Quran has answered. We have been told there to keep up the institutional prayers five times a day and to maintain God's remembrance in every moment of our life. In the words of the Revealed Book:—

أُولَى الْأَلْبَابِ ۚ الَّذِينَ يَذْكُرُونَ اللَّهَ قِيَامًا وَقُعُودًا وَعَلَىٰ جُنُوبِهِمْ

**“The wise (are those) who remember God standing, sitting, and reclining on their sides. .**

Now this remembrance has two forms, Firstly, we have to remember at the turn of every moment that all power and all goodness proceeds from Him, and we are but recipients. Secondly, we have to remain conscious at the occasion of every action of ours whether or not that action is in accordance with the Laws revealed by God and taught by His Messengers.

Such a comprehensive and constant remembrance will serve as a feeder of the soul until the human personality will gain extra-ordinary and ever-increasing strength from within and will attain that vision where all weaknesses and miseries fade into oblivion, and the heart becomes the repository of True Happiness and Abiding Peace.

My Friends !

This lesson which I have expounded to you is only a theory for you. But, just as in the case of science, the theory does not provide a complete understanding unless it is supplemented by practical experiment, so too in the present case, I would appeal to you to test it practically by practising it. Such a procedure will by itself prove to you the truth of the theory. When you will build the structure of your activity on the foundations of God's remembrance, you will soon find your life being moulded in a harmonious pattern in accordance with the Divine Will. You will feel its sweetness, and you will realise that you are in a realm where bitterness and frustration continuously diminishes. There you will hear with your own ears of the soul the glad tidings given by the Holy Quran in these words:—

ان الذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم استقاموا تتنزل عليهم الملائكة - ان لا تخافوا ولا تحزنوا و البشروا بالجنة - التى كنتم توعدون . نحن اولياءكم فى الحياة الدنيا و فى الآخرة \* ولكم فيها ما تشتهى انفسكم ولكم فيها ما تدعون نزلا من غفور الرحيم .

**“Lo : those who say : Our Lord is Allah, and afterward are upright, the angels descend upon them, saying: Fear not, nor grieve, but hear good tidings of the paradise which ye are promised. We are your protecting friends in the life of the world and in the Hereafter. There ye will have all that your souls desire, and there ye will have all for which ye pray: A gift of welcome from One, Forgiving, Merciful”. (XLI : 30, 31, 32.)**

Let me now summarise the Message which I have expounded so far. The Message is: Remember God. Regard Him as Omni-Present and All-Knowing in every moment of your life. Search for His Message in its authentic form, and when you have found it, practise it. Mould your morals and your habits in conformity with the Divine Laws. Remain conscious that God alone is your real Master and King. Bow down to His commands, and take as your model His Messengers, the last of whom was the Holy Prophet Muhammad (God bless him !). Follow this course and preach the same to others. Walk on this Path and attain True Success, Abiding Peace, and Eternal Happiness.

May the Beneficent and Merciful God guide us all unto Himself. Amen !

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*By*  
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**Man is God in miniature on this earth  
according to Islam.**

**Islam accepts one living man as the leader  
of mankind in the World.**

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

**There is no God but the one God.**

**Muhammed as a man is the  
representative of that God**

اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولى الامر منكم

*Sura 4, Verses 59*

*Obey God and obey the Prophet and the man  
in authority from you. All these three  
conceptions point to one and the same entity.*

JANUARY 1954

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**"THEORY OF LEADERSHIP IN ISLAM"**

**A critical survey of the position of the Muslim World**

**&**

**A suggestion for their consideration to regain their  
past glory**

**A crying need of the hour for the whole World**



There are about 265 religions in the world and there are about 250 crores of human beings living on this planet of earth. All these human beings follow some sort of religion and have some definite notions about the ultimate Reality behind all things in the universe. Whether a man is conscious of it or not and whether he professes it or not, he has some fundamental conceptions, he has a set of doctrines of faith and he has a system of beliefs and disbeliefs which constitute his very religion by whatever name it may be called. Even those who are dubbed as irreligious, atheists, agnostics, sceptics or other similar terms cannot escape from holding some system of ideas in their minds which can be called their religion. So by the term religion we mean only that aggregate of beliefs and disbeliefs which a man adheres to in his mind and upon which he invariably acts in his practical life.

There are five major religions in the world. They are Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam and these religions have the largest number of followers under them. Islam is the latest of the above religions and it claims to be the most perfect and the most sound of all the religions of the world. In fact it claims to be the only true religion which can be followed by any sane and rational human being in the world. It is the natural religion of man which is true for all nations and all ages. The limitations of time and space are, therefore, immaterial for Islam.

Let us now examine what the fundamental conceptions in Islam are and how they affect human beings to lead a practical and prosperous life. Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, who was the pioneer of that religion, has given us a book called the Holy Koran and it has certain fundamental conceptions about 'reality' which must be faithfully followed by every Muslim. The first and foremost of those conceptions is the conception of '*Tauhid*' i. e. Oneness of Ultimate Reality. The Arabic words which convey that conception read as follows:—

*"La ilaha illallah"*

They can be rendered in English as follows:—There is no '*Ilah*' but '*Allah*'. The word '*Ilah*' and '*Allah*' have the same root and the same meaning. Whatever meaning we attach to this word which will be a rather debatable point, the sentence will mean like this:



*' There is no X but the X. '*

It will mean there is no reality except that reality, there is nothing except that thing, there is only one thing which really exists, there is no other thing really existent besides that thing. Technically rendered in religious terms it comes to the following meaning :-

*' There is no God except the (One God) 'Allah'*

So the conception of God as the One Ultimate Reality, was first brought out and given to the world in most lucid, unambiguous and perfect way by the religion of Islam through the Prophet Mohammed. A Muslim has, therefore, to believe in One and only One God and in no other God whatsoever, in any form, as the One Ultimate Reality behind all the diverse phenomena of the universe. It is the unknown and unknowable Absolute Reality conveyed by the word 'Noumenon' in the mind of the great German Philosopher, Immanuel Kant; of the 18th century A. D. (1724-1804)

Another conception introduced by Islam is the conception of Oneness of a definite human being as the messenger of God. There are two sentences in the religious motto of Islam called the *Kalima* in Arabic. The first sentence gives us the conception of God and the other sentence gives us the conception of a *human being* as the messenger, the vicegerent, the prototype, the miniature, the spokesman, the agent, the representative, the

servant, the expounder or by whatever other significant term you may call it, of that Reality, of that Ultimate Existence, of that God which you believed in the first sentence. In this way, you have to believe in two things at the very outset in Islam. Without going into logical controversies to prove or disprove the above two conceptions, you have to take them as granted. You have to assume them as postulates to start with in any chain of reasoning or thinking about things in the universe. This is an inevitable alternative which human mind has to adopt in any scientific enquiry and in pursuing any kind of knowledge further and further on. You have to postulate a point in Geometry, a number in Arithmetic, a substance or matter in Physics and similarly a certain conception in Metaphysics. There is no way out of it.

The Pioneer of Islam connected the second conception of Islam with his own personality and emphasized that Muhammed as his own self must first be believed as the messenger and the representative, etc., of that God which was believed in the first conception. Muhammed is, therefore, the only one and true Prophet of God as rendered in religious terminology. The second sentence of the Kalima reads as follows :-

*'Muhammed-ur-Rasul-allah'*

It means that Muhammed is the messenger or Prophet of God. So we arrive at two conceptions

of Oneness of Reality; the one about Absolute and Unknown Reality and the other about concrete, knowable, tangible and physically perceptible reality. Unless you believe in the above two conceptions as articles of your faith, you fail to grasp the significance of the 'Kalima', the religious motto of Islam; and you cannot be said to have embraced Islam.

Now let us go a step further. The Prophet of Islam was a human being with all the physical liabilities of a human being attached to him. So there came a time when he passed away and his physical organism was no more with us. We were deprived of his personal contact and personal directions in our day-to-day life. But the conception of oneness which he introduced was already there and will always be there in the mind of the Muslim world. The question, therefore, arose as to who should take the place of the Prophet after his physical disappearance from us as the symbol of that conception which we hold as an article of faith with us in our religion of Islam. The whole history of the Muslim world in the past is full of conflicts and controversies to answer the above question satisfactorily and to decide about the true successor of the Prophet in such a way as to be acceptable universally by all the Muslims of the world with the same faithful and unanimous spirit which they showed in the case of the Prophet himself.

After the demise of the Prophet, the Muslim world was torn and divided on the above issue and it failed to arrive at a satisfactory and unanimous decision about the successor of the Prophet as the one and only guide of their destinies in all the walks of life in harmony with their religious conceptions. There are two major sects among the Muslims, i.e. Sunnis and the Shias and these two sects sprang up only after the demise of the Prophet and only on the different decisions about the problem of succession to the Prophet. The Shia sect hold that the Prophet himself nominated Ali as his successor but certain interested persons failed to abide by the directions of the Prophet in this respect to suit their own personal ends. The Sunnis, on the contrary, hold that the Prophet gave no specific directions about his successor and left it to the people themselves for decision by majority of votes. The people consequently chose Abu Bakr, the first Caliph of the Muslims after the Prophet. The Shias hold the election of Abu Bakr and other subsequent Caliphs after him as mere farce and a piece of fraud and an act of usurpation of the legitimate rights of Ali to succeed the Prophet. Both sects quote various sayings of the Prophet in Arabic and also interpret the various relevant verses of the Holy Koran in various ways to justify and confirm their own respective and opposite views on the problem of succession to the Prophet. It will not serve any useful purpose if we try to

prove or to refute the above views of either sect according to the sayings of the Prophet and the views of the Holy Koran as they will not be acceptable to the opposite sect. But we have to review the problem from another standpoint setting aside our religious preconceptions and prepossessions altogether which affect this issue in its controversial character.

We take the problem with the following issues:-

1. Whether or not is it necessary for the Muslim world to have one and only one human being as the successor of their Prophet as their sole and ultimate guide and their chief ruler in both the so-called temporal and spiritual spheres of life?
2. Whether or not is the existence of the above man an absolute necessity as a fundamental doctrine of the faith of Islam?
3. How is that successor to be chosen, whether by election or by suggestion, whether by free choice or by compulsory command, whether as a matter of logical reasoning based on merits and demerits of the individual concerned or as a mere hypothesis, as a mere assumption and a mere postulate of our religious faith?
4. Whether or not the successor to the Prophet should bear any relation to the Prophet? If so, what kind of relation?

5. Can we arrive at any stable and permanent solution of this much vexed and highly controvertial problem so that we may be saved from future conflicts, differences of views and consequent troubles arising out of its complex and difficult nature?

