

International Islamic Federation
of Student Organizations



MAJMŪ'AT RASĀ'IL
**AL-IMĀM AL-SHAHĪD
HASAN AL-BANNĀ'**

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Message of the Teachings

Part One

Dear truthful brothers, the basic elements of our covenant are ten; so grasp their meanings and memorize them. They are comprehension, devotion, action, (Jihad) sacrifice, obedience, perseverence, resoluteness, brotherhood, and trust.

(A) By Comprehension I mean that you should be certain that our cause is in full agreement with the principles of Islam, and that you should understand Islam as we understand it within the bounds of the following twenty concise principles.

1. Islam is a comprehensive system which deals with all spheres of life. It is a state and a homeland (or a government and an umma). It is morality and power (or mercy and justice).

It is a culture and a law (or knowledge and jurisprudence). It is material and wealth (or gain and prosperity). It is (Jihad) and a call (or army and a cause). And finally, it is true belief and worship.

2. The glorious Quran and the purified tradition (Sunna) of the Prophet (peace be upon him) are the references of every Muslim for the realization of the rules of Islam. The Quran can be understood according to the principles of the Arabic language without affectation or

controversy, and the Sunna can be acquired by reference to the trustworth transmitters of Hadith (collected sayings of the Prophet).

3. True belief, proper worship, and Jihad in the Way of Allah have light and warmth that Allah casts in the hearts of whomever He chooses from among His servants. But inspirations, notions, revelations, and visions are not authentic references for Islamic Law, and therefore should not be given any consideration except when they do not conflict with the authentic references and established principles of Islam.

4. Talismans, incantations, geomancy, gnosis, fortunetelling, arrogation of knowledge of the unseen, and similar practices are all detested atrocities that must be fought, except what is mentioned in the Quran or transmitted to us as an authentic incantation of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

5. The opinion of Imam or his deputy is acceptable in matters which are of proven benefit to the public, provided that his opinion does not conflict with any established principle of Islam. In this regard, the opinion of the Imam is allowed to marginally differ from similar preceding rulings by virtue of changing circumstances, customs, and conventions of the society.

6. The opinion of everyone except the infallible Prophet (peace be upon him), is liable to changes and modifications. All that has reached us of the opinions and

rulings of the righteous early Muslims is acceptable to us as long as it is in agreement with the Quran and the Sunna. In case of disagreement, the Book of Allah and the practice of His Apostle are more deserving of our adherence. However, we do not criticize or attack any of those individuals who were in disagreement, since we do not know what their intentions were nor the circumstances that necessitated their decision.

7. Every Muslim who reaches the level of understanding the arguments of legal deduction and jurisprudence is encouraged to investigate the works of the four great Imams of Islamic jurisprudence and see which of them attracts him most. With the help of the arguments of that Imam and the proven opinions of trustworthy workers of his own age, he should be able to increase his knowledge of Islamic Law and find the Islamic solutions to the contemporary problems of his society. Those Muslims who are unable to do so are advised to exert the necessary efforts to acquire such a level of understanding.

8. Differences in opinion regarding secondary matters should not be allowed to cause division, contention, or hatred within the ranks of the Muslims. To every seeker of knowledge is a reward. In cases of disagreement, however, there is no harm in objective scientific investigation in an atmosphere of love (for the sake of Allah) and cooperation with the aim of realizing the truth. Fanaticism, obstinacy, and controversy have no place among true Muslims.

9. Wasting time and effort in investigating trivial matters that will not lead to action is prohibited in Islam. This category includes debating minute aspects of rulings in cases which have never occurred, investigating the meaning of the Quranic verses which are still beyond the scope of human knowledge (the mutashabihat verses), and differentiating between the companions (Sahabah) of the Prophet or investigating the instances of disagreement that took place among them. Every Sahabi (may Allah be pleased with them all) has the honour and distinction of being a companion of the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him), and to each is the recompense of his motives.

10. Recognizing Allah's existence (may He be exalted), believing in His oneness, and glorifying Him are the most sublime beliefs of Islam. We believe in the Quranic verses and authentic traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) which describe the exalted attributes of Allah and glorify His name. We also believe in the allegorical (mutashabihat) Quranic verses, which serve this same purpose, without rejecting any part of them or attempting to interpret them on our own. We stand aloof from the disagreement which exists among the theologians concerning these verses; we are satisfied with adopting the attitude of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his companions: "And those who are established in knowledge say: 'We believe in the Book; the whole of it is from our Lord.'"

