

«NATIONALISM IN ISLAM»

MOHAMMED AHMED BASHMEEL

A book that reveals the slippery sides of political
hypocrisy in today's problems.

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To those who have minds free of prejudice and emotion,

To the lovers of free opinion, frankness and truth,

To the enemies of hesitation, hypocrisy and simulation,

This book is dedicated.

The Author.

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INTRODUCTION :

The Arab World has been, for a long time, suffering from political unrest, moral confusion and a great deal of ideological vacuum.

The greatest cause of these ills is Imperialism, which was able, through its influence in the political, cultural and governmental fields, to isolate the Arabs, almost completely, from their religion, Islam.

Right from the beginning, the struggle flared up between the Arabs and the colonialists. By time, this struggle was intensified and widened till it resulted in the liberation of several Arab countries.

Until recently, Islam enjoyed absolute control over the greatest part of the resistance movement against Imperialism in the Arab Lands.

But, in a moment of bad-omen, and after the colonialists started to pack-up and get ready to leave, the situation changed. Citizens of the home-land managed to oust Islam from the battle-field.

What added salt to the wound and widened the

disruption was that the ideological confusion increased in intensity and fury during the final stages of political struggle between the Arabs and Western imperialism. At the same time a new enemy to Islam appeared, which was more dangerous and more ruthless than the old enemy, Western imperialism. This new adversary penetrated the land and joined forces with the old enemy (though opposites) to strangle Islam and liquidate it throughout the area.

This new enemy is "communism". For, despite the bitter cold war declared between East and West for control and influence, Moscow, London, Washington and Paris, and their satellites, Zionism and Brahmanism, met and formed a united block to fight Islam and extinguish, resorting to all means, the spark it kindled in the spirit of men.

While Islam, the central weight in Middle-Eastern ideologies, was complaining of one enemy, western imperialism, it suddenly found itself face to face with a new stubborn adversary.

The red snakes of communism crept into the area during the final stages of our struggle against imperialism and penetrated deep into the heart of the Arab World, under the pretext of supporting us against the colonialists.

Because the political battle was void of religious

tolerance, and because some leaders were not interested except in supporting and maintaining their leadership at any cost, even if it were at the expense of Islam itself, those red snakes were able to spread the poison of Marx's atheism and Titoism throughout the sensitive and strategic spots in the area. Therefore, communist propaganda made its way freely into certain Arab countries and launched an ideological and cultural propaganda campaign: Communist books and pamphlets flooded the Arab library. During this period we witnessed in one dear Arab state, whose leader claimed to be fighting both imperialism and communism, certain publishing houses printing and distributing dangerous communist literature, such as the notorious work "Where Is God?". During that same period, more than one communist cultural institute was permitted to function openly in the heart of the Arab World. When some of the main Arab newspapers, which had, for more than three years, praised the top leaders of Moscow and Peking describing them as the living symbols of the policy of co-existence, pretended to carry out a temporary anti-communist campaign, they announced that more than sixteen communist cultural institutes, related to Peking and Moscow, were closed up and sealed as a necessary precaution during that short period of tension.

This news revealed to those who did not know

before the fact that those communist institutes were functioning with the knowledge of the authorities and that the measures taken were not intended to protect Islam against communist doctrine as such; for, if it were so, these institutes would not have been permitted to function right from the beginning.

Things reached a worse turn when some Arab circles were not only content to close their eyes to communist activities against Islam but went, during the early periods of flattery, as far as suppressing any anti-communist activity to appease the demi-gods of Peking and Moscow.

We all know how the organ of Turkestani Moslems was confiscated and suppressed. It spoke for many years about the atrocities of communist terror in Turkestan and other Moslem states which were subdued behind the "Iron Curtain" and appealed to the world to help the Turkestan case and save the one million Moslems trapped in the hell of communist terror within the iron curtain in Russia and China.

Yes, we saw how that magazine was confiscated, its staff disbanded and prevented from undertaking any activity against Russia or China.

Atheistic communism found in this measure, as it found in the praises showered upon its demi-gods by some Arab newspapers, a breathing space. It started

to conduct its destructive ideological activities in such a manner that aroused fear in the minds of sane men who expected evil to prevail if tolerance continued to protect this atheistic doctrine in the Arab World.

When certain Arab leaders expressed their worry over this Arab-communist accord, and began to chase communist agents out of their countries, certain Arab newspapers stood for them, called them free fighters, gave them shelter, denounced their chasers, and declared that there does not exist what agents of imperialism call "a communist threat", and that those imperialist agents use the "communist threat" as a pretext to terrorise the free youth in the Arab countries.

At this stage of local struggle between certain Arab leaders, communism found its opportunity and intensified its activity, until the final test occurred and communists appeared as they really were: an existing threat and a continuous danger. Everywhere they stood and spoke with the worst tones against those who, only yesterday, protected them, facilitated their mischievous mission, called them free fighters and gave them shelter in the crucial hour of need.

The world witnessed the result of befriending the snake. It resulted in the ebb of the tide of fantastic ambitions, thanks to those communists (the honest free fighters of yesterday and the cursed agents of today).

Yes, the revelation of the truth about those communists brought disappointment to those who nourished big ambitions. Flattering communism, and giving a chance to its destructive ideology to invade the Arab mind through the press and literature, put the Arabs and their religion between the two jaws: Imperialism and Communism. Consequently, worries increased, political unrest prevailed and ideological vacuum fantastically extended. The Arab World was like a pendulum, pulled to the right by old capitalistic political concepts which had their roots, in the political, cultural and governmental fields; and pulled to the left by leftist political ideologies which reached us with the communist tide, and left their impression upon certain minds during the periods of courtship and flattery.

This faced the leaders of the area with the task of finding refuge in an embracing, and at the same time, concentrated ideology, capable of protecting the Arab World from the evils of swinging right and left between imperialism and communism; and also capable of filling this fantastic ideological vacuum. This is really the main cause of the swinging movement, which in turn is the source of this endemic quarrel and disunity which dispersed and scattered their energies in the struggle against the foreigners and turned Arab forces one against the other.

Leaders of the area should have taken shelter in

such an ideology which is a middle way between communism and capitalism. Common sense assumes that the said ideology should be Islam. It alone could, with all the vital constructive potentialities stored therein, save the situation and fill the vacuum which was the source of unrest and instability in the area.

Yet, certain Arab politicians, who were aware of the vacuum and the necessity of filling it, took the initiative to do so, but they deviated from the right path — the path their religion and nationalism demanded that they should follow. They raised the banners of a different ideology that stood opposed to Islam and named it "Arab Nationalism". The Arab World witnessed a gigantic propaganda campaign in favour of this synthetic ideology. As a result, many Arabs followed this new trend which, in reality, was but a new war declared on their religion, a third rival to Islam.

I was one of those who felt, from the beginning, the bitterness of this fact which escaped a great number of Moslem Arabs. I was appaled to see the little influence left over for Islam get wiped off in the Arab home-land and in the name of Arab Nationalism.

Many a time I was tempted to write on the subject and draw the attention of the intelligentsia to the danger of going headlong with the tide of this heresy camouflaged with the veil of Arab nationalism. But,

frankly, I dread the street mobs who have their minds in the drums of their ears. Finally, I gathered enough courage and wrote a series of articles in "Al-Nadwa", a Meccan daily, in which I explained, with reservation, some aspects of danger in the new heresy. Hardly had the first article appeared when I found myself in the middle of a furious storm of angry criticism. Yet, those articles were not completely without supporters; a group of wise men expressed their support and filled me with the courage which made me decide to write this book. Hardly had the first signatures of this book come from the press for proof-reading when the tongues of the anti-Moslem idea lashed savagely upon me with lies and false accusations in an attempt to frighten me off and force me to abandon the book. But those who bore the sin of lying against me and falsely announcing that the authorities were thinking of withdrawing my citizenship remained defeated, their hearts bleeding with hatred and their souls lashed by the winds of envy.

At last, but not least, I say (to you, people) "If falsehood wins a battle, righthood wins the war — the last battle is his." This is the promise of God to His faithful worshippers — if they pass the test. God's promise is just and always materializes.

The book was completely sold after one month of its appearance; a fact that filled me with unshaking

confidence and strengthened my faith in the frank and open style I used in treating "Arab Nationalism" and in pointing out the distinctions between the nationalism we love and shall never fail to support and this new deviation unjustly dressed with Arab robes: The first we adhere to; the second we shall not, by God's will, fail to combat its advocates who dress like Arabs and penetrate our lines seeking to spot a point of weakness and then deliver the killing stab. Hence, I decided to re-print the book in an edition three times as large as the first.

Dear reader, the book is now before you; have a good look at it and you shall see the truth clearly. You shall also see what a fearful chasm those charmed by the magic of propaganda were heading towards. Whatever you forget, do not forget, O reader, that the author of this book does not fight Arab nationalism as such, for no one can love it more or defend it better than we, citizens of the Arab Peninsula. It was really for us and from us long before anyone else could claim that his place in it is that of the head to the body or the axe to the wheel. We, the sons of the Arab Peninsula, are, as "Al-Bilad" newspaper of Djedda once mentioned, "on top, if they mention Islam, and on the summit if they mention Arabism. Cairo is not better than Mecca, nor Damascus holier than Medina". Thanks to the editor of "Al-Bilad" for he spoke the

truth and pulled down the veil of falsehood.

Yes, indeed, the writer does not make battle with Arab Nationalism, as the reader shall see in this book. Yet he fights irreligious secularism, whose ugliness "they" covered by the veil of Arab Nationalism to camouflage the spots of danger against Islam, and to come closer to their narrow objectives about which they have filled the world with much ado and hysterical shouts.

In conclusion, we pray God, the Almighty, to inspire us with His guidance, show us the right path, and make us follow it; point to us falsehood and help us avoid it for He is Omnipotent and Merciful.

Mohammed Ahmed Bashmeel,
Mecca, Saudi Arabian Kingdom.

I met him, and had known him well; he was the kind of man who gleams with good heartiness and whose mind is always overpowered by his emotion. — “You are one of the advocates of Pan-Islamism”, he said.

— “Yes, this is how I should be; I, you and every Moslem who believes in God, His Books and Prophets. For, we Moslems, have no doctrine to preach except that of the Kuran, and no message to carry to mankind except the message of Islam. Any other doctrine appearing on Arab soil, save the one I just mentioned, is a call for deviation and sedition; any message Moslems carry, other than the message of Islam, is a message of perdition and disunion.”

— “Great!... But I pray you to preach, with all your strength and eloquency, the ideal of Islam, provided you do not hurt people in their national feelings.”

— “Clarify your meaning”, said I.

— “I mean your extreme and outrageous views about

Arab Nationalism which appear in "Al-Nadwa" daily. No one has ever directed such criticism to Arab Nationalism, which is the hope of the Arabs, and their only lifeboat in this Ocean of conflicting new ideologies and doctrines ... "Al-Nadwa" has published about ten of your articles, none of which was free of attacks against Arab Nationalism, its principles and loyal advocates."

— "Haven't I told you that you are sensitive, easily affected, and that you read with your emotions rather than your mind?"

— "What do you mean?", he asked.

— "I mean to say that had you known the truth about Arab Nationalism first and then read my articles, you would have known for sure that I have never uttered any criticism to Arab Nationalism itself, not even once; and that my writings, which annoyed you, do not aim except at supporting and upholding Arab Nationalism".

— "How is that?", he said in astonishment .

— "Why not?", said I, "Is it not my own nationalism... clearly manifested in my blood, home and language?"

— "You are only adding ambiguity to confusion! I am almost dizzy with uncertainty! Please, make yourself clear."

— "You, and your like in naivety, victims of demagogy,

who respond without thinking to every piper and drummer of Arabism, You, I say, should know that your understanding of Arab Nationalism is wrong from A to Z, because it is not the kind of understanding that comes from study or research, but it is rather the outcome of blind imitation and stupid duplication... like parrots repeating what they do not understand.

The Author Does Not Deny Arab Nationalism:

He said, with a sarcastic smile:

— “If our understanding of Arab Nationalism is wrong, as you claim, then what is your understanding, you who enjoy nothing more than contradicting the people and surprising them with unusual ideas that make you the target of unanimous unpopularity?”

— “Our understanding of “Arab Nationalism” is, in our belief, the proper understanding. We believe that nationalism is a territorial and historical fact or existence, a fait-accomplis associated with the land, race and language. How, then, can I attack Arab Nationalism, which is I, You, my land, your land, and my language as well as yours?... If you see that, then you would discover that Arab Nationalism itself is not the subject of my criticism at all; because it is not an ideology to construct, nor an idea or philosophy to destroy; and hence, no one can accuse me of attacking it.

The word "Nationalism" is a mute word, void of any of the characteristics of progress or the symptoms of degeneration. Such characteristics and symptoms are only found in ideology and philosophies, which, alone, can push "nationalities" up to the summit of glory and greatness, or pull them down to the lowest levels of weakness and backwardness. The strength of a nationality — any nationality — does not come except through the greatness and efficiency of the ideology it attaches itself to, or lives up to. National weakness, disunion and collapse also come from the weakness and unsteadiness of the ideology which guides that particular nation or nationality."

At this point, my friend frowned and said:

— "This is a curious logic and a new philosophy to explain Arab Nationalism I have never heard of except from you and few others. What we, and the rest of the Arab World, understand today is that Arab Nationalism is not a mute historical matter-of-fact occurrence as you claim, nor is it void of the characteristics of progress and evolution as you suggest. Arab Nationalism is a "constructive revolution", an ideology, and a doctrine. At least, this is exactly what its leaders and advocates keep saying."

— "I do not deny that this is your own opinion and that of a multitude of people like you, who close their

eyes and ears, yielding their reins to others to lead them where they do not know, like sheep following the shepherd, not knowing whether he is leading them to the pasture or to the slaughter-house. This kind of people has always been the efficient instrument of impostors, charlatans and magicians. Yet, your opinion, dear friend, does not change the fact that Arab Nationalism, like all nationalistic phenomena, is not a constructive revolution, and has never been at any time a doctrine or an ideology. Nationalism has always, and in every period of history, been a tail rather than a leading head; for, ideologies and philosophical trends alone, constitute the motives and means by which nationalities progress and become great, or degenerate and finally get wrecked upon the rocks of misconceptions”

German Nationalism And The Nazi Doctrine:

— “Can you give me one example to illustrate and prove the validity of what you say?”, said my friend.

— “German nationality was, and still is, an existing reality — as the case is with Arab Nationalism. Hitler made himself the pioneer and leader of this nationalism and filled the world with noise and commotion. The platforms of the third Reich witnessed hundreds of fiery speeches in which he stirred by boasting German superiority, the feeling of the mobs, and completely

won the man in the street, not only in Germany, but also abroad, until conceit tempted him to broaden the arena of his buffoonery (How history repeats itself!). He was speaking about Germany alone, explaining its pains and hopes ... Then, he started talking about the whole Arian race, demanding the unification of all peoples descending from that stock, under his leadership. Then, his fifth column became active in the neighbouring countries. Hitler showed all the signs that show on every ambitious leader suffering from the disease of commanding and leadership. Yet, in spite of the fact that the German people flocked around the great Fuhrer, and in spite of the vast material possibilities which Hitler possessed and the high military spirit which distinguished the German people, German nationalism collapsed and was wrecked by the hands of its own leader and pioneer. The German people are still suffering from the consequences caused by one reason: The corruption of the doctrine which the Germans accepted as their leading philosophy and guidance in life, namely the Nazi doctrine, the doctrine of police-state and secret terrorism. Everyone knows now the fallacy of that theory and the dangers of its aims. I say that had it been for the supremacy of this doctrine over the leaders of German nationalism, this nationalism would not have been wrecked and torn asunder the way it was.

This is one example, O friend, of those destructive doctrines that push nations to destruction and ruin. This is a fact that no man can deny. German nationalism itself was not the cause of the destruction, disunion and wastefulness that befell the Germans. It was the fanatical Nazi doctrine based on the hateful racial ideology that caused all the damages."

— "This is an example of the negative aspect", said my friend, "would you give me an example on the positive side?"

— "I suppose you are asking for an example about the kind of nationalism that leads a nation from strength to strength."

— "Yes, that is exactly what I seek!"

Arab Nationalism Before And After Islam:

— "Arab Nationalism existed before Islam; and its people were a hundred per cent pure Arab, ethnically and linguistically. Yet, this nationalism alone could not move its followers towards progress and advancement. For scores of centuries, this Arab nationalism remained at the lowest level of backwardness and degeneration; not because Arab nationality itself was low and degenerate, but because the principles and ideas adopted by the men of this nation were insignificant and trivial.

When Islam appeared and became the religion of that nation, it grew into significance, broadened its scope until its members controlled most of the known world of those days. The credit goes to Islam not to nationalism. Even when the state of Islam collapsed, Moslems kept this huge stretch of land expanding from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arabian Gulf.

“If Arab nationalism as such were a constructive revolution and a dynamic ideology, it would not have needed Islam to raise its followers from cattle-grazers to eminent instructors of human conscience, and make them into guides of humanity after they had been a shameful symbol of savagery and barbarism..”

The Nationalism Of Abou Lahab and Abou Jahl:

“Again, if Arab nationalism, on its own merits, were an ideology endowed with the potentialities of advancement and evolution, and capable of bestowing strength and greatness to the Arabs, then Abou Jahl and Abou Lahab and the like would have remained the heroes of history and the symbols of Arab glory. Their cousins would not have drawn their corpses at the Battle of Badr as you would draw dead donkeys; for those people were, according to history, the masters of Arabism and its ardent advocates and first pioneers.

What humiliated them that day was not their op-

position to Arab nationalism, for they were its best supporters, but rather their racial revolution under the banner of Arabism against the ideology of Islam, which called for equality among nations in an attempt to unite them behind one faith; and their claim that Islam was a sectarian philosophy, which will divide the Arabs, brought their end. (How history repeats itself!).

One can add that those pagans, those pure Arabs of old, agree on principle with the Arab nationalists who make the basis of their modern national movement the casting away of the Islamic theory. They aim at uniting the Arabs on a political bases, free from any Islamic control or religious influence. My friend may know of a certain state that has cancelled from its constitution the article stating that Islam is the official religion of the state; and refused to have any relation with any other Moslem state based on the bond of Islam. Thus, this particular state became, from the official point of view, a secular state although 96 per cent of its inhabitants are Moslems. I am sure that if Abou Jahl, Abou Lahad and Al-Walid, great heroes of paganism and godlessness, were living, they would not have found any objection against their becoming advocates of Arab nationalism whose spokesmen today claim that the bond of blood and language is stronger than the bond of religion and faith. They even claim that religion has proved its failure and impotence to

unify any nation at all.

The Prophet Abandons His Home For The Sake Of His Faith :

Again, if Arab nationalism were, as its impostors claim, a suitable idea and a guiding philosophy, capable of leading the Arabs towards progress and civilization, without the assistance of Islam, the great Arab Prophet, Mohammed, would not have been forced to abandon His home, place of birth and the dearest spot to His heart, Mecca the capital of Arab nationalism before Islam and the then headquarters of Arab leaders and masters of Arab nationalism.

The Prophet Rejects The Nationalist Proposal Of Qureish:

If the task of the Arab individual were to concentrate his effort and spend his life for the sake of unity and solidarity with his fellows in race and country, whether they were Moslems, Jews, Christians or without religion, that is to say if Arab individual's task was to struggle for the glory of Arabs, simply for being Arabs, accepting Islam or not... if that were so, Prophet Mohammed would not have stood in the face of the unanimous Arab opposition to his call, and He would not have slapped with that call the faces of Qu-

reish masters; a slap that aroused their anger, made them unite against Him and accuse Him of splitting Arab unity. He refused the nationalist proposal offered Him by Arab dignatories in which they requested Him to become master of the Arab nation and leader of its nationalism, provided He stopped calling for Islam and denouncing their religions and beliefs. They asked Him to accept their motto — Religion to God an country to all men — which is the motto of today's nationalists.