### *Issue No. I*

When we believe as an article of our faith that practical '*Tauhid*' or the conception of Oneness of Reality and Oneness of G d is to be enforced and carried out for purposes of our practical life, we cannot but hold that the existence of one physical human being in his tangible and perceptible form is absolutely necessary for all times and under all circumstances. It will serve as a concrete medium to express that abstract Reality which we believe in our conception of God. The differences of this world and the world hereafter, the differences of the so-called temporal and spiritual world, the differences of our religious as against non-religious or political, social, commercial or other activities of life will all be merged and unified into one ultimate aim guided by the directions of one human being as a symbol of practical '*Tauhid*'. If we don't hold this position, the second portion of '*Kalima*' or religious motto and the second article of our faith '*Mohammed-ur-Rasul-allah*' will become a mere farce and a mere temporary and ephemeral conception which was meant only for the time being and which ended with the

physical disappearance of the Prophet from amongst us. Concepts and ideas have an eternal value and they are not bound by the external and physical manifestations in such a way as to lose their permanent character and the very spirit for which they are born or introduced in human minds. Concepts and ideas may be expressed in various words of various languages, in various times of various countries and in various forms of their external manifestations, but their spirit and nature and aim always remain the same and they are unchangeable or must be held as unchangeable for our practical purposes. A king who is a symbol of authority for the people passes away, but the concept of kingdom and the concept of authority remains intact after him and that concept is practically carried out through the medium of another human being who takes the place of the deceased king. So it is necessary for the Muslim world to maintain and keep intact the conception of practical '*Tahuid*' which is an article of faith for all times and for all countries for the same practical purpose and the same ultimate aim for which it was introduced or which was revealed to them through their Prophet. One apparent objection might be raised in this connection which will not be an outcome of serious thought over the problem but a mere illogical reaction in the mind of a layman. It will be like this: If we hold that it is always necessary for the Muslim world to have a successor of their Prophet in all ages and all countries, then any X, Y or Z might

stand up and claim to be a Prophet himself and might start a religion of his own in the world. Unfortunately, cases similar to this have already appeared in the past in the history of the Muslims. Certain interested persons who were endowed with certain characteristic attributes and, therefore, managed to gather some following around them either really claimed or were supposed to claim and deserve the title of a prophet in the same sense as the greatest and the last of all Prophets, Mohammed (Peace be on him). It is, therefore, necessary to end this nuisance and to avoid a similar catastrophe for the Muslim world. Any one who has studied the Holy Koran carefully and has grasped the fundamental and eternal conceptions which Islam has given to humanity, will realize that the above danger of artificial prophets will never arise if the conception of '*Tauhid*' or Oneness of Reality is really understood and soundly grasped by the Muslim world. The Holy Koran clearly lays down as follows :—

اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم و اتممت عليكم نعمتي و رضيت لكم  
 الاسلام دينا

(Sura 5 Verses 3)

It means that Islam is a perfect religion, it is the final religion and it is the only true religion to be accepted by all humanity. The principles and concepts of Islam are eternal like scientific propositions carrying strict mathema-



tical accuracy with them. The Prophet of Islam was a living example and physical symbol of those eternal truths. If the Prophet ceases to exist physically, those eternal concepts and truths which Islam brought out cannot die out after the Prophet and will always remain alive in the Universe. Any human being who is taken as a successor to the Prophet in this respect will only endorse, repeat and carry out those very eternal truths for the purpose of keeping alive our practical existence. Any one who differs from the Prophet in this respect and introduces those concepts which are diametrically opposed to the concept of '*Tauhid*' in both its theoretical and practical aspects can never be held as true successor of the Prophet. So once the Muslim world understands '*Tauhid*' and believes in the Oneness of Reality as conceived in Islam, the multiplicity of various individuals endorsing and carrying out that conception of '*Tauhid*' will not in any way affect their position adversely and the danger of pseudo-prophets cropping up among them will be obviated altogether. So we decide this issue in the affirmative and hold that it is absolutely necessary for the Muslim world to have one and only one human being as their ultimate leader and guide in all walks of life and whom they must hold as a successor of the Prophet for the time being.

*Issue No. 2*

After the above decision of the first issue,

the second issue is automatically decided in the affirmative. The doctrine of '*Tauhid*' is a fundamental article of faith in Islam. It has two aspects shown by the two sentences of the '*Kalima*' respectively.

لا إله إلا الله - محمد رسول الله

One aspect is theoretical under which we believe in one and only one Reality, but that reality is abstract, unknown and unknowable, absolutely out of our reach in our practical life. It is a sort of religious postulate, a working hypothesis, an intellectual necessity, an Idea of Reason and internal solace and a sort of anchor for our failure and disappointments in life. In this sense it has a great practical utility and saves us from lot of bothering, worries and depressions which we have to face in the world. Even the most stubborn atheist has to search for this internal prop to console him in his moments of agony and despair and he at once feels a sense of recovery and bliss the moment he catches at that prop rightly or wrongly, consciously or unconsciously.

The second conception of '*Tauhid*' as given in the second sentence of the *Kalima*

محمد رسول الله

has a practical aspect. It is '*Practical Tauhid*' in our terminology. The first abstract conception of One Reality or One God leaves us in a sort of vacuum until we pass on to the second concrete

conception of Reality in the form of a tangible and perceptible human being. The existence of that human being was first found in the person of '*Muhammed*' the last Prophet of Islam and it was he and he alone who gave us in such clear-cut terms the two very important conceptions as articles of our faith. You should also bear in mind that the conception of Prophethood brought out by '*Muhammed*' (Peace be on him) was the final stroke in its practical application to humanity with a view to end once for all the long chain of terrible controversies over religion and religious concepts in all the past ages in the history of mankind. If we alter the concepts of Islam again, we shall commit the same mistake which the Prophet of Islam denounced and which he tried to avoid in very forceful and clear terms. Humanity after all the stages of its evolution must one day reach that final phase of evolution in which the old ideological disputes are finally settled once for all. And that phase was in fact reached on the birth of the Prophet of Islam, the last of all the prophets of the world. And this is actually what the Prophet of Islam emphasized and proclaimed to the world. It has a great practical value to lead a peaceful and prosperous life. If mankind failed to appreciate its value full well upto this time, it must stir up now and accept it once for all in the interest of its own welfare. It is now the duty of the Muslim world whose Prophet has the credit of giving to the whole of humanity

two such nice conceptions of Reality as will help them in the best possible way in their practical life, to proclaim to the world these conceptions and try to act upto them faithfully. So we decide the second issue in the affirmative and hold that the existence of one human being as the sole and ultimate leader and guide of the Muslim world is an absolute necessity as a fundamental doctrine af the faith in Islam.

*Issue No. 3.*

If we try to decide this issue by any chain of reasoning and logical arguments, we are afraid we shall not be able to decide it finally. But we shall try to do as best as we can. The most commonly followed method to choose a man for any responsible office is the method of election by majority of votes of the people concerned. But this method is more often than not fraught with objectionable and lamentable practices resorted to by the voters and the candidates for whom votes are secured, and it invariably entails an atmosphere of bitter and hostile feelings in the locality in which the election is held. This atmosphere is sometimes embittered permanently and leaves a legacy of perpetual hatred and animosity among the rival groups of society. The effects whether bad, worse or worst always linger for a considerably long time to come. So we have to discard this method as it is usually followed these days unless the election is unanimous without any friction or bitterness of feelings or it is governed by such

rational and pre-fixed principles on which the people unite and which they accept and decide beforehand to avoid future disappointments and conflicts. These principles will have to be suggested and we shall consider them later on. If these suggestions are based on some authority derived from the Holy Koran, from the life of the Prophet himself or from the fundamental conceptions of Islam itself, then these suggestions will have the force of compulsory command which must be obeyed by all the faithful Muslims in the world. Freedom of choice by the people will have no place as against the compulsory command which might be forthcoming in this connection. Further, if we base the selection of the successor of the Prophet on his individual merits, then also we shall not be able to arrive at a selection which might be acceptable to the whole Muslim world simply because we are all naturally and inevitably so different and diverse in our likes and dislikes, in our conceptions of merits and demerits, in our views of virtues and vices, in our beliefs and disbeliefs about a number of good and bad things in our life, in our social environments and geographical conditions, that it is practically impossible for all human beings to see any particular things in one and the same way. The only way of escape from this dilemma is the way of a mere assumption and a mere postulate based on our faith of religion as a practical necessity and as a device to avoid all mental conflict. If any one

is unable to have or to develop this kind of faith we shall leave him alone and shall say to him nothing more than that his very belief in God which is based on his faith and faith alone will fall to the ground and with that the whole fabric of his religious constitution will be shattered to pieces. It is faith and faith alone with which you start in religion and logical justification and necessity for that faith is simply practical and not theoretical at all. We assume a thing for practical purposes and start further after our assumption. But if we deny the assumption at the very outset, we have no point to begin with and to go on further in our chain of thought or in our steps onwards in our practical life.

So we decide the third issue in this way:-

The successor to the Prophet of Islam is to be accepted on suggestion and on a compulsory choice under a religious command and as a working hypothesis to carry out the conception of practical '*Tauhid*' which the Muslims have to believe in and stick to as a fundamental article of their faith in Islam and its religious motto, the Kalima

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

*Issue No. 4.*

This issue is rather debatable and will not admit of easy solution. We shall split this issue into two parts (a) and (b) in this way and then shall try to decide it in view of these parts.

(a) Whether or not is there any authority or any indication in the Holy Koran or the saying of the Prophet of Islam to the effect that successor to the Prophet should be such and such man?

(b) If we do not agree unanimously on the above authority, if any, then what should be the most feasible, the most practical and the most beneficial alternative for making a selection of that successor.

We take up part (a) first.

