

Ansari Memorial Series

Communist Challenge
to
ISLAM

An Exposition of Communism vis-a-vis Islam

By

Dr. Fazlur Rahman Ansari

Compiled by

Dr. Umair Mahmood Siddiqui

Communist Challenge to Islam

© Umair Mahmood Siddiqui

First Published in 1951

By

THE MAKKI PUBLICATIONS

100 BRICKFIELD ROAD - DURBAN - SOUTH AFRICA

All rights are reserved

Second Edition Jan 2018

Islamic Research and Publications Bureau

Organ of

World Federation of Islamic Missions

North Nazimabad Block-B Karachi, Pakistan

Wfim.org.pk.....info@wfim.org.pk

92-21-36644156, 0321-2080031, 0346-3225863, 021-36629282

Communist Challenge to Islam

Dedicated by author to

HIS EMINENCE MOULANA MOHAMMED ABDUL
ALEEM SIDDIQUI AL-QADERI



"Guide, Philosopher, Father"

Dr. Muhammad Fazlur Rahman Ansari in 1943



Contents

Editor

Dr.Umair Mahmood Siddiqui

Foreword

Prof. Dr. Mohammad Ihsanullah Khan

Foreword

Mustafa Fazil Ansari

Foreword

Dr.Habib-ur-Rahman

Preface

Muhammad Fazl-ur-Rahman Ansari

- Chapter 1: **COMMUNISM: THE DANGER-SIGNAL**
General Remarks - The Intellectual Situation in
the World of Islam - The Social Situation -
General Situation
- Chapter 2: **COMMUNIST TACTICS**
Deception and Fraud - Illustration from China -
Illustration from Albania - Illustration from
Yugoslavia
- Chapter 3: **THE COMMUNIST WORLD-VIEW**
God and Man - Marxist Philosophical
Materialism
- Chapter 4: **THE BUSINESS OF COMPROMISISM**
Communism Brooks no Compromise - The

Peace-Mission of Marxism - Hero-Worship,
Iron-Dictatorship and Negation of Freedom and
Equality in Stalin's Russia

Chapter 5: **COMMUNISM AND NATIONAL AND
CULTURAL ASPIRATIONS**

National Self-Determination and Cultural
Autonomy under Communism - Definition of
Nation - Nations' Right to Self-Determination -
The National Right of Secession - Down with
National Distinctions! Long Live Marxism! -
National Cultural Autonomy under
Communism - The Type of National Culture
which Communism permits and develops - All
must bow to Moscow! - The Communist
Tactics Again! - The Communist Explanation
of Variations in Policy

Chapter 6: **ISLAM AND MUSLIMS IN THE SOVIET
UNION**

(A) Political Aggression
The Great Illusion - The conquest of Central
Asia, Crimea and Azerbaijan

Chapter 7: **ISLAM AND MUSLIMS IN THE SOVIET
UNION (Continued)**

(B) Ideological Aggression
The Cobweb of Intrigue - The Lesson for Us

Communist Challenge to Islam

- Chapter 8: **Islam versus Marxism**
Being an Essay written for the Muslim-Christian Convention held in Lebanon in 1954
- Chapter 9: **Islam vs. Communism**

Communist Challenge to Islam

Prologue

Dr. Umair Mahmood Siddiqui

“Communist Challenge to Islam” the magnum opus of Maulana Asari was first published in 1951, Durban, South Africa by Makki Publications and we have the privilege to reproduce it in 21th century as Communism’s return as a philosophical concept has fully established after USA bitter loss and agony of defeat in Afghanistan. Dr. Ansari authored the book in 1950 and penned its preface in Medina Munawwarah during missionary world tour along with his mentor Maulana Shah Abdul Aleem Siddiqui in whose name he dedicated the book. Being an exposition of Communism vis-à-vis Islam, it may rightfully be asserted to be a unique endeavour of its kind in the literary history of Islam which deserves serious recognition. In 1949, Maulana Ansari was on job and worked as officer incharge of the Sind Government weekly journal, the “Sind Information”. He resigned from his job to complete his work on Communism and thereafter to proceed on a world tour. Though he was in financial crisis and suffered from various ailments but he quit his job and left no stone unturned to accomplish the task assigned to him by his Shaykh Maulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui. His epistles to Maulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui are enough to comprehend the depth of his concern.¹ The Reader can easily feel his true love for Islam in his resignation letter;

*“God, in His infinite Mercy, has arranged
for my return to Islamic missionary work,*

¹ Read Epistles of Maulana Ansari compiled by the editor, published by WFIM in 2016.

which I carried on for about fifteen years before joining the present employment under you. The call of Islamic duty has been incessantly agitating my mind during my Government service, so much so that lately it became more and more impossible for me to resist it. I have, therefore, by God's Grace, resolved to resign my present job and to plunge forthwith in the storm and stress of Islamic work. I intend to complete as soon as possible my book on "ISLAM & COMMUNISM" and thereafter to proceed on a World-Tour, Insha-Allah!....."

According to Osman Belal after Maulana's demise, United States Information Services offered to publish and distribute "The Communist Challenge to Islam" in its campaign against Communism provided the following sentences were removed from the content of the book:

"Among internal evils, the "Ahmadiya" propaganda from Qadian and Lahore provides a fitting instance, while Communism enjoys this privileged position among external forces."

Alhumdulillah! This satanic offer was turned down by Shaykh Ja'afar (May he rest in peace) and these lines are intact to unveil false Qadiani propaganda.

Maulana Ansari has discussed the nature of Marxist philosophy, its implications and bearing. He arrived at the

conclusion that no ideological or practical compromise is possible between Communism and Islam. Aptly he wrote:

“In the present book we have shown that: (1) In its spiritual and philosophical foundations Communism is Islam's enemy No.1; (2) The political ideology of Communism is thoroughly incompatible with the ideal of Muslim nationalism and all that it stands for; (3) Communism has already wrought widespread and far-reaching ideological irreligious devastation among all those Muslim populations which have so far come under its sway; (4) Alliance with the Communists in any form means nothing less than courting disaster.”

There can be no compromise with Communism or American Capitalism. These two ideologies are contrary to Islam and devastating for humanity. Karl Marx wrote in “A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right”:

*“It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the **illusory** happiness of the people is the demand for their **real** happiness.”*²

²<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm#05>. Retrieved on 9/1/2018

He wrote in fragment of the Appendix of his doctoral dissertation:

"In the country of reason the existence of God cannot have any meaning. Take paper money to a country in which this use of paper money is not known, and everyone will laugh at your subjective representation. Go with your gods to a country in which other gods are worshipped, and you will be shown that you are the victim of fancies and abstractions. And rightly. Anyone who had brought a migrant god to the ancient Greeks, would have found the proof of the non-existence of this god, because it did not exist for the Greeks. What is the case in a certain country for certain foreign gods, takes place for god in general in the country of reason: it is an area in which his existence ceases"³

Former KGB officer Yuri Bezmenov wrote in his book "Black is Beautiful, Communism is Not":

"Now please try to understand that in the eyes of people who walk by Comrade Lenin's statue, he was a short, bald man with a speech impediment who died from syphilis, and who introduced the system of mass terror and concentration camps in my country long before

³ <https://www.ewtn.com/library/Theology/ATHEMARX.HTM>. Retrieved on 9/1/2018

these beautiful ideas came to the mind of Adolf Hitler. Nazis killed 6 million Jews. The system established by Lenin killed 66 million of my people.”

As a result of American imperialism over 6 million Muslims have been killed brutally after 9/11 carnage. Inhuman invasions on Islamic countries reflect the thought of famous American moral and political philosopher in liberal tradition John Bordley Rawls (1921-2002), as he wrote in his book “Political Liberalism”:

“That there are doctrines that reject one or more democratic freedom is itself a permanent fact of life, or seems so. This gives us the practical task of containing them like war and disease.⁴

We have no need to incline towards any “ISM” or any philosophical ideology. In the words of Quaid-e-Azam, we have the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ for our inspiration and guidance. Instead of putting prefix and suffix with Islam we must vow to follow Islam as we are directed by Allah and His last Prophet Muhammad ﷺ.

I am very thankful and indebted to Abdul Wahid Osman Belal, one of the close adherents of Maulana Ansari for providing me the original copy of the book “Communist

⁴ John Rawls, Political Liberalism, New York : Columbia University Press, 2005, p.64

Communist Challenge to Islam

Challenge to Islam”. I have annexed “Islam versus Marxism” and “Islam verses Communism” (A lecture delivered by Maulana in South Africa) so that it may be a compendium of what Maulana had done on Marxism in his life time. May Allah accept this humble effort. Aameen

Dr. Umair Mahmood Siddiqui
Assistant Professor
Department of Islamic Learning
University of Karachi
Karachi, Pakistan
Btm1432@gmail.com

Muhammad Fazl-ur-Rahman Ansari

Author's brief profile which appeared in the original publication printed in Durban, South Africa in 1951.

Pakistani scholar, journalist, author and missionary. Born in India in August 1914. Educated at Madressah Islamiah Arabiah, Meerut (Hafiz-ul-Quran; Persian and Arabic education); Government High School, Saharanpore (Matriculation); Meerut College, Meerut (Intermediate); Aligarh Muslim University B.A. - 1st Class 1st, M.A. Philosophy - 1st Class; B.Th. - 1st Class 1st; Completed Doctoral Theses on Islamic Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy (1947). Recipient of the Muslim University Gold Medal and the Philosophy Record Gold Medal. Awarded Fellowship of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, Berlin (1939). Life-sketch included in the BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA. New York (1947).

Visited the Far East in 1937-1938 for the religious and social uplift of Muslims. Missionary-in-charge of the All-Malaya Muslim Missionary Society, Singapore (1937-1938). Joined His Eminence at Mecca during the pilgrimage of 1949 and visited Egypt, Italy, Great Britain, France, Portugal, British West Indies, Br. and Dutch Guianas, U.S.A. and Canada. Member, Islamics Sub-Committee, Education Planning Committee of the All-India Muslim League (1944-1946). General Secretary, The International Union of Islamic Service (1938 to onwards). Editor, The Genuine Islam (monthly), Singapore (1938-1940). Editor-in-Chief, Five Pillars (quarterly), Durban (1945-1950), and Pakistan News, Durban (1948-1950), Editor, Sind Information (weekly) (1948-1949), Editor, "Ramadan Annual" and "The Muslim's Digest" (monthly), Durban.

Introduction

Mohammed Makki

The literature on Communism is growing every year. Indeed, there is no subject more important to the world at large. where it is possible to gain much enlightenment about Communism in theory from the various students and writers, it is at least inevitable to discover the truth about how it works in the country where it was first evolved and applied.

There is quite definitely a great distinction to be drawn between Russian Communism and the Communism of the common good which most of us would subscribe to, if we were able. The challenge of Communism affects every one of us. It threatens the existence of established religions and ancient faiths, and there is a very real danger that unless the people of Islam and of Christianity recognise and know the sinister meaning of this new and dangerous ideology, the whole world will be thrown into another dark age as confusing and as confounding as any other dark ages mankind has known in the past.

The author of this book, Muhammad Fazl-ur-Rahman Ansari, the General Editor of "The Muslim's Digest" and the "Ramadan Annual", is a research scholar, whose work is so well known that he requires no introduction. "The Communist Challenge to Islam" is a successful attempt to throw up in bold relief the significance of Communism to the Islamic world.

Communist Challenge to Islam

Here is an analysis and commentary, substantiated by documentary evidence which gives a convincing account of what Communism means to the good Muslims.

No one can read this book without being impressed by the scholarship and erudition brought to its writing, and no one can leave this book without being profoundly moved by its breadth of argument and sound reasoning. We commend it, as a contribution to the library of every Muslim.

MOHAMMED MAKKI

Organiser of the International Union of
Islamic Service in South Africa.
100 Brickfield Road, Durban.
1st May, 1951.

Abdul Wahid Osman Belal

Ever since the secular spirit of Western civilization gave birth to Marxism, a gigantic conflict between Religion and organized Ir-religion and Atheism has been speedily developing throughout the world. The Islamic world was the last to permit the permeation of this conflict into its precincts, but it has at last forced its way on the wings of the ignorance and social ill health of the Muslims, on the one hand, and the intrigues of Western imperialists, on the other. The Anglo-French aggression in the Suez is the latest important move on behalf of imperialism and colonization to bolster up Communism in the Muslim world.

Ignorance of true facts about Marxism, and even about Islam, exists most unfortunately to an appalling degree in the ranks of the Muslim youth who, in their devotion to secular education of the Western make up, get hardly any opportunity of studying Islam, especially in the background of the ideological conflicts of the present day. In the student world of Pakistan they constitute more than seventy-five years per cent of the whole. To enlighten them, therefore, on their own ideology as well as about the hostile ideologies would be a service not only to them but also to Pakistan, - in fact, to humanity.

It is with this ideal that this monograph is being published by the All-Pakistan Student's Association. The

Communist Challenge to Islam

writer of the monograph, Professor Muhammad Fazl-ur-Rahman Ansari, is one of those chosen few theologians in the entire world of Islam who combine the knowledge of Islam and of Modern Thought with distinction and eminence. It is hoped, therefore, that his words will penetrate not only the minds but also the hearts of his readers, clearing away all cobwebs of confusion.

Dated: 15-10-1956.

Foreword

Prof. Dr. Mohammad Ihsaanullah Khan

M.A., LL.B. (Alig.), Doctor of Phil. (Bonn)

Islam is a Religion, whereas Totalitarianism is simply a political ideology taking finally the form of a state. Both are believed to stand for an all-out, complete and a total reform or well-being of man. Hence the reason why both are conceived to be incidental and why an Islamic State is considered to be very much the same as a Totalitarian one. But this is a wrong notion and is grounded on a misconception of the nature of the two states. As a matter of fact they differ violently and there is a radical and fundamental distinction between the two. Islam is a religion, and religion constitutes a relation between Man and God. Now, If any party through this relation is to be benefited, it is Man and not God, for God is already a Perfect Being, complete in Himself, and needs no further improvement or reform. Evidently, any genuine relation between Man and God (a Perfect Being) will go a long way to elevate man to the status of Insan-i-Kamil - a perfect man. This perfect man is one who has the best of conduct and character, the best of intellect and reason, the best and finest sense for the appreciation of beauty and has the best of health, is free from all cares and wants and is consequently the happiest of all creatures. It is this sort of man, well-provided, well-talented and a totally reformed person, which is the goal

of an Islamic State. The same, likewise, is said to be the goal of a Totalitarian State. But this it is only apparently, not in reality, at best it is so in intention only, not in actual practice. In actual practice, it yearns to realize only a partial physical and economic well-being. This alone is the sole end of a Totalitarian State, to which all the other ends of man are subordinated and made subservient. If religion of any established moral code somehow comes into conflict with the economic and political programme of a Totalitarian State, it is the former that is to be sacrificed in the interest of the latter and not vice versa. This much abstractly speaking!

Coming to concrete facts, Totalitarianism is a certain constitution of the state in which only one political party is permitted, and that consists only of the supporters of the Dictator, e.g. that of Russia. In this system everything - material, mental and spiritual - is considered as belonging, or owing allegiance to the State; and the individuals exist for the society. The total power is in the hands of one party, indeed, one man, at the helm of the state; and he is all powerful. It is really in this sense - in the sense of a total power being in the hand of one person - that it is called a Totalitarian State, rather than in the sense of a total reform of man realized by it. In a word, it is only another name for an outright Dictatorship. Democracy is only a misnomer and is simply a futile conception according to this way of thinking. Sovereignty, therefore, belongs to the state and not to the people; and it is exercised only by the leader or the Dictator of the state. No

individual has any right to question the justice, motive or sense of judgment of the leader; nor, indeed, have the individuals the power to depose the Dictator, if he is in the wrong. The right of legislation, therefore, likewise belongs to the Dictator; and no legislature or judicial authority in the country can question the validity of the laws ordained by the Dictator. As such, the individuals are only soulless chattels, having no say in matters of state; and they are only the link in a big superstructure - are only the means to an end, which is the State. They have no fundamental or inherent rights as against the state, e.g., a right to private property or a right to lead a family life. Everything personal can be usurped or confiscated in the name of the state by the leader or the party in power. A Russian is no Russian if he insists on retaining a right to his private property, no matter howsoever honestly he might have earned it. This is also the reason why, to achieve its economic and political programme, a Totalitarian state leaves no stone unturned in sanctioning class war, violence, etc., against those sections of the population which do not believe in its ideology, e.g., against the bourgeoisie in Russia. In a word, the entire social life of the people in a Totalitarian state ends in the regimentation of the individuals. The individuals are assigned work, which they must have to function, no matter whether they will it or not, or whether it suits or does not suit their taste. The individual is lost sight of; and he ceases to think or function independently. All is compulsion and constraint from above, and nothing is voluntary or autonomous. No doubt, a Totalitarian state might

well consciously and overtly admit it to itself that the state is really there only for the sake of the individuals, and that its entire existence and being is only a means to an end, which is the individual and his well being. Yet in its actual planning and in the working out of things, it unconsciously and surreptitiously lapses into quite a reverse order; and the individual's welfare ultimately remains a welfare only in name or at best in intention merely.

With the loss of this "individuality" of persons, the moral or spiritual life of the individuals also ceases to operate, for "individuality" is precisely the essence and the prime condition of all moral or spiritual life. No amount of compulsion or restraint through laws or regulations, or through fear or reward from above, can make me moral or a righteous person, so long as I do not myself will it to be so. Morality or piety depends only on the motive of the individual, which is subjective and private, and is not open to the gaze of the state to be reformed or rectified by it. It is the work of the individual himself to purify or reform his motive and to moralise or spiritualise himself. I might well give alms at the command of the state and yet it is possible that I am still a bad man, if I do all this hypocritically and am not good at the bottom of my heart. In a word, the state can at best command my action, overt action, but not my motive, which is purely personal and on which alone depends morality and spirituality. Thus, if the individuality is lost and man is reduced simply to a soulless chattel, every action of his is

compelled and constrained from above and nothing of him is autonomous or out of free will, his moral and spiritual life also necessarily ceases to function altogether.

Contrasted to this, in an Islamic state the Sovereignty belongs to God and not to the people or a people's party or to the Dictator for that matter. Thus it is something other than the modern Democracy or the Dictatorship. It is Theocracy. This Sovereignty is exercised by the Khalifa in the name of God and as His agent in the interest of the community. The Khalifa is elected by the people, though not on numerical strength, as is the case in Democracy, but on qualitative grounds. The Khalifa, being the agent of God, must be the most pious, virtuous and an all-round, talented, gifted and a reliable person. The Khalifa can as well be deposed by the people, if he betrays trust and does not abide by the laws of God. Now if Khalifa can be elected and as well deposed by the people, that means that an Islamic state is in no way different from Democracy and that the people do possess the right of Sovereignty to all intent and purpose. Of course they do, but that only derivately so, not directly. Directly, the Sovereignty still remains with God, for the people have the right to election or deposition only subject to the instructions or the principles laid down by God, not subject to their own whims or caprice. Indeed, at times the Khalifa can act even against the will of the whole population, if it is intended to serve the purpose of God. Thus, an Islamic state may better be termed as Theo-Democracy, if that term be permitted, rather than as

Democracy or Theocracy pure and simple.

Further, since sovereignty essentially belongs to God, the right of legislation, likewise, belongs to God and to no other person or persons besides Him. Such a legislation is laid down in Quran or the Tradition, and they admit of no alterations from any quarter. Only Bye-Laws are allowed, but that, too, within the framework of the fundamental principles laid down in Quran or the Traditions. These laws deal with all the aspects of individuals' life and are tantamount to a complete, thorough and a total reformation of man. More, they leave the freedom of man, in action and in thought, and his individuality completely intact, so long as it does not vitally affect the interest of the state. Even in so fundamental and in so sacred and valuable a matter as religion, it also allows complete freedom! - and one is absolutely free to be or not to be a Muslim in an Islamic state. Thus, there is no compulsion in an Islamic state - neither in religion nor in matters mundane. The fundamental rights of man, e.g., the possession of private property or leading a family life, are likewise guaranteed by the Almighty. No Khalifa, people or a section thereof can encroach upon these rights even at time of a wholesale national emergency, such as war, famine, etc. Muslims and non-Muslims are alike in these rights. Unlike Totalitarianism, the removal of poverty or of economic inequality or the dispelling of any national distress - they are all realized by Islam through persuasions or appeals to the free loyalty of the people by sanctioning alms-giving, charity, acts of piety, etc.

Thus the act of "giving" by the individual in an Islamic state, since freely given, is not only conducive to helping others, but also goes a long way to his own reformation or self purification.

Further the rule of party or parties does not exist in Islam. The party, strictly speaking, is the entire community itself. The programme of an Islamic state is essentially, indeed predominantly, moral and religious: and only secondarily it is economic and political. It stands for the reformation of humanity, and it sanctions war against wickedness and moral vices wherever existing. Even against one's Khalifa, one is entitled to wage war or Holy War if he is a wicked person. More, it believes in a certain ideology which is revealed and not thought out by man himself - revealed by God through the Prophet ﷺ and the Quran. Lastly, Islam being a missionary religion, the Islamic state naturally stands for Internationalism; and it does not remain confined within its own bounds. But unlike Totalitarian states it seldom crosses its boundaries with a set purpose of aggrandisement or of colonization. It is predominantly a moral and spiritual state and, as such, wherever it goes it spreads religion, morality, learning, culture and all-pervading peace.

Mustafa Fazil Ansari

President

WFIM, Chief Successor of Maulana Ansari (RA)

The onslaught of Communist philosophy was a consequence of emergence of Darwinism in the field of biology and the extension of the same theory based on mechanical causation which vehemently negates the concept of God, was applied in the field of sociology and by John Stewart Mill in the domain of ethics and law followed by its materialistic interpretation in the field of metaphysics by Feuerbach. But a deeper probe would reveal the antagonism of Karl Marx, who propounded the Communist philosophy based on dialectic materialism applied to the social phenomena in his book 'Das Kapital', as a fundamental antipathy to Capitalism. One can feel the sentiments of hatred and aversion to then prevailing class of bourgeois and the poverty stricken class of proletariat. In the ailing, decrepit society of that period of history, the slogan of equality and abolition of the heinous discrimination rampant in those times, found strong support in the general masses and posed a formidable challenge in general to the concept of religion and divinity. Apparently Christianity and Judaism could not weather the storm based on their philosophy of faith and the lacunas in their scripture and fell like a house of cards due to their inherent inability to resolve the conflict between faith and reason.

The religion of true faith - Islam alone was structured to provide the resolution of the conflict. Islam's egalitarian concept of a social order based on the monotheistic divine belief in a Just God, Omnipotent and Omnipresent, the Master

and the Sustainer of this Universe, providing a system devoid of any discrimination of class, color or creed, through a flawless code of life contained in His divine message in the Qur'an, revealed by the Al Mighty to His beloved, last Prophet Syedna Muhammad (pbuh).

Dr Fazlur Rahman Ansari (ra) while discussing the role of Qur'an as the book of guidance with particular reference to the economic code, states in his book, *The Quranic Foundations and Structure of Muslim Society*: 'to bestow on Religion the role of functioning as Social Alchemy for the establishment of a Total Welfare Society; to harmonize Truth and Justice with love and mercy; to make Social Justice the very foundation for healthy collective life; to establish the concept of Wealth for Welfare; to eradicate Poverty, Disease and human Suffering in general; to crown Labor with Dignity; to provide the Golden Mean between the extremist philosophies of Monopoly, Capitalism and Communism.

Dr F R Ansari (ra) has fulfilled his mission as a Islamic missionary, an outstanding scholar and a exemplary soldier of Islam meticulously wielding his pen in totally annihilating the philosophy of Communism and logically extending and projecting the Islamic vision, meeting the challenge with his iconic dexterity in his writing presented to the reader in a beautiful compilation by our worthy brother, Dr. Umair Mahmood Siddiqui who fully deserves my love and appreciation for his monumental contribution and devotion.

Mustafa F Ansari
President
World Federation of Islamic Missions

Foreword

Dr. Habib-ur-Rahman

If we analyze the philosophical teachings of dialectical materialism that was presented in the name of communism in the twentieth century, we reach the conclusion that it is to topple down the well recognized status of Religion. No doubt that Religion always had firm roots and an important role to play in the human history. The communist philosophy is meant to promote agnosticism and atheism. Although communism is cited by its advocates, provides social justice, negation of self centeredness, dispelling danger, health care, surety of employment, curbing down business monopolies etc.,. But on the other hand, despite soothing slogans the fact is that it hampers personal growth, restricts freedom of speech and all business and financial activities are run under the strict control of the state. Despite an organized propaganda campaign, communism could not create heaven in Soviet Russia or elsewhere.

During the culmination of communist regime in Russia, the true picture of Russian life, in spite of Communist leaders boast that “ they have created way of life which is superior to other systems and which will in the foreseeable future be immeasurably better than the decaying capitalist western civilization’’. The facts and figures revealed the true picture of the glamorized heaven that in the face of having most

powerful police, army, intelligence services and merciless law enforcement agencies, communist rulers failed to eliminate social injustice, poverty, class conflict and power struggle.

From the very beginning, Communism has directly targeted religion and declared it as an “opium for people”. It was therefore extremely necessary to evaluate the “communist challenge to Islam”. Today among religions Islam is the perfect and final representative of all revealed religions in human history. If it withstands any ideological attack from modern philosophy then can it be possible for other religions to take shelter under the garb of Islam for their self-defense. Otherwise distorted religions will not have the potency to encounter the philosophical theories which have equipped the man of modern scientific era with unrestricted logical arguments. Before commenting on the this valuable book, it is more appropriate to go through the basic propaganda of communism against Religions.

1) According to the communist philosophy any Religion or philosophy of life is not acceptable unless it is logically realistic and can be proven materialistically. While the basic and fundamental pillar of Religion is to believe in the great unseen realities. It is therefore impossible for any communist to believe in Religion.

2) According to communism, Religion is the outcome of fear that resulted from the age of ignorance. So now it is obsolete both in theory and practice.

Communist Challenge to Islam

- 3) Communists firmly believe that Religion is the consequence of helplessness of humans before the nature to get rid of social, psychological and economic-problems.
- 4) They think that Religion is a blind affliction based on horror in the hearts of people which cannot be proven through facts but can only be examined.
- 5) They consider that Religion does not address human reason, and gives no importance to observation or experiments but deals with emotions and provokes the human sentiments artificially to accept unseen superior Authority.
- 6) They regard that Religion inculcates terror in the mind of man for baseless punishments in the Hell Fire and teaches him the concept of virtues to attract him towards Paradise. Religion also teaches belief in the predestination to surrender before the adverse circumstances.
- 7) They deem that the sole purpose of religious rituals is to enslave the people to a particular religious belief for blind adherence.
- 8) They presume that Religion supports the dominance of exploitative capitalist and tyrant class in the society to squeeze the oppressed. In this connection communist also suppose that the holy Quran teaches economic inequality and bars the ways for equal distribution of wealth among masses.

According to communist philosophers, dialectical materialism shows the realistic and practical way of life and helps to liberate the poor from the clutches of Religious superstitions.

All the above mentioned accusations are but unrealistic. To pose allegations is the easiest way to undermine the truth in the eyes of innocent people. History itself is the best testing laboratory wherein you do not have to pay a single penny to get the true result of every claim made in the past. The same is true for all philosophies and religions to prove their authenticity in this laboratory. Islam has the long history of over 1450 years, proving its validity and authenticity. It had been through the vicissitude of the human history in the east and the west and undoubtedly emerged the most successful ideology in every sense of the word. Twentieth century was not the exception for Islam to stand firmly alone before dark or bright sides of dangers. Communism was first overpowered in the ideological battle fields by the scholars of Islam. This battle was led by a few Muslim scholars who had sound knowledge of Islam on one hand and modern scholarship on the other hand.

Dr Fazlur Rahman Ansari Al Qadri (R A) was a shining star on the firmament of Islamic intelligentsia. He was a man of great vision to justify his faith in Islam. He was fully convinced about the revolutionary aspect of Islamic ideology. In this regard, he kept himself fully abreast with the communist philosophy to encounter it with full preparation. He never behaved like other Muslim traditional scholars who

have been under delusion that mere word Islam possesses some occult power and will act like a talisman and protect them from communism. They conveniently forgot the fate of Bukhara, Samarkand, Turkmenistan. Why did not they pay heed to the laws of Allah which does not discriminate between Muslims and non Muslims on the basis of the faith? Dr Ansari (R A) firmly believed that as long as the Muslims behaved like true Muslims and observed the laws of Allah, they won the spectacular successes in the world and were acknowledged as the torch bearers of civilization. But when they began to discard the laws of Allah, they were reduced to the position of camp followers of other nations.

Dr Ansari's (ra) endeavor to render his scholarly potential, extensive study, intellectual deliberations, academic dialogues, philosophical acquaintance and vast travelling experiences in writing this priceless book meant to safeguard the Muslim culture, civilization, history, values, heritage and glory of Islam. This book will help Muslim Ummah as a bulwark against the Red Flood that might surge again in the Muslim world in near future. This book is not a simple exposition of communist philosophy but in-depth analysis of the problem and is presented with comprehensive and relevant Islamic answer to the overall challenge caused by communism and Marxism to Islam. It serves as a initial scholarly response an the Communism phenomena by an erudite Muslim scholar in English.

Communist Challenge to Islam

Congratulations to Dr. Umair Mahmood Siddiqui for he has done a very significant job to reclaim the copy of the original book “ Communist Challenge to Islam” from Mr. Abdul Wahid Osman Belal to reprint the missing scholarly masterpiece of Dr. Ansari on this vital global issue. This publication will help the positive minds to find out the genesis of Communism, intra- communist rivalries and vulnerabilities vis-a-viz Islam.

Dr Habib –ur- Rehman

Director General
DBF Seerat Research Centre
Karachi

Preface

"There is a widespread belief that Capitalism and Communism are the only two ideologies between which the world has to make a choice. Actually, there are not two, but three ideologies - Capitalism, Communism and Islam."

Liaquat Ali Khan,

Prime Minister of Pakistan

In the following pages I have presented the outlines of the Communist challenge to Islam and I have discussed its nature, implications and bearing. I have arrived at the conclusion that no ideological or practical compromise is possible between Communism and Islam.

Lest I may be misunderstood by my Communist friends, I must make an important point clear. I regard it not only intellectual honesty but also good manners to call a spade a spade. I am, therefore, unable to tolerate the deliberate or indeliberate confusion of Communist ideology with Islamic values or the minimisation of the danger which lurks behind the misplaced Muslim sympathy or admiration for Communism, as much as I am in dead earnest not to tolerate the present-day confusion of Capitalist ideals with Islamic principles. I would not allow the Communists to rob Muslims

of their Islamic heritage though I respect the ideal of the alleviation of human suffering wherever it may be found, as much as I hate unreservedly the shylocks - the bloodthirsty money-worshippers, non-Muslim and Muslim alike. Basically, I hold and believe that the salvation of the Muslim world and the world at large lies only in the Islamic ideology - call its social aspect Islamic Socialism, if you so please - in the Islamic form of society.

I do not believe that Communism can deliver the goods - that the Marxist doctrine is a panacea for the ills of humanity. Rather, to the contrary. I also do not believe in the fiction that the only road to national greatness and strength lies via Communism. The Communists are in the habit of arguing that Soviet Russia could give a good account of herself during the last World War, solely because of the inherent merits of Communism. That is fallacious. Soviet Union's strength lay in totalitarianism. So did that of Nazi Germany, which performed a greater feat of power and which would have annihilated Russia had they fought as singles.

I, however, admit as who would not, that Communism is a very living and ferocious destructive force, virile to the core. It has delivered some severe blows at Capitalism, which itself is a decrepit offshoot of materialism and as much an enemy of Islam as Communism. As for the Muslim world, its threat is very real. It can cause an immense amount of harm to Islam if we do not wake up in time and put our house in order by removing the social evils which exist in our society and by re-

installing, in place of our present decrepit un-Islamic systems, the Islamic principles of social health practised by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (God bless him!) and delivered to us by him for dynamic and progressive realization.

The Communist propaganda among Muslims mainly takes up the following lines according as the need be:

(1) To the religious-minded masses the Communists preach that Communism is an ally of Islam and that Muslims can have the fullest opportunity of Islamic development under a Communist government.

(2) Among the half-religious Muslim nationalist, for whom Islam is merely a private faith, and who have been compromising with Western social norms for the past one hundred years, the Communist teaches that Philosophical Materialism is not the fundamental part of Communism, that Muslim nationalism can very well flourish under Communist aegis, and that Marxian economics, which is the only panacea for the ills of humanity, deserves to be adopted for the salvation of Muslim peoples, in preference to all other economic systems, including the Islamic, which he takes pains to prove cannot meet the present-day problems full length, even though he gladly concedes that of all religions the Islamic social outlook is the noblest and was the most progressive outlook for the age in which Islam was born.

This attack by the Communist propagandists on the Muslim world necessitates a corresponding counter-approach and

clarification for issues. Unless all the confusion which the Communists create by means of their subtle propaganda is removed, we cannot hope to wipe out the cobwebs which are being spun in the brains of Muslims today.

In the present book we have shown that: (1) In its spiritual and philosophical foundations Communism is Islam's enemy No.1; (2) The political ideology of Communism is thoroughly incompatible with the ideal of Muslim nationalism and all that it stands for; (3) Communism has already wrought widespread and far-reaching ideological irreligious devastation among all those Muslim populations which have so far come under its sway; (4) Alliance with the Communists in any form means nothing less than courting disaster.

A separate volume shall be devoted to the comparative and critical study of Marxist and Islamic philosophical and social teachings and the elucidation of Islamic economic ideology.

This book (which would have been ready long ago but for the unavoidable obstacles created by the Indo-Pakistan disturbances) forms the third literary work in English undertaken at the instance of The Islamic Research Academy and Publications Bureau (Karachi, Pakistan), the other two being the present writer's "Islam and Christianity in the Modern World" and "The Islamic Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy". The Academy was inaugurated in a very unostensible way, in 1943, at the Aligarh Muslim University of India, as the organ of the International Islamic Service

Union, under the patronage of the celebrated Islamic missionary and international leader, His Eminence Muhammad Abdul Aleem Siddiqui, and under the guidance of the revered Islamic philosopher of blessed memory, the late-lamented Professor Dr. Syed Zafar-ul-Hasan, M.A., LL.B. (Alig.), D.Phil. (Oxon.), Dr.Phil. (Erl.). The partition of India caused it to be shifted to Karachi in 1947.

As the Director of the Academy, the author feels he must take this opportunity to thank His Eminence Muhammad Abdul Aleem Siddiqui, who has been the guiding light and the person mainly responsible for the establishment of the institution; Al-Haj Syed Ali Akbar Shah, M.L.A. (Sind), who gave his invaluable co-operation in its re-establishment at Karachi; the late Mr. A. J. A. Cader (Secretary of the Ceylon Muslim Missionary Society) and his friends from Ceylon; Mr. Mohammed Makki (Director of the Makki Publications, Durban) and his friends from South Africa, and Messrs. C. H. Khizr Mohammed & Co., of Madras, for their support in the task of initial organisation. God bless them all.

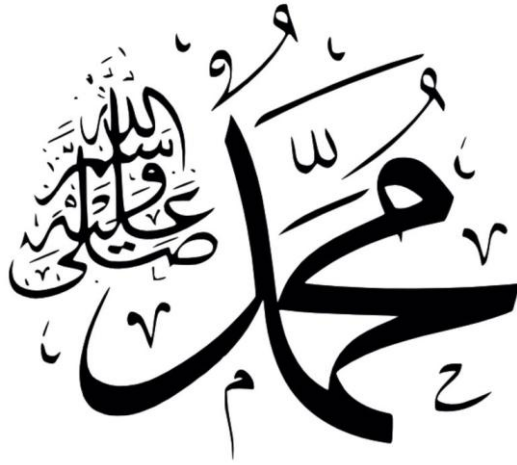
MUHAMMAD FAZL-UR-RAHMAN

Medina, Arabia

(Camp during missionary world-tour)

25th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1369 A.H.