11. Every innovation introduced by the people into the Religion of Allah on the grounds of their whims and without authentic foundation, whether by adding to the principles of Islam or taking from them, is considered a serious deviation from the path of truth and must therefore be fought and abolished by the best means which do not lead to worse deviations.

12. There is a difference of opinion regarding innovations which do not contradict established Islamic principles, such as praising Imams and religious figures with pronouncements of their credibility and binding people to acts of worship left open to one's choice. We adopt what can be confirmed by sound evidence.

13. Love of pious people, respecting them, and honouring their righteous achievements brings one closer to Allah (may He be exalted). However, one should not extend this to other than the favourites of Allah who are described in the Quranic verse: "those who believed and were fearful of Allah". Honour and prestige are due to them with the conditions prescribed in the Islamic Law, but we must firmly believe that they (may Allah be pleased with them) had no power over their own fates and, thereby, cannot avail or harm anyone after their death.

14. Visiting gravesites and tombs is an authentic Sunna if done in the manner prescribed by the Prophet (peace be upon him) But seeking the help of the dead, whomever they may be, appealing to them, asking them to fulfill

certain requests, vowing to them, and swearing with their names instead of the name of Allah are all gross atrocities that must be fought, no matter what the excuses are. Building high tombs, covering them with curtains, illuminating them, and throwing one's body on them are evil innovations that are equally prohibited.

15. There is a difference of opinion regarding the use of the names of the favourites of Allah in supplication. However, this is a matter of secondary importance and does not pertain to the fundamentals of the Islamic beliefs.

16. Erroneous practices of the people should be restrained irrespective of the names or titles under which they may be disguised. If something contradicts an Islamic principle in its essence, it should be opposed without regard to what people call it. In Islam, consideration is given to the significance and meaning of appellations and not to the appellations themselves.

17. Belief is the basis of action. Sincere intentions are more important than good actions with bad or no intentions. However, the Muslim is urged to attain improvement in both spheres : purification of the heart and performance of righteous deeds.

18. Islam liberates the mind, urges contemplation of the universe, honours science and scientists, and welcomes all that is good and beneficial to mankind: "Wisdom is the objective of the believer. Wherever he

finds it, he is more deserving to it.”

19. Islamic principles may be evident or uncertain, as are pure scientific principles. The evident principles of the two classes will never conflict; that is, it is impossible for an established scientific fact to contradict an authentic Islamic principle. However, this may happen if one or both of them are uncertain. If one of them is uncertain, then it should be reinterpreted so as to remove the contradiction. If both are uncertain, then the uncertain Islamic principle should be given precedence over the uncertain scientific notion until the latter is proven.

20. Never label as an unbeliever (kafir) any Muslim who has confessed the two declarations (shahadah) of faith, acts accordingly and performs the obligatory (fard) duties of Islam unless he clearly professes the word of unbelief, refuses to acknowledge a fundamental principle of Islam, belies the verses of the Quran, or commits an evident act of unbelief.

If you, dear brothers, understand your religion according to these twenty principles, then you will have perceived the meaning of your slogan: "The Quran is our constitution, and the Prophet is our model":

(B) By **DEVOTION** I mean that a Muslim brother should dedicate his sayings, work, and Jihad for the sake of Allah and the attainment of His pleasure and good reward without seeking recognition or anticipating any gain, honour, title, or advancement in this world. Only then, dear brothers, can you become ideological fighters

rather than fighters with worldly purposes and interests. "Say: "Truly, my prayers and my sacrifices, my life and my death are all for Allah, Lord of the worlds. No partner has He This I am commanded." Thus, you now understand the meaning of your slogans: "Allah is our goal" and "Allah is Supreme, and all praise is due to Him."

(C) By ACTION I mean the fruit of knowledge and devotion: "And say: "Work righteousness, for soon will Allah, His Apostle, and the believers observe your work. And soon will you be brought back to the Knower of what is hidden and what is open, then will He show you the truth of all that you did." Our sincere brothers are requested to work according to the following steps:

1. **Reforming the self.** A Muslim should strive to attain a strong body, good character, cultured thought, correct belief, and true worship. He should be able to earn his own living, improve his own condition, and solve his own problems. He should be careful about his time, organized in his affairs, and willing to offer help and service to others. These comprise the duties of every Muslim as an individual.

