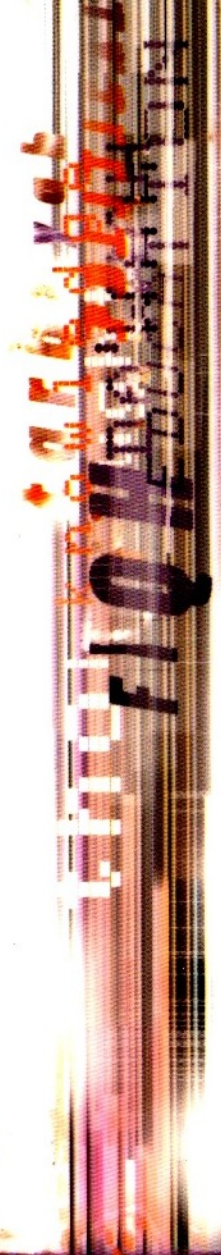


SHAYKH YUSUF AL-QARADAWI

PRIORITIES  
OF THE  
ISLAMIC  
MOVEMENT  
IN THE  
COMING PHASE



# **Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Coming Phase**

**SHAYKH YUSUF AL-QARADAWI**

**New English Edition Revised and Edited by  
S.M.Hasan Al-Banna**



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## EDITOR'S NOTE

The process of *tajdeed* (revival of Islam) in the modern era has seen many twists and turns. The Islamic Khilafah was destroyed in the early part of the last century. Individuals and groups have arisen to restore the supremacy of Islam in all walks of life so that 'the word of *batil* (falsehood) is the lowest and the word of Allah is the highest'.

Sadly, the twentieth century did not see the restoration of the Islamic Khilafah. However, there has undoubtedly been an Islamic Resurgence or an Islamic Awakening. Many, especially amongst the youth and the educated have awoken to the fact that Islam is a comprehensive way of life that will guide mankind to true happiness in this world and in the Hereafter.

The situation of the Muslim Ummah is such that it is facing many challenges - internal as well as external. The whole fabric of the Islamic civilisation and everything that it encompasses has eroded leading to many diseases and problems.

The ideological obstacle of understanding Islam as a complete code of life is a common phenomenon in many Muslim minds. To these people, Islam is completely compatible with Secularism. On the other hand, there are those who are extremely sincere in their *da'wah* work, but fall into extremism or negligence in their understanding and application of Islam. Some fail to understand that comprehensive problems require comprehensive solutions. Others have high hopes and lofty objectives but are not of the calibre of those who can realise these hopes and dreams.

Moreover, many of the Islamic Movements have come into existence to rectify the current situation and restore to the world that long-awaited society in which Allah alone can be worshipped in totality. However, it seems that such Movements initially begin to flourish and gain acceptance among the masses, but soon they reach a stage of stagnation, a period that we are currently experiencing, where all the diseases and problems afflicting the Muslim Ummah also afflict these Movements.

Thus the question arises as to where do we start from? What are we lacking? What should we do? How should we work? Have we clearly understood the nature of *da'wah*, *harakah* (movement), *tajdeed* and *islah* (reform)? What methodology should we adopt? How do we deal with the different stratas of society? What are the priorities of the Islamic Movement? It is with these questions in mind that the author - Shaykh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi had written this book.

Shaykh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi is one of those very few scholars living today who Allah has truly blessed with *fiqh* of the *Deen*. He is able to combine between the old, as represented by 'traditionalism', and the new, as represented by 'modernity', and provide a balanced, moderate judgement and opinion. His vast experience and wealth of knowledge has benefited many amongst the Ummah.

Shaykh Al-Qaradawi's concern for the Islamic Movement always means that he does not withhold any advice or direction he could give. This book is borne out of his vast experience in the field of *da'wah* and *harakah* and should not merely be taken as advice but as directions; as we are living in times where everybody has an advice but few are qualified to give directions.

This book, originally written in Arabic, is well into its tenth edition. A preliminary English translation of this book had appeared a few months after the publication of the Arabic version,

but it was incomplete and suffered from serious editorial problems. It was also felt that the translation required a revision so as to bring it closer, and lend to it the warmth and flow, of the Arabic original.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my respected teacher Shaykh Rached Ghannouchi for agreeing to write the foreword to this New English Edition. Dr. Kamal Helbawy also offered valuable advice and suggestions. I am grateful to him. Sister Yusra Ghannouchi helped in numerous ways (including translating the foreword). May Allah reward her for all her efforts. Wali, Umar, Nadeem, Bara, Thaherah and many other brothers and sisters helped make the publication of this book possible. May Allah reward them all.

Finally, I would like not only to thank my respected father Hafiz Maulana Abdul Quadir, who was my first Arabic teacher, but all my other teachers who taught me the language of the Qur'an. I have found that it is through the Arabic language that one really begins to appreciate the beauty of Islam.

May Allah keep us all steadfast on the path of guidance and on the path of restoring the Sovereignty of Allah and His Final Messenger on this earth.

**S.M.HASAN AL-BANNA**

April 2000

London, UK

## FOREWORD

The young brother and *da'iyyah* Hasan Al-Banna has done a great service by choosing the book 'Priorities of the Islamic Movement' for a revised translation into English, his mother tongue. The importance of an English version of this book lies in the following reasons:

### 1. The Need for a Contemporary *Fiqh* in the West

There is a great need of educated Muslim youth, especially in the West, for this kind of contemporary *fiqh* (understanding). Many of them have been taken in different directions and taken by the winds of extremism and waves of disputes (*fitan*) and the poisons of *takfeer* (charge of unbelief) and rigidity. They are harsh towards other Muslims and show enmity towards people of the countries in which they live, while they themselves are a weak minority and a young plant threatened with uprooting and one that has yet to establish its roots. They have after Allah's help, no support, especially as their mother countries have abandoned them, even drove some of them out and incited against them, the governments of Western countries which have given them refuge, protection, social welfare, opportunities for education, business, the construction of mosques, centres and schools.

Such people should be grateful to those who have welcomed them. As Allah says: ﴿Is there any reward for good, other than good?﴾<sup>1</sup> It is also stated in a *hadith*: "He who does not show gratitude to people does not show gratitude to Allah." Instead, they became influenced by literature that had emerged in Muslim countries in which Islam has been established for centuries. When deviations appeared, scholars

1. Surah Ar Rahman 55 : 60

and *du'aat* (pl. of *da'iyah*: caller to the truth) opposed them through harsh criticism and vilification in order to return to the pure origin and protect the fine details.

Those calls and literature were also imported from Muslim countries where the scholars and *du'aat* were subjected to the horrors of their experience in standing up to authoritarian, dictatorial regimes. This gave rise to an unbalanced Islamic thought based on isolation from society, *takfeer* and even war between rulers and society, and suspicion of any call to dialogue or freedom. The literature was imported from its original environment to the Western one without any consideration of the well-known principle of *fiqh* that 'the change of *fatwa* with the change of time, place and situation', and the current state of weakness of Muslims.

For what is the wisdom and objective behind enmity towards governments that allowed opportunities for the *da'wah* and the *du'aat* and gave them freedom and dignity while all of the world rejected them? And what is the justification of burdening this weak minority, threatened by the rise of racism, with occupying itself with huge Islamic objectives such as re-establishing the Islamic State, while the greatest Islamic capitals have failed to do that? What is the benefit in this minority becoming involved in the differences and disputes between different Muslim groups that have nothing to do with the religion of Islam, and were never a matter of consensus between the scholars of the Ummah such as *takfeer* of certain Muslim groups.

There is no explanation for all the above apart from ignorance of that which Shaykh Al-Qaradawi has outlined in detail and called for: '*fiqh* of priorities', '*fiqh* of balances' and the '*fiqh* of reality'.

## 2. Developing the Principles of the *Fiqh* of Activism

The subject of this book is a new one in Islamic thought, despite

the fact that the material that Shaykh Al-Qaradawi has collected are all found in the Qur'an, the Sunnah, the heritage of the *Khulafa ar-Rashideen* (the rightly guided Caliphs), the scholars of *fiqh* and the *murabbin* (spiritual reformers).

However, no one before Shaykh Al-Qaradawi has been successful in extracting them, ordering them and linking them with our reality, analysing many aspects of our current problems and preparing their solutions. This is done in a clear exposition, logical structure and enlightening analysis that is so deep yet so clear.

This book is part of Shaykh Al-Qaradawi's efforts, alongside his Shaykh Muhammad Al-Ghazali (may Allah have mercy on him), to evaluate and correct the contemporary Islamic Movement in order to reveal the exact roots of the diseases and treat them. He deals with such issues in many of his famous books such as 'The Phenomenon of Extremism in *Takfeer*', 'Islamic Awakening between Rejection and Extremism' and 'Where is the Wrong?'

However, this book outlines the treatment and the alternative Islamic vision and methodology, while previous books focused more on analysis, criticism and evaluation. It is a praiseworthy contribution in establishing and developing a new type of usool (fundamental principles), *usool* of the *fiqh* of activism in Islam, and the required *fiqh* of reality, *fiqh* of religion and a methodology of implementation.

Indeed, the lack of literature in this domain is the greatest problem for the current state of Islam, which has made much of the literature related to Islamic *da'wah* a kind of abstract logic that has no relation to the movement of time nor the nature of the place. That is what gave the past, history as well as previous generations absolute authority over our present, leaving almost no scope for the possibility of development, creativity and renewal. The repetition of ways of thinking, behaviour, of the same disputes in Islamic



circles in the West that are brought from different Islamic environments are but a result of the confusion between the equation of fixed and unchanging revelation and the varying and changing understandings of humans. This has engaged, and continues to engage, *du'aa*t in battles and preoccupations of no benefit. It is this misunderstanding and confusion that this book aims to treat through revealing that Islam and its heritage contain a rational realistic methodology in dealing with reality, to understand it and change it.

### 3. The Scholarship of the Author

It would not be an exaggeration to assert that the leadership in the field of contemporary Islamic thought and *da'wah* belongs to our great scholar - Shaykh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi. This is in view of:

(a) His middle-path methodology and his moderate and balanced approach. He adopts the middle-path between narrow *madh'habism* (following blindly one school of *fiqh* and shunning all others) and those calling for *non-madh'habism* without any limits; between those who adopt *tasawwuf* (sufism) even when it deviates and innovates, and the enemies of *tasawwuf* even when it is on the correct path; between those whose follow the authority of reason even when it contradicts revelation, and those who deny the role of reason even in understanding revelation.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it is a well-known fact that the middle-path schools of thought are the ones that were dominant in our Ummah while all forms of extremism were marginalised.

(b) The vast extent of his knowledge of Islam and its relation to all aspects of life. For he did not limit his intellectual contribution to one aspect such as *Aqeedah* (creed) or *Fiqh-al-Ibadaat* or *Fiqh-al-Mu'amalaat* or the *fiqh* of reality, but rather wrote in all these fields and others. The number of his books exceed one hundred in the

2. See page 135

*fiqh* of the Qur'an and the Sunnah and the *fiqh* of reality and the application of the former to the latter.

He did not deviate from the way of the greatest scholars in Islamic history, in placing great emphasis on the two sources - the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and referred all matters to them and rejected that which contradicts them. He is free from any *taqlid* (imitation), but without any extremism or rejection of the rich Islamic heritage. His discourse is pure, and his heart is full of Allah's love and fear of Him. He is a true *salafi sufi* scholar as was Ibn Al-Qayyim, a great writer and poet as was Al-Shafi'i and a well-versed scholar in the matters of his times as was Ibn Taymiyyah.

(c) His profound belief that Islam is not merely a creed but is also a structure, organisation, movement and struggle, led him to become involved, as a young man, in the oldest and largest contemporary Islamic Movement - *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon* (The Muslim Brotherhood). He faced the trials that the Movement faced (imprisonment) and bore them with patience and perseverance, until when by Allah's Grace, his detention was ended.

He has travelled to the East and the West carrying the mission of Islam to the world, even though his age has now exceeded 70 years, may Allah bless and protect him. All of that made him the closest of contemporary Muslim scholars to the Muslim masses, and to the youth movement and their conferences all over the world.

At the same time, he is a founder and one of the prime contributors to many contemporary *Fiqh* councils, universities and research institutes, and he heads many such as the European and the American Fatwa Councils. He is also known for his openness and his call to openness in contemporary Islamic thought, and his participation in forums, debates and institutes for Islamic-Secular, Muslim-Christian, Arab Nationalist-Islamic and Inter-*Madh'hab* dialogue.

It is thus indeed a praiseworthy effort or rather an honour for the young *da'iyah* Hasan Al-Banna to introduce Shaykh Al-Qaradawi to the English-speaking readers, especially as this language is the most widely used language as a means of communication between contemporary Islamic intellectuals all over the world.

May Allah reward our Shaykh and his student for this great contribution to Islam and Muslims in the West.

**SHAYKH RACHED GHANNOUCHI**

Leader of An Nahda (Renaissance) Party, Tunisia

April 2000

London, UK

## PREFACE

Praise be to Allah the All Mighty, with whose Grace all good actions come to fruition, and peace be upon His chosen Messenger, his family and Companions.

It was a fortunate occasion that brought me together with my honourable brother, the conscientious Muslim writer Muhammad Al Hashimi Al Hamedi, when we both attended the Annual Conference of the Arab Muslim Youth Association in North America last winter (December 1989). It was there that he told me about the 'Centre for Studies on the Islamic Future', which was established by a group of Muslim thinkers, and urged me to cooperate with it and support it.

He also spoke to me about the Centre's intention to organise a symposium on issues affecting the future of Islam and mentioned to me the topics to be discussed and the names of the participants. When he asked for my opinion, I welcomed both the Centre and the symposium and did not withhold any advice that I could offer. However, he insisted to take from me a promise of active participation and to make his offer more attractive, he said: "We will be holding the symposium in a country that you love and that loves you - Algeria." He asked me to devote my paper for the symposium to the topic 'Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Next Three Decades', as he saw my interest in what I term as '*Fiqhul Awlawiyyat*' (the *fiqh* of priorities). I have concentrated on this branch of *fiqh*, talking much about it, as it is part of my interest and foremost concern in guiding the course of the Islamic Movement and the Islamic Awakening. It is such a significant concern that I pray to Allah that He helps me give it its due attention. It was for this reason that I could do nothing but accept the invitation of my respected brother. The topic, the person

inviting me, the participants and the venue were all factors that made acceptance attractive, even compulsory.

I asked Allah's help and set myself on writing the required paper, despite the frequent trips that I had to make at that time, which often interrupted my thinking and research.

The fruit borne by my research is the following pages. I hope they contain a ray of light, dim it may be, which will guide us in the right direction. If it does not, it will suffice that we have raised this issue for research and discussion, as it will at least serve as a reminder.<sup>1</sup> What I have written here is an extension and a continuation of what I have written before on the Islamic Movement in particular and the Islamic Awakening in general.<sup>2</sup>

The difference between a movement (*harakah*) and an awakening (*sahwah*) is that a movement represents an organised group or groups with specific objectives and aims with clear methodologies; whereas an awakening is a general flow encompassing individuals and groups, organised and otherwise. As logicians would say, there exists between the two, an absolute generality and an absolute particularity. Every movement is an awakening but not every awakening is a movement. Hence, an awakening is more wide and extensive in its scope than a movement.

An awakening is a stream that reinforces a movement, while a movement is a guide that directs an awakening in the right direction. Each affects the other and both interact with each other.

An important point that I wish to point out at this stage is that

1. I have added to my original paper several new chapters and revised it into its present form.
2. These writings include the following books: 'The Inevitability of the Islamic Solution', 'The Islamic Solution: A Duty and a Necessity', 'The Phenomenon of Extremism in *Takfeer*', 'Where is the Wrong?', 'Islamic Education and the School of Hasan Al Banna', 'Islamic Awakening between Rejection and Extremism', etc.

wherever I mention the Islamic Movement, I use the term in its general and all-embracing sense and do not refer to any particular organisation or movement. However, in most of the examples I will be citing *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon* (The Muslim Brotherhood) because that is the movement in which I grew up and the movement in which I experienced its hardships as well as its good times and I am fully acquainted with the phases that it has passed through for over almost half a century.

I have entitled my paper 'Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Coming Phase' and did not confine my paper to the 'three decades' as requested, since I do not approve of such strict limitation in this rapidly changing age.

YUSUF AL-QARADAWI

Doha, Qatar

Ramadan 1410 AH/April 1990



# 1

## Introduction to the Islamic Movement





## INTRODUCTION

### Definition of the Islamic Movement

By 'Islamic Movement' I mean the organised and collective work that is undertaken by the people, to restore Islam to the leadership of society and to the helm of life.

Before anything else, the Islamic Movement is work - persistent and industrious work, not just words to be said, speeches and lectures to be delivered, or books and articles to be written. All of these are indeed required but they are merely parts of a movement, and not the movement itself. Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿And say (O Muhammad) Work! Allah will see your deeds, and (so will) His Messenger and the believers﴾<sup>1</sup>

### The Islamic Movement is Activity by the Masses Performed for the Sake of Allah

The Islamic Movement is a work performed by the masses based mainly on self motivation and personal conviction. It is work performed out of faith and for nothing other than the sake of Allah, with the hope of being rewarded by Him and not by people. The core of this self motivation is the unrest and tension that a Muslim feels inside himself when he becomes conscious of the Islamic Awakening. He feels a turmoil deep inside him resulting from the contradiction between his faith on the one hand and the reality of the state of his Ummah on the other.

Upon this realisation he launches himself into action, driven by his love for his *Deen*, his faith in Allah and His Messenger, his faith in the Qur'an and the Muslim Ummah, his realisation of his own weaknesses as well as those around him, and his keenness in fulfilling his duties and contributing to the revival of the neglected *fara'idh* which include obligations such as implementing the

*Shari'ah* of Allah, unifying the Muslim Ummah, supporting the friends of Allah and fighting the enemies of Allah, liberating Muslim lands from all aggression and non-Muslim control, re-establishing the khilafah, renewing the obligation of *da'wah*, enjoining the *ma'ruf* (good) and forbidding the *munkar* (evil) and fulfilling the obligation of *jihad*, whether by action, word or by the heart (the latter being the weakest level of *iman*). He strives for all this so that the Word of Allah is the Supreme Authority in all spheres of life.

### **Inadequacy of Official Work**

It is by such work performed solely for Allah's sake that the Islamic Movement is established. As for the official or semi-official government work such as establishing boards and higher councils or associations or unions for Islamic affairs to be supervised by the Ministries of *Awqaf* (endowments, used in a wider meaning to refer to Islamic affairs) or any other government bodies, they have the potential to serve the cause of Islam. This potential depends on the intention and enthusiasm of those in charge of these government bodies and on how much loyalty they place in their *Deen* before placing their loyalty in this worldly life that encompasses them and those who appoint them to such positions.

However, official or semi-official work of this type is always inadequate and deficient in many ways:

1. The work revolves around the orbit of the domestic policy of the State that establishes and finances these religious bodies. These bodies cannot work according to their own desires and plans but must adhere to the policies of the respective state. Hence they do not represent Islam or even the Muslim Ummah; rather they represent the State itself.
2. In most cases, those appointed to supervise such bodies are not men proven by their work, nor are they those who have

struggled and excelled in their respective fields, but they are appointed by the financing State which appoints people with whom it is pleased. Such people therefore, seek to please the State out of their ambition or out of fear. Such people cannot contradict or choose to disobey the State's orders, or ask 'why?' or say 'no'. I am speaking of the overwhelming majority here, as there may exist among the 'official' workers those who do better than some 'popular' workers because of their loyalty to Allah and their zeal for their *Deen* and their endeavour in establishing the *Deen*.

3. It often lacks the true intent to defend Islam, and may even be aimed at a purely political gain. In most cases, this sort of work is similar to the 'Mosque of Mischief' mentioned in the Qur'an. Its apparent objective is covered with *ibadah* (worship) and *taqwa* (piety) yet its hidden agenda is to divide the believers and hinder the efforts of faithful workers of the Islamic Movement.
4. It is for all these reasons that they are accused by the masses and the people and are deprived of their sympathy and support. Even those official *ulama* (scholars) who put themselves at the service of the State's policy and politics are deprived of the support of the masses. They speak only when the State wants them to speak and remain silent when the State requires silence; hence they lose the trust of the masses, who call them the 'scholars of the authorities' or 'the agents of the police'.

Due to all these reasons, the official or semi-official Islamic work, in the absence of the Islamic Rule, is unable to establish a true Islamic Movement. However, given its capabilities, it can render some academic and practical services and provide financial and moral support to the Islamic work and its institutions, especially if such official or semi-official work is headed by sincere and courageous leaders.

## The Movement is Organised Collective Work

Besides being work undertaken solely for Allah's sake, the Islamic Movement is an organised and collective work. It is not sufficient that sincere volunteering individuals work separately in scattered areas, though their effort and work will be rewarded on the Day of Judgement by Allah, for Allah does not disregard the efforts of man or woman. Every individual will be rewarded for his actions according to his intention and perfection of his work: ﴿So whosoever does good equal to the weight of an atom, shall see it﴾<sup>2</sup>

In the contemporary circumstances of the Muslim Ummah, individual work will not be enough for bridging the gap and realising the aspired hope. Collective work is a must, as it is ordained by Islam and necessitated by reality.

Islam calls for *jama'ah* (organised and collective work) and opposes isolation and straying as Allah's Hand is with the *jama'ah* and he who strays shall stray into Hell. It is only the stray and isolated sheep that the wolf attacks. A prayer is not valid if the worshipper performs it separately from the congregation or stands ahead of the line. A believer to another believer is like one firm building, one strengthening and supporting the other. Cooperation in righteousness and piety is one of the obligations of the *Deen*, and the mutual teaching of truth and patience is one of the preconditions of saving oneself from loss in this world and the Hereafter.

The sheer state of affairs makes it inexorable for a hopefully fruitful work to be done collectively. It takes two hands to clap, and one is weak by himself, strong by his fellows. Great achievements are only made through concerted efforts, and decisive battles are won only through the unity of hands, as the Qur'an says: ﴿Verily Allah loves those who fight in His Cause in rows (ranks) as if they were a solid structure﴾<sup>3</sup>

Collective work should be organised and based on a responsible leadership, a solid foundation and clear perceptions that define the relationship between the leadership and the grassroots according to fundamentals of obligatory *shura* (consultation) and compulsory obedience.

Islam recognises no collective work that does not have a system. Even a small scale collective prayer is based on organisation, for Allah does not look at the row which is not straightened, and the rows are to be closed. No gap should be left in a row for it will be filled by *shaytan*. Each person stands shoulder to shoulder and foot to foot. There is unity of movement and appearance as much as there is unity of doctrine and direction: *“Do not differ so that your hearts may not differ.”*

The Imam is required to oversee the alignment of the row behind him until it is straightened and without any gaps, before starting the prayer, and he advises the worshippers to *‘be responsive to the (guiding) hands of your brothers’*. The prayer in congregation requires a measure of flexibility for harmony of the rank as a whole.

Then comes the obedience to the Imam: *“The Imam is appointed to be followed, if he says ‘Allahu Akbar’ then say ‘Allahu Akbar’, if he bows, bow, if he prostrates, prostrate. If he recites, listen to him.”*

Nobody is allowed to break the line or precede the Imam in bowing or prostrating so that he does not upset the harmony and create an irregularity in such an organised and coordinated structure. He who does that should fear that Allah will transform him (metaphorically) into a man with a donkey’s head.

However, should the Imam make a mistake, it is the right, even a duty, of those behind him to rectify his mistake, whether it is the result of impropriety or forgetfulness, whether it involves word or deed, or happens in recital (of the Qur’an) or in other fundamental

parts of prayer. Even women in the back rows in prayer are allowed to clap their hands if the Imam makes a mistake, so as to attract his attention to the mistake.

Congregational prayer is a miniturisation of the overall Islamic congregational system and of what the inter-relation between the commander and the troops should be like: there is neither infallible leadership nor absolute and blind obedience.

### **The Mission of the Movement is the Revival of Islam**

What is the mission of the Islamic Movement? The Islamic Movement has come into existence to revive Islam (*tajdeed ul Islam*) and reinstate it at the helm of life once again, after removing the obstacles from its path. The term 'revival of Islam' is not an expression of mine; it was used by the Prophet (peace be upon him) in a *sahih hadith* narrated by Abu Hurayrah: "*Allah shall send at the start of every hundred years, someone who will revive this Deen.*"<sup>4</sup>

Most of those who interpreted this *hadith* tended to take the word 'someone who' to mean a specific individual who will revive the *Deen*. They have actually tried to name such individuals who revive the *Deen* from amongst the prominent *fuqaha* (theologians) and Imams whose death fell near the end of century of the *hijrah* calendar, such as Umar Ibn Abdul Aziz (died 101 A.H.) and Imam Al Shafi'i (died 204 A.H.) and so on. However, they differed much on the issue of who the reviver of the third century was.

Whereas some of the commentators of *hadith* considered the word 'someone who' as appropriate to imply the plural just like it would be proper to imply the singular, indicating that the 'reviver' could well be a group and not an individual. This is what Ibn Al Athir thought most likely in his book '*Al Jami' lil Usool*'. Al Hafidh Al Dhahabi and others also supported this view.

I have another issue to add to this. It is not necessary that the

reviver of Islam be a group in the sense of a number of people including so and so, but may be a group in the sense of a school, a movement of thought and action that works to revive the *Deen*.

This is what I take to be the most likely interpretation in understanding and applying this *hadith* to the century that has just ended and the century that has just started. We pray to Allah to make our present days in this new century better than our past days, and to grant us still better days in our future.

### **Methodology of the Revival**

The revival to be achieved by the Islamic Movement should take three directions:

Firstly, the formulation of an Islamic vanguard which is capable, through integration and cooperation, of leading the contemporary society by Islam without isolation or leniency, and curing the diseases of the Muslims with medicines that have been prescribed by Islam alone. This vanguard must comprise of individuals whose ranks are glued by deep-rooted faith, sound learning and understanding and close ties.

Secondly, the formulation of a Muslim public opinion representing the broad popular base which stands behind Islam's protagonists, loving and supporting them after having rid itself of the effects of the mud-throwing campaigns against Islam and Islam's protagonists and movements.

Thirdly, the preparation of an international public climate that will accept the existence of the Islamic Nation. This will only happen when it understands the true aspects of the Islamic Message and the Islamic Civilisation, and becomes free of the evil effects left by the fanaticism of the Medieval Ages and the lies and distortions concocted by anti-Islamic campaigns. Such public opinion would



tolerate the emergence of an Islamic power beside other global powers, realising that Muslims have a right to rule themselves according to their own creed since they are the majority in their own countries, as called for by the democratic principles that are so often praised and advocated. They further have the right to promote their universal humanitarian message as it is one of the great ideologies of the world - an ideology that has a past, a present and a future and lays claim to over one thousand million adherents in this world in which we now live.

# PRIORITIES OF THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

## Diversification of the Fields of Work

The fields of work awaiting the Islamic Movement in the coming phase are wide and expansive. The activist leaders and intellectual theorists of the Movement should make a careful scientific study of these fields. Such a study must be based on documented and confirmed statistics and data.

## Educational Work

This field of work is important for forming human 'cadres' and Islamic vanguards and bringing up the aspired generation of victory, whose members will understand and believe in Islam as knowledge, action, *da'wah* and struggle. Members of this generation will first carry the call of Islam to their nation and then to the rest of the world. They will be able to do that only after they commit themselves to Islam and have a clear idea in their minds, a deep-rooted *aqeedah* (belief) in their hearts, a character that governs all aspects of their life. They will worship Allah and deal with other people according to the *Shari'ah*, and understand that Islam has a methodology and a civilisation that will improve the state of affairs of the Ummah and unite it on the Word of Allah and lead confused humanity to what is best and most proper.

## Political Work

This kind of work would be aimed at taking the rule from the hands of weaklings and traitors and placing it in the hands of the powerful and honest, who seek neither to be high and mighty on the land nor to corrupt it, and who if Allah establishes them on this earth, establish prayer and give alms, enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong.

## **Social Work**

This work would be aimed at remedying poverty, ignorance, disease and standing up to those suspected institutions that make social and philanthropic work a tool for changing the identity of the Muslim Ummah and weakening its ties with its creed.

## **Economic Work**

This sort of work would contribute to the development of the community to free it from subordination and lift off its burden of usury based loans, as a prelude to building Islamic economic institutions.

## **Work of Jihad**

This would be aimed at liberating Muslim lands, fighting the forces that oppose the Islamic *da'wah* and the Muslim Ummah, and preserving the freedom of the Muslim will and the independence of the Muslim decision making.

## **Media and Propaganda Work**

Work of this nature would be aimed at spreading Islamic ideas and explaining the teachings of Islam in such a way that would restore them to their middle-course nature and comprehensiveness and eliminate all the ambiguities and lies that may mar their clarity. It should use all the types of media available, from publications to audio and visual aids.

## **Intellectual and Scientific Work**

This would be aimed at correcting the perception of Islam in the minds of Muslims and non Muslims alike, and setting right those wrong concepts and deficient *fatawa* (legal verdicts) which have spread among some groups of the Islamists themselves, so as to lay down a mature inspired understanding of the Islamic Movement. Such understanding will be based on a legal foundation derived

from the texts and goals of the *Shari'ah*, and must be especially established amongst the educated and cultured elite Muslims who did not have the opportunity to learn about Islam in the proper manner.

### **Distribution of Forces among the Fields of Work**

I believe that all these fields are necessary and that none of them should be neglected or put off. What must be done is to distribute forces and capabilities among the different fields of work according to what each of them requires on the one hand and what forces and capabilities we have on the other.

The Holy Qur'an forbade that all of the Muslims at the Prophet's time should go to the field of *jihad* (and what a holy field it was!) as this would lead to neglecting another field that was no less sacred and important than the field of *jihad*, and might even have been more important at some times because it paved the way for the *jihad* and reminded Muslims of it and warned them against neglecting it, namely it is the field of learning the *Deen*.

Allah the All Mighty says in Surah At Taubah, the very Surah that denounces those who held back from *jihad* and promises a severe a punishment for those who dragged their feet on the way to the battlefield: ﴿And it is not (proper) for the believers to go out to fight (*jihad*) all together. Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may learn and understand the *Deen*, and that they may warn their people when they return, in order that they be aware (of evil)﴾<sup>5</sup>

This is a strong call for specialisation and for distribution of forces among the required fields.

### **What Should be Emphasised and Given Priority**

The Islamic Movement should address several matters that have a

particular significance in the next phase in the light of *Fiqhul Awlawiyyat* (*fiqh* of priorities). These matters are as follows :

1. Focussing on certain concepts that have to be clarified, generalised and deepened in the intellectual field. This is what we term as the 'new *fiqh*'.
2. Focussing on certain social brackets to which the Movement should spread and which the Awakening should include in the field of *da'wah*.
3. Focussing on a certain qualitative standard *tarbiyah* in preparing the leadership of the future, particularly where the nurturing of faith and thought are concerned.
4. Focussing on the development of ideas and practices with regard to national and international political relations, so as to break the Movement's domestic isolation and external blockade and ensure its universality and flexibility in the political field.

We will deal separately with each of these four fields of work.

## NOTES - CHAPTER 1

- 1 At Taubah 9:105
- 2 Al Zalalah 99: 7
- 3 Al Saff 61: 4
- 4 Narrated by Abu Daud and Al Hakim.
- 5 At Taubah 9: 122



# 2

## **The Islamic Movement in the Field of Thought and Knowledge**





## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN THE FIELD OF THOUGHT AND KNOWLEDGE

The first and foremost field, in my opinion, is the intellectual field, for it is the basis for the enhancement of the *da'wah* and *tarbiyah*. It appears to me that our primary dilemma is an intellectual one. There is a clear deficiency in the understanding of Islam among many people, and an obvious lack of knowledge of the teachings of Islam in relation to the level of importance, i.e. very important, important and not important at all.

There is a lack of knowledge of the present time in which we live and of the reality that surrounds us. There is an ignorance of others, in which we fall prey to either over estimation or under estimation, while others know everything about us and have discovered us up to the very marrow.

There is even an ignorance of ourselves. Up to this day, we have not put our finger on our point of strength or weakness, often making a mountain out of a molehill or seeing a blizzard as a sheer storm in a teacup. It is the same, whether we are looking at our capabilities or at our shortcomings. This ignorance is not only restricted to the general Muslim masses but it also includes the vanguard of the Islamic Movement which represents the ground work on which the aspired Islamic work will be built.

### Our Need for a New *Fiqh*

We are in need of a new *fiqh* so that we may deserve to belong to those described by Allah as 'people who understand'. By '*fiqh*' here, I do not mean *fiqh* as it is used in the Islamic terminology, i.e. the science of jurisprudence that determines the particular terms and conditions of ablution, impurity, worship, transactions, marriage,

divorce, nursing, etc. Important as it may be, this is not what we mean here. Neither do we mean the sense in which the word *fiqh* is used in the Qur'an and *Hadith*, since it is among those words and concepts that change overtime, as Imam Al Ghazali explains in the chapter on knowledge in his well known encyclopedia '*Ihya Uloom Ad Deen*'.

The Qur'an mentions the root word of *fiqh* 'FQH' (to understand) in its Makkan Surahs, before the detailed rules of what is allowed and what is forbidden under the *Shari'ah* were revealed, and also before the *fara'idh*, *hudud* (punishments) and judgments were ordained.

Read what Allah the All Mighty says in Surah Al An'am, which is a Makkan Surah: ﴿Say: "He has power to send torment on you from above or from under your feet, or to cover you with confusion in factional strife, and make you taste the violence of one another." See how we explain the signs so that they may understand﴾<sup>1</sup>

Also read in the same Surah: ﴿It is He Who has created you from a single person (Adam), and has given you a place of residing (on the earth or in your mother's wombs) and a place of storage. Indeed, We have explained in detail Our revelations (this Qur'an) for people who understand﴾<sup>2</sup>

The word '*fiqh*' in these two verses means: an in-depth understanding of the unchanging *sunan* (practices) of Allah in souls, minds and horizons, and in his creation and punishments for those who deviate from the path ordained by Him.

Read in Surah Al A'raf, which is a Makkan Surah, the saying of Allah the All Mighty in relation to those people He has ordained Hell. He describes them saying: ﴿They have hearts wherewith they understand not﴾ And then says about them: ﴿They are like cattle,

may even more astray! They are the heedless ones﴾<sup>3</sup>

Also read in many other Surahs that attitude of the the polytheists towards the Qur'an. Allah the All Mighty describes it by saying: ﴿We have set veils on their hearts, so they understand it not, and deafness in their ears﴾<sup>4</sup>

As for the Surahs revealed in Madinah, the word *fiqh*' is used in several places to mean the lack of *fiqh* (understanding) of the polytheists and the hypocrites. Allah the All Mighty in Surah Al Anfal, addresses His Messenger and the believers saying: ﴿If there are twenty steadfast persons amongst you, they will overcome two hundred, and if there be a hundred steadfast persons they will overcome a thousand of those who disbelieve, because they (the disbelievers) are people who do not understand﴾<sup>5</sup>

The lack of their understanding is due to their incomprehension of the *sunan* of Allah in victory and defeat and how He gives days (of varying fortune) to all people by turn.

In Surah Al Taubah, Allah dispraises the hypocrites by saying: ﴿They are content to be with those (the women) who sit behind (at home). Their hearts are sealed up, so they do not understand﴾<sup>6</sup>

The understanding here means the understanding of the necessity of *jihad* and protecting the *Deen*, life, honour, property and the community as a whole, and that all this takes precedence over any individual interests regardless of how urgent and important they may be.

In the same Surah Allah the All Mighty describes such people (who lack this understanding) by saying: ﴿And whenever there comes down a Surah, they look at one another (saying) : "Does anyone see you?" Then they turn away. Allah has turned their hearts because

they are a people that understand not﴾<sup>7</sup>

These people whose minds have been blurred, had forgotten that Allah sees them before humans see them, as they have really lost their *fiqh* and understanding.

In Surah Al Hashr, Allah addressing the believers, speaks about the hypocrites: ﴿Verily, you are more awful as a fear in their hearts than Allah. That is because they are a people who do not understand﴾<sup>8</sup>

In Surah Al Munafiqun, Allah says: ﴿That is because they believed, then disbelieved, therefore their hearts are sealed, so they understand not﴾<sup>9</sup>

In the same Surah, Allah says: ﴿They are the ones who say : “Spend not on those who are with Allah’s Messenger, until they desert him.” And to Allah belong the treasures of the heavens and the earth, but the hypocrites do not understand﴾<sup>10</sup>

The hypocrites seem to have the lion’s share of the Qur’anic description of ‘people who do not understand’. It is because the hypocrites imagine they are intelligent, that they have managed to sit on the fence and live with double faces trying to deceive Allah and those who believe. Thus if they meet the believers, they say: “We believe”, but when they are with their evil companions, they say: “We are with you.”