Again, if the Arab's mission in life were to be a nationalist indoctrinated individual working for the welfare and happiness of his Arab nation in good and bad times; were they Moslems or non-Moslems, Mohammed, the Arab, the Qureishi, would not have stood alone defying the whole world, shouting with that volcanic phrase, in the ears of history :

“By God, if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left hand, I would never abandon my mission... until God grants it victory or I perish in its cause.”

What was it that Mohammed was ready to perish for? Was it Islam? or Arab nationalism? Evidently, it was Islam ! Mohammed told those words to His uncle Abou Taleb who, getting old and sick, begged his nephew to forego his call and cease denouncing His people's beliefs. The old man had also received a Qu-

reishi delegation carrying an ultimatum to its chief Abou Taleb, warning him of open war should he insist on protecting his nephew, the Prophet.

This is, my dear friend, the evident truth of Arab nationalism, and the proper understanding of its essence. It is not now, as it has never been since the dawn of history, a doctrine worth constructing or an ideology worth destroying. I am sure that if you go back to my articles with this new proper understanding and read them carefully once again, seeking only the truth, you would know that the noses which swelled with anger about what I wrote were only noses blown larger by the devil of demagoguery.

You shall also not forget that the feelings that were hurt by my articles were superficial and blind emotions, created by those who master the art of playing with human feelings, and the technique of manipulating blind fanaticism — the trade-mark of superficial naive people who know nothing of the thing they become fanatic about except the name. Those who think through their feelings rather than their minds, may alone be hurt by what I or others wrote about the antagonistic stand of the Arab nationalism towards Islam. Because they — though some of them belong to the intelligentsia — do not know about Arab nationalism save that it is "something" to whose support they have pledged themselves. But of the trends of this "something", its

philosophies, its ideologies, they know nothing, and can know nothing. Indeed, they do not possess the instruments of enlightened awareness or common sense to do so; forgive me, save those misleading newspapers and circus broadcasts. This is the secret of the mobs' rush to hand their reins to any charlatan who pretends to uphold and support anything dear to their hearts, such as Arab nationalism to the Arabs.

I beg of you, dear friend, to go once again to my articles which aroused your anger and hurt your feelings; for you shall discover that they, like similar writings by the few others you despised, are but a true invitation to glorify and strengthen true Arab nationalism, as well as a faithful attempt to awaken the sleepy and alarm those who run headlessly behind false and empty slogans. The articles are also a proper treatment to open your sick eyes and do away with the thick bandages covering them .. that you may clearly see the caravans of those who deviate from the Arab traditions and are driving you in a fog of lies away from Islam.

This (charlatanism) was, and still is, one of the most important causes of Arab disunion and weakness."

Disunion, Not Union:

— "You have gone too far into explanation", said my friend, "And I guess you have diverted from the sub-

ject. Now, tell me : Don't you believe that the cause of Arab nationalism has made a great stride towards the unification of Arab will, and brought Arab peoples nearer to each other and closer to the aim of solidarity than at any other time?"

— "If one packs his feelings and puts them aside, and then lifts himself above the level of equivocation and sophistry, he will see the naked truth. The fact is that the Arab World lives now in an atmosphere of tension and quarrelling; the winds of mutual suspicion blow hard all over the peoples of this area, making it difficult for them to achieve one yard of progress in the field of good relationship and solidarity, without falling a full mile backwards. No one can deny, even if he does not see a hot war raging amidst the Arab World, that a cold war is tormenting the nations of the area and endangering the present and future of the Arabs. This cold war has reached an unprecedented climax in the history of local disputes in the area. Every honest Arab is worried and scared. This, my friend, is the painful situation as it stands. Every free Arab should admit it and then work honestly to change it. He who escapes from admitting the bad situation or tries to sophisticate the cause by telling the Arabs that nationalism has already carried the Arab World to an excellent degree of solidarity which qualifies them to form a one-arab state — from the Atlantic to the Arabian Gulf — is a

liar and behaves like a false-doctor who, having examined the patient, tells the relatives that he is enjoying the best of health, and that his skill in treatment has almost cured him completely; while the patient is still the prey of diseases which devour him and sip his health, gradually.

Reality Versus The Claim:

The Arab World to-day is unable to produce, for the practical and intelligent people, any material evidence of what certain people call "the solidarity of Arab ranks" or "the unity of Arab nations" under the banner of Arab nationalism. Unless mutual insults, curses and mutual accusations, which fill columns and columns of the daily papers, and which are being broadcast, morning and evening, are symptoms of the so-called Arab unity and solidarity. Can we, under these conditions, claim that the Arab World, under the banner of nationalism, has become more united or is on the right path towards the desired unity?"

My friend said:

— "I think that your extreme opposition to Arab nationalism has made you too pessimistic, looking at things from behind dark glasses, trying all the while to blame the movement for the disunity and misunderstanding which plague the Arab World. You are also

trying to belittle the importance of the Arab cause, to disband its followers and then tempt to gather around the banner of Pan-Islamism, which you think is a better idea and a superior cause."

— "I am not a day-dreaming pessimist; I am rather a practical man who rejects sophistry and camouflage. I have only described the true situation which is as clear as the sun; and I have not blamed our ills on Arab nationalism; I only meant to say that advocates of Arab nationalism have achieved nothing that could be considered a decisive preparatory stage to build Arab unity. On the contrary, some of those advocates have participated, through their fanaticism and concepts, in the operation of dividing the Arabs and creating suspicion and ill-will among them. Rational men can not help understanding from the tune of the familiar fantastic propaganda campaign that the kind of unity sought by nationalists means the creation of one state, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arabian Gulf, under the leadership of one man who is being hailed by propaganda organs as the *pioneer* and *leader*. All other statesmen and leaders who have generously contributed to the cause were grossly ignored and denounced.

A Nation Without Religion:

I am undoubtedly opposed to the nationalist theory advocating the isolation of Islam from the present mo-

vement of Arab awakening. In my opinion, this is an erraneous theory which will only push the Moslem-Arabs from bad to worse. This is why I suggest that Arabs should abandon such a faulty theory and stick to the immortal ideology of Islam, which taught them the meaning of unity, brotherhood and solidarity”.

— “What do you mean?”, asked my friend.

— “I meant that the basic objective of the present Arab national movement is to oust Islam from the arena of Arab political, cultural and legislative life. The nationalists believe that the bond of race and language is more capable of uniting the Arabs than the bond of religion. They attempted right from outset to mark their movement with a nationalistic label, free from any religious influence... as is the case with the nationalistic movement in Europe, and to which the movement of Arab nationalism was the echo (as indicated by its philosophies and theories).

Ousting Islam from Arab life means nothing less than cutting off the great current which fed “Arabism” with the light that illuminated its road to strength, greatness and solidarity, since the Arabs ever appeared on the stage of dignity and glory. The basic force behind the strength of Arab nationality, its growth and vast extension, was Islam, and Islam alone, as I have said many times before.”

My friend said:

— “Therefore, you accuse the spokesmen of Arab nationalism of defying Islam and denying it as state and religion!”

— “It is not within my capacity to direct any such accusation to any particular person. I am only a writer expressing, in my own way, my views, trying to clarify the situation, draw the attention of my readers to certain clear and undeniable facts and reveal ambiguities unknown to many people who are not aware of the dangers these ambiguities enshrine against their religion. I am also trying to explain what invocations and movements stand contrary to Islam. If certain people see in these attempts of mine a special accusation against X or Y, such people are free to think as they like, I bear no responsibility for their conclusions.”

— “But how did you come to know that the philosophy of the movement of Arab nationalism calls for the political, legislative and cultural life of the Arabs?... Can you recite one extract from the speeches of any national leader which can serve as an evidence to your claim?”

— “I am not in a position to do what you ask; but I do not believe that a man of your caliber does not know the fact to which you request me to provide evidence with your embarrassing question. The question itself undermines Arab unity and I doubt if you are serious

about it. Yet, If you really want to know and insist upon receiving a satisfactory answer, I would refer you to their legislative, cultural, moral and political policies. I would also ask you to fall back upon your memory to see if you can remember having heard (amidst the much ado about Arab nationalism, its philosophies and trends) one speaker or one leader uttering one single word which indicates, directly or indirectly, that the principles of Arab nationalism urge the Arabs to unite under the banner of Islam, or let their steps to renaissance be guided by Islamic Principles.

I would go further and request you to ask any Arab nationalist to give a speech or write an article declaring therein that preaching the message of Islam and the compliance with the Kuranic provisions, are among the aims and objectives of Arab nationalism. And, if you receive a satisfactory answer, please pay me the honor of another visit. For, then, we can meet and talk in a more realistic atmosphere, and you shall know whether my claims are true or not.”

He said:

— “Then, you do not, generally speaking, oppose the call to support and solidify Arab nationalism!”

Supporting Arab Nationalism:

I said:

— “Surely, I do not oppose that, but would like to support Arab nationalism in its true meaning.”

— “Therefore, both sides, advocates of Arab nationalism and Arab advocates of Pan-Islamism, meet on this end, namely to uphold and support Arab nationalism; they only differ in the means leading to the same end. I therefore propose to leave each side to follow its own chosen course that both may meet at the end.”

I said:

— “I do not deny that Arab solidarity and union is the basic goal of some of the leaders of Arab nationalism, but I believe that such a goal shall not be achieved if they continue to ignore the roll of Islam and its value in the movements stirring the Arab World to-day. That goal can be achieved only if the Arabs stick to Islam and function within its wise plans and great concepts. Hence, I sincerely urge that we, Arabs, adopt to advocate Islam and endeavour, within our awakening, to support it, spread its message and uphold it high on earth, as God and His Prophet have ordained. Through this operation, Arab nationalism will gain more prestige and the Arabs will regain the importance and influence they lost hundreds of years ago. All this

will undoubtedly materialize as a natural outcome of Arabs sticking loyally to Islam (as religion and state); and from this point, Arab's glorious history will begin to repeat itself — For "the end of this nation shall not be reformed except by what reformed its beginning". I certainly believe that provoking Arab nationalism upon narrow racial basis, whereby Arabs would endeavour to glorify the Arabic elements, simply for being Arabs, is a work of segregation, hateful to Islam and in disharmony with Mohammed's all-embracing message which our ancestors carried to the four corners of the World."

*Arab Nationalism And Other Nationalities In
The Arab World:*

This racial national philosophy can not, under any circumstances, lead into any real union among the peoples of the area stretching from the Ocean to the Gulf, because not all these nations are of Arab's origin. There are, within the area, Moslem peoples of Berberic, Kurdish, Turkman and African origins, there are also some sporadic minorities which do not have the slightest drop of Arab blood in their veins. They still keep their own languages and national features, with nothing in common between them and the peoples in the area except the bond of Islam. The call for Arab nationalism (as preached now) will cause these non-

Arabic Moslem minorities to rise to defend their national dignity and attempt to create national status of their own.

Why should not they do so? As long as Arab masters and nationalists build their national philosophy upon the basis of Arab supremacy, ignoring the rest of the national elements that co-inhabit the area with the Arabs. The invocation of Arab nationalism on racial principles will only cause friction and defection between the Arab element and the other minor nationalities co-existing in the area. Those minorities should not be expected to accept a national racial movement which ignores their national entity and individual personality. The Berbers, for example, who constitute the largest and strongest non-Arab element in the area, shall not be able to help the rising of their national feelings and the spirit of opposition and dissatisfaction when they hear the Arab slogan:

« الله اكبر والعزة للعرب »

ringing through the slopes of the Atlas mountains and the valleys of Orase. This slogan ignores them and their heroic past which was not less glorious than that of the Arabs in the golden days of Islam, especially in North Africa and Andalusia.

(1) "God is great, and glory be to the Arabs."

The same thing could be said about Iraq and other countries which embrace various nationalities, such as Kurds and Turkman.

Some impartial observers have already sensed the reaction of non-Arab communities to this invocation which works conclusively for the Arabs. In this kind of charlatanism, the impostors did not take into account the bad reaction and opposition expected from the non-Arab nationalities inhabiting the area, and whose existence should not be ignored under any circumstances.

Surely, the non-Arab elements will not deny their nationalities and dedicate their efforts and enthusiasm for the sake of another nationality which is not superior in any way to their own. For, evidently, Arab nationalism does not possess, as a nationality, any special distinguished quality superior to any other nationality in the area. For these reasons, I say it is wrong to advocate nationalism and make it the ideology of the area. After all, it is not an ideology.

The Proper Way To Unity:

You may rest assure, my friend, that Arab nationalism can not, on the basis of racial philosophy, reach its desired goal, namely the unification of all nations inhabiting the area from the Ocean to the Gulf, because

these peoples do not belong to one race. Consequently, there remains no other alternative before advocates of Arab nationalism, if they seriously mean to unite the peoples of this area, save that of raising an ideological banner free of any one particular nationality; then invite the peoples of the area, of all nationalities, to flock around such an all-embracing-banner to co-exist and endeavour under its shade to support one common ideology worth their cooperation. This is the only road which may lead advocates of unity to realize their objectives. As to this proposed common ideology, I do not see any better for the purpose than the ideology of Islam. This lofty ideology has proved itself (in circumstances more complicated than those of the present) a worthy method of establishing solidarity and brotherhood among nations. Nothing proves my point better than the fact that the peoples of this area had been, since the dawn of history, divided, quarrelsome, unrelated to each other by any bond. Several attempts were made for the amalgamation of these peoples into one unit, but failed. Islam alone succeeded and realized this old dream. Islam alone unified this area and gave its people a common sense of purpose. It melted the various nationalities and poured them into one mould, "Islamic Nationality", if the phrase is adequate.

What is this huge mass of peoples occupying this vast area, from the Ocean to the Gulf, known to-day as

the "Arab World", but one trace of the many immortal traces of Islam ? Without Islam's tolerance and lofty doctrines, no advocates of Arab nationalism could have been able today to speak about the above-mentioned mass of peoples. They were so different and insignificant before Islam."

The Possibilities Of Gathering Around Islam:

My friend said, moving in his chair:

— "It is easy to talk; imagination and day-dreaming have played a major roll in your argument; a beautiful dream, but impossible! Which would you think, success or failure, would accompany a unity or a federation based upon the principles of Islam?"

— "I believe that success will be the ally of any unity based on Islam, because the overwhelming majority of the peoples in the area are Moslems, and because the doctrines and systems preached by certain people are foreign and strange to Islam; besides, most of them are bad memories of imperialism. It is not difficult, or strange, for a Moslem, to be invited to stick to his original principles, and take shelter in his natural ideology — Islam. This is beside the fact that it would not be harmful or disgracing for a Moslem to be urged to foresake corrupted systems and foreign habits imported, among several other 'catastrophs and ills, from

overseas. Add to this the testimony of many great non-Moslem personalities that Islam, as an ideology and a system of life, is the best in the world."

A Trivial Philosophy:

— "You missed my meaning", said my friend, "I agree with you that Islam (as system of government and an ideology) is not less qualified than any other system in the world, but I meant to say that there are many obstacles before the realization of the Islamic idea you preach. The main obstacles are:

1st — You may have forgotten the existence of non-Moslem communities within the Arab world, and that those communities may not like the re-birth of the movement of Pan-Islamism in the area. This problem has been one of the reasons of unrest and instability in the Arab World. We may also loose the support of these communities and force them to look upon us as oppressors, even if we do not act so. Such an attitude on their part shall deter the realization of Arab unity.

2nd — I wish you would not forget that we are at the early stages of construction and that our inviting the Arab world to assemble around Islam will lable our movement with the religious mark. A religious government will be indispensable; and this will evidently provoke our enemies, both in the East and West, and make

them more intent upon our destruction. We know that those enemies do look upon religious governments as fanatical and reactionary which spontaneously degenerate with their citizens back to the Middle-Ages and serve as impenetrable obstacles on the road to civilization and progress, and in addition constitute a continuous threat to world peace, due to the unrestricted spirit of martyrdom with which they indoctrinate their followers and urge them to armed expansion under the pretext of preaching the faith..."

Defence Of Islamic Unity :

My friend continued:

— "You may realize, from the above-mentioned facts, the scope of the relapse which will befall our liberal movement if it were to be dressed with the robes of religion."

I said, hurt by this silly sophistication:

— "You, my friend, are naive victims! The evidence to my statement is your repetition of this sophistry, which sounds like an old record printed by imperialism. Imperialism abandoned the use of open battles after it had placed its agents in the most sensitive and highly responsible posts, and they (the agents) succeeded by the repetition of this old record in extinguishing

the burning spark of Islam, and preventing its spiritual current from reaching the youth and feeding them with manliness and straightforwardness. Imperialists left the country, leaving behind capable successors, from among the Moslems themselves, who would not allow the call for Islam to appear once again on Arab or Moslem soil. And that was exactly what happened. For, hardly had the imperialists been ready to leave than opportunists began to sing that record to the Arab ears. You recited the same record a few minutes ago. Things are even worse now, for the imperialists used at least to allow a few voices to rise against this theory, and many advocates of Pan-Islamism spoke and wrote about their theory. But things have changed to-day in many a Moslem country where any call for Islam is strictly prohibited and considered a crime; while complete freedom is given to irreligious movements. Moslems became, in their own country, accustomed to hear nothing but the voice of these irreligious movements. This kind of situation is what the imperialist desires to see prevailing in the Arab World, because nothing worries him or frightens him more than the re-birth of Islamic dignity and power. I do not exaggerate, my friend, if I declare that what had befallen us was, in my opinion, the worst catastrophs that could happen to any nation. This nation shall not experience stability or enjoy peace unless it submits to

being guided, in all its movements, by the lofty teachings of Islam. This is the truth that the future will reveal to you, on the light of the failures that have followed, and shall follow, all the steps of your irreligious nationalistic movement. The bitter fruits of your philosophies are already apparent to the eye. I shall now proceed to prove to you the invalidity and triviality of your argument against raising the banner of Islam in its own countries.

Non-Moslem Minorities And Moslem Non-Arab Minorities:

1) The problem of non-Moslem communities in the Arab World, who shall be provoked by the idea of Pan-Islamism: Do you know the ratio of these communities to the number of Moslems in the Arab World?"

— "Yes", he said, "the ratio is about five per cent."

— "Do you also know the ratio of non-Arab Moslems (like Kurds and Berbers) to the Arabs?"

— "Yes, I know, it is about twenty per cent."

— "Then, how can you consider those five per cent. of non-Moslems a good argument to silence the voice of Islam which is the religion of ninety-five per cent. of the total population?"

— “We do not intend to silence the voice of Islam, but we believe that advocating nationalism is a necessary measure to avoid division and disunity among the Arabs.”