2. **Establishing an Islamic home.** A Muslim should induce his family to respect his ideology and observe the Islamic manners in all aspects of home life. He should be wise in selecting his wife and should advise her about her rights and obligations. He should bring up his children, and other household members under his supervision,

according to the principles of Islam. These, too, are the duties of every individual Muslim.

3. Instructing and guiding the society by spreading the call of righteousness, fighting atrocities and detestful things, encouraging virtue, enjoining all that is good, helping the people, trying to win the public opinion to the side of Islam, and observing the Islamic principles in all aspects of public life. This is the duty of the individual brothers as well as the jamaat (community) as a working unit.

4. Liberation of the homeland from all unIslamic or foreign control, whether political, economic, or ideological.

5. Reforming the government so that it may become a truly Islamic government, performing as a servant to the nation in the interest of the people. By Islamic government I mean a government whose officers are Muslims who perform the obligatory duties of Islam, who do not show any signs of rebellion against the evident Islamic principles, and who work and execute their plans according to Islamic teachings.

The Islamic government may utilize the services of non-Muslims, when necessary, in offices other than those of leadership. There is flexibility in Islam as to the shape and detailed structure of the government, as long as the government is in agreement with the general principles of the Islamic system of rule.

The Islamic government should be conscious of its heavy responsibility, compassionate to the people, careful about public funds, and just and honest in its policies.

The Islamic government is obliged to maintain peace and order, enforce the Islamic Law, spread education, provide military security, protect public health, oversee public utilities, develop the resources of the land, guard the public treasury, strengthen the morals of the people, and spread the call of Islam.

If the government performs all of the above mentioned duties, it is incumbent upon the people to be obedient and loyal to it and to cooperate with it by placing their wealth and expertise at its disposal. On the other hand, if the government neglects its duties and falls short of its responsibilities, then it will be the duty of the people to first advise and guide, then to dismiss and remove the government, for "No obedience is due to a creature who is disobedient to the Creator."

6. Rebuilding the international prominence of the Islamic Umma by liberating its lands, reviving its glorious heritage, bringing closer the cultures of its regions, and uniting its countries so that one Islamic Caliphate may be established.

7. Instructing the world about the Islamic ideology by spreading the call of Islam to all corners of the globe "until there is no more tumult or oppression and the

Religion of Allah prevails." "Allah will not allow but that His Light should prevail."

The responsibility for the last four steps falls upon the jamaat as a whole and upon every Muslim brother because of his membership in the jamaat. The programme as a whole is ambitious and far-reaching and, indeed, involves great responsibilities. Other people may consider it dreams and imaginations, but we see it as a reality. We shall never despair, for our faith in Allah is limitless. "Allah's decree will always prevail, but most among mankind know it not."

(D) **By (Jihad) I mean that divinely ordained obligation which is reflected in the following saying of the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) and which Muslims are to carry out until the Day of Judgement: "Whoever dies without struggling in the Way of Allah, or wishing to do so, dies a Pre-Islamic Jahiliya death" Its weakest degree is the heart's abhorrence of evil, and its highest degree is fighting in the Way of Allah. Between these two degrees are numerous forms of jihad, including struggling with the tongue, pen, or hand, and speaking a word of truth to a tyrannical ruler.**

No call survives without diligent Jihad. The more sublime and comprehensive the call, the greater are the difficulties in its way, the higher is the price required for adhering to it, and the more generous is the reward given to its upholders. "And strive in the Way of Allah as is suitable for it." Thus, dear brothers, you understand the

meaning of your slogan "Jihad is our means".

(E) **By SACRIFICE I** mean giving one's self, wealth, time, energy, and everything else for the cause of Islam. There is no Jihad without sacrifice, nor will there be sacrifice without generous reward from Allah. Those who renege and offer no sacrifice are sinners: "Allah has purchased of the believers their persons and their goods, for theirs in return is Paradise."

"Say: If it be that your fathers, sons, brothers, mates, or kinsmen; the wealth that you have gained; the commerce in which you fear a decline; or the dwellings in which you delight are dearer to you than Allah and His Apostle or the Jihad in His cause, then wait until Allah brings about His Decision, and Allah guides not the rebellious."

"Nothing could they suffer or do without having it reckoned to their credit as a deed or righteousness, whether they suffered thirst, fatigue, or hunger in the Cause of Allah; walked paths that raised the ire of the unbelievers; or received any injury whatever from an enemy. Allah does not suffer the reward of those who do good to be lost." "So if you show obedience, Allah will grant you a goodly reward." Thus dear brothers, you understand the meaning of your slogan: "Death in the Way of Allah is our most cherished aspiration".