According to Shia sect in Islam, the Prophet gave clear directions for choosing Ali as his successor after his death and the so-called ceremony of this legacy was finalised shortly before the death of the Prophet at a place called 'Ghadir Khum' (غدير خم). They also quote the following saying of the Prophet to prove that Ali and Ali alone could take the place of the Prophet after him:-

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

It can be rendered in English as follows :-

"Whomsoever I rule over, Ali will rule over him. If I am master, ruler or guide of any people, then Ali also will be master, ruler or guide of those very people. If I am loved by any man, then Ali will be loved by him. If I render any service to

any man, then Ali will render that very service to that man. In short, my relation to any man in any sense will be the relation of Ali to that man in that very sense. So Ali occupies a place nearly equal to or next below me in my relative position to all other men." With the above views the Shia sect holds that the directions of the Prophet of Islam for the position of Ali as his true successor were clear and final, and they believe in them firmly without any doubt or misgiving about them. But the Sunni sect of Islam does not endorse the above view. It is a fact relating to past history and the version of the incident has come down to us by tradition passing from one man to the other. What logical value is attached to facts of history can be easily understood by all those who have studied the science of logic and psychology carefully. One had, therefore, to be very cautious in believing any fact of history, specially when the slightest difference of version, report or narration arises about it. If a fact of history is undisputed and is accepted unanimously by mankind, we can safely rely on it. But if we find any contradiction of that fact or any material discrepancies in its report by various human beings, we have to pause and consider and we suspend our judgement as an impartial critic and logical observer of facts. The defects of human memory, the fallacies and fusions of human observation, the marvellous and inexplicable jingle of words which convey to others the feelings, ideas and reactions of various human beings, the varieties



of senses which the same word or words carry with them when uttered to or listened by various human beings, the pre-possession of human mind which colour, distort, confuse or otherwise affects his perceptions and all his reactions to the external stimuli in the world, the so called apperceptions in the terminology of psychical sciences which completely change the true perceptions of human mind and similar other factors combine together to prevent us from having a really true and accurate knowledge of any fact reported to us from past history or from present observations. This can easily be verified if you care to collect all information from various sources of human beings about a particular incident which occurs this day before your eyes on the street or road near your house. You will invariably have different versions of the incident by different persons who were eye-witnesses of the whole show and whose statements are usually swallowed as a gospel truth by an average layman who is not naturally accustomed to have the state of philosophic doubt or suspended judgment in his mind for the time being. Human mind reacts spontaneously and it believes or disbelieves at once because this state of mind is an indispensable joy to him and the opposite state of pause and consider and the state of suspended judgment is repugnant to the natural man. We have, therefore, a mass of facts in history which is mere logical rubbish and has to be discarded altogether on scientific

enquiry into them. This is what a 'research scholar' has to do. He has to search again those very things which had been searched before by others simply to know how they went astray and fell a victim to the natural defects and tendencies of human mind.

Now we turn to the Holy Koran to find out if there is any indication in it which can help us to decide this point. We find that there is one relevant verse in the Holy Koran which reads as follows:-

قل لا اسئلكم عليه اجرا الا المودة فى القربى

(Sura 42. Verse 23)

The verse is addressed to the Prophet of Islam and can be rendered in English as follows:-

"Say to the people: I don't ask you for any compensation for what I have done for you except affection and love for the near."

The word (القربى) is plural of قارب which means a near man or a relative. So قربى will mean near men or relatives. The prefix of ال in Arabic is meant to make a thing definite and particular. It is like the article 'the' in the English language. So القربى will mean the near men or the relatives.

The verse does not say nearness to what or to whom and relatives to what or to whom and this is the bone of contention among the various interpreters of the above verse who have translated and explained it in different ways. Some say the verse means the relatives of the Prophet and this is the view unanimously held by the Shia sect. Some say the verse means the relatives of the people themselves. Some say the verse does not mean relatives but relationship and nearness to God. This view is attributed to Imam Hasan Basri. If there had been a word more in the verse to show 'relatives to me' or 'relatives to you, or 'relatives in some other sense,' there would have been no controversy over this point. We have, therefore, to rely on the whole context, circumstantial, significance, psychological import and the whole tenor of the verse itself. The last interpretation that *قربى* means relation or nearness to God is rather far-fetched, irrelevant grammatically unsound, unpsychological and rather meaningless. We discard it altogether. The affection referred to in the verse can either be towards the relatives of the Prophet, i.e. his blood relatives and kinsfolk or those of the people addressed to. Now the import and the circumstantial background of the verse is apparently that the people felt a debt of gratitude to the Prophet for the services he rendered to them in guiding them to the right path in their life and in taking them out from the abyss of ignorance, darkness and degradation in which they were buried deep before his advent. They

wished to compensate the Prophet for his meritorious services towards their betterment and uplift in the world. They offered to pay him back in any way or to do something for his sake personally. Thereupon the above verse was revealed to the Prophet and it conveyed a sort of command to the people as to the way in which they can and they should compensate the Prophet for his services towards them which they were themselves eager to do. The Prophet was consequently ordered by God to tell these people that 'my compensation will only be that you should have affection and love towards *the kinsfolk*'. Now what will these definite kinsfolk mean under these circumstances? If we say that it means the kinsfolk of the people themselves, it will smack of irrelevancy and will have no direct bearing on the person of the Prophet himself. If you want to compensate a man you will do a thing which concerns him more directly and personally than a thing which affects him more remotely and distantly as a human being. Even if the Prophet intended for an impersonal and indirect compensation which would rather be unreasonable, unappealing and unpsychological on his part, the people themselves could not naturally have been satisfied with such an indirect and irrelevant suggestion by the Prophet. They could only be satisfied as natural human beings only when the Prophet asked them to do a thing which affected his own person as a natural human being. In this way the more logical, more sound and more appealing interpretation of the verse is

that the Prophet asked the people for their affection and love towards his own kinsfolk and near relatives. The verse of the Holy Koran is, therefore, a command of God to be obeyed unhesitatingly by every Muslim. So far no Muslim will disagree that love towards the kinsfolk of the Prophet and the house of the Prophet called *اهل بيته* is a part and parcel of their faith in Islam and Muslims generally do hold the progeny of the Prophet called Syeds in high esteem and affection. In certain places it is carried to unreasonable extremes and in other places all over the Muslim world it is already there to a particular extent varying with different groups and sects of Muslims. But can this position in any way help us in choosing a successor of the Prophet in these days? The obvious answer will be: it can help us to a certain extent. It will simplify the process of selection and will save us from lot of hunting about in the world. The soul of the Prophet himself will be consoled that a man of his progeny is holding the reins of his people in his own hands. There is apparently no harm, no bar and no obstacle for us in arriving at this decision. But this is only sentimental and religiously orthodox position which we may or may not take if we can find a better and more reasonable alternative for it.

Now we take up (b) part of issue No. 4 to find out some other alternative for the selection of the successor to the Prophet. In this connection we shall have to view the problem afresh and to fix certain principles and certain standards by which

we can judge the suitability of the Successor to the Prophet. This will naturally involve us in a labyrinth of suggestions and counter-suggestions, arguments and counter-arguments, likes and dislikes of various people, prepossessions, preconceptions, prejudices and predilections of vastly differing or even diametrically opposed sections of Muslims in the world. We shall be in danger of being lost entirely in the above maze and be not ever able to find a way out of it. It has been nicely said that mind is ultimately a slave to the heart and logic can always be made to fit in with the urges and irrepressible desires of man. So we leave this part of the issue with the remark that it will be futile to attempt at a logical solution of this point. We have already decided the third issue to accept our leader as a working hypothesis to carry out our faith of practical '*Tauhid*' and we need not bother ourselves any more over it. So we decide the 4th issue as well in the following way :

The successor to the Prophet should bear the closest blood relation to him and could be accepted unhesitatingly as an article of faith by the whole Muslim world. But this condition may be relaxed in favour of any other person who may be picked up at random or by lottery or in any other way simply to satisfy the religious necessity which must be fulfilled at any cost and in any way whatsoever.

*Issue No. 5*

It runs as follows:—

Can we arrive at any stable and permanent solution of this much vexed and highly controversial problem so that we may be saved from future conflicts, differences of views and consequent troubles arising out of its complex and difficult nature?

The obvious answer to the above question if put to most of the Muslims or other persons will be an emphatic 'No.' But my answer to it with all the force at my command and with all the reasons human mind can adduce in its support is a definite, most certain and most emphatic 'Yes'. Those who have any doubt about its practicability have not understood human nature at all, have not realized the world in which they live today and the system of the whole universe of which they and everything in the world is a connected, inalienable and necessarily depended part. In reality, nothing is impossible of achievement in this world and no phenomenon of the universe which occurs and strikes the mind of a human being is impossible of occurrence because it must have occurred before and must have been destined to occur in future if it ever occurs on the mental level of man. This is according to the well-known and well-established doctrine of Cyclism working and prevailing consistently and unfailingly in the whole of the universe. All ideological, all religious

renaissances, all marvellous scientific inventions and all wonderful political changes brought about in the world were first disbelieved, mocked at and ridiculed by most of the people concerned with them but they became facts and undeniable realities in due course of time. A number of instances can be quoted to support this view but I leave them aside to avoid prolixity. A few months before the establishment of Pakistan no less a personality than Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Premier of India, asserted his views most emphatically in the following terms in a speech delivered in Delhi:—

“Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah’s conception cannot be established in a thousand years.”

Out of 40 crores of persons in India, about 30 crores non-Muslims were deadly against the idea of Pakistan. Their thinkers, philosophers, and politicians all laughed at it with all the scorn and ridicule at their command and dubbed it as a dream impossible of realization. Out of 10 crores of Muslims in India about 4 crores also sided with the Hindus in the above controversy and for various reasons, personal and political, they never hailed the idea of Pakistan and always opposed it as a ridiculous impossibility. But Pakistan became a fact on 15/8/47 inspite of all the mockery and ridicule hurled at the very idea of its possibility. Is there any sound logical reason to think that Pakistan on a larger scale or



on the largest possible scale cannot be established in the world? If Pakistan became a possibility, larger or largest Pakistan or Islamistan in other words, cannot be conceived as an impossibility specially when the idea has already struck the mind of one human being and he exposes that idea with all the force at his command before the Muslim world. What is required as the next further step in this direction is only the agreement of atleast one or more of the human beings with the above idea and then the moulding of public opinion of the Muslims in its support with all the zeal, force and tenacity incidental to an article of faith with them.

The conception of practical '*Tauhid*' or oneness of leadership for all the human beings in the world is such a useful conception for political purposes that all sane rational human beings, whether they belong to the category of the so-called Muslims or not, will readily agree with it in this latter half of the twentieth century when so much cry for a world federation and world union in its various phases is being raised from various corners of the world. Man has certainly reached that stage of evolution during this twentieth century and specially at the present period when these lines are being written for the consideration of the man of that period that all the institutions of religion and politics which he evolved and kept dear to his heart during his past period of childhood should now undergo a radical change and should be

established on a more reasonable and stable foundation. This is a challenge to the whole modern world to rally together and settle this question of world leadership amicably and reasonably once for all. It is an absolute necessity of peaceful and honourable living of the man on this globe and Islam pointed out this necessity in the most lucid and emphatic terms more than 1372 years ago, but its followers shortly after the death of the Prophet, scattered away, went astray and dissipated their energies in those very channels which were discarded and condemned by the Prophet. They did not abide by the wise direction given in the Holy Koran:-

واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعا ولا تفرقوا

i. e. "Hold firm the rope of God, all of you collectively, and do not disperse."