14th January, 1950.



CHAPTER I

COMMUNISM: THE DANGER SIGNAL!

1. GENERAL REMARKS

It was towards the middle of 1948 that the Pakistani press first published news of the arrest of certain Muslims named Communists in eastern as well as western provinces. Soon after that, the Sind Observer (Karachi) informed:-

"Police are reported to be on the trail of some of the famous Indian Communists, including Mr. P. C. Joshi, ex-General Secretary of the All-India Communist Party, who are said to have recently infiltrated into Pakistan for carrying on Party-Programme and other subversive activities.

"It is learnt that Mr. P. C. Joshi and Mr. Sajjad Zahir came to Karachi along with Dr. K. M. Ashraf, an eminent member of the Indian Communist Party, who is now in Karachi District Jail, in the first week of August. Dr. Ashraf stayed here.....while his other comrade, Mr. Sajjad Zahir, left for Lahore whereafter it is not known where he has gone.

"It is strongly rumoured in political circles that

both Mr. Sajjad Zahir and Mr. P.C. Joshi are carrying on their underground activities in Pakistan.

"It is also learnt that another group of Indian Communists has gone to East Bengal with a set programme."

In the meantime, Communist parties in China, Burma and Indonesia were struggling to capture power and were waging actual war against the national governments which, except in the case of China, was, in the very nature of the case, immoral. The clumsy way in which the Indonesian Communists (all bearing Muslim names and born of Muslim parents) tried to stab the infant Republic in the back at a most critical moment pained every Muslim deeply. The abortive attempt could only assist in weakening the freedom-struggle of that great outpost of Islam in the Pacific and could mean nothing better than indirectly strengthening the hands of Dutch imperialists. Subsequently, the Pakistani press revealed the existence of a deep-laid, Moscow-sponsored, conspiracy in Muslim Asia:-

"Signs are increasing that Russia had begun an intensified penetration campaign in the Near and Middle East

"The drive seems to be a partial diversion of activity following Communist checks in Europe and America. It is probably linked with the mounting offensive in the Far East.

"Despite stringent anti-Communist measures in Arab States, the Palestine war and some social unrest have provided the Russians an opportunity.Communist underground organisations are particularly active in Syria and the Lebanon....

"In Iraq and Iran, new cells of Communism are known to have been recently created among the oil workers, but Transjordan and Saudi Arabia are harder problems for the Kremlin, though its agents are also active there.

"Besides trying to undermine the existing regimes from within, the Communists are also attempting to exacerbate nationalist differences between various nations and ethnological groupings. They have had some success with the Kurds and among the tribes of Azerbaijan.

"The establishment of a Soviet diplomatic mission in Tel Aviv, capital of Israeli State, has provided the Russians with their best foothold so far in this region. In the few weeks since its creation, the Soviet Legation in Tel Aviv has been remarkably active. Outward signs of this include a wave of pro-Soviet propaganda in Israel. Russian films and publications are being widely distributed."

(The Daily Gazette, Karachi)

While this news was being circulated, the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference (1948) was being held in London and one of the main items of discussion was reported to be the Communist problem in Asia. All seem to have agreed that it was a menace and must be combated. Pakistan's Premier, the Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan, was reported to have observed during an interview with the diplomatic correspondent of the "Star" that:

"Russia's policy is quite definite. It is one of expansionism: to create trouble; even to promote a revolution because Communism thrives on chaos."

(Dawn, Karachi).

Meanwhile, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan assured the people of Great Britain that Pakistan was "the greatest bastion against Communism." Soon after that, Governor-General Al-Haj Khwaja Nazimuddin observed that in Pakistan "the Communist influence is so negligible that they are no real danger at present."

The present writer agrees with both the above observations. But Liaquat Ali Khan's crisp statement is a definite warning and the Governor-General's assurance is only a qualified one. The words "real" and "at present" speak for themselves. It is, therefore, our duty to face the vital question squarely today itself: How long can we expect the Communist problem to remain in abeyance in Pakistan and other Muslim countries where, as we have already noticed, the first seeds of active

Communism have been sown already? It all depends upon circumstances, internal as well as external.

Internally, the Muslim world cannot be considered a "bastion against Communism" in view of the anti-Islamic and pro-Capitalist and pro-feudal character of the main governing trends of Muslim economic life. Pakistan and Indonesia might be regarded as exceptions to this general condemnation. Pakistan cannot be condemned for the social and economic evils which exist within its boundaries for the simple reason that they are not its creation, but only a heritage from its non-Muslim political past. On the other hand, it should be applauded for the reformative steps it has already taken in the field of agricultural economy and the definite assurances which have come forth spontaneously from its beloved Prime Minister and other responsible spokesmen that the future set-up of Pakistan's economy shall be based on Islamic Socialism. Indonesia cannot be condemned because, though not yet fully stabilised, its leaders have already given definite promise of establishing a Welfare State.

The transformation of the existing feudal - cum - capitalistic socio-economic order, sanctified by age-old practices and deeply entrenched in Muslim national life, into the Welfare State of the early days of Islam, if and when accomplished, shall be a stupendous task and those who undertake its accomplishment shall be required to put in their best Islamic fervour, statesmanship and the knowledge of the social and economic problems and of the comparative merits of their

Islamic and non-Islamic solutions. Internally, Pakistan or, for the matter of that, any other Muslim country, shall be able to ward off Communism only if such a transformation takes place, and takes place early. Externally, Pakistan and, for the matter of that, the combined strength of all Muslim countries, can hardly succeed in facing the armed might of Communist aggression if once the present Anglo-American military power, which is the only physical check, is liquidated. Communism does not believe in soft sentiments or compromises. Its sole aim is World-Revolution in the light of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin ideology.

All these alternatives are, however, hidden behind the misty horizon of the future. As regards the present, we should only face facts of the existing situation. These facts point decisively in one direction, namely, that the conditions existing in Pakistan and other Muslim countries are favourable to the propagation of Communism, that Communist forces are not only already sufficiently mobilised in Muslim countries, but are also gradually mustering greater and greater strength, that, in addition to the 30,000,000 Muslims inhabiting the Soviet Union and enslaved by Communism after the first World War, the Muslim populations of Albania (8000,000), Yugoslavia (1,750,000), Bulgaria (780,000), Rumania (260,000), Hungary (3,000), Poland (12,000) and China (80,000,000) have been engulfed by Communism since the termination of the second World War, the Communists are still underground in most Muslim countries solely because of considerations of strategy,

that Communism is gaining favour among the frustrated Muslim intelligentsia and the exploited Muslim masses in almost all Muslim countries, and that a general confusion, solely favourable to Communism, has been already created among Muslims as regards the comparative merits of Islam and Communism and the perversions and blasphemies which once and for all distinguish Communism from Islam and throw them into positively hostile camps.

Our statesmen have the habit of assessing the strength of Communist propaganda among Muslims by the very small numbers of active Muslim members of the Communist Party. Its consequence is that, at least in their public utterances, they habitually belittle the Communist influence and its potentialities. That this is a dangerous miscalculation will become evident to everyone who takes the trouble of eliciting the innocent opinion of average-educated Muslims in this behalf. Such a survey invariably reveals a vast majority of "passive sympathisers" and "dumb admirers", if not of Communism, at least of Communists. The cleverly-manuevered, mani-faced and powerful propaganda carried on by the Communist agencies which depicts the Communists as angels of peace, apostles of freedom, liberators of slaves and saviours of the oppressed, as contrasted with their opponents, the Western Powers, whom the average Muslim has learnt to hold in suspicion because of their imperialistic record in Muslim lands - these factors, combined with the appalling ignorance of even educated Muslims as regards the actual

merits of Communist ideology and the ultimate mission of Communism vis-a-vis Islam and the blacker record of Communist "imperialism", which has meant nothing less than the annihilation of Islam in all the Muslim areas that have so far come under Communist rule, have been in the main responsible for creating a favourable disposition among Muslims towards Communism.

The country-wide expression of joy and satisfaction at the invitation from Moscow to the Prime Minister of Pakistan was no doubt primarily based on political considerations. It was an act of political kindness on the part of the Soviet Union for which the present writer, too, is indeed thankful. But along with this political thankfulness some innocent sentiments of love, which the Communist jeers at as epiphenomena and irrational factors, but which have vital bearings on Muslim life, have also crept stealthily into the hearts of Muslims. This was possible only because of the factors referred to in the preceding paragraph. Little did the general Muslims think that for the materialism-ridden world, whether Communist or Capitalist, love is a crime except when it relates to "self". The moral foundation of their political creeds is sheer expediency. It all depends on how far it suits the interests of Washington or Moscow to "befriend" a particular nation. Absolute values and spiritual considerations are out of court.

The western nations, including the Russians, understand each other thoroughly and know how to reciprocate "political kindness". Not so the Muslims, who commit blunders by

seeing others in the mirror of their own values. Consequently, the invitation from Moscow to the Prime Minister of Pakistan for a visit to the Soviet Union became, for the general Muslims, an invitation to consider the Soviet Union, that arch-enemy of religion and Islamic nationalism, a staunch friend and prospective ally and to increase their sympathetic interest in Communism. The following news item, released by APP on August 31, 1949, and published in "Dawn", Pakistan's premier daily, speaks for itself:-

"The keen popular interest aroused in Lahore by the Pakistan Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to Moscow is reflected in the sharp rise which local sales of Russian periodicals and literature on the USSR have recorded in the last two months.

"This rise has been specially marked in the case of Soviet magazines, the local demand for which has gone up by 200 to 800 per cent. The circulation of the Moscow English weekly New Times has increased from just under 25 copies three months back to its present figure of over 200 copies. Two other periodicals, published from Moscow, namely, USSR in Construction and Russian Literature, seldom seen hitherto in local bookstalls, are now selling like hot cakes. Another newcomer, the Anglo-Soviet Journal, published from Glasgow, is also receiving increasing popular attention.

"Novels by Russian authors such as Gorki, Turgenev, Tchekhov, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and Solokhov have once again come into their own and now occupy pride of place along with the works of Somerset Maugham as best sellers in the local market."

In Pakistan and other Muslim lands Communism is indeed very much alive! It has already subjugated nearly a hundred million Muslims north of the Himalayas and the Pamirs and to the west of Bosphorous. Among other Muslim communities, too, it has triumphantly crept in. Its propaganda-machinery has already been set up. It has achieved initial victories in certain quarters. The spadework of gaining general sympathies in its fight against decrepit elements is also almost complete. On the map of the Muslim world hangs a big question mark:

Should the Muslims surrender to Communism - or - should they compromise with it as they did in the case of Western Capitalism - or - should they fight it?

2. THE INTELLECTUAL SITUATION IN THE WORLD OF ISLAM.

During the eighteenth century, and even during the nineteenth, the answer to the Question posed in the last section would have been a simple affair. It is, however, not so now.

Ever since the advent of Western culture in Muslim lands, which followed fast upon the heels of Islam's political

landslide in the nineteenth century, the demoralised world of Islam has been increasingly permitting itself to be absorbed by the materialistic and anti-religious Western thought and ideals. The basic cause of this passivity was that much before the Western nations subjugated the Muslim lands, various factors - moral, social, political and intellectual - had already combined to render passive, if not to actually paralyse, Muslim thought and action. The Western thought, pulsating with all the vigour of youth, was not confronted with the vigorous and all-conquering dynamism of the early days of Islam but with an outworn and moribund medieval outlook.

It is not the purpose of this book to discuss in any detail the causes of Muslim passivity in the face of Western thought. We are concerned here only with the results, which, alas! have been most tragic. After one hundred years of slow poisoning the condition of the Muslim world can be described today only in terms of disintegration, confusion and chaos, the struggles for political stabilisation, economic advancement, industrial progress, military preparedness, intellectual growth and religious revival notwithstanding.

From the point of view of the present discussion, Muslims all over the world can be broadly classified into four categories, which have been brought into existence by the currents and cross-currents of the internal weaknesses and the external impact of Western thought. These categories are:

(1) The progressive and enlightened Muslims who have learnt

to understand and appreciate Islam in the light of modern knowledge and problems. They have an unshakable faith in Islam, which is based on understanding, and they practise it intelligently. This provides them with complete immunity against all anti-Islamic influences, whether Marxist or otherwise. These upholders of dynamic orthodoxy are the future hope of Islam.

(2) The old-fashioned Muslims who refuse to come out of the intellectual atmosphere of eight hundred years ago. Their view of Islam is marred by certain wrong notions based upon obscurantism and misguided conservatism which confines their religious outlook mostly to rituals and basic morals, renders their practice of Islam imperfect and lands them in innocent forms of compromise with un-Islamic ideals. They have a staunch faith, but because they do not possess a clear view and a correct understanding of Islam's economic system, political outlook and social ethos, they are capable of being misguided on that score by the glamour of un-Islamic slogans and movements.

(3) The "believing" but "non-practising" Muslims and the "indifferent" Muslims whose religious consciousness is defective and for whom Islam is only a historical legacy - a part of their national heritage which, like the archaeological remains of the past, might be respected vaguely but which is not meant to be adopted as a living guidance governing the practical issues of life. Educated in irreligious Western ideals, brought up in an atmosphere alien to Islam and deprived of the

opportunity to imbibe Islamic teachings, they are hardly distinguishable from the non-Muslims in their practical lives except in the matter of what might be termed "Muslim nationalism" which, combined with a vague belief in God, they uphold in varying degrees. They have thus only a formal faith in the Islamic religion, while in all the practical affairs of life they look to the West for inspiration and guidance. Though a small minority, they wield considerable influence in all the Muslim countries because of their major share in the political life and administration where modern Western education alone counts today.

(4) The atheistic and anti-religious people who bear Muslim names only because their Muslim parents named them so. They imbibe atheism either because they become entangled in grossly immoral ways of life and thus lose all sense of nobleness and spirituality, or because they receive one-sided education in the materialistic philosophy of Western atheistic thinkers and are captivated by the idea or, in the case of those who are not very highly educated, because they consider it fashionable to swim with the latest currents of Western thought which are aggressively atheistic. In all cases, these "Muslim atheists" are a people who never had any opportunity of knowing even the fundamentals of Islam and thinking on them seriously. This group forms a microscopic minority and is drawn from among the modern-educated intelligentsia.

3. THE SOCIAL SITUATION

Combined with this tragic intellectual situation is the still more tragic social situation which renders the world of Islam vulnerable to all kinds of external influences, especially Marxism. Since the day when Yazid aimed his first blow at the Islamic democracy and the Muslim Welfare State, the Muslim world has been gradually and persistently drifting away from the social and political ideals of Islam, substituting classes for the original classless society, monarchy for the original democracy and Individualism for the Islamic type of Collectivism. It was this tragic transformation which, in the fullness of time, brought about the political downfall of Muslims two centuries ago and it is this again which is inviting today the substitution of Islam by such heretical socio-economic ideologies as Communism.

The fact is that there is hardly a social, political or economic evil which does not exist in the world of Islam today. Feudalism has been the order of the day in our countries for a long time past now. Lately it was reinforced by mercantilist Capitalism. Industrial Capitalism is being added now. As the Islamic social values have receded into the background, the sufferings of the common man have multiplied until they have become intolerable today under the combined pressure of internal and external exploiters. Love of money and lust for power, which had been ruled out by Islam as symbols of infidelity, crept stealthily into the Muslim society and have now come to stay with only light opprobrium sticking to them.

Social evils borrowed from non-Islamic systems have been sanctified and legalised by the passage of time, so much so that the ignorant would consider it an act of impiety to voice a protest against them. Our social conscience has been benumbed and the vested interests in our midst have even had the courage of justifying their evil ways on the basis of pseudo-religious sanctions.

The Muslim body-politic has lost its backbone. The contented middle-class forms only a virtually impotent minority. The bulk of Muslim society consists of poverty-stricken masses groaning under the dual tyranny of the Muslim vested interests and the imperialist blood-suckers. The rich and the well-to-do have deleted philanthropy from their code of life and, with few honourable exceptions, worship the demon of wealth instead of Allah. The consequence is that widespread poverty, hunger and want, ignorance and illiteracy, disease and debility, frustration and bad government have become the hall-marks of Muslim society all over the world. Poverty and want, said the Holy Prophet Muhammad (on him be blessings of Allah) lead people to infidelity. Can we, therefore, wonder if we find that the Muslim masses today are susceptible to all sorts of un-Islamic and anti-Islamic influences and are eager, in utter desperation, to catch hold of any helping hand, even though it may be that of a non-Muslim!

4. GENERAL SITUATION

Intellectually and socially, the world of Islam is in a diseased

condition. Add to it the political intrigues and conspiracies and the frustration of Muslim autonomy movements in different parts of the world, and you get a complete picture of the causes of social unrest brewing up in Muslim lands. Today the Muslim is wide awake, after an age-long slumber, to the miseries and insults and exploitation which have been heaped upon him by the exploiters belonging to his own community and by the foreign blood-suckers. He is deeply conscious of the sting and the agony, and is burning with the desire to put an end to it at the earliest possible opportunity.

Actually, the root cause of all this misery lies in principles and forces which are not only outside Islam but positively opposed to it, and, consequently, the only right road to emancipation and salvation lies in a sincere and complete return to Islam which, in its devotional, moral, economic and political systems guarantees the establishment of perfect liberty, fraternity and equality and the complete elimination of all forms of exploitation and oppression and which originally brought into existence the healthiest society and the best Welfare State ever known to man. An exposition of these glorious principles shall be taken up later on. Here we might confine ourselves to a bare statement of the fact.

The salvation of the Muslim world lies in a return to original Islam. But there are obstacles and obstacles in the way. Firstly, there is the conservative group which confuses orthodoxy with conservatism and thus fights shy of returning to orthodox Islam, which is based on the principles of rational

progress and natural enlightenment. Secondly, there is the powerful coalition of vested interest and the westernised Muslims who hate to see orthodox Islam being re-installed in place of power. A recent and most striking example of this is brutal, immoral and anti-Islamic attempt made in Egypt to put and end to the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen movement by murdering its great leader Shaikh Hasan Al-Banna, by throwing behind prison-bars not less than twelve thousand Ikhwan and by oppressing the rest in other ways. Little did the perpetrators of these crimes, who were seemingly playing into the hands of foreign anti-Islamic powers, realize that by suppressing and exterminating this great Islamic movement they were paving the way for the only other positive ideology, viz. Communism, which though it is spiritually the very anti-thesis of Islam, will destroy them more thoroughly and brutally. For, the present writer holds that, as matters stand, the Muslim world has to choose only between two alternatives, i.e. the original dynamic Islam and Communism. Pan-Islamism without the complete re-adoption of Islamic programme for the salvation of the common man lacks inspiration, while Westernism and territorial Nationalism, in their present hollow forms, cannot carry us far and will have to be abandoned soon.

Howsoever it may be, intellectual confusion, social oppression, economic exploitation, political subjection, the all-too-plain intrigues of foreign powers in whose hands many a Muslim statesman plays today, and, above all, the efforts by certain Muslim governments to suppress the attempts made by

Communist Challenge to Islam

the upholders of Islamic dynamic orthodoxy to set the house in order - all these factors have, in short, landed the Muslim populations of the world in a state of tragic chaos. The Muslim is looking forward to his social and political salvation in utter bewilderment. Here is an opportunity for the Communist propagandist to step in.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNIST TACTICS

1. DECEPTION AND FRAUD

THE opportunity is there and the Communist propagandist is there. In fact, he has been there for the past many decades and has already achieved considerable success by means fair and foul. The question is: What are his tactics? This question is essential in order to enable ourselves to understand and assess the problem of Communism vis-a-vis Islam in all its ramifications.

It is difficult for the average Muslim to dive into the deeper depths of Communist psychology. For, in their psychology of morals, they stand poles apart, Islam has taught the Muslim that he has not only to strive for the achievement of ends which are good but that he has also the perforce employ means therefor which are fair, noble and good. It is not so with the Communist, for whom absolute moral values, like truthfulness and fairness, are sheer bourgeoisie frauds, and who has been explicitly allowed by his moral code to employ all means, fair or foul, to gain his ends. His simple maxim is:

"Whatever helps in the struggle (for the establishment of Communism) is good; whatever hinders is bad." (A.B.C. of Communism).

Lenin is very explicit on this point. He says:

"We repudiate all morality which proceeds from super-natural ideas or ideas which are outside class-conceptions. In our opinion, morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class-war; everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting social order and for the uniting of the proletariat.In the struggle of an exploited class against their enemies, lying and deceit are often very important weapons."

As regards the tactics which Communists adopt in their propaganda, Lenin says:

"(In periods of uncertainty) it is necessary to combine the strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism with the ability to make all necessary compromises, to 'tack', to make agreements, zigzags, retreats, and so on." (Quoted by Edgar Snow in his *Red Star Over China*, p. 445)

For instance, Communism is a sworn enemy of all religions. It is one of those fundamental things with which it cannot compromise, as is evident from the following statements:

"The fight against religion", says Lenin, "is necessary and Marxism says: 'We must fight religion'.....The fight must be brought into close

connection with the concrete tasks and activity of the struggle which is directed to eliminate the social roots of religion."(The Labour Monthly, Dec. 1926).

Lenin further says on the authority of Marx:

“Religion is the opium of the people. Marxism, therefore, regards all present-day religion and churches. . . . as instruments of bourgeois reaction which serve as a shield for the exploitation and deception of the working class." (Ibid.).

Again and again in his writings and in his speeches, says the author of Gandhi and Lenin,

"Lenin pointed out that the Communist proletariat and its leaders must work with might and main to overthrow God, the arch-enemy of the Communist social order."

"It is the task of the Communist Party", says the Communist writer Buharin Priobrazensky in his A.B.C. of Communism,

"to make this truth (the truth of Karl Marx's saying 'Religion is the opium of the people') comprehensible to the widest possible circles of the labouring masses . . . religion and Communism are two entirely contradictory things, both theoretically and practically . . . a Communist who carries his religious belief with him has nothing to

do with Communism." (Italics are author's).

These statements are final, covering, as they do, both theory and practice. They prove to the hilt that between Communism and religion and, for the matter of that, Islam, no compromise is possible, that Communism can in no way permit any concession to Islam.

Still, Communism does allow such a concession where need arises. For the method laid down by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International is that of slow-poisoning. The following resolution speaks for itself:

"Among the tasks of combating bourgeois prejudices and superstitions the first place is taken by the fight against religion, *a fight which must be carried on with all the requisite tact and caution especially among those sections of workers in whose daily life religion has been hitherto deeply rooted.*" (Italics are author's).

Consequently, where the Communist is in power, as in the Soviet Union, he can, proudly and without sting of conscience, walk knee-deep in the blood of innocent Muslims, while elsewhere he adopts varying types of tactics ranging from Progressive Literature movement (where Progressivism equates Atheism) to respect for religion. He has to gain his grip over the Muslims, for he knows that once they are in his power he can do with them what he likes. The forthcoming story of the subjugation of Muslims by Soviet Russia will bear

it out.

Here we are concerned with Communist tactics. We have already given the classifications of Muslims. Among the four categories mentioned, the first one is immune. Consequently, the Communist does not touch them. He leaves them aside until the day when he will have captured power and will be in a position to send them to the gallows - the most favourite pastime of Communist rulers, in which they have beaten all records of world's history.

The remaining three categories are the Communist's targets, and he deals with them according to their deserts.

When he goes to the general Muslim masses, the peasants and the workers and the poverty-stricken members of lower middle class, who are mostly ignorant and generally illiterate, and whose attachment to religion is deep-rooted, he poses as a religious man himself, often participates in religious functions, shows the utmost respect to Islam, and tells the people that Communism and Islam are virtually the same - that Communism is only a Marxian edition of Mohammad's Islam, which Muslims have forsaken now. He further tells them that as the Muslim leaders are not prepared to abandon their present-day corrupt notions, the only road to success lies in adopting the banner of hammer and sickle, in forming trade unions and peasants' organisations under that banner, and in joining hands with international Communism, thereby defeating their exploiters and making their lives happy. He

painted before them a rosy picture of Soviet Russia and the revival of Muslim life in the Soviet republics, and asks them to follow in the footsteps of their brothers inhabiting Central Asia, Transcaucasia, Crimea, the Volga, the Balkans and China. They are thus slowly drawn into Communist-sponsored organisations and gradually indoctrinated until, with the passage of time, Communism becomes for them as much an integral part of their lives as Islam itself and it becomes well-nigh impossible to dissociate them from the red banner. One such very significant incident occurred lately in Pakistan. At the annual conference of the Sind Hari (Peasants') Committee, the Labour M.L.A. for Sind requested the office-bearers of the Committee to adopt the national flag of Pakistan in place of the Red flag. He was vehemently opposed by all the responsible office-bearers of the Hari Committee (all of them Pakistanis and belonging to the Muslim community) who insisted that they were not prepared to substitute their national flag for the foreign Red flag. Another step forward and a man would be a thorough Communist and anti-Islam!

Among the educated and cultured Muslims who are weak in Islamic practice but who have nevertheless a faith in Islam, however faulty it might be, the Communist approach is different. The greatest weakness of this type of Muslims is Compromisism. For the past one century or more, they have been making all sorts of compromises with Western thought and culture, keeping intact their Islamic metaphysics. What harm is there if they now effect a compromise with the

economic and political programme of the Communists for the sake of humanitarian issues of the elimination of exploitation and oppression and inequalities? - this is the advice which comes to them from their Communist friends and it is highly fascinating. There is nothing to lose but chains. On the other hand, the Communist advises them that they should not give much weight to Karl Marx's or Lenin's outbursts against religion which were actually transitory in character and referred only to the corruptions for which the Christian Church in Russia was responsible. The great socialistic religion of Islam need not fear on that score, they would say. They would further argue that, by aligning themselves with international Communism, their Muslim nationalism will not suffer, for does not Communism support the cause of national autonomy and equality and freedom of all nations more than any other ideology of the present day? Quite fascinating indeed! This farce of "national autonomy" under Communism will be dealt with shortly. Now we might refer to the Communist's third target, i.e. the atheistic people among Muslims.

Once you tell a Communist that you are not a believer in Islam but an atheist, he will readily open out his heart to you. Why, he would say, you are half-Communist already. For, Atheism and Materialism are the very bed-rocks on which the super-structure of Communist ideology has been built; the only thing you have to do is to change your negative Atheism and Materialism for the Marxian dialectic which is positive and scientific. And once you do that, the whole structure of the

social teachings of Communism is deducible logically. Communism, he would say, is the highest form of modern Materialism, irrefutable, magnificent, great; it is the noblest consummation of modern thought; it is the ideology of the most enlightened; it is the harbinger of true freedom, liberating man from all those forms of bondage which have tortured him so far; so why not be among the most progressive, the most enlightened and the most emancipated?

2. ILLUSTRATION FROM CHINA

As a practical illustration of how the Communists employ their tactics and succeed in entrapping the Muslim populations because of the numerous evils existing among them and because of their general ignorance of men and things, we might refer to the recent history of China where the collaborations of Muslims has contributed in no small a measure to the victory of Communist arms. The following account is based on the authentic information supplied by Edgar Snow, a pro-Communist writer of eminence, in his famous book, *The Red Star Over China*.

Of all the Muslims in China, variously estimated at 40 millions and 80 millions, nearly half are concentrated in the north-western provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Szechuan and Sinkiang, where they wield incontestable sway and power. It is these provinces which played a vital part in consolidating Communist power in China at a time when one intelligent move from the Nationalist Government would have

swept them off clean.

Before 1934, the Communist headquarters were located in Kiangsi, in Central China, where they were encircled on all sides by Nationalists and could not, therefore, hope to make much headway. Consequently, as Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, told Edgar Snow, the Long March began from Kiangsi in October, 1934, and Snow, "As a result of mistakes and the new tactics and strategy of China's campaign, combined with the overwhelming numerical and technical superiority of the Kuomintang forces, the Red Army was obliged, in 1934, to seek to change the conditions of its existence in Kiangsi, which were rapidly becoming more unfavourable. Secondly, the national political situation influenced the decision to move the scene of main operations to the North-West." The 6,000 mile long march began from Kiangsi in October, 1934, and continued up to October, 1935, when the Red Army at last reached northern Shensi and established its capital in the town of Sianfu. Yu Wang Pao, "an ancient Mohammedan walled city in south-east Ninghsia", became the headquarters of the Red 1st Front Army under the Commander Peng Teh-huai.

These Muslims, Edgar Snow says (p.321), were "the largest people left in China among whom priest and bishop are the real arbiters of temporal as well as spiritual life, with religion a deciding factor Mohammedan society revolves around the men-huang and ahun (Ameer and Mullah) To most of them Turkey, not China, seems to be still the fatherland,

and pan-Islamism, rather than pan-Hanism, the ideal."

What were the causes which urged these pious Muslims to welcome atheistic Communists with open arms and to help them not only against the Nationalist Government but also against the Muslim administrators who were working under that Government.

There were two major causes:

(1) Muslims hated the Sinicizing policy of the Nationalist Government and wanted to establish their autonomous state in the provinces mentioned above.

Edgar Snow observes:

"Although theoretically the Chinese consider the Hui or Moslem people one of the five great races of China, most Chinese seem to deny Moslem racial separateness, claiming that they have been Sinicized. In practice, Nanking decidedly follows out a policy of absorption, even more direct (though perhaps less successful) than that pursued towards the Mongolians.....However, it is quite evident to anyone who sees them in their own domain in the North-West that their claims to racial unity and the right to nationhood as a people are not without substantial basis in fact and in history."

Muslims, in fact, made several unsuccessful attempts to gain autonomy, e.g., the Tu Wei-hsiu rebellion in Yennan in the Nineteenth Century, the 1864 revolt in the North-West, and the latest in 1928 when General Feng Yu-hsiang was warlord of that region. "It was under Feng that Wu-Ma, or 'Five Ma', combination acquired much of its influence and secured the nucleus of its present wealth and power."

Having failed in their attempts, Muslims were looking forward to some powerful group which might help them in securing their hearts' desire. The Communists readily gave them a definite promise in that behalf. This provided one of the most important incentives to the Muslims to line up with the Communists and try their luck.

(2) The second major cause was the social evils existing in those Muslim provinces, which Muslims could not remedy under the policies of Kuomintang. In utter desperation, they were forced to prefer the Communist system to the exploitation and oppressive conditions brought into being and preserved by Chiang Ki-Shek's Government. Edgar Snow has given a graphic account of the social conditions prevailing and the consequent Muslim reaction. He observes:

"Today the struggle of three sects among the Chinese Muslims somewhat weakens their unity and creates a convenient alignment for the Chinese Communists to work among them. The three sects are simply the Old, New and Modern schools. Old and New recently formed a kind of 'united front' of their

own to oppose the heretical Modern school", which stood for destroying the temporal power of the clergy and for pan-Hanism. "In the North-West, the four Mas are leaders of this Modern school, and around them have grouped their own satellites, bureaucrats, and the wealthy land-owners and cattle-barons upon whom their regime depends. And yet the Great Horses (Mas) are not precisely the men you would expect to lead a reform movement in religion.

"For example, consider Ma Hung-Kuei, probably the richest and strongest of the quartet. He has numerous wives, is said to own about 60 per cent of the property of Ninghsia City, and has made a fortune of millions from opium, salt, furs, taxes and his own paper-currency. Still, he proved himself modern enough in one sense when recently he chose a new 'picture-bride'. Importing a secretary from Shanghai, he had him gather photographs of eligible, educated beauties, and made his choice. The price was fixed at \$50,000. Old Ma hired an aeroplane, flew out of the northern dust-clouds to Soochow, where he swooped up the latest addition to his harem - a graduate of Soochow Christian University - and then swept back again to Ninghsia like an Aladdin on his carpet, amid a blaze of publicity.

"But although this may seem charming enough to an Occidental, it is doubtful whether either Ma Hung Kuei's peasants or soldiers fully appreciated the romance of it all, for the peasants knew where the \$50,000 came from, and the soldiers wondered why, if the Great Horse had money to pay

for a Christian bride, he could not pay them wages. When a few months later, the Reds began their westward drive into Ma's territory in southern Ninghsia and northern Kansu, it was not perhaps entirely surprising that his troops - which he had boasted would annihilate the 'bandits' - put up little fight. There were reasons."

The reasons were mainly three:

(1) The corrupt personal character of the ruler to which a reference has been already made and which must make every Muslim to bow his head in shame.

(2) Oppressive character of the administration. In this connection, the most fiercely resented measure was the one relating to conscription. Almost all of General Ma's 40,000 soldiers and the indefinite number of "gate-guards" were conscripts. And not only was the law of conscription in force, the manner in which it was operated was cruel in the extreme. "Every family with sons had to contribute, or hire a substitute, at a cost which had risen to about \$150. The poor could borrow the sum - at rates from 40 per cent to 60 per cent. annually - from a pawn-shop usually owned by one of the Mas. Not only did the soldiers get no pay; they had to furnish their own food and clothing."

(3) Economic exploitation of the masses. The Government Bulletin of Ninghsia (Ninghsia Kung Pao, Dec., 1934, Ninghsia City) lists the levies collected in that province by General Ma according to the following items: sales, domestic

animals, camels, salt-carrying, salt consumption, opium, lamps, sheep, merchants, porters, pigeons, land, middle-men, food, special food, additional land, wood, coal, skins, slaughter, houses, firewood, milling, scales, ceremonies, tobacco, wine, stamp, marriage, vegetables. And there were many more petty taxes collected besides these. That the worst form of exploitation prevailed can be judged from the fact that Ma Hung-Kuei not only held a monopoly in salt, but also compelled every person to buy half a pound every month, whether the person concerned needed it or not. The salt thus purchased could not be re-sold, for private trade in that commodity was punishable by whipping or even death.

"Excessive taxation and indebtedness", says Edgar Snow, "had forced many farmers to sell their cattle and abandon their lands. Great areas had been bought over by officials, tax-collectors and lenders at very cheap rates, but much of it remained waste-land, because no tenants could be found to work under the tax-burden and rents imposed. An acceleration in the concentration of land, cattle and capital was taking place, and big increase in hired farm labourers. In one district investigated (i.e., Yuwang Hsien) (see Tang-ti Kung-Tso, Aug. 3, 1936, Pao An), it was found that over 70 per cent. of the farmers were in debt, and about 60 per cent. were living on food bought on credit. In the same district 5 per cent. of the people owned from 100 to 200 mou of land, 20 to 50 camels, 20 to 40 cows, 5 to 10 horses, 5 to 10 carts, and had from \$1,000 to \$2,000 in trading capital, while at the same time

about 60 per cent. of the population had less than 15 mou of land, no livestock other than one or two donkeys, and an average indebtedness of \$35 and 366 pounds of grain - much more than the average value of their land.

"Had the picture been otherwise when the Reds arrived, it is doubtful if they would have made much headway among the Mohammedans. Ma's troops had no interest in fighting and only 5% of the people had much at stake in resistance. But it still remained for the Communists to overcome the Moslem's natural aversion to co-operating with the Chinese, and to offer them a suitable programme. This the Reds were trying hard to do, for the strategic significance of the Mohammedan areas was manifest. They occupied a wide belt in the North-West which dominated the roads to Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia - and direct contact with Soviet Russia."