(F) **By OBEDIENCE I** mean full compliance with the commands of the leadership and prompt execution of

these commands in difficulty and prosperity, whether their implementation is pleasant or unpleasant.

Note, dear brothers, that the Islamic call passes through three different phases:

1. **Proclamation** : This involves propagating the general concepts of the Islamic message among the people. In this phase the call is directed through administrative units and is expressed through social services. Its method is sometimes preaching and teaching, and sometimes establishing beneficial institutions for the public.

All branches of the Muslim Brotherhood organization today represent this phase of the call. Their work is governed by the bylaws of the organization, and their methods of work are explained in the jamaat's publications.

Participation in the call in this phase is not limited to members. Anyone can contact the jamaat and take part in our efforts if he agrees with our objectives and promises to adhere to our principles.

Absolute obedience is not incumbent upon members and associates in this phase. Respecting the general principles of the jamaat and abiding by its rules are the main requirements.

2. **Formation**: This is achieved by selecting and consolidating those members who can bear the burden of jihad. The training in this phase comprises spiritual refinement and military preparation. The motto of this phase is

“command and obedience” without hesitation, verification, suspicion, or opposition. The mode of work is represented by the Brotherhood battalions and is regulated by the message of “The Program” and the present message.

The movement workers in this phase should be of very high quality. Only those who have thoroughly prepared themselves for a long and tedious struggle will be allowed to join. The first indication of this preparedness is total obedience.

3. Implementation: The mode of work in this phase is uncompromising Jihad and persistent effort in pursuit of the objective. The call here is a tremendous trial which can be withstood only by the truthful ones. In this phase also, success cannot be attained without total obedience to the leadership.

By joining a battalion, accepting the message herein, and making this covenant, dear brothers, you advance to the second level and come close to the third. So, fully evaluate the responsibilities which you have undertaken, and prepare yourself for their fulfillment.

(G) By **PERSEVERANCE** I mean that the Muslim brother persists in his Jihad to achieve his goal, no matter how far the term extends, until he meets Allah in this state of Jihad. Thus, he will come to either of two great ends - victory, or martyrdom in the Way of Allah. “Among the believers are men who have been true to

their covenant with Allah. Of them, some have been martyred in the Way of Allah, and some still wait for the same fate, never having changed their determination in the least." Social remedy needs time, and patience is one of our means. The road is long, the goal is far, and the obstacles are indeed numerous. But it is the only road that leads to the realization of our goal in this life and leads to the best of rewards in the Hereafter.

Each of the preceding six measures needs careful planning, ample preparation, and precise execution. We must seize all possible opportunities, but everything takes time to achieve: "They ask: 'When will that be?' Say: 'Maybe it will be quite soon.'"

(H) By **RESOLUTENESS** I mean that you commit yourself to your ideology and abandon all other principles. This is because your ideology is loftier and more worthy than all other ideologies: "It was rather the very baptism of Allah, for, who is better than Allah in Baptism?" (Q 2: 138) There is for you an excellent example in Ibrahim and those with him when they said to their people: "We are clear of you and of whatever you worship besides Allah. We have rejected you, and enmity and hostility has arisen between us forever, unless you believe in Allah and Him alone."

To the sincere, devout brothers, the people are of seven categories: Mujahid Muslims, reluctant Muslim, sinning Muslims, non-Muslims living peacefully under the Islamic Law in a Muslim state (i.e. Dhimmies), non-

Muslims having treaties with Muslim states, neutral non-Muslims, and non-Muslims at war with Muslim states. Each group has its own status within the Islamic Law, and accordingly, we should judge each individual or institution within that context to determine the appropriate action.

(I) By **BROTHERHOOD** I mean that our hearts and spirits should be united by the bond of belief. Common belief is the firmest and most precious of all bonds. True brotherhood is the companion of faith, and division is the companion of unbelief. Unity produces strength, but there cannot be unity without love. The lowest degree of love is purity of intentions and unspitefulness of the heart; the highest degree of love is complete selflessness: "And those saved from the covetousness of their own souls are the ones that achieve prosperity."

The truthful brother considers his brother's interests more important than his own. This is because the jamaat can survive with or without him, while he can only survive with the jamaat. "The wolf preys upon the sheep that stray from the flock." "The believers are like a solid structure whose parts support one another." "The believing men and the believing women are helpers and Protectors of one another." Similarly, this is how we should be.