Islam is a call to the whole of humanity for all ages and all countries of the world. It is not a religion in the narrow sense in which religion was used before Islam. It is a world-wide brotherhood of man, Universal fraternity of all human beings, spiritual, ideological, cultural and intellectual affinity of all sound rational human beings in the world with regard to certain eternal truths and certain practical postulates of universal acceptance and application which can bind people of various colours, various languages, various climates and various creeds with one

bond of love and humanity for the sake of passing a peaceful and prosperous life on this globe. This is the main idea which has to be fixed in the mind of the present day man. He may not call it 'Islam' if he so pleases and he may not even call it religion if that word be not palatable to our Russian or Communist friend. But the idea is already there with all its force of appeal to him and he must think over it calmly whether or not it is appealable to him and practicable in his own view. All will agree that the idea is a nice one and worthy of being put into practice. In fact most of persons, institutions, political organizations and other bodies of men are in fact trying to realize that very idea of unity, affection and love, in the world but they are not so clear and definite in their conceptions and so sincere and zealous in their efforts as 'Islam' directs them to be. The aim of writing these lines is to tickle those minds who have already been affected by the above idea, to spur them to action and to ask them to stand up in right earnest to infuse that idea into the minds of as many persons as are within their reach and under their influence. They will realize shortly that what they conceived as an impossibility at the outset became a palpable reality in the long run.

So issue No. 5 is decided in the affirmative in the following way:-

As there is nothing impossible of achievement in this world as we have already experienced

in the past, we can certainly solve the problem of world leadership by one and only one human being, and we shall thereby be saved from all conflicts, differences of views and consequent troubles which are affecting the world today.

This is a call by a so-called Muslim to the so-called Muslim world because it is based on a sentence in Arabic language which is the motto of the religion of Islam. But in fact, it is a call by a sincere man to all his fellow beings in the whole world to cast aside all their pre-conceptions and prejudices in this connection for a while and apply their mind afresh to the views expressed in this article in the most impartial and even the most non-religious and unbiassed way. If they agree on this device of world unity, they are in duty bound to work for it so as to materialize the idea as far as lies in their power.

*Think.**Think.**Think.*

## CONCLUSION

In order to understand the views expressed in this article, it is necessary to bring out certain truths and invite the attention of the readers to keep them in mind before assessing the value of the views submitted herein for their consideration and faithful action.

*Koran.* Islam is the latest of all revealed religions. Its principles and theories are based on and derived from a book in Arabic called the *Koran*. This book possesses such characteristics as are not found in any other book of the world. Whatever may be the origin of this book, it is an admitted fact that it was given to the world by the Prophet of Islam named Muhammed (peace be on him). The verses contained in the Holy *Koran* were orally uttered by the Prophet and were dictated by him to several persons during his life-time. These verses were scrupulously preserved in writing and were also eagerly and tenaciously memorized by the comrades of the Prophet. The Holy *Koran* has, therefore, come down to us intact and untampered with in its original form. Another peculiar and rather miraculous thing about this book is that it is committed to memory by thousands of persons from the time of the Prophet upto this day. There are thousands of persons in the Muslim world even now who can recite the whole *Koran* verbatim, word by word, without any

difference of version and context, in a single sitting at one time during a period of about seven hours without understanding its contents at all. If all the book depots, libraries and presses of the world happen to catch fire and be destroyed completely, the only book which will survive in its true and original form in the minds of human beings, will be the Holy Koran alone. It can be reproduced from memory and rewritten or reprinted so as to take the place of the original lost context as no other book in the world can be done after the above holocaust of books, in the world. This wonderful phenomenon proves at least two things. The first of these is the intensity of the faith with which the Koran is held in high esteem, reverence and devotion by the Muslims. The second of them is the charm and attraction and the peculiar rhythm of the language of the Koran which sticks itself so tenaciously to the plastic minds of human beings that it is learnt by heart word by word without grasping the sense or meaning of any word out of them.

We take the Koran as it is today and do not bother ourselves with its origin or how it came to be in its present form before us. We must learn Arabic language and just study its grammar specially in order to understand the Koran correctly. When we study it firsthand and ponder over its contents setting aside all our religious preconceptions and prepossessions about it, we come to the inevitable conclusion that it is a unique book, unique in its style, manner,

expression, its terminology and its contents. Most of the scientific and metaphysical theories which have perplexed human minds from times immemorial have been solved and explained in the Holy Koran in the simplest, the easiest and the most convincing way. Koran does not indulge in far-fetched abstractions of thought, like those given in books on ontology but it deals with the every-day life and with the daily experiences and observations of an average man. It adopts the line of least resistance and gives you that way of understanding the world and the things around you which can appeal alike to a child as well as to a mature thinker after ages of deep meditation. You view the Koran from various angles of vision and you will be surprised to find that it presents such a picture of the universe as can fit in with and be appealable to various thinkers of apparently opposed views and ideologies during various ages and in various countries of the world. It has been said that Koran is its own best commentary. If you study the Koran with the help of translation or commentary which is usually done by most of those who claim to have a knowledge of the Koran, you spoil the whole thing because you have seen the Koran with the eye of another man which is the greatest injustice and cruelty which can be done to a book like the Koran. The best commentary, glossary, key or explanatory memorandum for the Holy Koran as is clearly given in the Koran itself is the Book of the Universe before you, the book of the heart inside you and the page of your

life which you read and turn every day and every moment during your conscious experience of the world and of everything between the earth and the sky.

As the religion of Islam is mainly and primarily based on the teaching of the Holy Koran, it is futile and extremely unjust to ascribe anything to Islam which is not given in the Koran. But unfortunately Islam, like other religions of the world, has suffered considerably through misrepresentation by interested persons. Koran has been kept as a sealed book and as a most difficult book beyond the reach of an average reader with the result that a number of other books written for the sake of Islam and in the name of Islam have taken that place of authority and source of religion which was due to Koran itself. It is a matter of great disappointment, disgrace and shame that a large number of those preachers of religion among the Muslims who are called 'Molvis', 'Mowlanas' and Ulemas who have spent years of their lives in religious studies and religious pursuits have no first-hand knowledge of the Holy Koran and have not taken pains to study it thoroughly, originally and critically. Koran has been deliberately kept away from Muslim students so as to divide their attention and to divert it to other books on religion written with various points of view, for various personal and political purposes and to suit various ends of interested parties under



the influence of the rulers and the authorities of various times.

Religion after politics is the best source of seeking power and it serves as the most suitable weapon to gather the maximum following of the masses in the struggle of supremacy which always goes on in the world in all spheres of human activity. You have to keep this fact in view while studying any religion or religious movements in the world and to appreciate its true and pristine value as an impartial critic. But every religion should be studied in its original colour in the first-hand way and it should never be judged on borrowed views and hearsay evidence although this might be very difficult and almost impracticable for most of the students of religions in the world. If religions are viewed in their true perspective, all their apparent differences will melt away and will be reduced to mere differences of standpoint, periods of human evolution, expediencies and exigencies of the then circumstances and the modes and requirements of self-expression and self-assertion of the individuals who initiated them or tried to impose them on mankind.

I feel that I shall be guilty of suppressing the truth out of sheer modesty if I do not disclose to the readers at this stage that the writer of these lines spent more than forty years of his life in studying the Holy Koran very closely and critically after learning Arabic grammar and Muslim Theology in his boyhood according to the traditions

of the old Muslim schools of thought. In this study of the Holy Koran he applied that kind of superior intellect which enabled him to distinguish himself as a first rate student throughout his whole academic career and his life-long research work in search of truth. His views on religion and Islam are, therefore, to be taken seriously for deep consideration and those readers who do not grasp them and differ from them in any way, are requested not to brush them aside hurriedly as wrong or impracticable, but they should pause for a while to weigh and consider and should pass their judgements if they are really in a position to do so after serious thought and due consideration.

Every Muslim who studies this article or who tries to assert his views about Islam must first put the following questions to himself :-

1. Do I know Islam really ?
2. Have I studied the Koran first-hand after acquiring that knowledge of Arabic grammar and Arabic language which is essential for understanding the Koran in its original and correct meanings?
3. How long have I thought over the verses of the Holy Koran which are apparently irreconcilable and how much knowledge and experience of the universe as a whole and of the ultimate Reality behind it have I acquired and applied for the study of the Koran ?

4. Have my views about Islam which I cherished before my study of the Koran and which were deeply rooted in me out of the circumstances in which I was brought up and educated from the very beginning of my career undergone any change after my study of the Koran and what is the definite nature of that change?

If he gets satisfactory replies to the above questions within himself, he will be in the right position to suggest any useful and constructive thing about Islam and would, I am sure, agree with the views expressed herein. If he fails in the above questions, his views about Islam and his comments on this article will be like confused jargon of a lunatic or nonsense rabbling of an idiot.

The Muslim intelligensia in these days suffers considerably from want of true knowledge of the book which is the basis of their religion. They cry out religion, religious work and religious propaganda without first hand knowledge of the Holy Koran which is indispensable for proper study of Islam. Islam has always been and shall ever remain the best, the highest and the uppermost mode of life for humanity. Those who claim to follow Islam are not and have not always been Muslims in the true sense and those who do not apparently seem to follow Islam but who are really Muslims in spirit are these days and shall ever remain the most dominant and the most prosperous people in the world. This is the truth which shall strike your heart the moment you

have understood the contents of the Holy Koran in the way in which they are directed to be understood by you in the Koran itself. After these observations I conclude this discussion with the following suggestion which I make with all the force at my command:—

The Muslims have to start their religion afresh and have to begin their lesson anew from the day of the Prophet of Islam. ‘Back to the Holy Prophet and back to the Holy Koran’ should be the incessant cry of the Muslim world until they have actually realized the importance of the teachings of the Holy Koran and the true significance of the following verse:—

لا تهنوا ولا تحزنوا وإلّا علون ان كلفتم مومنين

(*Sura 3, Verse 139*)

“Do not be idle and disappointed and do not feel aggrieved because you are the highest people in the world if you are really Muslims”.

And you cannot be Muslims or uppermost people in the world unless and until you follow

the doctrine of *Tauhid* practically in your life. And this you can do only when you form yourself into a body with a soul living in it in the form of one and only one leader of all your activities. Unless you have an Imam you have no Jamaat (جماعت) and unless you have a Jamaat you have no support from God. يدالله فوق ايديهم. This is what the Holy Koran and the life of the Holy Prophet teach you in the unequivocal terms.

*Think.**Think.**Think.*

**PAKISTAN—**  
**A FEDERAL OR A UNITARY STATE?**

**By**

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DEDICATED  
TO  
THE RULE OF LAW.

The terms 'federal' and 'unitary' have been associated with the task of framing Pakistan's constitution even before the partition of the sub-continent. The claims of a federal constitution, however, are greatly enhanced by geographical conditions and the inveterate hiatuses in culture, language and history. Albeit, notwithstanding the dictates of indigenous realities, a small but vigorous element has recently espoused with fanatical zeal, the cause of a unitary State, chiefly on the ground that it would eradicate the ugly and soul-destroying virus of provincialism.