That the Communists were conscious of the strategic significance of Muslim areas and were deeply desirous of enlisting Muslim co-operation, is evident from the following admission (Company Discussion Materials: "The Mohammedan Problem", p.2, 1st Army Corps, Pol. Dept., June 2, 1936):-

"There are more than 10 million Mohammedans in the North-West occupying an extremely important position. Our present mission and responsibility is to defend the North-West and to create an anti-Japanese front in these five provinces, so that we can more powerfully lead the anti-Japanese movement of

the whole country and work for an immediate war against Japan. At the same time, in the development of our situation we can get into connection with the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia. However, it would be impossible to carry out our mission if we failed to win over the Mohammedans to our sphere and to the anti-Japanese front."

For enlisting Muslim co-operation, the Communists left no stone unturned and spared no move. On the one hand, they deputed their best propagandists, drawn from among the Muslims, to agitate among the Muslim soldiers for the overthrow of Ma Hung-Kuei, "the Koumintang running-dog and the traitor to Mohammedanism". On the other hand, they proclaimed the following attractive promises in return for Muslim co-operation:-

To abolish all sur-taxes.

To help form an autonomous Muslim Government.

To prohibit conscription.

To cancel old debts and loans.

To protect Muslim culture.

To guarantee religious freedom of all sects.

To help create and arm an anti-Japanese Muslim army.

To help unite Muslims of China, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang

and Soviet Russia.

"Here", says Edgar Snow, "was something to appeal to nearly every Moslem. Even some of the Ahuns saw in it an opportunity to get rid of Ma Hung-Kuei (punishing him for burning the mosques of the Old and New schools) and also a chance to realise an old aspiration - to re-establish direct contact with Turkey through Central Asia. By May (1936) the Communists were claiming that they had achieved what sceptics had said was impossible. They boasted that they had created the nucleus of a Chinese Moslem Red Army."

The following facts emerge clearly from the above:-

1. That Muslims were burning with enthusiasm for the creation of a sovereign Chinese Muslim State in the North-West.
2. That the general Muslim masses were groaning under the tyranny of the oppressive laws promulgated by their thoroughly decrepit and corrupt administrators, who were the agents of Koumintang regime.
3. That all the social evils from which the Muslims were suffering had their source outside Islamic principles and could and should have been therefore fought squarely on the basis of Islamic teachings without any reference to ideologies and movements outside Islam.
4. That this could not be done because the Muslim religious

leadership was practically of a worthless type.

5. That to achieve their Islamic ends, Muslims were forced by sheer expediency to join hands with the Communists, to help them in their hour of distress and to obtain help from them in return.

Were the Chinese Muslims right in adopting the line of action they did? Were the beliefs and principles of Chinese Communists in any way different from the orthodox Marxist beliefs and principles? Were the Chinese Communists pro-Islam or even neutral? Were they sincere in their promises and actually meant what they said? Could the Communists afford to relish the idea of creating an Islamic state, free to frame its own laws on the basis of the Shariah, free in its internal administration, and free in its foreign policy, in place of a Bolshevik state, i.e., could they afford to forsake the Communist ideal of World-Revolution and a World Communist State for the sake of a few million Muslims? Were they foolish enough or consistent enough to fight for the establishment of a Muslim state which might become a rallying centre of Islam in the heart of Asia, to employ their resources and to waste their energy over it, and then to make a present of it to Islam - to a people and a party much weaker materially than themselves?

The plain answer is: Nothing of the sort:

(1) The Chinese Communists were and are as orthodox Marxists as any other Communist party in the World. They are

thorough-going in their ideology. Edgar Snow says:-

"Certainly and obviously Russia has for the past dozen years been a dominating influence - and particularly among educated youth it has been the dominating external influence - on Chinese thought about social, political, economic and cultural problems of the country. . . . Everywhere that youth has any solid political beliefs in China, the impact of Marxist ideology is apparent, both as a philosophy and a kind of substitute for religion. Among young Chinese, Lenin is almost worshipped, Stalin is by far the most popular foreign leader, Socialism is taken for granted as the future form of Chinese Society, and Russian literature has the largest following - Maxim Gorky's works, for example, outselling all native writers except Lu Hsien, who was himself a great social revolutionary." (p.377.)

"The Reds . . . rejected nearly all the old Chinese philosophy that was the basis of what was once Chinese civilisation, and most important of all, perhaps, they were the most implacable enemies of the old Chinese familism Social organisations in general follow the pattern laid down by Russian Bolshevism." (p.381.)

". . . The political ideology, tactical line, and

theoretical leadership of the Chinese Communists have been under the close guidance, if not positive detailed direction, of the Communist International, which, during the past decade, has become virtually a bureau of the Russian Communist Party." (p.382.)

(2) The Chinese Communists are as much anti-religious and atheistic as any other Marxist group and it is their definite mission to wipe out religion, including Islam, altogether. If they gave guarantees to Muslims for the protection of Muslim culture and for the maintenance of religious freedom, as mentioned above, it was actually not out of respect for Islam but in the interests of their own tactics. The rosy promises were meant to deceive the Muslims, to keep them in pious delusion in order to receive the utmost help from them, to gain the ultimate victory over the Koumintang and then to blow up their promises and guarantees with bombs and bullets.

Edgar Snow's account makes it evidently clear that joining the Communist Party in China positively meant forsaking one's religion. Consequently, according to him (p.369), a religious man, e.g., Dr. Nelson Fu, head of the Red Army Medical Corps, who "still adhered to his faith", had not been accepted as a member of the Communist Party, though he "enthusiastically supported" the Reds and worked with them. "In Kiangsi", Edgar Snow further says (p.370), "the Soviets carried on an extensive anti-God propaganda. All temples, churches and church-estates were converted into State

property, and monks, nuns, priests, preachers, and foreign missionaries were deprived of the rights of citizenship; but in the North-West a much milder policy of religious toleration was practised. Freedom of worship was a primary guarantee, in fact The Communists reserved the right to preach anti-religious propaganda of their own, holding the 'freedom to oppose worship' to be a democratic privilege of the freedom to worship."

(3) The real aim in forming alliance with Muslims was not the exchange of fair benefits, viz., victory for the Communists over the Koumintang balanced by the creation of an autonomous Muslim national state. Slow and gradual conversion of Muslims from Islam to Marxism with the utmost tact and caution was the ultimate target. First, a mere political alliance on terms of virtual equality with the attendant sentiments of mutual sympathy, then a gradual indoctrination, creation of class-consciousness, acceptance of the social philosophy of Karl Marx, Sovietisation, and ultimately throwing aside Islamic values and a gradual march towards the anti-religious Marxist philosophy of life. Haste or compulsion at that inopportune hour would have spoiled the whole game. Hence the Communist leaders were in no haste.

Says Edgar Snow (pp. 327-331):-

"The Reds had organised two training regiments of Mohammedans at the front, both recruited largely from former troops of Ma Hung Kuei and Ma Hung Ping. They were taller

and more strongly-built than the Chinese, heavier of beard and darker-skinned, some of them very handsome in a distinctly Turkish way, with large black almond-shaped eyes and strong sharp Caucasian features

"Cartoons, posters, maps and slogans covered the walls of their barracks. 'Down with Ma Hung-Keui!' . . . 'Realize the independent Government of the Mohammedan people!' 'build our own anti-Japanese Mohammedan Red Army!' Such were the exhortations which had attracted what Moslem following the Communists had, and answers given to me by Moslem soldiers concerning their reasons for joining the Reds centred on them as main issues.

"The Moslem soldiers with the Reds had originally been won by subversive propaganda conducted among Ma's troops, and by political lectures when they reached the Red camp.

"Although these Red Moslem regiments had been organised less than half a year, they had already achieved considerable 'class-consciousness', it seemed. They had read, or heard read, the Communist Manifesto, brief lessons from Class Struggle, and daily political lectures, a la Marxism, on the immediate problems of the Mohammedan people. This instruction was given to them not by Chinese, but by Mohammedan members of the Communist Party - men who had been through the Reds' Party School Already nearly 25 per cent. of these Moslems had joined the Communist Party.

"With the autonomy slogan the Moslem population was

naturally in sympathy, for this had been their demand for many years. Whether the majority of them believed the Reds were sincere in their promise is quite another matter . I doubted it.

"Such Moslems as co-operated with the Reds had reasons of their own. If Chinese offered to help them drive out the Koumintang, help them create and equip an army of their own, help them get self-government, and help them despoil the rich (they no doubt said to themselves) they were prepared to take the opportunity - and later on turn that army to uses of their own if the Reds failed to keep their bargain.⁵ But it was apparent from the friendliness of the farmers, and their readiness to organise under the Reds, that their programme had a distinct attraction, and that their careful policy of respecting Muslim institutions had made an impression on even the most suspicious peasants and Ahuns.

"Among the soldiers themselves it appeared that some of the historical racial animosity (between Chinese and Moslem) was being overcome, and gradually meta-morphosed into class antagonism. Thus when I asked some Moslem soldiers whether they thought the Hui and Han peoples could co-operate under a Soviet form of Government, one replied:

'The Chinese and Moslems are brothers; we Moslems also

⁵ What an impossible variety of simpletons these Muslims must have been to have considered it possible to face the combined might of victorious Communist China and the mighty Soviet Union! (Author)

Communist Challenge to Islam

have Chinese blood in us; we all belong to Ta Chung Kuo (China), and therefore why should we fight each other? Our common enemies are the land-lords, the capitalists, the money-lenders, our oppressive rulers, and the Japanese. Our common aim is Revolution.'

Q. 'But what if the revolution interferes with your religion?'

A. 'There is no interference. The Red Army does not interfere with Mohammedan worship.'

Q. 'Well, I mean something like this. Some of the Ahuns are wealthy land-lords and money-lenders. Are they not? What if they oppose the Red Army? How would you treat them?'

A. 'We would persuade them to join the Revolution. But most Ahuns are not rich men. They sympathise with us. One of our Company Commanders was an Ahun.'

Q. 'Still, suppose some Ahuns can't be persuaded, but join with the Koumintang to oppose you?'

A. 'We would punish them. They would be bad Ahuns, and the people would demand their punishment.'

"Rules of conduct for the Red soldiers stationed in Muslim districts were that they 'must not: enter the house of a Moslem without his consent; molest a mosque or a priest in any way; say "pig" or "dog" before Moslems, or ask them why they don't eat pork; or call the Moslems "small faith" and Chinese "big faith".'

"Beside these efforts to unite the whole army intelligently behind the Moslem policy of the Reds, there was incessant work with the peasantry. The two Moslem training regiments led in this propaganda, but companies in the Red Army also sent their propaganda corps from house to house, explaining Communist policies and urging farmers to organise; the army dramatic club toured the village, giving Mohammedan plays, based on local situations and incidents of history, and designed to 'agitate' the population; leaflets, newspapers and posters were distributed, written in Chinese and Arabic; and mass meetings were frequently called to form revolutionary committees and village Soviets . . . By July, communities in Ninghsia had elected village Soviets, and were sending delegates to Yu Wang Pao to confer with the Moslem Communists there Early in September enough progress had been made in Ninghsia to convene a meeting of over 300 Moslem delegates from Soviet Committees elected by the villages then under the Red Army. A number of Ahuns, teachers, merchants, and two or three small landlords were among them, but mostly they were poor farmers The meeting of delegates elected a Chairman and a provisional Moslem Soviet Government Committee."

What will be the ultimate fate of Islam and these Muslim followers of Communists can hardly be a matter of speculation. No sooner the Communist power is fully stabilized, every conceivable effort will be made to wipe out Islam and the individuality of the Muslim people. In his

Report to the Communist Party (Yenan, April 10, 1937), Mao Tse-tung said in another reference that "there are definite limits" to "exchange of concessions". He further elaborated the Communist policy by saying: "The Communist Party will never abandon its aims of Socialism and Communism. The Communist Party retains its own programme and its own policies."

Chinese Muslims might not yet be feeling very uneasy because Communist China is still in the stage of the bourgeoisie democratic revolution. Those among them who hold Islam dear will, however, writhe in agony on the day transition takes place from the present stage to that of pure Marxism. But, alas, it will be too late then to repent and to retrace the steps!

3. ILLUSTRATION FROM ALBANIA

Closely resembling the Chinese drama are two others recently enacted among the Muslim populations of Albania and Yugoslavia, who, among all the Muslim Communities of Europe lately brought under sway by the Communists, are the most important. Albania has a majority of Muslims, while in Yugoslavia Islam has built up a power minority.

At the time of the Italian conquest of Albania in 1939, the Communists, under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, were the smallest of all those parties who entrenched themselves in the natural mountainous fortifications for continuing the war

against the invaders and ultimately liberating the country. There were the Liberals, who were struggling to establish a sovereign national democratic government. There were the Monarchists, who wanted to re-install King Ahmed Zogu after driving out the Italians. There were the Communists, who wanted to set up a Soviet government in collaboration with Russia. There were others, too, with definite and indefinite aims. It was, however, fated for the Communists to capture power when the hour of liberation came.

In spite of their small numbers, the Communists ultimately succeeded in becoming the most powerful party because they got timely and constant help and support from Soviet Russia in the form of military and political experts, and money and materials, while the other parties were divided among themselves, isolated from the outside world and had no helper. Another factor which helped them and enhanced their prestige was their revolutionary spirit, which was more in consonance with the spirit of Albania's hardy, freedom-loving but oppressed mountaineers, while other parties possessed no such asset.

It was, however, a herculean task to convert the proud individualistic Albanian peasants to the totalitarian Communist ideology. Their religious sentiments and their rugged individualism were the greatest obstacles in the way of Communist success, in spite of the Communist superiority in resources. Consequently, the Communist leaders marched towards their goal most cautiously. According to Bogdan

Raditsa (The Reader's Digest, New York, October, 1947), they "formed a 'non-Communist' organisation which could win the allegiance of the Albanian people. This was a patriotic union of all liberal parties against the Fascists, called the National Liberation Front and dedicated to the independence of Albania."

In the course of the struggle against the Fascists, which progressed rapidly under the National Liberation Front, Communists carried out their plan of eliminating the leaders of other parties participating in the union. "Mustafa Gjinishi, a liberal who understood the true aim of the Communists, was shot in the back during a battle against Mussolini's Fascists. And he was not the only one. A policy of 'liquidation' was put in operation from the beginning." (Ibid.)

The result of this policy was that by the time the country was liberated (in May, 1944), the Communists had already acquired substantial control of the National Liberation Front, and it was Enver Hoxha who headed the Committee which took over the reins of the new Albanian state.

The country was still not ready to accept Communism. In order, therefore, to establish themselves in power peacefully, Enver's Committee played one more trick and issued the following popular declaration. It was, in fact, a "Charter of Rights" which guaranteed to all citizens:

Equal rights before the law; freedom of religion, of assembly, speech and press; private ownership of property; freedom of

private initiative in economic life; personal security of citizens; equal rights of women; rights of election by secret ballot; right of complaint from decisions of the government; right of appeal; and right to sue the organs of the state authority.

This "Charter of Rights" was, however, merely a smokescreen and was solely meant to deceive not only the Albanian people but also the democratic world at large. For it did not remain in force more than a minute after Hoxha took power, and was speedily relegated to the limbo of oblivion. Today you would court danger if you were to quote it in public in Albania. "If", says Bogdan Raditsa, "you were to confront a Communist with it privately he would, without blushing, explain its disappearance as follows: 'In order to pass from the feudal system in Albania to the higher form of democracy represented by the Soviets, you have to have two revolutions. First, a 'bourgeois' and then a 'proletarian' revolution. The 'Declaration of Rights' was the 'bourgeois revolution', and that's over now. We have entered a new era.'"

Simultaneously with the suppression of the "Charter of Right", the "People's Republic of Albania" was proclaimed with a constitution modelled on that of Soviet Russia. The new regime was hailed with the murder of a liberal supporter, Kokoshi, who had been Minister of Education in the provisional government, announcing, so to speak, to the world a thousandth time that Communism, though it deludes the unwary into its fold on the offer of compromise, is actually not

Communist Challenge to Islam

prepared to tolerate the slightest difference of opinion and deviation from the Marxist creed, not to speak of the monstrous absurdity of a compromise between Marxism and Islam!

"Private lands, businesses and industries were confiscated and taken over by the Government. The stores were closed and their stocks disappeared to reappear in greatly reduced quantity in a few government stores where party members could have them at lowered prices The old coffee-houses in the once gay capital (Tirana) were closed as 'dens of reaction'. In their place are clubs for Communist Youth, Communist women government workers, where glib orators grind out the propaganda of the new era Bookstores were raided and books removed 'for examination', leaving nothing but Soviet literature, which arrived in a flood from Moscow. The movie houses were nationalised and only Soviet films were shown. . . . A systematic purge of anti-Communist democrats was started on the 'amalgam' plan made famous in the Moscow trials. That is, real traitors and quislings were trotted out, and innocent people tried with them, the issues and personalities thus becoming so confused that honest judgment was impossible. Then groups of innocent people alone were tried. When sentenced to death, the accused were shot the next day. When sentenced to prison they were shipped to slave-labour camps - a slower and more painful death totalitarian education was introduced . . . teachers of doubtful loyalty to the Soviets were thrown out; able and acquiescent

teachers were taken to Moscow for higher training. The Communist device of training children to tell on anti-Communist parents was introduced. Religious teaching was eliminated." (Ibid.).

Five years have elapsed since the Communist Party captured power in Albania masses are still resisting the heretical doctrines of Communism in spite of the reign of terror which has been let loose upon them. The Communists are ruling Albania behind an iron-curtain which makes it well-nigh difficult to obtain detailed information. In a way, the iron-curtain is itself a proof of the fact that all is not well in Albania.

Recently, Reuters flashed a news item from Belgrade which confirms our conjecture. "Living conditions in Albania, smallest of the 'people's Democracies'," reads the news, "are reported to have deteriorated since she broke off economic relations with Yugoslavia last July (on the question of acceptance of Russian hegemony) Albanian refugees crossing the border into Yugoslavia in some numbers tell of profound economic distress and political discontent. Food shortages, they say, have in some places reached starvation level. [That must be due to sabotage by the peasants, as was the case in the Soviet Union during the early twenties. - Author] Albanian refugees, who according to the Yugoslavs now number some 8,000, speak of 'political terror worse than under the fascists' set against pro-Yugoslav elements and suspected sympathisers of the recently executed

General Dzodze. General Dzodze, former Minister of the Interior, was tried recently and condemned in Tirana on charges of collaborating with Marshal Tito in his alleged aims of turning Albania into Yugoslav colony. Concentration camps inherited from previous regimes at Tepelin, Berat and Tirana are reported to be full." (Dawn, Karachi, August 3, 1949).

4. ILLUSTRATION FROM YUGOSLAVIA.

In Yugoslavia, the Communist Party took full advantage of the troubles in which the Muslims were finding themselves after the conquest of the country by Hitler's army and the subsequent campaign of persecution launched by the Christian majority. Finding themselves between two evils they at last chose the one which at the time seemed less hard to them because of the definite promises of equal treatment of all religious and national groups which Marshal Tito gave to the people. Under the political leadership of Dzaferbeg Kulenovic, Hakija Hadzic and others, Muslims had committed certain mistakes. Instead of remaining neutral, which alone suited them as a minority, they participated in the administration of the German quisling Ante Pavelich. Some of them also allowed themselves to be used by the Germans against the Serbs. The result was that they had to face persecution at the hands of the Chetniks led by Draza Mihailovic. The only refuge finally lay in joining the Communists.

This alliance was political in beginning. But it could not

remain so after the Communists had come to power. Communist propaganda absorbed many a Muslim intellectual. Those who could not accept the Marxist leadership had to flee for life or were shot dead. Yugoslavia's policy towards religion appears to be a mild one. Still the transformation which has taken place among the Muslim intellectuals who have joined the Communist party is nothing short of being anti-Islamic. The pamphlet entitled Yugoslav Muslims' Message to India, signed by thirteen eminent Muslim Communists and published by the Communist Party of India in January 1947, speaks for itself in this behalf. If they are emphatic on any issue, it is the unqualified condemnation of the Yugoslav Muslim religious leadership, including Reis-ul-Ulema Spaho. In practice, it accounts for the ultimate suppression of religious thought and action though the guarantee of "freedom to worship" is there, and though the Muslim Communists may be well-meaning in their compromise between Islam and Communism. Their thesis of the division of humanity into classes, irrespective of religious distinctions is a violent negation of a fundamental principle of Islam which divides the whole of mankind into two major blocks of Muslims and non-Muslims, and later on sub-divides the Muslim block into those of the righteous and the unrighteous. It may be that Marshal Tito will ultimately succeed in evolving a formula whereby Muslim and Christian worship and moral values could be accommodated comfortably alongside Marxian economics. For the present, the tone and make-up of Muslim Communist thought is not

Communist Challenge to Islam

very flattering to Islam. Rather, it is positively anti-Islamic. And the spiritualisation of Communism at the hands of Marshal Tito is a thing which is so far concealed in the womb of the future. It is still a far cry. In the meantime the house of Islam is burning!

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNIST WORLD VIEW

1. GOD AND MAN

In the general discussion of Communist tactics we have already referred in passing to the Marxist attitude towards religion and the deleterious effects of practical Communism on Muslims in China, Albania and Yugoslavia. In fact, the atheistic and materialistic aspect of Communist ideology is so obvious for all those who study the Communist classics, from which a few statements against religion have been quoted in the foregoing, that an elaborate proof is hardly necessary. For the general Muslims greatest walking proof are the "Muslim Communist leaders" themselves, if only Muslims could cast away the bad habits of closing eyes to realities and of wishful thinking. Indeed, I have yet to meet a Muslim Communist in Pakistan or elsewhere who is not a thoroughbred Atheist and Materialist and is not recognisable as such from his face and his sly talk. And to compromise the aggressive proselytising Atheism of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tng and others with the positive, uncompromising and fundamental Islamic belief in God and His Unity, Power and Grace is a height of absurdity which only the de-rationalised humans can possibly attempt to scale.

The reply to the question: whether Communist Philosophy is compatible with Islam, is one big NO. It is not compatible because, to put the argument in a nut-shell, it denies the existence of God, revelation and a future life; it treats the individual as a means and not as an end; it encourages class-warfare; it regards the moral law not as absolute but as relative to the needs of the Party and the State - and it does so with all the uncompromising aggressiveness conceivable.

Modern Communism took its birth primarily as a theory of economics, with the abolition of private property and equal distribution of wealth as its main theses, but it overstepped its limits during the process and ultimately transformed itself into a theory of life and a positive system of philosophy which is through and through materialistic. It has its own metaphysical notions, its own ethical ideas, its own cultural outlook and a man cannot be a Communist unless he believes in all aspects of Communism.

What connection is there at all between a materialistic view of life and the gentle, soft and spiritualistic emotion of sympathy for the weak? That is a question which puzzles many. Yet Communism has tried to combine these two elements in its system.

Why has it tried to do so? That is another question. At the very outset it may be said that it has done so not because of any inherent necessity. It was nothing else than the pressure of circumstances which gave to Communism the role of the

apostle of Materialism. Modern Europe, ever since it learnt its first lessons in Science and Philosophy from the Muslims, had been imperceptibly drifting away from religion, because of the mistakes committed by the Father of the Christian churches, and by the time awakening appeared among the labouring classes, materialism had already acquired a strong hold on the intelligentsia. Consequently, the minds of scholars who came forward to lead the labour movements were saturated with materialistic ideas.

Karl Marx, who has come to be known as the father of modern Communism and who played the greatest part in expounding and popularising it, was, by his very mental make-up, an arch-enemy of religious values and an aggressive materialist. Besides being a materialist, he was also a Jew and had consequently inherited from his forefathers a deep spirit of antagonism towards Christianity. Therefore, from the very beginning, he directed the forces of the Communist movement against religion. His stand against religion received a great support when Communism started its struggle in Russia, where the religious dignitaries had formed an alliance with the Czarist bureaucracy for sucking the blood of the peasantry. This provided a most favourable opportunity to the Communists to direct their attack against both, and when Lenin and his party overthrew the Czarist rule and established the Bolshevik Government in 1917, religion was suppressed throughout the Soviet Union, under pretexts in the beginning and later on openly, and the members of the Russian

Communist Party launched a powerful campaign for the extermination of religion and the belief in God.

That Communism is an uncompromising enemy of God and religion is fact which has been already substantiated in the statements quoted in the last chapter. Here we might quote another which deals with the actual conditions in Russia that grew up after the Revolution. "The Communist", wrote Professor Julius F. Hacker, a staunch supporter of the Soviets, in his book Religion under the Soviets (pp. 192,193), "is a militant materialist and atheist. He not only demands a confession of atheism from the members of his party, but he most zealously preaches his atheism and materialistic philosophy to non-party members and shapes the programme for the education of the young in such a way as to prepare the new generation for a materialistic conception of life There are no other lives to come for him; therefore he makes the most of his life upon this earth At the initiative of the party there has been founded a special propaganda society, the 'Union of the Godless (which) gets full support of the Communist Party and is actually but one of its propaganda organisations."

Having severed its relation with God, Communism has installed in her temple the idol of carnal desires, and the fanatical priests of that temple preach that the primal source of all human activity are the instincts of hunger and sex, which alone should be worshipped. The mechanistic view of life as accepted and preached by the Marxists means the demolition

of the foundations of morality in Communist society and the displacement of the family by the individual as the social unit. Consistently, therefore, the Russian Communists tried the experiment in the teeth of opposition put forth by long-established tradition and human nature. Very soon, however, the disintegration of the family, though it could be with difficulty achieved only among a small section of the population, began to tell its tale of woe and the moral disaster with its consequent social disaster appeared above the surface in all its ugliness. Subsequently, as a matter of sheer expediency, family life was reinstated in direct conflict with the Marxist theory. (See: *The Pattern of Soviet Power*).

In fact, if there is not God and no future life, if there is no moral law governing the universe,⁶ and if the cultivation and development of animality is the only and the highest ideal for man, all ethico-religious notions of truthfulness, faithfulness, sincerity, honesty, modesty, chastity and piety must ipso facto fall to the ground. And that is what happened in Communism. The advocacy of free sexual relations, the denunciation of marriage, the repudiation of the idea that any man can have the right to call any woman "my wife", and the notion that all children born under Communism were the property of the state and, as the state had to provide for their maintenance, it had the prerogative to issue orders prohibiting the production of children though allowing sexual relations and to open hospitals where abortion could be procured - all these were

⁶ Cf. Lenin's verdict on morality quoted in the foregoing.

and are the natural corollaries of the Marxist ethical hedonism, and Soviet Russia very naturally cherished them for a pretty long time, until sheer ugliness of consequences forced her to modify the social regulations. Many a full-blooded Russian Communist arose in those days to give sermons on and to popularise the revolutionary ethical standards. According to one of them, Artsybashev, the author of the famous novel *Samine* and an eminent Progressive writer and one of the prominent expounders of Communist moral discipline: drunkenness and adultery are nothing to be ashamed of; there is no such thing as sin; love, strong drink and lust for women are manly and natural passions, and what is natural cannot be wrong. (See *Religion under the Soviet*, p.164).

The ugly consequences of Marxist ethical outlook were admitted by no less a person than Anton Nemilov, a distinguished Russian scientist and a staunch Communist. In his book, *The Biological Tragedy of Woman* (pp. 202,203), he confessed that sexual anarchy was universally prevalent among the workers. He expressed a deep concern at the storm of sexual licentiousness that had overtaken all the ranks of Communists, and sounded a note of warning that those abnormal conditions foreshadowed a total breakdown of Communist society.

About the same time, M. Domillet, a former Belgian Consul in Russia, revealed that as a result of sexual anarchy there were about 5,000,000 homeless and starving children who had no means to subsist, that there were innocent girls of as tender an

age as twelve who could manage to get food only by submitting their bodies to the rapacity and lust of heartless Communists, and that the Government recognised it as a trade and took its share out of the wages of sin!

(See: Communism Exposed)

To the Communist, human beings are not the "vicegerents of God on earth", as Islam teaches, but merely one of the varieties of beasts, distinguished from other beasts only in as much as they possess more developed powers of intelligence, which should, however, be employed for the cultivation and enhancement of physical pleasures.

In this connection the following news flashed by Reuter from Paris on October 12, 1948, and published in Dawn, Karachi, will be of special interest:

"The Soviet Union has made a 'friendly protest' against including in the projected United Nations' declaration of human rights the proposition that 'men are created in the image and likeness of God.'

"Professor Alexei Pavlov, Soviet delegate, told the Social Committee of the General Assembly yesterday: 'In my country the postulate that man is created in the image of God is much disputed and is sometimes even regarded as reflecting a certain social backwardness.

"Prof. Pavlov also opposed the opening paragraph of the proposed declaration which enunciates that 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and right', saying that 'freedom and equality in rights are not inherent by birth, but are a product of social structure.'

"Dr. Augusto Moreno, of Columbia, defending the paragraph said: There exist ideologies which claim to be progressive, but in reality place men on the level of a dog'."

2. MARXIST PHILOSOPHICAL MATERIALISM

The above short discussion may now be supplemented with a short account of the Marxist Philosophical Materialism, prefaced with introductory remarks on Dialectical and Historical Materialism, which taken together constitute, according to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the consensus of world Communist opinion, "the theoretical basis of Communism, the theoretical foundations of the Marxist Party", it being "the duty of every member of our (Communist) Party to know these principles", "and thus safeguard the theoretical foundations of the Marxist Party". (Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pp. 103, 105.) Such a study would set at rest all doubts if they still exist as regards my contention that, in their philosophical foundations, Marxism and Islam stand in absolute antagonism.

According to the officially compiled and published Short History of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia (pp. 105 - 114):-

"Dialectical Materialism is the world-outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is materialistic."

"Historical Materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and its history."

As to Marxist Philosophical Materialism, "it is fundamentally the direct opposite of philosophical idealism."

"The principal features of Marxist Philosophical Materialism are as follows:

"(a) Contrary to idealism, which regard the world as the embodiment of an 'absolute idea', a 'universal spirit', 'consciousness', philosophical materialism holds that the world is by its very nature material, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion, that interconnection and inter-dependence of phenomena, as established by the dialectical method, are a law of

development of moving matter, and that the world develops in accordance with the laws of movement of matter and stands in no need of a 'Universal Spirit'(i.e. God)

"(b) Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our mind really exists, and that the material world, being nature, exists only in our mind, in our sensations, ideas and perceptions, the Marxist materialist philosophy holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our mind, that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, ideas, mind, and that mind is secondary, derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter which in its development has reached a high degree of perfection, namely, of the brain, and the brain is the organ of thought; and that therefore one cannot separate thought from matter with out committing a grave error

"(c) Contrary to idealism, which denies the possibility of knowing the world and its laws, which does not believe in the authenticity of our knowledge, does not recognise objective truth, and holds that the world is full of 'things-in-themselves' that can never be known to science, Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that our knowledge of the laws of nature, tested by experiment and practice, is authentic knowledge, having the validity of objective truth, and that there are no things in the world that are unknowable, but only thing which are still not known, but which will be disclosed and made known by the

efforts of science and practice "

That the belief in God and other transcendental verities, which form the very basis of religious outlook, have absolutely no place in, and are in no way reconcilable with, the Communist world-view, becomes still more clear from the following statements by the founders of Communism:-

"The materialistic outlook on nature", says Engels, "means no more than simply conceiving nature just as it exists, without any foreign admixture" (e.g. God, Who is a non-material Being above and beyond the material world). (F. Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach, Eng. ed., p. 79).

Commenting on the theory of Heraclitus, who was strictly anti-God and who preached that "the world, the all in one, was not created by any god or any man, but was, is and ever will be a living flame, systematically flaring up and systematically dying down", Lenin wrote: "A very good exposition of the rudiments of dialectical materialism." (Lenin, Philosophical Notebooks, Russ. ed., p. 318).

Marx is still more explicit:

"The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality." (Karl Marx, Selected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. I, p. 435).

"The world picture", says Lenin, "is a picture of how matter moves and how 'matter thinks'." (Lenin, Selected Works, Eng.

ed., Vol. XI, p. 402).

Blinded by its hatred of the idea of God and other transcendental and spiritual ideas, Communism does not only reject the Idealism of philosophers like Berkeley, which is faulty from the Islamic philosophical view-point, too, but also the Critical Philosophy of thinkers like Kant, who in his Critiques of Theoretical Reason and Practical Reason gave to science what belongs to science and to religion what belongs to religion, and thus evolved a system of thought which is the most rational and reasonable. In fact, Communism is impatient with any and every system of thought and belief which might try to accommodate religion in any way and to any extent. Thus, although Marx and Engels usually refer to Feuerbach as "the philosopher who restored materialism to its rights" and as the thinker from whom they borrowed the "inner Kernel" of their materialist philosophy, they cannot still tolerate him because he tried to accommodate religious morals alongside materialism.

(See Karl Marx, Selected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. I, pp. 439, 442).

Similarly, accusing Bogdanov, Bazarov, Yushkevich and others of fideism, and defending materialism, Lenin says:

"Contemporary fideism does not at all reject science; all it rejects is the 'exaggerated claims' of science.....if natural science, reflecting the outer world in human 'experience', is alone capable of giving us objective truth, then all fideism is

absolutely refuted." (Lenin, Selected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. XI, p. 188).

Such, in brief, is the Communist philosophical creed. This is not the place to discuss it critically and to refute it. Such a task is reserved for the second volume. Here, it would suffice to observe that the acceptance of the Communist creed means nothing less than the abandonment of Islamic metaphysical beliefs which are fundamental to Islam and which form the background and the basis of the Islamic moral and social teaching. This fact must be evident even to Muslims of ordinary intelligence and education.

CHAPTER IV

THIS BUSINESS OF COMPROMISISM

1. COMMUNISM BROOKS NO COMPROMISE

Those whom the Communist propaganda has screened from realities and has rendered incapable of clear thinking, because of certain prejudices which have come to stick to their modes of thought, but who at the same time are not ready to sever their relations with Islam, are in the habit of permitting themselves indulgence in such muddled thinking as follows: It is right that the Marxist-Leninist philosophical ideology is materialistic and atheistic and does not, therefore, conform to Islam. But, then, we can substitute the religious philosophy of Islam in its place and thus create "Islamic Communism" and an "Islamic Communist Party", join the ranks of International Communism, and fight the internal as well as the external forces of exploitation. A novel idea indeed! Unfortunately, however, it would not work. Not only is Islam vehemently opposed to it, for it has its own revealed social ideology which alone it regards as true in contra-distinction to all others, but the Marxist world also will cry "Shame!", will condemn such a move as thoroughly heretical, and will consider it their sacred duty to fight and destroy such muddle-headed heretics if they persist any more in their child-like fancies. For Marxism is as much uncompromising as Islam and it claims infallibility

with the same amount of aggressive conviction. Like Islam, it might allow minor re-interpretations in matters of details or technique. But just as the denial of the article of faith: "There is one God and Mohammad is His Prophet" means nothing less than excommunication in Islam, so does the denial of the philosophical foundations of Marxism-Leninism entail condemnation to gallows in Communism.

Fortunately for us, Communist history has already supplied a clear-cut answer in this behalf. Neither are the "Islamic Communists" mentioned above the first party to think in this fashion, nor is their idea without parallel. The experiment of "spiritualising" Marxism was tried by several Russian Marxists themselves at a time when Marxism was still in the throes of transition from being a "dream of theorists" to becoming the practical guiding ideology of a mighty state. The experiment, however, failed ignominiously and the Marxist-Leninist Party announced from the house-tops for all time that atheism and materialism and ethical hedonism were as much an integral and vital part of the Marxist creed as its social teaching.