— But can't you see”, said I, “that we can use the same argument against you, nationalists, in respect to the twenty per cent of non-Arab Moslems who live with us as qualified citizens, and who shall be provoked by your national invocation based upon the thesis of glorifying the Arab race alone, simply for being so? Isn't it strange of you to make such calculations which provoke twenty per cent of the population to appease five per cent? You do not seem to pay any consideration for those twenty per cent of non-Arab Moslems, who inhabited the area long before your feet touched its soil! If it had not been for the great message of Islam, you would not have been able to claim one square meter of these vast regions as your homeland. Indeed, with what logic can you explain your endeavour to appease five per cent at the expense of twenty per cent of the inhabitants of the area, and at the same time show your astonishment at those who request you to substitute racial nationalism by Moslem-nationhead, which will rally to your side twenty per cent of the Moslem citizens in the area? This is indeed an upside-down philosophy and a weak argument, and shall remain so as long as you have made the five per cent

minority an excuse for deviating with nationalism from the proper religious direction, ignoring at the same time the twenty per cent of your brothers, the non-Arab Moslems whose feelings and pride shall be hurt by your conceited racial philosophy. It was more proper that Islamic-minded people should take the existence of twenty per cent of non-Arab Moslems as their argument to oppose the invocation of Arab nationalism. If Pan-Islamism will irritate and anger five per cent of non-Moslem Arabs, then Arab nationalism would more certainly irritate and anger twenty per cent of non-Arab Moslems, who believe that God had not ordained upon them the duty of supporting Arab nationalism or serve the purpose of glorifying this particular race... simply for being the Arab race. God had indeed requested them to cooperate with the Arabs to support Islam and the social schemes contained in the message of Mohammed. Because of this, I think it silly and stupid of us, Arabs, to expect non-Arab Moslems to give willingly any support to Arab nationalism which ignores them and does not recognize them as a basic and original element in the area, which, as a "country", was really theirs before it became ours. Indeed, our original home country, before we accepted Islam, was the Arab Peninsula... It was Islam, not Arabism, that made all those countries, stretching from the Ocean to the Gulf, our homeland, and make (by its mercy, tole-

rance and loftiness) their people amalgamate with us to form, despite our different nationalities, one nation — the Moslem nation. Yet, now you come with your national doctrine to separate and divide us. How, then, can we expect of the non-Arab nationalities to support Arab Nationalism when this idea is so keen upon disrupting the Charter of Islam which the holy Kuran concluded among us all — to worship one God and accept Islam as the religion of all?”

My friend said, angrily:

— “How can you say this? How can you say it was we who broke the charter of Islam? This is an outrageous accusation... I pray you to take it back.”

— “Do not be angry; I said the word and shall repeat it as long as I live, by God’s will...”

Nationalists Abrogate The Charter Of Islam:

The call to Arab nationalism abrogated the Charter of Islam which united Arabs and other races under its banner. Advocates of Arab nationalism have cancelled the most important provision of that great Charter. The Kuran, the source of such provision, states:

“And hold firm to the cord of God, and do not disperse”.
And obviously the cord of God is Islam as is evident

in the "Hadeeth" (1): "The Moslem is a brother to the Moslem; he does not surrender him or let him down." The maker of this holy Charter of Moslem brotherhood, Mohammed, gave the best example by saying: "Believers are like one body, if one of its organs complain, the other organs will suffer of fever and sleeplessness."

According to this holy pact, the Moslem Arab should act as a brother, in good and bad times, towards the non-Arab Moslem. The same applies to the non-Arab Moslem towards the Moslem-Arab. Yet, we, the Arabs of today, are calling the Arabs to hold firm to the cord of Arabism — not Islam — We also made our slogan "Arabs are brothers whether they believe in Islam or not". This means that an Arab is a brother to any other Arab regardless of whether the latter be a Moslem, a Jew, a Christian or devoid of any religion. According to this nationalistic philosophy, a Moslem-Arab should be, in word and deed, a loving brother and an assisting supporter to any Jewish-Arab or Godless-Arab. This philosophy ignores the necessity of Moslem cooperation with Moslem. It indeed refuses to have any Moslem-Arab assist his Moslem-Arab brothers in the basis of religion, considering this as a sectarian heresy, bad and harmful to Arab unity!!!

(1) The Sayings of the Prophet.

Now, don't you recognize, my friend, that this national philosophy is nothing less than a new ARAB NATIONALISTIC CHARTER, in complete contradiction with the old Islamic Charter which had brought into being the greatest state in history, the State of Islam?!

A Comparison Between Two Charters:

Hear me, my friend, that you may know the truth of the matter:

The Charter of Islam, made and concluded by the Kuran, says: "The Moslem is the brother of any Moslem, whoever he was and wherever he may be, and that a Moslem-Arab must be a faithful brother to the Moslem-negro, even before he may be so towards his brother — the non-Moslem Arab."

On the other hand, your new national Charter says: "An Arab is the brother of any other Arab, whoever he was and wherever he may be, and regardless of his being a Moslem or an idolater." This Charter of yours forces the Moslem-Arab to be and act as a faithful brother and an ardent supporter to any Jewish, Christian, Godless or infidel Arab. At the same time, it does not require of him to be so in relation to his non-Arab Moslem brothers. Nay, he is even prevented from doing so; because expressing any feelings on

Islamic basis is considered, according to national philosophy, a reactionary attitude which may delay the march of Arabism. Can you see, my dear nationalist friend, a bigger abrogation to the Charter of Islam than your new irreligious national pact?"

Nationalism Isolates The Arabs From The Moslem Family:

If your philosophy is not considered a breach of the Islamic Charter, then I do not believe that anything under the sun could be called a breach of trust, promises or pacts. If you only imagine the degree of damages or losses which befell the Moslem-Arabs, as a result of your shaky and unplanned racial philosophy, you would not be as fanatic to your neo-nationalism as you are now."

— "What damage and loss do you mean?"

— "I meant to say that we were, before the dawn of Islam, a small Arab community, almost unknown. But when God blessed us with Islam, our name rang out to the four corners of the world, and we became the centre of world attention. And, due to the spiritual bond of Islam, we became brothers to more than four hundred million Moslems who, for centuries and centuries, continued to treat us with Islamic sympathy and brotherhood. The feelings of any of them, even in the

farthest corner of India, would be disturbed if he heard of any evil touching us or of anyone invading our land. Thus, we continued to live as a distinguished and highly respected member of the great Moslem commonwealth, whose members cooperated and responded to each other, guided by the values of Islam and living happily within its circle. This happy state of tranquillity continued until God chose to plague us with you; and you emerged with your narrow racial philosophy which separated us from the great family of Islam, and left us alone, revolving in the world like a lonely tiny planet revolving in the space within its narrow little orbit — Arab Nationalism. Before your appearance, we were an illuminating great star revolving around a wide and roomy orbit, whose firm and stable centre was Islam.

We lost, or almost lost, due to your racial philosophy, the sympathies of more than four hundred million Moslems, who began, after you declared your cursed Charter, to look upon us as a black sheep or a foreign nation with whom they have no religious bonds. Indeed, they have good reason to do so if we look at things from your point of view.

Yet, when certain Moslem states take a negative attitude regarding your national problems, you get angry and hasten to remind them that you are a Moslem nation, forgetting that you had unconsciously taken a negative attitude towards their cases, as everyone

who keeps record of world affairs knows. Well, do you think that you are dearer to them than themselves, or does the blood that runs in your veins contain a higher substance than that contained in their blood, and hence allow yourselves to request the support you denied them in their time of need? You reminded me a few minutes ago of the attitude taken by certain Moslem states towards the Algerian case in the United Nations. I agree with you that it was a painful attitude; but have you forgotten, O ye nationalist, the similar attitude you took in the cases of Kashmire, Cyprus, Turkestan and other Moslem problems? You should be contended rather than angry when somebody treats you with the same standard you treat him with, or speaks to you with the language you use in speaking to him.

Nationalists And The Moslem Cases In India And Kashmire:

A victim of national hallucination, an Arab-Moslem youth, came to a Pakistani leader, an ardent advocate of Pan-Islamism, who was on a visiting tour through the Arab World, and said:

“What have you done, and what do you intend to do, with regard to the new Arab national movement?”

The Pakistani leader answered: “We have done, and intend to do a great deal to support our Arab bro-

thers, not on the basis of your racial motives, but in compliance with the religious bond that ties us together, and which you have almost cut by your new movement; yet... we shall continue to be faithful to that bond regardless of what you do. Pakistan's attitude towards Arab cases has been, since Pakistan emerged as a state, that of loyalty and sympathy. It always hastened, motivated by the religious motive, to support every Arab case. The whole world knows its attitude in the Palestinian case and Algerian case".

"But", continued the Pakistani leader, "every nation, my Arab lad, has its own problems and cases. You have the Palestinian catastrophe, the Algerian war, and other cases which we supported. We, on the other side, have on our hands the problems of Kashmire and the Moslem minorities in India. You are suffering from the calamity of the two million Arabs of Palestine, who became the victims of Zionist aggression; we, on the other hand, suffered death, hunger and large scale migration as a result of the Indian aggression. Your Indian friends have killed about two million Moslems in Kashmire and India in the name of religious fanaticism, and dismissed about ten million people from their homes and lands and chased them across the borders where they stumbled hungry, naked and exhausted. They invaded Moslem Kashmire and still occupy it by means of sheer force, and mistreat your

Moslem brothers. They had also wiped out by military force the Moslem state of Hayderabad. Now, it is my turn, my lad, to ask what have you done for your brothers there?"

"O ye enthusiastic nationalist", the Pakistani visitor continued, "go back to your memory and see if it reminds you of anything that you did for your Moslem brothers in their tragedies which are greater than your dilemmas in Palestine and Algeria. Your memory shall not help you and, therefore, I shall answer for you : You have kept silent about our tragedies as if they never existed. Your national newspapers did not publish one line denouncing the tragedy as if the whole matter did not concern you as Moslems, and as if you could not differentiate in your consideration between Hindo-India and Moslem-Pakistan; and as if there was not, in India and Pakistan, a Moslem nation of over 125 million persons entitled to your support and bound to you by a heavenly charter, made and concluded by the Kuran, and cemented by the common chanting: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is His Prophet."

On the other hand, Moslem Pakistani papers took the lead, in denouncing and attacking every form of aggression or oppression that you face, even if it came from governments that have mutual world-interests with Pakistan".

India Recognizes Israel:

The visitor went on to say:

“Things did not stop there and then, for some of you went as far as grasping, in friendship, the hands stained with the blood of one million and a half Pakistani Moslems, and describing the brute fanatic savages as the heroes of “positive neutrality and messengers of peace”; while they are in fact the villains of Moslem tragedy in India and the leaders of the worst kind of religious fanaticism Islam ever encountered, as is well known to every impartial observer of Pakistan-India relations and the massacres of Hayderabad. This is in addition to the fact that your friend India has recognized criminal Israel and exchanged diplomatic representations, ignoring that more than 45 million Moslems live within its borders, who were angered by this unnecessary recognition which occurred despite your friendly relations with India and your preferring its friendship to that of Pakistan; the state which, despite your negative stand in the Kashmirian problem, refused to recognize Israel or even allow any israelite to touch its soil. India, on the other hand, is receiving, with all undue respect and honor, any visiting Israeli and is busy now strengthening Israel by opening its wide markets for its goods and products.

“This is the record, my dear lad, of what you

did for us and what we did for you. One thing more: Suppose we copied your example, and went to your enemy, Ben Gurion, shook his blood-stained hands, praised him and called him the hero of positive neutrality and the messenger of peace, would you, then, blame us? I do not think you can. Because, if you did, our convincing answer would be ready: Your enemy, who killed and scattered abroad a million Arabs, is not less criminal than our enemy who killed and scattered abroad eleven million and a half. Besides that the blood of your one million refugees is not more valuable than that of our eleven million and a half victims ... For we are all human, the sons of Adam.

“What I have just said is only for the sake of argument, for we, the Pakistanis, shall never even think of such a base action because we have a religion which protects us against such a sin. Now, I hope, that the mere supposition shall not anger you.”

Arabism, A New Religion Of Moslems:

Having related the above discussion between the Pakistani leader and the Arab youth, I turned to my friend and said:

— “So you see how your national whims stir dissatisfaction and anti-feelings in the hearts of other brothers, the non-Arab Moslems, who rejected their original na-

nationalities and accepted Islam as religion and nationality. The Pakistanis rejected their Indian nationality and built for themselves a non-racial Islamic entity, preferring Islam to the Indian nationality. While we, the Arabs, the first carriers of Mohammed's message, seem to prefer the contrary — assigning Islam and exchanging it for a non-religious nationality which lays down, for admission to its ranks, the condition of giving up Islam and making Arabism the arch-religion of all the Arabs, highly seated over and above Islam and Christianity. An Arab leader once said : "Moslems have two religions — Islam and Arabism. Christians have two religions — Christianity and Arabism. But the bond that binds all the Arabs of to-day together is Arabism."

My friend said:

— "You are a strange person! I see that you are more enthusiastic for the Ajams (non-Arabs) than they are for themselves. I have also noticed that you bear a grudge against the Arabs that reveals itself in your repeated articles about the subject you seem to concern yourself with. Had I not known you to be a Kahtani Arab, I would have certainly classed you as a "Shoou-bi" (non-Arab Moslems bearing militant hate to the Arabs)".

— "By God! This has always been your ready weapon!

Everyone who refuses to follow you blindfoldedly repeating like a parrot your slogans, or dancing to the tunes of your pipes, is immediately labeled as a "Shoou-bi" or an agent of imperialism, who hates the Arabs and conspires to destroy them. This is your only store from which you fetch your supplies of accusations and denunciations for distribution among those who do not "collect wood with your rope or dance to your music."

Even those who call you to come back to Islam and follow its path, as God has ordained, even those faithful men whom imperialism greatly fears are, in your opinion, either agents of imperialism, or "Shoou-bis" disliking to see Arab dignity or glory, and hating the victory of Arab Nationalism!

What I wrote, my friend, did not contain a defence of the Ajams for you may accuse me of being a "Shoou-bi" — a term of which meaning you know nothing except that it serves you well as a useful weapon for slander and defaming. Yet, if he who says the truth is a "Shoou-bi", then I would be the first Arab to announce his pride in adhering to the creed.

What Is "Shoou-biat"?

"As you have come to mention the term "Shoou-biat", I continued "I would like you to explain its meaning, especially as the word has become one of your

frequently used terms, such as traitor and agent.”

My friend answered, shaken by conceit:

— “The “Shooubis” are people who enshrine hatred to the Arabs, and hate to see a flag of theirs rise.”

— “When did the Arab World experience such a class of hateful people?... And were the Arabs exposed to the venom of such people before or after your brand of nationalism appeared?”

He said:

— “The Arabs have been exposed to the venom of the “Shooubis” for centuries, and before the appearance of our new movement.”

— “Was this hatred you mentioned an innate nature born with those “Shooubis”, or was there an ulterior motive behind their hatred and venom?”

— “Well, I guess there was an ulterior motive which filled their hearts with hatred.”

— “Will you kindly tell me, in details, about the real cause that made the “Shooubis”, as you call them, hate us and so keen upon harming our nationality?”

— “Those people”, he said, “had their own religion and state, then we, the Arabs, came to destroy their religion and wreck their state, until we made it a small satellite in the Arab empire. The Arabs, for example,

during the Omayyads, extinguished the un-holy fire of the "Majus" (Old Persian religion), and raised their banners above the ruins of the fire-worshipping temples and the debris of the old Persian empire. It was natural for the defeated to blame the Arab element for the fading of their glory and the destruction of their kingdom; hence, their souls were filled with hate of the Arabs."

Having thus trapped him, I asked:

— "Well, tell me then, when did this happen, and under what banner and in the name of what message did the Arabs destroy the states of the "Shooubis"? Did the Arabs do all that under any national banner, or in the name of any "cooperative socialist doctrine"? Or was there a greater doctrine under which banner the Arabs rushed out to change the face of history, and pull to the ground the mighty crowns of those "Shooubis"?"

He answered, much confused:

— "The truth is that the Arabs achieved all that at the early stages of Islam and wrote history under the banner of the Kuran and under the name of Islam."

I said:

— "Therefore, you admit that the cause of all those achievements was Islam, and nothing but Islam, and

that had not the Arabs carried the message and marched from their Peninsula under its banner, no one could have hated them.”

He said, defeated:

— “No one can deny this, because the world knows that, had it not been for the message of Islam, the Arabs could not have moved one foot outside their Peninsula, least of all destroy kingdoms or pull down crowns.”

I said:

“Now that you know this undeniable truth, I would like to hear your answer to the following question: Are you, the cooperative-socialists of to-day, among those who carry the message of Islam and advocate the call of the Kuran — which, as we have just agreed, was the main cause behind — that you may become the target of the “Shooubis” anger, hatred and conspiracies?... Or have you become like them, unable to hear Islam mentioned or look at it except with the eye of hate and suspicion?”

— “Oh, no, we do not hate Islam, as you may imagine! We are Moslems who pray and fast; yet we believe that bringing religion into the arena of politics will cause an unfavourable reaction. It will divide the world into religious camps, wherein every faction will aggregate around its own core; and the result will be the emer-

gence of a Jewish front, a Christian front, a Moslem front and a Bouddhist front."

I said, trying not to add to his embarrassment:

— "Why don't you admit that you hate to see the emergence of an efficient movement which may create a Moslem alliance to uphold Islam? You really ought to be the last people exposed to the hatred of the "Shooubis", because the motive of such hate is absent in your case. You really have no reason to attach the label of "Shooubi" on those who oppose your national movement. For, if the "Shooubis" hate the Arabs because, as you admitted a few minutes ago, they (the Arabs) carried the message of Islam and implemented the call of the Kuran, then I would not be exaggerating if I say that you (the nationalists) are the ones who should be called "Shooubis" and carry the title of "Shooubiat"?"

— "You have gone beyond the good manners of discussion", protested my friend, "for what evidence do you have to support this serious accusation?"

— "I have not breached the manners of good discussion, for I am in possession of convincing evidence: You are at one with the "Shooubis" for are you not irritated by the idea of establishing one Moslem state? And haven't you been working against the establishment of any government guided by religion? Haven't

the advocates of a Moslem state been the target of, your nager and attacks? Haven't you described them with the worst kind of names such as: Reactionaries, opportunists, sectarians, crusaders, etc... ? Have not your preachers cried in their sermons "Arabism is our religion, down with sectarian reactionary elements"? Don't you really mean by reactionary the returning to Islam? Now, do you still doubt that what you are doing is identical to the actions of the "Shoou'bis" who reject Islam and refuse to accept it as religion and state?"

— "This seems to be your opinion about us. Anyhow, every man is entitled to his free opinion. We, on the other hand, do not see in our opposition to the establishment of a religious rule in the Arab World any indication of our so called hatred to Islam. Our reason for this attitude lies in extraordinary circumstances difficult to explain to you."

— " I agree with you that each of us is entitled to his opinion; yet, this does not hide the facts. God alone can guide people to the truth and I pray Him to open the eyes of all of us to the right path."

In a further discussion with my friend, I reminded him of a previous statement of his "establishing

Islamic rule in the Arab World shall urge our enemies (in the East and West) to join forces, become tougher in their animosity to us and more stubborn in keeping the parts they had annexed of our country; and therefore, we should not allow any rule to be established on the basis of religion to avoid the anger of those enemies and gain their sympathy". You also said that mixing religion with politics will divide the world into many religious camps, each antagonistic to the other, etc... You also concluded that such a state of affairs will make the world a bad world, burdened with disturbances and tension. Now, I would like to comment on your above statements to show you their fallacy:

1st — You know that a long time has passed since many Moslem countries have abandoned Islam as religion and state and let themselves be governed by the legislations of the enemies of the Islamic law and the teachings of Mohammed. Yet, the question remains: Has this caused the said enemies to decrease their animosity towards the Arabs, or convinced them to put an end to their conspiracies against the Arab countries? The truth is that they are still as they were, ready to destroy us and raise every obstacle they can master on the way of our progress. They are clearly still trying to prevent any union or solidarity we wish to establish. One of their methods is to deceive you and make you abandon Islam as the only way to progress and unity.

Those enemies for whose appeasement you abandoned your religion, remain butchers who are slaying the Algerians and shedding streams of blood with extreme ferocity and savagery unprecedented in the history of barbarism.

Those imperialists, for whose appeasement you abandoned your religion, are the ones who created Israel and made it the poisoned knife which still tears savagely the heart of the Arab World.