As a rule, we use political terms loosely, almost irresponsibly, without a clear and distinct meaning. Therefore, in the interest of legitimate understanding, it would seem sensible to define terms at the outset. Needless to emphasize, definitions vary with the outlook of the definer, no less in the case of political terminology.

K.C. Wheare, the distinguished historian of Oxford, makes a lucid distinction between the federal principle and the federal constitution. It is important to keep this distinction in mind if a proper understanding of the subject is desired. The federal principle means "the method of dividing powers so that the general and



regional governments are each, within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent."

There is, however, no consensus of opinion on this issue. Many authorities find the crux of federalism in a different principle.

The contention of a number of theorists is that the federal principle consists in the division of power in such a way that the powers to be exercised by the general government are specified and the residue is with the regional governments. According to this view a government is not federal if the powers of regional governments are specified and the residue given to the general government. The Constitution of the United States follows this principle. It specifies certain subjects over which the general legislature has control and provides that powers not so delegated remain with the States.

"This test", says Wheare, "concentrates on a relatively superficial characteristic of the American Constitution. The essential point is not that the division of powers is made in such a way that the regional governments are the residuary legatees under the Constitution, but that the division is made in such a way that, whoever has the residue, neither general nor regional is subordinate to the other".

Another way of distinguishing the federal principle is by saying that in a federal system both general and regional governments operate

directly upon the people, whereas in a confederation the regional or state governments alone operate directly upon the people. This also is insufficient. For instance, in the Union of South Africa, the general Government and the provincial governments all operate directly upon the people, just as do the general and regional governments of the United States, and yet, there is a distinct difference between the two Constitutions. In South Africa the regional governments are subordinate to the general Government, while in the United States they are co-ordinate.

There are, of course, many other views on the subject. The lengthy discussion by Lord Haldane in the course of his judgment in *Attorney-General for the Commonwealth of Australia v. Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited* is thought provoking. But in the ultimate analysis, suffice it to say, the Federal principle isolated from all the qualifications is, "A form of government in which sovereignty or political power is divided between the central and the local governments, so that each of them within its own sphere is independent of the other"—Sir Robert Garran's definition quoted in the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Australian Constitution* (1929).

Having defined the federal principle we turn to the meaning of a federal constitution. A simplified but nonetheless accurate procedure of determining whether a constitution is federal or not is by observing whether the federal principle

is predominant in the constitution. If it is predominant, the constitution is federal, if on the other hand, there are many modifications in the federal principle, then that constitution cannot be called federal. That is the criterion. Thus, it is essential to define the federal principle rigidly and to apply it broadly in determining the form and character of the constitution.

In marked contradistinction, a unitary state is one centralized state, not divided into independent parts, in which only a small degree of local communal self-government based upon a law worked out by the central authority is admitted. In a unitary constitution, sovereignty is not divided between the central and local governments but vests indivisibly in the centre, the regional governments, if they do exist, are subordinate, not co-ordinate to the general government. Thus, in a unitary government there is no partnership between the central and local governments, there being only one authority in which all power vests. In view of the oneness of the system, the need to draw a distinction between the principle and the constitution does not arise.

Terms have been defined. Now let us scrutinize the difference, if any, between the federal and unitary forms of government. On this issue, there is a conflict of views. To some there is absolutely no difference in principle; the distinction, they argue, is only of a transitory phase which withers away with centralization of law. Others maintain that not only is there a sub-

stantial difference between the two systems but also, that the dichotomy is of a permanent nature.

The protagonists of the former view argue that there are inherent qualities in all federations which increase the strength of the general governments at the cost of the regional governments. The items which reduce the autonomy of the local governments are invariably in the control of the general governments, and therefore, the centralization of law is unavoidable. The general governments control defence and have the power to make war and peace, it is they who have the control over finance, foreign relations and foreign trade. A Government endowed with such formidable powers, particularly finance, is bound to absorb the energies of the local governments. Thus, in view of this, Seeley says, "I deny then, that between the unitary state and the federation or federal states there is any fundamental difference in kind".

In his "Federal Government", Wheare states that the main factors which have caused general governments to increase in strength at the expense of the regions are "war, economic depression, the growth of social services and the mechanical revolution in transport and industry ..... War and economic depression demand unitary control if their problems are to be effectively treated, and they impose financial strains which only the general governments have been able to bear." The prodigious growth of social services, and the ever-increasing requirements of the

modern community make it impossible for the local governments, with their limited resources, to incur the costs of ever-enlarging demands. Here too, it is the Centre which must assist the regional governments. And finally, as Wheare observes, "the revolution in transport and industry make so much of life inter-state instead of intra-state, that large areas of activity come within the ambit of the general government's control, until finally, in the United States, crime itself becomes a matter for Congress."

On account of these factors we meet the argument that in reality the difference between the two systems boils down to the degree of centralization of the legal order. At the initial stage, the degree of centralization of the general government in a federation is not as intense as that of a unitary government, but gradually it becomes so intensely consolidated that, in principle, the distinction vanishes.

**In this respect, Professor Kelsen says:**

"Only the degree of decentralization distinguishes a unitary state from a federal state. And as the federal state is distinguished from a unitary state, so is an international confederacy of states distinguished from a federal state by a higher degree of decentralization only. On the scale of decentralization, the federal state stands between the unitary state and an international union of states. It presents

a degree of decentralization that is still compatible with a legal community constituted by national law, that is, with a state, and a degree of centralization that is no longer compatible with an international legal community, a community constituted by international law."

This view, however, is disputed by many authorities. Wheare, for instance, says that the view that a federal government is only a stage towards a unitary government is "a prophecy, not an historical judgment". Granted, there are factors such as war and depression, finance and foreign trade which increase the strength of the general governments, but that is not the whole story. The other side of the picture is that, simultaneously with the growth of the general governments, regional governments also expand. "In all the federations the regions now perform functions which, at the establishment of the federations, they have performed either not at all or to a much less degree than now" says Wheare, and he concludes, "that there has been a strong increase in the sense of importance, in the self-consciousness and self-assertiveness of the regional governments. This has gone on side by side with the growth in importance of the general governments and it has obviously been stimulated by it". Thus, from this vantage point "State rights" are far from dead and federalism is anything but obsolescent.

The eminent Laski, in his "Grammar of

Politics" states with compelling force that authority is federal because of the inextinguishable differences between Man and Man. So ably does he propound this theory that it is necessary to quote him at length.

"We are never, as human-beings, wholly included in any relation. About us is always an environment which separates us from others, or, at the best, makes our union with them but a partial one..... The unity we encounter in the world of social fact is never complete. For while we may all seek an end which can be described as identical, the end is one only in the description. The good life for me is not the same as the good life for you. It has, of course, resemblances. In a well-ordered society, it has sufficient resemblances to make social peace effective. But resemblances do not involve identity. The things we want do not flow together with each other.

"Our relations are not like chords in a great symphony in which what is important is the ultimate impression conveyed. Each piece of our experience is real for us; and therefore, the attachments of each piece guide our personalities into a system of loyalties. How that system maintains its equilibrium, where, at any moment, the emphasis is to be thrown, is a matter that each of us must decide. For that system is ours and ours only.

"The political inference is, I think, clear. The structure of social organization must be federal if it is to be adequate. Its pattern involves, not myself and the state, my groups and the state, but all these and their inter-relationships.

"In such fashion the state might become a genuine search for social integration. It might cease to be the organ of a few because its 'Will' would become instinct with the desires of the many. It would be responsive, not to the purposes of those whose power makes their demands immediately urgent, but, to all who have an individuality, they would preserve and enlarge. They would be able to make their desires articulate. They would be able to feel that their desires were weighed, not in terms of the economic pressure they represent, but the social value they embody. Their experience of life, their sense of the meaning it has for themselves, would be taken in account. Such a state might be the true organ of a community, the meeting-ground on which its varied purposes found the means of a unity adequate for its general enrichment. It would not impose a uniform rule. It would recognize that the material is too diverse to permit of such simplicity.

"A state in which the art of politics is, in its general terms, apprehended only by



a few can never enrich the lives of the many. For it can never genuinely know the wants of the many. It can only roughly imagine those wants by assuming their identity with the wants of its own dictators."

The intention is not to take up cudgels on behalf of one or the other view. However, for the sake of argument, even if it is true that the distinction is only of a temporary nature, it cannot be denied that in many countries conditions exist which make it imperative for those countries to have a federal government for at least that temporary period. To super-impose a unitary government on a decentralized society is, bound to culminate in degeneration. *An attempt to artificially hasten the process of centralization imperils for ever the prospects of homogeneity. Hence, it is the transitory phase itself which is of fundamental importance in assessing the need for a federal government.*

Having ended the general survey, we turn to some specific cases in which the transitory requirements and allied circumstances have made federalism indispensable. In the United States, the vastness of the country, the conglomeration of diverse races, the historical ties of alien nations like Britain, Spain and France with certain States in the Union made federalism the sine qua non of unity and national consciousness.

Perhaps the most outstanding example is the

Soviet Union. Marx and Engels had dogmatic views on the subject of federalism. They considered the system as a survival of feudal particularism and a hindrance to economic and cultural development. "The proletariat", wrote Engels, "can use only the form of the one and indivisible republic." But in spite of such fixed views, both Marx and Engels did not altogether rule out federalism. They admitted that in special circumstances federation might be a "step forward", a link toward integration, serving as a form of transition toward the centralized unitary state.

From its inception to this day, the Soviet Union indisputably remains a Federal Government; and therefore, in accordance with the views of Marx and Engels, it is passing through the transitory phase, the inescapable stage toward "the one and indivisible republic" envisaged by Engels. In the face of such set opinions, the Soviet leaders deserve the fullest admiration for having had the wisdom and vision to recognize the special circumstances which compelled them to frame a federal constitution.

Since 1917 by a series of constitutions, federalism has moulded into one geographical unity a vast expanse of territory stretching from Asia to continental Europe, comprising of numerous nationalities, each with its own history, tradition, religion, race, custom and language. "Time and again, given a real democratic order, a federation constitutes only a transitory step to a really democratic centralism. In the example of the Russian

Soviet Republic we see most graphically that the federation we are introducing will serve now as the surest step to the most solid unification of the different nationalities of Russia into a single, democratic, centralized Soviet State", said V.I. Lenin, the once avowed opponent of federalism.