But Allah the All Mighty uncovered their secret, exposed their hesitation and disclosed their deception in many verses: ﴿They (think to) deceive Allah and those who believe, while they only deceive themselves and do not realise it﴾<sup>11</sup>

Basically, the hypocrites have been exposed before Allah and people, have lost this life and the Hereafter and they will certainly be thrown into the lowest depth of hell fire - what stupidity could

be more abysmal? There is no doubt that anyone meeting such descriptions, have not even a grain of understanding.

## Conclusion

In the Qur'an, the word *fiqh*' does not have the terminological meaning it has today, i.e. jurisprudence, but refers to understanding (and learning) the signs of Allah and His *sunan* in the universe, life and society.

Even the '*fiqh of the Deen*' as mentioned in Surah At Taubah: ﴿Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may learn and understand the *Deen*, and that they may warn their people when they return, in order that they be aware (of evil)﴾<sup>12</sup> does not refer to the traditional meaning of the word, as such reference (to jurisprudence) would not result in a warning that would make the recipient wary, and is far as it can be from performing this function, namely the function of *da'wah*.

There is a similarity between the usage of the word *fiqh*' in this verse, and its usage in the *hadith*: "*If Allah wants good for a person, He gives him fiqh of the Deen.*"<sup>13</sup> It means that Allah will enlighten his vision so that he may delve deep into the truths, secrets and goals of the *Deen*, rather than contenting himself with mere words and their obvious apparent meanings.

## The Types of *Fiqh* We Need

I have dealt in many previous occasions with the types of *fiqh* we need or at least some of the types. Certain parts of my argument are mentioned in my book 'Islamic Awakening between Rejection and Extremism'; it deals with the *fiqh* of practices and the *fiqh* of levels of actions.

Another part of the argument is included in my book entitled

‘Islamic Awakening between Permitted Differences and Blameworthy Disunity’; it deals with one of the main types of *fiqh* we need - the *fiqh* of *ikhtilaf* (differences of opinion). I mentioned in this book that there are five types of *fiqh* that we need; I will focus here on only two of these *fiqh*:<sup>14</sup>

1. The *fiqh* of Balances (*Fiqhul Muwazanat*)
2. The *fiqh* of Priorities (*Fiqhul Awlawiyyat*)

An explanation of each of these types of *fiqh* is required.

## THE FIQH OF BALANCES

By '*Fiqhul Muwazanat*' (*Fiqh* of Balances) we mean several things:

1. Balancing interests against each other in terms of size and capacity, value and effect, as well as endurance, so as to determine which should be given precedence and which should be discarded.
2. Balancing evils against each other in the same way of balancing interests, so as to determine which could be accepted and which has to be avoided.
3. Balancing interests against evils if they contradict, so as to determine when to give the avoidance of evil precedence over the gaining of interests.

### The Need for Two Levels of *Fiqh*

In this respect, the two levels of *fiqh* we require are as follows:

#### The Need for the *Fiqh* of *Shari'ah*

The first of these levels is the *fiqh* of the *Shari'ah* (*Fiqhul Shar'iah*) which is based on a profound understanding of the letter and spirit of the *Shari'ah*, so as to establish the soundness and validity of the aforementioned 'principle of balances' and determine its evidence, which should be clear to those who endeavour to understand the judgements and texts of the *Shari'ah* and delve deep into its secrets.

The *Shari'ah* was not sent down except for realising benefits for humans in this life and in the Hereafter, according to its well known levels of interests: *Ad Dharuriyyah* (the indispensable), *Al Hajjiyyah* (the needful) and *At Tahsiniyyah* (the dignifying).



## The Need for the *Fiqh* of Reality

The second level is a rather realistic *fiqh* (*Fiqhul Waqi*) based on the precise study of the contemporary reality; covering all its aspects and dependant on the most accurate information. However, we have to warn here against misleading and unrealistic figures based on propaganda materials, inadequate information and questionnaires aimed at serving a partial and specific objective, and not at serving truth as a whole.

## Integration of the Two Types of *Fiqh* in Examining Interests and Evils

Both the '*fiqh* of the *Shari'ah*' and '*fiqh* of Reality' should be integrated so that we may reach the proper academic balanced process that is free from both extremism and rejection. As regards the '*Fiqhul Shari'ah*', it is an established principle. The books of *Usool Al Fiqh*, ranging from '*Al Mustasfa*' (Imam Ghazali) to '*Al Muwafaqat*' (Imam Al Shatibi) and other books on principles, similarities and differences, discuss this principle.

When interests (*masalih*) conflict, an interest of a lower status is sacrificed for the sake of a higher interest, and an interest of a private nature is sacrificed for the sake of a common interest; and the owner of the private interest is to be compensated for his loss. Also in cases of conflicting interests, a temporary interest is forsaken in favour of a long term or permanent interest; a superficial interest is disregarded for the sake of a real interest, and a definite interest is given precedence over a doubtful interest.

In the Treaty of Al-Hudaibiya, we saw the Prophet (peace be upon him) give precedence to realistic, fundamental and future interests over some considerations that others would never have relinquished. He agreed to such conditions that at first glance seemed unfair or humiliating to Muslims; he agreed to the removal and editing of the phrase : 'In the Name of Allah, Most Merciful,

Most Compassionate', to 'In Your Name O God'. He also agreed to the omitting of his title as the 'Messenger of Allah' in the contract of the treaty, and writing his name only as 'Muhammad Ibn Abdullah'. The examples are many.

If evils conflict, and some of them are indispensable, then one should choose the lesser of the two evils and the smaller of the two harms. Muslim jurists have prescribed that harm should be eliminated as much as possible. A harm should not be eliminated with a harm of the same nature or with a greater harm. A minor harm should be tolerated if such tolerance would make it possible to avoid a major harm; and a specific harm should be tolerated if it alleviates a general harm.

Many examples of this are mentioned in books of '*Al Qawaidul Fiqhiyyah*' (Rules of *fiqh*), or '*Al Ashbah wan Nadha'ir*' (Similarities and Analogies).

If interests and evils conflict, they should be examined carefully in terms of their size, effect and duration. A slight evil should be forgiven for the sake of realising a major interest. A temporary evil should be forgiven for the sake of realising a long term or permanent interest. Even a great evil should be accepted if its elimination would lead to a greater evil. In normal conditions, the avoidance of evil should come before the realizing of interest.

It is not enough that we should accept this *fiqh* in theory, but rather we have to apply it in practice. Many of the differences among the active Islamic groups are related to these 'balances':

Is alliance with non-Muslim forces acceptable?

Is reconciliation or forming treaties with governments that do not adhere to Islam acceptable?

Is it allowed to participate in a ruling regime that is not purely Islamic and operates under a constitution that has loopholes or does not have our full approval?

Should we join an opposition front that comprises of several political parties for bringing down an infidel, tyrant and oppressive regime?

Should we establish Islamic economic institutions in an environment dominated by a usury-based and man-made economic system?

Should we allow Muslims to work for usury-based banks and establishments, or should we keep all such religious elements that adhere to the teachings of Islam away from such establishments?

### Difficulty of Practice in Real Life

It is easy to lay down a principle, but difficult to put it to practice. The *fiqh* of balances is not easy to grasp by the layman and by others who can raise a huge cry for the slightest cause.

Allama Maududi and his *Jama'ah* met much resistance and adversity, when he, in the light of the *fiqh* of balances, was of the opinion that electing 'Fatima Jinnah' was less harmful than electing 'Ayyub Khan'. They became the target of a ferocious campaign, which 'threw' at them the *hadith*: "A people who appoint a woman to lead them, will never succeed." So how about a people who appoint as their leader a tyrant; would they succeed or do any better? Never! Here the *fiqh* of balances, examines the two evils to choose the lesser one and avoid the greater of them.

Dr. Hasan Al Turabi and his brothers in Sudan were attacked by some Islamists because they had decided to join the Socialist Union and had accepted some government appointments under Ja'far

Numaire's regime, even before he announced the application of the Islamic *Shari'ah* in Sudan.

Our brothers in Syria faced the same (i.e. opposition) when they decided to enter into an alliance with some non-Islamic forces to resist the regime that was seeking to annihilate them. The Messenger of Allah himself had entered into an alliance with the tribe of Khuza'ah, who were polytheists, and at times he also sought the support of one polytheist group against the another.

I am not taking sides here, but I am only advocating a principle: the principle of the *fiqh* of balances, upon which the structure of *As Siyasat Al Shar'iyyah* (Politics of the *Shari'ah*) should be built. In positions taken by the Prophet and his Companions, and in the evidences of our comprehensive *Shari'ah*, there is much evidence supporting this argument - that it is permissible to participate in a non-Islamic rule or enter into a alliance with non-Muslim forces.

### **Proof of the *Fiqh* of Balances from the Holy Qur'an**

If we carefully examine the Holy Qur'an, with its Makkan and Madinan revelations we will find many proofs for the validity of the *fiqh* of balances and how to weigh things against one another. We find an example of balancing interests in Harun's reply to his brother Musa (may Allah have peace on both of them): ﴿O Son of my mother! Sieze (me) not by my beard, nor by my head! Verily, I feared lest you should say: 'You have caused a division among the children of Israel, and you have not respected my word'﴾<sup>15</sup>

A balancing of the evils is found in the explanation given by Al Khidr when he made a hole in the ship: ﴿As for the ship, it belonged to the poor people working in the sea. So I wished to make a defective damage in it, as there was a king after them who siezed every ship by force﴾<sup>16</sup>

The ship to be kept by its owners, despite the damage, is less damaging than losing it all. Saving something is certainly better than losing everything.

A more clear evidence for the principle of the *fiqh* of balances is to be found in the saying of Allah: ﴿They ask you concerning fighting in the Sacred Months. Say: ‘Fighting therein is a great (transgression) with Allah, but a greater (transgression) is to prevent mankind from following the Way of Allah, to disbelieve in Him, to prevent access to Masjid Al Haram, and to drive out its inhabitants, and *fitnah* is worse than killing’﴾<sup>17</sup>

Fighting in the prohibited months constitutes a grave offense, but may be undertaken for resisting something graver.

For a comparison between abstract and material interests, we read of the reprimanding of the Muslims just after the Battle of Badr: ﴿It is not fitting for a Prophet that he should have prisoners of war (and free them with ransom) until he had made a great slaughter (among his enemies) in the land. You desire the good of this world, but Allah desires for you the Hereafter. And Allah is All Mighty and All Wise﴾<sup>18</sup>

For an example of balancing an interest with an evil, we read the saying of Allah: ﴿They ask you concerning alcoholic drink and gambling. Say: “In them is a great sin, and (some) benefit for men, but the sin of them is greater than their benefit”﴾<sup>19</sup>

For a comparison of non-Muslim groups and forces with one another, we read in the beginning of Surah Ar Rum, of the prediction of a Roman victory over the Persians (the Surah mentions that on this day the Muslims will rejoice). Both parties are non-Muslims, yet the Romans are closer to the Muslims than the fire-worshipping Persians, because they are of the *Ahlul Kitab* (People of the Book).

## The Opinion of Shaykh Al Islam Ibn Taymiyyah

Shaykh Al Islam Ibn Taymiyyah gave a very strong opinion on the permissibility of assuming some public offices in an unjust state, if the occupant of such office would seek to alleviate some of the injustice or reduce the level of evil and corruption (see Appendix no.1).

He also wrote a comprehensive chapter on the conflict of good things or bad things, or their combination if they came together and could not be separated but were to be taken as a whole or left as a whole (see Appendix no. 2).

A Muslim symposium devoted to Islamic Economics and comprising of a number of Muslim jurists and economists<sup>20</sup> gave the verdict that it was legal, from the viewpoint of the *Shari'ah*, to subscribe to the shares put up for public sale by companies and enterprises which are established in Muslim countries to operate in authorised fields but may have a tinge of suspicion of *riba* (usury) in their transactions. The symposium, examining the issue in the light of the *fiqh* of balances, saw that such vital and effective concerns should not be left to non-Muslims or non practising Muslims, as such action would entail a grave danger, particularly in certain countries. Shareholders can donate a proportionate part of their profit as *sadaqah* for the part of the profit which may be *riba* related.

According to this *fiqh*, conscientious practising Muslim youth were given the religious opinion that they should not leave their jobs in banks and insurance companies and their likes, although their presence in such institutions would entail some sin; because their stay would make them gain experience with which they should intend to serve the Islamic economy. They should be rejecting the evil, even if only in their hearts, and should join efforts with those who seek to change the whole order into an Islamic Order.

## In the Absence of the the *Fiqh* of Balances

If we do not apply the *fiqh* of balances, we will be closing many doors of good and blessing in our own faces, making the philosophy of rejection a way of dealing with everything, and taking self-isolation as a pretext for avoiding problems and shirking a confrontation with the adversary on his home ground. It would be so easy for us to say 'no' or '*haram*', in everything that requires thought or *ijtihad*.

But if we apply the *fiqh* of balances, we will find a way to compare one situation to another and weigh profits against losses in the short and long terms and at individual and collective levels, and then choose what we judge as leading to the realisation of interest and the avoidance of evil in the best way possible.

More than ten years ago, I was invited to write for the 'Doha Magazine' which is published in Qatar. It was a general publication of literary and cultural pursuits and most of its editorial staff were Secularists. Its predominant line was not against Islam, nor was it pro-Islam or in defence of Islam. I hesitated for a long time, but thinking of the proposal in light of the *fiqh* of balances, I judged that to write for the magazine would be better and more useful than my boycotting it, because its readers represented a broad base of the cultured masses, most of whom do not usually read Islamic magazines. They are not the readers of the 'Al Ummah Magazine' or any other magazines of the same type; so we have to make our word reach them whenever we have the opportunity, in order to fulfill the obligation of *da'wah*.

This is what makes us agree to be interviewed by reporters of newspapers and magazines whose line may not gain our approval. Some of our brothers still blame those who write in the daily newspapers which do not follow an explicit Islamic line. Some even blamed me for serialising my book Islamic Awakening between

Permitted Differences and Blameworthy Disunity' in the Saudi *'Al Sharq Al Awsat'* newspaper because that newspaper had adopted certain attitudes they did not approve of, but I had realised the benefit of publishing the book in such a widely read newspaper.

There are even those who believe in boycotting mass media in all their forms - the printed, the audio and the visual, based on their deviated thoughts and practices. They forget that leaving the mass media will only make it worse and more corrupt and will give the Secularists and the dirty minded a chance to infiltrate deeper into the mass media and sabotage it; while it will deny us opportunities of which we do not find equivalents.

If we examine this issue in the light of the *fiqh* of balances, we will find that entering these important and vital fields is not only legal but *mustahab* (recommended), even *wajib* (imperative) as well, because it represents a means for discharging the duty of *da'wah* and fighting evil as best as we can. And that without which a *wajib* cannot be fulfilled becomes a *wajib* in itself.



## THE FIQH OF PRIORITIES

By '*Fiqhul Awlawiyyat*' (*Fiqh* of Priorities), we mean putting everything in its true perspective; no prominent issue should be postponed, and no minor issue should be given prominence; no big matter should be underestimated and no small matter should be exaggerated. This is what the laws of nature and the rules of *Shari'ah* dictate. I mean that, Allah's creation and commands: ﴿Verily, His is the creation and the command﴾<sup>21</sup> make it binding to observe this *tarteeb* (order).

### *Fiqh* of Priorities in the Prophet's *Seerah*

During the Makkan phase of the *da'wah*, the Prophet's mission was confined to calling the people to the Cause of Allah and bringing up the faithful generation that would carry the *da'wah* to the Arabs, and then take it to the four corners of the world. At that time, the Prophet focused on establishing the *aqeedah* (belief), cultivating *tawhid* eliminating *shirk* and idol-worship and nurturing values and virtues.

The Holy Qur'an supported this trend during that phase, so it did not distract Muslims with particulars or secondary provisions, but urged them to concentrate their efforts on building the Islamic personality which Surah Al Asr talks about: ﴿Those who believe and do righteous deeds and (join together) in the mutual teaching of the Truth and Patience﴾<sup>22</sup>

During the Makkan phase of the *da'wah*, the Prophet did not allow Muslims to take their axes and destroy the idols they saw around the *ka'bah* everyday, or brandish their swords to defend themselves or fight their enemies and the enemies of Allah, who were torturing them. But, at times when they would come to him beaten and injured, he only told them what the Qur'an says: ﴿Hold back your

hands and establish Salah)»<sup>23</sup>

There is a proper time for everything. If something is sought before its time, it will most likely be harmful and not useful.

### **The Inter-relationship between the *Fiqh* of Priorities and the *Fiqh* of Balances**

The *fiqh* of priorities is related to the *fiqh* of balances, and in certain domains, the two of them overlap or run parallel to each other, as counter balancing may lead to a certain priority, and thus fall under the *fiqh* of priorities.

### **The Necessity of Observing Proportions in the *Takaleef* of the *Shari'ah***

The *fiqh* of priorities includes the observance of proportions among actions and *takaleef* (commandments) of the *Shari'ah*. Upsetting the proportions set by Islam in the *takaleef* of the *Shari'ah* would badly damage both the *Deen* and life.

In Islam, *aqeedah* comes before *amal* (action) as belief is the foundation and action is the building. No building can stand without a foundation. After belief comes actions, which are extremely diverse. The Prophet said in a *sahih hadith*: “Belief is divided into seventy seven levels; the highest is ‘There is no God but Allah’ and the lowest is removing harm from the road.”

The Qur’an tells us that deeds are divided into higher and lower categories and levels in the sight of Allah and do not fall into one category or level. Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿Do you consider the providing of drinking water to the pilgrims and the maintenance of *Al Masjid Al Haram* as equal to the worth of those who believe in Allah and the Last Day, and strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allah? They are not equal before Allah. And Allah guides not those people who are the oppressors. Those who believed and emigrated

and strove hard and fought in Allah's Cause with their wealth and their lives are far higher in degree with Allah. They are the successful ones<sup>24</sup>

This is why Shaykh Al Islam Ibn Taymiyyah said that the acts of *jihad* were better than the acts of *hajj*. The Hanbali jurists and other *fuqaha* even classify *jihad* as the best physical activity. There exist many *ahadeeth* that mention the virtues of *jihad*, including what Abu Hurayrah narrated when he said: *"One of the Prophet's Companions passed a ravine where a sweet water spring ran. He liked the ravine and said: 'How I would like to isolate myself from other people to worship Allah! I will not do so before asking the permission of the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him).' The man told the Prophet of his wish, and the Prophet said: "Do not do it. Your striving for the Cause of Allah is better than praying in your house for seventy years."*<sup>25</sup>

The *hadith* narrated by Salman (traceable to the Prophet) tells us of the merits of the *ribat* (guarding Muslims from infidels): *"A ribat for one day and one night is better than fasting and observing qiyamul layl for a month, and one dies while in a state of ribat, his good deeds will still be accounted for (as if he were alive) and (if he lives) he will be safe from the tempter (the devil)."*<sup>26</sup>

This is what made an Imam like Abdullah Ibn Al Mubarak, who was in a *ribat* during a *jihad*, write to his friend Al Fudhayl Ibn Iyad, a *zahid* (ascetic) and an *abid* (worshipper) who was always travelling between the two holy shrines of Makkah and Madinah saying:

O Worshipper of the two shrines, if you could see us,  
 You will learn that your worship is mere play.  
 Some may wet their cheeks with their tears,  
 But we wet our chests with our own blood...<sup>27</sup>

According to *fiqh* (in the sense of jurisprudence) a *naflah* (optional practice of worship in contrast to a *faridhah*, which entails compulsion) should not be given precedence over a *faridhah*; a *fard ayn* (individual obligation) has the precedence over *fard kifayah* (collective obligation); the *fard kifayah* undertaken by an inadequate number of people or by nobody at all has priority over a *fard kifayah* that is fulfilled by an adequate number of people. A *fard ayn* that is related to the *Jama'ah* and the Ummah has priority over a *fard ayn* that is related to rights of individuals. A time constrained duty whose time has come (for its fulfilment) has precedence over a duty which is not constrained by time.

*Fiqh* also prescribes that the interests stated by the *Shari'ah*<sup>28</sup> vary in importance. Hence, *Al Masalih Ad Dharuriyyah* (the indispensable interests) have priority over *Al Masalih Al Hajiyyah* (the necessary interests) and *Al Masalih At Tahsiniyyah* (the dignifying interests). *Al Masalih Al Hajiyyah* is given precedence to *Al Masalih At Tahsiniyyah*. Also, in a conflict of the interests of the Ummah and the interests of individuals, the former should be given precedence. It is here that we find the *fiqh* of balance merge with the *fiqh* of priorities.

### Neglect of the *Fiqh* of Priorities Among Many Muslims

The problem with many groups of the Islamic Awakening, is that they do not have an understanding of the *fiqh* of priorities, hence they delve in the *furū'* (branches i.e. secondary issues) before the *usool* (roots i.e. fundamental issues). They try to examine the *juz'iyat* (particulars) before grasping the *kulliyat* (generalities), and hold to the controversial before familiarising themselves with that which is agreed upon by all. It is a pity that we ask about the blood of ant, and do not care about the shedding of the blood of Al Husayn; or fight for a *naflah*, while the people have neglected the *far'idh*; or quarrel over a form, regardless of the content.

This is the situation today for Muslims in general. I see millions

going to *umrah* every year in Ramadan and other months, and others making *hajj* for the tenth or even the twentieth time. If they saved the money they spent on these *nawafil*, they would accumulate thousands of millions of dollars. We have been running around for many years trying to collect one thousand million dollars for an Islamic Philanthropic Institution, but have not collected a tenth, even one twentieth or one thirtieth of that amount. If you ask those performers of supererogatory *umrah* and *hajj* to give you what they would spend on their voluntary journeys so that you may direct it to resisting Christianisation or Communism in Asia and Africa, or to combating famine here or there, they will not give you anything. This is an old disease that no heart doctor has ever been able to cure.<sup>29</sup>

The *fiqh* of priorities requires that we know which issue is more worthy of attention, so that we may give it more effort and time than other issues. The *fiqh* of priorities also requires us to know which enemy is more deserving of directing our forces and concentrating our attack against, and which battle is more worthy of waging, for in the sight of Islam, people are divided into several kinds: there are the Muslims, the unbelievers and the hypocrites.

Unbelievers have in their ranks the pacifists and the militant. They also include those who only did not believe and also those who disbelieved and blocked the path to Allah. Hypocrites include those of the lesser hypocrisy and those of the greater hypocrisy. With whom do we start then? Which area is more worthy of work? Which issue is more deserving of attention?

The *fiqh* of priorities requires that we know the time constrained duty so that we may deal with it properly and not delay it and thus waste a chance that may not present itself again until after a long time, or may even never return. A poet admonishes us about the value of time by saying:

*Avail the chance, for a chance,  
If unavailed, becomes a grief*

An Arabic adage also says: 'Do not put off today's work till tomorrow.'

It was once said to Umar Ibn Abdul Aziz: "Postpone today's work to tomorrow." He replied: "A day's work has already made me tired, so how will I feel if I have two days worth of work to do tomorrow?"

There is also a wise saying of Ibn Ata: "There are certain duties with plenty of time given for their accomplishment and there are other duties, that if out of time, are irredeemable; for with every new time there is a new duty and a new task demanded by Allah!"

### **Imam Al Ghazali and the *Fiqh* of Priorities**

In his book '*Al Ihya*' Imam Al Ghazali criticises some deluded people who were content with worship and did not pay attention to the ranks of deeds. He said: "Another group is keen on the *nawafil* but not as keen on the *fara'idh*. We see some of them very pleased with the *salat ad duha* (optional afternoon prayer) and *tahajjud* (optional night time prayer) and other *nawafil*, but they find no pleasure in the *fara'idh*, nor are they as keen on performing the *fara'idh* prayers early in their time. They forgot what the Prophet narrated in a *hadith qudsi*: '*Nothing that my slaves shall do to bring themselves closer to me shall be better than doing what I have ordered them to perform (the fara'idh).*'<sup>30</sup> Neglecting the order of priority in good deeds falls under evil conduct. An individual may even find himself obliged to do one of two compulsory things, or forced to do two things with a very limited time for one and ample time for the other; if he does not preserve their order, then he is deceived.

Similar instances are countless, for obedience and disobedience (of

the commandments of Allah) are both obvious. What is really ambiguous is giving priority to some forms of obedience over others, such as giving precedence to the *fara'idh* over the *nawafil*; giving precedence to *fard ayn* over *fard kifayah*, giving precedence to the *fard kifayah* which requires people to fulfill it over the *fard kifayah* that is already being fulfilled by others; giving precedence to the more important *fard ayn* to those which are less important; giving precedence to what cannot be postponed over what can be postponed; and giving priority to the needs of the mother over those of the father.

The Prophet was once asked: *"Who is more entitled to be treated with the best companionship by me?"* He replied: *"Your mother."* And the man asked again: *"And who is next?"* And the Prophet said: *"Your mother."* And the man asked again: *"And who next?"* The Prophet said: *"Your Mother."* And the man asked for the fourth time: *"And who is next?"* And the Prophet said: *"Your father."* And the man further asked: *"And who is next?"* And the Prophet replied: *"The closest and then the closer of your relatives."* A person should devote his companionship by the closeness of relationship. If two of his relatives are of the same degree of relation, then he should help the one who needs help more, and if they need help equally then he should help the more pious of them.

Similarly, if someone cannot meet the costs of spending on his parents and going to *hajj* at the same time, he should not go to *hajj* because if he does, he would be acting in ignorance, for he should give the rights of his parents precedence over *hajj*. In this case, he will be giving precedence to a religious duty over another religious duty that is of a lower rank.

Moreover, if someone has an appointment and the time for *Jumu'ah* enters, then he has to go to the prayer. If he goes to his appointment, he will be committing an act of disobedience even though the fulfilment of the appointment is in itself an act of

obedience. Someone may also find some *najasah* (impurity) on his garment and speak roughly to his parents on that account. While *najasah* is unacceptable, hurting the parents is also unacceptable, and caring to avoid hurting the parents is more important than caring to avoid *najasah*.

The examples of the combination of the prohibited deeds and of the compulsory duties are countless. He who neglects the order of priorities in any of them is certainly deluded.”<sup>31</sup>

### **Imam Ibn Al Qayyim’s Judgement on Preferred *Ibadah***

Ibn Al Qayyim examined various opinions on which *ibadah* (acts of worship) are better; are the best actions the ones that are the hardest to perform, or are the best actions those that are more beneficial?

He judged that there is no such thing as an absolutely preferred *ibadah*, but for every time there is an *ibadah* which is preferred the most.<sup>32</sup> In times of famine, providing food is the best action that brings a Muslim closer to Allah. When the *kuffar* invade a Muslim country, *jihad* is the best of actions, followed by providing the *mujahideen* with arms and money. When scholars die and there is nobody to succeed them, seeking knowledge of the *Deen* is the greatest act for which a Muslim may seek reward from Allah; receiving both the praise of Allah and the believers. This is how actions should be balanced against one another.



## NOTES - CHAPTER 2

- 1 Al An'am 6: 65
- 2 Al An'am 6: 98
- 3 Al A'raf 7: 179
- 4 Al An'am 6: 25 Al Isra 17: 46 Al Kahf 18: 57
- 5 Al Anfal 8: 65
- 6 At Taubah 9: 87
- 7 At Taubah 9: 127
- 8 Al Hashr 59: 13
- 9 Al Munafiqun 63: 3
- 10 Al Munafiqun 63: 7
- 11 Al Baqarah 2: 9
- 12 At Taubah 9: 122
- 13 Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim
- 14 There are two other important types of *fiqh*, namely - the *fiqh* of the *sunan* in the universe and the *fiqh* of the goals of the *Shari'ah*. The first type of *fiqh* is an understanding of the creation of Allah; and the second is the understanding of what Allah orders: ﴿Verily His is the creation and the commandment﴾ (Al A'raf 7: 54)
- 15 Ta Ha 20: 94
- 16 Al Kahf 18: 79
- 17 Al Baqarah 2: 217
- 18 Al Anfal 8: 67
- 19 Al Baqarah 2: 219
- 20 The 6th 'Al Barakah Symposium' held in Algeria from 2nd-5th of March 1990, in which I had the honour of participating along with a number of *fugaha*, among them were: Shaykh Abdul Hamid Al Sa'ih, Shaykh Mukhtar Al Salami, Dr. Abdul Sattar Abu Ghuddah, Dr. Sayyid Darsh and Dr. Talal Bafaqih.
- 21 Al A'raf 7: 54
- 22 Al Asr 103:3
- 23 An Nisa 4: 77
- 24 At Taubah 9: 19-20
- 25 Narrated by At Tirmidhi and Al Hakim
- 26 Narrated by Muslim
- 27 This story is narrated by Ibn Katheer in his *tafseer* of the very last verse of Surah Al Imran. Many other historians also narrate the same story.
- 28 See Shaykh Qaradawi's book 'Introduction to the Study of the Shari'ah' for more details of this classification. [Editor﴿
- 29 See the story of Bashar Al Hafy with one such person in '*Al Ihya*', volume 3 p.409
- 30 Narrated by Bukhari
- 31 *Al Ihya* vol. 3 p.400-404. Also see my book 'Imam Al Ghazali: Between his Praises and his Critics' p.87-93
- 32 *Madarij As Salikeen* vol.1 p.85-90. Also see my book 'Ibadah in Islam' p.87

# 3

## **The Islamic Movement in the Field of Da'wah and Education of the Masses**



## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN THE FIELD OF DA'WAH: A HORIZONTAL EXPANSION

The Islamic Movement should work hard for extending its activity to all the groups and classes of the community, and for spreading horizontally by nurturing the public Islamic Awakening. In this way, no place in the social life of the community will be empty of the Movement's presence and activity. The Movement's message will be everywhere, and its soldiers and workers will be there, with many times their number in followers, supporters and advocates.

This can only be achieved through working in the field of information and mass media in such an organised and well planned manner that makes use of the latest innovations and technologies of information and mass media. Such work should draw on the Western and Eastern capabilities and tools as much as it can and whenever they are found, so long as they would lead to the achievement of the aspired aims for 'the word of wisdom is the lost property of the believer, wherever he finds it, it is he who is most worthy of it.'

The Movement should use the help of specialised experts who know how to address the public as a whole and each group separately. They should be well versed in the sciences of psychology, sociology, politics and mass communication and know how to utilise these sciences for the best interests of the Movement and Islam.

The Movement should even start planning, as of today, for preparing *du'aat* (callers to the Truth) and specialists in the field of media who believe in the nobility, comprehensiveness, universality and balanced nature of the Islamic *da'wah* and who can speak the language of our age and deal with the contemporary environment

on equal footing. They should also have the capability to convey the message to the people in the language of today and by using the logic of knowledge.

In the following pages, we will discuss the most important social brackets to which the Islamic Awakening and the Islamic Movement should spread - from the educated to the workers, to the businessmen and others.

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND THE CULTURED ELITE

The cultured elite is the first group that the Islamic Movement should spread into and affect significantly, so as to set right its conception of Islam and Islam's creed, laws, culture and history, and enlighten its members about the Islamic Movement and its objectives and achievements.

### The Misunderstanding of Islam by Many of the Cultured

Despite the spread of the Islamic Awakening among many of the cultured youth, many are still ignorant about Islam, or the Islamic knowledge they have is incomplete, distorted or vague as a result of the after-effects of the ages of backwardness or the impact of the new distorting influences of the ideological invasion.

Some of them, though university educated, still believe in superstitions and follow fables thus allowing polytheism to interfere with their faith, innovation to mingle with their *ibadah* and haphazardness to control their characters, while they think at heart that they are truly religious. Some of the cultured still make *tawaf* around the shrines of saints as if these shrines were the *ka'bah*. They seek the help of the dead, wear amulets, believe in evocation of spirits, swear by names other than Allah, promise offerings to dead people, not to Allah and slaughter for others and not for Allah.

Although the number of such people is few as a result of the sweeping materialistic wave and the western ideological invasion, they still exist because of the influence of the deviated *tasawwuf* (sufism), which can still wield some power in most Muslim countries, and are supported, both overtly and covertly, by the official authorities for reasons that an intelligent person cannot miss.

Those cultured individuals should know the fundamentals of the proper *aqeedah* and learn the ways of *ibadah* as approved and accepted by Allah. Many of the educated are still ignorant of the elements of immortality and the aspects of power and greatness in Islam. They hardly know anything about the characteristics or principles of Islam. They take their knowledge of Islam from Orientalists and Missionaries, or from the current state of affairs of Muslims, thinking that the situation of people around them is Islam, and therefore attribute people's backwardness, corruption and ignorance to Islam, while Islam is innocent of all of that.

The cultured ought to know where to learn Islam and what sources will provide them with the proper Islamic teachings. They should realise that Muslims are to be judged by Islam, but Islam can not be judged by Muslims, i.e. Islam is an evidence against (disobedient) Muslims but Muslims are not an evidence against Islam.

Many of the educated still think they can be true practising Muslims while they agree to be ruled by a law other than the Islamic *Shari'ah* and accept to live in a country whose affiliations and ruling regimes are non-Islamic.

It is the duty of such people to realise that Islam is *Aqeedah* and *Shari'ah*, and that Allah has not sent down the Qur'an to be recited over the dead, but to rule the living: ﴿Surely, We have sent down to you the Book (the Qur'an) in truth that you may judge between men by that which Allah has shown you﴾<sup>1</sup> They should realise that he who does not judge by what Allah has revealed falls under the descriptions of unbelief, injustice or wickedness, or all of them put together.

Some of the cultured still imagine that Islam is a form of Christianity, as Christianity agrees to the division of man and the splitting of life between God and Caesar: 'Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and to God that which is God's.' Hence, they

confine Islam to the relationship between man and Allah, a relationship whose only place is man's conscience. If that relationship goes beyond the conscience, then the only place it will go to is the mosque, but nowhere else. As for life and its order, its culture and its trends, its education and its curricula, its economics and its application, and its law and its punishments, what has Islam got to do with such things?

What is worse is that some of them claim to be Muslims, may even boast of being Muslims, and performs the *salah* and go to *umrah* or *hajj* and at the same time advocate nationalist secular thoughts, preferring nationalist ties to Islamist ties and adopting a purely Western line of thinking, without carefully selecting or even testing what they follow.

They adopt Darwin's theory of evolution, Freud's theory of psychoanalysis, Marx's materialistic interpretation of history and Durkheim's theory of how religions evolved; but they do not see any part in all that for Islam. One of them even said once: 'I am a Muslim Marxist!' I do not know how the two could be present in one person! From where does he get his inspiration from - the Qur'an or from the 'Capital' or the 'Communist Manifesto?' And whenever a dispute arises, who is his example and judge - Muhammad or Marx? Would it be acceptable from any person to say: 'I am a Muslim Buddhist' or 'I am a Muslim Christian?' If not, then how can one say: 'I am a Muslim Marxist?' Is it because Marxism is not a religion, but fights all religions and considers religion as the 'opium of the masses?' If so, then this should make it more imperative to reject Marxism. For if Islam does not agree to combine with another religion, even a scriptural one, then how would it agree to combine with a doctrine that rejects all religions?

However, Marxism, although denying all religions, has the nature of a religion that demands absolute devotion from its followers and would not have itself combined with any other religion or belief by



any follower.

Marxism is a dominating totalitarianist philosophy that, by its very nature, does not leave room for Islam or any other religion, except under conditions of leniency and necessity, even then it takes the place of the tail, not the head, and acts as the follower, not as the leader.

Some of the educated still believe that the political weakness, military defeats, cultural backwardness and modest scientific and technological capabilities of the Muslims are caused by Islam. They further believe that the victories and progress of the West are due to its freedom from the stranglehold of religion and to its adoption of Secularism which separates the State from religion.

They should be taught the real facts of religion from their original sources - the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah, just as the best generations of our Ummah (the Prophet's Companions and followers) learned them. Then they will find that the facts of Islam, if learnt properly and followed conscientiously, would bear only the best fruit. There is nothing in the facts of Islam except that which frees the mind, purifies the soul, strengthens the will, strengthens the body, builds families on the most formidable foundations, leads society to progress on the basis of science, faith, mutual dependence and ethics, establishes governments based on *adalah* (justice) *shura* (consultation), ruling by what Allah has revealed and guiding mankind to what is most proper.