The following official account given in the Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (pp. 101 - 104) is unambiguous and hardly leaves any room for confusion:

"The defeat of the Revolution of 1905 started a process of disintegration in the ranks of the fellow-travellers of the revolution. Degenerate and decadent tendencies grew

particularly marked among the intelligentsia In the realm of philosophy increasing attempt were made to "criticize" and revise Marxism; there also appeared all sorts of religious trends camouflaged by pseudo-scientific theories Decadence and scepticism also affected a section of the Party intelligentsia Among them were writers like Bogdanov, Bazarov, Lunacharsky (who had sided with the Bolshevik in 1905), Yushkevitch and Valentinov (Mensheviks). They launched their "criticism" simultaneously against the philosophical foundations of Marxist theory, i.e., against dialectical materialism, and against the fundamental Marxist principles of historical science, i.e., against historical materialism. Their criticism differed from the usual criticism in that it was not conducted openly and squarely, but in a veiled and hypocritical form under the guise of 'defending' the fundamental positions of Marxism. These people claimed that in the main they were Marxists but that they wanted to 'improve' Marxism - by ridding it of certain fundamental principles. In reality they were hostile to Marxism, for they tried to undermine its theoretical foundations, although they hypocritically denied their hostility to Marxism and two-facedly continued to style themselves Marxists. The danger of this hypocritical criticism lay in the fact that it was calculated to deceive rank-and-file members of the Party and might lead them astray. The more hypocritical grew this criticism, which aimed at undermining the theoretical foundations of Marxism, the more dangerous it was to the Party, for the more it merged with the general

campaign of the reactionaries against the Party, against the revolution. Some of the intellectuals who had deserted Marxism went so far as to advocate the founding of a new religion (these were known as 'god-seekers' and 'god-builders').

"It became urgent for the Marxists to give a fitting retort to these renegades from Marxist theory, to tear the mask from their faces and thoroughly expose them, and thus safeguard the theoretical foundations of the Marxist Party

"It was Lenin who accomplished this task in his famous book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, published in 1909.

" 'In the course of less than half a year', Lenin wrote, 'four books devoted mainly and almost entirely to attacks on dialectical materialism have made their appearance. These include first and foremost *Studies in (? - it would have been more proper to say 'against') the Philosophy of Marxism* (St. Petersburg, 1908), a symposium by Barazrov, Bogdanov, Lunacharsky, Berman, Helfond, Yushkevich and Suvorov; Yushkevich's *Materialism and Critical Realism*; Berman's *Dialectics in the Light of the Modern Theory of Knowledge* and Valentinov's *The Philosophical Construction of Marxism* . . . All these people are united in their hostility towards dialectic materialism, (and) at the same time claim to be Marxists in philosophy! Engels' dialectics is 'mysticism', says Berman. Engels' views have become 'antiquated', remarks Bazarov casually, as though it were a self-evident fact.

Materialism thus appears to be refuted by our bold warriors, who proudly allude to the 'modern theory of knowledge', 'recent philosophy of modern natural science', or even the 'philosophy of natural science of the twentieth century'." (Lenin, Selected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. XI, p. 89.)

"Replying to Lunacharsky, who, in justification of his friends - the revisionist in philosophy - said, 'perhaps we have gone astray, but we are seeking', Lenin wrote: 'As for myself, I too am a "seeker" in philosophy. Namely, the task I have set myself in these comments is to find out what was the stumbling block to these people who under the guise of Marxism are offering something incredibly muddled, confused and reactionary.' (Ibid., p. 90.)

"But as a matter fact, Lenin's book went far beyond this modest task. Actually, the book is something more than a criticism of Bogdanov, Yushkevich, Bazarov and Valentinov and their teachers in philosophy, Avenarius and Mach, who endeavoured in their writings to offer a refined and polished idealism as opposed to Marxist materialism

". Lenin comes to the following conclusions regarding philosophical and theoretical revisionism:

(1) 'An ever subtler falsification of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of anti-materialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism - this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism' (Ibid., p. 381.)

(2) 'The whole school of Mach and Avenarius is moving towards idealism.' (Ibid., p. 405.)

(3) 'Our Machinas have all got stuck in idealism.' (Ibid., p. 395.)

(4) ' Behind the gnosiological scholasticism of empirio-criticism it is impossible not to see the struggle of parties in philosophy, a struggle which in the last analysis expresses the tendencies and ideology of antagonistic classes in modern society.' (Ibid., p. 406.)

(5) 'The objective, class role of empirio-criticism reduces itself to nothing but that of the servitor of the fideists (the reactionaries who hold faith above science) in their struggle against materialism in general and historical materialism in particular.' (Ibid., p. 406.)

(6) 'Philosophical idealism is a road to clerical obscurantism.' " (Ibid., p. 84.)

The cat comes out of the bag in this last. Marxism-Leninism cannot tolerate religion in any form, and those who try to effect a compromise with religion are pure and simple heretics!

2. THE PEACE-MISSION OF MARXISM

The more I think of those who proudly call themselves Islamic Communists or who harbour sentiments of love and affection

for the Communists, the more I pity them and their faith. They are out to compromise with an enemy who knows no mercy and who shows no mercy even to brother and sister Marxists if they budge an inch from the policies of the Party or in their devotion to the infallible leadership of Stalin and his group or in subjection of their policies to those of the Soviet Union, or in the hero-worship of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin quartet, which, for the Communist is meant to fulfill the psychological function of a Muslim's devotion to God and Mohammad and a Christian's devotion to Jesus Christ.

The Communists are very often heard denouncing religion in the strongest terms, mostly on the basis that religion has been responsible for great bloodshed in human history. In fact, they assert that but for religion the world would have been an abode of peace and claim that Communism is out to bring the long-cherished millennium on earth. (See *Dialectic Materialism* by V. Adorutsky.) It is not the proper occasion to examine this claim and to show that while religion originates in love, Communism has originated in hatred. We can only express astonishment at the boldness of Communist claim, for actually Communist history has been written with fire and sword and Communism has walked knee-deep in the blood of its victims - men, women and children. Mr. John Wynne Hird, whose thirty years' stay in Russia entitled him to speak on the subject authoritatively, published an account of Communist atrocities in the *Daily Gazette of Karachi* (5th and 6th June, 1934), which will enlighten our people to some extent on this

point. The facts and figures are as follows:-

CLASS OF PEOPLE MURDERED	NUMBER
Patriarchs.....	31
Clergy.....	1,560
Judges, Lawyers and Magistrates.....	34,585
Teachers and Students.....	16,367
Civil Officers.....	79,000
Members of the aristocracy.....	65,890
Military Officers.....	56,340
Labourers.....	196,000
Peasants.....	890,000
Soldiers and Sailors.....	268,000

These figures were published in 1934 and referred to the first sixteen years of the Communist regime in the Soviet Union. The purges and assassinations that have been continuously taking place there since then have their own blood-curdling tale to tell, and account for the murders of some of the finest Communists, not to speak of fellow-travellers whose ranks our so-called "Islamic Communists" would love to join.

Theoretically, Marxism feigns to stand for absolute freedom and pretends to emancipate humanity from all types of fetters and bondages, social, religious and even natural. But in actual practice, Communist domination means the total annihilation of freedom and a complete mechanistic regimentation where all human dignity and personality is liquidated. The

Communists promise to restore freedom after they have triumphed in their bloody fight against human nature and brought into existence a society of those who are known in religious terminology as "angels", and who, in consonance with the demands of Communist ideology might be called "automatons". For the present, however, the Satanic or bourgeois evils persist. Hence the "teeth and claws" of the Communist must also remain red. We weak and imperfect humans, however, sigh for, cherish and wish to see in existence, freedom in the present and in spite of the frailties of human nature. For us there is no hope, says the Marxist well-wisher!

To return to our Compromisists; let it be asserted once for all that there is no possibility of a compromise between Communism and Islam and that those who delude themselves by thoughts of Compromise are living in a fools' paradise. Nothing more, nothing less! And they must meet the same fate as Narodnik Nicolai-on (Dnielson), "who earned the undeserved reputation of being a Marxist solely on the grounds of his claim to being a believer in 'Marx's economic theory'." (G. V. Plekhanov, *The Materialist Conception of History*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1946; p.46).

3. HERO-WORSHIP, IRON-DICTATORSHIP AND NEGATION OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY IN STALIN'S RUSSIA

"A lot of fellows carry the ball in Russia," observed an American businessman who spent some time in the Soviet Union, "but Stalin makes all the touch-downs."

In Soviet Russia, the cradle of "genuine and true democracy" and the State of the workers and the peasants, man-worship has assumed such alarming proportions as to put to shame the worst corresponding practices among the religiously-superstitious people. They fanatically deny the existence of God; but they have deified not only the dead heroes - Marx, Engels and Lenin - but also their living master, Joseph Stalin. To love the heroes, to admire them and to respect them is not something bad. But it is not the same thing in the case of Stalin. It is not love which leads men to worship him, but outright fear. Safety of one's honour and life is so uncertain in Soviet Russia, and Stalin has entrenched himself and setup his administrative machinery on such an iron-dictatorial pattern, that there is no escape from sacrificing one's self-respect and dignity and "licking his august feet," so to say. Never was a monarchy more ruthless than the present ill-named proletarian dictatorship.

The Communists admit that suppression of personal freedom was resorted to in the early days of the revolution only as a necessary and passing evil. In those days, Prof. J. F. Hacker

(Religion under the Soviet, p. 184) observed: "Bolshevism, with its dictatorship of the proletariat, is unquestionably a despotism, perhaps more ruthless than that of the old regime"; while the opinion of the Russian peasants, voiced by one of them in an open meeting of the Communist Congress, was: "The public opinion is a mere toy. We have to send even a pony as our representative if the Communists so wish."

It is, however, thirty-two years now that the Communists have enjoyed unchallenged power in Soviet Russia. A close and intelligent study of the conditions existing in atheism and materialism and the State-machinery has become more powerful with the expansion of industry and development of agriculture and advancement of science, freedom has positively receded back, and the Soviet Union today is a worse despotism than it was during the Leninist regime. If that is the path to reach the promised millennium of freedom and peace and safety, one may be sure it will never come until Marxism is consumed in the fire of its own making.

If the Soviet Union is a democratic people's republic where personalities don't count, but where personalities don't count, but where only abstract principles are respected, as the authors of the Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have tried to make the world believe, what for is this Stalin-worship? Why is it that there is not a single public building, a single factory, in the whole of the Soviet Union, where the life-size photo or statue of Stalin does not occupy a place of privilege. Lenin, too, is treated in the same way, but

on that score the Communists may be pardoned, for he was the father of the revolution and the founder of the state. But Stalin's deification shows that the Communists have adopted it as a tradition and have allowed themselves to indulge in plain idolatry, which is more dangerous consequentially as compared to symbolic icon-worship.

As in the case of despotic monarchs, of the past as well as of the present, the secret of Stalin-worship lies in his ability to instil unbounded fear, that favourite weapons of all dictators, by means of numerous purges, constant terror and numberless arrests. "When everybody is frightened, the 'Vozhd' is happy," says Louis Fischer. "Fear induces 'passing the buck' to higher-ups, who pass to still higher-ups so that even Marshal Zhukov and Foreign Minister Molotov 'pass the buck' to Joseph Stalin, and he accordingly becomes the source of all authority. They act only after he has given the wink or assigned them an area of responsibility."

What is condemnable in our eyes is just the opposite in Communist eyes and is, in fact, the key to Stalin's success, thanks to Marxist philosophy! Stalin is heartless, unconscientious, unscrupulous. His "triumph at home and abroad" is, according to Louis Fischer, due to "the alacrity with which he sacrifices persons, principles and truth. Stalin's rules of success are: Alliances are made to be broken; friendship has no real meaning; men must be discarded when no longer useful; ideas and words have no existence unless chained to the chariot of power; ends are everything, means

don't matter."

Stalin's whole life has been governed by those rules of conduct. After Lenin's death, Stalin has to surmount several obstacles to become dictator. The greatest obstacle was the injunction against him in Lenin's last will. Then there was Leon Trotsky, Lenin's second-in-command. But he gained his end by combining with Zinoviev and Kamenev, two important associates of Lenin and holding great influence in the party.

No sooner, however, had Stalin gained his objective and his grip over the state became firm, he made an alliance with Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy to 'bite the hand that had fed him' - to crush Zinoviev and Kamenev. After both of these leaders had been duly executed, he sent Bukharin and Rykov also to the gallows, and Tomsy committed suicide before he could be arrested.

Heinrich Yagoda, officially honoured as the "flaming sword of the revolution" and the chief of the Soviet secret police (G.P.U.), remained Stalin's right-hand man for over a decade. He "arrested, exiled, imprisoned and shot many tens of thousands" in obedience to the will of his master, Stalin, who, however, did not fail to send him to the gallows on charges of being a "foreign agent" and "traitor" after the famous Moscow trial of March, 1938. The trial was conducted by the new G.P.U. Chief, Yezhov, who also met the same fate in due course of time.

Purges, which are Stalin's "substitute for democratic

elections," which "remind the survivors that they derive their authority from the autocrat whom they must serve" and that "nobody in Soviet Russia must enjoy more authority or popularity than is deflected upon them by the sun, Stalin," and which serve to protect Stalin, the all-high, the sinless, the infallible, from blame whenever something goes wrong, are, according to Louis Fischer, "a permanent feature of Stalin's Russia, In March, 1948, for instance, the Presidents of two of the 16 republics in the Soviet Union (Georgia and White Russia) were dismissed (in open violation of "Stalinist" constitution - Author); no reason was indicated. Ministers and, of course, minor officials are often expelled without notice and without explanation. Usually this is followed by execution or disappearance into oblivion."

(Joseph Stalin: the Man of Steel; "Sind Observer," Karachi)

This brief account of Soviet democracy and freedom forms yet another warning to the upholders of Compromisism. If confirmed and bona fide Communists cannot escape persecution and slaughter at the hands of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, what fun can there be in the "romantic alliance" between heretical "Islamic Communism" and orthodox, pure-blooded Marxism!

CHAPTER V

COMMUNISM AND NATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPIRATIONS

1. NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION AND CULTURAL AUTONOMY UNDER COMMUNISM

In the vast multi-coloured panorama of Muslim political activity all over the world, the two most important unifying and synthesising strains on the canvas, apparent even to the most casual observer, are those of "Self-determination" and "Cultural Autonomy." Different parties interpret the two factors differently without, however, destroying the fundamental demands. The secularists interpret the former in terms of territorial, linguistic or racial nationalism, while the religiously-tuned Pan-Islamist, who form an over-whelming majority of the world's Muslim population, strive ultimate aim of forming a world federal state. Similarly, the secularists mean by the latter the traditional Muslim culture which, though Islamic in its foundations, has acquired different secondary colourings in different Muslim communities because of local conditions and history, while the pure Islamists lay absolute emphasis on the Islamic aspect of their "national culture" and its further development on Islamic lines. In both cases, however, "Self-determination" and "Cultural

Autonomy" practically mean "Muslim Self-determination" and "Muslim Cultural Autonomy," the differences between the "secularists" and the "theocrats" being, in the last analysis, only quantitative.

The question may now be asked: What is the attitude of Communism to these principles of Self-determination and Culture Autonomy? A clear-cut and authoritative answer to this question, namely, a plain exposition of Communist policy in this behalf, is essential. For the Communist propagandists have spread a widespread confusion, so much so that the average unthinking Muslim who had the misfortune of coming into contact with the elusive Communist propaganda has come to believe that the rights of "national sovereignty" and "cultural autonomy" are nowhere safer than in Communist hands. A better instance of broad daylight fraud can hardly be given, thanks to the Communist sanctification of "white lies."

For us Muslims, however, who have pledged to live and die by Islam and to retain it at all costs, the fraud is not merely a legal or a moral issue. It is rather something which endangers our very existence.

It may, therefore, be declared at the very outset that Communism is a sworn enemy of all forms of nationalism and of all types of culture except the Marxist. The words, National and Cultural Autonomy, have a peculiar significance in Communism which no Muslim, whether a "secularist" or a "theocrat", can possibly relish.

The following statements (italicised by the present writer at places for emphasising the Communist position), culled from the writings of no less an authority than Stalin, and quoted from an official propagandist publication, viz., *Marxism and the Question of Nationalities* (Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin series No. 14; People's Publishing House, Bombay), are sufficient to open the eyes of all honest Muslims.

2. DEFINITION OF NATION

"What is a nation?" asks Stalin, and answers: "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture," and "it is only when all these characteristics are present that we have a nation." (p. 7).

He refutes Springer's definition: "A nation is a union of similarly thinking and similarly speaking persons; (it is) a cultural community no longer tied to the soil," and Bauer's definition: "A nation is a relative community of character," and says: "What, then, distinguishes Bauer's nation from the mystical and self-contained 'national spirit' of the spiritualists? But what is national character if not a reflection of the conditions of life, a coagulation of impressions derived from environment?" (pp. 8, 9.)⁷

⁷ This notion has been derived by applying Marxist Philosophical Materialism to the problem of Nationalities and is the anti-thesis of the Islamic notion that "all who believe in the same principles are brothers, are one Umma, one People."

3. NATIONS' RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

"A nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism." (p. 11). Consequently, during the stage of the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution - and in that ephemeral stage alone! - already referred to in the sections on Albania and China, which is a stage of Communist Struggle preceding the stage of the Proletarian Democratic Revolution, "Social-Democratic parties" must "proclaim the right of nations to self-determination." This "right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one has the right forcibly to interfere in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to violate its habits and customs, to repress its language, or curtail its rights.⁸ This, of course, does not mean that Social-Democrats will support every custom and institution of a nation. While combating the exercise of violence against any nation, they will permit the right of the nation to determine its own destiny, at the same time agitating against the noxious customs and institutions of that nation - (the most noxious being religion, as already cited. - Author) - in order to enable the toiling strata of the nation to emancipate themselves from them. The right

⁸ The word "forcibly" is significant, for the Communists, like the imperialists, pretend to commit all acts of violence with the alleged consent and at the initiative of the people. The exclusion of the word "religion" is also significant. - Author.

of self-determination means that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal.⁹ This, of course, does not mean that Social-Democrats will support every demand of a nation. *A nation has the right even to return to the old order of things; but this does not mean that Social-Democrats will subscribe to such a decision if taken by any institution of the said nation.*¹⁰ *The obligations of Social-Democrats, who defend the interests of the proletariat, and the rights of a nation, which consists of various classes, are two different things And this is why the class-conscious proletariat cannot rally under the 'national' flag of the bourgeoisie."* (pp. 16, 17).

That the slogan of the "right of nations to self-determination" is merely a make-shift and a smoke-screen in Communist ideology, becomes clearer from Stalin's following remarks:-

"Comrade Chicherin's third mistake is that he speaks too much of national self-determination, which has in effect become an empty slogan easily adaptable to the use of the imperialists. Comrade Chicherin has strangely forgotten that we discarded this slogan two years ago (i.e., in 1919 - Author). Our programme no longer contains this slogan - but of a better-

⁹ Beautiful words, these. But there is a world of difference between "appearance" and "reality"! - Author.

¹⁰ What brazen-faced suppression of freedom! - Author.

minted and more clearly-defined slogan - the right of nations to political secession.¹¹ These are two different things." (p.42). "I must make a remark regarding one of Comrade Safarov's amendments. He has allowed the phrase 'national cultural self-determination' to creep into one of his amendments. This amendment contains the following: 'Before the October revolution the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the Eastern border regions of Russia were deprived by imperialist policy of all possibility of partaking in the cultural achievements of capitalist civilisation by means of their own language,' etc. I must say that I am unable to accept this amendment, because it smacks of Bundism. National cultural self-determination¹² is a Bundist formula. We have long ago abandoned the nebulous slogans of self-determination - there is no need to revive them. Furthermore, this whole phrase is a most unnatural concatenation of words." (p. 45).¹³

4. THE NATIONAL RIGHT OF SECESSION

"On the question as to who is to express the will of the nation

¹¹ Mark the word "political". Not ideological secession anyway! - Author.

¹² More of this national cultural self-determination presently. Here, the reader might compare, for the sake of disillusionment, this condemnation with Mao Tse-tung's guarantee of "protecting Muslim culture" under Communism, cited in the foregoing. What a contrast! What a deception! - Author.

¹³ How fanatically orthodox are the Marxists even in the use of words! And yet some Muslims can afford to think of a compromise between Marxism and Islam! - Author.

to secede, the Russian Communist Party adopts the class viewpoint and in this takes into consideration the stage of historical development of the given nation; whether it is evolving from medievalism to bourgeois democracy, etc." ("Extract from the Party Programme, adopted March, 1919). That is, no nation under Communism shall have the right to sovereignty and secession until she has attained to the highest stage of Marxist society, ideologically as well as practically, which, for us Muslims; means that the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union and other Muslim units now living under Communism will not earn the right to secession and sovereignty until and unless they have thoroughly absolved themselves of the Islamic ideology and have become perfect Marxists in philosophy as well as in social life!

"The question of the right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the question whether it would be expedient for any given nation to secede at a given moment. This latter question must be settled by the Party of the proletariat¹⁴ in each particular case independently, from the point of view of the interests of the social development as a whole and the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism." (Principal Decisions of the G.P.S.U. on the National Question, p. 69). That is, not until Marxism has triumphed thoroughly on a world-scale and not unless Marx has been installed as the "Supreme Personal Deity" of the globe, should our brothers living in the Soviet

¹⁴ Even though it may be a microscopic minority only, as in the case of the Muslim Republics in U.S.S.R. (see Dawn Over Samarkand). - Author.

Union or in other Communist countries expect the consent of the Communist over-lords for the transfer of "national sovereignty" to their hands. Who will live to see the day?

5. DOWN WITH NATIONAL DISTINCIONS!

LONG LIVE MARXISM!

"The development of Communist organisations in the border region (of the Soviet Union) is taking place under rather peculiar circumstances which tend to hinder the normal growth of the Party in these parts. On the one hand the Great Russian Communists working in these regions, who have grown up under the conditions of a 'sovereign' nation, and who have never known national oppression, not infrequently minimise the importance of national peculiarities in Party work, or else ignore them altogether, and fail in their work to reckon with the peculiarities of class structure, culture, social life, and historical past of the given people, and so vulgarise and distort the policy of the Party on the national question. This circumstance leads to a deviation from Communism towards the dominant-power spirit, the colonising spirit, the spirit of Great-Russian chauvinism. On the other hand, the native Communists, who have lived through the painful period of national oppression and have not entirely ceased to be haunted by the horrors of that period, not infrequently exaggerate the importance of national peculiarities in Party work, leave the class interests of the toilers in the background, or else simply identify the interests of the toilers of the given

nation with the 'general national' interests of that nation, failing to pick out the former from the latter and to base their Party work on them. This circumstance in its turn leads to a deviation from Communism towards bourgeois-democratic nationalism, which at times assumes the form of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism (in the East).¹⁵ The (Tenth) Congress (of the Communist Party) emphatically condemning both these deviations as harmful and dangerous to the cause of Communism" (p. 33).

"The second deviation, on the contrary, lies in an exaggeration of local peculiarities, in the fact that the common and main thing which links these Eastern republics with industrial regions of the Soviet Union is forgotten, that socialist tasks are hushed up and that adaptations are made to the aims of a narrow and restricted nationalism. The comrades who commit this deviation are little concerned with the internal development of their country, they prefer to leave this development to the natural course of events The result of this deviation is that they become divorced from socialism and degenerate into ordinary bourgeois nationalists. The task of the University of the Peoples of the East is to train cadres in a spirit of irreconcilable warfare against this latent

¹⁵ In the explanatory notes at the end of the book we are quoting from, there is a note: "PAN-ISLAMISM - The political ideology of the upper classes (Khans, mullah, landlords, merchants) of the Turkish and Tartar peoples, which aims at uniting into a single unit all the nations professing Islam, or Mohammedanism. Pan-Islamism is akin to Pan-Turkism, which aims at uniting all the Turkic-Mohammedan people under the supremacy of the Turks." (p. 71.)

nationalism." (pp. 58,59).

Finding that the Islamic sentiments of the people are dying hard, the anger of Stalin and the Communist Party rises to a higher pitch: "The Congress calls for a vigorous struggle against all pseudo-Communist elements (e.g., those who want to combine allegiance to Marxism with affection for Islam - Author) who have wormed themselves into the Party of the proletariat, and warns the Party against the temptation of 'enlarging' itself by the admission of intellectual, petty-bourgeois nationalist elements (who, in sharp contrast to the easily-deceivable illiterate and poverty-stricken people, are a harder nut to crack - Author). The Congress considers that reinforcement to the ranks of the Party in the border regions (inhabited in the South by Muslims - Author) must be recruited chiefly from among the proletarians and the poor, toiling peasants of those regions (who can be easily converted and subjugated to Marxism and from among whose offspring can be trained and raised up the fiercest intellectual Communists - Author) and that at the same time activities must be directed to strengthening the Party organisation in the border regions by improving the quality of the membership." (p. 34).

"The aim must be" to efface¹⁶ all distinctions existing between

¹⁶ Cf. the next para. All ideologies create psychological, social and political barriers between their followers and the outside world for the purposes of self-preservation. And the surest way to annihilate an ideology is by removing those barriers. This is what Communism has been ruthlessly

different national groups and between Muslims and non-Muslims, and, for that purpose, "to unite the workers of all nationalities in Russia into united and integral collective bodies in the various localities and to unite these collective bodies into a single party

"The type of organisation influences not only practical work. It stamps an indelible impress on the whole mental life of the workers. The worker lives the life of his organisation, which stimulates his intellectual growth and educates him. And thus moving within his organisation and continually meeting comrades belonging to other nationalities, and with them fighting a common struggle under the leadership of a common collective body, he becomes deeply imbued with the idea that workers are primarily members of one class family, members of the one army of socialism. And this cannot but have a tremendous educational value for large sections of the working class But this is not the case with an organisation (of the workers) based on national lines," in which "type of organisation the worker is primarily a member of his nation," it being a crime according to the Marxist creed which wants to see the worker de-nationalised, de-Islamised and de-non-Marxised! (p. 22).

doing inside the Soviet Union for the past thirty years. Condemnation of national distinctions is therefore nothing to be surprised at. - Author.

6. NATIONAL CULTURAL AUTONOMY UNDER COMMUNISM

"What must be our attitude towards nations which for one reason or another will prefer to remain within the general framework (of the Soviet Union)?

"We have seen that national cultural autonomy is unsuitable. Firstly, it is artificial and impracticable, for it proposes artificially to draw into a single nation people whom the very march of events, of real events, is disuniting and dispersing to every corner of the country (i.e., the Communist-sponsored bloody conflict between the Communist led workers and their helpless brethren-in-faith has already smashed the solidarity of Muslims, Christians and Jews - Author).

Secondly, it stimulates nationalism, because it tends to the view which advocates the 'demarcation' of people according to national curiae, the 'organisation' of nations, *the 'preservation' and cultivation of 'national peculiarities' - a thing that is entirely incompatible with Social-Democracy.*

"Thus national autonomy does not solve the problem.

"What is the way out?

"The only real solution is regional autonomy.

"The advantage of regional autonomy consists firstly in the fact that it does not deal with a fiction deprived of territory.

"Secondly, it does not divide people according to nation (which might leave room for the revival of religious or moral traditions at some future date - Author), it does not strengthen national partitions and unites the population in such a manner as to open the way for division of a different kind, division according to class

"Thus regional autonomy is an essential element in the solution of the national problem." (pp. 19,20).

"The Party of the proletariat decisively rejects what is known as 'national cultural autonomy', under which education and so on is removed from the competence of the state and placed within the competence of something in the nature of National Diets. National cultural autonomy artificially divides the workers living in one locality, and even working in the same industrial enterprises, in accordance with their membership of a particular 'national culture' (here the reference seems to be directly to the Mosque and the Church - *Author*) ; in other words, it strengthens the ties between the workers and the bourgeois culture of individual nations, whereas the aim of Social-Democracy is to strengthen the international culture of the proletariat of the world" (i.e., Marxist materialist culture - Author). (p. 69).

7. THE TYPE OF NATIONAL CULTURE WHICH COMMUNISM PERMITS AND DEVELOPS

As we have seen just now, Marxism is a sworn enemy of "national cultural autonomy." It, however, has a place for "national culture" of its conception, which it creates and upholds and strives to develop. This fact, however, lands in confusion many Muslims who do not take the trouble of studying Communist classics and trying to understand the implications of Communist principles intelligently. Superficialism throws them into raptures over the "Communist support for national culture and its development" and prepares the way for Compromise.

But unfortunately the national culture of Communist conception is a purely Marxist materialistic, atheistic culture. It comes to be differentiated from nation to nation only in point of language, the native genius of the people and their stage of class-wise development. Nothing more. As for the Islamic cultural concepts, they are anathema to such a culture and even their most harmless traces are meant to be wiped out for the purposes of the purification and evolution of the 'national culture'.

This is what Stalin says:-

". . . . what is national culture? How is it to be made compatible with proletarian culture? Did not Lenin, even

before the war, say that there are two cultures - bourgeois culture and socialist culture - and that the demand for national culture is a reactionary demand of the bourgeoisie, which strives to infect the minds of the workers with the virus of nationalism? How are we to render the development of national culture, the development of schools and courses in the native languages, and the training of Communist cadres from among local people compatible with the building of socialism, with the building of a proletarian culture? Is this not an irreconcilable contradiction? Of course not! We are building a proletarian (Marxist) culture. That is absolutely true. But it is also true that proletarian culture which is socialist in content, assumes different forms and methods of expression among the various peoples that have been drawn into the work of socialist construction, depending on differences of language, customs,¹⁷ and so forth. Proletarian in content and national in form - such is the universal human culture towards which socialism is proceeding.

"To develop national culture" - what does it signify in Soviet Russia? It signifies: "to build up a wide system is marching. Proletarian culture does not cancel National culture but lends it content. National culture, on the other hand, does not cancel proletarian culture but lends its form. The demand for national culture was a bourgeois demand as long as the bourgeois was in power and the consolidation of nations proceeded under the aegis of the bourgeois system. The demand for national culture

¹⁷ Not religious customs, mind you! - Author.

became a proletarian demand when the proletariat came into power....Whoever has not grasped the fundamental difference between these two situations will never understand either Leninism or the essence of the national question from the standpoint of Leninism." (pp. 54,55)...of courses and schools for both general education and vocational and technical training, teaching in the native languages, with the purpose of training Soviet Party, trade union and economic cadres from among the native people." (p. 53).

Stalin's remarks about the sufferings of national minorities and their proposed remedy also clarify the Communist conception of national culture.

"What is it that particularly agitates a national minority?

"A minority is discontented not because there is no national union but because it does not enjoy the right to use its native language. Permit it to use its native language and the discontent will pass of itself.

"A minority is discontented not because there is no artificial union but because it does not possess its own schools. Give it its own schools and all grounds for discontent will disappear.

"A minority is discontented not because there is no national union,¹⁸ but because it does not enjoy liberty of conscience,

¹⁸ See how cleverly the antipathy against national consciousness is being created here psychologically. A Communist never forgets his mission of obliterating religious and national influences! - Author.

liberty of movement, etc. Give it these liberties and it will cease to be discontented."

This last factor is, in fact, the most important. But it is a pity that, while advocating it academically, Stalin and his Party have been the greatest enemies of these liberties. The Muslim regions of Central Asia, the Volga, Caucasia and Crimea are still red with the blood of those sons and daughters of Islam who refused to sell their conscience and religious convictions to the blood-thirsty Communists. And so long as a single believer in Islam is alive in the Soviet Union, there will be no end to it, we may be sure!

8. ALL MUST BOW TO MOSCOW!

Since the termination of the Second World War, Communism has succeeded signally in extending its territories both in the East and the West. As a consequence several new Communist States have come into existence, adding immensely to the political power as well as the prestige of Communism. It would be out of place here to discuss whether the means which the Communists employed to gain control of these countries were fair or otherwise and to assess the relative importance of the various factors which contributed ultimately to Communist success - the social unrest, the political instability, the vigilance of Moscow and its timely action, and the hesitation shown by the Anglo-American block. Communist victory - thumping victory - has sealed all these issues, at least for the time being, and the world must reckon

with the fait accompli. One issue, however, has significantly come up, and it is of vital concern to us, or, rather, to those who think in terms of joining the Communist block. The issue revolves round the question of national freedom which we were discussing in the previous sections. Several incidents have happened during the last couple of years which go to prove that, even outside the Soviet Union, the Kremlin cannot tolerate the slightest show of national independence on the part of a sister Communist country, in spite of the impending peril of the third World War, and is prepared to sacrifice - to actually murder - her most loyal agents and locally - influential Communist leaders on that account.

Communist loyalty is, of course, a well-known fact. Instances could be multiplied by the score that a Communist would rather die than commit the crime of acting disloyally toward the mother-State, the Soviet Union. Here, one such instance, selected off-hand, will suffice. The following news-item appeared in the Pakistan Times on September 16, 1948:-

"Mr. G. Burns, a member of the Queensland Communist Party Executive, publicly declared today that Australian Communists would fight for Russia in the event of a war between Russia and the Western Powers.

"Answering a question put by an ex-serviceman at the Queensland People's Party forum, he said: 'If Australia is involved in such a war between Soviet Russia and British imperialism, we shall oppose that war. We shall fight on the

side of the Soviet.' -Reuter."

For the Kremlin, however, and for the Communist International, such sentiments of loyalty and their execution are not enough. What is demanded is abject submission and absolute surrender - total suspension of one's powers of thinking and mechanical execution of the tasks set by the Kremlin. And woe to him who might have the audacity of differing even "most respectfully" and in the minutest detail!

It might sound strange, but it is a fact. Facts are sometimes stranger than fiction. It is more true of Communism than of any other camp. The excommunication of Marshal Tito, the spear-head of Communism in south-eastern Europe, is one of the greatest sensations of recent politics.

This punishment, however, was not enough in the eyes of Russia's man of steel. The Cominform ordered the satellites to sever diplomatic relations with Communist Yugoslavia, put a price on Tito's head, and engineered large-scale sabotage in the country.

In the whole Communist history, Marshal Tito is perhaps the only Communist leader who, having courted the displeasure of the Kremlin, has been singularly fortunate in being able to plough his lonely furrow, to keep his head high and to escape death.

There have been several other cases more or less of the same type in the newly-born Communist States of Europe, and in all

cases, without exception, the victims could not withstand Stalin's intrigues and had ultimately to submit to the GPSU's fetters and the executioner's hand. Two such cases may be cited here: those of Gomulka and Rajk.

On September 7, 1948, the News Chronicle commented:

"the dismissal of Uradislau Gomulka that took away this post as Secretary-General of the Polish Communist Party, will be an immense shock for the Polish people, who have been taught to admire and revere him as one of their greatest leaders. It is also a signal victory for Moscow. Like most of his compatriots, Gomulka was first a Pole and afterwards a Communist. He believed in friendship with Russia but on many points of national policy he was unable to follow the Moscow directives. With good reasons, he was particularly reluctant to force the pace in agriculture. Now he has paid the price."

The incident of Rajk's execution is of more recent occurrence. This veteran Communist leader, who was virtually responsible for the conversion of Hungary into a Communist state and who held the posts of Minister of the Interior and Foreign Minister in the Hungarian Communist Government, was tried on charges of planning to overthrow the Government and to make Hungary a "colony of Tito's Yugoslavia". His only crime actually was that he was not a "Moscowite", and though a staunch Communist and Marxist, he did not relish the idea of flattering Moscow.