Bad Effects Of Mixing Religion With Politics Is A Legend:

As to your argument that bringing Islam into present politics will cause disturbances in the world and will result in the emergence of Christian alliance, Jewish alliance and Bouddhist alliance, I would like to make the following comments:

How silly and stupid you are! Indeed, how devoid of common sense you are! For, when has your abandoning Islam caused the Christians to be less fanatic or the Jewish alliance to be weaker, or the Bouddhist aggregation less aggressive? No, my dear friend; one examining look at the realistic world will prove that your attitude had not prompted any of the above-mentioned results. Christian intolerance is still tense and strong; Jewish alliance is at its summit; and Bouddhist

aggregation is evident and apparent.

Christian solidarity and amassing is clear in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and in most European governments, as well as in the Christian parties which still, until this minute, enjoy the greatest influence upon the governments as the case is in Italy, France, Britain, Belgium, West Germany, Holland and both Americas. You will also find it in the great titles of the Queen of Britain — “The Protector Of Christianity” — or in the British African Empire whose head is a Christian Monarch ruling nations two-thirds of which are Moslems. You may ask the authorities of this empire about its Moslem citizens and how many deputies represent them in the imperial Parliament!

As for Jewish alliance and Hebrew fanaticism, you may ask Israel and the Jewish world organizations. They will all tell you that Israel was not established except on the basis of the three thousand years old bonds — the past history of the Jewish religion — The name “Israel” is the symbol of absolute attachment to ancient Judaism. Israel, after all, is the name of the old Jewish Prophet “Yacoub” (Jacob). It occurs to me that you, Arab nationalists, may know that the Jewish authorities have legislated that religion should be taught six hours a week in elementary schools and eight in the secondary. Now, look and see if any Arab edu-

cational programme has assigned any hours to the teaching of Islam? I shall be satisfied with half the time scheduled for Jewish schools in Israel. But this is an ambitious hope because Arab schools have only three religion classes in the elementary schools and one hour in the secondary; even these few hours are voluntary, while they are compulsory in the Jewish schools, and no student can graduate from high school without passing an obligatory examination in religion. Arab students can graduate even if they fail completely in the religion course. So Israel is more interested in its religion than certain Arab states are!

Hindu Fanaticism Against The Moslems Of India:

As for the Hindu-Bouddhist alliance, you may ask the forty-five million Moslems of India who can tell you about its evil effects evident in the one-million and a half Moslems killed by Hindu-intolerance. I beg you to seek further evidence of this evil fanaticism among the nine million Moslems chased from their homes and dismissed across the Pakistani boundaries where they became the most destitute refugees on earth. One also may remember the temple of infidel idols destroyed seven centuries ago by the Moslem hero Mahmoud El-Ghaznaoui El-Afghani, and wonder why did the Hindus insist upon reconstructing it in this era of "social democracy", and with Moslem money. Did

this happen — at the age of positive neutrality — as a gesture of tolerance towards the Moslems of India? Or rather to do despite to them and revenge the heroic deed of Mahmoud El-Ghaznaoui?

You may also remember, my nationalist friend, the seven great Mosques destroyed by the Hindus in Western Bengal, the three other Mosques reshaped into Hindu temples, and the three more changed into public lavatories! If you still want more evidence, then read the Indian daily "Amrit Patrica" published in Allahabad, India. This paper published — at the golden times of positive neutrality — and with the approval of the so-called messengers of peace, brotherhood and tolerance, the insulting following news: "Two million and eight hundred thousand Moslems live in Ragestan, and yet they are represented in the Parliament by two deputies only. On the other hand, the "untouchables" in the same region, accounting only to one million and seven hundred thousand persons are represented by 21 deputies..."

O, ye, good nationalists, does not this indicate a stubborn coalition against Islam in that area? Does not it also indicate that Moslems there are treated worse than the untouchables? Still, do you know, good nationalist, that the 25 districts constituting the region of Ragestan where about three million Moslems live, do not have one single Moslem occupying a responsible

post, such as district governor, police director or even an inspector or judge?...

Now, listen, O you who are afraid of mixing religion with politic, to what "The Truth" daily, one of the oldest newspaper in Otar Bradesh, wrote: "Before the division, the regional Parliament had 66 Moslem deputies out of 288. Now it has only 45 out of 430. The ratio of Moslems to the rest of the population is 13%, and Moslems should have 13% representation. They only have 5% representation!..."

A miss Badmaja Naydo, once governor of the region, member of the Conference Party, and deputy at the Indian Parliament, said: "A huge number of Moslem officials were dismissed from the Government for purely religious reasons. There are more than one hundred thousand unemployed Moslems for whom the Government did not bother to prepare any project for the employment of the refugees whose women had to practice prostitution to earn their living."

The Urdu language was banned in Hayderabad although it was widely spoken. The Hindus persecuted Oulaikara University from which a great number of Moslem leaders in India and Pakistan graduated. They prohibited teaching in Urdu and imposed the Hindu language upon the university and made it the official teaching language.

Hear, O nationalists, how Bouddhism is controlling education in India, as well as politics and administration. "The Mistig" daily of Delhi said in an article published under the title: "Is this a secular education?":

"Director of Education in Ragestan appeal to-day to all authors and writers to write suitable books containing lessons in Hindu about the importance of the "Cow" at the various stages of its life. Education must bear the stamp of religion — Hinduism."

Evidently, my nationalist friend knows that the Ragestani region contains about three million Moslems. Yet, education is based on the Hindu religion by official instructions issued by the director of education himself. What should Moslems do about such a situation? Should they leave their children abandon Islam and be Hindu-endocrinated? Or should they deprive them of the privilege of education?.

One could dwell more on this subject and speak more about the intervention of the authorities in Moslem affairs and their persecution of Moslem-children. But it may suffice to state here what Hindu newspapers say about the sufferings of Moslems in India. "Virajon Daily", published on April the 12th, 1952, an article under the title: "Why Must Moslems Convert To Hinduism?" in which the Hindu writer said: "The religious disputes shall not end unless Moslems of India

accept the Hindu religion. This is the only way open for them to preserve their old civilization and traditions. By accepting Hinduism, they may also find a place in the commercial life. Their best alternative is to accept the Hindu religion."

A report states that Shri Jululkar, president of the R.S.S. Organization; announced at a general meeting held at Bandur: "Moslems can never become Indians. They are foreigners who exploited the country. For nine hundred years, the period of their domination, they worked for the destruction of our culture and civilization." After quoting Shtra, the Holy Hindu book, he continued: "Moslems in India neither accepted the language of India nor adopted its culture and civilization; therefore, they do not possess the virtue of belonging to India and hence have no right to request its protection!!!"

Moslems Not Allowed To Slay Cows In India:

The said organization also reported concerning the tragedies of Moslems in India:

"We can state, without fearing any opposition, that the main and only cause for the Moslem emigration from India to Pakistan is their feeling of insecurity and their looking upon a dark future... We ought to be ashamed of ourselves."

The weekly "Ryassat" published in Delhi and edited by "Sirdar Diwan Singh Maftoon", wrote in its May 23rd, 1952 issue: "Moslems in Delhi slew cows openly before partition. Beef was sold in every Moslem's butchershop, especially on the eve of Al-Adha feast. To-day, any Moslem who kills a cow is not only liable to be reproached by his fellow Moslems out of fear from the Hindus, but he may be taken to Court and his fellow Moslems forced to testify against him." The writer concluded by suggesting that the only solution to the problem is either to reunite Pakistan with India or let all Indian Moslems migrate to Pakistan.

The same weekly wrote on September 26th, 1952: "Having given our deepest thought to the problem of the Moslems' future in India, we reached one conclusion: That this future is dark indeed and that, if the forty million Moslems wish to live in peace in India, they should become communists and base their existence there upon economic factors. If they agree to do so, they must foresake God, Islam, the Kuran and the Prophet. Moslems in India can not live peacefully as long as they remain Moslems; they have to sever all their ties with Islam in order to feel secure and at peace."

"Azad Hind" published in Calcutta stated in its issue of September 1952 the following: "Twenty-five moslems were arrested for killing cows at the occasion

of Al-Adha feast. They were chained, hands and feet, by the police and taken away for interrogation."

Imam Sitiono wrote in his book "Moslems in India", page 8: "One hundred seventy-five riots occurred against the Moslems after the signature of "The Nehru Pact". Yet, the incident of massacring the Moslems on March 11th, 1952, is of some significance: While hundreds of Hindus were happily singing and showering coloured water upon the Prime Minister Shri Nehru, burning acids were showered upon the Moslem citizens in the same city, at the same time. Tens of daggers pierced the backs of peaceful Moslems. The coloured waters of the festivals flowed mixed with the red colour of Moslem blood."

Indian religious fanaticism controls Indian policies, administration, education and many other fields of life. Forty million Moslems are being tortured every day in "friendly" India and live under a nightmare of persecution and terror, which leave two sad alternatives for the Moslems: Either to foresake Islam and sever all relations with the Kuran, or emigrate from India to Pakistan. Yes, this is the kind of treatment the Moslems of India are receiving at the hands of the so-called "Messengers of Peace and Heroes of Positive Neutrality", whom you describe as the leaders who "changed the face of history."

You, dear nationalists, have been lead by your

Arab generosity and tolerance to grant our brothers the Christian minorities complete freedom to practice their religious affairs and legislative rights. This is the proper attitude, because Islam ordains that minorities shall enjoy the full rights enjoyed by Moslems and bear the same duties. But, your generosity has gone beyond the limits and tempted you to silence the voice of Islam in its own home-land, and cut all bonds between you and its guidance in the various fields of life. You are actually burying it, its principles and doctrines... simply to appease five per cent of the citizens.

What is worse than all this is the fact that your leaders hasten to assure Indian leaders of their intention not to allow Islam to grasp power in any Arab Country. This kind of assurance is repeated whenever Indian spokesmen express their fears against the re-emergence of Islam. It is mockery itself that Indians should fear the rise of Islam while they have several communist parties represented in the Indian Parliament. One of those parties once succeeded even in forming a communist state in Kerala Province.

Indians Fear Islam More Than Communism:

Are Moslem principles more dangerous to the Hindus than communism, that they may fear them to the extent of making their spokesmen express their

worries against the rise of Islamic power in India?

I personally would answer "No" to the question. The real cause is blind religious fanaticism. But when will Arab Moslem leaders understand this fact and sober a little to stop appeasing atheism and communism on the expense of Islam?"

Having reached this point, I turned to my friend and said:

— "I hope you are convinced now that you have not succeeded in deterring Bouddhist hatred, Christian intolerance or Jewish fanaticism by your secular invocation to abandon religion. You have only succeeded in disbanding Moslem unity and dislodging Arab solidarity. You have achieved no gain from these enemies by abandoning your religion to assume the roll of progressive nationalists. On the contrary, your exchanging religion for Arabism made God abandon you and leave you to your own devices which, in turn, led you to the confusion and disunity you are in now. You must admit, dear friend, that the claim that it is better to unite under the banner of Arab nationalism than under the banner of Islam is a false claim and a harmful idea to Islam. You will also find that most of the advocates of this anti-Islamic philosophy, and its spokesmen, are non-Moslems. The leader of the "Baath" party in Syria, who made a popular front with commu-

nism to combat the "Moslem Brothers" party, is a non-Moslem. Having smashed the Moslem Brothers' movement, the said party claimed falsely that it takes the lead in opposing the communists, the allies of yesterday. The same applies to all national parties such as the Syrian Popular Party, formed and lead by Antoun Saadé, a Christian too. So we can see that our accepting a national ideology based upon denying Islam as state and faith, and isolating it from politics, means implementing the schemes of the enemies of Islam, who apparently fear nothing more than the re-emergence of Islam and its ascendance to power. They know that its re-emergence mean the first step towards world liberation by Islam. Our continuing to be deceived by the theory of "Nationalism Without Islam" shall lead us into more weakness, more disunity and complete submission to the foreign elements encouraged by the outsiders to destroy Islam in its own fortress.

Professor Mohammed Al-Ghazali And Nationalism:

We can not find a better definition of such harmful elements who find cover under Arab nationalism than that of Professor Mohammed Al-Ghazali, who said: "What are these people? They are neither Arabs, nor Ajams; neither Russians, nor Americans. They are like a distorted ugly creature digging its claws in the flesh of our nation. They are people of our kin and

tongue, yet they act as enemies of our history and civilization and constitute a burden upon our struggle and awakening. Those who hate our religion find great assistance in them. The veils should be pulled down from the faces of those who emerged suddenly and filled the world with their noises as noisy frogs do at night. The nation should know them as they are, so as to block the way before their deceiving lies and false claims. More light must be shed upon the task assigned to them by the imperialists who, having taught their agents, stepped aside to watch the stage from afar, and observe the results of their scheming. These results which could only lead to the annihilation of the Kuranic message and its preacher Mohammed Bin Abdullah, peace be on Him.

We have read their writings and heard their slogans. But it did not take much intelligence to recognize their objectives. They are heretics, proud of their heresy, and rudely claim that Islam was only an Arab renaissance achieved by pure Arab elements during the Middle-Ages and succeeded through its great revolution to invade the world under the leadership of one genius Arab, the great leader Mohammed. The implication here is that this great religion grew from earth and did not descend from heavens; and that it was the philosophy of an ambitious conquering nation, and not a divine guidance

which came from God to save the Arabs from the lowest levels of ignorance and backwardness and lift them up to the lofty strata of enlightened religion and tolerant faith which radiated throughout the world as the rays of light scatter on the horizon at sunset. Thanks be to God who had chosen Mohammed and blessed Him with the message of truth, after telling Him:

“Thou did not know what the scripture or faith
“were”,

and

“God hath descended upon thee the Book and
“Wisdom and hath taught thee what thou did not
know.”

And also (about the Arabs):

“Allah verily has shown grace to the believes by sending unto them a messenger of their own who reciteth unto them His revelations, and causeth them to grow, and teacheth them the Scripture and wisdom; although before (he came to them) they were in flagrant error.”

What Arab marching was it then? And what Arab genius could have brought about this generous good to the people of the world?

The claim that Islam was an Arab “production”

is a big lie and a shameful disillusion. It is not a negation of Islam alone but of all religions. It aims at breeding heresy, mutiny and debauchery throughout the world.

The curious thing about those heretics is that they fight Islam and denounce its followers while making peace with other creeds (heavenly and wordly) as if Islam is the arch-enemy they were asked to iradicate, or the main obstacle they were given the hammers to destroy. Indeed, it seems that imperialism has had no enemy throughout this century other than Islam! It was always the spring of opposition and the source of the fighting spirit which defeated the aggressors and paralysed their conspiracies. Hence, it is only natural for imperialism to weave its spider-webs around Islam to strangle it and prevent it from seeking a worthy life.

Nationalism, An Imperialist Fabrication:

Imperialism Invented And Nourished Small Nationalities To Weaken The Foundations Of This Religion:

Fourteen centuries have elapsed since the Arabs were associated with Islam, or since God honoured the Arabs with the task of announcing His message to the rest of the world. A glance at the far past should tell us that the Arabs were of no importance before Islam. Then this religion came and carried them

through the wide doors of history. Under its banner, they made a name for themselves. Then they committed a mistake when they thought that this universal religion gives them a special privilege and signals them out as a supreme race over the other races. The inevitable reaction to this misconception began to appear. Other races stood to defend their dignities and rights. Those mutual mistakes — the action and reaction — were magnified by human weakness and man's longing for the old days of ignorance and the incapacity of some people to bear the burden of striving towards human perfection. It also goes back to the traditions of tribal loyalties which had no place in Islam. However, the old Arabs took loyalty to Islam as their standard of pride and distinction above others. Indeed, they had nothing better to be proud of. Their record was empty and their history was blank. Yet, the propagandists of today dare to advocate a movement no man had heard of before — namely that Arabism should be devoid of religion and deprived of Islam; and that the Arabs will advance if they rid themselves of Islam.

A writer of this gang found the courage to declare that Islam hurt Arabism, that the Arabic language expanded farther than Islam, and finally that Islam, being universal, is harmful to Arab nationalism.

This kind of talk is being circulated to serve the

ends of Western and Eastern imperialism. Those who utter such talk are undoubtedly in the service of the aggressors whose armies still camp in certain Arab countries to humiliate the people.

Another writer of this gang demands from us to forget our history and look to the future. This writer must have forgotten that the Jews established their state motivated by the inspiration of their history.

How come that it is permissible for all people to associate their history with their struggle and impermissible for us, Moslems, to be proud of our great history or seek its guidance and assistance in our struggle?

A Hebrew, or Arab Nationality?

What those heretics and haters of Islam preach is a Hebrew nationality and not Arabic. The characteristics of Arabism, its spiritual and social values, its legacy and future inspirations, can never be separated from Islam. Non-Moslem Arabs lived under Islam in good harmony and peaceful co-existence. The evil we should fight is this heretical nationalism which fights Islam and attempts in vain to undermine its constitution. However, we shall remain watchful.”

After reading some paragraphs of Al-Ghazali's book ("With God") to my friend, he said:

— “This man (Al-Ghazali) is but one of your little circle trying in vain to oppose the sweeping current of Arab nationalism by glittering and empty highfaluting phrases, which impress no one but yourselves because you refuse to be realistic and prefer to live in a world of fantasy, the world of thirteen centuries ago.”

“Listen”, he continued with enthusiasm, “despite your cries and lamentations over Islam, trying to reach the hearts of the people, you shall remain as you were, one white hair on the skin of a black bull, in proportion to the multitude of Arab nationalists. It is a holy march — the march of Arab nationalism — you simply can not stand on its way, and it may be better for you to give up opposition and retire. The new principles have won the sympathies of the overwhelming majority to the Arabs. You remain, and shall remain, in the insignificant minority.”

Victims Of Propaganda And Charlatanism:

— “ You have tried”, said I, “to stir the feelings of manhood in yourself and the fire of independent thinking to cure yourself from the disease of blind imitation and stupid copying. But it seems that your illness is serious and shall keep you where you stand now, blindfolded and dumb, unable to see or hear anything but the tricks of charlatans and the noises of impostors,

to whom Arabism is but a sign-board they hang for propaganda purposes over the windows of the stores of their fantastic political ambitions. Indeed, you and your comrades are but the victims of these impostors who penetrated our ranks and who, according to Al-Ghazali's description, speak our tongue but act like the worst enemies of our history and civilization. Your failure to understand is due to those impostors who master the art of dancing on many ropes and use the street mobs as a powerful weapon against those who dare declare the truth and direct its dazzling lights to tear the heavy curtains of darkness behind which those impostors conspire clandestinely to separate Arabism from Islam.

As to your statement in which you describe us, the followers of Islam, as a white hair on the skin of a black bull, I dare say it is a false claim that has no foundation. Your being numerous and we few does not serve as evidence that you are right or that we are wrong. Your being many does not provide you with a substitute for God's help; also our being few shall not deter our final victory. Victory does not necessarily go to the majority, or accompany it wherever it turns. If this had been so, truth would never have won a battle or falsehood lost a skirmish. History teaches us that the pioneers of truth always stood alone facing torture by the majority until victory step-

ped to their side and crowned their brave endeavours. Our example to this is the greatest pioneer of them all, Mohammed (Peace be on Him). This Arab Prophet stood alone preaching a message that was denied by the world of that time and opposed by the greatest rulers. Yet, the whole world knows how that lonely man carried His message victoriously to the hearts of millions of people of all races and tongues. Those faithful hearts are still repeating the echo of Mohammed's call, and shall do so until the end of time. It is truth, not number, that guarantees victory. God Almighty said:

“If you obeydst most of those on earth they would mislead thee far from Allah's way. They follow naught but an opinion, and they do not but guess.”

My friend retorted, growing more stubborn:

— “Let go this theoretical philosophy. You seem to be fond of decorative phraseology which does not at all represent realities. You keep bombarding our ears with talks about the past, its glories and ancient victories. Such kind of talk does not provide any practical answer to the Arab problems which need urgent solutions rather than empty sophistry. The Arab World needs men who can save it and unify it. Arab nationalism is the only way to do so.”