Stalin, who was himself a member of one of the minority nationalities, had been entrusted with the problem of finding a suitable compromise between the economic, political and cultural autonomy of the component nationalities on the one hand, and the monolithic dictatorship of the proletariat on the other. The emphasis placed by Stalin on local autonomy is best summed up in his own words, "No union of peoples—no unification of people's into a single state—can be firm unless it is completely voluntary as its foundation, if a given people—if the peoples themselves—wish not to be united." *Hence, each union has its own constitution, conforming to the federal one, its territory cannot be altered without its consent and it retains the right "freely to secede from the U.S.S.R."*

In India, the Constitution of 1935 was a federal one, or, as some would prefer to call it—quasi—federal. The diversity of religion, race, language and culture in the provinces and states gave the framers of the constitution little scope for considering other alternatives. For more or less similar reasons the 1950 Constitution has followed the principle of federalism. Further, in India no attempt has been made to amalgamate provinces, on the contrary, one more province has been created in Andhra.

In Pakistan the problem of constitution-making has been 'sui generis'. The men concerned with Government have waltzed in and out of the labyrinth of casuistry. Prior to the partition of the sub-continent, the Quaid-e-Azam had unequivocally declared that in Pakistan the equality and autonomy of the component units would be guaranteed by the constitution.

The founder of Pakistan envisaged a federal constitution not because of any preconceived prejudices against other forms of government but because he was determined to give the country a constitution which would suit the genius of the people.

In view of the ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences of our relatively decentralized social order, and, in view of the chasm of one thousand miles between East and West Pakistan, only a federal government could foster "the solidarite sociale" of the people.

Undivided India was not a nation but a continent as populous and polygot as Europe and as varied in language and race, in literature and religion, in custom and art. Each invader had left his mark in the parts he had harried. The intermingling of motly races, taking their roots from Paleolithic times, had eventually produced an accretion of cultures.

Before the advent of the Moghuls, no concerted effort was made to knit India into a homogeneous unit. By the time the Moghuls had succeeded in this formidable undertaking, their

decline had set in, and therefore, they were unable to consolidate their Empire.

The intransigent dictum of Pax Britannica was "Divide et Impera". For over a hundred and fifty years, the forces of integration were held in abyss by this basic tenet of the Anglo-Saxon Ruler.

Some may argue that India had seen unity in the days of Asoka. This argument, if advanced, is incorrect. For one thing, even if the great Maurya Emperor did succeed in extending his domain from the Northern tip of the sub-continent to the edge of Tamil land, many a century elapsed before Aurangzeb's rule gave India a central authority once again. From approximately 240 B.C. to about 1700, India remained a conglomeration of diverse races. If Asoka had achieved a vestige of national consciousness during his illustrious reign, it had been completely undone by the time the Great Moghul re-established an Indian Empire.

Furthermore, the concept of 'nationality' as we know it today was utterly unknown in the Maurya and Gupta eras, and hence, there could not have been a conscious endeavour in those far flung days to bring about national solidarity through the medium of a strong centre.

In his "Discovery of India", Pandit Nehru, the avowed opponent of the "Two Nation Theory" recognizes the reality of India's diversity.

“The diversity of India is tremendous; it is obvious; it lies on the surface and anybody can see it. It concerns itself with physical appearances as well as with certain mental habits and traits. There is little in common, to outward seeing, between the Pathan of the North-West and the Tamil in the South. Their racial stocks are not the same, though there may be common strands running through them; they differ in face and figure, food and clothing, and, of course language.”

In fairness to Pandit Nehru, his Nehruian conclusion must be quoted, else he is liable to be mis-interpreted:

“Yet with all these differences, there is no mistaking the impress of India on the Pathan, as this is obvious on the Tamil.”

These deeply entrenched differences did not vanish into oblivion on the partition of India. Although the supreme unifying force of Islam cut across gargantuan barriers of race and culture, language and custom to galvanize a heterogeneous people into an independent state, the intra-state dichotomies dating back to primeval times remained unerasd.

It is not in the spirit of Islam to produce cohesion by totalitarian methods. Its ways are voluntary and the phenomenon of Pakistan was rendered possible only because of the indefatigable

virtues of such abiding methods. The magnanimous spirit of Islam cannot pollute itself by exercising even an obol of compulsion. Hence, the levelling of cultures by coercion would, in a sense, tantamount to apostasy.

Never in Islam's distinguished history have arbitrary standards been superimposed on the territories that have gradually come within the fold of Islam. The richness of Islam's heritage stems not from the growth of a drab, monotonous scheme of life but from the dynamic assimilation of diverse cultures and values. The tolerance of Islam, in contradistinction to the narrow-mindedness of medieval Christianity has blessed the Muslim people with a legacy in which universal virtues predominate.

The genius of Islam, though Arabic in origin, has not been confined to Arab traditions and customs. It has been shaped by a blending of almost all Eastern people and a handsome portion of the Occident. Generally, the crusaders of Islam were exceptionally tolerant with the people who came in conflict with them. Not only did they leave the culture and language of the conquered intact but also their geographical units. When Muhammed-bin-Kasim conquered Sind, he left the entire administration in the hands of the local people. The only condition imposed upon them was that they recognize the sovereignty of Baghdad.

The synthesis of Islamic cultures has been

essentially a federal process. To take a hypothetical case, even today, if the Arab States were to merge into a compact unit, they would do so only on a federal foundation. Notwithstanding the fact that the people of Arabia have a host of common affinities such as religion, race and language, they would, if at all, merge on the basis of a loose federation in which the autonomy of the acceding states is protected by the fundamental law.

Such a merger would unquestionably establish the unity of the Arab people and also protect the equality of the component states. Federalism alone is the formula of so noble a concert because, despite what some may think, Federalism is not the antithesis of unity. It is the rampart of diverse heritages within a larger unity.

If, however, the concept of unity is congenital identity with indistinction in every facet of life, then, even an ultra-unitary constitution is grossly inadequate. But if unity means the acceptance of certain fundamental loyalties by a people of a geographical entity, then the best method of protecting these loyalties is through federalism, if of course, the degree of centralization is not high enough for a unitary government to exercise control from one indivisible centre.

In acquiescence to these fundamental truths, the 1940 Lahore Resolution stipulated that Pakistan would have a federal government. The Objectives Resolution, sponsored by the trusted and able lieutenant of the Quaid-e-Azam, reiterated the pledge in unambiguous terms.



For over fourteen years, the rank and file of the Muslim League had in wisdom acknowledged the necessity of framing a federal constitution. The intrinsic conditions fortified by the lessons of history had erected an impregnable case for federalism.

The analogy between Quebec and East Bengal is of immeasurable value. The almost fanatical desire of the people of Quebec to protect their separate culture, race and language within the larger unity of the Canadian Nation, is as great as that of the people of East Pakistan. A constitution antipathetic to such sensitivities inevitably stirs recalcitrance.

In the face of such imperishable circumstances, antagonism towards a federal constitution was not to be expected. The compulsion of logic however has rarely been a safe guide in assessing the requirements of the homo sapien. In this particular case however, a plethora of conditions made federalism inescapable.

But agile minds can discover illusory outlets. In this respect, Mr. Mumtaz Daultana, a former Chief Minister of the Punjab, on his own admission, stated as late as on April 23, 1954 that:

“I have always advocated a unitary form of Government for Pakistan, even though I have been in a minority of one.”

As if that were not enough, he went on to

**express his views on federalism in the following words:**

“As far as I am concerned, I have always stood against confederation or anything that practically amounts to that. The question of reserving the foreign exchange of one province for the use of that province alone or of confining the central services functioning in one province to the citizens of that province, is to me as ridiculous as to suggest that Punjabi soldiers should only be used to defend the Punjab, or that the public loans raised from the resources and population of one province should be exclusively used to the benefit of that province or area. Such narrow provincialism would, to my mind, be destructive both to the provinces of Pakistan and to the prosperity and greatness of this great land of ours”.

A more misconceived conception of federalism has still to be found. Such dangerous oversimplifications have in the space of three odd months precipitated a dangerous metamorphosis. In this period, the lone voice of Mr. Daultana has become a shrieking crescendo in West Pakistan. Like John the Baptist, the former Chief Minister of the Punjab has succeeded in alluring the people of West Pakistan to the path of righteousness. Now the Nation awaits the Messiah whose hand will transform rich diversity into barren identity.

John Stuart Mill said, "Political institutions are the work of men; owe their origin and their whole existence to human will. Man did not wake on a summer morning and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees, which once planted, 'are aye growing', while men 'are sleeping'. In every stage of their existence, they are made what they are by voluntary human agency." Mill was hopelessly wrong.

Literally one fine summer morning in 1954, the federal principle, which had been evolved in every stage of its developement by voluntary human agency was suddenly declared inherently descrepant by an array of powerful politicians.

Efforts were made to scrap a federal constitution in the making and put in its place a unique hotch potch which would accommodate 'the one unit scheme for West Pakistan' in a device that would ostensibly reconcile the irreconcilable, that is, blend federal and unitary Governments.

Without giving the people an opportunity to examine the proposal, and without rendering a blue print of the hotch potch, a relentless effort was made to present the Nation with a *fait accompli*.

The proponents of the new scheme bellowed in vague generalizations that the amalgamation of West Pakistan into one unit would eradicate provincialism and reduce national expenditure. In actual fact, the scheme, if implemented would

augment disintegration and pathos.

Above and beyond the fact that the proposal to convert West Pakistan into a single unit would be a negation of the historic 1940 Lahore Resolution and the Objectives Resolution, it would be totally unacceptable to Kashmir if and when that State becomes a part of Pakistan.

It is fairly obvious that Kashmir is most determined to guard its autonomy. Its tussel with India on this issue is too well known to be repeated here. It is therefore unlikely that the leaders of Kashmir too, will tergiversate and renounce all that they have been proclaiming with passionate conviction throughout these long and arduous years of struggle. Are we then to give preferential treatment to Kashmir and accept it at par only with East Bengal, or, have we forgotten Kashmir altogether and cannot envisage a West Pakistan with Kashmir included?

The dance made over 'one unit' turned into a fetish. All other forms of government were labelled anti-national, in particular, the federal one. In so thunderous a clamour a compromise of the New Order seemed unlikely.

But strangely enough, when the resistance to the scheme gained momentum, a good number of the protagonists of one unit came out with a compromise plan, which they, in their inscrutable wisdom, called "zonal federation". The electrifying somersault, in itself, speaks volumes for

the bankruptcy of their principles.

Thus, the people of Pakistan had to digest another absurdity. Out of sweeping political oscillations had emerged a compromise which added insult to injury. The conspicuous features of zonal federation were that it had no precedent in history and that nothing was known of its details beyond the repetition of the cliché that it would destroy provincialism.

Some off the cuff idea of it conveyed the impression that it would usher in a top heavy paraphernalia which would shoot up the expenditure on government to Himalayan heights. Individuals who had supported the one-unit scheme on the ground that it would reduce expenditure were the self-same people who associated themselves with a counter-proposal which would milk dry the national exchequer. This was the quintessence of audacity.