Laszlo Rajk's integrity as a Communist was above reproach and his devotion to Marx above all doubt. He became an active Marxist at an early age and was imprisoned in Hungary in 1931 for subversive activity. In 1936 he led the "Rakosi Brigade" of Hungarian Communists in the Spanish Civil War. Having returned to his country just before the last World War, "he was entrusted by Moscow with the important task of organising the resistance movement in Hungary and in 1944 was arrested by the Fascist police and sentenced to death. But his brother, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, had him smuggled out of the country just before the sentence was due to be carried out." (Dawn, September 26, 1949.)

With the victorious Red Army, however, Rajk returned to Budapest as Secretary of the Communist Party.

In 1946 he became Minister of the Interior and "ruthlessly purged the country of non-Communists who held important posts, and organised secret police." (Ibid.)

But though a fanatical Communist, Rajk was not a Moscowite. "He had never visited the Kremlin until he was summoned there in May, 1948, to receive severe rebukes for deviationist tendencies." (Ibid.)

Intrigues were started against Rajk soon after Tito's quarrel with the Cominform. "First he lost control of the police and became the Foreign Minister. Then he was removed from all office in disgrace At the last election he was at the top of the list of candidates; but he was arrested soon afterwards"

and sent to the grave.

Political emancipation and national self-determination with the help of Soviet Russia! - that is one of the slogans some unthinking Muslims believe in and propagate. But, could any sensible Muslim subscribe to this slogan in the face of the facts narrated above?

Russia, they say, is a friend of the oppressed nations, and therefore, while struggling for wresting power from the hands of Western imperialists, we must seek close alliance and help from Russia. Very well, indeed! But could anyone tell me if the Arabs of Palestine were and are not an oppressed people? It would be impossible to find a single Muslim on this earth who would not readily admit that the Palestinian Arabs are an oppressed people who have been violently wronged by the big Powers. Then, how is it that Soviet Russia, instead of helping these oppressed people to the green valleys of freedom, joined hands with the Western imperialists, nay, actually competed with them, in letting loose an avalanche of the molten lava of indescribable miseries upon them, in throttling their freedom, in rendering them homeless, in jeopardising their safety, and in establishing the alien aggressor imperialist party of Israel.

The fact is that Communism is not governed by moral standards or the accepted human values of the non-Communist world. She is heartless and without conscience, and her whole moral code is condensable into one word: EXPEDIENCY. The Communist acts in a given situation, not according to

some high and noble set moral principles, but in accordance with the exigencies of the case. If it suits his end to assist ruining Palestinian Arabs, he will do so gladly; while, if it suits his end to offer his moral help to Indonesian Muslims in their righteous struggle for freedom and to expose and oppose the intrigues of the imperialists in that connection, he will accomplish the task as gladly. In all cases, the guiding consideration for the Communist world has been and will always be: what line of action suits the cause of the furtherance of Communism best. No altruism of our type. No question of fighting for the sake of absolute moral values. No problem of showing respect to the birth-rights of nations as we understand them Yesterday Russia posed as the friend of Indonesians and backed up their demands. Tomorrow, when Indonesia opposes Marxist domination, though it might still sincerely feel for Russia in terms of friendship, Russia and her satellites will leave no stone unturned in heaping columnies and miseries upon the country. In fact, nothing better can be expected from those who can excommunicate or murder their own veteran comrades like Tito, Rajk and Gomulka on the issue of the slightest insubordination to the Kremlin, declaring thereby to the world in the most unmistakable terms that the non-Communist nations, countries and states should expect Communist help only if they transfer the control of their national policies to Moscow and give definite promise of continuous and sure march towards Marxism.

More than 99 per cent. Muslims will not accept this position

even at the cost of their lives. What fun is there, then, in such slogans as "Compromise with Communism" or "Alliance with Communists". The earlier we wash our minds clean of these delusions, the better for us and the world at large.

9. THE COMMUNIST TACTICS AGAIN !

As remarked above, the Communists act in a given situation according to the demands of "time and place" - according to what would serve their end and not according to what would serve the ends of their deluded friends, e.g., national liberation and political emancipation. This is a very important distinction which Muslims would do well never to lose sight of ; for it forms the key to our future relations with the Communists.

To a Muslim it is most puzzling to see the Communists supporting a certain thing in one country, for instance bourgeoisie democratic nationalism, and fighting it in another. This not only puzzles the Muslims but also helps in creating confusion among them. Yet this is what is in perfect harmony with the requirements of the demands of Communist ideology.

The following observations by Stalin which he made on May 18, 1925, while outlining the "tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East in relation to the Colonies and Dependent Countries of the East," should be enough to clear all confusion which might exist in the mind of any Muslim. It is not necessary to read between the lines to find out what the Communists aim at. Stalin says (pp. 60-65):-

"What are the immediate tasks of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries ?

"The peculiarity of the colonies and dependent countries at the present time is that a single and all-embracing colonial East no longer exists.¹⁹ We have now at least three categories of colonies and dependent countries. Firstly, there are countries which have no proletariat, and which industrially are completely undeveloped. Secondly, there are countries.....which are industrially little developed, and which have a comparatively small proletariat. Thirdly, there are countries.....Which are capitalistically more or less developed, and which possess a more or less numerous national proletariat.

"Clearly, it is quite impossible to put all these countries in the same category."

In countries falling under the first category, "where the national bourgeoisie has yet no grounds for splitting into a revolutionary party and a compromising party, the task of the Communist elements is to do everything to create a united national front against imperialism. The separation of Communist elements into a single Communist Party can take place in these countries only in the course of the struggle against imperialism, especially after a successful revolutionary war against imperialism."

¹⁹ It is more so at the present moment (1949). - Author.

In countries falling under the second category, "where the national bourgeoisie is already split into a revolutionary party and a compromising party, but where the compromising section of the bourgeoisie cannot yet become welded with imperialism, the Communists can no longer make it their aim to form a united national front against imperialism. In such countries the Communists must pass from the policy of a united national front to the policy of a revolutionary bloc of the workers and petty bourgeoisie. In such countries this bloc may assume the form of a single party of workers and peasants on the condition, however, that this peculiar kind of party shall actually represent a bloc of two forces - the Communist Party and the party of revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. The task of this block is to expose the temporising spirit of the national bourgeoisie and to wage a determined struggle against imperialism. A party with such a dual composition is both necessary and expedient, as long as it does not bind the Communist Party hand and foot, as long as it does not restrict the freedom of the Communist Party to carry on agitation and propaganda, as long as it does not hinder the rallying of the proletarians around the Communist Party, and as long as it facilitates the actual leadership of the revolutionary movement by the Communist Party. A party with such a dual composition is neither necessary nor expedient if it does not answer all these requirements"

In countries falling under the third category, the characteristic feature "is not only that the national bourgeoisie has split into

a revolutionary party and a compromising party, but primarily that the compromising section of this bourgeoisie has already managed in the main to come to an agreement with imperialism. Dreading revolution more than imperialism this section of the bourgeoisie is completely going over to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution The victory of the revolution cannot be achieved unless this block is broken. But in order to break this block fire must be concentrated on the compromising national bourgeoisie its treachery must be exposed; the toiling masses must be emancipated from its influence, and the conditions necessary for the hegemony of the (Marxist) proletariat must be systematically prepared. In other words, it is a question of preparing the proletariat of such countries for the role of leader in the liberation movement, and of dislodging, step by step, the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen from this honourable position. The task is to create a revolutionary anti-imperialist block and to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat within this block. This block may, but not always necessarily, assume the form of a joint workers' and peasants' party formally bound by a single platform. The independence of the Communist Party in such countries must be the basic slogan of the advanced elements of Communism But the Communist Party can and must enter into an open bloc with the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie in order, after having isolated the compromising national bourgeoisie, to lead the vast masses of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie in the fight against imperialism."

"In this connection one must not lose sight of two deviations in the practice of the active workers of the colonial East, which must be combated if genuinely revolutionary cadres are to be trained.

"The first deviation consists in under-rating the evolutionary possibilities of the liberation movement and in over-rating the idea of a united all-embracing national front in the colonies and dependent countries without due regard for the state and degree of development of these countries. This is a deviation to the Right, which threatens to degrade the revolutionary movement and to submerge the Communist elements in the general welter of bourgeoisie nationalists. It is the direct duty of the University of the Peoples of the East to combat this deviation with the utmost determination.

"The second deviation consists in over-rating the revolutionary possibilities of the liberation movement and in under-rating the importance of an alliance between the working class and the revolutionary bourgeoisie against imperialism. The Communists in Java, who recently erroneously put forward the slogan of a Soviet government for their country, suffer, it seems, from this deviation. This is a deviation to the Left, which threatens to isolate the Communist Party from the masses and to transform it into a sect. A determined struggle against this deviation is an essential condition for the training of really revolutionary cadres for the colonies and dependent countries of the East."

10. THE COMMUNIST EXPLANATION OF VARIATIONS IN POLICY

We have seen the high flexibility of Communist technique which radiates policies often apparently conflicting with one another and is capable of deluding all except those who might take the trouble of delving below the surface. Change of front is a part of Communist strategy and it succeeds, more than anything else, in bringing victories to Communism.

When the Communists appear on the political scene of a country, they pose as harmless nationalists carrying the banner of economic reform for the uplift of the down-trodden and the oppressed; and they are ready to stand for the preservation of all the categories of freedom. But once they succeed in capturing power, their first task is to liquidate their fellow-travellers and to cancel all freedoms except the freedom of mechanically believing in and practising Marxism.

This, however, cannot be termed as fraud, according to Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist teaching, though even if it could be considered a fraud, it would have been a morally-good act according to the Communist code. The Communist has his own beautiful theory to defend his action. He would say outright that the transition from Capitalism to Socialism necessitates that the struggle should pass through the stage of the Bourgeoisie Democratic Revolution and that the nationalist sentiments and guarantees of religious and other freedoms refer to that particular stage. Having reached the

Communist Challenge to Islam

stage of Proletarian Democratic Revolution, however, those sentiments and those guarantees become meaningless. This explanation is quite satisfying from the Communist point of view and for the Communist interests. But what of those who followed the Communists solely because they said things and gave promises which they liked and wanted? The only course left open to them shall be to commit actual suicide, for they had already committed political suicide when they joined forces with the Communists!

CHAPTER VI

Islam and Muslims in the Soviet Union (1)

POLITICAL AGGRESSION

1. THE GREAT ILLUSION

The appalling ignorance of Muslims as regards and its methods and the subtlety of Communist propaganda necessitates a somewhat detailed exposition, not only of Communist aims, but also of Communist methods. Muslims, even the highly educated Muslims, in fact the “Muslim Communists” themselves, seldom take the trouble of studying Marxism and its practical applications critically. Muslim Communists are usually such persons whom their psychological make up and the emotional bias, rather than an honest intellectual grasp, drives into the fold of Marxism; while the pro-Communist Muslims are cent percent those who remain contented with what one Communist propagandists tell them. They never try to penetrate to the sources below the surface, with the consequence that they ultimately fall a prey to various types of illusions.

We have been dealing in these pages with some of the illusions. There is, however, one which still remains to be dispelled. The Communist propagandists are telling the Muslims that the Muslim national groups inhabiting the Soviet Union are the most fortunate in the world and that Islam has gained by the Communist victory and domination in Russia. Books like “Muslims in the U.S.S.R.” are being circulated, commendatory articles on the treatment of Islam and Muslims in the Soviet Union are being published even in such Muslim countries as Pakistan and “white lies” are being broadcast

in general to delude the ignorant Muslims.

The main theme of all this propaganda literature is that the Muslims of the Soviet Union have progressed in the material domains. There is nothing to be sorry about it. In fact, a Muslim must, in conformity with Islam, feel positively happy. But what the Muslim further wants to know is whether his fellow-religionists have progressed as Muslims or as Marxists. He wants to know whether they have progressed religiously also or have moved just in the opposite direction. This propaganda is simply silent on that point but for a photograph in the “Muslims in the U.S.S.R.” depicting some old-fashioned Muslims offering prayers during the war-day when, as everybody knows, the Soviet Union relaxed its anti-religious policy, patronized the church and the mosque and even the “fatherland” and “motherland” type of nationalism, and staged so many other somersaults, for the sake of expediency, eventually to return to her former orthodox Marxist programme.

LENIN’S DECLARATION

The new life of Muslims under Communist rule began with an illusion for which no less a person than Lenin himself was responsible. At the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, all was not well with the Communists. They were masters of Central Russia only and were surrounded on all sides by enemies. The fight was tough, the path to victory was strewn with thorns, and many a time it appeared as if the Communists were going to lose the day. There was consternation in the Communist camp and they were resorting to every possible trick to gain their ends and to liquidate their enemies.

Communist Challenge to Islam

There were 30,000,000 Muslims in the Russian empire who had suffered terrible persecution and had been virtually bled white under the Czarist rule. Devoutly religious and intensely nationalistic, they had struggled and were struggling at the time of the Revolution to re-gain their lost freedom and to rebuild the house of Islam.

To win over these sturdy Muslims, the Council of Peoples' Commissars broadcast the following beautiful declaration on 7th December, 1917:-

“Comrades and Brother! Muslims of Russia, Tatars on the Volga and in Crimea, Kirghies and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, inhabitants of Caucasus---all whose mosques and houses of God have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been trampled down by the tyrants of Russia! It is solemnly declared that from today on your faith and your customs, your national and cultural institutions are free and inviolable. Organize your national life freely and without let or hindrance. This is your right. Know that your rights, as well as the rights of all nations of Russia, will be protected by the full might of the Revolution and its organs.” (Dawn Over Samarkand, pp. 55, 56)

On top of this declaration came the propaganda of Lenin's friendship for the Muslims. For instance, the news was widely circulated that on 9th December, 1917, the Soviet of Petrograd (now Leningrad) had sent from the famous Ermitage museum to Samarkand a copy of the Holy Qur'an said to have been written by Caliph Osman himself.

Lenin's declaration closely resembled that of Mao Tse-tung, made later to the Chinese Muslims, and the success it achieved in creating confusion was not very different from that achieved later in China.

The Revolution was successful and disillusionment too was not late in coming.

THE COMMUNIST BETRAYAL

In their own good time, the Communists not only drowned Muslim nationalism in the blood of innocent Muslim men, women and children, but also launched the campaign of the gradual elimination of Islam, for which they employed both methods: direct as well as indirect. Those who were educated and intelligent and had the courage to stick to Islam and to refuse the conversion to Marxist materialism, were tried on charges of being counter-revolutionaries and bourgeoisie and were secretly assassinated or openly executed. The uneducated Muslims, who were harmless in the sense that they were incapable of leading any Islamic campaign, were left with their Islam to die a natural death and to perform the task of burying Islam along with them when they moved to the graves. The rising generations were tied up to the Marxist system of education an order to grow in due course into full-fledged Marxist atheists and materialists.

Indeed, the story of the subjugation of Muslims by Communist Russia, and the gradual eliminations of Islam by Communism, constitutes the greatest tragedy of all Muslim history. Compared with this tragedy, all the miseries which Muslims have suffered under the heels of imperialism pale into insignificance. **The tragedy is great. But what is more tragic than the tragedy itself is the colossal ignorance of Muslims.** Demoralized, disintegrated and confused, most of us have lost contact with the reality and the consequence is that we are easily misled by appearances. We live in an age of propaganda. Yet we are the only religious group whose propaganda machinery is the weakest in the world. Therefore, any

propagandist organisation which has sufficient courage to propagate falsehoods can lead us astray. **Among internal evils, the “Ahmadiya” propaganda from Qadian and Lahore provides a fitting instance, while Communism enjoys this privileged position among external forces.**

FALSE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Not only do the Communists carry on false propaganda among the Muslims but they have also the courage of bringing the allegation of misrepresentation against all those who might try to state the true facts. If you say anything which may not be pleasing to them, they would at once dub you as an agent of Capitalists, although you may be actually more anti-capitalist than they themselves. Knowing that the Muslims of the Soviet Union are living behind an “Iron Curtain” which renders it practically impossible to verify the facts, they will challenge you outright. You may quote to them the authority of those numerous Muslim victims of Communist aggression who are now living as exiles in Arabia and Turkey and Afghanistan and the Far East. Actually their evidence must be decisive. But a Communist will not accept it, saying that they are all stooges of capitalism and that their statements concerning the persecution of Islam in the Soviet Union are false.

On the other hand, the Communist literature on this topic is one-sided and elusive. The facts are arranged to suit a predetermined conclusion. The story is made up to create a particular effect. It is difficult to glean any bitter truths from such writings,

It is difficult, but it is not impossible. It is not impossible for those who might study that literature with care and deeper effort.

The present writer has before him a Communist publication, “Dawn Over samarkand”, where the veteran communist Joshua Kunitz relates the story of the conquest of Muslim Central Asia by Communism. It is dedicated to the Negro People of the United States of America and has been published “with the permission and authority” of the Communist People's Publishing House, Bombay.

The Communist propagandists proclaim aloud : (1) that the Muslim units of the Soviet Union were not subjugated forcibly and Communism was not forced upon them, and that on the contrary it was a case of voluntary acceptance; (2) that the Communist rule had no deleterious effects upon the Muslim religious life.

How far these assertions are true shall become clear from the following historical account, where the narrative of Central Asia is directly based on the book referred to.

2. THE CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA

The beginnings of the troubles of Muslim Central Asia date back to the eighteenth century, when the house of Islam, divided against itself, began to fall before the onslaught of Russian armies. In 1717, Peter the First made the first attempt to crush Muslim power by siding in the internal disputes of the various khanates into which Central Asia had become divided. The attempt did not succeed. It was left to his successor to execute the plan.

SUBJUGATION BY THE CZARS

The Khirghies were the first to give way under constant pressure and continuous invasions from the north and the west. Very soon the Russian armies were on the banks of the Syr-Daria. By 1870, the Khanates of Kokand and Bokhara had fallen to the invaders. Khiva

was annexed in 1873. The Emir of Bokhara and the Khan of Khiva became the vassals of the Czar. A Russian Viceroy was installed in Tashkent. Ultimately, the whole of Muslim Central Asia lay prostrate at the feet of the “Great White Czar.”

The abandonment of Islamic social dynamism had given rise to social evils and political degeneration which, in its turn, transformed those conquerors of Russia into her slaves in the eighteenth century. After holding high the torch of learning and social justice and political stability for Centuries, Muslims of central Asia had permitted themselves to fall into intellectual lethargy and social indolence and political corruption and the inevitable consequence was slavery. Thence-forth evils were bound to increase, and so they did.

THE POLICY OF THE ROMANOVS

Afraid of religious opposition the imperialism of the Romanovs did not manifest itself in the policy of Russification. Ruthless economic exploitation was adopted instead, and the degenerate Khans and their corrupt officials were employed for its execution.

The equilibrium of the natural economy of the Muslim regions was shattered. Its place was taken by modern capitalist economy, with all the poison of imperialist design. Whatever prosperity the Muslim masses enjoyed under the half-Islamic economy of the former days was rapidly wiped out. The movement from agricultural economy to industrial economy was effected with the total exclusion of those compensating advantages which had come up in independent countries. The aim of the Romanovs was not to build up the Muslim regions but to develop them into sources of raw materials only for feeding Russian industry. Whatever native industry was in existence

already was mercilessly suppressed. Textile manufacture was totally prohibited. Slowly the wealth of the country became the monopoly of the Russian industrialists and money-lenders. A small portion of it was also shared by the Muslim middle-men, i.e. the corrupt Khans and Beys. The peasant masses, who formed the backbone of the population, were progressively pauperised, until prosperity became a forgotten word.

The economic policy of the imperialists, which hinged on cotton-growing for the Russian textile-mills, finally spelt complete disaster. "In the cotton-districts of Turkestan, for instance, thirty per cent of the entire population was landless, forty per cent had only one head of cattle per family or no cattle at all, thirty per cent were altogether property less and homeless . A vast army of landless peasants and agricultural workers wandered from one region to another in search of jobs. The indebtedness of the poorest section of the peasantry mounted by almost 100 per cent, from 1901 to 1911. The same was true of Bokhara and Khiva. Peasants lost their lands . Farm tenancy was on the increase. Only the richer peasants, the Kulaks, the beys, those who could afford to cultivate cotton without having to resort to loans, found cotton-growing profitable. Also the usurers and the Russian firms craved rich on cotton. For the majority of the native peasantry the transition.....from a primitive natural economy to commercial farming was the cause of infinite suffering and widespread ruin." (Dawn over Samarkand, pp. 25, 26).

The Russians not only ruined the settled agriculturists but also the nomad tribes of the Kazzaks, the Khirghies and the Turkomans by seizing their pastures and giving them away to Russian peasants. "Deprived of their pastures, the sole source of livelihood , the nomads retired farther and farther into the barren steppes, where

they were rapidly dying out.” The more advanced peasants of Bokhara and Khiva and Ferghana move into the hills and took to brigandage for earning their livelihood.

MUSLIM REVOLT AGAINST CZARIST IMPERIALISM

The Czarist regime was indeed an unmixed evil for Muslim Central Asia. But as we just saw in the case of peasants, the Muslim masses did not submit to it as humble slaves. Their struggle for liberation from the clutches of the Russian tyrants continued throughout. Kokand witnessed a furious revolt between the years 1873 and 1875. Ultimately the Khan who had submitted to Russian suzerainty, was himself obliged to leave the country and seek refuge in Moscow. The superior Russian armies suppressed the revolt with all the ruthlessness they could command. In 1898 there was a general conflagration throughout Central Asia. 1916 saw the third upsurge of the forces of Muslim liberation. This time the Muslims had much greater chances of success. Because the czarist imperialism was on its last legs. But just when they were nearing the fulfilment of their cherished ambitions they were forced into the trap of Communist “imperialism” and were thrown from the frying pan into the fire.

THE REACTIONARIES

Crushed and disintegrated by imperialist strategy, Muslims had become divided into two groups in matters of political ideology, though both were fundamentally united on the issue of self-determination. On the one hand there were the feudalists like the corrupt Emir of Bokhara and his compatriots. They had shared with the Russians the exploitation of the masses. They had learnt to adore their personal interests. Confused thinking, lack of courage and the

absence of a correct grasp of Islamic obligation had led them to ignore the most essential instruments of Islamic progress and power. Short-sighted and suffering from unhealthy prejudices, they had played into the hands of the imperialists and had learnt to uphold corruption and social injustice. They desired freedom from the Russian yoke, but theirs was a conception of freedom devoid of progressive idealism.

PROGRESSIVE MUSLIMS

Opposed to this group, which possessed all the political power by virtue of its association with the imperialists, was the party of progressive Muslims which stood not only for overthrowing the foreign yoke but also for establishing a healthy political and social order for Islamic enlightenment, advancement in scientific learning, social justice and democratic government, Distinguished for their progressive outlook from the conservatives, they were known by the name of jadids—the Modern

It was in the year 1905, soon after the Russo–Japanese War, that the movement of the jadids began to take its form. It first appeared among the more advanced Muslims of the Volga, the Crimea and the Caucasus. From there it penetrated into Central Asia and captured the imagination of “the small group of intellectuals in Turkestan and Bokhara.” In the beginning it was a purely cultural and constitutional movement working for secular education and a few administrative reforms. But soon it “developed into a genuine underground organization with a considerable membership, several branches, and numerous sympathisers from among the most progressive nationalist elements. This change came primarily in response to the stimulus of the Turkish and Persian revolutions in 1908.” The party –aim eventually crystallized itself into the demand

for “a bourgeois democratic constitution similar to that of the Young Turks.” (Ibid, pp.45, 46).

PERSECUTION OF THE PROGRESSIVES BY THE REACTIONARIES

Ignorant and corrupt, the servile Khans and the reactionaries did not allow the Jadids to work unhampered. They were obstructed and persecuted from the very first day. But, inspired by the ideal of building up a strong Muslim nation, they became a representative group comprehending the progressive members of the various sections of the people. Under the banner of their movement “were gathered progressive representatives of the native industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, a number of liberal clergymen (Ulema), members of the small professional class, and representatives of the worker, artisan and peasant classes.....To be sure, within the nationalist liberation movement in Turkestan there were shades of difference with regard to questions of tactics and other points. On the whole, however, those questions were relatively negligible. The leadership accepted also by the workers and peasants was in the hands of the nationalist petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.” (Ibid, p.87). The progressive forces of national liberation stood united for the cause of Islam. There were no class-antagonisms, no differences, and no distinctions. The common aim was to set the house of Islam in order. This state of affairs continued right up to the February Revolution of 1917, where after the period of confusion began.

The factors which brought about confusion were many. There was the persecution of the nationalists at the hands of the Muslim agents of Russia like Emir Said Alam Khan of Bokhara. By virtue of his office he was able to deceive the masses into opposition of the progressives on the basis of all kinds of false charges. Little did that

dangerous friend of Islam realize that by doing so he was digging his own grave as well as of Islam. The persecution ultimately assumed such brutal form as to throw some of the exasperated and desperate jadids into the arms of the communists.

In fact, the Emir proved to be the worst tyrant. He granted reforms in 1917 only to let loose persecution on the jadids. "In the demonstrations which followed, the reactionaries made the better showing. Seeing this, the Emir decided to avenge himself on his foes. His magnanimous gesture of granting them freedom was forgotten. Reaction went on a rampage. Thirty of the outstanding leaders of the revolution (Jadids) were arrested and mercilessly flogged. One of the leaders, Mirza Nasrullah , received 150 Lashes..... died on the following day."(Ibid, p.48).

This was followed by more bitter experiences for the Jadids described by of their leaders, Faizullah, in his Memoirs.

THE EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF PERSECUTION

In the meantime, the Russian converts to Communism living in Central Asia were in the field. Their timely and practical sympathy during the incident in which Mirza Nasrullah was involved created a favorable impression on the Jadids who, deprived of all possibility of getting help from any Muslim group or power, found themselves in a very unenviable position . (Ibid, p. 48). On top of such demonstrations of sympathy came Lenin's Autonomy stunt in the form of a proclamation already cited. Disappointed and demoralised, some of the Jadid leaders, whose Islamic religious foundations were not very sound, cut themselves off from the ideal of Islamic nationalism, formed a small left-wing party and threw their lot with the Russian Communists. But they were an

insignificant group and remained so until Central Asia had been totally subjugated by Communism. (Ibid, p. 58).

Thus at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, Muslim Central Asia had three parties: (1) the reactionary feudalists who were the most powerful and the most numerous; (2) the right-wing Jadids, who formed the progressive Muslim group and who were in overwhelming majority as compared with the left-wing Jadids (3), who stood for co-operation with the Communists, but who were so negligible in numbers that they could not be regarded as a force by themselves.

THE STRENGTH OF THE “MUSLIM COMMUNISTS” AT THE TIME OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The great enemy of Islam and torch-bearer of Marxism, Joshua Kunitz, admits it, thereby exploding the Communist propaganda that Russian Communist armies went there at the invitation of the people and that the Communist government was not established by force of arms. Not only were the people almost cent per cent ardent Muslims and desirous of establishing an independent Muslim State, but even the class-structure of Muslim society was such that it could hardly admit of Communist intervention on the basis of their own ideology. There was no class-conscious proletariat in Central Asia. While admitting it, Joshua Kunitz says: “The class-conscious proletarian stratum in Bokhara—and not only in Bokhara but in the whole of Central Asia including the most industrialized Tashkent and Kokand regions—was exceedingly thin and narrow, a small group of Russian and native revolutionists in the vast mass of faithful Muslims. The readiness of the mob to lynch the very moderate Jadids during their visit to Alam Khan indicated what treatment real rebels could expect at the hands of the fanatics. Then

the Jadids were saved by the revolutionary Russian soldiers and workers from Kogan. But obviously there were not enough Russian workers in the Khanate to effect an overturn against the will of the millions of natives, even if such a course were desirable or feasible.” (Ibid, p. 71).

At the Fourth Congress of the Turkestan Soviets held in November 1917, the Communist leader Tobolin also admitted it while enunciating the following principle: “At present the policy of including Muslims in the regional organs of our Revolutionary government is unacceptable; first, because of the native population’s uncertain attitude towards the Soviet Power; second, because of the absence of such native proletarian organisations whose representatives might be welcomed into the higher organs of our Revolutionary government.” (Ibid, p. 74).

THE UNRIGHTEOUS CHARACTER OF COMMUNIST CONQUEST

This is the background of that unrighteous and unholy conquest which brought Muslim Central Asia under the heels of Communist imperialism and set the house of Islam ablaze.

Indeed, it was a conquest and for the matter of that, and unrighteous and unholy conquest. It was a conquest because it was effected not by the people themselves but by outsiders---the Russian Communist armies. It was unrighteous and unholy because it was directly opposed to the popular will, which stood solidly for Muslim nationalism. Even the handful of left-wing revolutionists among the Muslims were not actually Marxists, although if they had been, the one percent minority which they constituted could not be regarded as the repository of the popular will. The most that could be said of

them was that they believed in the sincerity of Communist promises for Muslim self-determination (Ibid, p. 61), and stood for “the upsurge of the poor working population of the villages” for the elimination of feudalism. They were, indeed, non-Marxists to such an extent that even when the Russian Communists had subjugated the country, those “local Bolsheviki were themselves not clear as to the basic theories of Communism or the specific character of the revolution.....To many the whole question seemed rather baffling: How could one attach a proletarian or bourgeois label to a revolution which had in back of it neither a proletariat nor a bourgeoisie?.....(they) tended to deny the socialist character of the revolution even in Russia, let alone in Bokhara.” (Ibid, pp. 119, 120).

As opposed to these one per cent pro-Bolsheviks were the ninety-nine per cent anti-Bolsheviks divided among themselves into the conservative and progressive groups but united in the common aim of Muslim self-determination.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISTS

Why these groups did not succeed in their aim in spite of being in such great majority was due to the following factors.

The more powerful group was that of the conservatives. The followers were a set of pious people, but the leaders were incapable of seeing the reality in the right perspective, blinded as they were by ignorance, false prejudice, selfishness and greed. Not only were they incapable of joining hands with the progressives, but they could not even combine among themselves.

The progressive Jadids were a minority group. Their strength lay not

Communist Challenge to Islam

in numbers but in their enlightened outlook. They were to some extent capable of forging Muslims unity in the face of common danger, although, before the year 1917 arrived, they had already gone quite far in their fight with the conservatives. They might have compromised but for Lenin's Declaration of People's Rights and the "Proclamation to the Mohammedans of Russia", which made them close their eyes to Communist danger and to resolve to settle their dispute with the conservatives right then. "Now that national self-determination was at last proclaimed, the bourgeois nationalist Jadids thought it best for Bokhara to overthrow the Emir, break away from Bolshevik Russia, form a constitutional democratic republic..." (Ibid, p. 60).

Coupled with these internal dissensions, which were themselves enough to spell disaster for the Muslims, was their extreme weakness as regards soldiery and armaments. Having remained disarmed during the half century of the most repressive kind of slavery, they had hardly any good trained soldiers and scarcely any modern armaments. (Ibid, p. 80). Thus they were incapable of defeating any aggressor army equipped with modern training and modern armaments. And that is what actually happened.

Help from the neighboring Muslims countries was out of the question. After the ravages of the World War (1914-1918) neither Turkey nor Iran nor Afghanistan was in a position to help. Turkey might have helped sincerely, but it was struggling to save its own life. The Communists make much of the help which Britain tried to give. But, on the face of it, it was a half-hearted step meant to gain certain specific ends and, as circumstances stood then, was bound to prove abortive.

While the Muslim body-politic was suffering from these wasting

diseases, the Communist monster from the north was trying to penetrate and, like an insatiable octopus, was slowly pushing its greedy tentacles and trying to tighten their coils around the Muslim regions of Czarist Russia, which were struggling to move into the sunshine of freedom. The history of Czarist imperialism was repeating itself in the form of the more ruthless Marxist imperialism.

LENIN'S POLICY OF "PEACEFUL PENETRATION" AND ITS FAILURE

The first step which Lenin and his compatriots in Lenin-grad took was to attempt "peaceful penetration" behind the smoke-screen of the Proclamation of Muslims' Right to Self-Determination. The plan was not only to gain Muslim sympathies during the most critical days of the Revolution, but also to enter the house of Islam as friends and to capture it from within. Its other function was to at least create confusion in the ranks of Muslims, to divide them according to ethnological groupings, to use it as a shield during Communist aggression by deceiving the starving and poverty-stricken sections on that score.

The plan of "peaceful penetration" did not succeed, because the progressive nationalists (Jadids) ultimately saw through the Communist game. In the beginning they had been "deeply stirred" and had regarded Lenin's Proclamation as giving "expression to their fondest hopes." (Ibid, p. 60). But afterwards, "most of them on sober reflection came to doubt the ultimate sincerity of Bolshevik protestations concerning the right of each nation to form a separate independent state..... a thorough analysis of Bolshevik writing on this subject—maintained the bourgeois nationalists—revealed a curious fundamental contradiction: Always separation and

unification in the same breath !.....Stalin, in 1913, made it quite clear that the whole purpose of the Bolsheviks' struggle for national self-determination in Russia was ultimately 'to undermine the national struggle, to rob it of its sting, to reduce it to a minimum' and thus enable the labouring classes of the different peoples to unite against the common enemy—the bourgeoisie.....When the bourgeois national Jadids finally grasped the full import of what the Bolsheviks meant by 'national' self-determination they were horrified. They had yearned for a constitution, a parliament, an opportunity to develop native industry and trade.....They had hated the Emir and his entire clerical-feudal set-up. However, now that they had discovered what Bolshevism actually stood for, they knew that they hated Bolshevism even more.” (Ibid, p. 60, 62, 63, 65).

The failure of the Russian Communists to win over the progressive Muslims, while the conservatives were already against them, proved disastrous for the policy of peaceful penetration. The handful of left-wing Jadids, whom the Communists had succeeded in deceiving into friendship, were too few and too powerless to be able to accomplish any serious thing by themselves. (Ibid, p. 58). They could only be used for “window-dressing” as tools for foreign propaganda, false---for Russian Communist aggression, just as similar stooges have always been employed by other imperialist forces.

COMMUNIST CONQUEST: A REPETITION OF CZARIST CONQUEST

As already observed, Communist conquest was to be a repetition of the former Czarist conquest. Czarist imperialism had sent Russian soldiers and Russian arms for achieving the subjugation of Muslims. Muslims were divided among themselves and suffered form

Communist Challenge to Islam

inferiority in armaments when they were called upon to face the Czarist armies. Both of these weaknesses were present in a much greater degree when the time came for the Communist aggressors to aim their blows. The Czarist aggression succeeded. So was the Communist aggression destined to succeed.

The Communists were sure of it. They had already created enough confusion in the ranks of Muslims by their proclamation of self-determination. Muslim leadership was too worthless to offer any real deterrent to the spirit of conquest rising high in the hearts of Russian Communists. The primitive arms which Muslims possessed were too inferior to be capable of frightening the Communist military machine. The pitchforks and knives of the hitherto-slave Muslim peasants and commoners were no match for the heavy bombs and machine-guns of the hitherto-imperialist Russian soldiers. The Muslim governments were too weak and too demoralized to give any assistance to their Muslim brethren in Central Asia and elsewhere. The anti-Communist Allies were too exhausted to intervene for safeguarding the liberty of Muslims, even in their own imperialistic interests.

All these factors were in favour of the Communist aggressors. In addition to them, there was another factor which became the real instrument of Communist victory. There were colonies of Russian soldiers and industrial workers and peasants in the very heart of Muslim Central Asia---in Tashkent, in Kogan, in Chardjui, in Kokand, and in many other places. They had lorded over the Muslim populations and had kept them in submission with their superior arms, education and imperialism of the Romanovs. It was they, and not the Muslim natives, who joined Communism and became the spearheads of Communist aggression. For the Muslims

it was not a change of masters, but only of ideology. Under Czarism they had been exploited only economically. Under the new ideology they were to be ultimately deprived of their religion itself. Slavery and humiliation for Islam was writ large on the banners of both the ideologies.