They should also be taught that the one who studies the history of Islam and examines its ups and downs, victories and defeats, flourishes and setbacks, strengths and weaknesses, will find that victory is attained only when Muslims adhere to Islam and its values and teachings, under the leadership of a *khaleefah*, a commander, a scholar or a movement, as it happened in the era of the Rightly Guided *Khulafa* before the dissent was unleashed on

them, and during the reigns of Umar Ibn Abdul Aziz, Abu Jafar Al Mansur, Harun Al Rasheed, Nuruddin Mahmud Al Shaheed, Salahuddin Al Ayyubi and others. But defeats, setbacks and periods of weakness and decline come only when Muslims stray away from the truth of Islam, and the further they stray, the graver their calamity.

Some of the cultured are still ignorant of things that are taken for granted in Islam. We have seen writers dealing with the crucifixion of Prophet Isa as an established fact, while Islam categorically refuses all allegations that Prophet Isa was crucified. Some others speak of how Eve had lured Adam into eating from the Forbidden Tree and had thus brought about his expulsion from the Garden, and consequently the misery and suffering of mankind on this earth. This idea is derived from the Taurah and the Books of the Old Testament, but they have no grounds in Islam, for it was Adam who ate. Adam was the one who bore the prime responsibility and his wife only followed suit in eating: ﴿And indeed We made a covenant with Adam before, but he forgot, and We found on his part no firm will power﴾<sup>2</sup> ﴿Thus did Adam disobey his Lord, so he went astray. Then his Lord chose him, and turned to him with forgiveness, and gave him guidance﴾<sup>3</sup>

Many of the educated still view culture from a Western perspective. To them, dancing comes at the forefront of the elements of culture, and people who do not dance are people who are not cultured. Tell them that we have dancing with swords and clubs, and without them; we have *al irdah* or *at tahteeb* and the *dabkah* (a Lebanese folk dance), and other forms of folk dancing which people perform on joyous occasions such as weddings and feasts. Tell them that and you will be a target of their mockery because you do not grasp the one and only meaning of dancing; that a woman dances with a strange man, and a man dances with a strange woman, their bodies touching and their hearts moving to the music. But do not ever allow your mind to think of evil, because they are not humans like

me and you, that have instincts and lusts; they are above suspicion and lust, they are even angels walking on the earth!

As for the concept of *halal* and *haram* which prescribes that a Muslim is not free to do what he likes, but has to act within the inviolable limits set for him by Allah, it is a strange concept that is not accepted by those cultured people.

### **How Should the Islamic Awakening Deal with the Cultured?**

There are two approaches in dealing with the cultured elite - the curative approach and the preventive approach. The curative approach is a remedial of the wrong concepts harboured by the cultured, by bringing them around to the truth through quiet, objective, academic argument, and not through insults or enthusiastic eloquence. This approach guides them to the documented sources from which they can know what they should know about Islam - its Book, its Prophet, its *Aqeedah*, its *Shari'ah*, its History and its Culture.

This approach is most suited to dealing with the youth who have not yet fallen under the influence of fanaticism for a principle they have adopted or have been brought up on, and also for dealing with those who have set themselves on a quest for Truth for Truth's sake.

As for the fanatics and those who have made themselves a profession bidding on progressivism, liberalism, rightism, leftism, etc. an argument with them is seldom useful, except when it is held by way of making a point or refuting a point.

The second approach, i.e. the preventive approach, is the formulation of a documented Islamic culture that combines academic accuracy with clear expression. The purpose of such a culture is to give adequate doses of understanding of Islam and rectify those wrong concepts that have proliferated among the cultured in addition to refuting the false and invented beliefs

without explaining them in any elaborate manner. The objective of this approach is to protect the youth against being 'poisoned' by invading ideologies. The knowledge they will acquire would serve as a 'vaccine' against the ideological plagues that sweep overtly over our lands or infiltrate covertly into it.

We have to keep from this arena, i.e. the arena of the cultured elite, away from those common preachers - the preachers of the masses, who do not speak the language of this age nor can they use the logic understood and accepted by the cultured. They can only address the faithful hearts which they can warm with their enthusiasm, but not the liberalised minds which seldom says 'yes' but always asks 'why?' and 'how?'

Popular preachers are like popular writers - the former excite the emotion with their eloquent speech and the latter with their eloquent writing. A pen is one of the two tongues, as the old Arab adage says, though the tongue may be more capable of provoking and exciting the audience through the voice and its effects on them, and it is more so when combined with vision, i.e. being able to see the speaker.

Such preachers and writers have their role to play and their use in as much as the knowledge possessed by each of them is good. However, in the circles of the cultured elite, the damage they do is often more than the good they can achieve.

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND THE MASSES

Paying attention to the cultured elite does not mean neglecting the masses, as the two actions are not mutually exclusive. Popularity is a main characteristic of the Islamic Movement. The Movement is popular in the sense that it is not a governmental or official movement, nor is it an aristocratic one. It is a movement that has emerged from the heart of society to express its feelings and interact with its masses, speaking on their behalf and supporting their demands and rights.

The enemies of the Movement abroad, and their agents inside, have tried to isolate the general public from the Movement, sometimes by confusion and distortion, at other times by coercion and intimidation, and by other different means.

However, it is more dangerous that the Movement should alienate itself from the people through arrogance, accusation, disregard, desperation or preoccupation. There is a real danger when the Movement forgets its inter-relationship with the people, neglects their problems and woes and crawls into its shell, talking only to itself and hearing only its own voice, thus putting itself in solitary confinement away from the people.

The Islamic Movement will be successful only when it manages to make the people 'move' with it, supporting its cause, getting angry at what angers it, feeling pleased with what pleases it, appreciates its stances and efforts and curses its enemies. It will be successful when it focuses its concerns and efforts in merging with the people, running through them like blood runs through the veins, and mingling with them, like the body is linked to the soul or the vision to the eyes. This will ensure that the Movement can not be separated from the masses nor can the masses be separated from the Islamic Movement.

This will be possible only when the Islamic Movement adopts the causes of the people and reacts to their feelings, feeling joy at their happiness and expressing sadness at their grief, sharing in their bitter and worse times, and becoming one with them.

### **Telling the Truth and not Anaesthetising with Dreams**

Our belief in the people and faith in the power of the masses should not make us mislead them away from the bitter reality or anaesthetise them with hollow dreams. The *du'aat* and intellectuals of the Islamic Movement should tell the Ummah of its diseases, and not hide them as people do with those who are afflicted with an incurable disease. They should give the people the facts even though such facts may be bitter and not feed them rosy dreams without trying to bring these dreams to reality.

Scholars of *tarbiyah* and *tasawwuf* have distinguished between hope and wish, saying: 'Hope is what is combined with work, otherwise it is a wish!' Hope is the motive of believers but wish is the craft of those who have nothing to do. The Qur'an says to those who claim that *Jannah* is theirs alone although they neither believe nor strive: ﴿Those are their own desires. Say (O Muhammad): 'Produce your proof if you are truthful'﴾<sup>4</sup>

Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib said to his son Al-Hasan: "Beware of totally depending on wish. Wish is the stock of fools." An Arab poet says: "Do not be a slave to wish, for wish is the capital of the penniless."

Hope, aspiration and looking forward to a better day are the moving power and the fuel of any movement seeking to change the 'dark' reality into a 'bright' tomorrow. But hoping and aspiring are different from wishing, as wishes can combine with despair of realising what is wished, while hope and aspiration are the opposites of despair and hopelessness.

We must explain the harsh reality to people. We have to tell them of the dangers lurking in the future, so that they may brace

themselves for the sufferings of the future and not live under the illusion that the future will be a bed of roses without thorns, or that the sky will rain of butter and honey without toiling or sweating the cheeks.

There is a mistake that has to be corrected in raising Islamic slogans and advocating Islamic solutions to the Muslim masses. When Muslims raise the slogan 'Islam is the solution', 'There is no hope for us without Islam', or 'Islam is the only way out of our economic, social and political problems'; the common people imagine that just chanting these slogans and supporting their advocates in the elections, and attaining a large number of seats in the parliament, etc., would solve all problems with a magic wand or a miracle from heaven!

The Islamists and their intellectuals must explain, plainly and directly, to the people that Islam solves the problems of people through people themselves. Allah will not send down His angels to the earth to toil the land, nurture the animals, boost the industry, revive trade, build infrastructures, mobilise Muslim potentialities for productive work, or keep the Ummah away from idleness and the squander of energies.

It is people who perform all these tasks and other tasks that are needed for a righteous society and sought after by a wise and thoughtful humanity. Umar Ibn Al Khattab told some people who had taken residence in the mosque, waiting for what Allah would send down to them: "None of you should sit idle and not go after his lot that Allah has destined for him, saying: 'O Allah, send down my lot to me', while he knows that heaven does not rain gold and silver." Allah says: ﴿Then when the *Salah* (of *Jumu'ah*) is finished, you may disperse through the land and seek the Bounty of Allah (by working etc.)﴾<sup>5</sup> The Qur'an has established this inviolable sunnah saying: ﴿Verily Allah does not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves﴾<sup>6</sup>

This is the starting point, i.e. changing our wrong concepts, deeds and corrupt ideas, blameworthy characters and rejectable morals into correct concepts, vivid and good ideas, praiseworthy characters and noble morals. People must prepare themselves for a life different from that which they are accustomed to - a life of work and production, not of idleness and unproductivity; a life of seriousness, not of jokes; a life of austerity, not of luxury; a life of justice, not of favouritism; a life of sweat, not of calmness and a life of work, not of laziness.

### Correction of Wrong Concepts

It is the duty of the Islamic Movement and its *du'aat* to correct the wrong Islamic concepts that have spread among the Muslim masses, so that the Islamic concepts may be a tool for construction and progress, not destruction and backwardness.

Many of the religious have a wrong understanding of some major Islamic values which include an incorrect understanding of *iman*, *taqwa*, righteousness and *istiqamah* (remaining steadfast).

The Qur'an says: ﴿And if the people of the towns had believed and had *taqwa*, certainly, We should have opened for them blessings from the heaven and the earth﴾<sup>7</sup> or says: ﴿And whosoever fears Allah and keeps his duty to Him, He will make a way for him to get out (from every difficulty). And He will provide him from (sources) he never could imagine﴾<sup>8</sup> or says: ﴿And indeed We have written in *Zabur* after (We have already written in) *Al Lauh Al Mahfuz*, that my righteous slaves shall inherit the land﴾<sup>9</sup> or says: ﴿If they (non-Muslims) had believed in Allah, and went on the Right Way (i.e. Islam). We should surely have bestowed on them water (rain) in abundance﴾<sup>10</sup>

When the common people read such verses they think that what is meant by these verses is the observance of the rites such as *salah*, *siyam*, *tasbeeh* (saying '*subhanallah*'), *tableel* (saying '*la ilaha illal*



*Allah*'), *takbeer* (saying '*Allahu Akbar*') and refraining from the *muharramat* (prohibited actions) such as drinking and gambling. There is no doubt that all these are essential parts of the *Deen*, but they are not all of the *Deen* or all of *iman* and *tawqa*. As Allah has created man so that he may worship Him: ﴿And I have not created jinn and humans except that they should worship Me﴾<sup>11</sup>, he has also created man to be his *khaleefah* (vicegerent) on earth, settling in it and building it with knowledge and action: ﴿I will create a *khaleefah* on earth﴾<sup>12</sup> ﴿He brought you forth from the earth and settled you therein﴾<sup>13</sup> The word 'settled' here means 'wanted you to settle in it and build it'. More so, this settlement is a type of *ibadah*.

*Iman*, *taqwa*, righteousness and *istiqamah* make it imperative that we balance our *Deen* with our *dunya* (worldly life), worship Allah by following the *sunan* of His creation, prepare all our might for meeting our enemies, till the land and work the factories. We should take up every science or craft that the Ummah may need for its *Deen* or the worldly life, as this has been regarded by the Muslim *fugaha* as *fard kifayah* - the whole Ummah will be sinful if these duties are neglected.

The aspired *taqwa* is not the beads of the dervish or a turban wrapped around the head of a self-styled *shaykh*, nor it is a hermitage or a secluded corner chosen for prayer by a worshipper: it is knowledge and work; religion and life; soul and material; planning and organisation; development and production; perfection and excellence. "Surely Allah is pleased when one of you carry out a task, he perfects it."<sup>14</sup> "Verily Allah has prescribed proficiency in everything."<sup>15</sup>

The Messenger of Allah urged Muslims to seek perfection in everything they do, even if it was killing a small reptile. It is said in a *hadith*: "He who kills a lizard at the first stroke will have one hundred *hasanah* to his credit. He who kills it at the second stroke will have so and so (less than the first) and he who kills it at the third stroke

*will have so and so (less than the second).*"<sup>16</sup> Endeavouring to do everything well is required, however trivial the thing in question may look.

The Prophet's Companions did not look at Islam as a religion for monks or hermits, nor did they regard *iman* and *taqwa* in isolation from life or an absolute preoccupation with *fara'idh* at the expense of the enhancement of life. Abdul Al Rahman Ibn Awf, upon receiving a generous offer from Sa'd Ibn Al Rabi (after the *hijrah*), declined the offer politely and said: "I am a merchant, so show me where the market place is." He traded and made millions in profit, but this did not take him out of the sphere of *iman* and *taqwa*, nor did he distance himself from the *muttaqeen* (god-conscious people); rather he was amongst the 'ten who had been promised Paradise' and with whom the Prophet was pleased when he died. Abdul Rahman Ibn Awf was also one of the six members of the *shura* (the consultative body that Umar Ibn Al Khattab formed just before his death, in order to select his successor).

Pious believers are those who strive in this worldly life while being careful to always do well, armed by their trust in Allah and their faith and righteousness. Therefore, Allah blesses their efforts in this world and will not deny them their reward in the Hereafter.

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND THE WORKING CLASSES

By the term 'working classes' I mean industrial workers and craftsmen of all specialisations who form large groupings at present, especially in major towns and cities, and are united by organised trade unions that can bring daily life to a halt if they decide to call a strike in defence of a right or in protest against an injustice.

It has been noticed that even to this day, the Islamic Movement has had little effect on the working community. The Leftists are still more influential and have a louder voice in this sector of our society, and they can manipulate the will and voice of workers in their interest to a large extent. This is unfortunate because the 'mother' of the Islamic Movement - *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon*, led by Imam Hasan Al-Banna, had begun with a group of Egyptian workers who had given the *bay'ah* (oath of allegiance) to the Imam in Ismailiyyah and pledged to support the goal he was calling to.

Despite the wide horizontal expansion that the Islamic Movement has made in the ranks of the students in most Muslim countries (in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Tunisia, Algeria, Pakistan, etc.), its presence in the working circles is limited. The Sudanese National Islamic Front Leader, Dr Hasan Al Turabi has pointed this out in his book on the Islamic Movement in Sudan, despite the fact that the Movement is very influential in the Sudanese society, as it has monopolised certain fields and can wield much weight in others.

I do not know the reason for the Islamic Movement's failure to spread among the workers. Is it the poor religious sense among the workers? But what has weakened this sense at the time when these same workers are members of a nation of which religion is part and parcel of? Is it their poor knowledge of the realities of Islam and its

mission in life combined with the effect of imported ideas? This also requires an explanation.

Or is it the Movement's failure to recognise and sponsor the causes of workers and support their legitimate demands against the greedy Capitalists and unjust rulers who exploit them? Or is it the success of Leftists, who had planned well for influencing and patronising the workers as a prelude to using them for promoting their destructive principles and materialistic philosophy. Leftists are well-qualified for such a task, and they also possess means of temptation and use tools that the Islamic Movement could never bring itself to use.

Whatever the reason, the Islamic Movement should review its strategy in this regard, for workers are a vital group in our Muslim community. Islam is still a strong driving power and stimulant of the masses, particularly when they realise that Islam is the religion that best recognises work and does workers justice. Islam's economic, social and legal rules protect workers and their rights and support workers against those who wrong them or try to exploit or manipulate them. It also calls for providing work for every unemployed worker and social care for every disabled member of the society who cannot work.

Perhaps a new factor that may help the success of the Islamic Movement among workers, is the collapse of the Communist philosophy and system which has consequently led to the founding of dictatorial regimes in Eastern Europe. The workers have rebelled against the dictatorships that had spoken in their names. Even Mother Russia, the cradle of Socialism, has set itself on a new course leading to reconsideration and reconstruction of its community according to the philosophy of 'perestroika'. The Marxist and Socialist regimes which had been built by workers for workers, have failed to bring about the happiness that workers were aspiring to attain and for which they had revolted against the

Feudal and Capitalist regimes. It has even been established that workers fare better under free regimes than they do under Communist rule.

A very good example to illustrate this point is the two parts of Germany (before their re-unification). How did workers fare and feel in each of them? The people of East Germany felt as if they had been living in a large prison and as soon as they had half a chance to defect to Germany, they fled in *en masse*. This itself is a clear evidence that requires no commentary.

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND BUSINESSMEN AND FINANCIERS

Among the fields that the Islamic Movement should strive to work in and influence, is the field of traders, businessmen and financiers. Except for those whom Allah protects against wrong doing, the members of this class live in the world of figures and balance sheets, money and capital, loss and profit, monopoly and competition. Such mentality often makes them forget the barrier between *halal* and *haram* and neglect the *dhikr* (remembrance) of Allah and the performance of *salah* and the paying of *zakat*. Hence, the Prophet was careful to guide and admonish traders against the evils and perils lurking on the path of commercial activity.

He warned them against cheating: "*He who cheats, is not one of us.*" He warned them against monopoly: "*He who monopolises is a wrong doer (i.e. a sinner).*" He warned them against excessive swearing by the name of Allah and criticised those merchants that make 'Allah' a commodity so much so that "*they do not sell or buy except by swearing by Allah.*" He warned them against false oath, as it "*may forward a transaction but will deprive the seller of the blessing of Allah.*" He warned the merchants against *riba*: "*Allah curses those who receive riba, those who pay it, those who write its contracts and those who witness it.*" He warned them against *gharar* (sale of goods that are not present) because of the involved ignorance of the buyer and consequent dispute over the sale once the commodity is present.

The Holy Qur'an warns against fraud in measuring and weighing: ﴿Woe to *Al Mutaffifeen* [those who give less in measure and weight (decrease the rights of others)] Those who, when they have to receive by measure from men, demand full measure. And when they have they have to give by measure or weight to men, give less

than due. Do they not think that they will be resurrected? On a Great Day. The Day when (all) mankind will stand before the Lord of the Worlds ﴿17

On the other hand the Qur'an praises those merchants and businessmen who are not distracted by their wealth, their business or their profits from their duty to Allah and His *far'aidh*. It describes those who regularly go to the mosque for their *salah*: ﴿In houses (mosques), which Allah has ordered to be raised (to be cleaned and to be honoured), in them. His name is glorified in the mornings and in the evenings. Men whom neither trade nor sale diverts them from the remembrance of Allah, nor from performing the *salah*, nor from giving the *zakat*. They fear a Day when hearts and eyes will be overturned ﴿18

Merchants and businessmen hold a large portion of the wealth of the Ummah. They control people's supply and set the prices of needed commodities. They influence the economy of the Ummah and its financial policies. Hence, merchants and businessmen should be made aware of what they must and must not do and of what they have to give out of their wealth in *zakat* and in dues other than *zakat*.

Merchants and businessmen should not be regarded as hopeless cases who do not fall within the arena of the Islamic Awakening and who are preoccupied with worldly life alone. They are humans, like other people they are affected by advice and warnings, and they can be influenced by *hikmah* (word of wisdom) and a patient approach.

In the early days of the Prophet's *da'wah*, many merchants believed in Allah and His Messenger and supported the message of *tawheed*, even if their action exposed their businesses to destruction and waste. Abu Bakr, Uthman and Abdul Rahman Ibn Awf were among the very first ones who became Muslims and they were among the 'ten for whom Paradise had been promised'. Their *hijrah*

(migration) to Madinah forced them to abandon their homes and wealth in their quest for Allah's Pleasure and Grace and their endeavour for supporting Allah and His Messenger. They welcomed their lot and were content to take it for the sake of Allah.

In our contemporary age, we see many faithful merchants and businessmen who prefer the Hereafter to this life, spending out of their free will, for the support of their *Deen* and not holding to the good wealth sent down to them by Allah out of His Grace. They regard themselves and their wealth as a property of the Islamic *da'wah* and the Islamic Movement.

Financiers in the Christian West, provide missionary foundations all over the world with the funding necessary for their work, donating billions of dollars for that purpose. The same applies to Jewish Capitalists who, despite the known Jewish miserliness and money-worship, have given generously to the Jewish cause before and after the establishment of Israel. Muslim financiers must not do less, as they know that the wealth is Allah's wealth and they are required to strive in Allah's Cause with their money, and that they will be rewarded by Allah for everything they spend for the sake of His Cause.

There is an important point in regard to material contribution and donation that we have to pay our attention to. I know that there are many among the rich Muslims who are pious and steadfast and wish to give of their wealth in quest for Allah's Pleasure. They donate much and give freely and generously. However, they need to know how and where to spend their money.

Those who have money to spend on charity should know that it is not so important to spend the money as it is important to spend it in the right ways. It is vitally important to arrange priorities, giving precedence to what is more important, followed by what is important and so on. It is really regrettable that the majority of rich



Muslims, particularly those rich Muslims who spend their money on construction purposes, pay most of their attention to the construction of mosques and similar institutions of a purely religious nature. This has been a reason for many complaints from workers in the field of *da'wah* and Islamic work.

Our brothers in the 'Islamic *Da'wah* Organisation' in Africa complained of it. Our elder brother Dr. Muhammad Nasser and his colleagues in the 'Supreme Council for the Islamic *Da'wah*' in Indonesia complained of it too. It has also been a reason for complaints among our brothers of the Islamic Movement who are working in the fields of Islamic *da'wah*, *tarbiyah* and education in face of Secularist and Marxist ideologies and movements.

Experts and faithful workers agree that there is something that is more important than building mosques - it is the building and construction of people, the building of men who build civilisations, win victory for messages, achieve hopes, establish mosques and revive institutions.

Building a centre for spreading the *da'wah* and enhancing the awareness of Muslims is one of the first deeds that brings a Muslim closer to Allah and serves Islam in a proper way. Spending money in such a way is a priority and a great deed that wins a Muslim the Pleasure of Allah. Such a centre will help in promulgating the right Islamic ideology among the Muslim youth and correct their doctrine. It will cultivate in their hearts the love of Islam and a zeal for it, through various means and approaches, including trips, camps, workshops, lectures, etc.

Preparing *du'aat* who are well trained, capable, knowledgeable in both religious and worldly matters and wholly devoted to fulfilling this mission and supporting them in every way is a duty which if neglected constitutes a sin; and if fulfilled, represents a good deed worthy of Allah's reward and praise of the people. It is in fact a deed

that deserves devotion of money, time and effort for its implementation.

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND WOMEN'S ACTIVITY

The Islamic Movement has given attention to the work of women since the dawn of the *da'wah*. Imam Hasan Al Banna established *Al Akhawaat Al Muslimate* (The Muslim Sisterhood) and assigned it the task of spreading the thought of the Movement among Muslim women and raising up a generation of women who could shoulder part of the burden carried by the men of *Al Ikuwanul Muslimoon*, in their endeavour to establish the *Deen* of Allah in the land. This section of the Movement played a significant role to a certain extent and the Sisterhood had its share of hardship, especially when caring for the families of imprisoned members of the Brotherhood and delivering food supplies and money to them, despite the risk they ran against the agents of the Criminal Investigations Department. Some of them suffered extreme hardship for the cause of Allah, such as our sister Zainab Al Ghazali.

### The Deficiency of Islamic Work in the Circles of Women

However, we have to admit that although the *da'wah* has spread among women especially university students and secondary school pupils, the Islamic work carried out by women has not yet reached the desired level.

Although over sixty years have passed since the emergence of the Movement, no women leaders have appeared that can confront Secular and Marxist trends single handedly and efficiently. This has come as a result of the unrelenting attempts of men to control and direct the women's movement. They do not give women sufficient chance to express themselves and show leadership talents and abilities that demonstrate their capability of taking command of their work without the dominance of men.

## **When Will Women's Islamic Work Succeed?**

I believe that women's Islamic work will succeed and prove itself in the arena of the Islamic Movement only when it gives birth to female Islamic leaders in the fields of *da'wah*, thought, science, literature and education.

I do not think that this is impossible or even difficult. There are genius women just as there are genius men. Ingenuity is not a monopoly of men. It is not in vain that the Holy Qur'an tells us the story of a woman who led men wisely and bravely and made her people fare the best ends - she is the Queen of Sab'a whose story with Prophet Sulayman is told in Surah Al Naml.

I have also observed in the University of Qatar that girls make better students than boys. Other colleagues in the university made the same observation. This is particularly true because girls have more time for study than boys, who are occupied by many things and have cars in which they roam the streets all the time!

## **The Spread of Hard-line Ideas in this Field**

I must say frankly here that the Islamic work has been the scene of spreading hard-line ideas that now govern the relationship between men and women, adopting the strictest opinions to be found on this issue. This is what I saw for myself in many conferences and symposiums even in Europe and the United State. For several years in a row, I attended the annual conferences of the Muslim Students Union in the United States and Canada in the mid-1970's. Both men and women attended the lectures and debates, listening to comments, questions, answers and discussions on every major Islamic issue, including the academic, social, educational and political issues. The only sessions restricted to women were those allocated to dealing with the questions that concerned women alone. However, I attended some conferences in the United States and Europe in the 1980's and found that the women were kept away

from a good part of the important lectures and debates. Some of the women also complained that they had become bored with the lectures that focus on women's role, rights, responsibilities and position in Islam and had come to regard the repetition of these lectures as a sort of punishment imposed on them. I denounced such action in more than one conference telling the participants that the basis in *ibadah* and religious learning was participation and that there never existed in Islam a mosque that had been reserved for women alone and not visited by men. Women attended the sessions in which the Prophet taught Muslims the *Deen*. They also participated in (or at least attended) the *Jumu'ah* prayers, the two Eid prayers and the congregational prayers together with men. They asked questions about minute female matters without being prevented from learning the *Deen* because of their shyness, as A'isha (may Allah be pleased with her) herself said.

The books of Sunnah are full of questions that were directed to the Prophet (peace be upon him) by women, including those asked by women who wanted answers to questions that concerned only themselves and those asked by women on behalf of all women, as the woman who said: "*O Messenger of Allah, I have been sent to you by the women.*"

The women also asked the Prophet to allocate a separate day for them so that they would have him to themselves, without the men being present and so that they might have the time and privacy to ask whatever they liked without being inhibited by the presence of men. This was another privilege given to women besides the public lessons they attended together with men.

### **The Problem of Islamic Work in Women's Activity**

The problem of women's Islamic work is that it is men who direct it, not women; and men are careful to maintain their grip on it and thus not giving the chance for flowers to blossom and female leadership to emerge. Men impose themselves on women's Islamic

work, including even women's meetings, as they exploit the shyness of practising Muslim women and never allow them to take command of their own affairs. In this way, no female talents are given a chance to prove themselves in the pursuits of the Islamic Movement or to be seasoned by experience and struggle and learn from the 'school of life' by trial and error.

However, our Muslim sisters are not wholly free of blame, for they have surrendered to this state of affairs, contenting themselves with a life of ease and tranquility in which men think and choose for them. It is time they took the initiative, opened wide the doors of effort and work for the *da'wah* and silenced those self-appointed female voices that claim to have authority on the doctrine, laws and values of this Ummah. These strange voices, loud as they are, represent only a defeated down-trodden minority that has no weight both in the *Deen* or in the *dunya*.

Last year, I was invited to give a lecture to female students of an Algerian university. As is the norm after a lecture, I started taking questions from the female students in written and oral form. Some young men were present and one of them took it upon himself to collect the questions, sort them out and pass along to me the questions which he thought should be answered. I objected to his conduct, telling him: "Why does not one of the students do that on behalf of her colleagues? Why do you men have to poke your noses in women's affairs. Take your hands off them! Let them do whatever they like. Let them sort out their own questions and choose what they deem fit and let one of them read it aloud."

By saying these words it was as if I had lifted a heavy burden off the chests of the believing girls and one of them hurriedly came forward to assume the role that one of the men who had escorted me to the gathering, was playing.

A similar incident took place this winter in Manchester in Britain

where a Muslim Students Convention was held. A lecture to Muslim sisters had been scheduled for me, to be followed by questions and answers. Again, one of the good young men assumed the responsibility of receiving and sorting out the questions, but I said to him bluntly: "There is no reason for you to be here. It would be better if one of the sisters took over this task, for they have a right to run their own affairs here." However, the good brother told me that he had been assigned that task according to the practice followed there and could not abandon it. He did have his explanation which I really had to accept.

Another complaint from our sisters in Egypt and Algeria is that when an active and motivated sister marries a practising brother whom she came to know through *da'wah* related work, he forces her to stay at home and denies her participation in the Movement and thus putting out a torch that was once lighting the path of other Muslim sisters.

It has apparently become so common that an Algerian sister working in the field of *da'wah* once wrote to me asking whether it was *haram* for her to refuse marriage in the sake of avoiding that which has happened to her other sisters who have ended up in a life of laziness and idleness, away from the field of the Movement and the *da'wah*, at a time when Communist, Secularist and Liberalist women are working for their causes.

### **A Potential Objection and Its Rebuttal**

Hardliners may ask how we want Muslim women to play an active role in the Islamic Movement and act as leaders to prove their presence in the field of Islamic work while they are ordered in the Holy Qur'an to stay in their homes: ﴿And stay in your houses and do not display yourselves like that of the times of ignorance﴾<sup>19</sup>

My answer to those enthusiastic and zealous brothers is that this

verse addresses the Prophet's wives who have a special position that no other women have and were subject to restrictions that do not apply to other women. Allah the All Mighty says to them: ﴿O Wives of the Prophet! You are not like any other women﴾<sup>20</sup>

However, this verse did not prevent A'isha from going to war in the Battle of the Camel, to demand what she thought right in matters of politics and with her were two of the senior Companions of the Prophet who had been nominated for the post of *khaleefah* and were also among the 'ten who had been promised Paradise'. Her later regret of this situation, as told by historians, was not because her going out of the house was illegal, but because her political view was not successful. May Allah grant her forgiveness and bless her soul.

However, if we examine the opinion of those who claim that this verse was meant for all women, we will find that it does not mean confining them to the houses and never letting them out, as such confinement was stipulated by the Qur'an as a punishment for sinning women who were proven to have committed adultery with evidence given by four witnesses, before the *Shari'ah* had set their punishment as the *hadd*. Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿And those of your women who commit illegal sexual intercourse, take the evidence of four witnesses from amongst you against them; and if they testify confine them to the houses until death comes to them or Allah ordains for them some (other) way﴾<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, the saying of Allah in the verse: ﴿And do not display yourselves like that of the times of ignorance﴾<sup>22</sup> indicates that it is allowed for women to go out if they are dressed modestly and do not make a dazzling display, for a woman is not to be prohibited from displaying herself within her home. She is allowed to dress and beautify herself as she likes at home. What a woman is ordered to refrain from is to make herself beautiful and display herself when she goes out on the street or goes to the market or anywhere else.



## NOTES - CHAPTER 3

- 1 An Nisa 4: 105
- 2 Ta Ha 20: 115
- 3 Ta Ha 20: 121-122
- 4 Al Baqarah 2: 111
- 5 Al Jumu'ah 62: 10
- 6 Ar Ra'd 13:11
- 7 Al A'raf 7: 96
- 8 At Talaq 65: 2-3
- 9 Al Ambiya 21: 105
- 10 Al Jinn 72: 16
- 11 Az Zariyat 51: 56
- 12 Al Baqarah 2: 30
- 13 Al Hud 11: 61
- 14 Narrated by Al Baihaqi
- 15 Narrated by Muslim
- 16 Narrated by Muslim
- 17 Al Mutaffifeen 83: 1-6
- 18 An Nur 24: 36-37
- 19 Al Ahzab 33: 33
- 20 Al Ahzab 33: 32
- 21 An Nisa 4: 15
- 22 Al Ahzab 33: 33

# 4

## **The Islamic Movement in the Field of Tarbiyah and Education**



## TARBIYAH BASED ON IMAN IS THE FOUNDATION

*Tarbiyah* (education and training) is the basic and necessary approach for any Islamic Movement that seeks to change the state of affairs by changing people themselves. The point of focus in the field of *tarbiyah* should be the preparation of the Muslim vanguard who will aid the cause of Islam and who will represent in our age, the role of the Companions in the Prophet's age.

The foremost quality that members of this vanguard must have is *iman*, by which I mean the *iman* of the Qur'an and Sunnah; the *iman* that has over seventy branches of values and morals; the *iman* on which volumes have been written. *Iman* does not come about by wish or by pretence, it is what settles in the heart and is proved by acts.

So, what is meant here is not just the intellectual knowledge whose effect does not extend to the heart so that it may light it, or to the will, so that it may move it. Neither is it just filling the memory with words and terms such as *Allah, Rabb, Deen, Ibadah*, the different branches of *tawheed, taghut, jahiliyyah*, and then feeling proud that one possesses what makes a true believer and what constitutes *yaqeen* (perfect and absolute belief) and dragging others to arguments and verbal battles over these words and terms.

Neither argument nor verbal battles would yield a belief like that of the Pharaoh's magicians when they believed in the Lord of Musa and Harun, or like that of the Prophet's Companions when they believed in the Messenger. The required *iman* is the *iman* of the first generation as prescribed in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Only one verse from a Surah in the Qur'an needs to be quoted here. It is the verse with which Allah answers the desert Arabs who said: "We

believe”, while belief had not entered their hearts: ﴿Only those who are the believers who have believed in Allah and His Messenger, and afterward doubt not but strive with their wealth in the cause of Allah. Those are the truthful ones﴾<sup>1</sup>

It is also narrated in a *hadith* on the authority of Anas that the Prophet said: “Whosoever possess the following three qualities will find the sweetness of *iman*: the one to whom Allah and His Messenger are dearer to him than anything else, the one who loves a person only for the sake of Allah and the one who hates to revert to *kufir* (disbelief) after he has been saved from it as much as hating being thrown into the Hellfire.”<sup>2</sup>

It may be enough for the common people who follow the leaders to have a half or even a quarter of *iman*, but the leading vanguard must have true *iman* and should not be composed of half-believers or quarter-believers.

Imam Hasan Al Banna used to say to his students: “Give me twelve thousand believers and I will conquer with them the mountains, cross the seas and conquer the land.”<sup>3</sup> But is this number enough to bring about the great hopes and realise the ambitious aspirations of the Islamic Ummah? I say yes, twelve thousand of true believers is enough. But I will also say that we will not do with twenty four thousand half-believers or forty-eight thousand quarter-believers, or any of the ‘fractions’ of believers whom one stumbles upon as a result of their stupendous numbers but who can do nothing of use in times of need.

We want believers like the *Ansar* of Madinah, who were described as ‘increasing in number at the time of war and decreasing (in number) at the time of distribution of the war booty’.

As for those who are many in numbers but of little use in reality and are no better than the scum of the torrent,<sup>4</sup> they will never be

fit to be in the leading vanguard, even if they are millions in number. *Tarbiyah* based on *iman* and *rabbaniyyah* (godliness) is the first precondition for bringing up a generation that will defend the cause of Islam, as described in the Qur'an: ﴿O You who believe! Whoever from among you turns back from his religion (Islam), Allah will bring a people whom He will love and who will love Him; humble towards the believers, stern towards the disbelievers, fighting in the Way of Allah and never afraid of the blame of the blamers. That is the Grace of Allah which He bestows on whom He wills. And Allah is All Sufficient, All Knower﴾<sup>5</sup>

### The Necessity of a Measure of Sound *Sufi Tarbiyah*

A measure of sound *sufi tarbiyah* based on the Qur'an and Sunnah is required. This type of *tarbiyah* would help in shaping the *shakhsiyyah rabbaniyyah* (the 'godly' Islamic personality) which would put Allah before Allah's creation, the Hereafter before the *dunya* and the motives of the *Deen* before the motives of the desire.