I said:

— “I am, as I had said before, only a simple writer trying sincerely to clarify certain ambiguities which hide serious dangers to both religion and Arabism; and put safety signs along the road of safety for the benefit of those who wish to be saved from the flood of the new conflicting currents which, despite their contradictions, seem to agree on one objective, namely to destroy Islam. One of those currents is this irreligious foreign movement whose advocates have penetrated Arab ranks and declared war against Islam in the name of Arabism, forgetting the eternal fact that any movement not based on Islamic principles will, in the long run, be harmful to the Arabs themselves, in addition to Islam. This is my main point which should be understood by every sincere person who desires prosperity and glory to the Arabs.

As for those who refuse to see the truth because they are prejudiced, biased or sick in their minds, I propose leaving them to themselves. The road is clear and confusion is over. A poet once said:

“I can make good poetry, but I do not give a damn if cows do not understand.”

My friend smiled and said:

— “Do you classify me under the category of those who do not understand?”

— “You know yourself better than I, and you enjoy the privilege of choice. So, classify yourself under whatever category you may choose.”

— “May God forgive you”, he commented, “However, I have a question to which I demand a clear answer: As long as you believe in what you call “proper Arab nationalism” and wish to see it strong and mighty; how, then, can you be so critical and why have you not used a different way of criticism, a constructive way that could save you the trouble of launching a direct attack against nationalism itself? What you are doing seems highly contradictory, especially when you attack, and then say, that Arab nationalism is not in itself the target of your criticism.”

— “You know”, I said, “that the call of Arab nationalism to-day is a political movement whose spokesmen try to deprive it of any religious meaning and oppose any other movement that takes religion as its base or source of values. Hence, I felt obliged to adopt this way of criticism because this new movement (whose leaders hate to see any state raise the banner of Islam in the Arab world, and whose legislative, moral, educational, judicial and economic philosophies are foreign-imported theories) is called Arab Nationalism. It is even being presented as a third universal ideology in which every Arab must believe and accept

as a substitute for Islam. A recent statement made by one of the leaders of the movement to appease an Indian leader who had expressed his worries about Islam re-establishing itself in the Moslem world confirmed this attitude. It clearly indicated that nationalists find "Arabism a good substitution to Islam." Hence, what other name could I use to describe the said movement than that used by its own leaders — "Arab Nationalism". Therefore, whenever I mention the phrase "Arab Nationalism" in the way of criticism, I mean this irreligious new movement they dressed in Arab robes and wanted to seat its foreign principles upon the throne of Islam and let them guide the Arab nation instead of the lawful and original leader, Islam. To distinguish between the brand of Arab Nationalism I believe in and this new non-Islamic movement they falsely call Arab nationalism, I usually attach an adjective or a definition to the latter to help the reader know that true Arab nationalism is not the target of my criticism such as:

"Non-Islamic Arab Nationalism", or

"The Neo-Arab Nationalism", or

"Their Arab-Nationalism".

The Moslem-League:

My friend said:

— “I have few more questions to ask, but I fear I am bothering you.”

— “Not at all”, said I, “I enjoy this discussion which gives me the opportunity to explain my points of view; and I am still ready to answer any question you may want to ask of me.”

— “I have often heard you talking about a Pan-Islamic league. Are you an enthusiastic advocate of this theory?”

— “Yes indeed I am, and I strongly recommend that all Arabs and Moslems should become the daring advocates of a Moslem-league.”

— “Do you really expect such a league, which will embrace Arabs with other Moslem states whose ways of life and problems differ from those of the Arab countries, to materialize? Knowing that some of those Moslem countries, such as Turkey and Iran, took a negative stand in certain Arab cases in international circles.”

— “It seems that you are completely ignorant of the roots of this movement and know very little about the proper way and solid foundations upon which we seek to establish this league. You think that Arab advocates of the Islamic League tend to overstep the boundaries and form a league of all Moslem countries

despite their present differences and the fact that most of them have adopted non-Moslem principles.”

— “If general Pan-Islamism is not your objective, then what is the use of your calling for the establishment of an Islamic League?”

— “Others have asked the same question, and I have attempted an answer in an article published in “Al-Nadwa” newspaper of Mecca. I shall try to summarise the said article, because I believe it contains a satisfactory answer and a concise explanation of the idea. The text of the article:

“Arab advocates of the proposed Moslem-League cherish no purpose other than promulgating the word of God, promoting the message of Islam and bringing the Moslems back to the orbit of Islam to advance on the right path designed by Islam and pointed out by God’s word to His Prophet: “Say: This is my way: I call on Allah with sure knowledge, I and whosoever followeth me — Glory be to Allah! — and I am not of the idolaters.”

Therefore, our basic and first aim is to promulgate Islam and realize the aims of the Kuran, within our Arab countries which should become living symbols embodying the spiritual values of Islam. Our purpose is to erect an Arab unity under the banner of Islam leaving the door open for all Moslem nations to join

in. They shall be urged and persuaded to unite with us upon the solid rock of Islam, and the rejection of any other doctrine. Therefore, Arab supporters of a Moslem league advocate Arab-Islamic unity that will serve as a nucleus for the all-Islamic unity whose basis was laid down by Mohammed and later built and realized to perfection by his faithful successors, only to be shaken later by events and weakened by diseases until it collapsed and Moslem unity torn asunder as it is now.

Undoubtedly, advocates of Pan-Islamism are not advocating a novelty in Arab history. They are preaching what Islam preached and what Mohammed and his followers actualized. To invite the Arabs to reunite under the banner of Islam and the sovereignty of the Kuran, is a logical attempt to allow Arab Moslem history repeat itself.

The Arabs could not, even at the summit of their great renaissance, achieve any positive objective for the other nations beyond their boundaries until they reformed themselves and built up their unity. Indeed, the Arabs, despite their adoption of a universal Moslem league, were not able to build up that great commonwealth of various and different races who co-existed peacefully under the shade of Islam until after they unified themselves around this firm foundation and heavenly doctrine — Islam. That is what we aim at

achieving in the Arab World. We are very keen to assemble this great nation and unify it, from the Ocean to the Gulf, under the banner of Islam. Every other movement aiming at unifying the Arabs under any other banner, save that of Islam, is doomed to fail. This great religion has proved, in theory and practice, that it contains the characteristics and potentialities of achieving a constructive and original Arab unity. Events have also shown that the attempt to unify the Arabs according to any other doctrine has only succeeded in carrying the Arabs from one failure to another.

Whereas the creation of a Moslem commonwealth has always been object No. 1 of Islam, Arab advocates look upon the re-establishment of such a commonwealth as their basic objective and hope to realize it immediately after the realization of Arab unity. They, therefore, invite all and every Moslem to do his best to prepare the atmosphere for the realization of the said unity. Moslem spokesmen have not spoken or thought of immediately uniting those huge human masses simply because they belong, in name, to Islam. For most of those people are ignorant and ruled by corrupt governments which rule according to non-Islamic legislations. The above said spokesmen realize also that to urge peoples with no common ground or motives to unite is an impossible task and a kind of joke; for how can

those whose constitution allows adultery and drunkenness unite with those who prohibit such evils and implement the law against such law-breakers?

The Basis Of Islamic League:

I remember in this occasion the reply of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, to the Brahman leaders, who tried to convince him of the necessity of forming one great Indian state embracing all Moslems and Hindus in the Indian continent on national basis and equality between Moslems and Hindus. Jinnah said:

"How can we do that? It is impossible to form one state of those who worship the cow and treat it as a god and those who kill it and eat its meat!"

This statement shows that advocates of the Islamic League tend to lay good foundation for the said League that the structure may rise strong and firm and not shaky like the novel doctrine which has no basis of its own except deceiving people by empty speeches and fiery slogans which sound like an old mill making much noise about nothing.

Advocates of Islamic League invite their brothers, the Moslem leaders, Arabs or non-Arabs, to recognize first of all Islam as their official religion and declare that they will derive their constitution from its text.

fountains and shall do their utmost to promote Moslem morality and conscientiousness among the youth at every stage of the educational ladder and whenever it is opportune; they should also appear in all occasions to support and respect this immortal religion as creed and way of life. Such an attitude alone can form the proper Moslem entity and identity whereby Moslems can share a common feeling of oneness. This groundwork is what the Moslem-league advocates consider the vital preliminary stage for the construction of the Islamic league. Without this preliminary stage, Arab advocates of Islam do not have the slightest intention to form an all-embracing Islamic-league of this heterogenous mixture of human beings, who neither think alike nor feel alike, and whose feelings do not meet around Islam or respond to its guidance and directions. As a matter of fact, advocates of the said league do not even imagine the establishment of any unity in the Moslem World before such a preparatory stage. They consider arousing common Moslem consciousness a corner stone in the building of the Pan-Islamic League, which they plan to achieve gradually and on successive stages:

The first stage: Promulgation of true Moslem consciousness among the various ranks of the Moslem nation, especially among school and university students. If this corner stone is properly laid down, the

secondary stages of construction will follow smoothly and spontaneously.

This is the essence of our idea and I believe that it is not an opinion dictated by the emotions or formulated by artificial enthusiasm or demagogical fantasy. This kind of mentality seem to think of unities as one would think of attending a show or a dancing-party. Such sick minds dream of unities without thinking of the preparatory delicate stages. Our opinion, on the other hand, is a sound, concentrated and well-planned opinion tested by history and prompted by the necessities of the present. It is the road we invite the Arab and Moslem nations to follow in order to realize the unity desired and demanded by the immortal Kuran. It should be clear from what has been said that Arab advocates of Pan-Islamism wish for their movement to progress according to a stable doctrine and peaceful methods, properly designed to reach the desired end."

Nationalists' Hatred To Islam:

— "What you have just told me about the Islamic league is new to me; I have not heard it from anyone else. It may be the right idea and the proper approach, but under the present circumstances implementation seems to be impossible. I have not yet seen any Moslem

state, Arab or non-Arab, adopt in any official way this idea. Indeed, I have seen certain Arab officials take a negative attitude and fight this idea as they fight destructive political thoughts such as communism. In certain big Arab states, the laws prohibit any publication to advocate the adoption of Islam as religion and state; and I suspect if they will allow you to propagate your utopia of Islamic-League: It does not sound practical. After all, Moslem leaders would not have stood against such a movement had they thought it harmful to the Arab World."

I said:

— "I have often told you that the number of followers or opposers of any idea is not a good criterion of whether it is good or bad. The idea of a Moslem-League is a sound and logical idea. Its validity shall not be affected by the persecution it faces in the Arab World or anywhere else. It is basically good and valid because it came from God and was not fabricated on earth. It is God's wish and God's will.

No man can fight or belittle what God ordains except he who has foresaken his religion and lost his way:

"And it becometh not a believing man or a believing woman, when Allah and His messenger have decided

and affair (for them), that they should (after that) claim any say in their affair; and whoso is rebellious to Allah and His messenger, he verily goeth astray in error manifest."

We know that those who fear the establishment of Moslems rule in the Arab World and volunteer to oppose with all their strength the message of Islam, do not do so because they believe that such a rule would be disastrous to their nations... Non, and a thousand times no, but rather because Moslem rule would be a threat to their personal interests. Establishing Islamic rule is like erecting a light house whose light shall unearth the accumulating layers of ignorance and exploiters shall have no chance to exploit the nation or abuse its future. That is why such people's opposition to Islamic rule or Moslem unity does not constitute any evidence or criteria against the validity and soundness of the idea. Their attitude is motivated by sheer fear of losing their private interests, greeds and priveleges which Islam denies."

Imaginary Fears:

My friend retorded:

— "You have been severe and unjust to those people and have failed to take into consideration the reasonable motives which make such Moslems dissatisfied

with the idea of establishing a religious rule in their countries; one of which is the existence of non-Moslem minorities in the Arab World.”

— “This, my friend”, I replied, “is the silliest argument of all and the bluntest weapon to use in a discussion. Let us suppose for arguments sake that the five per cent of non-Moslem minorities do not wish to see any Islamic rule established in the area and that the ninety-five per cent majority do stand for the idea; then with what logic and on the basis of what argument do you wish to ignore the wishes of the overwhelming majority to satisfy the will of the insignificant minority? International law and traditions demand that minorities submit to the will of the majority in every community. We are entitled to ask you again how could you suppress the will of ninety-five per cent of the population for the sake of a five per cent minority? Is this not an up-side down reasoning and an insane argument which no one would accept? At least, my friend, we can put the “Moslem Constitution” to a general vote in compliance with the people’s right to decide their own destinies...

I also believe that our Christian-Arab brothers shall not find any reason for dissatisfaction even if they review the whole law volumes of the world if and when our leaders execute the will of the Arab nation

and let the people chose the constitution they prefer. Minorities, dear friend, follow and do not lead everywhere except in your reversed logic which tries to subdue the will of the majority to that of the small minority. After all, what is it that worries the non-Moslems in a Moslem-State? And what phantom damages and imaginary catastrophs shall befall them if Moslem rule is applied on Moslems? We ask these theoretical questions knowing all the while that Moslem rule shall be applied to the 95 per cent Moslem population only. The non-Moslem minorities shall be exempted from its provisions in many fields — personal status, financial regulations, military duties and other political obligations — as is provided for in the provisions of the Moslem constitution.

The said constitution has guaranteed rights for the minorities to a degree unknown in any other basic law or constitution in the world. Indeed, it has bestowed upon the minorities privileges that were denied to the Moslems themselves.

In the field of finance, Islam does not impose upon the minorities any taxes except a yearly nominal sum hardly more than one per cent of the financial obligations requested from Moslems. In the religious sphere, Islam has granted the minorities absolute freedom of worship, practice and rituals, and prohibited any kind of infringement upon such freedoms.

In the field of personal liberties Islam has prohibited Moslems from certain social practices and even defined the penalties against transgressors. Yet, it did not even request or advice non-Moslems against those same taboos if they are not prohibited in their own respective religions — such as wine and pork, etc...

In the military field, Islam does not demand from any member of the minorities either to join the armed forces or pay for the cost of defense. Moslems alone have to bear such burdens and are held responsible for them. There are other similar gains and privileges granted to minorities.

Therefore, what damages shall touch the minorities if the constitution of Islam is implemented upon Moslems... in a Moslem land? Let me go farther and suppose that Islamic laws shall be enforced equally upon all citizens, Moslems or non-Moslems, and then ask: What is wrong in having the minorities treated on an equal basis with the overwhelming majority?

✓ *The Real Cause:*

The truth, my friend, is that the existence of minorities in the Moslem world does not constitute an argument against the establishment of Moslem rule in the Arab World. It is indeed a very poor argument. For ours is neither the first nor the only minority living

with a majority in the world. The real reason lies in the fact that those Moslems who find shelter in the "Minority Argument" do not wish to see any Islamic rule set up in the Arab World. They can not reveal their true motive lest they expose themselves to the anger of the people. So they take cover under a weak and fragile argument and use it as a pretext to fight the establishment of Moslem sovereignty. Their misleading charlatanism is being sold to you and others who get hypnotised and charmed by their slogans and fancy talk...

The Higher Council Of The "Good Will Societies" And The Moslem-League:

Your conversation about Islamic rule and the impossibility of establishing the Moslem league at this time reminded me of a valuable article published by the Higher Council of the "Good Will Societies" about this same subject. The article appeared in the 8th issue of "Qureish Magazine" of Mecca, 21st Jamadi Al-Thani, 1379 H., under the title: "Let The Ignorant Know". I would like to read this article out to you if you do not mind. It is full of decisive proofs and valuable interpretations".

— "I would like to hear that article. It may give some further light on the subject."

The text of the article:

“Students of the “History Of Islam” know that certain people were forced to accept Islam and hence enshrined an ill-will against it, and that other sick souls and corrupted hearts still bleed from the wounds of hate and rancour against Islam and its founders. There are also people who loose their heads and equilibrium whenever the horizon reflects a spark of hope that Islam is regaining its glory and unity. There are also eyes that loose their brightness and good vision when they see Islam raises a banner or lights a torch. Other groups had simply inherited their inimity to Islam and still conspire against it hiding behind various slogans and changing colours according to the times. In their strategy they follow the steps of their cursed leader, the first conspirator against Islam and its unity, Abdullah ben Seba’, the Jew who dealt the first serious blow to Islam. He divided the Moslems by agitating the mobs and raised a mutiny under the pretext of defending the relatives of the Prophet against the third Caliph, Othman Ben Affan, who was killed by the agitated mobs.

Indeed, since God has ordained that victory should be the companion of this religion in its great revolution against the infidels; and since Islam pulled down the crowns of the might Persian Monarchs, humbled

the pride of the Roman Caesars, declared the right of man as a human being and proclaimed equality under its banner among all men regardless of race and colour; and since the loyal followers of this religion changed the course of history and brought into being a unified universal family, the international family of Islam; yes, since that time and since God had hoisted the flags of right and pulled down the flags of falsehood and those *sick souls* and *lost minds* and *embarrassed eyes* are painfully suffering and stubbornly hitting their bare head against solid rocks out of spite and hatred. They are seeking opportunities to stab Islam, liquidate its message and finally disband its ranks and weaken its solidarity. Nothing less than that can heal their wounded souls or cure their wicked spirits.

Enemies Of Islam : Two groups:

Members of the "Good Will Societies", like every enlightened Moslem, realize that those who hate Islam, plant obstacles on the way of its message and denounce its lofty ideology which calls Moslems to establish their unity without prejudice as to colour or race, are two groups:

The first does what it does intentionally, motivated by a wicked purpose and in compliance with the old strategy of Seba'.

The second is a disillusioned group which fell under the influence of the first group's propaganda and charlatanism. This deceived group works against Islam, its own beloved religion, hypnotized by the wicked charm of the first group. Its activities are mechanical and fortunately lack planning. Members of the second group could be cured by patient and peaceful means; by unfolding the bandages of charlatanism off their eyes and making them see the bottom of the chasm they are about to fall into.

The first group could not be cured and must be carefully watched and uprooted whenever and wherever it is spotted. Unfortunately, the schemes of this group have achieved some victories, through long preparations of skilful strategy to render Moslem unity difficult. Having done that, they withdrew from the battlefield leaving the command of the battle in the hands of their local agents, most of whom are unfortunately Moslem citizens. These agents continued the fight and made things more difficult for Islam. It is always more difficult to fight the fifth column than the direct enemy.

The disillusioned fifth column stood upon the debris of Islam and began preaching the sermon of the devil: Moslem unity around Islam is bad for the Arabs and advocates of Pan-Islamism are bad people seeking base objectives and harmful goals and anti-Arab

interests. They claimed that promoting Moslem understanding and Moslem solidarity is a dangerous attempt which threatens the future of the Arab people, and prevents them from achieving their goals. Starting from this assumption, members of the fifth column continued their fight until they became jittery from the sheer mention of Islam and took to stand-up, in a hysterical way, to warn the Arabs against supporting the idea of Pan-Islamism.

The ingratitude of these people (the fifth column) reached the point of denouncing any other Arab who dares mention Islam in any official Arab circle, as if the source of danger against the Arabs lies in the invocation of Moslem unity. This disillusioned, now deceiving and misleading group, has recently accelerated its literary fight against Islam and hired irresponsible writers who wrote a great deal of rubbish to prove that it is not for the interest of the Arabs to build their renaissance upon the principles and doctrines of Islam. The evil of such writings spread all over the place and filled the Arab libraries with its venom.