Slavery and humiliation! Yes! The Muslims of Central Asia appear to have sensed it instinctively at the very outset. Hence the Muslim masses of Central Asia, like their brethren in southern European Russia, stood up to forestall and to fight the menace. They stood up for the love of Islam which was, however, more than out-balanced by their weakness in armaments and in leadership.

Communism was aggressive from the very first day. Without any referendum, without any appeal to the popular will, without any voting, in fact openly against the will of the people, the Russian soldiers and workers and colonists in Tashkent—for fifty years the seat of Russian imperialist hierarchy—formed the Soviet Government of Turkestan soon after the October Revolution (1917) and started the acts of aggression. In the words of Joshua Kunitz: “The few Russian railroad workers and Bolsheviks who happened to be in Central Asia during the October days formed a revolutionary government at Tashkent.....(under) Kolesov, the chairman of the Soviet of People’s Commissars in Turkestan”, (Ibid, p. 71). It was from this base that Communist aggression spread to the whole of Central Asia with all the naked brutality of imperialism.

THE KOKAND GOVERNMENT AND ITS FALL

We have already observed that the Muslims of Central Asia had been continuously struggling for their political liberation during the Czarist regime. Their last revolt in 1916 was no doubt suppressed

cruelly by the Russian armies, but the flame of faith continued to burn, until, “about five weeks after the October Revolution”, all sections of Muslims combined under the leadership of progressive nationalists, and in Kokand, which “was far from Tashkent, i.e., far from the leading revolutionary city in Central Asia where the main Red forces were located”, “the Fourth All-Turkestan Congress of Muslim Deputies proclaimed Turkestan an autonomous Republic, and proceeded to elect a national government”, in which “the reactionary clerical and feudal interests, though relegated to a secondary position, were supporting the progressive bourgeois government”. (Ibid, pp. 76, 77).

What the Russian Communist saviours of human freedom did to this popular and democratically-constituted national government we might learn from Joshua Kunitz himself. He says: “At the beginning, the Kokand government confined itself to high-sounding declarations and persistent notes demanding recognition from the Soviet Government.” Having failed in that and having realized the evil intentions of Russian Communists, “it made preparations for the inevitable struggle. Money was gathered through subscriptions and a government loan army was organised. Propagandists were sent out to secure the co-operation of other Central-Asian cities. Sympathetic demonstrations were organized throughout the Bokhara Emirate—in Samarkand, Bokhara and numerous other towns and villages. The Turkestan Soviets (i.e., the Russians—Author) were at that time engaged in a desperate struggle with Dutov’s armies and were quite unable to undertake practical steps to combat the counter-revolutionary government at Kokand. Hence the Soviets, too, were forced (for deceiving the people—Author) to resort to declarations promising an autonomous Soviet Republic to the inhabitants of Turkestan. In this battle of

declarations the Kokand government had the advantage of being by race, religion and language closer to the population. It outmaneuvered the Bolsheviks even in its handling of the native workers. In January, 1918, the Kokand Government called a Muslim Workers' and Warriors' Congress, at which a considerable number of.....delegates from the Union of Toiling Muslims and the Ittifak were present. Thus, under the very noses of the Bolsheviks.....(the Kokand Government was) gaining the co-operation of those sections of the working population which, but for the myopia of the Bolsheviks, would naturally be wholly on the side of the Soviets." (Ibid, pp. 77, 78).

Because of the fundamental weaknesses already mentioned, this popular Muslim national government could flourish only so long as the better-equipped and better-trained imperialist Russian Red armies of Kolesov stationed in Tashkent were busy with fighting Dutov's crack troops. No sooner were they relieved from that front, they made ready, without any legal or moral right, to invade Kokand, where the New City was already in the hands of Russian Communists. In the words of Joshua Kunitz: "detachments of Kolesov's army arrived in Kokand. Irgash (the Muslim head of government) refused to surrender and disarm. The Red armies launched an offensive against the Old City. Irgash's army was smashed. Irgash himself escaped. The bourgeois government of Kokand was dead", (Ibid, p. 79).

Though defeated because of their military weakness, the Muslim masses did not submit to the Communists, formed themselves into "guerilla detachments organised by the Ulema and continued their fight for years afterwards, with Ferghana as their centre." (Ibid, pp. 79, 86). They attained fame in the annals of Turkestan under the

name of Basmachi. They ultimately became the spearhead of the anti-Communist struggle in Central Asia and “supplied the ideological and military leadership”. Their basic fighting contingents were drawn from the peasant class. (Ibid, p. 90). In the beginning, they achieved many spectacular victories over the Russian Red armies and on October 24, Amin Bek, “heading the anti-Soviet peasant detachments, formed a Provisional Government of Ferghana”. (Ibid, p. 97). Ultimately, however, as the grip of Russian Communists grew tighter on Central Asia, their power was gradually liquidated, though they did not give in until they had shed their last drop of blood in defence of Islam.

THE ASHKABAD FRONT

We have seen that the Russian over-lords living in Tashkent formed the “Soviet Government of Turkestan” in a purely arbitrary manner and very soon started military operations against the Muslims. Similar things happened in all those cities where Russian colonies existed. For instance, the Russian soldiers and workers living in Ashkabad proclaimed the formation of a “Soviet Government of Turkmenistan” simultaneously with the October Revolution. Muslims of Turkmenistan rose to a man against that illegally-constituted government. By July, 1918, “the Soviet power in Ashkabad was overthrown” and a Muslim government was established instead. (Ibid, p. 83). “The organisation of the anti-Soviet government at Ashkabad was preceded by a period of bloody strife and celebrated by the execution of nine Bolshevik leaders on July 15, 1918. Immediately preparations were started for an attack on Tashkent.....An uprising against the Soviet power in Turkestan had been plotted in various cities in Central Asia for several months. The Central Committee of the underground anti-Soviet Military

Organisation of Turkestan, located in Tashkent, had kept up steady contact. According to the plans, all uprisings against the Soviets in Central Asia were to be synchronised, all anti-Soviet activities were to be co-ordinated. This was a sound plan. The leaders of the Ashkabad organisation, however, took it into their heads to assume the initiative and to place themselves at the forefront of the entire anti-Soviet movement.” (Ibid, pp. 83, 84). That was a hasty step and a tactical mistake in view of the fact that it did not allow the plan of the co-ordination of Muslim activity to ripen. Consequently, although the Ashkabad front “held out against Bolshevik onslaughts for almost two years”, it had to suffer ultimately the same fate which had earlier befallen the Kokand front.

LACK OF CO-OPERATION IN MUSLIM RANKS

The great weakness of Muslims was, not only that they had no suitable armaments and no properly-trained army, but also that there was no proper sense of co-operation in the ranks of Muslim leadership. This lack of co-operation some-times went even so far as to assume the colour of positive hostility under which self-seeking leaders could misguide the groups of their followers into clashes with one another, thus paving the way for the success of their Russian Communist enemies who were well-knit in matters of policy, ideology and leadership and who had at their back a powerful Red army and a mighty Communist state.

THE HOSTILE ROLE OF JUNEID KHAN

Thus it was that just when every ounce of Muslim energy was needed for combating the menace of Communist aggression, Muslims of Khiva started fighting among themselves on the basis of tribal rivalries. In the early months of 1918, the opportunist Juneid

Khan formed a large army of Turkoman nomads and led a successful, boldly insurrection against Khan Isfandyar, and let loose tribal vengeance on the members of other tribes. “The peaceful Uzbek population writhed in the claws of the tyrant.....More than the Uzbeks even suffered the Khiva Kazzaks. In certain regions the entire Kazzak population was annihilated.” (Ibid, pp. 85, 86). The miseries which Juneid’s misrule brought to that region broke the back of Muslim resistance to Communist aggression. Discontent mounted high. Demoralisation and confusion spread among the Muslim ranks. By 1920, “Juneid Khan was meeting with serious military reverses, and was losing his authority. Many of the Turkoman chieftains and their personal followers were deserting him.” (Ibid, p. 106).

KHIVA SUCKED INTO THE RED EMPIRE

The Khivan Jadids--the progressive nationalists—who “were religious Muslims”, for “according to reliable reports the last meeting of the Central Committee and the Presidium of their party was preceded by fervent prayers in the mosque”, (Ibid, p. 107), were becoming desperate. On the one hand, they “were carrying their subversive propaganda into the very heart of the Khivan population. They were winning support not only among the workmen, the peasants, and the petty tradesmen, but even among the clergy and the more prosperous classes, all of whom were eager to throw off Juneid’s yoke.” (Ibid, p. 106). On the other hand, relying on Lenin’s promise of self-determination, they were joining hands with the Russian Reds. The Communists, who had been testing the Muslim defences throughout, ultimately caught hold of the golden opportunity. Juneid Khan was overthrown. His corrupt government came to an end. But instead of the

establishment of an autonomous Muslims state, Khiva was sucked into the Red Empire. (Ibid, p. 107).

AGGRESSION AGAINST BOKHARA

Because of the weaknesses of Muslim themselves and the ruthlessness of Russian Communist aggression, the Muslim defences were falling one after another, even as they had fallen before the onslaught of Czarist intrigues and military invasion. After Khiva came the turn of Bokhara. Here, too, as elsewhere, it was not the handful of half-conscious non-Marxist Bokharan pro-Bolshevik revolutionaries but the Russian Red armies who planned and achieved the conquest. The story of the successive attempts made to overthrow the Emir of Bokhara reveals this fact fully.

As regards the beginning of struggle, Joshua Kunitz says: “To overthrow the Emir, the Young Bokharans, still too weak to attempt anything by themselves, would have to invite outside help, especially from Russian railroad workers and Bolsheviks who had happened to be in Central Asia during the October days and had formed a revolutionary Soviet government at Tashkent. And that was precisely what the Young Bokharans did. They entered into secret agreement with Kolesov, the chairman of the Soviet of People’s Commissars in Turkestan, who promised to assist them with arms and men. They then began to make energetic preparations for an armed rebellion and the seizure of power.” (Ibid, pp. 71, 72). This is the Communist way of saying things. Actually, it was Kolesov’s Russian army which had to make “energetic preparations” and not the Young Bokharans, who were a mere nonentity and who could only function as propaganda-tools for the Communists. However, it took some time before Kolesov could find himself in a position to spare his troops for the conquest of Bokhara,

Communist Challenge to Islam

because, in those last days of 1917, “the Tashkent Soviet was itself in a highly precarious situation and was busy fighting for its own life. To understand why the Emirate maintained itself for three long years after the Bolsheviks had formed a government in Turkestan, it is essential to bear in mind that the course of the struggle elsewhere in Central Asia, especially in the adjacent regions.” (Ibid, p. 72)

“Just at the time when with Kolesov’s aid the armed insurrection was to take place in Bokhara, two events occurred which threatened the very existence of Kolesov and Turkestan Soviets: the loss of contact (because of the ‘Dutov Cork’) with the Central Government in Russia and the formation of an anti-Bolshevik Government in Kokand. Turkestan was in danger.” (Ibid, p. 75).

It was after the fall of the Muslim Republic of Turkestan that Kolesov, who “was too intoxicated with his victory in Kokand.....issued an ultimatum to the Emir.....The Emir hedged for time. Kolesov refused to wait and ordered his troops, accompanied by three hundred Young Bokharans, to advance on the city....the resistance offered by the loyal followers of the Emir was genuinely heroic. The fanatical adherents of the old, the mullahs, though badly armed—with knives, axes and rusty swords—fought desperately.....one of them, holding a cudgel in his hand and a long knife in his mouth, advanced unflinchingly against our machineguns and hurled himself against and killed one of our gunners. Still, the revolutionary troops were victorious.”(Ibid, p. 80).

The victory was, however, short-lived. “Kolesov ordered the army to return to Kohan, the New City” and at the same time “demanded immediate disarmament of the enemy’s forces.” While Kolesov waited in the New City for news from Bokhara, the Emir seized and executed his representative and “hastily reorganised his forces,

preparing to attack and wipe out the small forces of the revolutionists. In this he was brilliantly successful.....An army, 35,000 strong, rose to the defence of the country and faith. Before the revolutionists realized it, they were surrounded. True, they had one advantage, artillery. But even this seemed to work against them. A cannonade which lasted thirty-six hours brought absolutely no results; not one shell struck the city.....When ammunition was almost exhausted, Kolesov smashed through the enemy ranks and beat a hasty retreat towards Tashkent.” (Ibid, pp. 80, 81, 82). Thus ended the first attempt of the Russian Red army to subjugate the Muslims of Bokhara.

But the “knives, axes and rusty swords” of the Muslims were no match for the modern military resources of Kolesov. He had the Communist Russia at his back. Moreover, Bokhara had already been cut off from “its best market” because of “severance of relations with Russia”. “She began to choke with a superabundance of raw materials and starve for the lack of manufactured products. The Emir made a dash for the markets of Afghanistan and India and Persia, but those markets could not take the place of Russia. Cotton-growing and the commercial and industrial enterprises connected with it began to decline with catastrophic rapidity. Bankruptcies began to multiply by the hundred. A sharp financial crisis, a cessation of trade and industry.....such were the conditions in Bokhara.” (Ibid, p. 96).

Thus, time also was on the side of Kolesov, and as time progressed life began to grow more and more difficult. “The humble, pious peasants, the mainstay of the Emir” began to starve, and “his soldiers, ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed, decimated by epidemics, were beginning to grumble.” (Ibid, p. 102). What kept up the morale

Communist Challenge to Islam

of the people in those trying days was the ideal for the defence of Islam. But morale alone could not accomplish everything. In the meantime, the isolated Muslim defences in other parts of Central Asia were crumbling one after another. Moreover, Russia was emerging from the chaos of the revolution into a state of military and political stability. The Red armies in Tashkent were marking time and making preparations for the final act of aggression. "By August 1920, conditions were ripe for a second revolutionary advance against the Emirate."(Ibid, p. 108).

Besides the Autonomy Declaration of Lenin, all kinds of deceptive measures were adopted to demoralize the Muslim masses. The promised "Constitution of Soviet Bokhara....guaranteed all citizens the right freely to dispose of their movable and immovable property." (Ibid, p. 123). All other freedoms were also guaranteed. The purpose was to disarm the opposition of the people and to create a false impression that the forthcoming Russian invasion was only meant for removing the feudal tyrants and that neither Islam nor the four freedoms were in danger. The Communist propagandists also worked up the inter-tribal hatreds in order to weaken the Muslim ranks. The Turkoman population which was "inimical to the Bokhara Emir and his preponderantly Uzbek officials" was backed up to stage an "armed uprising".(Ibid, p. 110).

All this was done. But actually Muslim Bokhara could only be subjugated by the Russian armed might. Hence, a farcical "appeal was addressed to the government, proletariat, and the Red Army of Russia, wherein the (handful of) Young Bokharans, speaking (falsely) in the name of the workers and peasants of Bokhara, asked that the comrades of the Russian Soviet Republic help them in the struggle against the armed forces of the Emir . The appeal was, of

Communist Challenge to Islam

course, calculated to appease the nationalist elements in Bokhara by removing the suspicion of a Russian invasion. Naturally, too, the response to the appeal was immediate. In his order to the Red Armies on the Turkestan front, Frunze wrote: ‘In various places in Bokhara there have broken out revolutionary uprisings. The hour has struck for the final struggle of the oppressed and enslaved toiling masses of Bokhara against the bloodthirsty government of the Emir and his Beks.....I order all our armed forces to go to the aid of the people of Bokhara in their hour of need.....Red Army men, fighters, commissars, the eyes of the whole of the Soviet Union are turned towards you in the faith that each and every one of you will fulfill his revolutionary duty. Forward, to the battle for the interests of the toilers of Bokhara and Russia’.” (Ibid, p. 110, 111).

At last the final hour for the consummation of the act of Russian Communist aggression arrived. In the last week of August 1920, Red detachments were dispatched to different parts of the state to start the offensive. On August 31, the main Red Army launched its attack on the famous walled city of Old Bokhara. “Clutching the Korans in their hands, tearing their clothes, issuing frenzied cries, the mullahs incited the city mob.....A desperate battle developed at the very walls of the city. Both sides fought tenaciously.....Now and then the city gates were flung open and the infuriated mobs, exhorted by mullahs and officials.....yelling ‘Allah’, advanced towards our machine-guns, throwing themselves at our gunners with bare hands.....Neither that night nor the following day did the battle abate even for one moment.....The ranks of our fighters were thinning.....Then came the third day.....We made the last attempt. Everything that could in some way injure the enemy was thrown in this attack. At the price of the lives of our bravest comrades we managed to make a breach in the city walls. They dragged the

cannons right to the very walls and shot into them. With shouts of triumph the first two groups of daredevils dashed into the city. They were soon followed by the others. Street fighting started, and it was bloodier than the fighting outside the walls....We had to fight for each house, for each square.” (Ibid, p. 113, 115). Ultimately, in the blood of Muslim men, women and children, the freedom of Islam was drowned by the Russian Communist “saviours” of national self-determination and human liberty !

SUBJUGATION OF ENTIRE MUSLIM CENTRAL ASIA COMPLETED

The fall of the state of Bokhara made the Communists the de facto rulers of the whole of Muslim Central Asia. The Red imperialism of Russia had triumphed by sheer force of arms. It had triumphed by subjugating the people militarily. It had not triumphed on the basis of the acceptance of Marxism by the people. In fact, even those small groups who were pro-Bolshevik had been won over on the basis of very false notions. Those false notions and all allied sentiments of co-operation were bound to disappear into thin air, now that the time came for the practical enforcement of Marxism.

This so-called Communist “revolution” in Central Asia was indeed non-Marxist to such an extent that even the local “Bolshevik” leaders “were themselves not clear as to the basic theories of Communism or the specific character of the.....revolution.” (Ibid, p. 119, 120). “The lack of theoretical clarity and the wavering attitude of most of the local leaders, including some would be Bolsheviks, resulted, however, in numerous mistakes.” (Ibid, p. 122). The popular will was so anti-Marxist that “the word Socialist had not been incorporated in the name of the Republic” of Bokhara, and “no move had been made to enter the Russian Socialist

Federation of Soviet Republics.” (Ibid, p. 122). Because of “the complex nature of the revolution and the lack of Bolshevik training among the local leaders”, “excessive caution” had to be observed. “Even the moderate programme adopted at the outset remained a paper programme.....In Soviet Bokhara people could buy and sell and bequeath to others lands and their belongings just as unrestrained as in any bourgeois country !” (Ibid, p. 123).

This is the truth. And yet the Communists have the courage to say that the Russian armies went there at the request of the masses who wanted to establish Marxism ! In fact, it was a brutal and unrighteous conquest of Muslim populations by the hostile Communist imperialists and cannot be differentiated from the conquests of capitalistic imperialism.

MUSLIM REVOLT AND COMMUNIST TACTICS

Consequently, soon after the conquest, when the anti-Islamic character of Marxism began to unfold itself before the people, discontent among the pro-Bolshevik elements themselves began to grow and “tendencies towards bourgeois nationalism, local chauvinism, pan-Islamism” started manifesting themselves. (Ibid, p. 124). “Even revolutionary leaders---Muhammad Khodzahiev, Usman Khodzhaiev, Arefov, and many others were subsequently discovered to have been traitors working hand in hand with the beys, the mullahs and the forces of reaction. The worker and peasant masses (who were not prepared to forsake Islam---Author) were becoming disillusioned. Popular dissatisfaction was growing. The Basmachi movement was gathering momentum. Counter-revolution was raising its head. Destruction, arson and murder held the country in their grip”. (Ibid, p. 125).

Communist Challenge to Islam

Defeated by the Communist military machine, but ready to sacrifice their all for preserving their freedom and their religion, the Muslim masses started joining the Basmachi guerilla bands in large numbers. The Communist overlords were aware of their weakness. They had built their castles in the air and they could maintain them only by artificial means. To overcome the popular Muslim opposition to Marxism, they worked up one deception after another. They “took every care to neutralize the opposition of the rich by respecting their property rights and to win the support of the clergy by sparing their religious susceptibilities. The mosque was not touched. The mullahs were not criticized. Religion was either left severely alone or shown every sign of deference. Bolshevik tolerance finally reached a point where the Muslim divines were actually drawn into making pro-Soviet declarations and assailing the Basmachi.” (Ibid, p. 147).

With no respect for moral values. Marxism could never run short of fraud ! And it could go to any length. The purpose was to create confusion among the illiterate and half-illiterate Muslims and to add to their demoralization. That was one of the two fronts of the Communist fight against Islam.

The other front was constituted of military struggle. All the vast military resources were thrown into battle against the forces of Muslim resistance. In the very nature of the case, the Basmachi could not hold out for long. Firstly, they were very inferior in matters of armaments and soldiery. Secondly, they could obtain no substantial outside help. Thirdly, they were incapable of overcoming their tribal rivalries. “The Uzbek bands, and the Turkoman bands with both. The Kazzaks introduced further complications. Among the Basmachi leaders, too, there was no

Communist Challenge to Islam

coherent programme....Though all of them were engaged in the common struggle against the Bolsheviks, they nevertheless distrusted one another, and as a result failed to evolve a united programme, a solid organisation, a solid organisation, an authoritative, universally accepted leadership.” (Ibid, p. 128, 129).

The Communist knew this. They knew that however heroically the Muslim masses may fight, their struggle must ultimately collapse. Therefore, they had to wear the mask of compromise, toleration and friendship until such time only as they could succeed in pushing the enemy to the wall. Once thoroughly demoralized, the illiterate and poverty-stricken Muslim masses could be comfortably tied to the chariot of Marxism.

And so it happened. The Muslim resisters wrote many a page of heroism in the history of Central Asia. The peasants and workers fought against the aggressors resolutely. The “handsome brilliant, magnetic, daring and imaginative Enver Pasha” got martyrdom in the same cause. Selim Pasha, too, gave his life for it. Local leaders like Daulat-Monbei, Sultan-Ishan, Abdel Jabbar, Khasanov (who had been a Bolshevik war commissar), Usman Khodzaiev (who had been the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Bokhara Republic), Karry Abdullah (a Bokharan revolutionary), Nurkul Batyr, Danial Bek Ollikbashi, and Ibrahim Bek kept the fires of freedom burning. Ibrahim Bek continued to fight even as late as after 1930. But it was not merely a fight of ideologies. It was primarily a fight of material values. It was a fight of arms and soldiery. It was a fight of “rebels” possessing primitive weapons against a “government” infinitely superior in military strength. In course of time, the Muslim guerilla fighters were tired out. The chaos which had prevailed in the country for a sufficiently long time

and on a sufficiently wide scale had played havoc with a people already impoverished by fifty years of slavery under the Czars. Coupled with this was the Communists' ruthlessness in war, on the one hand, and their ideological compromises, on the other. "The peasants, weary of lawlessness and bloodshed, were glad to return to a settled life. They were coming back from the mountains in hordes. Assured of the government's readiness to overlook past sins. Basmach bands, one after another, began to surrender their arms and return to peaceful labour." (Ibid, p. 147).

Fatigued and exhausted, Central Asia ultimately lay prostrate at the feet of its Communist masters. The act of physical subjugation was almost complete. Thereafter, the task of wiping out Islam was to be taken in hand and wisely executed. How the Communists performed it we shall shortly see. In the meantime, we might refer in passing to the material conditions which came into existence in Muslim Central Asia after the conquest, especially because the recent wave of Communist propaganda is dishing out very exaggerated reports which are being published by the friendly Muslim periodicals.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF COMMUNIST CONQUEST

That Communism in Central Asia was a purely Russian business at the time of conquest, we have already seen, True, the Russians tried all sorts of tricks to give their conquest the colouring of a local "national revolution." But they could not succeed. They possessed no alchemy whereby they could transform gold into iron. Even the small group of Muslim "friends" whom they were using as show-boys began to desert them. "Usman Khodzhaiev, the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Bokhara Republic, soon afterwards.....at the head of 600 men, deserted the revolution and joined Enver Pasha." (Ibid, p. 131, 132). An effort was made to

Communist Challenge to Islam

swell the ranks of the local Communist Party by means of false promises and deceptive concessions. They thus built up “a membership of 14,000 within a few weeks after the fall of the Emir.....In the 1922 purge the membership was rapidly reduced from 10,000 to 6,000 then to 3,000 and, finally, to 1,000 ! But even that scarcely improved matters.” (Ibid, p. 124).

How could matters be improved when the so-called “revolution” had been imposed forcibly from outside? How could matters be improved when there was neither native proletariat nor neither native Marxist leadership? How could matters be improved when Islam and Marxism were, in the words of Stalin, diametrically opposed? How could matters be improved when “the local Bolsheviks regarded the native masses with a definite feeling of superiority or at least distrust” (Ibid, p. 74) and when the Russian Communists maintained that: “Before admitting the Muslim masses to social and political activity they must first go through a period of development and training in the socialist spirit” (Ibid, p. 74)

The Muslim masses were not ready to compromise Islam or national freedom. Hence, even among “the native progressive intelligentsia.....not many were ready to work with the revolutionary government.” (Ibid, p. 124).

This was the state of affairs in the beginning. It did not improve very much even afterwards because of the struggle between Islam and Communism----a struggle which continues up to the present day. The Russian over-lords have permitted the Muslim natives to share the blessings of higher governmental and industrial administration only in proportion to the acceptance of Marxism by the populations inhabiting the so-called autonomous Muslim Republics. As against the elusive Communist propaganda, the

Communist Challenge to Islam

following summary of achievements reported in the Civil and Military Gazette of Karachi is very revealing:-

“Although increased, albeit closely supervised, participation in local economic and political affairs, increased educational opportunities and limited improvements in their economic well-being do constitute gains for the preponderantly Muslim population of Central Asia, the actual conditions under which the people live, and their actual progress fall far short of the grandiose standards depicted by Soviet propaganda.

“Russian, not natives, play the leading role in the economic life of the Central Asian Republics. This might have been expected for a period of several years as a necessary concomitant to the intensive programme of industrialisation of the entire Soviet Union, since the Central Asian peoples were especially retarded in modern western industrial know-how. However, after thirty years of Soviet power, it appears that there are few instances of real progress in training native personnel to replace the present Russian leaders within the republics of Central Asia.

“The Soviet press noted that in Kazakhstan, in 1946, a relatively large proportion of those engaged in industry were Kazakhs (who constitute about 58 per cent of Kazakhstan’s population of slightly over 6 million); that 449 of 602 recipients of awards as Heroes of Socialist Labour were Kazakhs. However, the real role of Kazakhs in the life of their republic is to be gleaned from the figures. (published in Kazakhstan Pravda on August 13, 1948) on white-collar work in Kazakhstan’s ministries, which reveal that the Kazakhs held only 2 per cent. of such jobs in Local Industry, 2 per cent in Public Health, 4 per cent in Light Industry, 6.7 per cent in Textiles, 7.9 per cent in Communal Economy, 10 per cent in

Communist Challenge to Islam

Agriculture, and 14 per cent in Milk and Meat. What is even more significant is the charge levelled against local ministries of being delinquent in training sufficient numbers of natives as skilled workers. Of the 63,400 trained in factory schools during 1945-46 only 14.3 per cent were Kazakhs.

“Local officials similarly were charged with responsibility for the failure of Kazakhs to secure sufficient education. Of the 1,687 graduated of higher educational institutions in Kazakhstan between 1945 and 1947, only ‘several dozen’ received middle technical school training. Obviously, Kazakhs are not receiving adequate preparation to permit them to hold important positions in Kazakhstan’s economy and government administration in the future.

“Russians, who hold most of the important positions throughout the Central Asian economy have retarded economic development by the same sort of bungling and malfeasance which hobbles economic recovery elsewhere in the USSR. Quite frequently the Soviet press recounts delinquencies in plants under the management of Russians, such as several which appeared in *Kommunist Tadzhikistana* and *Kazakhstanskava Pravda* both of July 2, 1948. The former newspaper related that the coal production plan of the *Tadzhikugol* Trust had not been fulfilled, and that the miners owed the country 60,000 tons of fuel largely because of the ineffective utilisation of machinery, the poor organisation of labour, and the failure to conserve mined coal. The latter paper criticized the failure of the administration of *Kazmed’stroi* Trust engaged in important construction work to make effective use of the workers provided to it, and its failure to give adequate attention to the daily living requirements of construction workers. The paper also criticized a

number of shops and plants within the Trust for operating inefficiently and falling behind production quotas.

“In both government and party circles, Central Asian Muslims possess little real control. In the government hierarchy, although natives hold high official positions, they are often subordinate in practice to political commissars from Moscow who supervise their activities. Within the Communist Party of the Central Asian Republics, natives still constitute a disproportionately small part of the membership. Although Party Life of April, 1947, claimed that in the Kazakh SSR a large proportion of local party functionaries were Kazakhs, it is notable that the Central Asian Republics have an exceptionally small representation at the executive level of the All-Union Party hierarchy and that they possess extremely little influence upon the highest party decisions.

“There is undoubtedly discontent with the Soviet regime among various Muslims groups, particularly members of whole communities which were transferred eastwards at the end of the war. These mass deportations were justified by Soviet authorities as punishment for alleged general collusion with the Germans, despite the lack of culpability of many of the individual members of the community. This step taken by the Soviet Government is indicative of the lack of consideration shown to individual Muslim citizens.”

SUBJUGATION OF MUSLIMS IN CRIMEA, AZERBAIJAN AND TRANSCAUCASIA

We may now turn to the tragic story of the rape of the Muslim regions of southern European Russia, i.e., Crimea and Azerbaijan.

Crimea, known to the tourists as the Russian Riviera and famous for its delicious watermelons, is inhabited mainly by Tatar Muslims who numbered approximately 700,000 at the time of Communist conquest. The forefathers of these Tatars had settled there as far back as the thirteenth century and had established their independent state under Haji Ghirai. That state preserved its independence till late in the fifteenth century when, in 1475, it became a province of the Ottoman Empire. In 1783 it was conquered by the armies of the Czar, who allowed the Muslim population to retain their religious autonomy by electing their Mufti.

Like other Muslim groups inhabiting the Russian empire, the Crimean Tatars never actually compromised with the imperialism of the Romanovs and continued to struggle for their independence. The campaign led by Ismail Bey Gasprinsky is well known to all students of history. When ultimately the Czarist regime crumbled during the first World War, Muslims lost no time in declaring their independent Republic.

COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN CRIMEA

The Autonomy Declaration of Lenin thrilled them with joy and they applied them with joy and they applied themselves wholeheartedly to the sacred task of building up the infant state. But this joy was short-lived. The Russian Communists first of all tried to gain a foothold among the population by means of Marxist class-propaganda. In that they signally failed. No Muslim was ready to embrace Marxism. Hence Communist imperialism came out into the open. On 13th January, 1918, the Russian Red Army invaded and let loose a reign of terror and bloodshed. All the national leaders, including the President of the Republic were shot in cold blood. The blooming land was turned into a desert. The orgies continued for

Communist Challenge to Islam

three months, when the Ukrainish and German troops led by Generals Natijew and Koch ended the Communist rule. Soon after that the country became the battlefield for the Red Army and the troops of Denikin and General Wrangel. This brought more devastation in its train.

On top of this continuous devastation came the second Communist invasion in 1920. “none other than the notorious Hungarian Jew, Bela Kun, was at that time the head of the Tscheka, the like of whose cruelties the world’s history has not witnessed. Thousands of poor men and women fell to the shots of the conqueror. Bela Kun killed his victims with his own hands. It is estimated that 70,000 Muslims were murdered at that time.”

Massacres and the disruption of agricultural economy created a famine not long after the first anniversary of Communist rule. “About one-fourth of the total population of the peninsula died as a result. In Baghchaserai, the capital of Crimea, as many as 55% of the inhabitants died.”

The year 1923 brought still greater hardships for the Muslims. Quite arbitrarily, the Soviet leaders in Moscow planned to settle in Crimea 100,000 Jews from all parts of the Soviet Union and even from foreign countries. The Communists wanted to establish a National Home for the Jews on the fertile Black Sea coast. “In order to realize this criminal plan tens of thousands of Muslim peasants were transported from Crimea. Three-fourths of these victims of Bolshevik-Jewish madness lost their lives on the way.

In due course of time collective farming made its appearance. As elsewhere, so in Crimea, many thousands of Muslims were sent into exile on charges of being “Kulaks”, “counter-revolutionaries” and “nationalists”.

The sufferings have not yet come to an end. The very home-land has become a prison-house for the upholders of Islam and national freedom.

THE RAPE OF AZERBAIJAN

Among the national republics which came into existence between the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas after the downfall of Czarism, was the Muslim Republic of Azerbaijan. It was proclaimed on the 28th of May, 1918 and its freedom was guaranteed through a special treaty by Russia and Turkey. It had then a total population of 3,000,000 out of which 2,800,000 were Muslims.

After enjoying independence for centuries, Azerbaijan first slipped into the claws of the Russian tyrants in 1801. It was, however, after thirty years of continuous struggle that Czarism could establish itself in the country to some extent. “The farmers revolted and organized uprisings and ran away into the mountains. The brave people continued a guerilla war against the foreigners who had come to Russify it and rob it of its riches.”

Simultaneously with the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks tried to dynamite the Muslim Independence movement by means of their ever-subtle propaganda. Lenin appointed the notorious Armenian Turk-hater, Schaumian, for this purpose and sent him to Baku. His mission was “to bolshevize the people of Caucasus”, “to create an alliance between the Communists and national-Armenians

(Daschnaken)”, and “to establish the Greater Armenian Republic” under the protection of Soviet Russia. Muslims were to be divided on the basis of class-dialectic, Armenians were to be organized and armed on the basis of Armenian nationalism, and, ultimately, with the help of Russian soldiers and workers who were living in their own colonies in the heart of Muslim populations since the days of the Czars, the infant Muslim Republic was to be stabbed.

Schaumian’s propaganda and intrigues brought – little fruit, however. His followers suffered a crushing defeat in the elections at the hands of nationalist leaders, such as Rasul Zadeh Mohammed Emin, Topchibashi Ali Merdan, Fateh Ali Khan, Hasan Bey, Yusuf beyli, Nasib Bey, etc.

The weapon of propaganda having proved a failure, Lenin and his compatriots resorted to armed aggression. Russian and Armenian troops were thrown into the field to give Muslim nationalism a blood-bath in Baku and other larger towns of Azerbaijan. “Fifteen thousand men, women and children fell victim to it. Most of those murdered were workmen and intellectuals. The offices of the Turkish (national) press, the buildings of national movement was burnt and destroyed.”

Muslim nationalism absorbed this first shock and prepared to give the counter-blow. In less than four months the combined Azerbaijanian and Turkish forces reconquered Baku and ended the Communist reign of terror.

However, Muslims could not enjoy their victory for long, because of the same military weakness which brought them ultimate defeat in Crimea, in Idel-Ural and in Central Asia. During the two years of its existence, the young Republic could organise a small army of

10,000 soldiers only. In the meantime, the Revolution had been stabilized in Russia, and the huge Red Army was free to accomplish the conquest of the Muslim regions, under the shadow of the by-now exploded subterfuge that ‘the proletariat masses of Azerbaijan had called their brothers in Moscow to help in freeing them from the yoke of the capitalist government of Baku.’ The Red Army marched into Azerbaijan on April 27, 1920. Muslims fought heroically. But the fight was between unequal opponents. The Republic was finally blown up to pieces, even as the retreating Muslims blew up the oil-wells of Baku. Every Muslim hamlet was searched and every Muslim leader became the target of the aggressor’s bullets.