Political vicissitudes are such, that at the time of writing, the zonal federation proposal has been shelved aside and the one-unit scheme has re-appeared with a vengeance. After a tense period of hidden tussels, the advocates of one-unit have regained political supremacy. An ex-Minister of the Central Government who credits himself with the authorship of the formula has said that the writing on the wall is clear, and that the end of provincialism is nigh.

For whatever it is worth, the writing is clear

on each and every wall, but as for the disappearance of provincialism—that is a matter of grave doubt. Out of the provincial rivalries of two major units, a scheme is born which boasts of being the iconoclast of provincialism. Indeed, if executed, it will unquestionably annihilate the geographical boundaries of the smaller units but, with the same decisiveness, it will perpetuate provincialism.

The canker of provincialism is a recent malady and the causes for its hold are, among others, the high pressure methods used to implement schemes such as 'one unit' and zonal federation. Geographical lines can be blotted out by the stroke of the pen, but cultural differences cannot be wiped out by legislation or executive ordinances.

It is futile to run counter to the movement of history. Diversity must be recognized and government must be so constituted as to stimulate the common weal.

By all means reduce the units of West Pakistan to the barest minimum, but do it on the principle of cultural, geographical and historical affinities, and not by arbitrary whims.

Expenditure can be reduced by liquidating certain anomalies, which have been carved out of the provinces. Such amalgamations are logical and just and in no way jeopardize the federal principle. But a merger beyond the integration of the anomalies will create anarchy.

Federalism is not a voluptuous damsel over whose charm and desirability men differ. There can be no blind obsession for a legal concept. It so happens that the federal experiment has been put to test with remarkable success in countries where diversity prevails.

The examples of U. S. A. and U. S. S. R., to mention only two, are engraved in the annals of history. In both these great Republics, tremendous economic, political and cultural progress has been achieved. Federalism has been instrumental in bringing about this progress.

Federalism has stretched the 'Manifest Destiny' of the United States to the borders of Alaska and Hawaii. It ties together into a national entity people from all parts of the world, with different languages and customs, religions and habits. They are all there—Greeks, Persians, Hindus, Mormans, Red Indians, Chinese, each proud of his origin, his religion and his heritage, and at the same time, conscious of his greatness as an American. Likewise, in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, each republic is a world in itself, and yet cemented to a single legal entity by federalism.

Undeniably, in the not so distant future, the inexorable process of evolution will establish a synthesis in all these countries, including our own, as in the case of England. That is the time when the transitory phase reaches its apogee and Federalism gives way to Unitarianism.





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**TO THE YOUTH**

**OF**

**PAKISTAN**

***BY,***

**Faiz Mohd. Faiz. Soomro.**

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But as we are a young nation, we have to concert our efforts to build our country and raise its stature in the comity of nations.

It is with this purpose that I have appealed to the youth of Pakistan through a few humble words. May these few words of mine succeed in kindling an spark in every breast to fight for the country's glory.

Let us young men and women take work as our honour, valour and dignity and march ahead with heart within and God above head.

*Faiz Soomro.*

I am deeply thankful to Sheikh Nasir Ahmed and Mr. Qutub-u-ddin Aziz Editor United Press of Pakistan for their moral and material assistance in bringing out this pamphlet.

FAIZ.

## INSTEAD OF A FOREWORD.

My Dear Faiz,

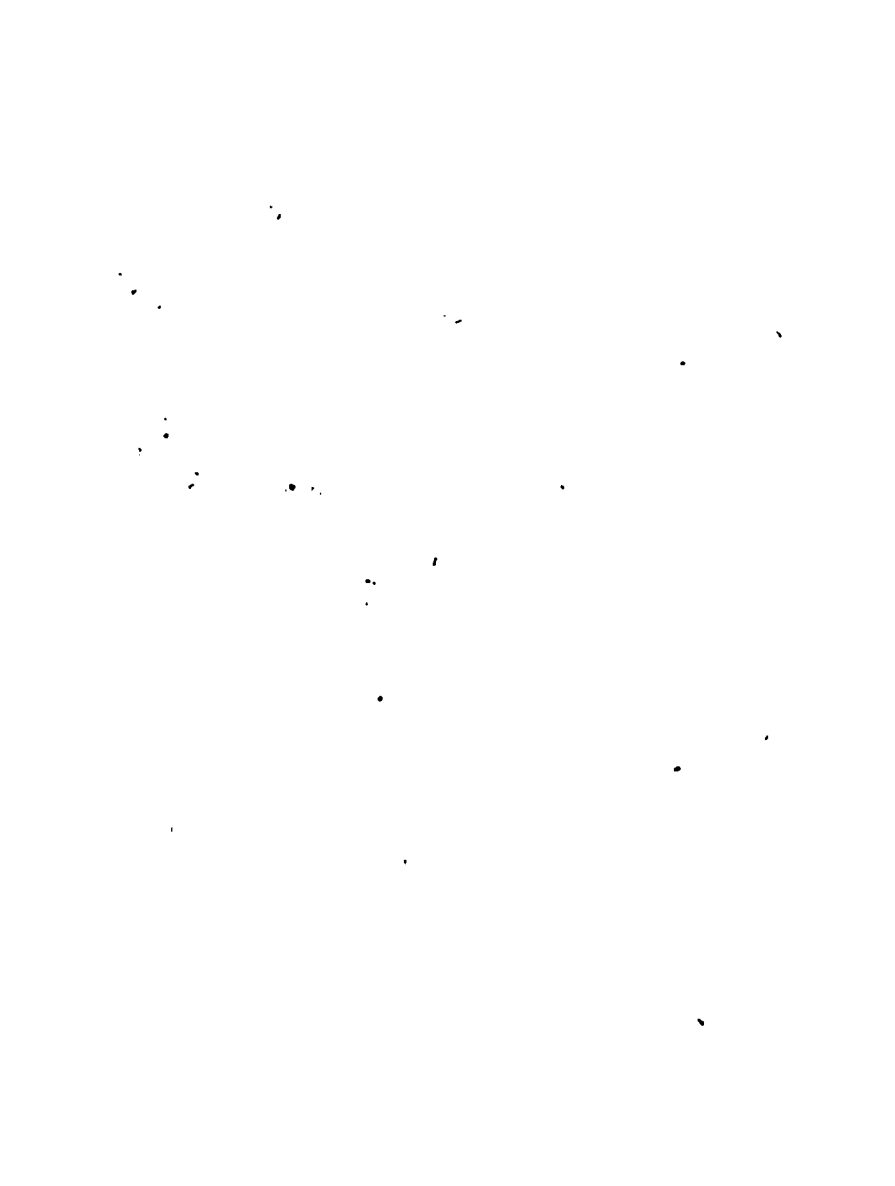
You have so very kindly asked me to write a Foreword for your proposed publication entitled "TO THE YOUTH OF PAKISTAN". I think your appeal to the Youth of this country does not stand in need of a Foreword from an humble and obscure person like myself. I would rather let your essay speak for itself than that it should be prefaced by any words of mine. I must, however, congratulate you for the good work you have done. I hope and pray that the younger generation in Pakistan would find much encouragement in the words you have addressed to them and will in time to come work out the programme you have outlined for them. May they be guided to live noble and heroic lives and successfully play the role which destiny has assigned to them. Amin.

Yours in the Service of the Lord,

ALLAH BUKHSH K. BROHI.

Karachi

Dated 12th Feb. 1953.



Today we are a free nation and live in the State of our own. We join in our congratulations and gratitude to all those who have had a part in the struggle for achievement of freedom. The result of our efforts is an enduring symbol of accomplishment and of aspiration. We live here to take up our labours to bring together and harmonise the hopes and desires of the people of our country. This is a never ending task for each generation in its turn.

This year marks the sixth anniversary of our country. These five years have demonstrated that the role of the youth of our country is an essential one, and one that will continue to increase in influence and importance in the years ahead. The importance and influence of the youth of our country is reflected in the problems that come before them. They indicate the powerful currents that make our period in our national history one of turbulence. Many of these problems will be with us for years to come. We cannot shy away from them even if we wished to do so. Our task is to face them squarely and realistically with good faith and good sense of responsibility, in the light of our joint and several responsibilities.



Moreover there is an independence between these problems. Each is made more difficult of solution by the existence of the others. We cannot solve them all at once, but we can solve some; we can chip away at others; and we can use all our resources to prepare the way for more effective co-operation between ourselves.

One of the most important of our resources will be Youth organisations. There is no more representative or more influential institution than the one in which youth are to participate. Such organisations will entrust to us with a wide variety of tasks and an equal variety of methods which such organizations can employ.

Three groups of problems lie before us:-

First, those that concern our national security; second those that relate to the fulfilment of national and individual aspirations; and third, the problems that have to do with economic progress of both individuals and the nation. The chief lesson of our experience in the field of collective security is that the solidarity of our nation. The alternative to this solidarity is the disintegration of our nation and the triumph of lawlessness in our country.

The programme which is to start in now with the youth organisations should constitute recognition that members of such organization must, by virtue of other membership, stand together and act together for the security of the nation. To make this work whole-hearted co-operation is essential.

The institution of the Youth Organization can be no stronger than its members. It is the youth of our nation who have the responsibility to be physically prepared and to be morally resolute to concert their strength for the cause of national security.

This responsibility to co-operate must be reflected not only in readiness to participate in each action undertaken by the youth, but also in the other ways recognized and sanctioned by the organizations. Regional and collective self-defence arrangements, entered into and developed in accordance with the provisions of our organizations will be integral part of our national collective security system. When individual strength and collective strength are all dedicated to the cause of security, the purpose of such organizations and the structure of security becomes a **REALITY**. The youth organizations should put this matter forcefully in their own programme. The final test of effective national

security will always be that sufficient members of youths are firmly committed in the policies of the organizations, to join in resisting in foreign aggression and that they have moral force strong enough to strike back with punishing effect against any aggressor. This is the lesson of the past centuries. It would be folly for us to lose sight of it.

It is in the time of emergency that our whole structure of collective security will meet its supreme test. It will stand or fall upon what we do there. Every individual who values freedom should see that his nerve does not fail at the time of such test. But the youths have to be always on their alert. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, goes the saying. And if our nerve fails at the critical junctures, these buildings in which we meet today shall be the empty husks of our defeated hopes. If to-day Kashmir is allowed to fall to India, the words of John Donne will apply to each one of us:

“Never send to know for

Whom the bell tolls”, it tolls

for thee.....”

Today Kashmir is a test, not only of our courage at the initial moment of decision, but even more of the firmness of our will, the endurance of our courage, India having defied all the tenets of justice having pushed soldiers back, now counts for victory upon those of faint heart who would grow weary of the struggle.