Not all of *tasawwuf* (sufism) is evil as some would imagine. Neither are all sufis misled, as claimed by those who lack knowledge or fairness. Sufis are like other groups, as Shaykh Al Islam Ibn Taymiyyah said in his treatise entitled '*Al Fuqara*': 'Among them you will find the steadfast and the deviant, the one who oppresses his own soul, the one who follows a middle course, and the one who is by the permission of Allah, foremost in good deeds.'

Of course we reject all the fallacies of philosophical *tasawwuf* (including such tenets as '*hulul*' [divine incarnation] and '*ittihad*' [mystic communion with God] ), ecstatic utterances of heretic sufis and the deviations of money-oriented *tasawwuf*. What we really seek is the essence and quintessence *tasawwuf* of the pioneer sufis, such as Hasan Al Basri, Fudhayl Ibn Iyad, Ibrahim Ibn Adham, Abu Sulayman Al-Darani, Abul Qasim, Al-Junayd and others like them.

We seek the *sunni tasawwuf* that follows the balanced method of the Qur'an and Sunnah, the *tasawwuf* that cares about the 'piety of hearts' before it concerns itself with the 'acts of the organs of the body' and the *tasawwuf* that looks at the spirit of actions before looking at their outward form. It is said in a *sahih hadith* that: "Allah shall not look at your bodies or your faces, but rather looks into your hearts."<sup>6</sup>

We seek the *tasawwuf* that cures the diseases of the heart, plugs the holes through which *shaytan* can enter into the hearts, and resists the desires of the human soul, so that it may have proper morals and virtues and abandon sins.

Some describe *tasawwuf* as 'being true to Allah and good to mankind'. As Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿Truly Allah is with those who fear Him and those who are the *Muhsininun* (good-doers)﴾<sup>7</sup>

Allama Ibn Al Qayyim quoted the early sufis as saying: '*Tasawwuf* is good manners and anyone who surpasses you in manners is better than you in *tasawwuf*.' Ibn Al Qayyim comments on this by saying: "No, the *Deen* itself is manners. Anyone surpassing you in manners is better than you in the *Deen*." This is very true, as we need only quote the *hadith*: "I have been sent (as a Messenger) for the perfection of morals."<sup>8</sup>

#### Four Points of Focus

There are four points of focus in this *tarbiyah*. They are as follows:

##### a) Purity of Intention

The first focal point is making one's intention pure (*ikhlas un niyyah*), so that the work is done solely for the sake of Allah and not for the sake of any other gains such as money, power and position, becoming famous or any other of the ambitions that the soul may hide in secret.

Islamic work is *ibadah* and *jihad*. *Ibadah* is valid only when the intention is purely for the sake of Allah: ﴿And they were commanded not, but that they should worship Allah and worship none but Him Alone﴾<sup>9</sup>

*Jihad* in Allah's Cause is only valid when it is performed with an intention that is pure and is directed at making the Word of Allah Supreme. Allah the All Mighty does not accept a deed with shared objective, nor a heart with shared beliefs. This is why Imam Hasan Al Banna was keen to raise his first slogan as 'Allah is our Goal', so as to assert that the Pleasure and Reward of Allah are our most aspired goals.

We might say that we seek to establish an Islamic community, an Islamic State or an Islamic ruling system or that we work for restoring the integrated Islamic way of life, or any other short or long term objective, but our goal in all this will be to gain the Pleasure of Allah so that He may count us among His righteous servants. Every Islamic worker should bear in mind these two verses: ﴿Say: "Verily my prayer, my sacrifice, my living, my dying are for Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. He has no partner. And of this I have been commanded, and I am the first of the Muslims."﴾<sup>10</sup>

Causes are not made victorious through the efforts of fame seekers, but through the efforts of those who were described in a *hadith* to be '*righteous, pious and quiet...those who if they are present are not known and if absent, not missed, and those whose hearts are the lamps of guidance.*'<sup>11</sup>

## b) Feeling the Presence of Allah

The second focal point is to feel the presence of Allah in any action (*muraqabatul Allah*), so that such action may take its share of perfection. This is why the Prophet, when Jibrail asked him about the meaning of *ihsan* said: "*Ihsan (perfection) is to worship Allah as*



*if you were seeing Him, for although you see Him not, He does see you.”*

Perfection is a prerequisite in any action, be it worldly actions or actions of a religious nature as perfection in work is a *faridhah* (obligation) on every Muslim. Allah has prescribed perfection in everything, and nothing should make a man seek perfection more than his feeling that Allah sees and hears him and knows all that he does.

Perfection is more of a prerequisite when the action in question is related to the *Deen*, i.e. when working in the field of *da'wah* and the Islamic Movement. Such work is either *fard ayn* or *fard kifayah*, where Islamic workers discharge their duty on behalf of other Muslims who sit lazily and watch, and even sometimes attack them and try to make them abandon their efforts.

Islamic workers never lack in supervision, nor do they ever require administrative inspections, for they are under supervision from within themselves and they are the first inspectors of their efforts. They always have in mind the saying of Allah: ﴿And He is with you wheresoever you may be. And Allah is the All-Seer of what you do﴾<sup>12</sup>

### c) Self Criticism

The third focal point is self criticism (*muhasabat un nafs*). If correction of the intention comes before the action and feeling the presence of Allah during the action, then what follows the action is self criticism, i.e. call ourselves to account. As it is said in a *hadith*: *“The intelligent is the one who accounts his nafs (self) and works for the Hereafter; and the incapable one is he who follows his nafs by his desires and then depends on Allah.”*<sup>13</sup>

It is reported that Umar said: “Account (for) yourselves before you are brought into account. Weigh your deeds before they are

weighed against you.” Maymun Ibn Mahran said: “The god-conscious person is more severe in accounting his self than a tyrant ruler and a stingy partner.” These two sayings are based on what Allah the All Mighty says in the Qur’an: ﴿And I swear by the self-reproaching person﴾<sup>14</sup>

Self-accounting always motivates one towards rectifying errors and eliminating shortcomings and makes one always seek perfection and avoid self admiration, conceit and contempt of others.

This self criticism or accounting is also one of the fundamentals of the moral and educational principles in Islam. This is why it is considered as a must by all sufis and experts of education.

People nowadays repeat the term ‘self criticism’. There is no harm in using this term, but there is a danger in regarding its meaning as being new to us and regarding it as a practice that we have copied from others, for it is nothing but the self-accounting that is called for by our Qur’an, our Sunnah and our very culture.

#### d) Depending and Putting One’s Trust in Allah

The fourth focal point is putting one’s trust in Allah (*tawakkul ala Allah*), it is the spiritual weapon that turns weakness into strength and few numbers into large numbers. It was also the weapon with which the Messengers of Allah faced up to the tyrants among their people, never being intimidated by their tyranny or weakened by their mischief, but said: ﴿And why should we not put our trust in Allah alone while He indeed has guided us our ways. And we shall certainly bear with patience all the hurt you may cause us, and in Allah (alone) let those who trust, put their trust﴾<sup>15</sup>

Putting one’s trust in Allah means to take Allah as one’s Guide, following His commands and depending on Him, as He says: ﴿(He Alone is) the Lord of the East and the West. There is no God but

He. So take Him Alone as Disposer of your affairs﴾<sup>16</sup>

You should take Allah as your disposer of affairs, however, only after you prepare yourself and take every precaution, then go ahead in confidence that Allah will not abandon you. Putting one's trust in Allah should by no means be taken to mean neglecting one's work, abandoning the means that lead to the ends, ignoring the approved practices or waiting to reap unsown seeds or harvest unattended crops. It means what the Prophet and the Messengers before him did, i.e. doing one's best and leaving the outcome to Allah, out of trust in Him, out of conviction in His promise and out of belief in His support.

Our noble Prophet made the best arrangements for his *hijrah*, but the unbelievers managed to reach the cave where he was hiding. When Abu Bakr said: "*If any of them looks under his feet, he will certainly see us!*", the Prophet said: "*What do you think of two people whose third is Allah?*" ﴿Be not sad (or afraid), surely Allah is with us﴾<sup>17</sup>

This was also what Musa said to his people when Pharoah and his soldiers were pursuing them and they were caught between the sea before them and their enemy behind them: ﴿And when the two hosts saw each other, the companion of Musa said: "We are sure to be over taken." Musa said: "Nay, verily! With me is my Lord, He will guide me."﴾<sup>18</sup>

We are in need of this sort of conviction in facing the grandchildrens of the Pharoah and Abu Jahl and we should trust that Allah is with us; and those who have Allah with them will never fail: ﴿And if Allah helps you, none can overcome you; and if He forsakes you, who is thereafter Him, who can help you? And in Allah (Alone) let believers put their trust ﴾<sup>19</sup>

## Focusing on Seeking the Right in Addition to Pure Intention

In preparing the necessary vanguard we have to ensure the presence of a combination of two things: pure intention and correct work.

Pure intention and good will are required in every Islamic work because every Islamic work is an *ibadah* and a *jihad* and as we have already mentioned that 'no *ibadah* or *jihad* will be accepted unless there is a pure intention behind it'. This is why our *ulama* attach so much importance to the Prophet's *hadith*: "*Actions are (measured) by the intentions*", that they regard it as a quarter, a third, and even a half of Islam as a whole.

However, this alone is not enough for steering the ship of the Islamic Movement in the midst of the waves and winds. For besides pure intention, there should exist an ability to distinguish between right and wrong, and even differentiate between the more right of two opinions and choose the lesser of two evils or the best of two good things. It is said that 'the intelligent is the one who knows good from evil, but the wise man is the one who knows the better of two evils', if there could ever be an evil that is good.

True, a Muslim is required to strive to seek what is right; and if he falls into error, he is excused, even rewarded. However, as the *hadith* says, the one who strives and is wrong is rewarded only once, while the one who strives and is right is rewarded double - one for striving and making the effort, and the other for being right. A double reward is promised to those who are right so that 'seeking correctness' may always be an objective for those who try, and that all wise believers may set their sights on being right in their endeavours. However, I would like to point out two things:

Firstly, he who gets rewarded once, for trying, should be among the people who are considered to be the *mujtahideen* and should possess the minimum qualification to make an *ijtihad*. Here I do

not mean the legal and terminological meaning of *ijtihad* (, i.e. deducing the rules of the *Shari'ah*) as mentioned in the books of *usool al fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence), but rather to any attempt made in any field that requires special knowledge. The one who makes *ijtihad* in political matters is certainly different to the one who makes *ijtihad* in military, economic or educational matters; as each field requires special knowledge.

However, he who launches himself into a topic that he does not know very well and passes judgment in it without proper knowledge, will only wrong himself, his topic and his people. He should get no reward at all but rather get (a punishment for) an undeniable sin, for he would be passing judgment in ignorance and falling into waters he does not know how to swim in. This is why it is mentioned in a *hadith*: “Judges are of three kinds - two shall enter the Hell-Fire and one shall enter Paradise. The first is a judge, who knows the right and judges by it, and thus shall enter Paradise. The second is a judge, who passes judgement in ignorance and thus shall enter the Hell-Fire. The third is a judge, who knows the right but passes judgement unjustly, and thus he shall enter the Hellfire.”<sup>20</sup>

This *hadith* makes a judge who passes judgements in ignorance equal to a judge who knows the right but passes unfair judgements; as he has entered himself into a field that he does not master. It would be better for him to withdraw from his position and hand it over to those who deserve it.

Even if such a person is correct in his judgement, he will not be rewarded by his right deed, as it is a shot that a marksman did not take, and a right word from the wrong quarter that has no value because it is not based on a proper methodology. It is said in the *hadith*: “He who gives his own opinion (without knowledge) in the *Qur'an* and is right, shall be wrong.”<sup>21</sup>

He will be wrong, although his opinion is right, because his right

opinion came out of a haphazard *ijtihad* and not through a proper methodology that he strictly followed. Such a haphazardly-reached right opinion is not to be depended upon.

Secondly, those who will be rewarded for their *ijtihad*, even with the single reward for striving, will be worthy of reward only if they do their best in seeking the truth and exert every effort to ensure that they understand things right. In doing so, they will have to use all the means at their disposal and digest all the available information. They will also have to consult knowledgeable people so as to arm themselves with sound opinions and valuable experience that will help them arrive at the right opinion.

### **Preparing Leadership for the Future**

The problem of the Islamic Movement in many countries is that its base is larger than what its leadership can cope with. There is no shame in admitting that.

The reason for this situation is that the contemporary Islamic Movement has spread all over the world be it in the East or the West, thus expanding its base. However, in many of the countries, this growth has not been accompanied by the presence of a suitable number of leaders that can cope with it at ideological, educational and political levels. This is a situation that the current leaderships have to bear in mind and prepare for in the next phase.

The first fact that should be taken into consideration here is that being sincere to the *da'wah*, making sacrifices for its sake or being among the first to enter its field are not the only qualifications for the leadership of the Islamic Movement; though they have their own value before Allah and in the sight of the people. The type of leadership that is required should enjoy certain intellectual, psychological and practical abilities in addition to the traditional pre-requisites of character, morals, and *iman*.

By leadership, I do not mean the figure at the top of the hierarchy, but rather the group that plans for the work, launches the work and directs and controls it and gets out the best in those working under its command so as to divert them from 'destruction' to 'construction'; from 'argument' to 'work'; and from 'idleness' to 'serious striving'.

Those who were first to assume leadership should not stand in the way of new leaders (and should let 'new blood flow') and should not think that leadership is a life long right that is invalidated only by death, thus denying the youthful talents and young abilities the opportunity to come into the light. We have to abandon the idea that leaders are selected for life, as was the case with the Rightly-Guided *Khulafa*, whom we are commanded to take as an example.

In fact, such historical precedents are not a law that the Ummah has to observe until the Day of Judgement (we have discussed this point elsewhere). However, what matters here is that we should, even must, prepare the leaderships that is required for the coming phase, so as to ensure that there will stand at the helm, only those leaders who are strong, honest, dependable and knowledgeable. We must prepare ideological, educational and political leadership.

This is what we must seriously think of and take the necessary practical steps and measures to achieve it. We have to transform theory into application.

### **A Special Institute for Preparing the Leadership**

I suggest, for this purpose, that an institute be established for preparing Islamic leaders. Its students should be selected from among the faithful and talented elements who possess the required intellectual, psychological, behavioural and belief-related qualities. They should also be recommended by prominent figures known to be good judges of men. They should also sit for written and oral examinations of various kinds before they are admitted to this institute.

It is better if the institute were to be of a boarding-school type, so that the students may live as a community in it leading a life of *rabbaniyyah*, *ilm*, *da'wah*, *ukhuwwah* and *jihad* (, i.e. in which godliness, knowledge, *da'wah*, brotherhood and striving will be the basic elements).

The curriculum of this institute should be comprehensive, profound and diversified, combining traditionalism with contemporary knowledge, mixing the sciences of the *Deen* with human sciences from an Islamic perspective, and giving due attention to the study of the local, Arab, Islamic and international state of affairs. Emphasis should be placed on the examination and analysis of the forces opposing our *Deen*, our Ummah and our march. This institute should combine knowledge with work and theory with practice.

The teachers to teach this curriculum should be selected from among the trustworthy teachers who combine high qualifications with mature thought and true belief. They should be far away from being either lax or extreme. There should exist among them an integration and a coordination that would ensure that none of them would tear down what another has built, and that there would not be among them Occidentalists and Orientalists or Rightists and Leftists who would create contradiction, confusion of thinking and disruption in the character-formation process among the students.

However, I do not mean that the teachers we seek should be replicas of one another; I only mean that there should be a harmony among them in terms of the general way of thinking on major issues and in terms of the general philosophy that will be adopted in the institute.<sup>22</sup>

At this point, I would like to discuss some of the features of the ideology we should establish through this ambitious endeavour.



## CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES OF THE REQUIRED IDEOLOGY

What I would like to assert beyond any doubt or ambiguity is that besides the belief-based education that is the foundation of the upbringing of future leaders of the Islamic Movement, there should be a strong ideological *tarbiyah* that is based on the sort of *fiqh* that we have explained earlier and which we want the Movement to adopt.

Belief to us Muslims, is not against reason or intellect. On the contrary, it is based on and fed by the intellect, and the believers are described in the Qur'an as 'men of understanding', and the Qur'an itself is a sign for 'people who understand' or 'people who ponder'. *Aql* (intellect and reason), to the prominent intellectuals of the Ummah is the basis of *naql* (inherited revealed knowledge); for without it nobody could have proved the existence of Allah or the validity of Prophethood.

Through the instructions it contains, the Qur'an has laid down the foundation of the 'scientific mentality' which worships Allah with the *aql* and believes with evidence and denounces the imitation of forefathers or prominent figures.<sup>23</sup>

### A SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY

The ideology on which our aspired *tarbiyah* is based has specific features that should be sought and established by teachers and enforced by the educational curriculum.

First, this ideology is scientific in the full sense of the word. By 'scientific' we do not mean that it is scientific as related to abstract and applied sciences, though they are a field that should be sought by Muslims by all means, but rather that it is an ideology that would not accept any claim without proof, any result without a preamble and would not accept evidence which is not reliable or any preamble which is not definitive and free from suspicion.

We want 'scientific thinking' and the 'scientific spirit' to guide our life in every way, so that we may view things, issues, situations and people in a scientific way, and pass our tactical and strategic decisions on issues related to economy, politics, education and other fields with a scientific mentality that is free from the influence of emotions, improvisation, being self-centered and the many diversified justifications given for everything today. Such negative factors have come to dominate our behaviour to a great extent. A decision-maker who is under the influence of his desires or his party's whims will only be seeking to appease the public by doing what they like, not what is good for them and their future in their homeland and their nation as a whole.

The 'scientific spirit' has major characteristics that I have already dealt with in my book 'The Islamic Solution: A Faridhah and A Must', in the course of self-criticism of the Islamic Movement. However, I think it would be better to recall them here for purposes of reasserting the Ummah's need for them rather than imported Secularism.

### **Characteristics of the Scientific Spirit We Need**

The scientific spirit has many characteristics; the most important of which are as follows:

1. Adopting an objective attitude towards matters, situations and statements, regardless of who is behind them. Ali Ibn Abi Talib

said: “You will not know the truth by men, know the truth (first), and you will know who belongs to it.”

2. Respecting specialisation. As the Qur’an says: ﴿Ask those who know of the Scripture﴾<sup>24</sup> ﴿Ask Him of any acquainted (things)﴾<sup>25</sup> ﴿And none can inform you like Him who is the All Knower﴾<sup>26</sup>

The *Deen* has its own experts, the economy has its own experts, the military has its own experts and all other branches of knowledge have their own experts, especially in this age of ours. As for the one who knows the *Deen*, politics, economic and military related issues and gives his opinion on everything, he in reality knows nothing.

3. Having the ability of self criticism, admitting mistakes and learning from them and evaluating past experiences justly and far away from the glory-seeking view which sees the past only as being full of glories and victories.
4. Employing the latest and best techniques so as to realise the aim and learning from the experience of others, even if it means learning from the experience of the enemies. Wisdom is a believer’s lost property, wherever he finds it, he is more worthy of it than any other person.
5. Subjecting everything except religious and intellectual incontestable facts to tests and accepting the outcome regardless of whether or not it is in one’s favour.
6. Avoiding haste in passing decisions and judgements, and adopting attitudes only after a careful study based on examination and evaluation and only after a constructive dialogue (with the other side) which would reveal shortcomings and advantages (of the issue being discussed).

7. Appreciating the 'other view' and respecting the opinions of those who adopt opposing opinions in multi-faceted issues in *fiqh* and all branches of knowledge, so long as each has his own evidence and argument and the point at issue is not decided by a clear text that would preclude any dispute. Our *ulama* have established that *ijtihad*-based opinions cannot be condemned for there is no preference for one *mujtahid* over another. However, this should not prevent constructive dialogue and academic, impartial verification in an atmosphere of tolerance and love.

### Some Practices that Run Against the Scientific Ideology

It is against the scientific way of thinking to oversimplify complicated issues, underrate serious issues, view difficult problems with an alarming superficiality or deal with major issues with the mentality of the uneducated and the practices of the dervishes.

It is detrimental to our thinking that we should see behind anything that we do not like invisible hands and evil foreign powers that have masterminded our plight wickedly and waited patiently until we stepped into the trap of our own accord. This may be true in some cases but it is wrong to generalise it. Explaining events in our history to be the results of schemes and conspiracies regardless of whether the events are political, social, economic, cultural or educational, bears two bad fruits:

Firstly, if such a feeling escalates, it breeds a sense of fatalism that advocates that there is nothing we can do about these satanic schemes because of the gigantic financial and intellectual capabilities of the forces behind them and because of our own weaknesses and shortcomings. This way we become 'chessmen on a chessboard' and such a feeling would breed only despair and a destructive sense of defeat.

Secondly, this attitude prevents us from self-criticism and precludes any sincere attempt to understand our deficiencies, remedy our ailments or examine our failures and sins. It impedes any effort to look for the causes of our diseases so that we may find a cure for them. This situation will remain as long as any deficiency, neglect, corruption or ruin is seen as the result of a devious foreign scheme, not as the consequence of our own behaviour.

We have adopted this attitude despite the fact that the Qur'an teaches us to blame only ourselves whenever we are met by a misfortune or are the target of a calamity or a defeat. As Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿And whatever of misfortune befalls you, it is because of what your hands have earned. And He Pardons much﴾<sup>27</sup>

After the Muslims had been struck by the calamity of losing seventy of their heroes in the Battle of Uhud after an impressive victory at Badr, they asked each other the reason for this. The Qur'an replied: ﴿(What is the matter with you?) When a single disaster struck you, although you struck (your enemies) with one twice as great, you say: "From where does this come to us?" Say (to them): "It is from yourselves."﴾<sup>28</sup>

## A REALISTIC IDEOLOGY

Among the characteristics of the scientific ideology we want for the Islamic Movement in the coming phase is that it is based on reality, not on illusion or dreams.

### **Balancing Ambitions with Capabilities**

One of the realities we have to establish in our minds is that we should balance our ambitions with our capabilities and weigh what we wish against what we can actually get, so that we may not commit ourselves to matters for which we are not prepared or for which we do not possess the necessary tools. The Holy Qur'an authorises a warrior to turn his back to battle if he is trying to execute a strategy of war or retreat to a troop (of his own people).

A warrior is also authorised to withdraw from the battle when the situation is not in his favour as a result of the presence of a large enemy that is more than double the Muslim army (in numbers): ﴿Now Allah has lightened your (task), for He knows that there is a weakness in you. So if there are of you a hundred steadfast persons, they shall overcome two hundred, and if there are a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand with the Permission of Allah. And Allah is with those who are patient﴾<sup>29</sup>

In the battle of Mu'ta, the Roman Army was many times the number of the Muslim Army (the Muslim Army consisted of 3,000 men and the Roman Army consisted of 150,000 men). This correlation of troops made the military genius Khalid Ibn Al Walid plan for the withdrawal of the Muslims to safety instead of risking a battle that represented suicide.

When he returned with his companions to Madinah, the enthusiastic Muslim youth received them by throwing stones at

them and describing them as ‘deserters’. But the Prophet defended them saying: *“No, they are the attackers by the Will of Allah.”*

A wise leader is he who cares for the lives of his troops. This is what made Umar Ibn Al Khattab, during the early stages of his rule, reluctant to invade the Byzantines. He said to those who urged him to do so: *“By Allah, a single Muslim is dearer to me than the Byzantinian Empire and all that it has!”*

A wise Muslim is he who does not get himself involved in things that he cannot undertake. Allah the All Mighty says: *﴿So keep your duty to Allah and fear Him as much as you can﴾*<sup>30</sup>

It is mentioned in a *hadith*: *“A Muslim is not allowed to humiliate himself.” It was said (to the Prophet): “O Messesnger of Allah, how can he humiliate himself?” The Prophet answered: “By shouldering such ordeals he cannot carry.”*

A mistake that the Islamic Movement could easily make is to be driven by the emotions of the common people in making vital decisions. In some countries the Muslim masses may push some of the leader’s of the Movement into the political battle where they would be fighting with all their might before they are fully in possession of the mental, political and specialised abilities that are required for that task. In doing so, these leaders would be shouldering more than they can carry, which is a sure prescription for failure.

Such failure is the result of haste, miscalculation, overestimation of one’s abilities and underestimation of the abilities of others. We have before us the example of the Prophet when he denied his Companions in Makkah the permission to initiate an armed clash with the polytheists even when they were being harmed and tortured. He used to say: *“Hold back your hands from fighting and establish salah.”*

Such was the case until Allah provided His Messenger with a free land and a solid base for launching his operations and thus began the *jihad*. Allah says in relation to this: ﴿Permission to fight is given to those who are being fought against because they have been wronged. And surely Allah is able to give them victory﴾<sup>31</sup>

### **Burying Historical Problems**

We want the new ideology to make us bury historical problems that have preoccupied Muslim minds and wasted Muslim efforts for some time in vain, such as the problem of *az zaat was sifat* (divine entity and qualities); are the divine attributes the very divine essence or rather something else? Or are those attributes neither the essence nor anything else?

Such problems also include the problem of *khalq al Qur'an* (whether the Qur'an was created or not) and the ensuing ordeals to which a number of Islam's prominent Imams were subjected; the unneeded exaggeration in raising controversies about *ta'wil* (exploring hidden meanings in interpreting religious texts) between early and later generations and the attempts to refute the *aqeedah* of the *Ash'aris*, *Maturidis* and their proponents among the scholars of religious universities in the Islamic world - Al-Azhar, Az-Zaytunah, Al-Qarawiyyin, Deoband etc.

None of these problems should be allowed to preoccupy the minds as we prepare for the next phase to face up to Zionists, Crusaders, Marxists and advocates of destructive philosophies from the East and West alike.

### **A Debate that We do not Need Today**

The realistic ideology we need is one that focuses on construction and work, not on haggling and debate. For when Allah wants to punish people, he preoccupies them with debate and denies them (the ability to do serious) work. By debate, I mean debate on



problems that are historical, purely hypothetical or by their nature are controversial.

A debate that we do not need, or would not benefit from today, is that debate which is raised from time to time about the nature of military *jihad* (*qital*) in Islam, i.e. is it a defensive *jihad* for defending the *aqeedah* of Islam, its sanctums and territories or an offensive *jihad* for spreading Islam in the world?

Many of the contemporary scholars wrote on this topic and have been divided into two groups. Those who adopted the first opinion (that *jihad* should be defensive) include: Sayyed Rashid Rida, Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut, Shaykh Muhammad Abu Zahra, Shaykh Muhammad Al Ghazali and Shaykh Abdullah Ibn Zayd Al Mahmud.

Their argument is based on many verses of the Qur'an such as: ﴿And fight in the Way of Allah (against) those who fight you, but transgress not the limits. Truly Allah likes not the transgressors﴾<sup>32</sup> and ﴿So if they withdraw from you and fight not against you, and offer you peace, then Allah has opened no way for you against them﴾<sup>33</sup>

The second group includes Allama Abul A'la Al Mawdudi, Shaheed Sayyed Qutb and others.

Their argument is based on what they call '*ayatus sayf*' (the verse of the sword) which according to their claim, has abrogated all the verses that preceded it and were representing a phase that had ended. However, they have differed over the 'verse of the sword' itself, being unable to determine unanimously which verse it is in the Qur'an.

I believe that there is no need for this fierce controversy over this issue at present, for three reasons:

Firstly, we Muslims have not discharged the duty of *jihad* that is compulsory for everyone of us in many of the Islamic countries to liberate the Muslim land from usurpers and aggressors in Palestine, Eritrea, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarkand, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and other Muslim republics (and cities) of the Soviet Union<sup>34</sup> and other similar places in China, Ethiopia and Thailand, etc. No Muslim can argue against the necessity of rescuing these countries from the hands of the anti-Islamic forces; as Allah says: ﴿And what is wrong with you that you fight not in the Cause of Allah and for those weak, ill treated and oppressed among men, women and children, whose cry is: “Our Lord! Rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from You one who will protect, and raise for us from You one who will help.”﴾<sup>35</sup>

The Muslim Ummah has not carried out this compulsory defensive duty, so how can it talk now of offensive *jihad*?

Secondly, offensive *jihad*, to those who advocate it, is removing the forces that block the path of Allah’s servants and have taken it upon themselves to prevent Muslims from conveying the Word of Allah to the people. But no force can stand in our way today if we act in earnest and devote our efforts to conveying our *da’wah* to the whole world. The spoken, written and televised word can be spread all over the world in all languages by radio, television, books, messages, the press and the Muslim communities in all countries of the world.

However, we are the most abysmally negligent people in this respect, if we compare our efforts with the Christian missionaries and what they do to promulgate their doctrine and translate their Bibles into languages and dialects that may be counted by the thousands. They are sending their missionaries, male and female to the four corners of the earth in hundreds of thousands, to the extent that they now aspire to convert us to Christianity so that we

may follow their creed!

Thirdly, we depend on others for military power. Those against whom we want to launch our offensive *jihad* are the same people who make all sorts of weapons and sell them to us. If it was not for them, we would be unarmed, defenseless and unable to do anything! This being the case, how can we talk of launching an offensive *jihad* to subject the whole world to our Message when the only weapons we can muster are those given to us by them and when the only arms we can carry are those they agree to sell to us?

## A TRADITIONALIST IDEOLOGY

Among the characteristics of this ideology is that it is a *salafi* (traditionalist) ideology. By the term '*salafi*' we mean that it should be an intellectual methodology based on an application of the understanding of the provisions of the Qur'an and the guidelines of Sunnah as understood by the best generations of the Ummah - the Prophet's Companions and those who followed correctly on their path.

### Fundamentals of the True *Salafi* Methodology

This methodology is generally based on the following principles and fundamentals:

1. Judging by the infallible texts and not by sayings of men.
2. Having recourse in determining the meaning of the *mutashabihat* (intricate texts) to the *muhkamat* (perspicuous texts) and of the *zanniyyat* (inconclusive texts) to the *qat'iyyat* (conclusive texts).
3. Understanding the *furu'* and the *juzi'iyat* (secondary concepts and subsidiary judgements) in the light of the *usool* and *kulliyat* (principles and generalities).
4. Advocating *ijtihad* (personal reasoning) and *tajdeed* (renewal) and denouncing rigidity and *taqleed* (blind imitation).
5. Advocating commitment (to proper conduct), not looseness, in the field of morals.
6. Advocating *tayseer* (facilitation) not *tase'er* (making things difficult and hard) in the field of *fiqh*.

7. Advocating *tabsheer* (being affable to people and dealing with them nicely) rather than *tanfeer* (scaring them away by behaving harshly with them) in the field of direction and guidance.
8. Devoting attention to the cultivation of true and firm *iman* and not *jidal* (argumentation) in the field of *aqeedah*.
9. Devoting attention to the *ruh* (spirit and content) and not to the *shakl* (form) in the field of *ibadah*.
10. Paying attention to adherence to rules in religious matters and innovation of rules in worldly matters.

This is the essence of the methodology followed by the early believers and applied in the theoretical and practical education of the cream of the generations of the Ummah who were praised by Allah in the Holy Qur'an and by the Prophet in the *ahadith* and who proved to be worthy of that praise as verified by history.

They have handed down to their successors the knowledge of the Holy Qur'an, memorised the Sunnah, accomplished conquests, spread the light of justice and *ihsan*, established the state of knowledge and *iman*, built a universal, godly, humanitarian and moral civilisation, whose memory is still alive in history.

### **Injustice Done to 'As Salafiyah' by Both its Proponents and Opponents**

Injustice has been done to the term '*salafiyah*' (traditionalism) by its proponents and opponents alike.

Many of its proponents - or those who are claimed by people and by themselves to be its proponents, have confined this methodology to a framework of formalities and polemics on issues of *ilm al kalam* (scholastic theology) *fiqh* or *tasawwuf*. They spend their days and

stay awake all night relentlessly attacking anyone who goes against their opinion on any of these issues or refutes their judgement on any particular detail.

Their attitude has become so absurd that some people now think of the '*salafi*' methodology as a methodology of polemics, not construction and work or that it focuses on details at the expense of generalities; on disputed concepts at the expense of approved concepts and on form and letter at the expense of content and spirit.

The opponents of '*as salafiyyah*' on the other hand, describe it as being backward - always looking back but never going ahead and never daring for the present or the future. They also describe it as being fanatic, never listening or even paying attention to the other opinion, as they regard it to be against *tajdeed*, *ibda'a* (innovation) and *ijtihad* and also far from moderation. In fact this is an injustice to real traditionalism and to its true advocates.

Perhaps the most prominent advocates of '*as salafiyyah*' in old times were Shaykh Al Islam Ibn Taymiyyah and his disciple Ibn Al Qayyim. They were truly the most worthy of being representatives of the Islamic revivalist movement in their time. Their movement was an all- encompassing renewal of the sciences of Islam. They stood in the face of blind imitation and the ideological, theological and jurisprudential fanaticism that had been dominating Islamic thought for several centuries.

However, although they had stood against the fanatic methodology of imitation, they did give the imams of the schools of jurisprudence their due share of respect and esteem, as in Ibn Taymiyyah's treatise 'Lifting the Blame off the Prominent Imams'.

Moreover, in their campaign against the ideological and doctrinal aberrations, especially by the proponents of *hulul* and *ittihad* and

behavioural deviations that had infiltrated into *tasawwuf* at the hands of the ignorant, the imposters and the mercenary people, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Al Qayyim did do justice to true *tasawwuf* and paid tribute to its faithful advocates. They produced much literature in this field, including the two volumes dedicated to this subject in the '*Majm'u Fatawa* (Islamic Legal Opinions) of Ibn Taymiyyah and a number of books by Ibn Al Qayyim, the most famous of which are '*Madarij as Salikeen*' (The Pathway of the Travellers) and '*Sharh Manazil as-Saireen*' (a commentary on 'The Stations of the Walkers') in three volumes.

### **Adopting the Methodology of the *Salaf* and Not Just Their Judgements**

I have to emphasise here that the methodology of the *Salaf* has to be adopted and not just their judgements on specific details; as one may apply their judgement in some subsidiary details but know nothing about their balanced and integrated methodology.

One may apply the spirit of this methodology and seek its goals while differing with some of the opinions given by the early Muslims.

This is how I stand from Imam Ibn Taymiyyah and Imam Ibn Al Qayyim. I do respect and appreciate their overall methodology but that does not make me accept everything that they say. If I accepted all that they say I would be imitating them in everything and thus violating the very methodology which they advocated and for which they had to contend with so much trouble and opposition. Their methodology called for contemplation, judging by proof and weighing by the judgement itself and not by those passing the judgement.

Thus how can one be right in criticising those who imitate Imam Abu Hanifa and Imam Malik when he himself is imitating Ibn Taymiyyah or Ibn Al Qayyim?

It would also be unfair to the two Imams to mention only the academic and intellectual part of their lives and ignore the other bright sides of their active lives. We should not ignore the *rabbani* (godly and righteous) aspect that made a man like Ibn Taymiyah say: "Sometimes I say: 'If the people of Jannah are leading a life like mine, then they should be leading a good life!'" He also used to say in times of distress and captivity: "What can my enemies do to me? My captivity is a seclusion (for *ibadah*), my banishment is religious travel (i.e. seeking of knowledge), and my murder is *shahadah* (martyrdom)!"

He was a man of godly taste and so was his disciple Ibn Al Qayyim, as will be realised by anyone who reads their literature with attention and good faith. Moreover, we should never ignore the aspect of helping the *da'wah* and *jihad* in the lives of the two Imams. Ibn Taymiyyah took part in some of the military battles himself, fighting with his hands and raking the flames of enthusiasm in the hearts of other soldiers with his words. The two Imams lived in a continuous struggle for renewing Islam, going to prison several times on account of their zealous efforts until Shaykh Al Islam Ibn Taymiyyah died in prison in the year 728 A.H. This is what true *salafiyah* is!

If we examine our contemporary history, we will find that the most prominent scholar who advocated traditionalism in his articles, his books and his magazine and who carried the flag of modern traditionalism was Allama Muhammad Rashid Rida. He was the founder editor and owner of the '*Al Manar*' magazine, in which he published the '*Tafseer Al Manar*' which became very well known all across the Muslim world.

Imam Muhammad Rashid Rida was the true renewer of Islam of his time. Anyone who reads his '*Tafseer*', his '*Fatawa*' or his books such as 'The Inspiration of Muhammad', 'The Facility of Islam', 'A Call to the Fair Sex', 'The Khilafah', 'The Arguments of the



Reformer and the Imitator' and many other books and articles, will certainly realise that the man's thoughts were a real '*manar*' (lighthouse) that has guided the ship of Islam in modern history. His practical life was a real application of his traditionalist ideology.