Since the day of Communist conquest, “the continual risings of the peasants, the incessant revolts of Turkish workmen in the petroleum territory of Baku, the passive resistance of the collectivised Turkish peasants, the flights of the people in great numbers to Turkey and Iran, the sabotage by the people of the measures and orders of the Communist Party, the spreading of the nationalist movement among the intellectual classes, and the increasing number of anti-Communist organisations”, continued to proclaim to the world for years and years that Communist domination and Communist ideology had been imposed aggressively upon an unwilling people. Even as late as August 25, 1938, the correspondent of the Hindustan Times (Delhi, India) reported from Moscow:-

“Ten leading officials of the Azerbaijan Commissariat of Agriculture, who are alleged to have confessed to being members of the Nationalist counter-revolutionary terrorist organisation, have been sentenced to death at Kirovobal.

Communist Challenge to Islam

“They were found guilty of plotting to overthrow the Soviet Government and wrecking in connection with cattle-breeding. Four other officials were sentenced to terms of imprisonment between twelve and fifteen years.”

This, in brief, is the tragic story of the so-called “Communist Revolution” in the Muslim regions of Czarist Russia. It is a true story and most of it has been drawn from and is based directly upon orthodox Communist sources. Can anyone still doubt that Communism is as imperialistic as Capitalism? Can anyone still say that it was not Russian Red aggression, pure and simple, but the voluntary acceptance of Marxism, which joined the Muslim regions of Asia and Europe to Soviet Russia? Can anyone still deny that Marxism is the greatest enemy of Muslim nationalism? Certainly, none. In our next installment we shall show that the Communists not only crushed Muslim nationalism but also the Islamic religion.

Before we close this discussion, however, we might refer to the first great “blessing” which descended upon the Muslims of the Soviet Union in the wake of the Communist “revolution”. The epidemics of loot, arson and murder which the Communist saviours of humanity brought to the Muslim regions de-populated whole villages and devastated whole Muslim areas. To those large-scale killings was soon added a severe famine which broke out in 1918 and raged till the end of 1919. George Safarov, who was a member of the Commission sent from Moscow in October, 1919, admitted that the Russians fell upon the Muslim areas “with the avalanche of requisition and confiscations; and the Mussalman populations, unable to cope with the famine, were slowly dying out”. Similarly, T. Riskulov, President of People’s Commissars of Khirghizia from 1926 to 1931 and acting President of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of

Communist Challenge to Islam

People's Commissars in 1939, wrote: "We do not have exact information. But from provinces one can estimate that about one-third of the total population must have died." (Quoted in C. and M. Gazette, Karachi, April 30, 1919.)

No wonder that while the Muslim population at the end of the Czarist regime was 30,000,000, it is now quoted as 23,000,000. What a devastation ! What tragedy ! As the Communist Uzbek poet, Ghafoor Ghulam, has said:-

"The Unconquerable Army moved,

And all the roads were spread with human bones."

CHAPTER VII

Islam and Muslims in the Soviet Union (2)

Ideological Aggression

THE COBWEB OF INTRIGUE

During the discussion of Marxism and its methods, we have seen that:

(1) Marxism is the sworn enemy of all religion, which it is its mission to destroy at all costs;²⁰

(2) Marxism is aggressively materialistic and atheistic in its fundamental foundations and outlook;

(3) No one can be a Marxist unless he adheres firmly to Marxist Philosophical Materialism as well as Marxist Social Philosophy and abides by the discipline of the Party;

(4) The aim of the whole Communist struggle is only one, viz, the creation and establishment of a perfect, uncompromising society of Marxist people;

(5) With this aim in view, the first task of every Communist state is to affect regimentation of education and the whole cultural life of

²⁰ Among the latest statements of Communist leaders on this point, we may quote the following from Stalin: "The Party can not be neutral towards religion.....The Party stands for science, whereas religious bias is opposed to science. Every religion is diametrically opposed to science." (Komsomolskaya Pravda, 16th September, 1944.)

Communist Challenge to Islam

the people, including the press and the club, on the Marxist pattern, outlawing at the same time all cultural activity which falls outside Marxist conceptions and is opposed to Marxist doctrines about Religion, or God, or Morality, or National-Political values;

(6) Marxism might sometimes permit certain transitional makeshifts, for tactical reasons, but it can tolerate no opposition, not to speak of compromise, whether it is religion or national sentiments with which it is dealing at a given moment.

Out of this six-fold Communist policy was cast a mighty steam-roller of Party and governmental machinery which has been on the move all these years to gradually crush Islamic life in the Soviet Union out of existence. True, in the beginning when the ship of Marxism was rocking in the midst of the storm of furious Muslim opposition, the captains of Communist movement had permitted certain makeshifts. But conditions were to change as soon as the Communists found themselves in safer waters. And so they changed. Ultimately, from Moscow, “the godless riff-raff” (in the words of Joshua Kunitz) released the flames of atheism and irreligion which raced across the burning steppes of Turkmenia and enveloped the Asiatic extremities of the old empire.

The Communists knew that they were out “to deal with the most fanatical Muslims in the world”. (Dawn Over Samarkand, p. 218). Hence they did not proceed to challenge the Islamic religion forthwith. A policy of initial indirect attack was adopted instead. Explaining that policy, Joshua Kunitz says: “The Bolsheviks hold that the cultural and psychological aspects of life are ‘super-structures’, that there is no such thing as ‘immutable human nature’, and they are out to change the economic and social foundations of society in the conviction that they will thus bring about

corresponding changes in the psychological and cultural superstructures. As regards cultural innovations, they employ their strategy, leveling their first, direct and most powerful attacks at the determining, i.e., the economic, factors..... on the whole, it is safe to say that in their work the Bolsheviki had to be exceedingly subtle and diplomatic.” (Ibid, pp. 210, 211).

SUBTLE AND DIPLOMATIC APPROACH

Consequently, when a Communist visitor from abroad “expressed amusement over the grotesque forms which Bolshevism has assumed in some of the remoter regions of Central Asia—Communists going to the mosque, members of the Party clinging to all kinds of superstitions.....” Sluchak, the Jewish Communist chief of Tajikistan, answered: “This does not worry us. Our first test in these backward regions is this: Is the fellow with us in the matter of collectivization and industrialisation, is he ready to fight for our programme? If he is, he is eligible for Party membership. Don’t you see? We must be flexible in approaching the masses. We have the responsibility of reconstructing a whole society, and we cannot permit ourselves the comfort of sectarianism. Here the acceptance of Marxist and Leninist materialist ideas is not a pre-requisite for Party membership, but it invariably happens that a few months in the Party result in a gradual acceptance of our ideas. When a native is drawn into the Party, he is much more amenable to our influence and teaching. We are in a transition period. Naturally, you encounter some grotesque specimens.” (Ibid, p. 212).

Thus, “the dramatic conflict between Mohammedanism and Marxism-Leninism” (Ibid, p. 240) was a reality from the beginning, so much so that when, in the very heart of Central Asian Islam, the Communists built modern Stalinabad on the site of ancient

Dushambe, they made it “the only capital city in the world free of any religious institutions —no mosques, no churches, no synagogues”. (Ibid, p. 232). The elimination of Islam was the definite and positive Communist goal. The only deceptive feature in the beginning was that the Communists were subtle and diplomatic in their work, as already mentioned.

The Communist period of Muslim history may be roughly divided into two epochs, with the year 1929 forming the demarcating line. During the first epoch, the Communists worked for changing the social, political, economic and literary structures, on the one hand, and for weakening the religious front by means of indirect attacks on the integrity and prestige of the Ulema, on the other. “Freedom of religious education and practice” was permitted, and Stalin was of the opinion that even “Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turanian views, while not desirable, were not incompatible with Party membership.”

TRIBALISM EMPLOYED TO CRUSH MUSLIM NATION SOLIDARITY

The Communists pierced their arrow into the heart of Muslim nationalism by emphasising and perpetuating the tribal differentiation of Muslim Central Asia. In the name of cultural autonomy, they dissolved the former boundaries and grouped the Muslims separately as Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkomans, Kazzacks and Khirghies. (Ibid, pp. 153, 154) According to Mustafa Chokayev, formerly President of the Turkestan National Council, the aim of the Communists was “not to provide cultural autonomy but to preclude the unification of one nationality, the Turki people of Russian Turkestan.”

AGRICULTURAL PATTERN CHANGED TO PERPETUATE THE SLAVERY OF MUSLIMS

The second step was to change the agricultural pattern of the Muslim regions with a view to making them economically dependent on Russia for all time and to forestall any future move on the part of the Muslims to secede from the “mother-country”. Instead of bringing about self-sufficiency in agricultural products, a vigorous campaign was launched by the Government and the Party for producing one commodity only, i.e., Cotton. This policy was given the innocent name of Regional Specialisation—i.e., “grain and lumber to flow into Central Asia from Siberia and Central Russia; cotton to travel from the south to the grain regions in the north.” (Ibid, pp. 166, 167). Joshua Kunitz presents the Communist justification of this policy in these words, which are highly revealing: “Not only is such territorial specialisation economical and rational---it is also highly politic. It makes the several National Republics economically interdependent and renders less likely any excessive tendencies towards local nationalism which may degenerate into chauvinism and even into separatism.....it is no exaggeration to say that cotton is the magic key to the maze of economic, political and cultural inroads the Bolsheviks have made into the age-long immutability of Central Asian existence..... In the final analysis, the Bolsheviks are more interested in socialism than in the natural medium through which the Bolshevik ideal can be realized.” (Ibid, p. 167).

ARABIC ALPHABET REPLACED

The third step was to replace the Arabic alphabet by Latin alphabet and thus to cut off the Muslims from the rest of the Islamic world, on the one hand, and form their whole Islamic religious and cultural

past, on the other. Thenceforth, Islamic tradition, as enshrined in their national literature, was to be a sealed book for the coming generations. (Ibid, p. 29).

CLASS-CONFLICTS CREATED

The fourth step—the basic step—was, of course, the division of Muslims into classes and to gradually increase the tempo of the class-war. Paralysed religiously, confused politically, demoralised socially as the Muslims were, the subtle Communist propaganda succeeded slowly in bringing about “class differentiation in the cities and villages...From an attitude of antagonism and neutrality, the poor and middle peasants....were gradually swinging into an attitude of active sympathy with the revolution and its purposes....By 1923 there was a large and well-functioning organisation of poor and middle peasants—the Peasants’ Union—that was doing a great deal of work in crystallising the peasants’ hatred for the beys, the kulaks, the reactionary mullahs.” (Ibid, p. 144).

ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE PRESTIGE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

This brings us to the last-named, i.e., the Ulema. On the purely religious front, it was they who were made the direct target for attack. Misplaced conservatism and the absence of the knowledge of modern thought were their greatest weakness. The more intelligent and learned among them, who could have faced the issues squarely, had been put to the sword already or had fled from Bolshevik persecution. The third class leaders who remained were no match for the brilliant Communist leadership. In his enmity towards Islam,

Communist Challenge to Islam

Joshua Kunitz has gloated over the misfortunes of those helpless “poor Mullahs”. He has cited the case of land-reform which was made by the Communists into a subtle instrument for disparaging the authority and prestige of the Ulema. He says:-

“One vulnerable spot in the position of the mosque was the conflict of interests between the upper and lower clergy....The conflict of interest was taken advantage of by the Bolsheviks; without attempting direct attacks on the mosque, they proceeded to assail the reactionary clergy by exposing before the masses its greed and selfishness....What made the position of the upper clergy more vulnerable was the possession of much fertile land coveted by the peasants. The land-reform, crystallising as it did the conflicting class interests in the village, succeeded in shaking the already shaken front of the clergy....the less myopic of the upper clergy began to beat a hasty retreat. The Soviet authorities refrained from gloating or vindictiveness. When the recalcitrants called upon the faithful to resist the redistribution of lands, a group of prominent penitents, encouraged by the Government, issued a proclamation in favour of such redistribution. Rather than quixotically oppose religion and fight the Koran and thus antagonise the masses, the Bolsheviks availed themselves of the opportunity to utilise the proclamation issued by the Mullahs. The document was printed in the Bolshevik press and given the widest publicity....many of the rich clergy began to renounce their lands. The famous ishan Fakhruddin Vali-Khodzhaiev was among the first voluntarily to surrender his vast holdings and in a much-hailed epistle blessed the land-reform....The statements of the progressive Fergana and Tashkent clergy, as well as of the renowned ishan Vali-Khodzhaiev, created a furore among the intransigents who accused the progressives of wilfully misinterpreting the teachings of

Mohammed and deliberately distorting passages from the Koran. They made every effort to prevent these statements, published in thousands of leaflets, from reaching the masses. They destroyed every bundle of leaflets they managed to lay hands on. Of course, their efforts were futile. Within a few weeks the religious front was completely shattered (because of the subtle handling of the situation by the Communists).....what is more, there suddenly broke out, for the first time in the history of Islam, desertions of the Holy Orders and conversions to Bolshevism and atheism.” (Ibid, pp. 179-181).

POSITIVE PROSELYTISATION

In the field of positive proselytisation, the Communists concentrated on opening cafes and made them the silent centres of anti-Islamic propaganda. Joshua Kunitz reported: “Almost every village has a Red Chai-Khanah....There one sees colourful posters plastered all over the back wall, ridiculing....the Mullahs....There one sees stands with Uzbek and Tajik books and papers and pamphlets printed for the most in the Latin alphabet.” (Ibid, pp. 250, 20).

WORK AMONG THE WOMENFOLK

“Another important phase of cultural work” was the opening of clubs, especially “women’s clubs, the main purpose being to draw the woman out of her seclusion” and away from Islam. (Ibid, p. 284). The Communists knew very well that “the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world”. Hence, side by side with their endeavour to win over the poorest classes, they tried to penetrate the sanctuary of Muslim womanhood. They set about their work in a manner which was apparently quite innocent and harmless. They had to be very cautious. As a “Muslim” Communist woman leader once observed: “We Bolsheviks, while intransigent in our aims, are yet, when

Communist Challenge to Islam

necessary, patient in pursuing them. We gamble only when we are fairly certain of our chances.....in dealing with cultural and psychological ‘superstructures’, we often resort to Fabian tactics.”

(Ibid, p. 288).

And they did resort to such tactics. The ultimate aim was to convert Muslim women to Marxism. But this aim was totally concealed in the beginning. Innocent temptations were offered. Even the veil was not interfered with. “To make sure that the women could be tempted to come to the clubs, practical inducements were offered. For instance, the Tashkent club organised under its auspices a sewing artel which gave employment to a considerable number of woman members. It established a (free) medical service.....Now it is interesting to note that, while going to the club does not require unveiling, unveiling is the inevitable consequence of frequent visits to the club.” (Ibid, pp. 284, 285).

The real Communist aims could not, however, remain concealed for long. Originally, only “occasionally one would hear the voices of the youngsters: Down with the paranja (veil) ! Long live the free women of Central Asia ! Down with the beys and Mullahs ! Long live the Soviet Government !” (Ibid, p. 270). But, “as the Party was gaining in members and power, its attack on the old grew bolder and more determined. And one must bear in mind that not everywhere were the representatives of the Women’s Department as diplomatic and tactful as were Marchenko and Dvorkina. In many places the enthusiasts were forcing the issue, removing the paranjas, and losing their heads in the process.” (Ibid, p. 280).

DISASTROUS MORAL CONSEQUENCES

The trouble was not confined to the paranjas alone. In conformity with the Marxist moral values, the chastity of Muslim womanhood was actually under fire. As a Muslim Communist woman complained in those days: “Even our best, most sincere, intellectually most emancipated and principled Communists reveal occasionally this psychological aberration. Even they betray at times the inability to suppress a reaction which in its immediacy is tantamount to a conditioned reflex. Even they, although unconsciously, tend to assume that peculiar freedom of manner which men allow themselves only in the presence of women of ‘questionable character’. As a result we have a vicious psychological circle. It is generally the adventurous, daring and , naturally enough, rather good-looking woman who flings aside her paranja.....She now tends to become more self-assertive and unrestrained than is good for-her. In her relations with the opposite sex she is helpless.”(Ibid, pp. 286, 287).

The following is a typical instance of what the Muslim Communist women were experiencing in those days as the fruit of Marxist freedom. Khoziat, the Organiser of Woman’s Department in Tashkent, says: - “In my own case this (Communist freedom) resulted in tragedy. Meeting men was to me a novel thrilling experience. A compliment or an embrace was a grand experience. I lost my head. Being a good Communist, Feizullah tried to overlook it. But after all he was a Central Asian. For him to let his wife go out unveiled was a tremendous step forward. It was absurd to expect of him the tolerance which I know is rare even among European men (in fact, among all men who are mentally normal—Author). He suffered terribly. He made jealous scenes. He even struck me on

Communist Challenge to Islam

several occasions. He would then cry, and begged me not to bring it up before the Party nucleus. We argued and discussed and quarreled. Both young and inexperienced, this new freedom was too much for us. Later, when I began to understand the true nature of most of the compliments and advances, I suffered doubly. I used to be hurt and insulted (because of the faint Islamic sense of modesty still remaining —Author). Are these comrades? Are these Communists? I began to lose respect. I began to detest some of the best and most heroic fighters in our ranks....In the meanwhile, Feizullah and I were becoming more and more estranged....In the tortures of our souls, in the fires of our passions a new morality was beginning to be modeled. The process is not over yet. Very many are still doomed to burn their wings in their heedless dash for freedom.” (Ibid, pp. 287,288)

This burning of wings “naturally brought a sharp reaction” among the pious, simple folk. “Resistance, at first passive and peaceful, began to assume more ominous forms. In Auliae-Ata, where Khoziat had been commandeered in 1924 to organise a women’s department, the Mullahs lodged complaint against her....To forestall violence, the Committee had to make a pretence at arresting Khoziat. She was then urged by the authorities to stop all propaganda which might result in serious trouble. Here was not by any means a unique case. Tajik and Uzbek Communists were seized, beaten and forced to swear that they would make their wives wear the paranja; they were summoned to the mosque and were made to renounce their struggle against religion and custom....The point is that the embattled forces of reaction were putting up a stiff fight.... The Communists has to be extremely cautious.”

(Ibid, p. 280, 281)

Certainly the Communists had to be extremely cautious. In fact, they are always cautious whenever they have to deceive and entrap religious-minded Muslims. But that caution was to be observed only during the initial time of weakness. Once they were firmly in the saddle of power, they knew what to do. And that is what happened.

LAUNCHING OF FULL-FLEDGED ATTACK ON ISLAM BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS WELL AS THE STATE

By 1929 the forces of opposition were in a state of “nervous exhaustion”, while the Communist hierarchy had prepared the field for enforcing its ideology and bringing about a “cultural revolution”.

The first symptoms of change in the general policy manifested themselves in the tightening up of Communist discipline. Before that, one could “occasionally meet a Tajik Communist who still frequented the mosque”.(Ibid, p. 242).

After that, the tendency grew up not to permit such concession. In 1930-31, “in a Kokand village, ten middle peasants were denied membership in a kolkhoz because they had been seen praying in the mosque. In the village of Kodja Yakshabo, a kolkhoz was dissolved because the members insisted on going to the mosque. In the Bokhara districts some over-zealous officials declared that in the kolkhozi cremation of the dead would be compulsory.”(Ibid, p. 192).

That was in a way the attitude of the Party. The Government, too, did not lag behind. It opened the battle of ideological aggression with all the planned vindictiveness it could command. The infamous Tashkent treason trials of 1929 announced the commencement of operations.

According to the Soviet authorities, the trials revealed “the persistence of strong Pan-Islamic ideals”. Prominent defenders of Islam were sent to the gallows. Others “were subjected to extremely heavy taxes, while thousands of them were arrested and thrown into jail regardless of the dubious nature of charges against them”. Execution and imprisonment became the order of the day. (Ibid, p. 33). The purpose was to deprive the Muslims of Islamic leadership and to frighten them into submission, so that Marxism could be injected into them without much inconvenience and with greater success.

CONDEMNATION OF THE SHARI’AT BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES

Attacks on the Islamic religious beliefs and the Holy Qur’an became more frequent and more outspoken. The laws of the Islamic Shariat which had been allowed till then in matters of marriage, divorce, and so on, were banned. Shariat itself was officially misrepresented and condemned. The Soviet Political Dictionary of 1940 bears witness to the hostile attitude of the Government. It says: The Shariat is “a means for keeping the workers in economic and political subordination by the rich. It legalised domination, exploitation and slavery of the workers, the enslavement of women, and polygamy....The Shariat is still applied among Muslims in capitalist and colonial countries. In the U.S.S.R., now, the Shariat is eradicated.”

PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA BANNED

An iron-curtain was drawn around the Muslim regions. Contact with the outside world, especially the Islamic, was made a crime. Pilgrimage to Mecca was banned.

MUSLIMS MADE PRISONERS IN THEIR OWN HOMELANDS

Ultimately, Muslims became prisoners in their own homelands—their “autonomous Republics”—with the specter of persecution constantly hanging over their heads. There was slight relaxation in the Soviet policy of repression just before the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. It was meant as an eye-wash. For soon the persecution flared up again during the purge-trials of 1936-38. All those prominent Muslims whom the previous persecution could not wipe out, were accused of all kinds of charges this time and executed. Islam was being given a continuous blood-bath !

The Kremlin knew, however, that no amount of persecution and ridicule could by itself succeed in wiping out Islam. The Soviet leaders knew that it would be a long and arduous task for them to thoroughly Bolshevise the Muslims, so long as the mosques and religious schools persisted.

MOSQUE UNDER FIRE

Hence, as regards the mosques, the first step taken was to confiscate their properties, even though they were not private but communal properties. In addition to this measure, the Government started converting the mosques themselves into modern schools and the like. Joshua Kunitz says: “In many villages we find mosques turned into modern schools.” (Ibid, p. 250).

According to the statistics compiled during the Czarist regime, in 1907 there were as many as 7,000 mosques in European Russia alone. The total number in all the areas of the Russian empire must

have been in the neighbour of fifteen thousand. How many mosques were converted by the Communists can be estimated on the basis of the fact that in 1942 the “Soviet War News” of May 16 gave the figure of the total number of mosques in the whole of the Soviet Union as 1,312.

ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS CLOSED AND INSTRUCTION OUTLAWED

As for the institutions of Islamic religious instruction, there were as many as 8,000 in the Soviet Union when the Communists launched their campaign and enforced their decree separating the schools from the churches. Subsequently, not a single institution was left in existence. The buildings of those institutions were converted into warehouses, theatres and clubs. The famous Islamic Theological Seminary of Registan, built by the grandson of Timur, was turned into a museum. (Russia on the Way: Salisbury, p.135).

Not only were the religious institutions closed, but religious instruction itself was outlawed, only anti-religious instruction remaining lawful. One of the blackest laws in the history of mankind was proclaimed in the following words: “Instruction in any type of religious doctrines given in schools to minors and under-aged is one of the forms of infringement on the freedom of conscience guaranteed by the U.S.S.R. constitution.” (Trainin, Menshagin and Vyshinsky : “Commentaries on the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.”, 2nd Ed., Moscow, 1946, pp.167,168).

COMPULSORY ANTI-RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

As all students of Marxism know, regimentation of education under the strictest Government vigilance is the most important Communist

Communist Challenge to Islam

weapon for converting to Marxism all those who might happen to be under their control. This is so because the education thus given is through and through Marxist. The courses of study are so planned and the text-books are so compiled that the children imbibe Marxist atheism from the very beginning and their intellects are trained in such a way that they learn to view every problem of life from the Marxist angle. Every subject they are taught is dipped in Marxist atheism and materialism before it is dished out to them. These defenders of the “freedom of conscience” prohibit religious instruction on that ground but themselves commit the crime of giving compulsory anti-religious instruction on a much-magnified scale and of killing the freedom of human conscience in a hundred-and-one other ways !

Compulsory Marxist education combined with the total prohibition of religious instruction can produce only one result, namely, the creation of whole generations of full-fledged Marxists. Any other ideology which might apply the same strategy can succeed in the same way. And when we think of all those instruments of Marxist influence, like the government, the party, the theatre and the club, which are invariably added to that anti-religious education, the fate of Islam in the Soviet Union can be better imagined than described. On the other hand, it must be considered a miracle of Islam if there are still men and women—and they are there! —who adhere to their faith.

With education as their best weapon, the Soviet Union proceeded with determination to de-Islamise the Muslim population. Referring to the early days, Joushua Kunitz says: “More than illiteracy, the new government feared the influence of the old schools conducted by the Mullahs. To stimulate interest in the new education, the

government found it necessary to grant privileges, exemptions and even monetary compensations to parents who agreed to send their children to Soviet schools. A few teachers' training schools were opened. Also courses were organised to train natives for various political, economic and cultural jobs." (Ibid, p. 143).

Gradually, Communism came to hold the monopoly in the field of education and Islamic influences began to disappear. "The old Muslim schools.....have passed into oblivion. Gone, too, is the old type of teacher---the Mullah or the student of Muslim religious academies. The schools are modern schools; the subjects are modern subjects; and the teachers are modern teachers."(Ibid, p. 237)

That the education imparted to the rising generations of Muslims is not only modern but also definitely anti-Islamic is borne out by the following statement: "It is very characteristic that during the Basmach troubles the village teacher was usually the first to be killed.....The village teacher in Central Asia is the worst enemy of reaction and bigotry (Communist synonyms for religion—Author), the best and most enthusiastic career of the Communist ideals." (Ibid, p. 239).

DISASTROUS RESULTS OF ANTI-RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Among the blessings of the Communist regime, the propagandists of Marxism in Muslim lands refer very often and very boldly to the progress which the Muslims of the Soviet Union have made in the field of education. But I ask every sensible and honest Muslim: Should such de-Islamising education be actually regarded as a blessing or a curse from the Islamic point of view? True, the Communist system has spread greater literacy among the Muslims.

Communist Challenge to Islam

But, at what price? The garden of Islam has been uprooted and transformed into a desert of atheism!

According to Joshua Kunitz: “The revolution has unleashed a whirlwind of passion....there are appearing in ever-increasing numbers the bobbed hair and the khaki uniforms of the revolutionary youth. Mullahs....have been supplanted by Soviet Commissars and Red factory managers. Mosques and medresse (religious academies) are being crowded out....by the vast sweep of modernity....Aini, the beloved writer of the Tajik masses shows very clearly that the great miracle of his people’s emancipation has been accomplished not through the kind intervention of Allah and His prophets....Almost all the songs of freedom contain the contrast between the ‘acrid days’ of the past and the ‘fragrant days’ of the present....Closely related to the songs of freedom have been the countless songs and stories and legends about Lenin....(who is) a holy savior....Lahuti’s ‘Wreath on Lenin’s Grave’ is symptomatic of what is transpiring in the realm of culture all over the Soviet lands.” (Ibid, pp. 4, 323, 325, 326, 330, 331).

The following few specimens reveal the trend of “Muslim” Communist thought in the Soviet Union.

(Poem by Munavvar-Sho, the Tajik poet):-

“To the prophet

“In the year of great war I strolled along the road.....

“From a ruined cell emerged my old teacher, the guide of my childhood years, a Mullah and a lord of learning. And he cries to me:- Hearken to my prophecies. Years will pass. You will recall my words.

Communist Challenge to Islam

“Years have passed, I remember your word, O teacher.....

“You said: The words of the Koran are eternal.....

“You said: The mosques will never be empty,

“Islam shall reign eternal.

“Hardly.....

“Mullah, teacher,

“Where are your prophecies?

“Mullah, teacher,

“The thought of you makes me tired.....” (Ibid, p.40)

(Poem by an Uzbek peasant bard) :-

“The greatest of good deeds was done by Lenin,

“The urn of virtues, he who freed the earth.....

“The name of the greatest of men will never be forgotten.....

“Lenin’s equal in mind and heart

“Earth has not yet begotten.” (Ibid, p. 41)

(Battle Song by Piarau Sulaimani) :-

“There is no place here any more for emirs or beys or mullahs.

“We need no God and no servants of His from this or other lands.”

(Ibid, p. 53)

Communist Challenge to Islam

(Poem by Lahuti, the Tajik poet) :-

“Today we have a Muslim holiday—

“Roza we call it here.

“And what a holiday it was in the past !

“Deserted the homes, desert the fields,

“Crowds kneeling all day in the mosques.

“But now who has time to think of Roza?

“Who has time for this nonsense of the salvish past?”

(Ibid, pp. 333, 334)

How far have things gone can also be gauged from the observations of the well-known non-Muslim Indian author, Mr. M. R. Masani who visited the Soviet Union twice, in 1927 and 1936. He gives the following account of his conversation with a prominent Communist official of Azerbaijan. (I have translated it from the Urdu version of his Soviet Sidelights) :-

“I asked: Comrade ! Now tell me something about your anti-God movement. I am myself a Rationalist and am, therefore, pretty deeply interested in it.”

The reply came :-

“We did not launch a stormy anti-religious campaign here like that in Russia. Religion, too, like Capitalism, cannot be annihilated overnight. We relied upon education for the creation of the scientific

point of view against superstition-mongering. The results are highly encouraging. The youth have been thoroughly won to the side of irreligion. And, what is more, the Muslim peasant, who now works on the collective farms, has begun to understand that he has been saved from the payment of tax to the Mullah for obtaining comforts in the next world. I can't say whether the policy pursued in Russia was wrong. There the people were comparatively more prepared for the change. Hence they could move faster (towards atheism)."

Describing his impressions of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, Mr. Masani says :-

In the old town which is known as 'the old Turkish city', "there is a mosque. I had a talk with its Mullah. He told me that thirty to forty Muslims came daily to that mosque for prayers. He recalled the days gone by when the mosque used to remain full with the worshippers. Now only the aged people come, and they, too, not punctually. These worshippers are usually from the villages and live in the town with their sons, who work here as labourers. As for the youngsters, they have their own different world to move in. And they can't be blamed also in view of the numerous modern attractions such as games, libraries, parks and the study circles of the Trade Unions."

"How do the old people feel about collectivism sponsored by the new regime?", I asked. He replied: 'Different people hold different views. I personally think it has done a lot of good. But I am against the abolition of veil which is against the Qur'anic teaching.' " (p.54)

By the way, the last sentence shows the pitiable standard of religious leadership left after the learned Ulema had been killed and removed from the scene.

Mr. Marsani proceeds to say :-

“This poor Mullah has spent his whole life in serving this mosque. His face twitched with agony when he remarked: ‘After a few years there will be none who would come to the mosque and it would be closed or some school would be opened here. What has been destined will come to pass!’ he uttered with a deep sigh. This was an admission of defeat from a vanishing system.” (p. 54, 55).

PERSISTENCE OF ISLAMIC INFLUENCES

The Communists and atheists are happy that, with the help of the most brutal means ever employed by any aggressive group for killing the freedom of thought, they have at last succeeded in gaining adherents from among the Muslims of the Soviet Union. But the struggle is not over yet. The Islamic influences and the desire for freedom still persist. The Muslim populations cannot yet be trusted fully. One proof of this is the fact that in 1938, Marshal Voroshilov, the then Acting Commissar for Defence, ordered the abolition of Muslim national regiments and their distribution among Russian troops.

SOME RECENT COMMUNIST SUBTERFUGES

Another proof of the persistence of Islamic influences are those concessions which the Soviet Union made to the Muslims on the religious front during the last World War when the fate of Communism hung in the balance. True to Marxist opportunism, the Kremlin permitted the publication of the Holy Qur’an and the resumption of Pilgrimage to Mecca after a period of eighteen years. Permission was also given to form four Muslim religious regional boards, although at the same time (1944) a Council for the Affairs

Communist Challenge to Islam

of Religious Cults, consisting of government lay officials, was also formed under the U.S.S.R Council of People's Commissars, with a view to "supervise religious activities, keeping them.....within political limits prescribed by the Kremlin." (C. and M. Gazette, Karachi, April 30, 1949). As if to compensate for the thousands of mosques confiscated by the Communists, the Soviet authorities also permitted the construction of ten new mosques in 1944.

These few concessions are being made much of by the Communist propagandists. In fact, they go even so far as to say that there is perfect religious freedom in the Soviet Union and they refer to the U.S.S.R. Constitution of 1936 in their support. But that Constitution reflects no legal change for the status of religion at all. The utmost that it permits is the right of the individuals to "perform religious rites". The ban on religious instruction and propaganda remains, while "anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens". Religion can, at best, stay as a paralysed entity, ultimately to wear out of existence.

The concessions referred to above hardly mean anything more. They form yet another Marxist hoax. They were made, not out of respect for Islam or to keep Islam alive, but only to deceive the U.S.S.R Muslims and to win their support at a time of great emergency. If they still exist, they are meant to soften the psychological defences of the Muslim world which the Communists are struggling with all their might to penetrate. They might continue to exist for some time more—but only for such time as the Soviet Union feels there is need for wooing the Muslims.

That these concessions are a mere hoax is borne out by the Soviet behaviour not only in the past but also in the present. When the writer of these lines visited Mecca during his recent world tour and

Communist Challenge to Islam

enquired about the pilgrims whom the Soviet Union permitted to visit the Holy Land since 1944, it was revealed that they consisted every year of batches of three or four Muslim Communist missionaries only. Thus the so-called permission to perform the Hajj was designed to make Mecca a venue of Communist propaganda and contact and not to provide an opportunity to the pious Muslims of the U.S.S.R to perform a religious obligation. The Communist appearances are always different from the reality !

The concessions were made. The anti-religious policy was relaxed. But the purpose was not to resuscitate the religious life. Therefore, the moment the Communist leaders discerned signs of a sort of religious revival among the Muslims, warnings immediately went forth from the masters to the slaves to remain “within limits”. After the war was over, these warnings became more and more pronounced.

In December, 1947, the leading article in “The Young Bolshevik”, organ of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, called for the “intensification of the struggle against all survivals of bourgeois ideology and morality including religious prejudices and superstitions”. In May, 1948, the same magazine proclaimed: “For us Communists, Young Communists, religion never was and never will be a ‘private affair’. The high status of Communist and Young Communist can be applied only to one who is not only completely free from religious prejudices, but also considers it his most important duty to educate the Soviet people and the Soviet youth in the real spirit of scientific Marxist-Leninist views.” In the same month, the *Turkmenskaya Iskra* (Turkmenian Spark), which deals with the Turkoman Muslim population of Central Asia, launched a general attack upon Islam and said: “It would also be incorrect to

Communist Challenge to Islam

look upon all these harmful customs and habits separately from religion when the latter specially shows its influence upon them. The religious leadership is trying with all its forces and abilities to support the old forms in order to retain faith among the populace in the permanence of Islam. Here there is need for an active struggle against religious prejudices. The need for such a struggle against religious prejudices is dictated not only by the fact that they are incompatible with the materialist viewpoint of the Party, but also by the fact that the Mullahs and their helpers maintain in the consciousness of the people the oldest and most harmful customs and habits and hamper the development of culture in general.” In September, 1948, the “Sovetskaya Kirgizia”, official organ of the Muslim Khirghiz Republic, while noting with alarm that “among a certain section of the workers incorrect views existed regarding the relation of Party to religion,” called for an all-out war against Islamic beliefs.

Only one last item of Communist propaganda now remains to be exploded. The present writer has heard many a simple-minded Muslim saying that, if the Soviet Union is so anti-Islam, why is it that the Muslims fought in the Red Army against Germany? The simple answer is that their forefathers had similarly fought in the armies of the Czars against their own brothers, the Turks. Verily, a slave has little option !