There are moments in history when determined will through dark hours brought victory. Our country's trials came at the very outset of its history. The darkest moment came at East Punjab massacre, fall of Hyderabad and Junagadh. We failed and could not overcome that trial and we are facing the test of Kashmir. Ours must be the determination and the will to sustain this test. I will not pretend that the burden on the shoulders of youth is light. I, like those of you, regard with anxiety and grief its human cost. But to the question: How long shall this be? We must answer: We shall fight on as long as is necessary to stop the aggression and restore peace and security to the Kashmiri people. We should stop fighting only when the fate of Kashmir is decided in our favour. And we shall not allow faint-heartedness or recklessness to defeat our cause, which is to defend peace.

We the youth of Pakistan must convince the aggressor that the case of Kashmir will cost him

more than he can gain. This means the training and commitment of troops: it means food, clothing, material and money. I urge every youth of our country to look to his responsibility, to support the common action in Kashmir and participate in the reconstruction of our country. The youth organizations can do a lot to repel aggression and to restore peace and security.

Aggression has been stopped. But despite patient and sincere efforts of our Government the Indians have rejected reasonable terms for an honourable solution.

The youths of our country should, therefore, organize themselves and avail of the opportunity to review the record of past events which history has given to us of every freedom loving Country. The past record shows that the youths of the world have been patient, flexible and resourceful, always defending the principles which underlay their organizations. We shall have an opportunity, by action at this time to demonstrate to the world that we are united in purpose and firm in resolve; that we are as one in desire for a just peace and determination to achieve it.

The youth of our country has overlooked the consideration of security and have not realized its importance within last five years. And

so today they have no practical methods at hand by which the possibility of the aggression can be reduced and ultimately erased.

We should be ready to settle the disputes with others by peaceful means in such a manner that our national peace, security and justice are not endangered.

The youth organizations with other organizations of our nation like Muslim League should also seek to outline a comprehensive programme with a view to reducing the possibility and fear of internal disturbances, in our country.

The previous history of the youth organizations in our country shows that we have been giving outlines of our programmes but not the details. We have not insisted that youths were the only responsible individuals in the nation—what the youths have been doing is passing resolutions. But today it is not the time for passing resolutions, but we have to find solutions of our problems. We must submit everything that we have to do for discussion and genuine negotiation. Out of negotiation done in good faith, the object of our organizations will be achieved and maximum reduction in dividing forces, consistent with the avoidance of any imbalance of

individual force dangerous to national peace in any part of our country, will be made.

I hope the Government shall also help us in carrying out such programme. We should continue earnestly in good faith to induce others to join us towards that end. We should apply all the ingenuity and resourcefulness we could muster. If the youths of other countries can succeed in such programmes, we are also bound to succeed.

A second group of issue lies before us—those which grow out of the legitimate aspiration of the individuals and our nation. It is important to note at the outset that these matters will not be issued in the sense that any one will dispute the right of individuals to ultimate realisation of their best self. Such rights should be enshrined in the manifestos of our various youth organizations and the obligation to help fulfil that right should rest with each of us.

As regards successful working of the youths organizations in the beginning, we cannot say whether these will go too fast or too slow. But in several cases our answer undoubtedly would be to try to find some accommodation between these two sides. This would not of course, wholly satisfy either one. But this will be the way things have to be done in reconciling our conflicting views then.

But in many situations this will not be the only point which is very often lost sight of in the assertions of absolutes in regard to the right to self-realization. The fact we are apt to overlook is the deep economic interdependence between the individuals. It would be utterly destructive to the interests of the individuals if the solution were made on the basis of theoretical absolutes. If individuals can harmonize their views and then work a little faster or a little slower together, then the mutual dependence becomes a factor which helps to bring the matter to the solution.

Now the power of the youth organization:

When specific disagreements arise as to the adequacy of the progress being made by the members of the organizations or the individuals of the nation, the responsibility for settling such matters should lie in the first instance with those immediately concerned. This is not to say, however, that the youth organizations should be without responsibility to assist in the achievement of the solutions. On the contrary the organizations shall be derelict in their duty if they failed to be concerned with the rate of progress towards the goals being made by the organizations, including the State Muslim League, which holds in trust the future of our people.

But it follows from what I have said be-



fore that the role to be played by the youth organizations shall in most situations of this kind be one of accommodation. These will not be cases in which it will be the function of the youth organizations to impose settlements upon the individuals involved. In these cases it should be rather the primary function of our youth organizations to create an atmosphere favourable to settlements which accord with their principles but which should be worked out by the individuals directly concerned.

When the youth organizations face such situations where they have to resort to action they should take to discussion, consideration, recommendation and decision.

As we review our five years of experience it sometimes seems that whatever youth organizations we had, they felt they were bound to recommend whenever they considered and discussed. But the principles now for the youths should not assume this to be true nor should we do so. We must always seek solutions but not necessarily resolutions. Calm and dispassionate consideration and discussion will in such matters as there be the organizations, most useful contribution towards a solution.

The unfortunate fact is that we cannot approach any problem systematically which may

confront us, without being mindful of the events that are taking place in the other Muslim Countries. There the Muslims have been swallowed up and submerged by colonialism. Take for instance the case of Morocco and Tunisia. They have been reduced to a state of servile dependence. The tragic events behind this dark boundary not only are in stark contrast with the evolutionary process towards self-realization which we have been discussing but they are so fraught with danger to all of us that we can never afford to forget them.

Before this I have touched briefly upon the role of youth organizations with respect to the conflicts which inevitably arise in the realization of bestselves of our people. But much of what I have said is equally applicable in my judgment to other problems of great moment and great delicacy with which the youth are currently confronted. I refer particularly to the role to be played by the youth organizations—and specially the State Muslim League—in the promotion of those individuals rights.

For practical approach to protecting such rights of the individuals we have to look facts in the face. It means we have to examine our own conduct and that of others with candour and that we cannot condone deeds which do not

square with provisions of faith embodied in the principles to guard our organizations. I venture to suggest that in the field of rights of the individuals no province representing the organization will be wholly without fault. In our closets each of us can find the skeletons of provincial or class discrimination. Such problems we have to approach soberly and without hypocrisy, being mindful of our human weaknesses but unremitting in our determination to fulfil our promises. If our first job will be to be honest about the facts, our second job will be to be honest about the remedies, available to us. The teachings of Mohammed, of Moses, of Bhudha and of Christ will not gain instance and country-wide acceptance merely because they are echoed in our hollow pronouncements.

But the fact that we are limited in what we can accomplish does not mean we can abdicate the field. On the contrary, we would betray the basic tenets of human decency if we come to regard the provisions of our youth organizations, for such rights of individuals, as pious hopes which feed the eye but starve the spirit. 'To give reality to the provisions of our organizations' manifestos, we shall have to concentrate upon doing those things which will be in the realm of practice.

Finally I turn to third group of problems. These problems have to do with our living conditions. In looking back over the record of the past five years we shall find that no hopeful and promising work has been done by the youths of our country.

The beginning that we have to make in this work of economic and social co-operation in our country, through our youth organisations is bound to be encouraging to all who will participate in it. This will be new force in our national relations. It will express a growing sense of national responsibility for the needs and hopes of the individuals of our nation. Behind this work will be a growing awareness that, co-operation of the individuals of the nation must mean to grow more food, to wipe out illiteracy, to increase production and trade and to foster knowledge.

The key to economic progress, to the expanding national economy for which the youths shall have to strive, will be found in co-operative action to enable the country to increase its output of agricultural and industrial products. This is the least of the matter. We are now only beginning to appreciate the tremendous possibilities of the less developed areas of our country like Baluchistan, Sind, N.W.F.P. for this kind of

expansion with the creation of basic economic facilities.

At present there is no greater challenge to our ingenuity than that which is to be found in the stark contrast between present level of production of food and industrial products, and the knowledge available to us by which that production could be multiplied many times over.

The tragedy is that in spite of tremendous progress in agricultural science over half the country's people still suffer from malnutrition and many live on the verge of starvation. Despite progress in food production in some provinces of our country, the fact is that Pakistan's food output is increasing in slower rate than is its population and our country today has less food per person than it did five years before.

The youths of our country can do a lot in this respect. They should create funds in each unit of their respective organizations and supply scientific instruments of agriculture for common use. The youth themselves should launch country-wide campaign for growing more food. They should if need arises take to tilling the soil and help in increasing food production. Thus the youth can make great con-

tribution towards building national economy.

The Government has already inherited tremendous burdens from partition and it cannot be held solely responsible for the cracks in our national economy.

Our differing ways of life may impel us to pursue our objects in various ways. But if we have confidence in our own particular ways we should be willing to submit them to the test of experience. We should be willing to be judged by the results of our works rather than by the prowess of our promises.

Speaking between ourselves, we have been very much irresponsible in our life. We hardly realize that we have certain duties to the State when we have certain rights. We have been reaching platitudes of empty thinking and worrying about our self-created apprehensions. We have never been realistic in life nor we have practical approach to the problems which are facing us today. Besides the above explained three groups of problems there are several other problems, in our daily life, which the youths have never bestowed care upon. Time is the chief factor for youth and we must catch the time by fore-lock. We must employ each minute of our life in doing something

constructive. Every moment for us is precious. Precious because we have to build edifice for our future. We have to build our country. We must destroy the germs of disintegration which have been diffused in our nation today. We are more divided than united. Unity is strength. United we stand and divided we fall.

We must do all that falls in our share and do it faithfully and with all our honesty. Carlyle has said: "Study to do faithfully whatsoever thing in your actual situation, there and now, you find either expressly or tacitly laid to your charge; that is your post; stand in it like a true soldier; silently devour the many chagrins of it, as all human situations have, and be your aim not to quiet it without doing all that is, at least required of you it is our moral duty to do what we are required to do.

Nation is today looking at the youth. But youths instead of harnessing and devoting their knowledge and strength towards ameliorating the lot of the poor, dispelling ignorance and fostering knowledge is devoting towards self-seeking. The youth are busy in making pursuits in which they find their own gain. They have utterly disregarded the fact that interests of the nation are above per-

sonal pursuits of the individuals. We must work to make a uniform progress in all the spheres of our life. We should see that the needy persons are at least partially supplied with their bare requirements of life. This work could very easily be carried through our youth organizations. We should organize units to visit various hospitals in our country and do some service to the broken and disabled patients. Nothing can give us more pleasure than serving the sick. Our women should develop the spirit of Florence Nightingale. They should realize that they can prove to be asset to the nation.

Ruskin has correctly said: "The path of women is strewn with flowers but the flowers grow behind their foot-steps not before." It is only by action that our young women can make a place for themselves. They should work shoulder to shoulder with men and labour for quicker and better results. Instead of choosing this fashion or that they should select this work or that for the common good of all men and women. They have till now little realized the national responsibilities. What they have been doing upto now is not for the common and constructive good of all.