Many wholesome Moslem-Arab youth were infected and unconsciously became the spokesmen of crooked ideas. Some of these diverted youth took to the habit of relating, in the course of their campaigns against Islam and the idea of Pan-Islamism, certain

tragedies and set-backs which befell the Moslems at various stages of their history trying to blame Islam and Pan-Islamism for every ill and evil. They also point out, in a very subtle way, that had it not been for the concept of Pan-Islamism, the non-Arab elements could not have cut so deep in the heart of the Arabs or done them that much harm as is witnessed (according to their view) in what happened during the reign of the Abbassides and the tragical loss of Andalusia. Such reporters are not better than stupid parrots repeating what they hear without understanding what it means. This is, however, a natural symptom that appears on those who suffer from inferiority complexes. But let us assure such sick people that this funny philosophy of theirs is a silly, insignificant and a trivial philosophy, rejected by reality and dismissed by evidence.

Every man with one atom of common sense knows that it was a Moslem unity, within the frame of Islamic rule, that pushed the Arabs from the last rows to the front. It was a Moslem commonwealth, within which Arabs cooperated, that left for them this gigantic legacy of dignity and pride, without which those ungrateful people who lead the present war against Islam, could not have been able to speak one word of Arabic, or least of all appoint themselves its spokesmen.

Arab glories and achievements, which the whole

world acclaim, were not realized by the Arabs alone, but by many strong hands of various races and colours. As for the calamities which hit the Arabs towards the end of the Abbaside rule and in Andalusia, the Moslem commonwealth can bear no responsibility whatsoever. The Arabs and the Arabs alone were the cause of what happened. The reason may be found in the tribal strife between the Kayssia and Yamania which developed into a savage civil war, and prepared the way for the catastrophe which broke the backs of Moslems in Spain.

The Abbasides too resorted to the employment of suspicious elements known for their spite and hatred to Islam. This struck hard against the Arabs which were the Pillars of the Omayyad rule.

When the Abbasides, suppositively the elite of the Arabs, let loose the Khorasins to persecute the Arabs, they did not do so for the holy purpose of increasing the number of Moslems in the Moslem commonwealth, but rather to destroy the Omayyad dynasty which depended until then upon purely Arab elements.

Abbasides' malevolence and spite against their Arab brothers was so great that the pillar of their state, Ibrahim Al Imam, wrote to his tyrant-agent, Abi Moslem Al-Khorasani, the following order: "*If you can exterminate the last tongue that speaks Arabic ... then do so.*" Records state that this tyrant alone killed more

than six hundred thousand Arabs. Surely, the Abbassides did not commit all those atrocities to support Islam; but rather to destroy the state of their cousins, the Omayyads. This enabled the enemies of Islam to persecute the Arabs and revenge their lost Persian grandeur of false crowns and fire-worshipping temples.

These are the real causes of Arab plight during those ages; and hence no impartial judge can blame the consequences of such events on the Moslem commonwealth or its principles...

An Advice:

The "Good Will Societies" had never imagined that any Moslem, in this holy country, will dare to oppose any Islamic policy or criticize any of its everlasting principles. It never occurred to any member of its officials that any man here could describe one of the principle calls of the Kuran as illogical or impractical. Yet, knowing that those who do such hateful things are misled and do so to give themselves the appearance of modernism and liberalism, we advise and warn them to be more considerate and more careful in what they write, especially in what concerns our immortal religion. We also remind them, as we remind ourselves and every Moslem, that the idea of the Moslem league is neither an overseas imported idea or a trash left

over by imperialism; it is also neither a shaky concept of Nationalism fabricated by one or few men to serve their personal selfish ends, nor a heretic novelty harmful to the Arabs or any other particular community at any time.

It is, indeed, a wholesome Moslem invocation, good for any time and any place, founded by none less than the Prophet Mohammed through a revelation by God. The idea of Moslem commonwealth is the mature ideology of Islam and the call of the Kuran. The holy book still represents it and calls for it — as it calls for prayer and fasting.

The call and urge to gather Moslems into one family shall remain as long as the scripture of God continues to be recited and until God inherits the earth and those above it.

No man, whoever he may be, can oppose this divine call in any way or under any circumstances, because it is the will of God and His Prophet:

“And it becometh not a believing man or a believing woman, when Allah and His messenger have decided an affair (for them), that they should (after that) claim any say in their affair; and whoso is rebellious to Allah and His messenger, he verily goeth astray in error manifest.”

This all-embracing invocation is the call of God and His Prophet; and this should always be remembered and understood by those tempted to take a stand against it. Then they may put themselves on the side they so choose; for, they alone shall be held responsible for what they do:

“Whosoever goeth right, it is only for (the good) of his own soul that he goeth right, and whosoever erreth, erreth only to its hurt. No laden soul can bear another’s load. We never punish until we sent a messenger.”

Finally, we would like to remind those people once more that we, the Arabs, have never enjoyed a true and complete unity except that we enjoyed within the structure of Pan-Islam — Moslem family. The whole world knows this fact. We say this to emphasize that there is no basis for the fear by those who claim that Moslem unity may weaken Arab solidarity. The contrary is true, for it was Islam that united the Arab nation for the first time in their history and laid down the principle: “That a Moslem is the brother of any other Moslem — he shall not betray him or let him down; but bear with him, suffer for his sufferings, and be happy for his happiness.” Moslems should be like a solid structure; each part supports the other parts. These are the basis of Moslem unity which was

urged by the Kuran and advocated by Mohammed (Peace be on Him)."

Having read out the article to my friend, he said: — "I shall not deny that this article has impregnated my soul. I feel now that I should reevaluate my ideas and probe deeper into the facts of "Arab Nationalism" and "Moslem Commonwealth".

I hastened to say:

— "This is exactly what I wish for you; for a wise-man, when faced with two different ideas, refuse to give judgement before he absorbs the facts and acquaints himself with the arguments and points of view of both sides that he may differentiate between truth and falsehood."

He said soberly:

— "I am still a nationalist, faithful to my ideology; yet, I suppose, this should not prevent me, as a Moslem, from looking objectively into any opposing idea, especially if it emanates from Islam. I may assure you, however, that I shall not hesitate to accept the truth once it appears to me. So, may I borrow the text of the article you just read out to me to have another look at it by myself?"

I gave him the article and said:

— “Your attitude has encouraged me to extend this discussion with you. I have written a comprehensive and well-documented article for “Al-Nadwa” daily, as a reply to an article written by an enthusiastic advocate of nationalism and published by “Qureish Magazine” in its 5th issue.”

— “I would love to hear what this man has to say. Go ahead and read it.”

— “But the article is long.”

— “On the contrary! You have developed in me a strong interest in the subject and I would like to hear out the article and the new theories it contains.”

The text of the article:

“Qureish Magazine had published in its fifth issue an article under the title “Arab Nationalism Is Not A Call For Racialism”, signed by a pseudonym: “Abu Hashim”. The article opened the door anew for further discussions about Arab nationalism and the writer repeated what other writers had said, few months ago, in “Al-Nadwa” daily. The author of these lines answered them in time and helped those destined by God to understand to know the truth about Arab nationalism and the true ideas of Moslem unity and how the movement shall in the long run strengthen and assist Arab nationalism.

Advocates of Moslem unity believe that such a unity shall spontaneously solidify Arab unity. History itself shows that the Arabs climbed higher on the ladder of greatness whenever Islam was strong and powerful; and that it shrank in dignity and power whenever Islam was weak and helpless. Because Arabism always needed Islam as a religion and state. It was this religion that carried the Arabs from the bottom of backwardness to the summits of human leadership where they remained for many long centuries. Islam, on the other hand, can not do without the Arabs; for Arabic is its language and the tongue of its divine constitution which is recited in Arabic mornings and evenings.

“This is in addition to the fact that the Arabs were the people eternally honoured by God to carry the message of this religion and build under its shade a great and vast Moslem commonwealth, extending from the southern boundaries of France and Northern Italy on the West, to the heart of India, the vast meadows of China and the hills of the Caucase in the East. It was under the banners of Islam that the Arabs sensed the taste of dignity and drank fully the cups of glory and leadership.

“This is why I say that there is no need for some brothers of our to fear the establishment of a Moslem-

League, or to accuse its advocates of untrue and unjust accusations.

We thought that the subject of Arab nationalism was fully discussed and that the citizens shall be saved the agonies of any further sophistry about the subject. But Abu Hashim chose otherwise. He could have defended Arab Nationalism and its principles without launching unwarranted attacks upon his adversaries, advocates of Moslem unity, or describing their idea as an "impractical undertaking". However, we shall not repeat ourselves and go into a routine discussion with him as to whether Arab nationalism is a racial movement or not; regional or international? Such arguments were told time enough and shall not be repeated. But, we shall, however, discuss few points which are objectively related to the Moslem-League subject.

"Abu Hashim stated: "On this occasion of the re-birth of Arab nationalism and its emergence before the world as a big reality reflecting to the Arabs their real selves and identity, certain people attempt to block its way, assuming to be the advocate of a bigger idea and a larger unity, namely Pan-Islamism. Such people can be either faithful Moslems seeking the good of Islam or enemies seeking evil objectives and ill-wishes, hating to see Arab unity strong enough to face present dangers

or current events. If they belong to the first category, then they are worth a quiet discussion in a brotherly peaceful atmosphere. The second group is not worth talking to. They shall soon know the kind of end they are heading for, because of their evil intentions and destructive aims. In their rage and disregard of honour or truth, they attempted to deter us from realizing our hopes."

"We believe it is our right to tell Abu Hashim that "Truth" is exactly the reverse of what he says — It is those who call for Arab nationalism that should be divided into two categories or groups:

1st — Those who think, with good intentions, that Arab nationalism will finally lead into Moslem unity, and therefore do not oppose the idea of a Moslem league; and

2nd — Those who advocate Arab nationalism as a cover for their real aims and intentions, to spite Islam and belittle the message of the holy Kuran. This is the group with whom we can never come to an understanding except by beating up their conspiring hands, stopping their advance, and finally force them to understand that no advocate of any ideology in this country can come out victorious or win his way through unless he advocates Islam. Let Abu Hashim also remember that the state in which he lives is the

only state, in the present times, that was built upon the basis of the oneness of God, the constitution of the Kuran and the precedents of the good old founders of the Moslem Empire. This is the truth free of any ambiguity or sophistry. Abu Hashim's argument is leaded with ambiguity and shrowded by sophistry as we shall explain, by God's will.

"Abu Hashim's arguments are the kind usually told in the course of discussing an anti-Arab movement. Therefore, we realize, as any sane man would, the implications of his statement. He wishes to convince us that Pan-Islamism shall be a hinderance on the way of Arab solidarity and unity, and consequently described the second group, the supporters of Islam, as "a wicked group hating to see Arabs unite in the face of current events and dangers, and very keen upon tearing Arab unity and solidarity". This is the essence and implication of Abu Hashim's first argument. But we can not see how can a man tear Arab unity and disband Arab ranks by calling for Moslem unity. We also can not see or remember when was Moslem unity the cause of Arab division or disunity? If a Moslem stands up to say "O Moslems unite, close up your ranks and agree among yourselves", does that mean he is calling the Arabs to disunite or urging them to disband? The truth is vice versa, for urging Moslems to unite is, in all respects, an invitation for the Arabs

to unite; after all, ninety-five per cent of the Arabs are Moslems.

We, advocates of Pan-Islamism, further believe and declare that Arab unity, under the all-embracing ideology of Islam is, in itself, a sincere call for the grand Moslem-League. It is in fact the corner stone of such a league. That is why we do not oppose or stand against any true Arab movement in the Arab World; indeed, we support it with all our might, but we do oppose and fight, and shall oppose and fight, any movement designed to undermine the message of Islam and the call of the Kuran. We shall never hesitate to combat any such movement, whoever calls for it or leads it, because we cherish no better call than that of God and His Prophet.

An "Unfair Dividing":

Abu Hashim believes that any form of Moslem unity shall be an obstacle before Arab unity and Arab solidarity, and therefore launched his open and daring attack classifying us into two groups: A naive group supporting Pan-Islamism out of well-wishings and good intentions, not knowing the harms such a movement could bring to the Arabs. To this group he is ready to talk of the invalidity and uselessness of the Moslem League. Members of the second group, according to

Abu Hashim, give lip-service to the idea of Moslem unity to camouflage their evil objectives and mean purposes. He, therefore, decline to have anything to do with them.

We, on the other hand, would like to tell Abu Hashim that his dividing the advocates of the Moslem League into two classes, the sincere and the unsincere, is unfair, because men's intentions are known only to God Who is the only Judge on men's secret desires. Man can only judge people according to their actions and motives. From this point, we go on to state that the aim of the advocates of Moslem unity is, in its appearance, a noble goal and an honest aim. Indeed, they work for the realization of the loftiest and most honorable ideal man has ever known. Therefore, no man, not even this Abu Hashim, can give himself the right to classify us into two categories. We defy and challenge Abu Hashim to point out as much as one word to prove that any supporter of Moslem unity cherishes an evil goal or a mean purpose. We shall be very grateful if Abu Hashim would do this for us. If he does not or fails to substantiate his claims then wise men and sane men may conclude that his said classification and arguments are only guess work, a new type of agitation, the weapon of a failure like the smoke let out by battleships to cover their retreat in battle.

A Liberal Philosophy:

Abu Hashim promised at the outset of his furious article to discuss the issue with the first group of Moslem-League followers to show them the uselessness of their theory; but he did not write one article or hold one symposium for such a discussion to let interested Moslems hear his arguments or understand the motives of his revolution against the advocates of the Moslem League and the damages that will befall, as he said, the Arabs and their aspirations. All he did was to warn the Arabs once again against amalgamating with other races. He also hysterically went on reminding the Arabs of the calamities they suffered at the hands of the foreigners who joined Islam.

“The Arabs”, he said, “trusted the nations who joined Islam without any regard to colour or race — as Islam demands — and hence they did not see any objection in letting themselves be governed by people who did not have a single drop of Arab blood in their veins. What was the result and what did non-Arabs do to the Arabs ? Those non-Arab rulers became fanatically loyal to their own races and pushed the Arabs away from key-positions in the state, maltreated them and conferred on others their privileges. When the Persians controlled the organs of the Abbaside state one could not spot one top-brass Arab in the armies...”

“Abu Hashim tries here to prove the fallacy of the theory which gives the non-Arab Moslems the right to govern the Arabs. He also tries to convince us that the hard experiment of Moslem unity, in its vast meaning, brought the Arabs nothing save humiliation and weakness. Because it had, as he implied, enabled the non-Arab factions to persecute the arabs and deprive them of their rights during the reign of the Abbasides.

This argument of the nationalists is in complete contradiction with the teachings of the Kuran and the message of the Prophet who said:

“The faithful, in their friendliness, sympathy and love to each other are like one body; if one organ complains, the others will suffer of fever and sleeplessness”

It will be noticed that the Prophet did not say “The Arabs... are like...” but said “the faithful.. are like ...”. This was an honest call for universal unity free of any racial prejudice. It did not invite the Arabs to amass like a solid structure but invited all Moslems to do so. It is a need, a divine order that demands the Moslem Arabs to respond in a brotherly manner and cooperate with a Moslem negro against the infidels, even if the latter were Qureishi Arabs. It is the bond of divine ideology. The bond of blood, without a binding ideology, is nothing more than a zero on the left

side in mathematics. The aforementioned prophetic phrase is the basis of the Moslem-League and is so firm that no power in the world can destroy or exchange it for any other form of organisation, association or institution. Yes, indeed, no force can belittle or ignore this foundation even if it came from the camps of Abu Hashim and his party; because what God builds no man can destroy:

“And it becometh not a believing man or a believing woman, when Allah and His messenger have decided an affair (for them), that they should (after that) claim any say in their affair; and whoso is rebellious to Allah and His messenger, he verily goeth astray in error manifest.”

Moslem unity is an order from God and Abu Hashim should keep this in mind when he makes his final decision:

“Whosoever goeth right, it is only for (the good of) his own soul that he goeth right, and whosoever erreth, erreth only to its hurt. No laden soul can bear another’s load. We never punish until We have sent a messenger.”

An Unfounded Protest:

Abu Hashim’s argument about the calamities that hit the Arabs during the time of the Abbasides, who

represented the Moslem commonwealth then, is an unfounded argument, so is his attempt to blame the Moslem state for what happened. Both argument and attempt are childish and very much like the demagogian reasoning of the street-mob who are often motivated by blind emotions. Any man, possessing an atom of sanity and a little religion, realizes that the Moslem commonwealth containing non-Arab elements had nothing to do with what had happened to the Arabs or the eclipse of their glory.

✓ *The Abbasides Strike The Arabs With The Persians:*

It was the Arabs who did all that to themselves: The Abbasides sought the assistance of certain godless Persian and Turkish elements, such as the Khorasani infidels and the Khuramyā bastards, not to promote the interests of the Moslem commonwealth, but for expedient political reasons: namely, to strike hard at the good Arab Moslem elements and humiliate them; not for being Arabs, but because they sympathized with the Omayyad dynasty — the competitors and opponents of the Abbaside dynasty. This should explain why Ibrahim, the secret Imam of the Abbasides, wrote to his tyrant-agent and arch-conspirator Abi-Moslem Al-Khorasani, the notorious order: "*Exterminate every tongue that speaks Arabic, if you can.*" The tyrant killed about six hundred thousand Arabs in Khurasan

and its neighbourhood in execution of his master's order and to revenge the Magians humiliation at the hands of the Arab-state of Bni Abd' Shams. The Abbasides used this Persian faction to revenge themselves against their cousins the Omayyads. But the result was the fall of the Arab-Moslem state under the feet of the Babakia bastards and fire-idolating Magus. The Abbasides had trusted the leadership of their empire into the hands of spiteful elements, who, in their turn, directed their venom against the Arabs — not for being Arabs, but because the persecutors thought that persecuting the Arabs was the most direct way to persecute Islam itself... and because the state which extinguished the hires of the Magusi idolators and hoisted the banner of Islam over the ruins of their fire-temples was the Omayyad state. The Omayyads depended upon Arab statements and fought with Arabs swords; the swords which defeated the Manayia and Zardashtia factions on Persian meadows and over the Daylam hills.

Magianism Avenges Itself On Islam:

What befell the Arabs at the hands of the Persians, at the time of the Abbasides, was only the reflection of the Magian vengeance on Islam, as declared frankly by the Commander General of the Persian armies at the decisive battle of the Zab. The battle ended in the collapse of the Omayyad state and the disgra-

ceful defeat of the courageous Omayyad prince-knights who had raised the banner of Islam higher than it has ever risen since. The said commander declared after the battle: "To-day Persians have avenged themselves on the Arabs." Of course, he meant the Arabs who defeated the Magians and hoisted the banner of Islam. The evidence is seen in Abi-Moslem's death at the hands of Abi Ja'afar and the appearance of several atheistic revolutions and mutinies headed by idolators like Shubaz, Pabek and Mosked. Further evidence is seen in Haroun Al-Rasheed annihilation of Al-Barami-ka; and Al-Ma'moun's persecution of the Sahel clan. So, the humiliation to which the Arabs were exposed at the time of the Abbasides was made and designed by the Arabs themselves who were so fanatic and revengeful against their cousins, the Omayyads, as to seek the help of those whose hearts boiled with hatred and spite to Islam. This is no less than a tribal and racial hateful attitude whose responsibility falls squarely upon the shoulders of the Abbasides alone... and not upon the Moslem-League theory. Abu Hashim and his company of angry and dissatisfied friends can not use those events to prove the fallacy of the Moslem-League theory.

What is still more curious is Abu Hashim's attempts to disapprove Moslem unity in an inadequate and unreasonable way by relating the events of the

wars of the Crusades and the Tartars. He said:

“The legions of the Crusaders attacked the Arab World on the West, while the legions of the Tartars marched on the East. The Arab countries became the field of bloody battles and sorrowful massacres. The Arabs had to pay the cost while the “others” marched away with the spoils and laurels of glory.”