THE LESSON FOR US

The above account of the political and ideological aggression of Communists on Muslims, based as it is mostly on approved and authentic Communist documents, provides the picture of the practical application of Communism to Islam. Communism, the ideology of the under-man, flourishes underground and attracts the

Communist Challenge to Islam

people to its bosom under deceptive masks. It always shoots its arrows from behind the curtain. It always weaves its trap of the most deceptive fibre. It always hides its “red teeth and claws” and comforts the masses into submission with its soft tail. Simple-minded Muslims are being taught to regard it as a purely humanitarian movement out to help the oppressed poor against the tyrannising rich. It does destroy the parasites of wealth, but, like a blind monster, it also simultaneously destroys religion and morality.

Communism is not merely a theory of Economics. Had it been so, we could comfortably rest in an academic attitude. It is, however, a full-fledged philosophy of life, which stands as the very antithesis of Islam. Hence the need for a more serious thought than what the Muslim world has given so far.

The facts recounted in the foregoing prove beyond all doubt that Communism is Islam’s enemy No.1. But a mere realisation of this fact cannot carry us far. Communism has already swallowed up a portion of the Islamic world. It has gained, in spite of its black spots, primarily because of our weakness.

We are weak, not only politically and militarily, but also socially. The Muslim world is infested with different kinds of evils. It is diseased. The social order which it was Islam’s mission to bring into existence is present nowhere. The decrepit social order under which Muslims are living cannot withstand the vigorous Communist onslaught.

Muslim statesmen have basked in the sunshine of illusions and un-Islamic ideals for quite a long time now. If they could lodge the Muslim world in a vacuum, they might have continued in it for some time more. But that is not possible. The hour of decision has

struck. The present worm-eaten “social dis-order” shall have to be scrapped.

The purpose in writing this thesis was not to abuse the Communists. The author holds no brief for the imperialists and the capitalists, who have been the real cause of bringing the Communist scourge to humanity. In fact, he regards such an act as the blackest sin. His language has assumed a severe tone at certain places. For that he owes no apology. Communism has inflicted deep wounds on the body of Islam. No apology is due from a wounded heart. No apology is needed for calling a spade a spade !

The ideal which inspired the present humble attempt has been a positive one. It is to give a true picture of the devastation which Communism has already wrought and to awaken the Muslims, especially their leaders, to the realisation of the bitter truth that the same drama might soon be enacted in other parts of the Muslim world, if they fail to rise to the height of the opportunity.

Before closing, a very important fact, which is usually lost sight of, may be stated for earnest consideration by every Muslim. The political success of Communism is not due to the foundation of Marxist philosophical and social ideology on any infallible truths. In fact, the fundamentals of Marxist ideology, like the passage of quantity into quality (giving rise to the production of surplus value according to Marx), the negation of the negation, the withering away of the state, the creation of a classless equalitarian society, are all false doctrines. They are utopian fictions and not scientific facts. Fundamentally and basically the Marxist ideology is false. Yet Communist propaganda is successful in attracting the exploited and the down-trodden. That is because the Communist party is the only party which apparently raises a masculine voice against the

Communist Challenge to Islam

inequities of Colonialism and Imperialism and Capitalism, even though it later on plunges people into worse forms of slavery, and carries on a powerful propaganda with all the force of the missionary zeal. At its best, what it actually gives to the people, in the field of economic betterment, is not Marxism—which is unworkable and impracticable—but a compromise between Marxism and Capitalism, coupled with total spiritual impoverishment. The Soviet Union itself supplies the best illustration in this respect. The differentials in pay, the social decorations for achievement, the recent emphasis on the family, the rule of the all-powerful bureaucracy, all prove that Russia is not moving towards Marxism but towards an industrial social democracy—a realistic Socialism which recognises gradation of ability.

Thus, in the field of the socio-economic betterment of man, practical Communism has achieved something not higher than what Islam aims at. Of course, Islam achieves the elimination of exploitation on the basis of a different set of economic principles and without foisting a ruthless and dogmatic dictatorship like that of Soviet Russia, without sapping human freedom, without employing iron regimentation, without imposing tyranny in any form—and, without destroying the religious and moral values. The Communist philosophy—if it can be called a philosophy—is a philosophy of the stomachs. The Islamic philosophy is a philosophy of values, comprehending the totality of human life.

For the Muslim, therefore, the problem is very simple. He has no need to burn the richness of his being to achieve what he can find in a better form in the harmonious and all-round development of his personality in Islam. What he needs is the resolve to establish the Islamic social order in place of the present un-Islamic systems.

Communist Challenge to Islam

May God guide the Muslim people, especially the Muslim statesmen, to the right path and inspire them to set their house in order before it is too late. Amen !

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ

ISLAM

VERSUS

*M*ARXISM

Being an Essay written for the Muslim-Christian Convention
held in Lebanon in 1954

ISLAM VERSUS MARXISM

THE PREAMBLE

The Marxist menace has been growing in the Muslim world, the political measure lately adopted by certain Muslim state notwithstanding. It has been growing and it must continue to grow so long as the social and political condition remain what they are —so long as poverty, ignorance, disease, exploitation and tyranny hold their sway in Muslim lands and die-hard imperialists like the French continue to keep large Muslim populations under their heels.

That is, however, the political aspect of the menace, with which persons of academic sphere can hardly interfere with any tangible result. But the academic aspect also has suffered considerably. For instance, there has been no organized international move on behalf of the Muslim world which could pool all its intellectual resources and give it a specialised lead in this regard. Certain religious organizations have been doing some valuable literary work, for which every Muslim should feel grateful. But nothing substantial has been done to build up a genuine international movement which could undertake to fight the Marxist menace at least academically.

The present essay was written for the world convention sponsored by the “American Friends of the Middle East” and

held in Lebanon in 1954. The following four fundamental problems were laid down for exposition :

- (1) The spiritual assets in Islam and their significance for the individual, The Family and society;
- (2) Social work based on religious concepts like *Zakat* ;
- (3) The social challenge of Communism and Islam's answer to it ;
- (4) How can Islam transmit its spiritual values to the younger generation ? Hence the following line of discussion.

THE BASIC PIONT OF DIFFERENCE

It is a truism, as the Holy Prophet Jesus (Allah's blessings be upon him!) is reported to have said: "Man does not live by bread alone". It is this fact which is vital to every religion, —in fact, to Religion as such, —and it is this which distinguishes and separates Religion from Marxism for all time.

Marxism negates the belief in the existence of God, denies all the higher values of life and challenges the dignity of man. Grounded as it is in a Mechanistic philosophy and a Behaviouristic Psychology, it refuses to regard Man as anything more than an automaton, —a vanishing speck on the firmament of matter, or a mere playthings on social chessboard. It refuses to recognise Man's higher yearnings —his yearnings for communion with God, his yearnings for Truth, Love and Beauty, his yearnings for spiritual perfection,

moral earnestness and social refinement —except as aberrations and sublimations of his economic wants, thus raising Psychological perversion to the dignity of a Moral Principle. It recognizes only the validity of the economic value and of naked materialism; and its Dialectic, though it appears to be endowed with what might only paradoxically be called self-consciousness is, in the final analyses, actually a blind process. Thus Marxism stands poles a part from Islam. In fact, it is its very anti-thesis.

THE SPIRITUAL ASSETS OF ISLAM

As regards the spiritual assets of Islam, they can be particularised only academically, because, practically speaking, the entire super-structure of Islam is spiritual in the sense of being God-conscious. The word “Islam” means “Submission to the Will of God”, or in other words, living a life for the sake of God. Thus a Muslim is he, every aspect of whose behaviour and every cross-section of whose activity —without any such distinction as that of “secular” and “religious” —is for the sake of God and in obedience to His will and Commands. This is what we read in the Holy Qur’an:

قُلْ إِنَّ صَلَاتِي وَنُسُكِي وَمَحْيَايَ وَمَمَاتِي لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ أَشْرِكُ لَهُ ^ط وَيَدْرُكُ
أُمْرَتِي وَأَنَا أَوَّلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ (الأنعام: 162-163)

“Say (O Muhammad!): Truly, my prayer and my sacrifice, my life and my death are (all) for Allah,

the Cherisher of the Worlds: no partner hath He:
This I am commanded and I am the first of those
who bow to Allah's will". (VI: 162, 163).

However, from the point of view of the problems before us, certain spiritual assets of Islam might be stressed:-

- (a) In the first instance, Islam regards the basic of all life as spiritual, and, though its approach to the problem of Mind and Matter is non-dualistic, i.e., unitary, in the realm of values it gives primacy to the spiritual, thus standing in violent opposition to Marxist Dialectical Materialism.
- (b) While Marxism conceives life only in respect of its un-folding from the lower to the higher forms —just as, in the case of the individual, it gives primacy to Hunger and Sex and makes the entire life revolve round them —Islam stresses the fundamental diffusion of life from the higher to the lower values. Thus, it regards God not only the Ultimate reality but the Really Real and orientates entire life in the concept of Love for Him. In the realm of human values, Islam conceives the economic value emerging from the moral and the moral from the spiritual.
- (c) This necessitates a belief in the Universe as a Moral Order, which Islam affirms with all the emphasis possible. According to Islam, the contradiction which exist on the material plane of existence harmonise themselves on the spiritual plane; and in its teachings concerning life-after-death and moral retribution in the form of Heaven

and Hell, it proclaims that Virtue must ultimately triumph.

- (d) The universe being a Moral Order, Man can-not but be a Moral Being primarily and essentially, —and that he is in Islam. Far from being a blind atom whirling in the storm of cosmic confusion or an impersonal mark on the unfolding tape of the cruel Dialectic, he is the possessor of an Individuality and a Personality, basically built up on the elements of Goodness, Truth and Beauty, as the Holy Qur'an says :

لَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ فِي أَحْسَنِ تَقْوِيمٍ ﴿النين: ٤﴾

“We have indeed created man in the best of form.”(XCV :4)

Essentially, he is not the slave of the instincts of Hunger and Sex but a being to whom the angels were ordered by God Almighty to pay homage, as we are told in the Holy Qur'an:

وَإِذْ قُلْنَا لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ اسْجُدُوا لِآدَمَ فَسَجَدُوا ﴿البقرة: ٣٤﴾

“And behold, we said to the angels : ‘Bow to Adam’, and they bowed down”. (II :34).

He is the apex of creation and the master of all around him. So says the Holy Qur'an:

أَلَمْ تَرَوْا أَنَّ اللَّهَ سَخَّرَ لَكُمْ مَّا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَأَسْبَغَ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَهُ
ظَاهِرَةً وَبَاطِنَةً وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يُجَادِلُ فِي اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ وَلَا هُدًى وَلَا كِتَابٍ مُّبِينٍ
﴿لقمان: ٢٠﴾

“Do you not see that Allah has subjected to your (use) all things in the heavens and on earth, and has made His bounties flow to you in exceeding measure, (both) seen and unseen? Yet there are men who dispute Allah, without knowledge and without Guidance, and without a Book to enlighten them!” (XXXI: 20).

And again

وَلَقَدْ كَرَّمْنَا بَنِي آدَمَ وَحَمَلْنَاهُمْ فِي الْوَلَدِ وَالْبَحْرِ وَرَزَقْنَاهُمْ مِنَ الطَّيِّبَاتِ
وَفَضَّلْنَاهُمْ عَلَى كَثِيرٍ مِّمَّنْ خَلَقْنَا تَفْضِيلًا ﴿الإسراء: ٧٠﴾

“And certainly We have honoured the children of Adam; provided them with transport on land and sea; given them for sustenance things good and pure : and conferred on them special favours above a great part of Our Creation.” (XVII: 70).

Islam has indeed raised Man to the highest pinnacle of greatness in Creation by calling him the vicegerent of God on earth, to which the Holy Qur’an refers in these words:

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ﴿البقرة: ٣٠﴾

“Behold, thy Lord said to the angels: ‘I will create a vicegerent on the earth’.” (II :30).

- (e) This being the dignity of Man, Islam gives him the ideal of harmonizing himself with the Divine Life. Thus we have been told by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (God’s choicest blessing be upon him!):-

تخلقوا بأخلاق الله (التفسير الكبير: ج:4, ص:444)

“Imbue yourselves with divine Attributes.”

- (f) Islam is the religion of Balance, Proportion and Harmony, to which numerous verses of the Holy Qur’an bear testimony, as for instance :

سُبْحَانَ اسْمِ رَبِّكَ الْأَعْلَى الَّذِي خَلَقَ فَسَوَّىٰ وَالَّذِي قَدَّرَ فَهَدَىٰ ﴿الأعلى: ١﴾

“Glorify the name of thy Lord Most High, Who hath created and, further, given order and Proportion; Who hath ordained laws and granted guidance”. (LXXXVII: 1-3).

And, again:

الرَّحْمَنُ عَلَّمَ الْقُرْآنَ خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ عَلَّمَهُ الْبَيَانَ الشَّمْسُ وَالْقَمَرُ بِحُسْبَانٍ
وَالنَّجْمُ وَالشَّجَرُ يَسْجُدَانِ وَالسَّمَاءَ رَفَعَهَا وَوَضَعَ الْمِيزَانَ أَلَّا تَطْغَوْا فِي
الْمِيزَانِ ﴿الرحمن: ١-٨﴾

“God Most Gracious! It is He Who has taught the Qur’an. He has created man: He has taught him speech (with intelligence). The sun and the moon follow courses (exactly) computed and the herbs and the trees do adore (Him). And the firmament has He raised high, and He has set up the balance, in order that ye may not transgress the Balance.”
(LV: 1-8)

Thus Islam commands Man to affirm all the values of life—spiritual, Moral, Intellectual, Aesthetic and physical—and to pursue them in a balanced way, aiming finally at Harmonious Development.

- (g) The Principle of Harmony at the highest social level transforms itself into the well-known Islamic doctrine of Human Brotherhood, which in its turn, throws into broad relief the principle of Co-operation in contradistinction to the Marxist ideology of Class-War.

These, in brief, are the spiritual assets of Islam from the point of view of the present discussion, and they reveal the utter incompatibility which exists between Islam and Marxism.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

As regards the relations of the Individual and the Society, Islam gives to the Individual what belongs to the individual and to the Society what belong to the Society. The Individual and the society have been conceived in it not as antithetic but as complimentary, the former realising himself through the latter and the latter through the former. Indeed, in its unique system, Islam has steered clear of the shortcomings of both, cruel Individualism and brutal Collectivism, giving us a synthesis which is natural and rational.

Marxism is Collectivism in its brute form, with an iron regimentation bordering on slavery. As a theory of Social Atomism, it regards the Individual as the primary unit of the Social Whole. But very soon it absorbs him in the concept of class-war and finally drowns his identity in the whirlpool of Social Expediency where the loyalty to the Politbureau overrides all other loyalties, including that to the family-ties.

In Islam, the Individual is the spiritual unit of the Society, while the family forms the social unit. Thus the individual has been regarded as basically a free being with a permanent identity and his moral struggle has been conceived as directed to the enrichment of his own Personality as well as that of other individuals, contributing, in the final analysis, to the enrichment of the human Society as a whole. As regards the Family, it occupies, in the elaborate code of Islamic ethics, a privileged position above all challenge, and Marriage, which

forms the corner-stone in the superstructure of family life, has been declared to be a vital means, not only as regards the individual's social self-realisation but also in connection with his spiritual perfection. Thus, for instance, the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Allah bless him!) says:

التَّكَاخُ مِنْ سُنَّتِي (سنن ابن ماجه: رقم الحديث: 1836)

فَمَنْ رَغِبَ عَنِّي فَلَيْسَ مِنِّي (صحيح البخارى: رقم الحديث: 4675)

“Marriage is of my way, and whoever turns away from my ways is not from me, i.e., is not a Muslim!”

Also:

من تزوج فقد استكمل نصف الإيمان (المعجم الأوسط للطبراني: 7862)

“Marriage is half the Faith.”

The teachings of Islam concerning the individual and the Family are directly and logically related to the principles stated in connection with spiritual assets. Islam stresses the principle of Co-operation in contrast to the Marxist philosophy of Conflict, and genuine Co-operation cannot be possible except between free beings. Again, there can be no better training ground and no better nucleus for Co-operation than the family. Hence the assurance of the basic freedom of the

Individual and the sanctity of the institution of the Family in Islam.

SOCIAL SERVICE BASED ON RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

As already stressed, Islam is not merely a Religion but an elaborate Social Order, a self-contained culture and a full-fledged Civilisation. Consequently, the entire Islamic system of faith and practice ensures “Social Service based on Religious Concepts” by assimilating all the three basic concepts, namely, Man, Society, God into a harmonious Whole, in contradistinction to Marxism which confines itself purely to the problem of “Man and Society” , and also in sharp contrast to the general religious thought which confines itself to the problem of “Man and God” indeed, even the purely devotional practices in Islam, like prayers and fasting and the pilgrimage to Mecca, are social institution and serve social ends.

Besides this basic characteristics of Islam, there is also a specific Social Code in which social service has been raised to the dignity of the highest form of virtue, just as the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace be on him!) says:

الخلق عيال الله، فأحب الخلق إلى الله من أحسن إلى عياله **7194**

“The best of you is he who is best to God’s family,
i.e., mankind.”

Thus, while, besides the “Duties to God,” “Duties to self,” “Duties to the Creation in General,” we find a magnificent elaboration of “Duties to Others” (Individual as well as Collective) in the Islamic Moral Code, we also come across among the basic “Five Pillars” themselves an institution like the “Zakat,” enthroned there as the very essence of Islam.

Zakat is the obligatory “Social Betterment Tax” —obligatory to the extent that its denial turns a person out of the fold of Islam — and it gives to Islam the distinction of giving to the world a system of “Organised Well-doing” in contrast to the haphazard form of Charity found generally in the practice of religious people. Compressing 2½% on all hoarded and productive wealth, it is essentially a state-institution and is meant solely for the benefit of the poor and for the general weal, as the Holy Prophet Muhammad (may his memory be ever green!) says:

تُؤَخَذُ مِنْ أَغْنِيَاءِهِمْ وَتُرَدُّ فِي فُقَرَاءِهِمْ (مسند الامام احمد: 1967)

“(It is) taken from their well-to-do persons and given to their poor people.”

Unfortunately, during the present age of Muslim disorganisation (due to various causes which may not be recounted at the present occasion), the institution of Zakat has become a private affair and is being practiced by very few Muslims. But, during the glorious period of Muslim history, it existed with all the splendour of its revolutionary glory.

Indeed, as all students of Islamic history know, it succeeded even in the earliest stages of its establishment in transforming a veritable desert of poverty, destitution and suffering into a paradise of plenty for all. And it can be said without the least shadow of doubt that it can perform the same miracle even today if it is organised properly by the Muslim governments.

Zakat is not, however, the sole institution which Islam has given to us for the eradication of social evils. Rather, there is a whole set of laws which aim at the establishment of a healthy economic adjustment in society.

ISLAM'S ANSWER TO THE SOCIAL CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

And this brings us to “Islam’s answer to the Social Challenge of Communism.” Let it be said at the very outset that the challenge of Communism was born and has maintained itself up to this day solely because of the existences of the maladjustment of economic relations. The situation has been rife with unlimited exploitation and unbridled oppression of man by man, leading to wide-spread misery and helplessness and frustration, and finally giving birth to the fire of vengeance and revolt. The more fortunate among us have worshipped wealth, instead of worshipping God and serving the higher values, until the science of Economics itself has become virtually divorced from morals and other higher considerations. This is what indeed the majority of Economists of the modern world (excluding, of course, the

protagonists of Welfare Economics) themselves admit. For instance, according to Marshall: “Economics is neutral between ends: the ends may be noble or ignoble, an economist is not concerned with it.”

Islam’s answer to the challenge of communism may be conceived in a two-fold perspective. Firstly, Islam stands for linking up economic with the moral and spiritual values. It does not believe that economic maladjustment can be genuinely resolved without taming the brute in man, namely, without bringing about a general moral and spiritual reformation. It holds that economics must be guided by such moral principles which are grounded in the highest Spiritual Truths.

Secondly, Islam regards ‘Destitution’ as a positive vice, and this is what the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Allah bless him) says:

كأد الفقرا ن يكون كفرا (الكامل لابن عدى: ج: 7، ص: 237)

“Destitution is conducive to infidelity (i.e., the suppression of higher values”)

This being the case, Islam directs its entire spiritual and moral force into the economic sphere with a view to eradicate the economic miseries of man through the widest possible distribution of wealth. The Holy Qur’an lays down the principle:

﴿الْحَشْر: ٧﴾ كَيْ لَا يَكُونَ دُولَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنْكُمْ

“Wealth should not be permitted to circulate among the wealthy only.” (LIX: 7).

It is this principle, and the economic structure built upon it, which alone can be regarded capable of providing the answer to the challenge of communism on the social plan, —of course practiced in the light of Islam’s spiritual and moral outlook.

ISLAM, CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

The unfortunate conditions obtaining in the Muslim world today have misguided some to regard the Islamic economic system as a form of “Capitalism.” Nothing can be further from truth. Exactly speaking, Islam is a class by itself. But if it can be likened to any of the modern ideologies, that is socialism. A brief analysis of the economic teachings, of Islam in the light of this fact may, therefore, be given, in order to bring into broad relief the role which Islam can play in defeating the challenge of communism.

- (1) Islam is not “Capitalism” because, although it allows private property and gives the scope for personal initiative, it is definitely opposed to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Islam achieves that end by different means, the most important among which are :-

- (a) Islam stands for the state-ownership of such “means of production” as the mineral wealth, thus eliminating from its society the steel-barons and the oil-magnates.

- (b) Islam prohibits usury and interest in all forms. All students of economics know that the greatest impetus which Capitalism receives today is from the modern system of Banking which functions on the basis of interest. Islam does not permit the rate of interest to rise above zero and conceives the bank primarily as the medium of commercial transactions.

- (c) In the field of Agriculture, Islam does not favour feudal absentee Landlordism. Its ideal is the creation of a society of peasant-proprietors.

- (d) Among all the system of law, the Islamic law of inheritance is the most anti-capitalistic. It stands for the distribution of inherited wealth among the largest number of persons on the basis of the widest margin of relationship.

- (e) Islam condemns the hoarding of capital in very strong terms. It imposes a fairly heavy tax on all capital, above a certain minimum standard, for the benefit of the less fortunate.

- (2) The Islamic economic system is “socialistic” because:-
- (a) From the ultimate point of view, Islam regards the interest of the society above the interest of the individual.
 - (b) Islam makes it an obligation of the Islamic State to provide for the basic necessities of life, including such ‘modern necessities’ as health services and free education, for all of its citizens. With that end in view Islam levies a Social Insurance Tax on all persons possessing more than a certain minimum of wealth.
 - (c) Islam stands for free trade. It is averse to monopolies and favours the participation of the largest number of people in commerce, for which it advocates the creation of Mutual Alliance Societies-Islam’s substitute for Capitalistic Banking.
 - (d) In the field of Industry, Islam’s ideal is the creation of the “Co-operative Guilds of Workers” where all forms of exploitation as well as unrest and bad blood are eliminated.
 - (e) Islam, however, does allow private enterprise in industry even as it allows private trade. But than it

propounds a socialistic principle of wages. In that connection: (i) It gives freedom to the wages-earner to fix his wages at whatever reasonable level he desires. Simultaneously with this prerogative it safeguards the wages-earner against all possible harm which the 'Capitalist' might do to him by closing the doors of livelihood, and for that purpose it creates a fund for the maintenances by the state of all unemployed wage-earners; (ii) The standard of wages which Islam has ordered all the Muslim employers to adhere to is that in which the employee gets the "same to eat" which the employer eats and the "same to wear" which the employer wear. That means equalisation of economic status between the employer and the employee in the basic necessities of life.

- (f) Islam does not only demarcate clearly the legitimate (socially good) and the illegitimate (socially evil) means and methods of income but it also limits the legitimate items of expenditure in such a way that in a truly Islamic society it must become (and it did become in actual fact in the glorious period of Muslim history) impossible to find glaring inequalities in the basic manifestations of economic life. It is in the field of luxuries that most of the social heart-burning is to be found, and Islam sets healthy limits to them. For instance, household articles made of gold and silver have always formed an integral part of aristocratic life. Islam prohibits them definitely. Similarly, Islam

prohibits the use of certain types of aristocratic clothes by men. Islam has permitted the Muslim to spend only on such things which have some real utility for the development of human life and it lays down the comprehensive principle that all spare money which one has, after spending on the basic and healthy necessities of life, is a trust of God meant for the improvement of the social health.

- (g) As all students of Islam know, Islam establishes “spiritual democracy,” “social democracy” and “political democracy” of the most perfect type. The teachings of Islam relating to these three aspects of human life, combined with its economic teachings, if followed in letter and spirit, guarantee the establishment of a classless society where all social conflicts must remain in abeyance. Only one question pertaining to the present discussion now remains to be answered: How can Islam transmit its spiritual values to the younger generation?

PROBLEM OF THE TRANSMISSION OF ISLAM’S SPIRITUAL VALUES TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Practically speaking, there can be only two media for transmission besides the home, the pulpit and the press, namely: the State and the Educational Institutions. Therefore,

on the one hand, the entire system of popular education prevalent in the Muslim countries should be reformed and reconstituted in such a way as to make every education institution a vehicle for the transmission of, mainly, the theoretical aspect, and partially, the practical aspect of the Islamic philosophy of life; while, on the other hand, every Muslim State should reform itself and its constitution in such a manner as to become capable of fulfilling all the obligations which Islam places on it shoulders and of establishing the practical model of Islamic political, economic and social teachings. Unless these two media are reformed, the obstacles in the way of the transmission of Islamic values shall continue to remain so overwhelming as to render virtually futile all the influence that might be engendered from the home, the pulpit and the press. This is a truism which hardly needs any proof beyond the examination of the present sad state of affairs obtaining in the Muslim world, where the plant of Islamic values is drying up for want of organic nourishment from the educational and political side.

*I*slam

Verses

*C*ommunism

A lecture delivered in South Africa

Islam vs. Communism

There are two ways of looking at Islam versus Communism. One is the academic aspect, which is how far Islam agrees or disagrees with Communism, its tenets and its outlook. The second aspect is how far Muslims are in alliance with Communism.

As far as the academic problem is concerned regarding how far Islam and Communism agree with one another, I might say at the very outset that they cannot agree. As we very well know, the founder of Communism is Karl Marx and his book *Das Kapital* is the foundation of Communism. Although Communism claims to be a socio-economic ideology, Karl Marx began his philosophy of Dialectic Materialism and then applied it to the social phenomena. It is only in the latter part of his book that he comes to those problems, which are actually socio-economic. But Karl Marx had a history behind him. It is not Karl Marx who established materialism as a way of life but those thinkers who preceded him. Charles Darwin set the ball rolling. He presented his hypothesis of mechanical causation to dispel the notion of God. This hypothesis was given by him not out of objective consideration, but out of subjective demands which he felt were there at the time. He wanted to do away with the hypothesis of God and consequently, he brought forth the hypothesis of "mechanical causation" which he applied in the field of biology.

It took the form of the principle of transmutation. This theory was adopted later by Husserl and Spencer who applied his materialistic theory in the field of Sociology. John Stewart Mill applied it in the field of ethics and law - and Feuerbach applied it in the field of Metaphysics. Finally, Karl Marx came but I do think he was more honest and thorough than his predecessors.

They tried to sail in two boats, whereas he tried to sail in one. In that regard he was sincere. The conditions which prevailed in Europe at that time, such as social injustice and other evils demanded a reaction to remedy the situation. Karl Marx took the opportunity and thought it honest on his part not only to stand up against capitalism, but also against all those forces which he felt were supporting capitalism. I think that it was one of the main causes which made him anti-God and anti-religion.

The human mind does not always work very well in a vacuum. It is very difficult, if not impossible for human beings to ignore their emotions or environmental stimuli. However great a thinker a person might be, that person is affected by those developments. Karl Marx's philosophy started with dialectic materialism and he regarded philosophical materialism as the "Utopia" which should be established in every walk of human life and not merely as an academic pursuit. Thus, he took the idealism (the dialectical or logical argumentation method) of Hegel and turned it upside down. Marx's theory of dialectical materialism offers no room for God or any supra-rational

moral values. These are higher values for which Muslims, Christians and Jews stand for, thus there can never be any harmony between Communism and Islam.

Islam stands definitely and positively for the purest form of monotheism and builds its entire philosophy on the belief in one God. Islam is a thesis, communism is an anti-thesis. Islam has given the proper place to social justice as far as the social point of view is concerned. In Surah al-Maidah, chapter five of the Holy Qur'an, we are expected to be just - even if it conflicts with our own interest and the interests of our own family. We must even be just when dealing with our worst enemy. Unless human beings are treated with justice, there can be no proper godliness in Islam for godliness is justice. Islam distinguishes clearly between ritual piety and practical piety.

The Qur'an and hadith emphasise that love for God must correspond with love for fellow human beings. One cannot claim to love God and at the same time not do good to one's fellow human beings. Such a claim would be farcical and will not be accepted by God. Islam was conscious of the fact that if basic human needs are not fulfilled, then the higher values would be impossible to attain. Thus, the Holy Prophet (s) proclaimed:

كاد الفقر ان يكون كفرا (الكامل لابن عدى: ج: 7، ص: 237)

Poverty, want and deprivation of basic needs here on earth can lead to infidelity to God.

I think that communism is the best proof of this. Unlike the capitalist economy which encourages a concentration of wealth in a few, Islam is socialistic in its economic concept in the sense that it stands for the welfare and the good of the maximum number of human beings. Neither does Islam support the greed which supports this world order called capitalism.

Islam's egalitarian concept of a social order rests on the belief in God, and in an ethical basis of life. Materialism does not respect moral values, for if the world has not been created by God, then it would mean that the world has come into being by itself or by chance. It is only when we postulate God, then it is possible for us to believe that there is a plan and a purpose. If it has not been created by an intelligent Being and it came into existence by chance or without any law, then this world is a chance order and a blind order and is then purely material and has no God.

According to modern thinkers human beings don't have a mind and a soul. If the world is purely physical and human beings merely biological automatons or physical beings, what can be the ideal for them? We know very well that it is human nature to avoid pain and acquire pleasure. What type of pain and pleasure would a human being wish to acquire if he is only a biological automaton?

Naturally, that happiness which he would like to acquire would be sensuous pleasure. If that should be his ideal, then

the moral sympathy for fellow beings falls to the ground. If I am a millionaire and I meet a fellow human being who is starving, and I give him one dollar to buy food and save his life, this would be considered to be an immoral act on the basis of the materialistic theory. According to this theory I am depriving myself of the opportunity of acquiring or purchasing the maximum amount of sensuous pleasure for myself.

Mind you, it has to be purchased for myself because there is no moral bond of unity amongst human beings. If all human beings come into this world by chance, enjoy and suffer by chance and die out by chance, then naturally there will be absolutely no moral bond of unity. A moral bond of unity only comes under the fatherhood of God. If God has created all human beings and all human beings are one family, then alone there is a moral bond of unity - otherwise not.

Under the materialistic theory there is no scope for all those moral values for which humanity stands. Consequently, the social life and the individual's life is enshrined in two mottoes under materialism. The individual is told to "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." Naturally, if this world order is a blind process and my life is a blind process then there is no other way out for me but to enjoy myself as best I can in the immediate present and not care about the future.

On the social level the motto which emerges from materialism is: "Everyone unto himself and the devil takes the hindmost." Similarly, in Darwin's theory of mechanical causation the

maxim of 'survival of the fittest' is natural and, therefore, he was trying to do away with the idea of God. It is exactly the same. Darwin was, of course, speaking in terms of biology, but the same will have to be said in terms of morals, social organisation and social life.

Only those who are fit to live here in this world should be allowed to live, because the law of this world is a blind process. The only law that can be rationally adoptable in terms of these theories should be the law of the jungle. Why should we care for all the human values, like compassion, mercy, love, sincerity, genuineness, honesty and moral integrity? Logically there is no room for that.

From the point of view of expediency there may be room, but expediency is always on shifting ground and cannot be the rule of life. If expediency is made the rule of life, then there can be no healthy social order because there is no healthy communication on principles. My expediency may be different to that of X, Y or Z and should be different because every human being is a mutually exclusive human being - an individual who is not part of another human being. Therefore, this materialistic philosophy is the very opposite of what Islam teaches. The only common ground between Islam and materialism is that the welfare of the ordinary person should be the concern of every human community. However, the methods that Islam and materialism adopt are diametrically opposed to one another.

Communism believes in the dictatorship of the proletariat which is actually the dictatorship of a select few. People are treated as robots and placed under the worst form of slavery - the slavery of those who from above dictate, downwards such as the Kremlin to the Soviet parties and then all over the Soviet Union. There is also no room for private enterprise or personal initiative. Everything is spoon-fed and if the daily bread is guaranteed under these conditions, I doubt very much that it is any achievement. Somehow, daily bread is guaranteed everywhere - even in a poor country like mine.

Of course, much can be done if we are more honest. We have absolutely no need to turn to Marxism because this philosophy turns life upside down. Marxism takes away all our values, our highest yearnings and ideals. There are more ways other than the daily bread which is guaranteed via the dole.

Islam wants us to accomplish its ideals by keeping spiritual and moral values intact. During the reign of the second khalifah, 'Umar (ra), the social welfare department was perfected to the maximum degree. There were official records about every family in the empire - their needs, every birth and death. The state undertook to ensure that every human being who lived in the empire received his basic needs honourably.

Islam did that without inflicting that which Marxism has inflicted on the people. I find it very unfortunate that those who could have resisted its challenge - Christians, Jews and Muslims - who belong to one monotheistic family, behaved in

a very wrong manner towards one another. The house is divided. The Muslim world has not been allowed to stand on its own feet and has been the playground of politicians for international politics and a sort of chess game. None of our states are allowed to freely act as Muslims. There are strings on all sides around our necks. Consequently, when injustice is being perpetrated in the Muslim world - as it is being done in the Middle East where America and Britain play a leading role - the Arabs have had to accept an alliance with the Soviet Union. It is not that they want to be communists - not at all! Look at Pakistan. When Pakistan came into existence, the U.S.A. came forward and we signed a treaty of alliance, but at the same time, the U.S.A. was wooing India - our enemy. At the time when India attacked us, America refused to help; they were not even prepared to supply any spare parts for the jets which they sold to us. Naturally, bombers cannot function without spare parts. So they abandoned us. If our soldiers and Muslim nation had not been steadfast, we would have been the slaves of India today. This was done to us by the so-called leader of the free world.

At that time, China, a communist country, offered help and acted as a shield for Pakistan - an Islamic country. It is not that Pakistan has gone to China or Soviet Union for protection freely. The western powers were treacherous towards Pakistan who had no other way. The politics of the Superpowers is based on expediency and that expediency always turns against the Muslims. The natural reaction would be that they would

seek alliance elsewhere - for as you know, there are only two power blocks the communist block and the so-called democratic block. If the democratic block is underhand with us, we have got to survive and grab hold of any straw. So don't think that these Muslim countries which now appear to be in the orbit of the Marxist world are Marxist. No, they are not. The Muslim masses can never be Marxist. It may be that there are a few people who are at the helm of affairs or who have been de-Islamised or deculturalised or demoralised, but the heart of the Muslim world is sound. It depends on the power politics of the superpowers whether the east turns red or remains red and white or becomes anything else. The same is the case on the African continent. As far as I know, a great injustice has been done to the Muslims on this continent by the western colonial powers, and they might also turn towards Marxism. Do you know that Africa is a continent where Muslims are a majority? Sixty percent is Muslim, and if this sixty percent becomes absolutely frustrated and finds that those who should be their natural allies are stabbing them in the back all the time, millions of Muslims of Africa will turn towards Marxism. But that does not mean changing Islam for communism; it will only be a fight for survival.

I hope that from this seminary their will emerge spiritual forces that will remain together and that this spiritual front should not be broken, otherwise the future will be Marxism.

All praises belong to Allah, Lord of all the worlds.