(J) And by **TRUST** I mean that the soldiers have profound confidence in their commander's competence and sincerity. This confidence should be the result of love,

esteem, respect, and obedience: "But no, by your Lord, they can have no real faith until they refer to you in all disputes between them, and then find in their souls no resistance against your decisions, accepting them with the fullest conviction."

The leader is an important part of the movement, for there cannot be a movement without leadership. The strength of the jamaat, the perfection of its plans, the success in achieving its goals and overcoming difficulties and obstacles are all in proportion to the degree of trust between the members and their leadership: "But more fitting for them was to obey and say what it just."

In the Muslim Brotherhood movement, the leader has the rights of a father by virtue of his cordial relationship to the brotherhood, the rights of a teacher by virtue of his educational aid to them, the rights of a preacher by virtue of his contribution to their spiritual advancement, and the rights of a commander by virtue of his political leadership. Consequently, confidence in the leadership is the cornerstone of our movement's success.

Therefore, truthful brothers, you must ask yourselves the following questions, so that you may know the degree of confidence in your leadership.

1. Have you acquainted yourself with your leader and gained some knowledge about the relevant aspects of his life?

2. Are you confident about his competence and sincerity?

3. Are you ready to promptly and precisely carry out his orders without hesitation or argument, except in disobedience to Allah? And whenever necessary, are you ready to offer advice or correction?

4. Are you ready to consider your leader's opinion right and your opinion wrong when they disagree on matters that are not decisively determined in the Quran and Sunna?

5. Are you ready to put all your resources at the disposal of the leadership and give preference to the interest of the movement over your own interest?

By answering these questions, dear brothers, you will be able to judge your relationship with your leader and evaluate your trust in him. However, we concede that all hearts are in the Hands of Allah, and He changes them as He pleases: "Not if you had spent all that is in the earth could you have produced that affection, but Allah has done it, for He is Exalted in Might, Wise."

Part Two

Dear truthful brothers, your acceptance of this covenant obliges you to fulfill the following duties so that you may become strong bricks in the structure.

1. Devote a daily period for reading the Book of Allah. You are to finish the whole book within a month, but not before three to four days.

2. Carefully recite the Quran, listen to it, and ponder over its meanings. Study the purified tradition of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the history of the early Muslims, as far as your time permits. The minimum required knowledge on this subject is contained in the book *The Defenders of Islam*. Frequently read the collected saying of the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him), and memorize at least forty hadiths. You are also to study a dissertation on the principles of Islamic beliefs and another on Islamic jurisprudence.

3. Hasten to have a thorough medical checkup, and get treated for any ailments you find in yourself. Attach importance to physical fitness as self-defense, and stand aloof from all causes of bodily weakness.

4. Don't drink too much coffee, tea, or other stimulating beverages. Drink them only when necessary. Also, abstain completely from smoking.

5. Show interest in the cleanliness and tidiness of your home and place of work. Be concerned with the cleanli-

ness of your dress, diet, and person, for Islam was founded on cleanliness.

6. Always be truthful, and never tell a lie.

7. Fulfill your promises and agreements. Never breach a covenant, regardless of the circumstances.

8. Be courageous and enduring. The highest degrees of courage are telling the truth in your own disfavour, keeping secrets, admitting mistakes, and controlling yourself when angry.

9. Always be serious and dignified. However, this should not prevent you from smiling or engaging in truthful jesting.

10. Always have bashful, delicate feelings. Be sensitive to beauty and ugliness; the first pleases you, and the second pains you. Also, be modest without humiliation, servility, or adulation. If you demand less than what you deserve, you will receive what you deserve.

11. Always be equitable and of sound judgement in all situations. Never allow anger to make you forget merits, nor let affection and pleasure blind you to defects. Don't allow disputes to make you ungrateful. Always speak the truth, no matter how painful it is, even if it is against yourself or against the people dearest to you.

12. Be active, energetic, and skilled in public services. You should feel happy when you offer a service to another person. You should feel compelled to visit the sick,

assist the needy, support the weak, and give relief to the ill-fated, even if it is only a kind word of sympathy. Always rush to do good deeds.