Imam Rida was the originator of the golden rule which was adopted later by Imam Hasan Al Banna, namely that 'we should cooperate in what we agree upon and find excuses for each other in what we differ on.'

What a marvellous rule;<sup>36</sup> if only it could be properly understood and applied by those who claim to be advocates and followers of the *Salaf*.

## A REVIVALISTIC IDEOLOGY

Another characteristic of the ideology we want is that it is revivalistic and is not to be confined to the boundaries of the 'old', nor would it adhere to inherited forms or accustomed means. It is an ideology that believes in *ijtihad* and adopts creativity, as it rejects imitation and subordination and views stagnation as death itself. It renews jurisprudence, education, politics and all other fields.

### Revivalism is Not Opposed to Traditionalism

As I have explained in my book 'The Islamic Awakening and the Woes of the Arab-Muslim World', there is no contradiction between revivalism and traditionalism. On the contrary, the two of them are two faces of the same coin: true revivalism only exists when it is traditionalist and true traditionalism only exists when it is revivalistic.

### Islam Approves of Revivalism

We should never say that the Islamic Movement, its origin, direction, goals and principles and Islam are all one thing that is fixed and cannot be renewed.

Firstly, we say that Islam itself approves of *tajdeed* (renewal and revival) as mentioned in the well known and verified *hadith*: "Allah will send to the Ummah at the start of every hundred years someone who will revive the Deen."<sup>37</sup>

*Tajdeed* is legitimate and required by *hadith* and what saying could be better than that of the Prophet's? Thus we should not be intimidated by the term '*tajdeed*' in the *Deen*, now that it has proven to be stated in the afore-mentioned *hadith*. What we should do here is to determine the meaning of *tajdeed* so that no manipulators would manipulate the *Deen* in the name of their so-

called *tajdeed*, while they are far from *tajdeed* as can be.

I have explained in a study that I have written on this *hadith*, the meaning of *tajdeed* and its aspects and who should undertake it. In short, reviving something does not mean eliminating it and substituting something for it, but means restoring it as much as possible to the shape it was in when it first emerged into existence and maintaining its essence, characteristics and features to the minutest detail without altering them in the least. This applies to both the concrete and abstract senses. Renovating an ancient building such as a palace, a temple or a mosque, does not mean demolishing it and building another but rather means restoring it and taking every care to return it to its original state as much as possible. This is what true *tajdeed* is.

*Tajdeed* of the *Deen* includes the renewal of its understanding of *fiqh*, which is an ideological *tajdeed*; renewing belief in it, which is a spiritual *tajdeed* and renewing the effort for its help and the call for its promulgation, which is a practical *tajdeed*. Each age requires its own type of *tajdeed* that addresses the deficiencies and cures the ailments of the specific age.

However, there is an area that *tajdeed* can never enter under any conditions - it is the area of *al-qat'iyyat* (the conclusive) where Islam has passed its decisive judgement in the various aspects of *aqeedah*, *ibadah* and *ahkam* which embody the doctrinal, spiritual, intellectual and behavioural unity of the Muslim Ummah.

I have elaborated on this point in other books which the reader may refer to if he so wishes.<sup>38</sup>

### The Necessity of Reviving Methods

Secondly, although the Movement is Islamic in source, orientation, principle and objective, it can adopt such methodologies and means that it sees fit to serve the *Deen* and establish it on the earth, as

appropriate to the respective time, place and condition.

Methodologies, means and systems are not as immortal as Islam itself. They do not possess the consistency of Islamic fundamentals and principles, as they are tools produced by human endeavour and effort for reviving and renewing Islam in the hearts and in life itself.

Imam Hasan Al Banna, who laid down the first rules of organised work of the Islamic Movement for the *tajdeed* of Islam, did not claim infallibility for himself or for the tools which Allah inspired him with, despite the fact that his tools were so good and powerful that Sayyed Qutb was right in naming them 'the genius of building' and the (ex) *Murshid Al Aam* (General Guide) Umar Al Tilmisani was right to describe him as 'the inspired talented leader' and Shaykh Al Ghazali was right to call him 'the *Mujaddid* (reviver) of the Fourteenth Century (A.H.)'. Despite this, these means should be subjected to evaluation from time to time, just as education experts do to their curricula and reference books bringing them up for revision every few years and making a deletion or an insertion here and an amendment there. This is necessary for any human activity, regardless of how close it may be to accuracy or perfection.

### **Imam Hasan Al Banna Was Not Rigid**

Imam Hasan Al Banna himself was not rigid in his approach but was always renewing and developing means and approaches for the Movement's structures, institutions and systems. Imam Hasan Al Banna would not 'turn in his grave' if some of his followers (, i.e. of *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon*) went against him in an issue on which he had given an opinion, such as the issue of multi-party system in an Islamic State; an issue in which I myself have gone against the opinion of Imam Hasan Al Banna.

Imam Hasan Al Banna would not 'turn in his grave' either if somebody added to his *usool* (principles) that which may seem as complementary to it, as Shaykh Al Ghazali has done in his

explanation of the 'twenty principles' in his book entitled 'The Constitution of the Cultural Unity for Muslims'.

There is nothing legal, traditional or intellectual that prevents the reconsideration of educational means and systems inside the *Jama'ah*, such as the system of the *usrah* and the *katibah*,<sup>39</sup> with a view to adding new means or systems to them if appropriate.

There is also no harm in re-examining political strategies in the light of local, regional and international changes and developments. Under the current circumstances such re-examination may make it imperative to enter into fronts or alliances, or resort to truces or partnership, as dictated by the high interests of Islam, the Ummah and the Movement. Every country has its unique conditions, every period has its own rules, and every group has its own capabilities, requirements and conditions that are known to it better than to any other group.

The Islamic Movement, like *fiqh* and other *Shari'ah*-related sciences, will not live, prosper and grow without the minds of studious, creative renewers and thinkers, and will not wither, shrink and become 'sterilised' except through the minds of the rigid imitators; if what they had in their heads could be called 'minds'!

### **Rigidity is a Serious Disease**

As I have explained in my book 'The Islamic Solution: A *Faridbah* and A Necessity', rigidity is one of the diseases that afflict the systemised ideology of a Movement and one of the obstacles that hinder the Islamic Movement from within.

Being rigid in sticking to a rigid pattern in organisation, a rigid pattern in the methods of *tarbiyah*, a rigid pattern in the means of *da'wah*, a rigid pattern in the stages by which the objective will be attained and a rigid pattern in certain political ideas, to the extent that, anyone who tries to change, add to or amend these

procedures, means and methods finds himself facing zealous refusals even accusations and defamations.

Once again, I would like to stress that the *tajdeed* we seek does not mean the abolition of the old. It rather means modernising, improving, upgrading and adding to the old especially in terms of tools, means and procedures which are normally flexible and changeable. All this should be undertaken with a view to making use of the capabilities afforded by our contemporary age and possessed and used by others.

### What I Fear for the Islamic Movement

My worst fear for the Islamic Movement is that it opposes the free thinkers among its followers and closes the door to *tajdeed* and *ijtihad*, confining itself to only one type of thinking that does not accept any other viewpoints which prescribe different objectives, means or phases, or viewpoints which give a different assessment of people, events, situations or differ with that single way of thinking in any other pursuits that fall under human *ijtihad*. Human *ijtihad* is always subject to development and change according to the changing conditions and factors. Our *fugaha* said long ago: 'A *fatwa* must change with the change of time, place, customs and conditions.'

If my fear turns into reality, then the capable minds that can renew and innovate will escape from the ranks of the Movement like water escapes through the fingers, leaving behind those conservatives who can only imitate and who like everything to stay as it is regardless of how ancient it is. They are the ones who believe that what we know is better than what we do not know and that what we have tried should be better than what we have yet to try.<sup>40</sup>

The end result will be for the Movement to lose the creative minds among its ranks and eventually fall prey to stagnation or to an impotence that afflicted jurisprudence and literature in the ages of

imitation. The remaining members of the Movement will then creep into their shells, despairing of any fruitful effort to help Islam, or they will work individually, disassociating themselves from any collective effort or they will throw themselves with others in another collective venture whose consequences are unknown.

The worst damage to Muslim minds in all ages - past and present, has been done by that adage which says: 'The predecessors have left nothing to be added by the successors!' or in other words: 'It cannot be better!'

There is nothing that can benefit Muslim minds now more than the adoption of a contrary adage which says: 'The predecessors have left a lot to be added by the successors', or 'It can always be better': ﴿And He creates (other) things of which you have no knowledge﴾<sup>41</sup>

## A BALANCED IDEOLOGY

Another characteristic of the ideology we seek is that it is balanced in its objectives and orientation. It is an ideology that reflects an intermediate, balanced, comprehensive attitude towards people and life, a balanced attitude of an evenly balanced Ummah that is far from being extremist or negligent.

### Approach of the Balanced Ideology Towards Major Issues

The balanced ideology is characterised in its approach towards important major issues as follows:

1. It is balanced between the advocates of strict *madh'habiyyah* (belonging to a school of thought in *fiqh*) and the advocates of loose non-*madh'habiyyah*.
2. It is balanced between those who support *tasawwuf* regardless of whether it deviates or innovates (in matters of *ibadah*) and those who oppose *tasawwuf* regardless of whether it is proper and in accordance with the *Shari'ah*.
3. It is balanced between the advocates of an uncontrolled 'open door' policy and the advocates of an unjustified 'closed door' policy.
4. It is balanced between those who refer to the *aql* (intellect) even if it goes against conclusive text and those who never refer to the *aql* even in understanding the text.
5. It is balanced between those who regard heritage as sacred even if it shows human failures, and those who disregard heritage even when it shows signs of heavenly inspiration.



6. It is balanced between those who indulge in politics at the expense of education and those who neglect politics completely on the pretext of devotion to education.
7. It is balanced between those who hurry to pick the fruit before it is ripe and those who fail to see it until it falls into the hands of others (, i.e. after it becomes ripe).
8. It is balanced between those who are preoccupied with the present and do not heed the future, and those who exaggerate in foreseeing the future as if they were reading from a book.
9. It is balanced between those who regard organisational structures as idols to be worshipped and those who stay away from any organised work as if they were beads in a broken string.
10. It is balanced between those who go to an extreme in obeying a *shaykh* or a leader as if they were dead men committed to the hands of the washer, and those who behave with such freedom as if they were not members of a group.
11. It is balanced between the advocates of worldwide action without paying attention to local conditions, and the advocates of narrow regional action that has no connection with the global movement.
12. It is balanced between the overly optimistic who disregard obstacles and dangers, and the overly pessimistic who see nothing but darkness and never hope for the break of dawn.
13. It is balanced between those who go to an extreme in forbidding things as if there is nothing *halal* in this world and those who exaggerate in permitting things as if there is nothing *haram* in this world.

This is the balanced ideology we seek. However, the rule in our societies today is to go to an extreme - either it is the extreme of excessiveness or it is the extreme of negligence and the exceptions are few.

### **The Decline of the Balanced Attitude Among Some Islamists at Some Times**

Some Islamists can see only two colours - black and white. They know no other colours nor can they see any of the primary and secondary colours that other people can see and which have countless shades. Some of these people restrict all colours, and life itself, to only one colour - black. They see people and things through a black film that covers their eyes.

It is through this 'black' pessimistic look that they have formulated ready answers for every question, which they launch like missiles, not caring whom or what they hit. To them, the whole of society is an embodiment of *jahiliyyah* (ignorance of the pre-Islamic period); everything in life is a sin; people are either unbelievers or hypocrites and the world is full of monsters and the universe is full of evil.

To them, everything that people do in their contemporary life is *haram* and thus all of singing is *haram*; every kind of music is *haram*; all acting is *haram*; the theatre is *haram* and every kind of art is also *haram*.<sup>42</sup>

They venture in their judgements, despite the fact that the *Salaf* were very careful not to use the word '*haram*' to describe anything except what they knew to be *haram* beyond any doubt. This is why two Qur'anic verses denounced wine in Surah Al Baqarah: ﴿They ask you concerning alcoholic drink and gambling. Say: "In them is a great sin and (some) benefit for men, but the sin of them is greater than their benefit.">﴾<sup>43</sup> and in Surah An Nisa ﴿And do not approach prayer when you are in a drunken state﴾,<sup>44</sup> but some of the

Prophet's Companions continued drinking it, and some said: "O Allah, send down to us a decisive judgement on wine", and henceforth the decisive judgement was sent down in Surah Al Ma'idah: ﴿So avoid (strictly all) that (abomination) so that you may be successful﴾<sup>45</sup>

We have to admit that the past period, especially the 1950's, was a rich breeding ground for a certain type of dark ideas that proliferated in the Islamic arena to the extent that the predominant way of thinking was one that advocated rejection of everything, pessimism and suspicion and accusation of others regardless of their beliefs and tendencies, including Muslims.

The phenomenon of judging others as sinners and heretics even unbelievers found a very rich breeding ground and was helped to grow and proliferate by the oppressive environment in which the Islamic Movement and its advocates lived at that time. In that period, the advocates of the Islamic Movement were hanged in public, tortured to death in secret or subjected to all kinds of persecution while the doors were opened wide to Communists, Secularists and the enemies of Islam of every colour.

It was in that period that the books of Shaheed Sayyed Qutb, which reflected the last phase in his thought, were published. They were full of ideas that advocated branding society as an unbelieving society, advised the postponement of calling for an Islamic system, made fun of the idea of renewing and developing Islamic jurisprudence and reviving *ijtihad*. It also advocated isolation from society as a whole, called for launching an offensive *jihad* against all people in general and did not take seriously the advocates of tolerance and flexibility, branding them with naivety and psychological defeat in the face of Western civilisation.

This trend in Shaheed Sayyed Qutb's thinking is most evident in his *tafseer* of the Holy Qur'an entitled '*Fi Zilalil Qur'an*' (In the

Shade of the Qur'an) in its second edition as well as in his book '*Ma'alim Fit Tareeq*' (Signs Along The Road), most of which was taken from the former book '*Al Islam wa Mushkilatul Hadarah*' (Islam and the Problems of Civilisation) and other books that had great positive effects but also had their negative effects.

Books of Shaykh Sa'eed Hawwa, may Allah forgive him and have peace on him, also appeared during this period, advocating the same ideas.

Meanwhile, there emerged a new type of *fiqh* invented by those whom I call 'the neo-*Zahiris*' (those who interpret the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah according to its literal meaning) who claim, or are claimed by people, to belong to the school of Ibn Taymiyyah and his students, while Ibn Taymiyyah and his students were as far as one can be from 'literal interpretation' and never confined themselves to the 'forms and moulds' which these people hold so desperately to.

That was how rigidity and obstinacy came to dominate the Islamic way of thinking and the tolerant, easy spirit of evenly balanced thinking was forced to give ground for some time. I believe that the Islamic Movement now has to disentangle itself from the way of thinking peculiar to times of distress or crisis so that it may move on to the moderate evenly balanced Muslim Ummah and the evenly balanced Islamic way of life by which Allah intends facility, not difficulty.

### **The Middle-Course Approach Goes Hand in Hand With Facilitation**

Adopting the middle-course or balanced approach, in my view, goes hand in hand with *tayseer* (facilitation) and thus it is a balanced attitude between rigidity and undue exaggeration on the one hand, and laxity and looseness on the other.

## The Movement Should Adopt a Line of Facilitation

The Islamic Movement must adopt a line of facilitation, not complication, in its jurisprudential opinions regarding society and its policies, economy, laws, dealings and international relations. I say this for more than one reason:

Firstly, the *Shari'ah* is based on facility, mercy, tolerance and elimination of difficulty and unease, as pointed out by numerous texts.

Allah the All Mighty says after the verse in which He prescribes fasting: ﴿Allah intends for you ease and He does not want to make things difficult for you﴾<sup>46</sup> At the end of the verse that prescribes taharah (cleanliness) we find: ﴿Allah does not want to place you in difficulty﴾<sup>47</sup> After the judgments on marriage and forbidden liasons, Allah says: ﴿Allah wishes to lighten (the burden) for you and man was created weak﴾<sup>48</sup> In the context of prescribing equality and forgiveness in cases of murder, He says: ﴿There is an alleviation and a mercy from your Lord﴾<sup>49</sup>

The Noble Prophet said: *“Make matters easy, not difficult”*<sup>50</sup> and *“You are sent to facilitate matters and not make them difficult.”*<sup>51</sup>

When Amr Ibn Al Aas was afflicted with *janabah* (ceremonial impurity) on a cold night, he performed the *salah* without performing the *ghusl* (bath). The people who were with him complained to the Prophet, and Amr defended himself saying: *“I remembered the saying of Allah ﴿And do not kill yourselves and surley Allah is Most Merciful to you﴾”*<sup>52</sup> and the Prophet smiled.

But the Prophet very strongly denounced the attitude of some people who were of the opinion that a wounded man who was in a state of *janabah* must perform *ghusl*, consequently the man bathed and died as a result of their harsh opinion. The Prophet said: *“They*

*killed him. Why did they not ask when they did not know? The cure for the one who does not know is to ask. It would have been enough for him to tie a bandage around his wound and perform tayammum (dry ablution)."*<sup>53</sup>

Secondly, in this age of ours, people are in dire need as could ever be for facilitation, out of mercy for them. Their determination has weakened and they have become reluctant to pursue good activities while the obstacles in the path of goodness and their desire for committing evil has increased.

It is therefore more advisable to give people the license of facility instead of ordering them to follow the strictest rules. This is what the Prophet did with the people who had just entered Islam, or with the bedouins of the desert. The Prophet used to accept those who vowed not to perform more than the basic *fara'idh* and not perform the voluntary acts of *ibadah*; the Prophet used to say of them: *"He will be successful if he is truthful (in what he said)"* or *"He will enter Paradise if he keeps his promise"* or *"If anyone of you want to see one of the people of Paradise, let him look at this man."*

The Prophet adopted such an attitude towards such people because of his kindness and consideration of their difficult circumstances.

Thirdly, an individual may impose on himself the hardest conditions if he so wishes, testing his will to the limit, though moderation is the best and most appropriate way. As the Prophet says: *"Allah likes people to take the rukhsah (facilitation) as he dislikes them committing sins."*<sup>54</sup>

However a *faqih* (a scholar entitled to give legal opinions) should not impose hard conditions on Muslims in matters that concern the wide majority: he has to take into account that among them are the weak, the old and those who have legal reasons for being excused. A *hadith* says about leading congregational prayers: *"He who is an*

*Imam in the prayer, should make his prayer short, for among the people (praying behind him) are the old, the ill and those with errands to run.*” Prayer is a symbol of the various acts of life.

Therefore the *fugaha* of the Islamic Movement cannot just adopt strict opinions that restrict and do not facilitate, and prohibit but do not allow, especially with respect to the issues related to women, family, arts, entertainment, etc.

This also applies to transactions, where the rule is to allow and the exception is to prohibit. It also applies to penal codes where the least punishment should be imposed, including the opinion that the repentance rescinds the *hadd*, and the opinion that the punishment for drinking wine is a discretionary one and so forth.<sup>55</sup>

I would like our motto in this phase to be the statement of Imam Sufyan Al Thawri: “Only the trustworthy *fugaha* can permit facilitation, but everybody knows how to pass a restraining opinion.”

## A FUTURISTIC IDEOLOGY

One of the characteristics of the ideology that we want for the Islamic Movement is that it is a futuristic ideology that always looks into the future and does not confine itself to the present. It is not strange that the Islamic Movement should care about the future for this is the logic of Islam as manifested in the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

### The Holy Qur'an and the Future

A careful study of the Holy Qur'an should make us see that since the Makkan time, the Qur'an directed the attention of the Muslims to the aspired future, telling them that the world was changing and circumstances will change, with the victor becoming vanquished and weak becoming strong and that roles rotate, i.e. each having his turn for assuming power at both regional and international levels.

Muslims have to put their house in order and prepare themselves for the developments that will come sooner or later but come they eventually will.

If we read in Surah Al Qamar, which is a Makkan Surah, we will find the saying of Allah about the polytheists who were strongly built, large in number and heavily armed: ﴿Soon their multitude will be put to flight and they will show their backs. Nay, but the Hour is their appointed time (for their full recompense) and the Hour will be more grievous and more bitter﴾<sup>56</sup>

Ibn Kathir says in his *tafseer* of the Holy Qur'an that Ikramah said: "When the verse ﴿Soon their multitude will be put to flight﴾ was revealed, Umar Ibn Al Khattab asked as to which 'multitude' will be put to flight. On the day of Badr, I saw the Prophet moving his armour and say: ﴿Soon their multitude will be put to flight﴾; I



knew then what was meant by the verse.”<sup>57</sup>

Al Bukhari narrated on the authority of A’isha that she said: “The (verse) ﴿Nay, but the Hour is their appointed time (for their full recompense) and the Hour will be more grievous and more bitter﴾<sup>58</sup> was revealed to the Prophet in Makkah while I was still a young girl playing.”

Such verses were aimed at preparing the mentality of the Muslims and the psychology of the Muslims for the inevitable change and the awaited future.

At an international level, we find the Holy Qur’an speaking of the historic conflict between the two super powers of the time: the Romans and the Persians - a conflict that the two groups in Makkah, the Muslims and the unbelievers were concerned about. The Qur’an promised the Muslims that the days to come will be dominated by the Romans who were from among the *Ahlul Kitab*, while the Persians, who were fire worshippers, although victorious today, would be defeated in a few years. Surah Ar Rum asserts that: ﴿Alif Lam Mim. The Romans have been defeated. In the nearer land within a few years. The decision of the matter, before and after (these events) is only with Allah, (before the defeat of the Romans by the Persians and after, i.e. the defeat of the Persians by the Romans). And on that Day, the believers will rejoice. With the help of Allah, He helps whom He wills, and He is the All Mighty, the All Merciful﴾<sup>59</sup>

These verses tell us two things:

1. That the Muslims, small in number and means as they were, were quite aware of the great events in the world, the conflicts of the great powers around them and the positive and negative effects of those conflicts on them.

2. That the Holy Qur'an recorded those events and directed the attention of the Muslims to the factors of change and the transition from the present to the future.

In Surah Al Muzzammil, which is a Makkan Surah, we read the last verse which tells us of Allah lightening the burden of the Prophet and the Muslims in performing the *qiyam ul layl* and reciting the Qur'an, as great missions in the future were awaiting them. They would also face enemies who will fight them and block their advance in the path of Allah. Hence this required that they should save some of their strength and energies for this meeting which will be forced on them.

Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿Verily your Lord knows that you do stand (to pray at night) a little less than two thirds of the night, or half the night, or three quarters of the night, and so do a party of those with you, And Allah measures the night and the day. He knows that you are unable to pray the whole night, so He has turned to you (in mercy). So, recite of the Qur'an as much as may be easy for you. He knows that there will be among you the sick, others travelling through the land, seeking of Allah's Bounty; yet others fighting in Allah's Cause. So recite as much of the Qur'an as may be easy for you﴾<sup>60</sup>

### The Prophet and the Future

He who examines the Prophet's *seerah* carefully, should find that the Prophet was not negligent of the future of his *da'wah*, but was always thinking of it and planning for it within the limits of the opportunities presented to him and the tools bestowed on him by Allah.

To realise the degree of importance that the Prophet paid to the future it should be enough for us to read about his effort and activity during the *hajj* seasons that had brought members of all the

Arab tribes together, and how he used to present the *da'wah* to them. He would seek their support promising them the wealth of the Roman and Persian Empires.

The Prophet believed in two main principles:

Firstly, that the state of affairs had to change because it had bred the reasons for its own disappearance, that its substitute was Islam and that the dark nights of *jahiliyyah* should be followed by a real dawn. The Muslims had only to stand fast and be patient and not try to pick the fruit before it was ripe.

When the persecution became too much for the Prophet's Companions in Makkah, especially the weak among them, Khabbab Ibn Al Aratt came to the Messenger of Allah complaining and asking for help whilst the Messenger of Allah was sleeping in the shade of the *ka'bah*. Khabbab said: "*Will you not ask Allah to help us? Will you not pray for us?*" The Prophet said: "*There were among those before you some men who would be taken and buried in holes in the ground, then their skulls would be split in half with saws and their flesh would be parted from their bones with combs of iron but that would not turn them away from their Deen. By Allah! He shall make this (Deen of Islam) dominant so that a caravan would travel from San'a to Hadralmouth (in Yemen) and the travelers would only fear Allah and (guard against) the wolves lest they attack their sheep. But you do not have the patience (to wait to see that come true).*"<sup>61</sup>

Secondly, the Prophet believed that this aspired future would only come about according to the *sunan* of Allah - in fulfilling one's duty, preparing oneself as much as possible, removing obstacles from the way and leaving everything beyond that to Allah; for what humans cannot do is not difficult for Allah at all.

This (, i.e. implementation of this principle) was quite evident in the Prophet's *hijrah* to Madinah. The Prophet had chosen his place

of *hijrah* in the Arabian Peninsula, not outside it, like in Abyssinia for instance, for that was the appropriate place. He took as *Ansar* (supporters) the pure Arabs who had pledged to spare their lives and protect him against what they would spare and protect themselves and their families against. He gave precedence to the *hijrah* of his Companions as that would make it easier for them to leave Makkah and because it was more appropriate for him to arrive after them.

After getting Allah's permission, the Prophet prepared the animals he would ride and sought the companion he would ride with and the guide who would lead him as well as the cave he would hide in until the search for him became less intensive and the enthusiasm of the unbelievers cooled down.

He subjected all his preparations to all the secrecy and precautions that was humanly possible and left everything else that he had no control over to Providence. He was in no doubt whatsoever that Allah would help him. When Abu Bakr said to him while they were in the cave: "*O Messenger of Allah, if any of them should look under his feet, he would certainly see us!*" The Prophet said: "*Abu Bakr what do you think of two people whose third is Allah?*" Referring to this situation Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿If you help him (Prophet Muhammad) not (it does not matter), for Allah did indeed help him when the disbelievers drove him out, the second of two, when they (Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr) were in the cave, and he said to his companion (Abu Bakr): "Be not sad (or afraid), surely Allah is with us." Then Allah sent down his tranquility upon him and strengthened him with forces (angels) which you saw not, and made the word of those who disbelieved the lowermost, while it was the Word of Allah that became exalted to the heights, and Allah is All Mighty, All Wise﴾<sup>62</sup>

## NOTES - CHAPTER 4

- 1 Al Hujurat 49: 15
- 2 Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim
- 3 The Imam, may Allah have mercy on his soul, seemed to have taken that meaning from a *hadith* narrated in the collections of Ahmad, Abu Daud, At Tirmidhi, Ibn Khuzayma, Ibn Hibban and Al Hakim; all of which quote Ibn Abbas as having narrated (traceable back to the Prophet): *"Twelve thousand (believers) are invincible, despite (their paucity in) their numbers."*
- 4 In this meaning there is a *hadith* narrated by Thawban: *"There will be a time when nations from every side will converge upon you (and overpower you) just as food is broken down into its bowl." The Prophet was then asked: "Will it be because of the Muslims being fewer (in number) than their enemies?" "No" he said, "but because you will (on that day) be as frail as the scum of the torrent; you will be afflicted with feebleness in your hearts, and your enemies will no longer be afraid of you because of your love for this world and hatred for death."*
- 5 Al Ma'idah 5: 54
- 6 Narrated by Muslim
- 7 An Nahl 16: 128
- 8 Narrated by Bukhari
- 9 Al Bayyinah 98: 5
- 10 Al An'am 6: 162-163
- 11 Narrated by Al Hakim
- 12 Al Hadid 57: 4
- 13 Narrated by At Tirmidhi (2461) on the authority of Shaddad Ibn Aws, and Ibn Majah (426), Ahmad (4/124).
- 14 Al Qiyamah 75: 4
- 15 Ibrahim 14: 12
- 16 Al Muzzammil 73: 9
- 17 At Taubah 9: 40
- 18 Ash Shu'ara 26: 61-62
- 19 Al Imran 3: 160
- 20 Narrated by Abu Daud, At Tirmidhi, Ibn Majah, An Nisa'i and Al Hakim.
- 21 Narrated by Abu Daud and At Tirmidhi who classified it as *'ghareeb'*, i.e. has been narrated by only one narrator. Others such as An Nisa'i have classified it as *'dhaeef'*
- 22 Shaykh Yusuf Al-Qardawi made this extremely valuable recommendation a decade ago, but to this day, the Islamic Movement has not established an independent educational institute which matches the required afore-mentioned description in preparing the future leaders of the Islamic Movement. Leaders of the Movement in the Arab world may have valid excuses for this, as the political situation in their respective countries may make it difficult to venture on such a project. But, the Islamic Movement in the West has no valid excuses and hence, needs to re-prioritise its priorities and analyse this situation. *Tarbiyah* and gaining Islamic knowledge based on weekly study circles or monthly training camps are simply not sufficient for preparing the required leadership - a full time educational institution is required. A

- note-worthy effort has been made by the 'Union of Islamic Organisations' (a Movement organisation) in France. In 1992 they established an Islamic Institute (European Institute of Islamic Sciences) in the small town of Chateau Chinon. Shaykh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi and other notable scholars were involved in the establishment of this institute and prepared the curriculum of the institute. [Editor]
- 23 See my book 'The Prophet and Knowledge' p. 38-40.
- 24 An Nahl 16: 43
- 25 Al Furqan 25: 59
- 26 Al Fatir 35: 14
- 27 Ash Shura 42: 30
- 28 Al Imran 3: 165
- 29 Al Anfal 8: 66
- 30 At Taghabun 64: 16
- 31 Al Hajj 22: 39
- 32 Al Baqarah 2: 190
- 33 An Nisa 4: 90
- 34 As was the situation before the downfall of communism and the Soviet Union. Now the six Muslim Republics of the former USSR have emerged as independent states. They are: Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tazakistan, Kirghizia, Kazakstan and Turkmenistan. [Editor]
- 35 An Nisa 4: 75
- 36 I have proved the authenticity and validity of this rule with evidence from the *Shari'ah*, in the second volume of my book 'Contemporary Fatawa'.
- 37 Narrated by Abu Daud and Al Hakim.
- 38 See for instance, the chapter entitled 'Guidelines and Controls for a Proper Contemporary *Ijtihad*' in my book '*Ijtihad* in the Islamic *Shari'ah*'. Also see the chapter entitled '*Ijtihad* and Renewal between Legal Controls and Contemporary Needs', in the book entitled 'The *Fiqh* of the *Da'wah*: Its Features and Horizons' by Ustadh Umar Abed Hasanah, ch.2 pp.147-188.
- 39 The *usrah* and the *katibah* are two of *Ikhwan's* systems of *tarbiyah*; the latter concentrates on the spiritual *tarbiyah*. For more details on the methodology of the *tarbiyah* of *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon*, refer to the book 'Methodology of Education Adopted by The Muslim Brotherhood' by Dr. Ali Abdel Haleem Mahmoud. The book is published by Islamic Inc. Publishing & Distribution and was translated by El Falah for Translation, Publishing & Distribution. [Editor]
- 40 The Islamic Movement, especially in the West, is in need more than ever, to review its aims, strategies, and methodology. Hence, thinkers and intellectuals need to emerge from 'within' the Movement itself. This does not mean that anybody can review anything and subject others in accepting his views. There are certain areas within the aims, strategies and methodology that are known as the '*thawabit*' (established and conclusive areas) and which are not subject to re-examination. Anyone disagreeing with these *thawabit* can not claim to be an advocate of the methodology of the Movement, nor can his opinions be regarded as a 'school of thought' within the Movement. However, one may re-examine the '*mutagayyirat*' (changeable and inconclusive areas) and put it under scrutinisation. The means employed by the Movement in Pakistan and Egypt, for example, may differ to the means to be adopted by the Movement in France or Britain. [Editor]

- 41 An Nahl 16: 8
- 42 This opinion of Shaykh Al-Qaradawi has been widely misunderstood by many. Many who consider themselves the only followers of the *Salaf*, see this as a baseless and deviant opinion. They have not fully comprehended what Shaykh Al-Qaradawi is advocating. He is not of the opinion that all kinds of singing, music, theatre and art are *halal*, as many of them think. He is simply advocating that there is no *nusus qat'iyyah* (decisive or conclusive texts) that prohibits all of singing, music, etc. Hence the matter falls into the realm of doubtful matters or into the domain of *ijtihad*. Others among the Islamic Movement have also misunderstood this opinion and see this as a license issued to listen to any kind of music, go to cinemas to watch any kind of films, etc., in order to gain a deep understanding of the society. Both of these extremes should be avoided.[Editor]
- 43 Al Baqarah 2: 219
- 44 An Nisa 4: 43
- 45 Al Maidah 5: 90
- 43 Al Baqarah 2: 219
- 46 Al Baqarah 2: 185
- 47 Al Maidah 5: 6
- 48 An Nisa 4: 28
- 49 Al Baqarah 2: 178
- 50 Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim.
- 51 Narrated by At Tirmidhi.
- 52 An Nisa 4: 29
- 53 Narrated by Abu Daud, Ahmad, Al Hakim and Jam'i Al Saghir.
- 54 Narrated by Ahmad, Al Hibban, Al Bayhaqi and Sahih Al Jam'i Al Saghir.
- 55 See my treatise 'The Factors of Flexibility in the Islamic *Shari'ah*'. The fifth factor deals with the necessity of changing the fatwa according to the change of time, place and condition.
- 56 Al Qamar 54: 45-46
- 57 Tafseer Ibn Kathir v. 4 p. 266
- 58 Ibid
- 59 Ar Rum 30: 1-5
- 60 Al Muzzammil 73: 20
- 61 Narrated by Bukhari
- 62 At Taubah 9: 40

# 5

## **The Islamic Movement at Political and International Levels**





## TOWARDS A RATIONAL POLITICAL FIQH

### Negative Ideological Phenomena

There are ideological phenomena in the sphere of the Islamic Movement particularly in the political field, that no careful examiner can miss.

There is the 'ideology of crisis and distress' which still influences many of the leaders and writers of the Islamic Movement and colours, in one way or another, much of the material written for the purposes of *da'wah* or *tarbiyah* and it also colours the political tendencies. The Movement has to shake off this 'ideology of crisis and distress' and deal with people, life and the world as a whole according to an 'ideology of well being'.

There is the 'Zahirite Ideology', which stops at the letter of religious texts and does not go beyond it to deal with the (real) purposes of the *Shari'ah*, thus not heeding to the interests of the people. Many of the prominent *ulama* have affirmed that the *ahkam* (rules and obligation) of the *Shari'ah* are meant to serve the interests of people in the worldly life and in the Hereafter. As Imam Ibn Al Qayyim said: 'Any rule that abandons interest for evil or neglects wisdom in preference of nonsense, has no relation whatsoever with the *Shari'ah*, even if it is misunderstood as belonging to the *Shari'ah*.'

Such an ideology might be acceptable in relation to some rituals or rules that apply to individuals, but it can never be acceptable in the field of the political *Shari'ah*. The politics of the *Shari'ah* should be based on flexibility and should take into account the change in time, place and humans themselves.

There is the 'Kharijite Ideology', whose advocates are characterised by honesty and bravery but are narrow-minded and short-sighted

in their attitude towards religion and life. They are violent in dealing with others and always reject, accuse and suspect everybody, even the Islamists themselves, while they admire their own opinions. Such is indeed a fatal shortcoming.

There is the 'Imitational Ideology', which seeks an answer to every ideological, political or legal problem in the books of the earlier scholars of its school, never breaking out of their boundaries or examining the *Shari'ah* in its broader concept and its various schools and methodologies. Nor does this ideology address this age and its contemporary developments and problems. Such an ideology narrows that which Allah has made expansive and makes difficult that which Islam has facilitated.

The Islamic Movement will not have a rational political ideology unless it overcomes these negative ideological phenomena and their effects on people. It must also nurture this new type of *fiqh* that we are focusing on - the *fiqh* of the *sunan*, the *fiqh* of goals of the *Shari'ah*, the *fiqh* of balance and the *fiqh* of priorities.

### **A Deficiency that Should be Addressed in the Political *Fiqh***

The Islamic Movement should seek to rectify the defective, strange concepts and decisions that we read and hear of and the methodologies of deduction that are even stranger and more peculiar.

These peculiar concepts, rules and methodologies are most evident in the political *fiqh*, which has not received in the past, the same degree of attention devoted to the *fiqh* of worship, transactions, marriage, etc.