I do not know, and also suppose that astrologists do not know, what he means by relating here what the Arabs encountered at the wars of the Crusades and the Tartars, or the relation between this and that! Does he mean to prove the fallacy of the Moslem-League theory? Or does he want to say that had it not been for the Moslem-League, the Arab lands would not have been exposed to the Crusades or the Mogul invasion? Or that what befell the Arab East then could have been avoided had the Government not been headed by men like Salah Ad-Deen Al-Ayoubi, the Kurd, or King Kutoz and his general Bebers, the Mamluks — who played the greatest roll in defeating the Crusades and repulsing the Mogul invasion? Apparently, this is exactly what Abu Hashim meant by his above quoted statement, especially the phrase: “.. The Arabs had to pay the cost while the “others” marched away with the spoil and the laurels of glory.” By the word “others” he means the Ayoubi leaders and the Mamluk generals and other Ajam officials who steered the

war operations. He is warning the Arabs against repeating the same mistake of uniting with other Moslems in a Moslem federation or league least they may suffer the humiliation and losses their ancestors suffered during the reign of the Abbasides, the Ayoubis and the Mamluks. He also wishes to prove that the Arabs shall never reap any gains from Moslem unity even it takes shape.

He indirectly holds the concept that the Moslem League is responsible for the calamities of the Arabs during the wars of the Crusades and the Tartars. This made him declare that the idea of a Moslem commonwealth is illogical and unreasonable. It is difficult to conclude any other meanings from Abu Hashim's statement, save those we have explained above. Indeed, how can his statement mean anything else especially when he said it in the course of attacking the advocates of Moslem unity?

The Crusades:

Dear Abu Hashim: You seem to confuse things and infringe severely upon the truth and the facts of history when you compare between the Arab plights, at the hands of the Persians, during the reign of the Abbasides, and what happened during the Crusades and the Tartar invasion at the days of Salah Ed-Deen

Al-Ayoubi and the hero king Kutoz and his great general Bebers.

In your fantastic confusion you are one of two things: You are either completely ignorant of history, and in this case your knowledge of Arab history and Islamic past does not exceed that of the street man, or that you know the facts but intentionally distort them and try, by using agitating slogans and highfaluting phraseology, to establish your doctrine and propagate your theme; not forgetting at the same time to denounce the theory of Moslem unity. Both alternatives are unworthy and dishonorable.

If certain Persian factions have, on the one hand, committed atrocities against the Arabs under the cover of Islam, and thus registered a black page in their history and that of the Abbaside Arab state itself, we see on the other hand that the Ayoubis and Mamluks registered, during the Crusades and Tartar wars the most shining pages in the history of the Ajams in favour of Islam and the Arabs. Their record there is considered among the best achievements of Moslem unity. It was upon the solid rocks of Moslem unity which embraced the Kurds, the Turks, the Persians, the Afghans, the Indians and the Arabs, that the armies of the invading Crusaders wrecked themselves and smashed their endless ranks. It was that unity that enabled

the horses of Salah El-Deen Al-Ayoubi, the Kurd, with his Arab and Ajam noble peers to trot proudly over the corpses of the invaders left over upon Arab soil.

Again, were it not for this holy religious bond which welded together all kinds of races and nations, King Kutoz and his general Bebers, both Ajam Moslems, could not have been able to destroy, at Ein Jalout in Palestine, the savage Tartar hords which devastated the northern Moslem provinces extending from Russian boundaries and Indian frontiers, up to the boundaries of Egypt. The burdens of those most fearful wars in the history of Islam were not carried by the Arab elements alone that Abu Hashim may claim that Arabs alone bore the cost while the "others" marched away with the honors. The heaviest burdens were shouldered by the Ajams (1). The Arabs then constituted one element of the total elements that made up the Moslem armies which defended Moslem soil against the Crusaders' raids and the Moguls' attacks. This is a historical fact that Arabs must admit. The Ajam races, Mr. Abu Hashim, did not do us any harm during those wars, but rather preserved our entity which was about to perish at the hands of the enemy who was intent on uprooting Islam from the area.

(1) Non-Arab Moslems

The Arabs Can Not Do Without Islam:

To further convince Abu Hashim, we shall let the Egyptian writer and Moslem scholar Professor Mohammed Al-Ghazali, report to us. He says on page 259 of his book "With God": "We would like to ask those who fill their mouths with big talk trying to convince small minded people that the Arabs can do without the Moslem nations and Arabism without Islam whether they have read their history and learned its lessons, and whether they have enough pride and courage to accept its judgement?..."

"Arabism did not find, in its most critical crisis, any saviour except in the faithful Moslems of other races. When Arab ranks broke before the invading hords of the Tartars in the East, and their remparts tumbled before the dashing Crusaders in the West... When this nation was about to perish (like salt in water) in this whirlpond of dilemna... At those critical times, the Moslems of other races stood up to be counted. They faced aggression, repulsed the intruders and spread their protection over the Arab lands.

Abd Al-Hamid Al-Abadi reports: "The Tartars swept over the Eastern Provinces of the Abbaside state and devastated them. Their leader, Houlagou, entered Baghdad in 656 H. and destroyed the Abbaside dynasty; then swept over Syria until he reached the gates of

Egypt and sent an insulting message to King Kutoz demanding him to surrender. The Sultan refused and mobilised his people for the "Jihad" against the invaders and announced that he himself was marching at the head of those who would follow him. Immediately, the princes followed suit with their divisions. The army marched into Palestine, spearheaded by general Bebers. A great battle took place at Ein Jallout, on Ramadan 668 H."

Al-Mukrizi gave a brilliant account of the battle and the bravery King Kutoz, General Bebers and the rest of the generals and the Egyptian armies illustrated on the field. He said:

"On Friday the 15th day of Ramadan, the two armies met. The hearts of the Egyptians were filled with awe and fear of the Tartars. When the sun rose, the valley was filled with combat soldiers who soon clashed. For few seconds the king's left wing trembled and a few patrols took to their heels. The king threw down his helmet and shouted his battle cry "Wa Islamah" (O' Islam)—(I wish Abu Hashim will notice that the king did not yell the name of his race or nationality)—and plunged courageously into the centre of the battle... and God rewarded him with victory and helped him kill Catobga, the Tartar general. Prince Bebers too did well under the command of his king and chas-

ed the Moguls as far deep as the town of Bissan. The Tartars reorganized their files and launched a counter-attack. The king was heard to shout thrice "Wa' Islamah!... O God, Assist your servants against the Tartars." And when the Tatars were defeated again, the king dismounted, kissed the earth and prayed giving thanks to God, then rode back home crowned with victory."

This was a portrait of the war which broke in the East and was about to burn to the ground the banners of Islam and wreck the Arabs. It was Kutoz and Bebers and other similar Ajams who lead the victorious struggle against the invaders.

Al-Ghazali said also:

"If we close that page, we shall see another telling of more dreadful events... The European attacks upon this area (the Middle-East) continued without interruption until they succeeded, after many a dreadful massacre, to establish Latin principalities in several strategic points. The Crusades were not a short scale operation, but a general movement aiming at exterminating Islam, and an all-out attack for which the whole European countries took to prepare men and funds and mass up enough material and moral strength to achieve their purpose.

"But how did the Moslems answer this move-

ment?" inquired and answered Dr. Abdellatif Hamza! "The military preparation with which the Moslems intended to oppose this movement started in "Mosul", then "Aleppo", "Damascus" and finally in Egypt.

This means that the Saldjuk Turks deserve the first credit for initiating the counter-attack against the Crusaders. In other words, if the Moslems were to thank the state that fought for their cause, than they should thank the Turkish government before even thanking the Abbaside or the Fatimite Califats.

A researcher can not help wondering at the laxity of the Fatimite Califat then inspite its apparent might and influence. One may conclude that it may have looked upon the victories of the crusades in the East as a strong deterrent against any possible Turkish invasion of Egypt. Yes, indeed, the Fatimite Califat ignored taking any serious or real defence of Islam.

Let us disgress a little here to whisper into Abu Hashim's ears that the Fatimite state, which abstained from throwing its full weight to defend Islam during the Crusades, was undoubtedly an Arab state which occupied the leading position in the Arab World.. Yet, Abu Hashim claims that the Arabs had to pay the cost and bear the burdens leaving the spoil and laurels to others during the wars to which the Fatimites had not sent one single soldier. They left the wheels of war to

grind the soldiers of the Moslem Turks and other Ajam races.”

Jerusalem Lost By The Fatimites And Regained By The Ajams:

“Here is another proof”, continued Dr. Hamza. “When Al-Frange (The Europeans) occupied Al-Rah and Antioch, the King of Mosul, the King of Mardeen and the King of Sinjar — all Saljuk-Moslem Kings — held a meeting to discuss the situation. Egypt of that time was governed by Ministers who stole all authority from the Calif. Its prime minister then, Al Afdal Ben Badre Al-Jamali, did not take any measure to support the Saljuk kings. No military preparations were taken although history tells us that Egypt was strong both in men and funds. History tells us also that the Crusaders were tired out by fatigue, and were so hungry that they ate dead corpses. Yet, they defeated the Moslem soldiers who were well fed and armed. The princes of the Saljuk armies wrote to the Abbaside Calif Al-Mustazher asking for help and reinforcements. The Calif sent word to Burkyarok, son of Malek Shah, ordering him to march with his armies to the battlefield. All through these developments Egyptian armies were not ordered to prepare for war or get ready to march.”

Indeed, O Abu Hashim, the greatest calamity

which shock the Moslem world, namely the fall of Jerusalem in the hands of the Crusaders, was caused and motivated by no hands except those of the pure Fatimite Arabs. Jerusalem was regained together with Arab dignity by the courageous Ajams as you shall see soon.

“When Al Frange laid seige to Jerusalem”, said Mohammed Al-Ghazali, “the city was governed by Iftikhar Al-Dawla, who ruled in the name of the Egyptian Calif, a Fatimite of course. The seige had already lasted for forty days, and Egypt’s Premier, Al-Afdal, had not done a thing. Then, after a great deal of delay, he marched at the head of 20,000 soldiers only to reach Jerusalem too late. The Crusaders had broken into the city. Al-Afdal headed back to Egypt after a few skarmishes, leaving the enemy to apply the sword to the necks of the peaceful inhabitants and execute the notorious massacre of which Godfrey wrote to the Pope:

“Our horses plunged in a sea of eastern blood up to their knees at the Court of Solomon’s temple”.

This is only a part of what befell the people of Jerusalem at the hands of the Crusaders who chased away the Arab Fatimite armies. But who regained Jerusalem for Islam after the Arabs had lost it together with their dignity and honor? Hear with me, Abu Hashim, and let us listen to what history has to say about

the regain of Jerusalem:

When the news reached Damascus, it agitated the people and made them go out into the streets crying over the lost city and lamenting this mishap. The judge of Damascus rode with a delegation of dignitaries to Baghdad and urged the people to prepare for help. The Judge was taken to the Sultan's camp, to report his sad news. There, he reported, appealed and cried. But what happened? Nothing! History says that disconcerting delays, irresponsibility and treachery prevailed ... letting down religion, honor, family and child.

Where were the Arabs then? What did they do?

Salah Ed-Deen Al-Ayoubi Unites The Moslem Factions and saves Jerusalem:

In those hard circumstances pregnant with disasters and plights to Arabism and Islam, a hero appeared on the stage of events, a non-Arab Moslem who was fired with the spirit of courage. He conveyed strength to that crumbling and insecure situation.

He sent his shout echoing to all corners of the Arab and Moslem World:

“Come back, Ye cowards, routed and demoralized by defeat and failure.”

“Come back to me that we may live freely or die honorably.”

His battle cry was a strong stimulant, and the scattered Moslem battalions flocked around this non-Arab hero, Moslems of all colours and races joining forces under the flag of this unique hero. Then he led his furious legions towards the occupied holy land. Occupied cities and citadels fell, one after the other, before him. The invading Crusaders fell back under his blows as dry leaves fly before a tempest — until he reached Jerusalem and crowned his victories by regaining the beloved city. He had smeared with the mud of defeat the proud and snobish faces of the European invaders. Having done all that, he sat erect upon the back of his horse, a proud and great Moslem, and dictated to history one of its brightest pages of knighthood and chivalry. Do you know, Mr. Abu Hashim, who was that hero who regained for Islam its dignity and for the Arabs their respect in those dark days?

He was, as the whole world knows, a Moslem who was not from Arab ancestry. He was the good king and the infatigable hero, Salah Ed-Deen Al-Ayoubi, the Azerbaidjani Kurd.

Do you get the point, O Abu Hashim? However, these are historical events related to you as they occurred — and we should not care, after that, if you fail to

understand. Again, do you still consider these great and heroic achievements by our brothers, the Ajams, a loss to the Arabs as you mentioned in the course of your attacks using the events of the crusades as an argument to support your anti-Moslem-League opinion?

It seems to me that our Ajam brothers, whom Abu Hashim made the target of his attacks, have committed no sin save that of coming to our rescue and aid when Arab ranks broke out and the Fatimite kingdom got scared before the crusaders and left Jerusalem to fall an easy prey in their hands. Those Ajams rushed to the rescue with volcanic zeal, raised the banner of Islam and urged all Moslems to join forces under its shade. Groups and individuals of faithful Moslems flocked around it until the battlefield was crowded with Moslem legions. Ajam commanders took the lead and marched with those legions to combat the Crusaders, until they regained the whole Arab World, after bloody battles and bitter fighting. They returned from the coastal strip dressed in the robes of pride and crowded with the laurels of glory. They had pushed the last crusader back to the sea!

The Tartars Smash The Abbaside Califate... To Be Smashed Themselves By The Mamluks At Ein Jallout:

Once again, the Ajams rushed to the rescue when

the Abbaside Califate fell before the Tartar leader Houlougou and his fearful battalions. Baghdad, the capital of Islam and Arabism, fell into the hands of the barbarian Moguls who destroyed all traces of civilization and humbled Moslem pride and dignity. But the Ajams did not yield. They stood up, kings, princes and soldiers, to face the invaders in the 7th century. Their hero king, Kutoz the non-Arab-Moslem, and his famous general Bebers, looked death in the face and sent, right from the front battle-lines, their famous battle cry "Wa Islamah, God is great... God is great". Their shout worked like magic among the Moslem ranks which fell with full weight upon the enemies of God and His Prophet, as mountains would fall. The earth shook under the feet of the enemy whose lines began to crumble one after the other like a mud wall under a tempest of rain and wind. The enemy was defeated beyond any future recovery.

Thus, O Abu Hashim, those Ajam leaders of the Mamluks protected the Arab and Moslem World; and indeed, humanity at large against the evils of the most barbaric race in history. The Tartars, after the battle of Ein Jallout, where King Kutoz dealt them a death blow, did not have a banner raised, or a state re-established. They accepted Islam and were amalgamated in the Moslem commonwealth. No honest Arab, who can rise above petty emotions, can help but admit grati-

tude to those Ajam Moslem leaders who led the victorious wars against the Crusaders and the Tartars. Yes, good Arabs must admit gratitude to the services of those leaders both to Islam and Arabism. One can hardly reject the claim that Arabs owe their present existence to those generals and princes of the Ayoubis and Mamluks. For had it not been for their firm stand against the western Crusades and the eastern Tartars, the whole Arab world would have most probably become either a province ruled by the Vatican at Rome, or a Chinese Mogul colony.

Can you dare, O Abu Hashim, to support once again your anti-Moslem-League's opinion by the events of the Crusades or the Tartar raids ? Or even claim that Moslem unity is impractical because the Arab lands were turned, as you claim, into a field of battle and a stage for calamities and destruction for which the Arabs paid the cost and the "others" marched away with the gains!!! Why ?... Was there a greater gain to the Arabs than the defeat of the greedy enemy and the liberation of the Arab World of his evil and blood-thirsty legions?!

The Catastroph Of The Arabs In Andalusia:

In the course of his opposition to the idea of Moslem unity and his deduction that Arabism will lose by

associating itself with other non-Arab races, Abu Hashim says: "Then the catastrophe fell upon the Arabs in Andalusia. Fire death furnaces were opened and the Inquisition Courts were held to liquidate them until Arab traces were completely exterminated in that lost paradise."

In reply we would like to remind Abu Hashim that those who first benefited from the Moslem unity he denounces were our Arab ancestors. If it had not been for the tolerant doctrine of this unity, the doctrine of Islam, which declared and practised equality among all races and gave non-Arab Moslems the right to lead and even govern Arabs, no land would now exist with the name of Andalusia. For, had the Arabs remained (as his philosophy wants them to be) a superior race that does not mix or associate except with itself, keen only upon self-solidarity in its own area, you would not have been able to describe Andalusia as the "Arab Lost Paradise". They, the Arabs, could not have won it that they may lose it."

He may shout back "Why and How?"

The answer is very simple: Because most of the rank and file of the armies that annexed Spain to the Omayyads were not Arabs.

Don't you know that the first army to tread upon Spanish soil was that of Tariq Bin Ziad, a Berber?

And that this army of thirteen thousand warriors had only about four hundred Arab warriors? And that the rest were all Berbers without a drop of Arab blood in their veins?

Do you not know as well that it was that particular army which defeated on the banks of Becca valley the eighty-thousand soldiers spanish army of king Lutharik and that it was Tariq himself who killed the Spanish King? Needless to say that it was that same army which continued the fight until the final victory of the Moslems over the Spanish in the "Arab Lost Paradise".

These, Abu Hashim, are facts of history; and if you still doubt what we claim, you can go back to the sources of that great history to learn who bore the burdens of the Moslem victory in Spain "Your Lost Paradise"!

When the Berber armies swept over the Spanish soil and pulled down the banners of the cross, they did not think they were doing that as servants or mercenaries for the Arabs, or simply to add one more paradise to our collection of paradises; but rather as brothers in Islam and active members in the Moslem commonwealth which has no ties among its members save that of faith. Therefore, the adequate definition of Andalusia must be "The Moslem Lost Paradise", be-

cause the swords which gained it were Moslem swords used by Berber and Arab armies alike.

This is from a Moslem point of view; but if we look at the subject from a racial point of view — As Abu Hashim wants us to do — then common sense obliges us to describe Andalusia as the “Lost Paradise of the Berbers”, because the Berbers played the major roll in capturing that country. Most of the soldiers who gave their lives to gain victory were Berber soldiers. Therefore, if any race should weep for losing Andalusia, the Berbers should weep and mourn most of all. It was they who won Spain to the Moslem World and it was they who kept it safe and secure when other Arab principalities collapsed under the heavy hoofs of the Christian battalions descending from the north of Spain.

At zero hour, when everything seemed lost, the Moslem Berber king, Yousuf Bin Tashfeen, responded to the urgent appeals for help that came from the various Arab principalities. He mounted with his best Kutana and Sinhaja knights and crossed the straits, landed in Spain and continued his victorious march until he met the main body of King Alfonso's armies. The battle raged furiously only to end in the defeat of the enemy, the escape of Alfonso who died later suffering from his wounds, as we shall explain later.

What Was The Cause Of Losing Andalusia?

A Poet once said:

“Cry like women do a kingdom lost

Because you did not keep as *men do*.”

What destroyed Arab power and dealt a death blow to Arabism in Spain was neither the mixed government administration or the mixed army, nor the fact that Arabs were exclusively independent in running the government, as Abu Hashim philosophies. Indeed, it was Arab amalgamation with their Moslem brothers of non-Arab stock and their cooperation in upholding the universal message of Islam that enabled them to govern Andalusia for a very long period.

What really happened to the Arabs in Andalusia was caused by the Arabs themselves. They captured that country in cooperation with their Berber brothers, in good Moslem spirit, pure of any earthy or racial prejudices. But hardly had those Arabs settled down in the new country when they stirred in their souls the loathsome racial and tribal spirit, the spirit which Islam came to conquer and extract out of the souls of men. Tribal jealousies and racial competition broke out only to prepare the way for the final tragedy which ended by the complete collapse of Islam in Spain. History ironically calls those civil devastating wars and

quarrels "the War of Yamania and Kayssia". History further states that there was no reason or motive behind those wars except tribal fanatic loyalties — the Kahtanis versus the Adnanis, (two purely Arab factions).