13. Be compassionate, graciously excusing and forgiving others. Be tender, forbearing, and clement to people and animals, and observe good manners with everyone. Observe Islamic social injunctions. Be merciful to the young and respectful to the old. Make room for your brothers in meetings and gatherings. Don't spy or back-bite. Don't be noisy. Always seek permission before entering non-public places, and make a courteous exit.

14. Be proficient in reading and writing. Frequently read the message of the Ikhwanul Mushimeen - its magazines, books and other publications. Establish a private library, no matter how small. Delve deeply into your field if you are a specialist in science or art. Acquaint yourself with the general Islamic subjects to the degree which makes you capable of forming general judgements concerning day-to-day problems.

15. Undertake some economic enterprise, even if you are wealthy. Try to establish a private business, regardless of how small it may be or how busy or scientifically oriented you are.

16. Don't run after government jobs, for they are the most limited sources of income. However, don't reject them unless they totally conflict with your duties towards the movement.

17. Perform your job in the best manner you can, and stand aloof from dishonesty and cheating. Observe your appointments, and never be late for work.

18. Be amicable in claiming your due, and hasten to give others their due in full, without procrastination.

19. Keep away from Allah forms of gambling, no matter what the incentive may be. Avoid unlawful means of livelihood, regardless of what quick profit lies therein.

20. Avoid the practice of charging interest (riba) in all your transactions. Purify yourself from its putrid touch.

21. Foster Islamic wealth in general by encouraging and helping Islamic economic institutions. Be careful about your money. Don't let it fall in unIslamic hands, regardless of the circumstances. Eat and wear products of Islamic enterprises.

22. Contribute a portion of your wealth to the movement. Pay zakat, no matter how small your income is, and consider it the inalienable right of the poor and deprived.

23. Set aside a portion of your income to defray unforeseen expenses, no matter how small your income is, and never indulge in extravagance.

24. Struggle for the revival of forgotten Islamic practices and the elimination of practices alien to Islam in all areas of life. This includes greetings, language, calendar, dress, household furnishings, times of work and rest,

food and drink, arriving and departing, and expressing joy and sorrow. Always refer to the purified tradition of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

25. Boycott non-Islamic courts and judicial systems. Also, dissociate yourself from organizations, newspapers, committees, schools, and institutions which oppose your Islamic ideology.

26. Always be conscious of Allah (may He be exalted); seek His pleasure with determination and resoluteness. Bring yourself closer to Allah (may He be exalted) by performing extra night prayers (tahajjud), fasting at least three days every month, contemplating Allah and mentioning His name, and reciting the respected supplications of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

27. Perfect your personal purity and cleanliness, and try to keep in a state of ablution (wudu) most of the time.

28. Perfect your prayers, and strive to perform them within their proper time periods. Also, try to pray in congregation in the mosque as frequently as possible.

29. Fast the whole month of Ramadan, and perform pilgrimage to the Sacred House (Kaa-bah) if you can afford to. If you cannot afford to make Hajj, make it one of the goals of your life and strive hard to undertake it.

30. Always cherish the intention of jihad and the desire for martyrdom in the Way of Allah, and actually prepare

37. Dissociate yourself from those organizations and institutions with which you feel your contact is not in the interest of your cause, especially if you are commanded to do so by your leadership.

38. Propagate your call everywhere. Familiarize your leadership with your activities, and never undertake any action that will seriously affect the movement without first consulting your leadership. Keep yourself in constant spiritual and practical contact with your call, and always consider yourself a soldier in the barracks awaiting a command.

Dear truthful brothers, that was a summary of your call and a brief account of the important concepts of your ideology. The principles outlined can be combined into five clauses: Allah is our goal; the Messenger is our model; the Quran is our constitution; jihad is our means; and martyrdom in the Way of Allah is our aspiration. These can be condensed further into five words: modesty, recitation (of Quran and Hadith), prayer, military preparedness, and ethics.

So hold firmly to these teachings, or else you will not have difficulty finding a place among the frivolous, the lazy, and those who lag behind. On the other hand, if you make these teachings consistent with the goals of your life and act according to them, your reward will be honour in this life and blessings and divine favour in the Hereafter. You will belong to us, and we will belong to you.

But if you forsake them and cease to act according to their guidance, there will be no connection between you and us, even if you appear great among us and the people give you the highest titles and foremost positions in the councils. Allah will bring you to a severe account and will ask you about your slackness and inactivity. So choose for yourself, and we pray to Allah to guide and help you.