The political *fiqh* of today is afflicted with much misconception and mis-judgement. Its basics are so much varied in the minds of the Islamists that the rules applied by some are as far from those applied by others like the fairness of the East from the West.

We have seen some people who regard *shura* (consultation) as *mu'limah* (informative) and not *mulzimah* (having a binding capacity).<sup>1</sup> We have seen others who vest the head of state with the right to declare war and conclude treaties without consulting the representatives of the nation. We have also seen others who consider democracy as a form of *kuf'r* (disbelief).

We have also seen those who believe that a woman has no place in Islamic politics and that her only place is her father's house, from which she may only go to either of two places: her husband's house or her grave! To them, a woman has no right to vote in any elections let alone run in the elections for the local government or the parliament.

There are also those who see political plurality as an arrangement that is rejected by Islam and believe that no parties, groups or bodies that have any political views or affiliations should be established in a Muslim State.<sup>2</sup>

I was dismayed when some brothers showed me a treatise that some zealous *du'aat* had written under the title 'Entering (i.e. membership of) Parliament is Against *Tawheed*'. This is a strange combination that regards issues of *amal* (action and practice) as issues of *aqeedah*. Issues of practice deal with right and wrong, not *iman* and *kuf'r*. They are part of the political *Shari'ah* where *ijtihad* is rewarded twice when it is right and once when it is wrong.

The same mistake was made by the Kharijites in the old days when they branded Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib as an unbeliever on account of a worldly matter related to politics that they had turned into a doctrinal issue, saying: "He had given people control over the *Deen* of Allah and none but Allah shall have the Judgement." The Imam's reply to their allegation was most eloquent: "A word of right intended to establish wrong!"

## An Important Dialogue on Political *Fiqh*

I was greatly amazed to see among the *ulama* of Afghanistan, some who have led the *jihad* so zealously and bravely, those who view the education of a woman as *haram* and think the same of using elections as a means for selecting people's deputies or the president of the State. They believe that determining the term of office of the president of the State is *haram* and the opinion that says *shura* is *mulzimah* is also *haram*.

Some of the brothers who are convinced of such ideas discussed them with me. They claim that the failure of the Islamic Movement in modern times had been brought about by its belief in ideas which they regarded as non-Islamic and that we would not succeed unless we used Islamic means to attain Islamic ends.

I asked him: "What makes determining the term of office for presidents *haram* if Muslims deem it as being in their interest?"

He replied: "It is against the practice of the Muslims since the days of the first *Khalifah* - Abu Bakr Al Siddiq (may Allah be pleased with him). None of the *Khulafa* were chosen for a fixed term but they all stayed in rule for life, especially the Rightly-Guided *Khulafa* whose Sunnah the Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered us to follow and and cling to it stubbornly. In the same *hadith* in which this is narrated, the Prophet warned us about newly invented matters, that every *bid'ah* (innovation) is misguidance and this is a matter that falls under the description of newly innovated matters."<sup>3</sup>

I told him: "We were ordered to follow the Prophet's Sunnah before following Sunnah of the Rightly Guided *Khulafa*, as the Sunnah is the second source of legislation in Islam and should be referred to, besides the Qur'an, in any disagreement, as in the *hadith* narrated by Al Irbad: "Follow my Sunnah and the Sunnah of the Rightly Guided *Khulafa*..." Thus, the Sunnah of the Prophet precedes the

## Sunnah of the *Khulafa*.<sup>4</sup>

The Sunnah of the Prophet, as everybody knows, is either a statement, an action or an approval. His actions in particular may not be obligatory in themselves, but indicate only allowance and permissibility, except when they are combined with other pieces of evidence that indicate recommendation or compulsion.

This is why some of the Rightly Guided *Khulafa* went against the actions of the Prophet whenever they saw that the interests for which the Prophet had carried out such actions had changed and that acting in the same way would not be in the interest of the Muslims.

For example, the Prophet distributed the property of Khaybar among the fighters after its conquest, while Umar did not do the same when he conquered the rural areas of Iraq, as he saw it more fit for his time not to do so. Many of the Prophet's Companions argued against Umar's opinion, particularly as his opinion was contradictory in letter to the general provisions of Surah Al Anfal: ﴿And know that whatever of war booty you may gain, verily one-fifth of it is assigned to Allah﴾<sup>5</sup>

Umar commented by saying: "I found the matter (i.e. property) to be suffice for the people in the present and the future. Do you want the people of the future to find nothing left for them?"

This means that Umar took into account the welfare of coming generations, which is a wonderful act of mutual dependence among the generations of the Muslim Ummah, so that one generation may not live in luxury at the expense of a coming generation or generations. Umar's argument was based on the verse of Surah Al Hashr which stipulated the distribution of the war booty between the *Muhajirin* and the *Ansar*: ﴿And those who came after them﴾<sup>6</sup> Imam Ibn Qudama explained the difference between the action of

the Prophet and that of Umar by saying that each had done what was most appropriate for his time.

Now, if the actions of the Prophet, which are part and parcel of his Sunnah, were not compulsory for those who came after him and the Companions sometimes acted otherwise for certain considerations, how can the actions of the Muslims after him be compulsory for those who come after them?

Precedents do not establish legal obligation. It is only that they were adequate for their time, place and circumstances. If these factors change, so must the actions built on them.

The focal point here is that we should choose from the systems and legislations of those before us that which is suitable for our environment and our circumstances within the limits of the general texts and goals of our tolerant *Shari'ah*.

As for the argument that there is an *ijma* (unanimous verdict) of Muslim scholars against limiting the term of office of rulers, it is somewhat misleading. None can argue against the *ijma* that a ruler may reign for life. However, the possibility of limiting the term of office was never discussed or researched, but was a subject of complete silence by these people. It is said that no words should be attributed to a silent man. Therefore we should not attribute to the scholars either affirmation or negation on this issue.

As for the claim that determining the term of office of the head of State is an introduction of a *bid'ah* (newly invented matter) in Islam and that it is established by *hadith* and *ijma* that every *bid'ah* is a misguidance; we accept the second part of the claim (i.e. that every *bid'ah* is misguidance). However, the first part of the claim (i.e. that this matter falls under the definition of a *bid'ah* in the *Shari'ah*) lacks proof.

It is wrong to think that Islam stands against anything new or

invented classifying it under the name of '*bid'ah*'. In fact, a *bid'ah* is what is invented in matters of a purely religious nature, such as creed and worship and their branches; while the changing matters of life such as norms, traditions, customs and administrative, social, cultural and political practices are not be regarded at all as *bid'ah*. They fall under what the *ulama* call '*al maslahah al mursalah*' (public interest) as explained by Imam Al Shatibi in his book '*Al I'tisam*'. Thus, the Prophet's Companions did some things that the Prophet did not do, such as writing copies of the Qur'an, using registers, levying land taxes and building jailhouses.

The *Tabi'un* (the generation which came after the Companions) did things that their predecessor had not done such as minting money, organising a mail service, etc.

Muslims have invented things that were unheard of in the days of the Prophet and his Companions such as recording the sciences that were existent before their time and introducing other sciences such as *Uloom Al Deen* (sciences of the *Deen*), linguistics and various other human sciences.

### **Incorrect Usage of the Prophet's *Seerah* for Absolute Judgements**

One of the reasons of error and mis-judgement in the political *fiqh* is the confusion of the Prophet's Sunnah and the Prophet's *Seerah*. The Sunnah is a source of legislation and guidance in Islam (occupying a position) besides the Holy Qur'an. The Qur'an is the basis and origin, and the Sunnah is the explanation and the application.

However, some people may make the mistake of putting the *Seerah* in the place of Sunnah, citing the events of the *Seerah* as if they were compulsory as the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

The *Seerah* is not a synonym for the Sunnah, as there are some



details in the *Seerah* that have nothing to do with legislation at all. This is why the *ulama* of *usool* (principles of *fiqh*) have not integrated the *Seerah* in their definition of the Sunnah. They only said that the Sunnah is what the Prophet either said, did or approved. They did not include the *Seerah* in this definition of the Sunnah.

But the *ulama* of *hadith* have added to the Prophet's actions, statements and approvals, a description of the Prophet, i.e. physical and character description and his *Seerah*. This was because they usually gather everything that pertained to the Prophet, regardless of whether any of the pieces of information they collected was related to the field of legislation or not. They have narrated everything pertaining to the Prophet's life - his birth, his nursing, his upbringing, his marriage, his conduct, his looks and every other piece of information that pertained to his life and death.

What concerns us here is that some Islamic groups regard the *Seerah* as an absolute proof to support judgements, and they believe that it is compulsory for all Muslims (to implement all that is in the *Seerah*). Here I have to point out two things:

Firstly, the *Seerah* includes many events that have been narrated without irrefutable proof that they have been handed down from one narrator to another, as they used to narrate the *Seerah* with a flexibility that they did not use in their narration of the *hadith* related to legal provisions and matters of *halal* and *haram*.

Secondly, the *Seerah* represented the practical part of the Prophet's life, i.e. it dealt mostly with the 'action' part of the Sunnah. The actions are not an indication of obligation and compulsion by themselves; they only indicate permissibility. Another proof must be present to indicate compulsion.

True, we are required to follow the example of the Prophet: ﴿Indeed

in the Messenger of Allah you have a good example to follow<sup>7</sup> But this verse indicates that it is recommended, not compulsory, to take the Prophet as an example. However, following the example of the Prophet should be in morals, values and general, not detailed, situations.

It is not necessary to copy the example of the Prophet by starting the *da'wah* in secret, if it is possible and authorised to spread it openly. It is not necessary to make *hijrah*, as the Prophet did, so long as we have nothing that requires us to make *hijrah* from our homelands where we feel safe and are able to spread the *da'wah*.

It is for this reason that *hijrah* to Madinah is no longer an obligation for every Muslim after the conquest of Makkah. As the Prophet said: "*There shall be no hijrah after the Conquest (of Makkah) but jihad and yearning for it; when you are called you should go forth.*"<sup>8</sup> This meant that there would be no *hijrah* to Madinah, but what was allowed was the *hijrah* from any land where Muslims are unable to establish their *Deen*.

It is also unnecessary for us to seek 'help' from those who are strong and powerful as the Prophet did with some tribes and the Aws and Khazraj tribes responded to this call, as this method is no longer adequate for our age.

It is not necessary for us to nurture the *aqeedah* and spread the *da'wah* of Islam for thirteen years as the Prophet did. We live today among Muslims who believe that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, and therefore do not need such a long time to learn the *aqeedah*.

If we devote our attention today to issues such as social justice, *shura*, freedom, the Palestinian uprising or the Afghan struggle, we will not be acting against the guidance of the Prophet who cared about such things only in Madinah. For while he was in Makkah

before the *hijrah*, the Prophet was living in an ignorant, polytheist community that adamantly rejected the *da'wah*, and therefore his first battle with that community was over *tawheed* and *risalah* (Prophethood). Our society is not like that. It believes in Allah, His *Deen* and in His Messenger, though it may have faults and deviate from the Path of Allah.

## THE MOVEMENT AND THE LIBERATION OF MUSLIM TERRITORIES

Nobody with a fair judgement on things can deny that the Islamic Movement has made the liberation of Muslim territories - all Muslims territories - one of its foremost concerns since it emerged into existence.

I heard Imam Hasan Al Banna say in one of his speeches: "Our efforts and our *jihad* are focussed on two main axes - the Islamic ideology and the Muslim land."

He combined the two of them because an ideology can only be established in an independent, free land where its values are preserved and its judgements are enforced. Hence the importance of *Dar Al Islam*, in which Islam lives and out of which it operates and leads the Ummah.

This is why the *fugaha* of Islam have agreed that it is a duty to defend every land invaded by the *kuffar*. Furthermore, they state that such *jihad* is *fard ayn* for the Muslims living on the land and that all the Muslims must support them with money, arms and men as required until all their land has been liberated from any aggressor who usurps it.

Therefore, the Islamic Movement cannot stand idle and watch Muslim lands being occupied by a foreign aggressor. It is not strange that the general headquarters of *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon* in Cairo was the home of the *mujahideen* and revolutionaries who fought the occupation in all parts of the Arab and Muslim worlds from Indonesia to Morocco.

I heard Imam Al Banna once describing the national demand of *Al*

*Ikhwanul Muslimoon* in a national conference. He spoke of the minor homeland that comprised the Nile Valley, i.e. Egypt and Sudan; the great homeland that comprised the Arab World, which extended from the Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean; and the greater homeland - the Muslim World that extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean. He emphasised that emancipating that greater homeland from every foreign influence imposed on Muslims was an obligation on all Muslims and one of the major missions of the Muslims and one of the major objectives of *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon*.

Palestine was one of the major issues that Imam Al Banna put at the top of his list. He attracted attention to its seriousness, urging the masses to pay attention to the Land of Messages, of *Isra* and *Mi'raj* and to be aware of the Jewish threat that was lurking to pounce on it at a time when many Arab and Muslim leaders were unaware of the great conspiracy being staged against the first of the two *qiblas*, the Al Aqsa Mosque, whose precincts are blessed by Allah.

Many were the articles that Hasan Al Banna wrote, many were the marches he led, the conferences he organised, the men he recruited, and much were the funds and arms he collected for the Palestinian Cause. It is enough credit for him to mention the heroics performed by his 'spiritual children' and fighters in the land of Palestine in 1948. Those feats have gone down in the annals of history, as testified to by Major General Al Mawawi and other Egyptian Army Commanders and even by the Jews themselves. Kamal Al Sharif's book entitled 'Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon and the Palestine War' contains more than enough facts that testify to this glorious *jihad*.

This has always been the role of the Islamic Movement in every cause of the Muslim Ummah in the East and the West and against imperialism of all colours, be it Eastern or Western, white or red.

Hence the Movement's interest in the cause of Afghanistan, which represented the first line of defense against the red Communist sweep. This interest has been so keen that some people thought that the Movement had forgotten the Palestinian Cause. In fact the Movement has never forgotten and will never forget the Palestinian Cause because Palestine is the first and foremost Islamic Cause, and its liberation is the first and foremost duty, as the Afghan *Mujahideen* themselves believe.

It is only that the Palestinian Cause required an Islamic flag that would gather people around it and uniting them under it. This has come about since the outbreak of the revolution in the mosques and the *Intifada* which has taken its sole slogan as 'there is no God but Allah', and 'Allah is the Greatest'. It has now has been crystalised in the steadfast and brave 'Islamic Resistance Movement' - *Hamas*.

*Hamas* is an embodiment of the Palestinian people's belief in its Muslim and Arab origins, and a testimony that the people are still alive and will never die and that *jihad* will be carried on by pure hands and clean hearts until victory is achieved with the Will of Allah.

The Islamic Movement should consider itself at the 'back and call' of every Islamic Cause and respond to every cry for help wherever that cry may come from. It should stand with Eritrea in its *jihad* against the unjust Marxist Christian regime that wants to swallow it and keep it as a colony under its rule, with its people as the serfs of the land in a feudal system.

It should stand by Sudan against the treacherous Christian racist rebellion that wants to impose its racist fanaticism on all the territories of Sudan to remove it from the Muslim Ummah and the Arab world.

It should support the Muslims of Philippines against the biased Christian regime that seeks to annihilate them leaving only those who accept the life of slaves who can do nothing to help either themselves or others.

It should also help the Muslims of Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination until they attain annexation to Pakistan or gain autonomy. This would foil the conspiracy of the Indian imperialism which is trying to obliterate the province's Muslim identity through non-religious education and encouragement of sin and drug addiction. It is also trying to turn it into a base of conspiracy against Pakistan and the Muslim world as a whole.

It should support the Muslims of Somalia against the tyrants who kill scholars, persecute the religious and hunt down any one with religious or intellectual tendencies.

The Islamic Movement should have clear information on all these Movements. It should have some sort of presence among their leaderships and ranks. It must also work continuously for their unity and solidarity in order to close the gaps in their ranks and remove their minor disagreements for the sake of greater goals. The most serious disease that afflicts *jihad* is disunity among its group. Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿Verily, Allah loves those who fight in His Cause in rows (ranks) as if they were a solid structure﴾<sup>9</sup>

The Islamic Movement should mobilise the Muslims of the world for the Palestinian Cause as the Zionist Movement has mobilised the Jews of the world for the Israeli Cause. It should even mobilise the support of all the conscientious elements in the whole world for our just Cause.

Such efforts by the Islamic Movement are most badly needed at present, for this is a serious stage of the Palestinian Cause. It is a stage where there are plans to bring Soviet Jews into the Occupied

Territories at the expense of the Palestinians, in order to realise the old dream of a 'Great Israel' that extends from the Nile to the Euphrates, and then to the land of Hijaz, Madinah and Khaybar as a later ambition!



## THE MOVEMENT AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The Islamic Movement's concern should not be focussed solely on the Muslim lands - albeit they should enjoy a special attention by virtue of the mutual dependence and solidarity called for by Islam. The Movement should support all the causes of freedom from serfdom, imperialism and injustice all over the world, regardless of whether the subjects of persecution and imperialism are Muslims or not.

Islam was sent down as an all-embracing call for the emancipation of man, on the grounds that man is honoured by Allah who made him His vicegerent on earth and subjected all that is in heaven and on earth to His power.

Islam came to liberate man from slavery to any *taghut* (anything worshipped other than Allah) and qualify him to stand against *taghut*.

If the Message of Musa was a Message for liberating the Children of Israel from the tyranny of Pharaoh, Haman and Qarun, then the Message of Muhammad was a Message to emancipate all of mankind from all the 'Pharaohs', 'Qaruns' and 'Hammans' who enslave people and impose themselves as high and mighty rulers without any right. Such rulers look down their noses on the servants of Allah, as they seek to share with Allah His Greatness and Grace, and so make themselves into gods that enslave their people.

The Qur'an has carried the call for freedom loud and clear, sending it through the Messenger of Allah to Caesars and monarchs: ﴿Come to a word that is just between us and you, that we worship

none but Allah, and that we associate no partners with Him, and that none of us shall take others as lords besides Allah»<sup>10</sup>

Rab'iy Ibn Amir declared before Rustum, Commander of the Persian troops: "Allah has sent us to turn people away from the worship of humans to the worship of Him alone, from the injustice of religions to the justice of Islam."

Allah the All Mighty sent down His Book and tasked His Messengers to carry the Message only for establishing justice on earth. As He says in the Qur'an: «Indeed We have sent Our Messengers with clear proofs and revealed with them the Scripture and the Balance (justice) that mankind may keep up justice»<sup>11</sup>

Therefore, any injustice by an individual against another individual, a group against another group or against people, is an injustice against all the 'Messages of Heaven', especially when it is committed by tyrants and powerful men against the weak and downtrodden. Hence the Qur'an's fierce attacks on tyrants and fearsome threats to them, as conveyed by the following verses:

«But they (the Messengers) sought victory and help, and victory obstinate, arrogant dictator was brought to a complete loss and destruction. In front of Him (every obstinate, arrogant dictator) is Hell, and he will be made to drink boiling festering water»<sup>12</sup>

«Thus does Allah seal up the heart of every arrogant tyrant»<sup>13</sup>

«So enter the gates of Hell, to abide therein, and indeed, what an evil abode will be for the arrogant»<sup>14</sup>

The Qur'an also attacks the unjust in its Makkan and Madinan Surahs, see:

«Verily, Allah guides not those people who are unjust»<sup>15</sup>

﴿Verily, the unjust will never be successful﴾<sup>16</sup>

﴿And these towns We destroyed when they did wrong﴾<sup>17</sup>

﴿These are their houses in utter ruin, for they did wrong﴾<sup>18</sup>

﴿Such is the seizure of your Lord when He seizes the (population of) towns while they are doing wrong. Verily, His seizure is painful and severe﴾<sup>19</sup>

﴿So the roots of the people who did wrong were cut off. And All the praises and thanks be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds﴾<sup>20</sup>

﴿And incline not towards those who do wrong, lest the Fire should touch you, and you have no protectors other than Allah, nor you would then be helped﴾<sup>21</sup>

Islam does not only hold injustice at fault and prohibit it to the extreme, it also urges that it must be fought by all means. It regards those who do nothing against injustice as partners of the sinners on earth and will be punished in the Hereafter.

Islam even considers a nation where wrongdoers commit their wrong freely, with nobody facing up to them or denouncing their deeds, as a nation that has brought upon itself the punishment of the Heaven and will certainly fall to ruin. When the punishment comes down, it will afflict all of its members - the wrongdoers for their wrongdoing and those who remain silent (in face of this wrongdoing) for remaining silent. Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿And fear the affliction which affects not in particular (only) those who do wrong, and know that Allah is severe in punishment﴾<sup>22</sup>

A Prophetic *hadith* says: “If people see a wrongdoer and do not prevent him, they come close to a punishment from Allah, coming down on all of them.”<sup>23</sup> Another *hadith* says: “When you see my Ummah fall

*victim to fear and not say to a wrongdoer: 'You are wrong', then you may lose hope in them.*"<sup>24</sup>

The above texts generally include all wrongdoers, regardless of whether their wrongdoing is against Muslims or others, for all wrongdoing is evil.

It should not also be strange that Islam blesses every positive step that involves resistance of wrong doers or support of the wronged and the weak. It even considers it as an act of *ibadah* and *jihad* in the Cause of Allah. We find the Holy Qur'an urging believers to fight wrongdoers and rescue the weak from the evil: ﴿And what is wrong with you that you fight not in the Cause of Allah, and for those weak, ill treated and oppressed among men, women and children whose cry is: 'Our Lord! Rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors and raise for us from You one who will protect and raise for us from You one who will help﴾<sup>25</sup>

True, the 'weak' here are the believers, hence their prayers are mentioned in the verse, but Islam would not accept injustice for anyone even if he is an unbeliever as the *hadith* says: "*Beware of the supplication of the oppressed, even if he is a kafir, for there is no barrier preventing it (from reaching Heaven).*"<sup>26</sup>

The Prophet (peace be upon him) once heard the story of a weak woman who had been wronged by a cruel man of power in the land of Abyssinia, and the Prophet commented: "*How does Allah hold as sacred a nation where the right of the weak is not taken from the strong.*"<sup>27</sup> Abyssinia was a Christian State at that time.

Islamic conquests were in their reality a rescue of the oppressed and wronged people from the tyranny of wrongdoers and the injustice of oppressors, and a liberation of the people from the domination of Persian Monarchs and Roman Caesars. It was for this reason that the people welcomed Islam and took it up voluntarily.

It is the duty of all those who have true faith and proper morals to urge one another to resist any wrong against a weak person and to support who has wronged him. The Prophet (peace be upon him) told us an experience of that kind that he had witnessed and participated in during the age of *jahiliyyah* while he was a young man - that of *Hilful Fudhul* (the Alliance for Charity). This pact comprised a group of good, charitable and honest men whose mission was to stand by the weak against the strong so as to get them back their rights and save their pride.

And why does Islam not restore the right of humans when they are wronged, abused, persecuted or forced to do what they do not want to do, when it even defends the mute animals that are wronged, tortured or made to carry burdens that they cannot carry?

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND MUSLIM MINORITIES

Muslim minorities all over the world should be among the target of attention of the Islamic Movement.

### **Important Facts About Muslim Minorities**

In this regard, we must take some factors into account including the following:

1. These minorities account for about one-quarter of the total number of Muslims all over the world, perhaps even more, as indicated by the studies made in Imam Muhammad Ibn-Saud Islamic University in Riyadh about fifteen years ago.
2. One of these minorities represents, in sheer number alone, the second largest Muslim community in the world - that is the Indian Muslim minority, which comprises over one hundred million Muslims and has had its historic, scientific and cultural impact on the Indian subcontinent and the Islamic Civilisation in general.
3. Some of the so-called minorities are actually people from purely Muslim countries that were annexed by force to larger countries so that they might dissolve in them and become oppressed minorities among larger majorities. An example of these minorities are the 'Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union': Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, etc. which on examination, have proven to be part and parcel of the Muslim World.
4. Some of the Muslim minorities counted as such by biased

world statistics are in fact the overwhelming majority in the countries in question despite the fake statistics that intentionally cite smaller number for Muslims. This distortion serves the political purposes of the enemies of Islam. The most obvious example of that is the Muslims of Ethiopia - they are a majority, but an oppressed one that is deprived of even the most basic human rights.

### What Do These Minorities Need Most?

These minorities need many things from their fellow Muslims in the large Islamic World, such as the following:

1. They need support for their religious institutions specifically educational establishments in order that they may preserve the Muslim character, especially in the face of fierce campaigns that the advocates and establishments of Christianisation wage against Islam.
2. They need to have access to the original Islamic books and references that explain the *aqeedah*, *ibadah*, *akhlaq* and *ahkam* of Islam, in the languages of these minorities, so as to provide them with a proper source of knowledge. They particularly need the *tafseer* of the Holy Qur'an and a number of the approved and accepted *hadith* collections.
3. They need to have some of their members admitted to the Islamic Universities of the Arab States, so that they may return later as *du'aat*, teachers, and those who understand the *Deen*: ﴿And warn their people when they return to them, so that they may be aware of evil﴾<sup>28</sup>

Unfortunately, such universities have recently been closing their doors to students from these countries, despite the risk posed by such action to the future of Muslim minorities and

the Islamic *da'wah* in these countries, even to the future of the Muslim Ummah itself.

4. They need support for the teaching of the Arabic Language and the financing of Arabic schools in their countries. This is a field where the failure of Arabs has been most abysmal. Advanced countries pay tens, hundreds even millions of dollars for spreading their languages, which are the messengers of their civilisations and cultures. But not the Arabs. They hold to their pennies when it comes to spreading their language. If the Muslim minorities were not moved by their own love for their *Deen*, their Prophet and their Book into learning Arabic and building schools and colleges for teaching this language on the basis that it is the language of the Holy Qur'an, *hadith*, *ibadah*, Islamic culture and the language of understanding among members of the Muslim Ummah, then we would not have found anyone outside the Arab world who knows Arabic or had even heard of it.

I am only to speak highly here of the Association of Arab Schools headed by Prince Muhammad Al Faisal Al Saud and managed by Dr. Tawfiq Al Shawi. It has held several useful courses in many African and Asian countries to promote the Arabic Language and help educational establishments that teach Arabic in those respective countries.

5. They need *du'aat* and teachers who are well versed in the languages of these minorities, so that they may live among their people, teaching the ignorant and admonishing those led astray, answering questions and giving *fatawa*, uniting people on the Truth and their hearts on *taqwa*, love and goodwill.

However, we have to beware of the destructive *du'aat*, who only know how to demolish and set fire through useless debates and dissent that only produce hatred. Some of those *du'aat* may



have good intentions, but good intentions combined with foolishness yield more harm than good and destructs more than it builds. As the old adage says: 'Many a intelligent enemy is less dangerous than a stupid friend'.

6. They need frequent meetings and visits with prominent intellectuals, education experts and *du'aat*, as such meetings open new horizons for thought and boost the morale of members of these minorities. Such meetings, visits and symposiums should be arranged as frequently as possible, so that those brothers whose destiny is to be living in countries far from the heart of this Ummah may not feel neglected by the mother Ummah, or feel isolated from the focus of thought and feelings of the leaders of the Islamic Movement.
7. They need, perhaps before everything else, to be united in one front, so that they may be able to preserve their entity and religious presence. It is unfortunate that we should see minorities all over the world uniting and closing their ranks to form stronger entities against the majorities facing them, except for the Muslim minorities. They are always at odds with one another and spend their time and effort on useless and meaningless disputes, especially over religious differences or over jurisprudential or doctrinal issues.

It is the duty of all Muslims to stand side by side as ordered by Allah. It is enough for them that they have a unity from which to start, for they are united in their belief in Allah, the Prophet and the Holy Qur'an. I say this although I know that Muslims living in the heart of the Muslim World have their grievances. So how could those Muslim minorities living outside the Muslim World not complain? If the Muslims living in Muslim countries are suffering persecution, injustice and oppression at the hands of rulers who are supposed to be Muslims, why should we expect no complaints from those Muslims living in

non-Muslim countries and ruled by non-Muslims, be they Christians, Communists or Heathens ?

### A Nation Without a Leadership

The most serious problem of the Muslims and their minorities scattered all over the world is that our Muslim Ummah, expansive and large in numbers as it is, has no leadership that can order it to move, stop, cry or keep silent, or turn right or left.

Once we did have a *Khilafah* that united Muslims under one flag. We did have a *Khalifah* who represented the central leadership of the unified Ummah. When the enemies of the *Khilafah* plotted against it and managed to tear down that magnificent edifice which embodied the unity of the Muslim Ummah, we no longer remained one entity, nor had one flag under which to gather.

We lost the *Khilafah*, and we have found no other system to replace it, so we have lived without any leadership of any kind.

Christianity has its leadership recognised by its followers. This leadership is an organised and religious leadership that has its own institutions and its own men. Its financial means come third to those of the United States and Russia. Its preachers are all over the world, including Muslim countries. But we Muslims have neither a *Khalifah* to obey nor a 'Pope' to listen to. We are like orphans that are turned away from every door they knock at.

Once there used to be a position called '*Shaykh Al Islam*'. Though there was no official post like that in Islam, some scholars were so knowledgeable, studious and pious that they deserved to be honoured by the Muslim masses who gave them this title. Today, with the *ulama* keeping in step with the rulers, not only refraining from speaking the word of right but speaking the wrong word, people have lost confidence in the prominent *ulama* and none of the senior *ulama* are called '*Shaykh Al Islam*' any longer. As for

those *ulama* who resist temptation, the other *ulama* turn on them with their tremendous resources and with the tools of their masters who dictate their acts and words, trying to isolate or taint them, until they stop resisting and thus become isolated from the people.

### **The Movement's Mission in this Regard**

The Islamic Movement should play the role of the missing leadership of the Muslim Ummah with all its trends and groups. It should seek the support of true scholars until a real '*Shaykh Al Islam*' appears from amongst them to claim their loyalty and support and who possess the ability to call out to the great Muslim Ummah at the time of need and find a response to his call.

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND THE EXPATRIATES

Besides minorities that live in non-Muslim countries, there is another group that the Movement should devote its attention to - expatriates who moved from Muslim countries to Western countries in Europe and America, to Australia and to the Far East.

### **Why the Interest in Expatriates?**

Expatriates are no longer few in number, they are counted in millions, especially in France where there are large communities of North Africans; in Britain where there is a large Indian and Pakistani presence; in Germany due to the presence of the Turks and in the United States because of the presence of Americans whose ancestors were Muslims who were kidnapped from Africa long ago as well as the intensive immigration to that country. There is not a single Western country that does not have transient expatriates, who go there to study or work, and permanent immigrants who intend to stay and settle there for good.

Despite the numerous recommendations by different Islamic conferences that scholarships should be confined to those scientific and technological fields that Muslim countries do not have, Western countries still receive more newcomers who go there everyday at their own expense or at the expense of their countries to study. More expatriates are also leaving Muslim countries for Western countries in search for employment or to seek protection or freedom. Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿O My slaves who believe! Certainly spacious is my earth. Therefore worship Me (Alone)﴾<sup>29</sup>

The presence of the Islamic Movement in the Western countries was at first planned and guided by the All Mighty and not planned by the Movement. Young men and women had emigrated there to

escape with their *Deen* from the rifts tearing their homeland apart and to seek knowledge, freedom and safety. They then found very good opportunities for working and spreading the *da'wah* amongst their fellow Easterners, scholars and others alike.

### The Necessity of the Islamic Presence in the West

I believe that it is necessary for Islam in this age to have a presence in such societies that affect world politics. The Islamic presence is necessary in Europe, South and North America and Australia for several reasons, including the following:

1. The Islamic presence is required for spreading the Message of Islam and getting the voice of Islam heard among non-Muslims through good word, rational dialogue and exemplary conduct.
2. It is required for taking in new Muslims in order to follow or develop their conduct and nurture their belief in an Islamic environment that helps them lead a healthy Islamic life.
3. It is required for receiving newcomers to Western countries, such as scholars and immigrants, so that such newcomers may find themselves among people like the '*Ansar*' who love those who migrate to their land and provide from them an atmosphere of Islam.
4. It is required for defending the causes of the Muslim Ummah and the Muslim lands against the antagonism and misinformation of anti-Islamic forces and trends.

It is not right, in my view, that Christianity should monopolise all these countries unrivalled, or rivalled by Zionist Judaism that only joins forces with it against us. This is what I told our brothers in America, Canada, Australia and other countries many years ago. However, it should be done through good planning and proper

organisation and according to the *fiqh* of priorities. We should look for the best place, the best work and the best means. Muslims should have their own communities in the well-known States and cities, and they should have their own religious, educational and recreational establishments. They should also have amongst them their own *ulama* and *shuyukh* to answer their questions when they ask them, guide them when they lose their way and reconcile them when they differ among themselves.

### **A Conservatism Without Isolation and An Openness without 'Melting'**

I used to tell our brothers in the foreign countries: 'Try to have your small society within the larger society, otherwise you will melt in it, like salt melts in water. What has preserved the Jewish character over the past centuries was their small community that was unique in its ideas and rituals and was known as the 'Jewish ghetto'. Try to have your own 'Muslim ghetto'.

I am not advocating self-isolation and keeping our doors closed to the people around us, for this will be the same as death itself. What is required is an openness without 'melting' - the openness of people with a message who seek to affect and interact, not people who imitate and whose only concern is to go along and be affected to the extent of following in the very steps of others, in whatever they do.

We have complained for some time of the lack of Arab and Muslim experts in important fields of specialisation as a result of the migration of scientists who fail to find a place for themselves in their home countries but find it in foreign countries.

If this is true, we must not let such geniuses lose their loyalty to their *Deen*, their Ummah, their culture and their fatherlands. We have to exert every effort to ensure that their loyalty and feelings

remain with their people and homeland. This will only be possible if their loyalty remains with Allah, His Messenger and the believers, and if they continue to be concerned over the woes of their Ummah and not their own interests alone.

It is the duty of the Islamic Movement not to leave these expatriates to be swept by the whirlpool of the materialistic trend that prevails in the West, for they must always be reminded of their origins which they always long for.

I believe that Islamic Student Unions have played a praiseworthy role in this respect over the past three decades, after the elapse of the era in which the Leftists, the Nationalists and the Secularists dominated and guided the actions of these Unions. No one with a grain of fairness in him can deny the efforts of the Muslim Students Association in the United States and Canada. The Association has established many branches and organised several conferences. Other establishments have emanated from it, such as the Union of Islamic Sociologists, the Society of Muslim Scientists and Engineers, the Islamic Medical Society, the Islamic Society of North America and others. There is an intention to base the Movement in the United States, so that it may assume its natural position in a society based on multiplicity and freedom.

### **The Five Duties of the Muslim Expatriates**

I have participated in conferences organised by the Union of Muslim Students for several years. What I saw there was a source of gratification. The same applies to the Muslim Students Society (MSS) and the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS) in Britain and other organisations in Europe.

In my meeting with expatriates, I always reminded them of five duties:

1. The expatriate's duty to himself: to preserve and develop himself.

2. The expatriate's duty to his family: to protect it from disruption and establish it on Islam.
3. The expatriate's duty to his fellow Muslims: to unite with them to form one group.
4. The expatriate's duty to the non-Muslim community living around him: to invite the members of that community to the way of Allah with wisdom and beautiful preaching.
5. The expatriate's duty to the causes of his Muslim Ummah: to care for them and support them.

### **Warning Against Two Things**

There are two serious things that I have warned about: racial and nationalist sympathies, and extremism and differences. It is regrettable that we should see racial and nationalist sympathies given expression by several Muslim groups, with each closing itself to others and isolating its members from other Muslims, except for those spared (this wrong doing) by the Grace of Allah.

Even the mosques are attributed to this or that group. It is not strange today that when you visit a city you may be told that 'this is the mosque of the Turks', 'that is the mosque of the Moroccans', and the third mosque over there is 'the mosque of the Yugoslavs' and 'the fourth is for Indians', 'the fifth for Pakistanis' and 'the sixth for the Arabs' or a certain group of Arabs. In the United States, in particular, there are special mosques for black Muslims.

Islam has come to eliminate the differences among people and make them equal. Mosques are just the tools ordained by Allah for performing this mission, so how can they become a tool for discrimination?

True, the language barrier had made such separation necessary at



first, for the first generations of expatriates did not know the native languages of the countries they had migrated to. But this could have been remedied by the allocation of lectures for each group in the same mosque for some time until there was a common language for all the Muslim community in each country or each city. However, this separation has become unnecessary in most cases, but the mosques remain attributed to certain groups or nationalities! A mosque should be a mosque for Muslims and nothing else, and the flag under which the expatriates should unite must be the flag of Islam alone.