Thus the Arabs won Andalusia motivated by the pure spirit of Islam and lost it in a storm of tribal and racial prejudices.

The patriot prince "Shakeeb Arslan" states in his famous work "The Raids of the Arabs", page 59, the chapter on Abdul Rahman Al-Fahri's reign in Andalusia, the following narrative:

"... In those days, hatred intensified between the two factions, Kayssi and Yamani. The tribes of Mudar and Robe's took Yousuf's side. The Yamani tribes of Hemiar, Kendy, Kuda'a and Mathhaj sided with Abi Al-Khattar. The greatest civil war the Arabs had ever witnessed broke out between the two sides. The author of "Collected News" decribed it as "the greatest mutiny which threatened to destroy Islam in Andalusia until God wills to preserve it..."

"It seems from the writings of this historian", continued the Prince, "that the people were worried about Islam in Andalusia, not only because the sea separated Spain from the main Moslem lands, but also because of the continuous civil uprisings and disputes.

Unfortunately, what people feared occurred. Trouble did not come only from the Spaniards. Arabs own disunity and the unreasonable hatred they cherished for each other were highly instrumental in their final defeat and destruction. The disease of factionalism accompanied them to their final hour in Spain."

The prince went on to describe the violence and intensity of the civil wars between the Kayssi and the Yamani factions:

"The author of the "Collected News" relates that Ibn Harith and Abi Al-Khattar, both of the Yamani faction, marched on Yousuf and Sumeil, of the Kayssi faction at Cordova. Yousuf and Sumeil went out for them, crossed the river and plunged into battle immediately after the Dawn prayers. The fight continued until the horses were tired, lances broke and the day was hot as the sun rose high. Then their knights called each other for duels. Knights exchanged blows until their swords broke and had to fight savagely with their bare-hands. Moslems had never shown such patience on fighting since the days of the battle of Saffeen. The fighters were not too many, but they constituted the elite of their respective communities... The Kayssi faction won the battle of that day..."

On page 61 of the same book, the prince says: "The Yamani prisoners were brought before Sumeil

who drew his sword and cut the waists of ten men; when Atta Ben Hamed rose up to him and said "That is enough! Put back your sword", Sumeil answered: "Sit down, O Ben Hamed, this is for the sake of you and your people!", meaning the killing of more prisoners.

The prince continued: "It is said that that battle broke the blood bonds and relations among the Arabs; it happened in the Moslem year 131."

One may conclude, Mr. Abu Hashim, that what caused the loss of Andalusia and stabbed Arab glory was the Arabs themselves who killed each other on the soil of the lost paradise with the swords of tribal hatred and the lances of racial jealousies.

We do not say this out of our hats or to support Moslem unity in whose principles we recognize the healing medicine and the curing answer to our ills, but it was the voice of history. Listen again to what Imam Blazri has to say in his work "The Capture Of Countries" which is recognized as one of the most reliable sources of Islamic history:

"The Kayssi and Yamani war was the gap through which Spaniards penetrated Arab lines and forced them to retreat and retreat until they went back whence they started. Thus their long and broad carpet was folded and God's will was done."

This is the voice of history declaring that what destroyed Arab dignity and glory in the lost paradise was not Islam or its all-embracing ideology which enabled the Arabs to mingle with other Moslem races and build together a mighty state and a formidable army. It was Arab selfishness that caused the loss of the much-lamented paradise. History states that our non-Arab Moslem brothers deserve the greatest credit for winning the said paradise over the vast and great Omayyad state. They also played the major roll in re-saving it when Christianity attempted to devour it in the fifth Moslem century.

Let us remind you, O respectful nationalists who refuse to be brought together with other nations under the banner of Islam and prefer to isolate yourselves under the banner of nationalism, that Arab history was, until Islam came, devoid of anything that may honour the Arabs or pride Arab nationalism. That is why I do not believe that it is in the interest of Arabs to stick to nationalism without Islam. Arab progress without the guidance and leadership of Islam shall end in nothingness.

The Berbers Preserve Arab Existence In Andalusia As Did The Kurds In The East:

The Ajams played a similar roll in preserving An-

alusia and protecting Arab dignity there as that of the Ayoubis, Turks and Mamluks in the East. As Salah Ed-Deen rescued Jerusalem from the Crusaders and regained Moslem dignity by crushing the invaders, and as King Kutoz defeated the Tartar legions at Ein Jallout and saved Palestine from their plight, there arose in the western wing of the Moslem empire a non-Arab hero, the Moslem prince Yousuf Ben Tashfeen who played a similar magnificent roll: When the Christian armies amassed in the northern districts of Spain and began to tighten their grip around the Arab principalities weakened by civil strife and clan fighting, the threat of annihilation was evident. Arab princes conferred and agreed to plead with prince Yousuf Ben Tashfeen to come for their rescue and save the degenerating situation. They appealed to him in the name of Islam and he too responded to their plead as a Moslem.

History relates the following narrative:

“King Al Mu’tamed Ben Abbad, one of the greatest lords of Spain, was blamed for asking the help of the Berbers, a non-Arab race. “To see my sons graze the camels of the Berbers”, said the king, “is better than leaving them to raise the pigs of the Frange”, meaning the Christian foreigners. The message of appeal which the Arab kings wrote to Yousuf, contained the following extract:

“If you desire Al-Jihad (The Holy war)... then this is the time. Alfonso has marched across the country; hasten to cross the strait. We, the inhabitants of the Island (Spanish Peninsula) shall be at your disposal.”

History also related that as soon as king Yousuf Ben Tashfeen received the request, he was filled with Moslem zeal and in no time crossed the sea from North Africa to Spain with a formidable army. He soon frightened the enemy and gave the Arabs a deep feeling of security. The king lead the army himself, and before commencing battle, he wrote to king Alfonso asking him according to Moslem traditions, either to accept Islam or pay the Jezia or fight. This famous message contained the following daring paragraph:

“We had heard, O Alfonso, that you called for an encounter and wished to have a fleet to cross the sea to fight us. We have crossed it for you and God has ordained our meeting in battle. Now you shall see the result of your wishes — The wishes of infidels are but illusions.”

History further says that the Christian king was almost mad with anger upon receiving the message of the Moslem king and swore not to leave the battlefield before he met and defeated the Berber king.

The two camps took pains making preparations

and plunged into a bloody fight such as the Peninsula never witnessed before.

Then Alfonso, the tyrant, wrote a long letter to Ben Tashfeen, who to insult the sender, scribbled the answer on the back of the same message. Alfonso felt humiliated and raised a huge army of 40,000 strong from Tulaytila which he had smatched away from the Arabs. The two armies met and a savage fight broke out at the site of Zallaqa on Friday the 3rd of Ramadan, the Hijra year 479. It was a decisive battle and victory was the reward of the Moslems. All enemy legions had perished save thirty knights who escaped with the wounded king.

The Zallaqa Battle:

Let us now hear Ben Khilkan describe to us, and to you Arab nationalists, this battle which is in no way less important than the battle of Hetteen in Palestine, wherein Salah Ed-Deen Al-Ayoubi, the Kurd, smashed the armies of the Crusaders. Yes, let Ben Khilkan tell us about this battle which was won in the name of Islam, (not in the name of Arab Nationalism) by the Berber king, who did not know Arabic, but knew Islam:

Ben Khilkan related in his work "The Death Of Dignitaries":

"... And Abu Al-Hajaj Abu Mohammed Al-Barasi

says in his book, "Reminding The Wise Man And Alarming The Careless", that Ben Tashfeen camped at one mile off the enemy camp on Wednesday. The date for battle was Saturday. But Alfonso cheated and attacked the advanced battalions of Ben Abbad, the king of Sevilla, on Friday morning, when people were unaware and unalarmed... The surprise attack created confusion in Ben Abbad's camp and he himself was killed. Other Arab princes were greatly distressed and few fled away.

Alfonso thought that Ben Tashfeen had also been disconcerted and ran away. But the prince of the faithful Moslems, receiving wind of what was going on, rode immediately with his generals and marched straight against Alfonso's headquarters. They soon penetrated the defence lines, captured the whole camp and killed the whole garrison. The enemy gathered its forces and launched a counter-attack. Ben Tashfeen withdrew from the camp allowing the enemy to come in; then he responded with a surprise attack and drove them out. Attacks and counter-attacks continued until the king thought the time was opportune for a final show. He ordered his Sudanese infantry, 4,000 strong, to join in. The infantry went into battle with their indian swords and light long lances. Enemy horses were frightened and took to their heels with their riders. Alfonso himself was caught in combat with a

black Sudanese who hit him with the club. He tried to hit back with his sword, but the Sudanese came closer and stuck his whole body between Alfonso arms, got hold of his neck with one hand and stabled him with the other with a knife he drew from a leather case on his thigh. The breeze of sunset that day carried the signs of victory. God had inspired the Moslems with patience and they fought well until the enemy was driven out of the battlefield; Alfonso and his battalions took to their heels, leaving their necks and backs an easy target for the sword until they reached a hill wherein they took shelter for few hours and then escaped in the darkness of the night. The whole enemy camp and its rich contents were the immediate rewards of the battle.

The Berber King Rejects The Spoil:

Al Biasi continued his narrative:

"The battle site, though very wide, was full of corpses and blood ponds. It took the army four days to collect and classify the spoil. When this was done and the inventory offered to the king, he refused to have anything to do with it, and offered it to the Arab local kings and princes saying that he came to fight not to loot. Upon hearing those words, the kings of

Andalusia hailed him and expressed their thanks and gratitude."

This is a magnificent story of the blessings of Moslem brotherhood (not national brotherhood based upon ignoring Islam). It contains a moral that may serve as advice or reminder to those who hate the mention of Islam, and dare to accuse its advocates of having evil purposes and mean objectives. For those who enshrine such evil purpose and mean goals are none but those who endeavour day and night to deprive Arabism of its generating force, Islam, and try to exchange the worship of one God for idolatry, virtue for sin, wisdom for foolishness, conservatism for unrestricted confusion and finally manhood for sissiness. They wish to appease idolatry, communism and Titoism on the expense of Islam...

Who, then, Abu Hashim, is more deserving of your definitions, "mean and degenerate"?... The Arabs who urge their brothers to respect their religion be loyal to Islam and live according to the teachings of the Kuran, or the Arabs who urge us to ignore Islam, disdain faith and live according to the whims of idolators and communists?

Let us leave the dispute between you and us for God to judge. Let us leave the matter for history to say its word. It alone will be able to attest as to which

party was right; yours or ours?"

My friend listened to the whole article and then said, his features illuminated with comprehension:

—“Your long article is really more than a convincing reply to Abu Hashim. It is indeed an earthquake which has, with the tempest of your previous arguments, shaken the foundations of the castle which we always thought was undestructible and indispensable to Arab hopes and longings for safety, unity and power — the Castle of Arab Nationalism!”

I thought he was mocking me and told him so. But he said, with earnestness:

— “No, my brother, I do not, and shall not mock you. I am serious... You have changed me; and before I proceed to tell you how, I pray you never to call me again your friend or your national friend. The word has acquired a heavy and ugly meaning to my hearing. Once it sounded like music to me. So please call me, whenever you wish to address me, by the words “My Moslem brother, of Moslem friend”. I shall reject from now on any doctrine, ideology or call save the call of unity under the shade of Islam.”

I said:

— Have I desired, throughout this long discussion, any

better and than this?"

I stood up, approached him and kissed him on the forehead, while my eyes were streaming with tears, the tears of joy. The joy of his victory over himself.

How They Deceive The Simple In The Name Of Nationalism:

I returned to my place and said:

— "Now, tell me my beloved "Moslem brother", How did that transformation come to you?"

— "I always considered the call of Arab nationalism to be the only way to maintain Arab prestige. This doctrine controlled all my senses and shut my mind against any other idea. I know now that I was the victim of those impostors who have indoctrinated tens of thousands like me with their deviating principles and installed in our minds the idea that believing in Islam as religion and state will only lead us towards further disunity and confusion. The reason, they said, was that religious bonds had proved their inadequacy and insufficiency in uniting the Arab people. They further stated that the bonds of language and geography are stronger and more binding than those of religious faith. They had turned our minds by reciting many false examples. We were enchanted by the magic of their words, their subtle approach and their mixing poison

with good food. We finally became indoctrinated and fully convinced that Arab re-emergence shall not be realized unless all Arabs, regardless of religion, march on together, guided by a purely national ideology devoid of any religious influence or trace including the influence of Islam itself. They chose to give this call the name of "Arab Nationalism" to exploit our feelings, camouflage their real intentions and be able to label any opposition as "anti-Arab" or "anti-Arab liberation". We made this accusation against every opponent who called for Arab unity on the principles of Islam. That is why I felt disgusted at your ideas during the early stages of our discussion. I told myself: "This is one of the stupid reactionaries who do not wish the Arabs any luck, power or dignity." But because of the strong bonds of friendship between us, I controlled my nerves and tried to listen to your arguments, trying not to show my disgust or annoyance. But, thanks to God for my patience was the cause of my salvation. Every time you probed deeper into the subject and related more proofs and evidence, especially the interesting historical one, my self-assurance grew weaker and the veils that shut my vision fell one by one. By the time you read out the last sentence of your article the last veil of deceit and disillusion had fallen down and the truth appeared before my eyes, naked as it is.

When I sobered from my drunkenness, I found my-

self face to face with reality, blinking my eyes before the lights of truth and standing at the wide gates of the divine guidance... through which I passed with a restful conscience and gleaming face. And now, here I am, as you can see, in the radiant space of guidance... far away from the dark tunnels of falsehood and the lonely slopes of disillusion; believing in none but the message of Islam and listening to no other call but of the Kúran. The Moslem-negro is nearer to my heart than the non-Moslem Qureishy. I behold no nationality to be fanatic about, or race-prejudice to obey... save the Kuran to believe in, the traditions to follow and Islam to call for.

I wish to be one of those God described as:

“Lo! those who ward off (evil), when a glamour from the devil troubleth them, they do but remember (Allah’s guidance) and behold them seers!”

I also wish that God may reward you for your reminding me of the truth and helping me find my way back to it.”

I thanked him for his kind words and said:

— “Do you still wish to take the manuscripts of the two articles I read out to you as you requested some time ago?”

— “I really wish you to do more than that... To publish

this whole discussion in a book that people may read, especially those disillusioned victims of charlatanism who still believe in that wrong concept and criminal call which claim that constructing Arab entity and personality upon the basis of non-religious ideology is better for the Arabs than the teaching of the Kuran or the doctrines of Islam.

I pray you to try to realize this request because I believe that many men I know will find the right path when they read such a book."

— "I appreciate your noble motive and shall try, by God's will, to do as you request."

If The Arabs Are Disgraced, Islam Is Humiliated:

His face lighted with a smile, and he said:

— "Before I depart, I would like you to answer a question or rather solve a riddle for me — i.e. whenever those nationalists saw symptoms of sympathy on our part for Islam, or felt that we were getting immunized to their philosophies, they used to pretend to pay all due respect to Islam and read out to us quotations and recitations from Islamic sources in support of their movement to make us believe that Islam blesses their movement and recognizes it. For example, they say that the Prophet said: "If the Arabs are humiliated,

Islam is humiliated.” Therefore, their movement is dedicated to strengthen the Arabs, and in harmony with the wishes of the great Prophet who associated the glory and power of Islam with the glory and power of the Arabs. Now, tell me, is that Hadith a true saying of the Prophet? And if it is true, what value does it have as an argument on their side?”

— “I have not seen this saying myself, and therefore can not attest to whether it is true or not. But let us suppose that it is true: In which case it does not serve as an argument to their case? Therefore, let us agree with them and say: “Yes, if the Arabs are humiliated, then Islam is humiliated.” But what Arabs does the saying mean? Does it mean all the Arabs, Moslems and non-Moslems? Good Arabs who follow the teachings of the Kuran and bad Arabs who have since time immemorial divorced religion and did not care a bit about its doctrines and ideals? Evidently, the saying means exclusively the Moslem Arabs who raise no banner but that of Islam, seek no goal except the promotion of its power and accept no judgement except its own, and fight for no reward save its cause alone.

If they claim that the “saying” applies to the first group of Arabs, we would tell them “this is a lie”, because there were many Arab leaders through whose disgrace and humiliation alone God had maintained

and glorified Islam. There are other similar men who had to be humiliated and killed before Islam could hoist its banners or promote its call as history attests.

If they agree to the second explanation, then they can not use the saying as an argument in their favour. Because their movement is insignificant in comparison with the all-embracing movement of Islam. Its programme does not contain one item in favour of Islam or its message. The truth is that the said programme is designed to ignore Islam and isolate it from the new Arab movement to the extent of prohibiting its mention in any political release or publication of their movement.

Once again I state that if the said saying is true, then it must surely mean the Arabs who carry in their bosoms the message of Islam, speak in its name, seek its good, and support its divine constitution and endeavour to implement it on earth. Those are the blessed ones who, for the sake of God and his religion, argue and accept to be argued, boycott and endure boycotting, fight or bear to be fought, and finally kill and be killed. By such persons alone Islam is glorified by their glory and humiliated by their humiliation — for they are the true advocates of Islam, its soldiers and supporters and the beloved ones to Mohammed, the Prophet of Islam. Other Arabs, who disregard Islam,

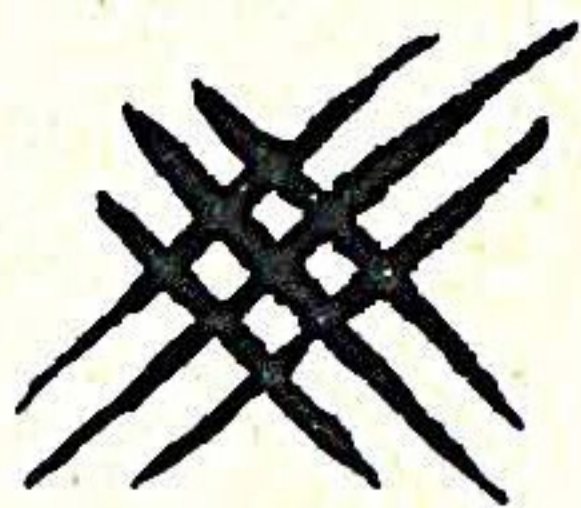
reject its call, refuse its constitution, mock its morals, disobey its teachings, and who contradict its laws, disrespect its provisions, permit what God prevented and prevent what He permitted; who support preferers of godlessness to faith and discourage preferers of faith to godlessness; and who appease Brahman ideology and befriend Marxist communism, all those are a nuisance to Islam, their dismay and humiliation is its glory and victory, and indeed, its humiliation is in their victory. They are worse to Islam than its foreign enemies and more harmful than the foe who comes from abroad to destroy and corrupt it.

This, O my beloved "Moslem brother", is the truth I have explained to you from the point of view of Islam. And I pray that it has satisfied you and made your mind at peace."

— "Yes, indeed", said he, "your words have explained all ambiguities and revealed all falsehood and charlatanism. Now I know that nationalists can find no arguments in the afore-mentioned Hadith, be it true or untrue. May God bless you and guide your steps; may He also, inspire the Arab nation and all other Moslem nations to hold this religion, carry its banner and preach its message".

I said "Amen" to his prayers and stood up to say farewell. I shook his hands warmly and felt happiness

filling my being. May God almighty preserve for us what good we enjoy, protect us against the evil of prejudice, stubbornness and undue pride. He is very near to hear our calls. God is great, glory be to Him, His Prophet and the faithful.



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