Expatriate Muslims will be strong only if they help each other, for unity is strength and dissent is weakness. Although solidarity is always required, it is more so in the case of being in an alien land, where one needs others of his kind to help him overcome his loneliness.

The second thing I want to warn about is extremism and differences over minor details - a phenomenon that, while still in its bud in Western countries, dates back to some time ago.

Our brothers in the East should not carry their differences and problems to the West, reviving and reliving them in their new home countries. The time, place and people have changed, and these expatriates have been taught by their *ulama* and teachers that a *fatwa* changes with the changes of time, place and people; so why do they not apply what they have been taught?

About ten years ago, I visited the Islamic Centre in Los Angeles, where some brothers asked me disapprovingly: "Is it right to show films in a mosque, even if they are educational films?" I replied: "What is wrong in that? If these films teach something good, watching them would be an act of *ibadah*, and a mosque is a place of *ibadah* and a forum for knowledge and education."

I added that the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) had allowed Abyssinians to dance with their spears in his mosque and had allowed his wife A'isha to watch them and had encouraged them to go on dancing.

Others asked: "Can women, not wearing the *hijab*, be allowed to enter the mosque on Saturdays and Sundays, when lectures and lessons are given?" I answered: "Yes, because if we restrict the admission into mosques to women who wear Islamic dress, where would others hear the Word of Islam and receive the Message of Allah? If we deny such women access to the mosque and its lectures and lessons, we will lose them forever, for the *da'wah* will not reach them. But if we allow them to go to the mosque, then there is a great hope for them to be guided by Allah to observe the rules of Islam. Many a true word has been made by Allah to open a heart, even several hearts."

At the time when I was getting this manuscript ready to go to the press, I received a report, or rather a letter, from my honourable brother, the doctor, scientist, poet and *da'ee* of Islam - Dr. Hassan, in which he explained some of the activities performed by the Islamic Centre in Los Angeles and the responsibilities carried out by the Centre to help Muslims and non Muslims alike. It was a letter that would warm the heart of any Muslim who reads it, as it was a true manifestation that Islam will never wither if it has on its side men who combine proper understanding with good intention.

## THE MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

It is the duty of the Movement in the coming phase to stand firm against totalitarian and dictatorial rule, political despotism and usurpation of people's right. The Movement should always stand by political freedom, as represented by a true, not false, democracy. It should clearly declare its refusal of tyrants and steer clear of all dictators, even if some tyrants appear to have good intentions towards the Movement in order to obtain some gains and only for a time that is usually short, as has been shown by experience.<sup>30</sup>

The Prophet said in a *hadith*: “When you see my Ummah fall victim to fear and does not say to a wrongdoer: ‘You are a wrongdoer’, then you may lose hope in them.” So how about a regime that forces people to say to a conceited wrongdoer: “How just, how great you are; O Our hero, our saviour and liberator!”

The Qur'an denounces tyrants such as Nimrudh, Pharaoh, Haman and others, but it also dispraises those who follow tyrants and obey their orders. This is why Allah dispraises the people of Nuh saying: ﴿And (they) followed one whose wealth and children give him no increase but only loss﴾<sup>31</sup>

Allah says of the people of Hud: ﴿And (they) followed the command of every proud obstinate (oppressor of the truth, from their leaders)﴾<sup>32</sup>

Allah also says of the people of Pharaoh: ﴿But they followed the command of Pharaoh, and the command of Pharaoh was no right guide﴾<sup>33</sup> ﴿And they obeyed him. Verily, they were a people who were rebellious (against Allah)﴾<sup>34</sup>

A closer look at the history of the Muslim Ummah and the Islamic Movement in modern times should show clearly that the Islamic Ideology, the Islamic Movement and the Islamic Awakening have never flourished or borne fruit unless in an atmosphere of democracy and freedom, and have withered and become barren only at the times of oppression and tyranny that trod over the will of the people which clung to Islam. Such oppressive regimes imposed their Secularism, Socialism or Communism on their people by force and coercion, using covert torture and public executions, and employing those devilish tools that tore flesh, shed blood, crushed bones and destroyed souls.

We saw these practices in many Muslim countries including Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, South Yemen, Somalia and North African States for varying periods of time, depending on the age or reign of the dictator in each country.

On the other hand, we saw the Islamic Movement and the Islamic Awakening bear fruit and flourish at the times of freedom and democracy, and in the wake of the collapse of imperial regimes that ruled people with fear and oppression. Therefore, I would not imagine that the Islamic Movement could support anything other than political freedom and democracy. The tyrants allowed every voice to be raised, except the voice of Islam; and let every trend express itself in the form of a political party or a body of some sort, except the Islamic current which is the only trend that actually speaks for this Ummah and expresses its creed, values, essence and its very existence.

However, some Islamists still have their reservations on democracy and are even wary of the word 'democracy' itself. What I wish to stress here is that Islam is not democracy and democracy is not Islam. I would rather that Islam is not attributed to any principle or system. Islam is unique in its means, ends and methodologies, and I do not wish that Western democracy be carried over to us

with its bad ideologies and values without us adding to it from our values and ideologies in order to integrate it into our comprehensive system.

However, the tools and guaranties created by democracy are as close as can ever be to the realisation of the political principles brought to this world by Islam to put a leash on the ambitions and whims of rulers. These principles are: *shura*, *nasihah* (advice), enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, disobeying illegal orders, resisting unbelief and changing wrong by force when possible. It is only in democracy and political freedom that the power of parliament is evident and that people's deputies can withdraw confidence from any government that breaches the constitution. It is also only in such an environment that the strength of free press, free parliament, opposition and the masses is most felt.

The fears of some people here that democracy makes the people a source of power and even legislation (although legislation is Allah's alone) should not be heeded,<sup>35</sup> because we are supposed to be speaking of a population that is Muslim in its majority and has accepted Allah as its Lord, Muhammad as its Prophet and Islam as its *Deen*. Such a people would not be expected to pass a legislation that contradicts Islam and the incontestable principles and conclusive rules of Islam.

In any case, these fears can be overcome by one article stipulating that any legislation contradicting the incontestable provisions of Islam shall be null and void because Islam is the religion of the State and the source of legitimacy of all its institutions and therefore may not be contradicted, as a branch may not run against the main origin.

It should be known that the acceptance of the principle that legislation of rule belong to Allah does not take away from the Ummah its right to seek for itself the codes necessary to regulate its

ever changing life and worldly affairs.

What we seek is that legislations and codes be within the limits of the flawless texts and the overall objectives of the *Shari'ah* and the Islamic Message. The binding texts are very few, while the area of 'permissibility' or legislative-free space is quite wide and the texts themselves are so flexible and capacious as to accommodate more than one understanding and accept more than one interpretation. This leads to the existence of several schools and philosophies within the expansive framework of Islam.

I pursued some laws that were passed in Qatar recently, and have found them to include many articles that rest on realising interests and removing evils, but were not directly introduced by any text except for one or two of them.

The most serious danger threatening the Muslim Ummah and the Islamic Movement is the rule of the Pharaohs who believe that their opinion is infallible and is right itself that can never go wrong. Such rulers adopt the logic of Pharaoh: ﴿I show you only that which I see (correct), and guide you only to the path of right policy﴾<sup>36</sup>

To these rulers, every opinion that runs against theirs is rejected, even accused. As Pharaoh spoke of Musa: ﴿I fear that he may change your religion, or that he may cause mischief to appear in the land﴾<sup>37</sup>

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The Islamic Movement must take a decisive attitude towards ethnic and religious minorities in the Arab and Muslim Worlds.

### **The Problem of Ethnic Minorities is Solved in Islam**

Ethnic minorities do not constitute a problem in the Islamic system the Movement advocates, for Islam embraces all races under one *aqeedah*, one *qiblah* and a close *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood).

Islam regards Muslims as one Ummah, regardless of their origin, colour, tongue or homeland. It sees all Muslims as equal, be they the Arabs, Persians, Berbers, Kurds, Turks, Indians or members of any other race. It protects the closest and furthest of them and they stand as one man against their enemies. They are as Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿The believers are but one brotherhood﴾<sup>38</sup>

No Arab is better than a non-Arab, and no non-Arab is better than an Arab; no white man is better than a black man, and no black man is better than a white man, except in *taqwa*: ﴿Verily, the most honourable of you with Allah is he (who has most) *taqwa*﴾<sup>39</sup>

The esteemed position of Sulayman the Persian, Bilal the Abyssinian and Suhayb the Roman, in the eyes of all Muslims in all ages is known to everybody.

The position enjoyed by non-Arab scholars who served Islam and the Arabic language cannot be denied by any scholar of Islam. The history of Islam is full of numerous examples of prominent scholars and geniuses of Islam such as Hasan Al-Basri, Ibn Sirin, Ata, Sa'id Ibn Jubayr, Abu Hanifa, Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, Al

Tirmidhi, Al-Nisa'i, Ibn Majah, Sibawayh and others.

Although all of them were originally non-Arabs, Islam made them Arabs when it made Arabic their language, so that they spoke, wrote and researched in the language of the Qur'an. A *hadith*, reported by Ibn Asakir says: "*Being an Arab is neither (from having an Arab) father nor mother: it is the tongue. He who speaks Arabic is an Arab.*"

Those who did not take Arabic as their mother tongue when they adopted Islam, such as the Kurds, the Berbers, the Persians, the Malaysians and other non-Arabs, were Arabised in their hearts and minds through the Islamic culture. It was through the Islam that was carried to their lands by the Arabs many centuries ago that they were guided by Allah to the straight path bringing them out of the darkness and into the light.

Every Muslim loves Arabic because it is the language of the Qur'an, Sunnah and *ibadah*. Every Muslim loves the land of Arabs, because that is where the *ka'bah* and the Prophet's mosque and grave are. Every Muslim loves the Arabs, because they are the defenders of the Prophet and Islam and have spread Islam all over the world. It is therefore said in the sayings handed down to us by past generations: 'If the Arabs become strong, so will Islam; and if they become weak, so will Islam!'

There is then, no ethnic problem in the Islamic perspective. The Islamic outlook is even the infallible remedy to the ethnic problem. But if the Arabs call for an Arab nationalism that is separate from Islam, the Kurds will also claim their own Kurdish nationalism, and the Berbers will call for a Berber nationalism and so on. This will certainly tear one Ummah and even tear individual countries. These ethnic sympathies were a characteristic of the age of *jahiliyyah* that was replaced by Islam with the Islamic brotherhood. Our Noble Prophet has disowned anyone who advocates, fights for



or dies while believing in a fanatic nationalism or tribalism.

### How to Solve the Problem of Religious Minorities ?

The problem that should be addressed is the problem of religious minorities, or what I called in a previous study the 'Non-Muslims in the Muslim community'. This problem should be solved within a context of frankness and openness, not through political manoeuvres and hypocrisy.

I have discussed the attitude of the Islamic solution towards these minorities in the third chapter of my book 'Inevitability of the Islamic Solution', and I cannot repeat all that I wrote once again.

However, what I want to say here can be summarised in the following points:

1. There are no grounds for the allegations by some people, most of whom are Secularists who have no loyalty to either Islam or Christianity, that the tendency for Islamic solutions and Islamic laws is against the principle of freedom for non-Muslims, and this is a principle that has been established at both international and Islamic levels. For these people forget or ignore a more serious and more significant point; that abandoning Islamic laws and Islamic solutions for the sake of non-Muslims who are a minority, runs against the principle of freedom for the Muslims who are a majority entitled to act as their *Deen* orders them. When the right of the minority runs against the right of the majority, which right should we put first?

The logic of democracy, which those people advocate, says that the right of the majority should be given precedence over that of the minority. This is what goes on in all countries of the world. The system that can gain the approval of everybody is

yet to be invented, for people were created different and can never be brought to accept the same thing. It should be enough for any given system to gain the acceptance of the majority, provided that it does not do wrong or injustice to the minority or transgress on the sanctities of the minorities. Christians and other religious groups will not come to any harm if they give up their right so that their Muslim compatriots may rule themselves by their *Deen* and implement the laws of Allah in order to gain His Grace.

If the religious minority does not do so, insisting that the majority relinquish what it, the majority, believes to be a religion whose relinquishing is punished with the Fire by Allah, then the minority will be imposing a dictatorship on the majority, with three million, for instance, controlling over forty million. Such a situation would not be acceptable to either religious or secular logic.

2. All the above is said on the assumption that there is a contradiction between the right of the Muslim majority and the right of the non-Muslim minority. In fact, there is no contradiction between the two of them. A Christian who accepts to be a subject to a secular, not religious, rule, would not mind being under an Islamic Rule.

Moreover, a Christian who understands his religion right should welcome the rule of Islam, as such a rule is based on belief in God, the Messages of Heaven and the reward in the Hereafter. Such a rule also seeks to reinforce the values of faith and morals that were called for by all Prophets. It also reveres Isa, Maryam, and the *Injeel*, and has a special regard for the *Ahlul Kitab*. So, how could such a rule, with its heavenly, moral and humanitarian nature, be a source of concern or fear for a believer in a religion that recognises Allah, His Messengers and the Hereafter, while that believer is not concerned or afraid of

non-religious, Secular Rule that despises all religions and allows them, if it ever does, only a small corner in life?

It would be good for faithful Christians to accept the rule and system of Islam, looking at it as a rule and system like all rules and system, while Muslims look at them as a *Deen* that pleases their Lord and brings them closer to Him.

It would also be good for Christians, as Hasan Al Hudaiby once said: "The Muslims should see the Islamic Rule as a *Deen*, as such a perception would make them guard against any mistake in its enforcement, because they will feel that they are under the watchful eye of Allah and not fear of the ruler that can be shaken off in most cases."<sup>40</sup>

Therefore, wise and broad-minded Christians have welcomed the Islamic Rule as a formidable barrier that can stop the advance of horrid materialism that threatens all religions at the hands of world Communism, as the prominent scholar Faris Al Khori said.

I would like here to put right a mistake that many people make. Many believe that man-made laws imported from the Christian West are related to Christianity. This is a mistake beyond doubt and those who study the origins and historical sources of laws certainly know this. It is a fact that stands to any argument that the Islamic *fiqh* is nearer to Christianity and Christians of our countries than these laws because of its religious origins on the one hand and because it is affected by the surrounding environment, of which they are part.

3. The allegation that the supremacy of the Islamic system of rule would involve forcing non-Muslims to do things that run against their creed, is also false. Islam has four branches - *aqeedah*, *ibadah*, *akhlaq* and *ahkam*. It does not impose its

*aqeedah* or its *ibadah* on non-Muslims in any way.

There are two decisive Qur'anic verses to this effect, one Makkan and the other Madinan. In the first, Allah addresses His Messenger saying: ﴿So, will you then compel mankind, until they become believers?﴾<sup>41</sup>

In the second, Allah says in a decisive manner: ﴿There is no compulsion in religion﴾<sup>42</sup>

The Prophet's Companions used to say about *Ahlul Dhimmah* (non-Muslims who live in an Islamic State and pay the *jizyah*): 'Leave them and their religion.'

Since the time of the Rightly Guided *Khulafa*, Jews and Christians have worshipped and performed their religious rights in freedom and security. This is testified to by the documents of treaties between them and the Muslims during the eras of Abu Bakr and Umar, such as the 'treaty of reconciliation between Umar and the people of Jerusalem'.

Islam is so considerate that it does not require non-Muslims to pay the *zakat* or perform *jihad*, as these are major Islamic acts of *ibadah*; *zakat* being a financial tax and *jihad* a military service. Instead Islam requires non-Muslims to pay another head tax, of which the women, the children and the poor and disabled are exempted. Such tax is known as the *jizyah*.

If some people cannot bring themselves to accept the term *jizyah*, then let them call it whatever they like. The Arab Christians of Banu Taghlib asked Umar Ibn Al Khattab to allow them to pay double the *zakat* that the Muslims pay and not pay the *jizyah*. Umar agreed and signed an agreement with them to that effect. He commented on that, saying: "These people are fools. They accept the meaning, but refuse the name!"

As for the branch of *akhlaq*, it is not different from its counterparts in other religions in its origins, for morals are the same in the eyes of all divine religions.

This leaves the branch of *ahkam* or the *Shari'ah* in its particular meaning, i.e. the laws that regulate the inter-relation among people. It governs the individual's relations with his nation, his community and his State, as it also governs the State's relationship with its subjects and with other States.

As for family relations and marital affairs such as marriage and divorce, non-Muslims can choose between their religion and ours. They are not forced to abide by the rules of the *Shari'ah*. If they opt for the Islamic law in dividing estates for instance, as they do in some Arab countries, then that is their wish. If they do not want to have Islamic laws applied to their affairs, then they are not subjected to them.

That is why the *Ahlul Dhimmah* have their own courts which they can go to or they can also resort to Islamic courts, as recorded by history.

As for other domains such as civil, commercial or administrative laws, non-Muslims are like any others under any laws that are derived from the East or West and are accepted by the majority.

So we see that Islam has not forced non-Muslims to abandon anything that they regard as necessary under their religion, nor has it required them to do anything that they regard as forbidden in their creed, nor has it forced them to believe in anything against their religion

It is only that there are some things that are prohibited by Islam but deemed lawful by non-Muslims such as drinking alcohol

and eating pork. Lawful things can be abandoned by individuals of their free will, so Christians may give up drinking alcohol and not be guilty of any sin under their religion. I do not even think that any religion would encourage alcoholic drinking and bless the life of drinking. All that the Bible says about wine is that a little of it cures the stomach, and that is why the Christians themselves are divided over the issue of drinking.

A Christian can also spend his whole life without taking a bite of pork, because eating it is not a religious rite, nor is it a practice handed down by the generations of Prophets. Pork was even tabooed by Judaism before Islam.

However, we have seen a number of Muslim *ulama* who are of the opinion that Christians may eat pork, drink alcohol and trade in both amongst themselves and in their own villages, provided they do not spread them in the Muslim communities or defy the feelings of the Muslims with them. This is an unequalled tolerance.<sup>43</sup>

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND DIALOGUE WITH OTHERS

The Movement should not confine itself in the next phase to addressing itself. It must enlarge its scope to address others as well.

Many Islamic writers and intellectuals write for themselves. I mean that they write for those who follow their steps and advocate their ideas, not exceeding the limits of what they have to say to each other, as if there were no other people on this earth besides themselves. If they get out of this circle, they write only to the other Islamic groups which share Islam and its *da'wah* with them but use different means and adopt different concepts.

When they do leave that second circle, they write for the religious in general, regardless of whether they, the religious, were members of any groups or movements.

Now that the Islamic Movement has attained its zenith and broadened its base, it should address itself to those who differ with it in ideology and trend and not leave them to their old misguidance, inherited ignorance and mistrust of Islam without trying to provide them with guidance or light their path.

It is time for the Islamic Movement to abandon its self-imposed isolation, so that it may regard all Muslims as part of it and enter with them into a dialogue first between itself and the Muslims and then between itself and them on one side and opposing, even antagonist, parties on the other side. Perhaps the rational, quiet, academic dialogue will make the reluctant become sure, give confidence to the uncertain, calm down the anxious, and may even alleviate the animosity of those with a grudge. Allah the All Mighty says: ﴿Perhaps Allah will make friendship between those whom you

hold as enemies. And Allah has power (over all things), And Allah is Oft Forgiving, Most Merciful ﴿44﴾

I recall here the invitation I received some years ago for participating in the symposium called 'The Islamic Awakening and the Woes of the Arab World' which was held in Amman, Jordan.

The participants in the symposium included Muslims, Christians, Communists and Nationalists of every colour. Some of the brothers with whom I discussed the symposium were of the opinion that I should not go, so that my participation might not be used for giving a tint of legitimacy to such symposiums that do not follow a proper Islamic line. However, I did not heed these fears and vivid imaginations that see a ghost behind every corner. I accepted the invitation and presented a paper that was published later in a separate book.

My presence and the presence of a number of Islamists including Dr. Hasan Al Turabi, Fahmy Huwaidi and Kamal Al Sharif, had a very significant effect in making the voice of the Islamists heard through the moderate Islamic trend which I believe in and advocate. Despite the small number of Islamists, their influence was the strongest and their voice was best heard.

I will never forget what one of the participants, a nationalist Christian, said to me at the lunch table. He said: "We have changed our opinion about you completely." I asked: "And what was your opinion?" He replied: "That you are a hardliner and a fanatic." I said: "Where did you get this idea about me?" He answered: "I don't know, but frankly, that was our impression about you." I asked: "And now?" He said: "Now we have learnt through seeing, hearing, discussing and direct contact which has changed this unfair idea about you completely. We now see you as a man who respects logic refers to the intellect and knows how to listen to other opinions, as a man who is not stubborn or adamant, but extremely



flexible and tolerant.”

What I want to convey by telling this story is that direct contact and reasonable, quiet dialogue that is held on equal footing is in the interest of the Islamic Movement which stands to gain from it and will lose nothing at all.

I can testify to that myself, based on my experience in all the meetings that comprised both Islamists and non-Islamists, the latest of which was the symposium held in Algeria on the ‘Issues of the Islamic Future’.

Therefore, we say that the motto of the Islamic Movement in the next phase should be ‘welcome to dialogue with others’. By ‘others’ we mean those who differ with the Islamic Movement in their ends, methods, attitudes, ideologies and their very creeds. The Movement has to welcome the dialogue with all those who differ with it and keep up the dialogue with those with whom it has already started discussion.

It should also seek to enlist the support of all the Islamic forces that agree with it on the main issues and general principles, including both groups and individuals who have intellectual and academic influence. The Qur’an orders us to hold dialogues with those who differ with us and not to regard them as hopeless cases and isolate ourselves from them. It says: ﴿Invite (mankind) with wisdom and fair preaching, and argue with them in a way that is better﴾<sup>45</sup>

All that the Qur’an requires is that the argument or the dialogue be in ways that are best, i.e. with the best means that ensure persuasion of the mind and awakening of the heart. A marvel of the Qur’anic expression is evident in this verse; as the Qur’an deems it enough for preaching to be beautiful, but would only accept argument or dialogue that is performed in ways that are best. This is because preaching is usually directed at someone who already agrees, while

argument is directed at someone who does not agree and therefore should be addressed in the best manner.

## THE DIALOGUE WITH RATIONAL SECULARISTS

The required dialouge also includes holding a dialouge with Secularists. I mean with those of them who are rational and fair and would be willing to hear the Islamists and understand what the Islamists advocate and want.

Those Secularists are originally Muslims. Many of them still declare proudly that they are Muslims, and some even perform the Islamic rites of *salah*, *sawm* and perhaps also go for *umrah* or *hajj*. However their problem is that they never came to learn Islam properly - as is the problem with many of the cultured. They never had a chance to take the teachings of Islam from its original and pure sources nor meet with trustworthy scholars and men of thought. Rather, they have taken their religion from Orientalists or Christian Missionaries or their disciples, or have even formed their perception of Islam through the pathetic state of affairs of Muslims or from what they read or hear from extremist or deviated people who claim to belong to Islam.

In any case, their upbringing, education and way of life never gave them the chance to know an Islam that is clear of the impurities that afflicted it in the past and present, including misconceptions, misapplication and misuse.

Besides, the glamour of Western civilisation at its zenith had coupled with the darkness that prevails in the Muslim World, which had sunk low in all aspects of life, has provided some excuse for Secularists to misjudge Islam, the Islamic *Shari'ah*, the Islamic way of life. They further believe that the way out of the present dilemma and the road to progress lies in following in the steps of the West. As the West shook itself free of religion and its

institutions and clerics, using science and intellect as its sole vehicle to reach out to construction, innovation, production and creativity, until it has mastered the powers of nature for man's comfort and prosperity.

We started a dialogue with the Secularists in Cairo in the summer of 1985 with the historic symposium held in Dar Al Hikmah on the invitation of the Physicians Association. The Islamists were represented by Shaykh Muhammad Al Ghazali and the author, while the only representative of the Secularists was Dr. Fuad Zakariya.

The symposium received a warm welcome from journalists and men of thought, as it was a manifestation of the importance of dialogue among the various sides in the same homeland.

Many writers including Fahmy Huwaidi, mentioned several benefits of this meeting, the most significant of which being that each side listened to the other directly. However, I found a shortcoming in the meeting. It had taken the form of a debate between the Islamists and Secularists, not a dialogue.

A debate breeds heated discussion, especially if there is a large audience. Besides, the representative of the Secularists in that dialogue was an obstinate man who did not have the least flexibility, tolerance or modesty that could make him listen and understand what the other side of the dialogue had to say so that he might learn something about Islam, of which I regret to say, he was abysmally ignorant of.

He actually realised the weakness of his position and the flimsiness of his arguments, so he went to the newspapers to which he was contributing articles and started a ferocious slashing attack on the audience in general, Islamists in particular and myself by name. That attack forced me to reply by explaining the whole issue in my book 'Islam and Secularism: Face to Face'.<sup>46</sup>

Once again, what I am calling for here is 'dialogue' not 'debate'. The word 'debate' in itself gives an impression of challenge and a desire to win, with each side trying to give the other a fatal blow.

I do not think that such a debate could do much good, as neither side would be likely to give ground or abandon its stand as a result of debate but may even become more obstinate and fanatic.

A debate may be accepted only if the Islamic side is embarrassed as a result of challenges by the other sides that leave it no option but to accept the challenge in order to avoid being accused of escaping the confrontation and deserting the battlefield. But the principle is dialogue in which proper manners are observed, as the Qur'an urges us to 'argue in ways that are best'.

## THE DIALOGUE WITH RATIONAL RULERS

Another type of dialogue that is required is the dialogue with wise and rational Muslim rulers who do not take an ideological stand against Islam. As for those rulers who adopt a different doctrine and stand against Islam, dialogue with them is useless. They are a hopeless case because they would like nothing better than to see Islam wither and go to total obliteration. But ﴿They want to extinguish Allah's Light with their mouths, but Allah will not allow except that His Light be perfected even though the disbelievers hate it﴾<sup>47</sup>

However, there are also those rulers who do not hate Islam but fear it, and their fear is in most cases due to their ignorance of the facts about Islam and the characteristics of the Islamic *Shari'ah* and the Islamic *da'wah*. Many of these rulers, of course, should be excused to a certain extent. They have not had a chance to know Islam as it really is, and get their knowledge from the pure sources and trustworthy scholars. In that ignorance, they are just like the members of our cultured elite that we have mentioned earlier. The concepts are jumbled in their heads and fact and fiction are one to them.

If Allah the All Mighty sends to such rulers those who explain to them the true Islam as a whole without division; as a pure subject without innovations; and as a simple matter without difficulty, showing them the good things that Islam carries for the individual, the family and the community, and the evils it wards off to protect the nation's morale and material resources. If they accept that explanation with an open heart, they will certainly change and adopt attitudes that will be different, partially or completely, towards Islam and its *da'wah*. Rulers are only human, just like us, and they can change and become influenced and convinced to such an extent that they will change their ideas and behaviour.

History is full of examples of rulers who changed under the influence of the *ulama* and sincere *du'aat*. Many of the rulers who are apprehensive of Islam have adopted such an attitude under the influence of false warnings by their ill-intentioned advisers or conspiracies by the 'devils' abroad.

These rulers can be reached by addressing the goodness that still remains in their hearts and stirring the Muslim blood that still runs in their veins. They also need to be reassured that they will retain their thrones and their power, at least for the time being, if they give freedom to the Islamic *da'wah* to discharge its mission of raising the youth to the values of right, good and purity, protecting them from intoxicants, drugs and prostitution, and countering the destructive principles that will be the ruin of the ruler and the ruled alike.

There is nothing (wrong) against holding such a truce or agreement with rulers, even though the Movement may not approve of their behaviour or their affiliations. The Movement, guided by the *fiqh* of balances, believes that such a position would be better than abject refusal or continuous animosity towards them.

However, a word of warning is required here. Such an attitude must never be a prelude to flattery or lip-service to these rulers. There is a big difference between making a pact with them and to flatter them.

## THE DIALOGUE WITH RATIONAL WESTERNERS

Another important dialogue is required from the Islamic Movement, despite the fact that the path of such a dialogue will be full of difficulties and obstacles - it is the dialogue with the West.

There are several differences between us and the West. There is a difference of religion, as the West is predominantly Christian while we are Muslim. There is the difference of trend, for the West is materialistic and realistic but we are spiritual and idealistic. There is also the difference of politics, because the West is in most cases, on the side of Israel and against us, though this attitude may differ in its strength from one Western country to another.

However, we cannot do without a dialogue with the West. Whether we like it or not, it is the West that has been ruling the world for centuries and it owns the civilisation that prevails in our contemporary world. It ruled our countries and occupied our land for varying durations, then left voluntarily or against its will, but still affects us directly or indirectly, and influences our decision-makers one way or another. Its influence on the minds and wills of our rulers cannot be denied either.

Moreover, it is no longer possible for a group of people to live alone with its creed and principle and be isolated from the world around it, in its own utopia. The rapid technological changes in the field of communications have actually made the world a 'global village' as one writer rightly said.

Therefore, a dialogue with the West is a *faridhah* and a must for us, so that we may make Westerners understand what we want for ourselves and others. Furthermore, we are *du'aat* of a *da'wah*, not



seekers of war booty; messengers of *rahmah* (mercy), not carriers of bad omens; advocates of *salam* (peace), not callers for war and supporters of right and justice; not helpers of wrong and injustice.

Our mission is to guide the confused humanity to the way of Allah and link the worldly life to the Hereafter, link the earth to the Heaven and link human being to human being, so that a man may like for his fellow man what he likes for himself and hate for him what he hates for himself. This will ensure that mankind will be cured of the diseases of all nations - envy and grudge, as this renders humanity bare of religion.

We know that the West still looks at us through the gloomy perspective that has mired its outlook on us since the Crusades and has nestled in the hearts of most Westerners till this day.

Many of the West's free and fair thinkers have admitted to that fact, including Gustave Le Bon, the French philosopher and sociologist, who frankly said in some of the footnotes of his book 'The Civilisation of the Arabs' that when a Western scholar delves into Islamic causes, he assumes a character other than his normal independent character with which he deals with all issues, and becomes biased and anti-Islamic even if he does not realise it. The same was recently said by the Orientalist Montgomery Watt in his book 'What is Islam?'

We also see the spirit of the Crusades raising its head from time to time in various fields. We see its influence in the attitude of the West towards Israel the aggressor, and towards the Palestinian people, the victimised. We see its influence in the West's attitude towards Christian Lithuania and Muslim Azerbaijan in the Soviet Union.

We also see its influence in the actions of French, Spanish and Italian officials who are motivated by their fear of the Islamic trend

in Algeria. We see its influence in the attitude of the West towards the issues of Southern Sudan, Eritrea, Kashmir, the Philippines and other political Islamic issues.

We see the influence of the spirit of the Crusades in several social issues, the most important being the case of Salman Rushdie who has peeled off his skin and betrayed his creed and his nation. It can be clearly seen in the issue of *'hijab'* in France; how a country that proclaims itself as the mother of freedom could not tolerate a number of Muslim girl students whose religion required them to be modest in their dress and who sought to please Allah and avoid Hell. But the land of freedom and human rights did not give them the right of seeking Allah's Pleasure in a purely personal matter!

Unfortunately, the spirit of the Crusades is present in attitudes and situations that defy counting. Even Turkey which is a country that has panted after the West for two-thirds of a century and imposed Western Secularism on its Muslims by sword and bloodshed, driving the Islamic *Shari'ah* out of every corner, was unable to gain the favour of the West when it applied for membership of the European Common Market. The Chancellor of West Germany explained the reason for turning down its application saying: "Turkey has a culture that is different from that of the West. It has Muslim culture, while we have a Jewish Christian culture."

Despite all this, we do not despair or lose our hopes of the West or leave it alone as a hopeless case that can never be swung around with dialogue, even though our civilisation is different from their civilisation, for can there be a dialogue except between two different entities? Let it then be 'dialogue of civilisations', as it was called by the well-known thinker Roger Garaudy, not a 'conflict of civilisations'.

And why should we not hold a dialogue with the West when the Qur'an has laid down for us the practice of dialogue with those who

differ with us, thus making dialogue a means of calling others to Allah.

Moreover, the Holy Qur'an tells us of the dialogue between Allah and the worst of His Creation - Iblis. Allah the All Mighty did not close the door of dialogue in the face of the damned Iblis; and what a dialogue it was! A dialogue with the Lord of the Worlds: ﴿(Remember) when your Lord said to the angels: "Truly, I am going to create man from clay. So when I have fashioned him and breathed in him (his) soul created by Me, then you fall down and prostrate to him." So the angels prostrated themselves, all of them except Iblis. He was proud and was one of the disbelievers. (Allah) said: "O Iblis! What prevents you from prostrating yourself to one whom I have created with Both My Hands. Are you too proud or are of the high exalted?" (Iblis) said: "I am better than him, You created me from fire and You created him from clay." (Allah) said: "Then get out from here, for verily, you are outcast. And verily My Curse is on you till the Day of Recompense." (Iblis) said: "My Lord! Give me then respite till the Day the (dead) are resurrected." (Allah) said: "Verily you are of those allowed respite till the Day of the time appointed." (Iblis) said: "By Your Might, then I will surely mislead them all, except Your chosen slaves amongst them." (Allah) said: "The Truth is, and Truth I say, that I will fill Hell with you and those of them (mankind) that follow you, together﴾<sup>48</sup>

The dialogue with the West should be on more than one level. Let there be a dialogue on the religious level, on the intellectual level and on the political level.

## THE RELIGIOUS (ISLAMIC-CHRISTIAN) DIALOGUE

Let there be a religious dialogue between Islam and Christianity, for various objectives:

1. Standing in the face of the atheist and materialistic trend which opposes all the Messages of Heaven, makes fun of belief in the unseen, and rejects Allah, His Messenger and His Punishment and moralistic values. Such a dialogue will also confront the trend of permissiveness and loose morals that have almost completely destroyed the noble characteristics that humanity has acquired with the guidance of the Messages of Heaven.
2. Confirming the points of agreement between the two religions, which are pointed out by the Holy Qur'an in speaking of how to argue with people of the Book: ﴿We believe in that which has been revealed to us and revealed to you; our God and your God is One, and to Him we have submitted (as Muslims)﴾<sup>49</sup>
3. Purifying relations of the remnants of the hostile feelings left over by the Crusades of the past and the imperialism of the present, and promoting the feeling of brotherhood, humanism and charity, to turn a new leaf for a more pure and clear relations. This includes that the Church stop supporting Christians against Muslims in every battle that erupts between the two sides, such as those in Southern Sudan and the Philippines and in other regions, as the Church also supports Communists and pagans against Muslims.

I do know that many Islamists are suspicious of a dialogue of this kind, as they regard it as a suspect dialogue that hides invisible hands that move Muslims to be the unsuspecting weak side of the

dialogue that is used by the strong side without its knowledge. Therefore, anyone who takes part in such a dialogue is a target of accusation in their eyes, for he will still be a fool or a collaborator!

I think that such suspicion is unnecessary. For while their doubts may be right, this is not always the case. Why should we lose confidence in ourselves to this extent? Why should we regard ourselves as the weak side while we are strong with what we have? Why should we regard anyone who holds a dialogue with those as having abandoned the truth of his creed and surrendered to the other side? What is actually important is that we enter into the dialogue while standing on firm ground, sure of ourselves and of those who speak in our name, believing that dialogue is better than fighting or escaping.

In fact, dialogue was one of the means of spreading the *da'wah* that the Prophet adopted in his historic letters to Hercules, Al Muqawqis (Chief Copt in Egypt), the Negus of Abyssinia and other rulers of the *Ahlul Kitab*, which he concluded with the verse: ﴿O People of the Book ! Come to a word that is just between us and you, that we worship none but Allah, and that we associate no partners with Him, and that none of us shall take others as lords besides Allah. Then, if they turn away, say: "Be witness that we are Muslims."﴾<sup>50</sup>

A dialogue of this sort did take place, and it achieved positive results, as I was told by Ustadh Muhammad Al Mubarak (may Allah have mercy on his soul). This dialogue took place between a delegation of the Muslim World League, headed by the then Secretary General Shaykh Muhammad Al Harkan, and included Ma'ruf Al Dawalibi and Muhammad Al Mubarak, and representatives of the Vatican. This took place in Rome.<sup>51</sup>

The dialogue resulted in improving the image of each side in the eyes of the other, especially the image of Islam that had been

unjustly and maliciously distorted. This has characterised the Muslim-Christian relations for some time.

Another dialogue took place in Libya between a number of Muslim intellectuals and some senior members of the Church. It produced good results, as Dr. Ezz Al Din Ibrahim, who was one of the main participants in it, told me. I read his paper that he had presented in the dialogue and I found it to be very balanced and sound in a moderate way that falls neither into extremism nor negligence.

## THE INTELLECTUAL DIALOGUE WITH ORIENTALISTS

The religious dialogue with the West should be combined with another dialogue that complements it - the intellectual dialogue with Orientalists and Westerners who are interested in Islam and its Qur'an, Messenger, creed, history, culture, knowledge, people, present and future, especially those scholars who are interested in intellectual trends and modern revivalist movements and upheavals of the contemporary awakening.

Such a dialogue is necessary for correcting concepts, bringing viewpoints nearer, clearing the air between the two sides and paving the ground for better relations. If dialogue is possible with the clergymen and representatives of the Church, who are more zealous by virtue of their positions and deep rooted ideological beliefs that have been handed down to them across the generations, then dialogue with Orientalists and intellectuals should be useful and easier. Many people say that there is no difference between the Western clergymen and the Western intellectuals or in other words, between Missionaries and Orientalists. They say that the only difference is that the former are dressed in the attire of a priest while the latter don the cloaks of scholars, but both of them are only two faces of the same coin.

However, a dialogue should not be impossible if it is sought with a strong will, if the objective is known and if the road is clear. Universities and the intellectual fora can take the initiative by bringing representatives of the two sides together to launch research work on certain topics that is free from bias or provocation.

We have to also take into account here that Orientalists are not equal in their attitude towards Islam, the Muslim Ummah and the

Islamic Awakening. Many books have been written about Orientalists such as Al Aqiqi's book, while others were written to reply to the allegations or to defend them. Other works classify the Orientalists such as the treatise prepared by Dr. Muhammad Al Bahay (may Allah have mercy on him), for which he had chosen the topic of 'Orientalists and their Attitudes towards Islam'.

I have to say that there are several points of weakness that are almost common among most Orientalists. These are:

Firstly, Orientalists are not well-versed in the Arabic language and cannot fully grasp its different implications, which naturally affects their comprehension of the original Islamic sources especially the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah. Hence, their understanding of Islam and its Message is hazy and incomplete.

Secondly, Orientalists suffer from the superiority complex of the Western man, the Western mind and the Western civilisation. They regard the West as the master of the world and Europe and as the mother of all countries, and they think that history began in the West and will end there too.

Thirdly, they start their research from points that are not subject to tests from their point of view, as they believe that the Qur'an was not sent down by Allah and that Muhammad is not the Messenger of Allah. In this way, they form their ideas in advance, prior to starting their research. They then direct their research in such direction that may enable them to prove these ideas by any means, thereby accepting narratives of poor credibility, believing lies, magnifying small events and making a mountain out of a molehill. They even take suspicion as evidence and reject all that contradicts their ideas even if it hits them in the face!

Fourthly, the studies made by Orientalists are often directed to serving practical goals that are required from the authors by certain



countries. In many cases, millions are allocated to these research works, which makes these studies not completely free of bias or ill-intentions.

Nevertheless, dialogue is still required in many issues. It can still be held with a number of independent intellectuals; a number that is increasing every day as more people shed old complexes and rid themselves of new influences.

When we set ourselves to start this dialogue, we should choose those Orientalists who are nearer to fairness and moderation among all nationalities such as Professor Jack Berek who has been invited to the University of Qatar several times.

However, we can feel from the translated works of contemporary Orientalists that today's Orientalists are closer to fairness and further from exaggeration and fanaticism than yesterday's Orientalists. This is more the case especially as Muslims now read their works, discuss what they say and counter what they do not like in their statements. As for the the old Orientalists, they wrote for themselves, i.e. one wrote for the other. Hence, their writings were more like special reports than dealing with general topics.

## THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE WEST

After accomplishing the religious and intellectual dialogues, the Islamic Movement should have another dialogue with West - a political dialogue with the decision-makers, those of them who stand on stage as well as those who stand in the back scenes.

I believe that the two previous dialogues should pave the way for this important dialogue. The Church, while officially kept away from politics, still wields much influence over men of the state, and still plays from behind the scene in the field of foreign policy especially where Islam and Muslims are concerned.

Orientalists, while appearing as mere academics, have undeniable connections with intelligence and national security agencies and ministries of foreign affairs.

There are many who try to sow the seeds of despair of any attempt at political dialogue with the West. There are others who quote the old Western poet: 'East is East, West is West. They never meet!' But we have seen the West meeting with India, Japan and most recently with China!

Others say: "The West may meet with India, Japan and China or with Hindus, Buddhists, Communists but not with Muslims." They may quote Missionaries, Orientalists or politicians who slashed at Islam with poison dripping tongues.

There are also those who look with suspicion at anyone who tries to communicate with the West or hold any sort of dialogue with the Westerners, and use such contact or dialogue to smear the one who attempts holding such dialogues with their always ready accusation - treason, collaboration, treachery, etc. No one can

forget what our strong and faithful brother Hasan Al Hudaiby, the second *Murshid Al Aam* of *Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon*, suffered as a result of his contact with Mr. Evans. Although the leaders of the Egyptian Revolution had known and blessed these contacts they eventually turned them into a weapon that they used against him, and into a tool for tainting his image and the image of the Movement and its men and policies.

This is an aspect that we have to take into account and guard against, so that the enemies of the Movement may not exploit similar contacts to attack it. I have to also say here that the complexes of the fear of Islam and the grudges against it still influence the behaviour of Western politicians in general. The memories of the battles of Yarmuk and Ajnadin, the Crusades and the Arab and Ottoman Conquests still haunt their dreams, with names like Khalid Ibn Al Walid, Tariq Ibn Ziyad, Salahuddin Al Ayyubi and Muhammad Al Fatih the conqueror of Constantinople, robbing the sleep from their eyes.

However, we should not ourselves fall victim to the fear of these complexes. We have to break the psychological barriers and try to shake off all complexes, old and new alike.

Despite the wars, feuds and bloodshed that raged over Europe over the past centuries, the countries of that continent are coming together into unity and will become one country in the near future.

The Americans and the Soviets have also closed the gap between them, having ended their hot and cold wars. So why can they not come together with the Muslims?

The logic of the West is well known - there is no permanent friendship or permanent enemies; there are only permanent interests.

We have no objection to starting from the principle of securing mutual interests between others and ourselves. I believe that the West's interest lies in avoiding the hostility of a thousand million and winning their trust, friendship and respect. We in turn should seek to improve our image in the eyes of the West, so as to change that image formed over the ages through bitter conflicts that were not free of exaggeration and fiction.

We are not denying that there are some people among us who do not paint the best image of Islam, neither by their way of thinking nor by their behaviour. They present Islam in an image of violence, fanaticism, bloody collision with others and neglect of freedom and human rights, particularly the right of minorities and women. Perhaps this image has been helped by the actual state of affairs in many Muslim countries that is understood to be a result of Islam and the Islamic law.

Such strong illusions do not just fade away by themselves, or disappear overnight, but can be removed by means of well-intentioned long lasting dialogue that is based on grandness and straight-forwardness, not manoeuvring and elusiveness. Although this sort of dialogue is unlikely in politics, it is not impossible; for nothing is impossible in the world of politics today.

If we manage to convince the leaders of the West and those who influence its policies that we have a right to live by our Islam, led by its *aqeedah*, governed by its *Shari'ah* and guided by its values and morals, without harbouring any ill-intention towards the West or doing it any harm, then we will have covered a long distance towards our objective of establishing the Muslim Society that we wish for our homelands.

There is no doubt that the first obstacle that stands in the path to this objective is our rulers who stand and guard over us watching our every move and resisting any tendency for establishing Islamic

Rule in the social, political and cultural life of the society.

There is also no doubt that the most influential power that influences our rulers is the West and its leaders, who warn our leaders against Islam and plant fear of Islamists in their hearts. They make them suspicious of the Islamic Movement by direct and indirect means and through covert and overt statements.

Therefore, persuading the West of the necessity of the emergence of Islam as a guiding and leading force, if possible, will be a vehicle for persuading Arab and Muslim leaders as well. This will certainly be of great benefit.

## THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND THE OFFICIAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

The Islamic Movement should work hard in the next phase for winning the official religious institutions to its side. This includes the prominent figures of Al Azhar in Egypt, Al-Zaytunah in Tunisia, Al Qarawiyyin in Morocco and the Deoband in Pakistan and India.

The Movement should set its sights on a major objective that should feature in its essential plans: to penetrate these official religious institutions from inside with its ideologies and its members. If the Movement succeeds in this endeavour, it stands to make significant gains, including the following:

1. It will be able to avert the collision with the members of the institution, many of whom still are in favour with the Muslim masses. They still possess the ability to distort the image of the Movement in the eyes of the uneducated or half-educated public by true and false allegations, especially from those who have put themselves at the service of the rulers.

Their allegations will hinder the march of the Movement and cost it much time and effort in defending itself and clearing its image of untrue charges. In this, the Movement will be free to devote its efforts to confronting the true enemies of Islam who want to put out Allah's Light with their mouth.

2. There will be hope in reforming these important institutions, so that they may carry their original and important responsibility of spreading the true teachings of Islam. They will advocate only Islam in its comprehensive, pure and unadulterated form, in such a way that it will free itself from

the unjust rulers and the agents of Communism and Christianity and be a formidable fortress that defends the Islamic *da'wah* against the conspiracies of the enemies of Islam. If the official religious institutions are reformed, they will turn out men who will serve the Message and the *aqeedah* and not just government officials.

3. It will be possible to draw on the official religious institutions' ability of infiltration and influencing people to spread the awareness of major Islamic Causes, the problems of Muslims all over the world, the duty of Muslim people towards the Islamic ideology and the Muslim lands. It will build an awareness to what the Islamic Movement is doing for effecting the Islamic cultural resurrection in the field of knowledge, work, education and shaping the Muslim personality.

It will also be possible to use the official institutions in combating the false trends that are trying to sneak into the Ummah overtly and covertly through the plots of the enemies of Islam and the collaboration of the hypocrites inside.

Through such a cooperation and such an integration between the popular movement and the official institution, the front that support the Islamic *da'wah* and its great cultural efforts will be expanded.

4. It will be possible to refute the excuses of those governments that try to shirk the adoption of rules of Islam as a guide for life and a leader of society. These governments take as pretext for their attitude the *fatwa* of some weak and misguided members of the official religious institutions.

Another target is to give a legitimate status to the demands of the Islamic Movement and to the efforts for establishing a state that rules by what Allah has sent down and embraces Islam as

an *aqeedah*, a way of life and a message for the guidance and advancement of all people.

Imam Hasan Al Banna was always keen on keeping his lines open with the scholars of Al Azhar, among whom he had many good friends. I once heard him say in a convention that was held in Tanta and attended by a number of prominent Azhari Scholars of the Azahari Institute in Tanta: “O *Ulama*! You are the regular army of Islam, with us behind you as the reserve army.”

Naturally, this does not apply to those institutions that have sold their *Deen* to have the good things of this life, becoming a mouthpiece for tyrants and a sword that unjust rulers brandish in the face of true Islamists. Such institutions should never be neglected or given a respite, as they should be laid bare before their people for what they really are, so that the people may guard themselves against their evils.

We have also to differentiate between those who have become tools in the hands of tyrants, or shoes on their feet, and those who are weak and hate tyrants but are prevented from resisting tyranny by their weakness and fear. The weak, though intimidated to the extent of keeping silent and not uttering the word of right, do not get involved in saying the word of wrong. Hence, their circumstances should be taken into account and help should be provided to them for overcoming their weakness and fear.

The religious institutions in Iran were the driving force behind the revolution against the Shah's regime. It was helped by the *Ja'fari* doctrine of the right of absolute obedience by the masses. People were willing to sacrifice their property and their lives if they were asked to do so by the *shuyukh* and the *ayatollahs*.

It was also helped by the funds voluntarily given to it by the people, which represented the '*khums*' (one-fifth) which the *Ja'fari*



jurisprudence imposes on the net income, i.e. at 20% and which is handed to the *ulama* in their capacity as deputising for the 'absent Imam'.

In this way, the Iranian *ulama* no longer remained at the mercy of their government that paid their salaries and thus controlled their families' destinies because it had the power of keeping them in its employment or dismissing them at will.

Therefore, one of the essential principles for reforming the religious institutions is that they enjoy academic, administrative and financial independence and restore its usurped *awqaf* (religious endowments) and the freedom to dispose of them as it deems fit. This will enable the *ulama* to regain their authority as some of the rulers said about the secret of the power of Imam Hasan Al Basri: "We are in need of his religion and he has no need for our money."

It is a real problem when the religious scholar becomes just a civil servant in a state that does not need his religion while he has every need for its money!

## THE MOVEMENT AND GROUPS OF THE ISLAMIC AWAKENING

The Islamic Movement should do its best to unite all the Islamic groups and all the groups of the Islamic Awakening into one front for helping Islam and establishing it on the earth and standing in the face of all the invading currents that oppose the *da'wah* of Islam. This front must play an active part in promulgating the proper manners of dialogue and the right ways for dealing with opposing views, so as to lay the groundwork of cooperating in what we agree upon and being tolerant in what we differ on.

Imam Hasan Al Banna sought with his every effort to close the rank of the Islamic groups in Egypt and laid the famous 'twenty principles' as the 'minimum' number of concepts that should be agreed upon.

This is what the Islamic Movement should always do to achieve its major objective. The Movement is strong only through the strength of all the groups working in the Islamic arena. I mean, of course, the faithful groups, not those humorous or deviated groups or those groups that are described as Islamic by way of fraud.

Any Islamic group will be making a fatal mistake if it thinks that it can undertake, single-handedly, the establishment of a contemporary Islamic Rule that can withstand the internal problems and the external plots.<sup>52</sup>

What all of the groups and the Movement should actually do, is that they should consolidate their efforts and close their ranks to form a formidable Islamic bloc that can support its friends and deter its enemies.

What I fear most here is that selfishness will overcome the Islamic spirit of brotherhood, with each group trying to prove itself and to show others as incapable to the extent of focussing its effort on destroying others and not building itself into a strong part of a large edifice.

I also fear that narrow mindedness will supercede and control the way of thinking of Islamic groups, making them magnify their conflicts, turning molehills into mountains, the *far'yyat* into *usool* and turning matters of *ijtihad* into fundamentals of the *Shari'ah*, like what was done by the author of the treatise entitled 'The Right Opinion on the Contradiction between Membership of Parliament and *Tawheed*'.

The establishment of a strong Islamic Rule that can revive the *Deen* of this Ummah and make our worldly life better is a matter that should be collectively undertaken by all the Islamic groups and forces, regardless of their differences and various attitudes and policies. It should also be collectively undertaken by all the faithful individuals who are zealous for their *Deen* without being necessarily members of any group or organisation.

I believe that the Islamic Movement will actually succeed if it manages to recruit and unite the efforts of all the Islamic forces towards this end, so that all of them may think that the state is their state, the rule is their rule, the victory is for them and the defeat is on them.

## NOTES - CHAPTER 5

- 1 The question as to whether shura is *mul'imah* or *mulzimah* is an area of old debate. The difference of opinion on this issue even extends to the Islamic Movement. Despite the predominant position of the Movement, as advocated by Shaykh Al Qaradawi, that shura is *mulzimah*, many among the thinkers and leaders of the Islamic Movement regard it as merely *mul'imah*. Among them is Ustadh Fathi Yakun [Editor]
- 2 I gave an opinion on this issue in an interview with the Egyptian 'Ash Sha'ab' newspaper in Ramadhan 1410 AH. I will include this opinion in the second volume of my book 'Contemporary Fatawa'.
- 3 Narrated by Abu Daud and At Tirmidhi
- 4 Shaykh Al Qaradawi is not arguing here that not limiting the period of leadership is *haram* and that the Islamic Movement should limit the period of leadership, as some have understood. He is merely stating that one can not declare that the limiting of the period of leadership is *haram*. Depending on the time, place and circumstance, the Movement should choose the best suitable method in determining the period of leadership, if it needs to be determined. [Editor]
- 5 Al Anfal 8: 41
- 6 Al Hashr 59: 10
- 7 Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim.
- 9 As Saff 61: 4
- 10 Al Imran 3: 64
- 11 Al Hadid 57: 25
- 12 Ibrahim 14: 15-16
- 13 Ghafir 40: 35
- 14 An Nahl 16: 29
- 15 Al Maidah 5: 51
- 16 Yusuf 12: 23
- 17 Al Kahf 18: 59
- 18 An Naml 27: 52
- 19 Hud 11: 102
- 20 Al Anam 6: 45
- 21 Hud 11: 113
- 26 Narrated by Ahmad, Abd Al Razzaq and Al Dia on the authority of Anas.
- 27 Narrated by Ibn Majah and Ibn Hibban on the authority of Jabir.
- 28 At Taubah 9: 122
- 29 Al Ankabut 29: 56
- 30 A classical example of this is the events following the 1952 Revolution in Egypt. Jamal Abdul Al Nasser, who supported the Ikhwan and was even from the Ikhwan, later persecuted, tortured and killed many members and leaders of Ikhwan. He had used Ikhwan in order to gain power and then turned against them, showing his true colours. Some of the Ikhwani leaders (before the true objectives of Nasser were known) were of the opinion that Nasser should be trusted and supported. Shaykh Muhammad Al Ghazali was one such person. He strongly advocated this opinion so

much so that it led him to criticise the then Murshid Al Aam - Ustadh Hasan Al Hudaiby in his book '*Min Ma'alimil Haq*' and left the Ikhwan. He later withdrew the book from publication, conciled his differences with Ustadh Al Hudaiby, acknowledging that his opinion was wrong and re-joined the Ikhwan. [Editor]

31 Nuh 71: 21

32 Hud 11: 59

33 Hud 11: 97

34 Az Zukhruf 43: 54

35 Such fear is the basis of the misunderstanding, by some sincere Islamic activists of the concept of democracy in Islam. Such misunderstanding and shallow knowledge leads them to attack all the Islamists of the Islamic Movement all over the world who participate in elections under a democratic system.

Put simply, democracy is generally defined as 'rule of the people, for the people, by the people'. The second two parts of the definition are completely Islamic. The Islamic Rule is 'for the people' and their interests. The rule is also 'by the people' in the sense that it is people, and not angels or aliens from another planet, who will rule and seek to implement the legislations and commandments of the *Shari'ah* in the society.

The main difference lies in the first part of the definition. The Islamic Rule is not 'rule of the people'. Muslims cannot rule and legislate as they wish in matters which have been decided by Allah and His Messenger. Any student of the Shariah knows that *hakimiyyah* (sovereignty) in Islam is classified into three categories. *Hakimiyyah* of Allah, *hakimiyyah* of the Messenger of Allah (both which are absolute and binding on the Muslims) and the *hakimiyyah* of the Khalifah in the personality of the Khalifah (see the Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun and Ahkam As Sultaniyyah of Imam Al Mawardi). [Editor]

36 Ghafir 40: 29

37 Ghafir 40: 26

38 Al Hujurat 49: 10

39 Al Hujurat 49: 13

40 From 'Our Constitution' by Hasan Al Hudaiby, former Murshid Al Aam of the Al Ikhwanul Muslimoon

41 Yunus 10: 99

42 Baqarah 2: 256

43 See the chapter entitled 'Religious Minorities and the Islamic Solution' in my book 'The Evidences of the the Islamic Solution and the Ambiguities of Secularists and Occidentalists'.

44 Al Mumtahinah 60: 7

45 An Nahl 16: 125

46 Al Azhar refused to give me an authorisation that permits one to take this particular book written by Shaykh Al Qaradawi, out of Egypt. However permission was given to leave with some of the books written by some Secularists! [Editor]

47 At Taubah 9: 32

48 Sad 38: 71-85

49 Al Ankabut 29: 46

50 Al Imran 3: 64

- 51 Published in a book by the Muslim World League some years ago.
- 52 A point that needs to be mentioned here is that many of the members and leaders of the Islamic groups of the Islamic Awakening, regard their group as 'the Islamic group' to the extent that they consider themselves only, to be from the *Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah*.

The Islamic Movement considers itself as 'a group' among the Islamic groups and not 'the Islamic group' and believes that the Islamic Revival will only come about when the Islamic groups join forces together. This does not mean that every group would cease to exist leading to the creation of a single group; rather it means that the different Islamic groups should overlook their differences, tolerate opposing opinions and work together in areas in which there are no fundamental differences.  
[Editor]



# Conclusion



Having come to the end of my book, I must note that the Islamic Movement at both regional and international levels should have a clear outlook into the future, by which it draws a clear-cut and detailed plan aimed at specific objectives to be attained by legitimate means. Such a plan should be based on modern concepts, divided into cohesive phases and follow academic methodologies. It should also be flexible, easy to accomplish and practical, with its burdens equally divided among the competent bodies and establishments and not dependent on certain individuals, staying alive only as long as these individuals stay alive.

It should be built on documented information, accurate statistics, detailed research, scientific analysis, objective approach and a comprehensive study of all the available and potential material and human resources and all the psychological and material obstacles, both from inside and outside and both existent and expected, without underestimation or exaggeration.<sup>1</sup>

Such a plan is to be drawn up by a specialised, integrated body of competent experts in various fields of knowledge, each contributing his skill and knowledge to the team. This team may also seek the help of whoever they may think able to contribute an opinion or a piece of information.

It is necessary before and after drawing up the plan to pay attention to three things: full-time work, specialisation and information. We will discuss the three of them in detail in this conclusion.

### **The Necessity of Full-time Movement Work by Competent Individuals**

The Movement should take every care in its future planning to ensure that a number of competent individuals work full-time in all the strategic and important positions, particularly in the fields of science, knowledge, education, information, mass media, politics and planning.

The Movement should not remain dependant only on part-time volunteers who have their own jobs that monopolise their time, leaving only snatches on which no major undertaking can be based. However, this does not go against the presence of volunteers who devote some of their time and effort to the Movement for Allah's sake, for such contributions are vitally important and greatly useful, as the volunteer base is expansive. All members of the Movement are even supposed to be volunteers working without pay, except for those who have to work-full time for the interest of the *da'wah*.

Imam Hasan Al Banna continued to work as a teacher in the early years of the Movement until he was forced by the demands of the *da'wah* and the development of the Movement to devote all his time and effort to the Movement.

Many of the Movement's members and leaders, in more than one country, are university professors, senior civil servants or businessmen or tradesmen. But the best effort can be made only when the individual is working full-time to serve the Movement and promote its objectives.

However, it is necessary when selecting full-time workers that they should be of various specialisations that complement each other so as to cover all specialisations and plug every hole without concentrating on certain specialisations at the expense of others. There has never been undue expenditure without a right wasted in another place.

Money should be no problem in this respect, for spending money for this purpose is one of the best ways for seeking Allah's Pleasure. The necessary funding can be obtained from the resources of *zakat*, *sadaqah*, *awqaf* (religious trusts) and similar funds.

The interest generated by capital deposited in local and foreign banks is even permissible to be spent for this purpose, and one

should not shirk away from using it on the basis that it comes from a *haram* source. It is *haram* only against the depositor of the capital but *halal* for use in promoting Islamic interests, at the forefront of which comes the full-time employment of workers for the Islamic Movement.

Faithful workers should not be reluctant to accept an adequate pay that equals what their counterparts draw in other places, so that they may continue to work with satisfaction and not grumble because of the low pay they get. What should count is fair payment, with the reward being neither too generous nor too meagre.

However, it is necessary to choose strong elements and put the right man in the right place, without favouring this or that, as competence and honesty alone should be the criteria for selection: ﴿Verily the best of men for you to hire is the strong, the trustworthy﴾<sup>2</sup>

### The Preparation of Specialists

This effort should be augmented with the necessary qualification and preparation of specialists in all walks of life. We are living in the age of specialisation - even precise specialisation, as we are not in an age of encyclopedic geniuses who know every art and give opinions on every science. Intelligence alone is not enough neither are brilliant genius or talent.

It is necessary to have a specialised academic qualification that is able to run abreast with time, cope with need and perfect the work assigned. It is said in a *sahih hadith*: “Verily Allah has prescribed proficiency in all things.”<sup>3</sup> And: “It pleases Allah that when any of you does anything (he) should perfect it.”<sup>4</sup>

This perfection is only possible in this age of ours through specialisation and an action that is needed to fulfill a *wajib*, is *wajib* in itself.

Take for instance, a field like mass communication and the many diversified specialisation that it requires. Writing a script is a science, and writing it in the form of a screenplay is another science; directing it is a science, and so is performing it and so is marketing it and so on to the bottom of the long list of specialised sciences.

Directing a production for radio is something and directing it for television is another; while directing for the stage and the cinema are two completely different things. Mass media work is a field that embraces scores of arts today and there are institutes and colleges for these sciences in which students sit for higher and postgraduate studies.

If we want to 'Islamise' these arts, we will never be able to accomplish that without the help of specialised experts who can provide the Islamic alternatives to what we have today.

The Islamic Movement is rich in talent, but its talented children are not properly distributed in the fields and places where they are needed most. We frequently see a concentration of members of certain specialisation, such as medicine, pharmacology or engineering, while the Islamic Movement can lay claim to only a few specialists in scientific fields and even none at all in some cases.

This applies to human and social sciences such as psychology, sociology, economics, political sciences, mass communications and the like, which the youth in general shirk away from and head only for the applied science studies, despite the fact that these sciences are closer to the community and affect it more. This is why the Jews in the United States and other countries have been careful to monopolise them and get the lion's share of their position so that they may direct them to serve their interests at their will.

Many a brilliant young man whose personal abilities and academic aptitude makes him good for being a student of human and literary pursuits is forced by the pressure of society to pursue applied-

science studies, while he would fare better and achieve much more production if he was directed to where his abilities and tendencies made him best suited for his studies.

In fact, there is a very evident shortcoming in the field of human sciences, despite their importance and serious impact. There is even a shortage in the field of literature, e.g. story-writing and criticism, where almost none of the brilliant young men work. Those of them who do participate are not given the necessary publicity, unlike the Leftists and others, who give each other support.

### **A Centre for Information and Research**

One of the most pressing needs of the Islamic Movement in our contemporary age is the establishment of a data bank or a centre for information and research that can cope with this age - the age of the 'information revolution', as some people like to call. This centre should be staffed by trained and skilled specialists in accordance with what Allah says: ﴿And none can inform you like him who knows well﴾<sup>5</sup> and supported by sophisticated equipment and elements that suit the beginnings of the twenty first century.

The sources and means of collecting information, means of storage, classification and retrieval of data have become diversified. Have we made any step towards using all this advancement?

We do not have all or even half the information we need about ourselves, let alone knowing anything about others - friend and foe alike; while our enemies know all that is to be known about us.

I was in Istanbul with some Arab brothers working in the Islamic banking field. We met some brothers from the Turkmen Republic in the (former) Soviet Union, who asked us: "Where are your brethren in Turkmenistan and other republics that were held captive behind the Iron Curtain and are now free to act and

interact? They need help and expertise of every kind - religious, cultural, educational and economic. Where is this help and expertise? Who is going to give it to them?"

"The Christian religious authorities were on the move as soon as glasnost and perestroika started to have their effect. They had all the information and their maps were ready and marked, and the statistics and data were all there. Bibles and books were distributed at once and the missionaries went everywhere. In the short interval since then to now, 2000 churches were either built on new sites or refurbished from destruction and ruin. The Church and its men are still at work there. Where then, is the Islamic work in Muslim territories?"

I turned to those around me, asking: "What do you know about our brothers there? About their number, their country, their history, their material and cultural background and about their needs?" I discovered that we knew very little about them, and we did not know an Islamic quarter that had adequate and documented information on them that could be used.

The Islamic Movement at regional and international levels should adapt to its age and develop itself, recruiting all its efforts and mustering all the energies of Muslims around it towards that end. It should take this prayer as its motto:

*'O Allah! Make today better for us than yesterday, and make tomorrow better than today, and grant us Your Blessing in everything. Ameen.'*

## NOTES - CONCLUSION

- 1 See the characteristics of the required plan, discussed from a theoretical perspective, in my book 'Islamic Solution: A *Faridbah* and A Necessity'.
- 2 Al Qasas 28 : 26
- 3 Narrated by Muslim on the authority of An Nawwas Ibn Sam'an.
- 4 Narrated by Al Baihaqi on the authority of A'isha.
- 5 Fatir 35 : 14







# Appendix





in office due to the benefit they gained from his stay through his lifting of injustice, should he stay?

“Praise be to Allah. Yes, he should stay in office if he is a good man who tries to lift as much injustice as he can, if his being in office is better having another, in his place, and if his control of his fief is better than its control by someone else. He may stay in office, and will not be committing a sin if he dose so. His remaining in office is even better than leaving it unless he occupies himself with something better.

This (stay in office) may even be a duty that such a man has to discharge if there is nobody else who can undertake it, for the establishment of justice and elimination of injustice as much as possible is a colletcive duty, and should be undertaken by any individual who finds in himself the ability to do so while others cannot undertake it, but he who does so, should not be asked in this case to lift an injustice that he cannot cope with.

Such a man should not be asked to lift any taxes that the rulers levy on their subjects in his fief if he cannot lift such taxes. Besides, if the rulers and their representative demand funds that cannot be paid unless some of these taxes are collected, so that if this man does not pay them what they want they will give his position and the fief to someone else who will continue, or increase, the injustice, then the collection of some of these taxes on behalf of the rulers would be better than having all the taxes collected. For if this man tries to be as just as he can, then he is better than others, even if he gives evil persons some of what they demand to make it possible for him to avoid their evil. This man will be rewarded for collecting the taxes from the Muslims if he has to collect it but dose not commit the injustice himself and he will not be punished for collecting it if he is collecting it under the aforesaid conditions. He will not be punished in this life nor in the Hereafter if he does his best to ensure that justice is served as best as possible.

Such man is like a guardian of orphans, trustee of a *waqf* (religious trust), a partner in a commerce or any such individual who acts on behalf of another by virtue of his guardianship or by proxy. He is like them in their payment of some of the money of their principals of clients to an unjust ruler if this is the only way to serve the interests of their clients. This man will be doing right, not wrong, and what he gives the rulers includes what is given to tax-collectors in real estate tax and sales tax, as others in these countries have to pay these taxes, and if he dose not collect the tax, while he cannot see to the affairs of his subjects without it, the interests of his subjects, and his subjects themselves, will be harmed.

As for those who are of the opinion that such situations should not be allowed to exist in order not to accept a little injustice, if they are followed by people, the injustice and corruption will certainly increase, for they are like travellers stopped by bandits; if they do not make a pact with the bandits to give some of their money, the bandits will kill them and take all their money. If anyone says to these travelers: 'It is illegal to give the bandits any of your money', he means to keep that little money he is advising them not to pay, but if they follow his advice they will lose that little money and all their money as well. Nobody in his right mind would give such an advice, let alone that a religion sanctions for it, for Allah the All Mighty sent down His Messengers to establish public interests and eliminate and decrease the level of evils as much as possible.

If such a man who tries to collect as little tax as possible, and spares the people much more evil by so doing, and can do nothing else, leaves his offices, he will be succeeded by someone else who will collect all the tax and spare the people nothing. Such a man will be rewarded for what he dose, and will not be punished (for that) in this world or in the Hereafter.

Such a man is like orphan's guardians and the *waqfs*' trustees who can do their duty only by payment of unjust tax imposed by the







observed when the two are just recommended acts, according to the Qur'an and Sunnah.

Reciting the Qur'an is given precedence over *dhikr* if the two of them require equal involvement of the heart and the tongue, while prayer is given precedence over the two of them if it demands involvement of the heart, otherwise precedence should be given to *dhikr* over the recital of the Qur'an that does not involve the heart. However, this is a very expansive field of *fiqh*.

The third type of conflict is like that between a woman's travelling alone without a mahram and her stay in *Dar al-Harb*, as was done by Umm-Kulthum, on whom Allah sent down the Verse of the Test: ﴿O You who believe! When believing women come to you as emigrants, examine them﴾<sup>2</sup>

Also in the *fiqh* of *jihad*, while killing non-fighting women and children and their like is *haram*, they may be killed if need arises for a type of combat that includes them, such as using mangonels or night raids, as is narrated in the Sunnah with regard to striking a siege around Taif and launching stones on it with the mangonal, and also with regard to raiding infidels, who are residing in the Muslim country, by night. This judgement is also aimed at averting the occurrence of *fitna* (temptation against one's creed ) by killing those who, otherwise, should not be killed intentionally.

And such is the issue of *tatarrus*<sup>3</sup> mentioned by *fuyaha* (jurists). *Jihad* is a fight against the dissent sown by unbelief which is fought even if this involves accepting lesser evils. Therefore, the *fuyaha* agree that when the evil against Muslims can only be averted by means leading to killing those human shields. Then they may be killed, in some opinions.

Another type of conflict is that which occurs when a Muslim has to eat the flesh of a dead animal in case of extreme hunger, where

eating will be a good act that can only take place through this evil act. An opposite case is whether to take an obnoxious medicine, as its harm will be more than the cure it causes, and because other medicines can replace it and also because cure is uncertain. The same applies to drinking wine as a medicine.

An evil may be tolerated in two cases: if it will lead to avoiding a worse evil that cannot be averted otherwise, and if it will bring about an interest that can neither be abandoned nor be brought about otherwise. An interest or a benefit may be abandoned in two cases: if it involves the loss of a better interest, or if it entails an evil that is much larger. This is what relates to religious balances.

As for exemption from a duty, as a result of a harm in earthly life, or allowing an illegal thing for the sake of a benefit in the earthly life, such as exemption from fasting for the sake of travel, and allowing some taboos in *hajj* on account of illness, exemption from certain fundamentals in prayer for illness, this is another field that falls under the leniency of religion and the elimination of hardships over which laws of various creeds may differ, contrary to the previous field which cannot be a matter of dispute among creed, at least on generations, for they may differ on its details. This is even determined by reason, as the adage says: 'A wise man is not the one who can tell good from evil, but it is he who can tell the better of two good things and the lesser of two evils'.

Therefore, it has settled in people's minds that at the time of drought, rain becomes a blessing, for although it makes the harvest of tyrants bigger its absence is harmful to all people. People also prefer having an unjust ruler to having no ruler at all. A wise man once said: 'Sixty years under a tyrant ruler are better than one night with no ruler'.

Moreover, a ruler is held responsible for the aggressions he commits and the right he neglects if he is in complete control of matters.





for the sake of preponderant interest, or the sake of necessity, or for averting a worse evil.’

This field of conflict is very expansive, especially where the inherited practices of Sunnah and Khilafah are rare and hence these conflicts increase. The more the rarity of them, the more the aspects of conflict and the causes for dissent in the Ummah. When interests and evils are confused, ambiguity occurs, with some people being aware of the interests and choose a certain thing that involves great evils, others seeing the evils, and choose another thing that leaves out many interests, and still others who ponder over the two things.

A wise scholar considers these matters carefully, for he may have, as I have already said, to be flexible in passing decisions on certain affairs instead of firmly allowing or banning something, such as when he is about to order a duty that involves a greater evil, in which case he must not order the duty in order to avert the evil. For instance, one might turn over a guilty man to a tyrant ruler who sentences him to a punishment that exceeds his crime, or order a ban on doing some evil things that involve a good thing that exceeds the goodness done by stopping these evils, in which case one should not order the ban so that it may not involve leaving what Allah and His Messenger have ordered, which could be greater in benefit than leaving these evils.<sup>7</sup>

**NOTES - APPENDIX**

- 1 Fatawa of Shaykh A Islam vol. 3 pp. 356-360
- 2 Al Mumtahirah 60: 10
- 3 Tatarus: the enemies using either their own women and children or Muslim prisoners of war as human shields. [Editor]
- 4 Ghafir 40: 34
- 5 Yusuf 12: 39-40
- 6 Ar Taghabun 64: 16
- 7 Summarised from the Fatawa of Shaykh Al Islam Ibn Taymiyyah vol. 20 pp 48-61

SHAYKH YUSUF AL-QARADAWI

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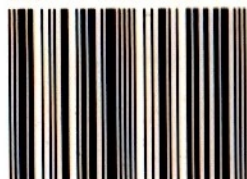
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