“O you who believe, shall I lead you to a bargain that will save you from a grievous penalty? That you believe in Allah and His Apostle and that you strive your utmost in the Cause of Allah - that will be best for you, if you but knew. He will forgive your sins and admit you to gardens beneath which rivers flow and to beautiful mansions in gardens of eternity. That is indeed the supreme achievement. And another favour will He bestow, which you do love - help from Allah and a speedy victory. So give glad tidings to the believers.”

“O you who believe, be helpers of Allah. Jesus, the son of Mary, said to the disciples, ‘Who will be my helpers in the work of Allah? The disciples said, ‘We are Allah’s helpers!’ Then a portion of the children of Israel believed, and a portion disbelieved. But We gave power to those who believed against their enemies, and they became the ones who prevailed.”

May the peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you.

BETWEEN YESTERDAY AND TODAY

[Editor's Preface]¹

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate :
Praise be to Allah and blessing and salvation to His
Apostle and to those who follow him.

The Muslim Brotherhood have published tracts which explain their mission, expound their ideology, and outline their program. These tracts have brought together the basic principles underlying their mission and its various phases, and have expounded its truths and goals. Now the reader is offered this tract, "Between Yesterday and Today," concerned with the evolution of the Islamic ideology and its goals. It was written at the very dawn of this ideology shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, and has frequently been the subject of discussion among the Brotherhood since that time. It provides an excellent exposition of the principles of Islam as well as of the means of introducing reforms, means which it outlines and advocates. It also deals briefly with the Islamic state at the beginning of its rise, when it took the Qur'an for its constitution and the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him !) for its model and leader. It also contains an accurate analysis of the factors which undermined this upward movement of the Muslims and altered their condition; and the reader, at the conclusion

1. The name of the editor of this collection of Hasan al-Banna's tracts is nowhere mentioned.

of the tract, will find some instructive and pertinent remarks. For at its end, this *umma*² will prosper only through the means by which it prospered in its beginnings.

We ask Allah to render this work pure in His sight, and to open the hearts and minds of the Muslims for this task through the guidance of the True Religion.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate :
Praise be to Allah, and may He bless Our Lord
Muhammad, the Conqueror, the Seal, as also his House
and his Companions, and may He save them.

I. The Message of the Faithful Prophet : the Way of the
Noble Qur'an

Thirteen hundred and seventy years ago, Muhammad
b. 'Abd Allah, the Illiterate Prophet,³ proclaimed in the

2. See the Glossary of Arabic Terms. There is no doubt that the editor is referring here to the *Umma Muhammadiyya*, but Hasan al-Banna's usage fluctuates unpredictably between this and the modern meaning of "nation". Where it is obvious that he has this latter meaning in mind, I have given the term in translation. Where I feel more or less certain he means the *Umma Muhammadiyya*, I have kept the Arabic *umma*.

3. According to Muslim tradition, Muhammad could not read or write when the Qur'an was revealed to him by the archangel Gabriel. The fact that the language of the Book is the High Arabic of the literature is therefore taken as an evidentiary miracle and presumptive proof of its divine origin. Most Western Orientalists, however, see in the Arabic word *ummi*, here translated "illiterate" in order to conform to the traditionalist spirit of al-Banna's writings, the equivalent of the Biblical "Gentile." See Rudi Paret, art. "ummi," EI¹.

heart of Mecca from the hillock of Al-Safa :⁴ "O mankind, I am apostle of Allah sent to you all, by Him to whom belongs the rulership of the heavens and the earth ; There is no god but He : He makes to live and He makes to die. Therefore believe in Allah and His Apostle, the Illiterate Prophet, who believes in Allah and His Words, and follow him. Perhaps you will be rightly guided" [Q.7 : 158]. This universal mission was a decisive landmark for all of creation - between a murky past, a brilliant and shining future, and a prosperous and exuberant present - as well as a clear and unambiguous announcement of a new order decreed by Allah, the knowing, the Wise, Its herald was Muhammad, the Harbinger, the Warner, its Book was the Perspicuous and Enlightening Qur'an, and its soldiery were the First Precursors consisting of the Emigrants⁵ and the Auxiliaries⁶ and those who followed them in doing good. It was not the artifact of man : it was rather the very baptism of Allah, for who is better than Allah in baptism ?⁷ "Thou didst not know what the Book was, nor the Faith, but We have made it a light through which We guide those whom

4. This mound and its counterpart, Al-Marwa, originally Pagan places of ritual worship in Pre-Islamic Mecca, are today the scene of a ceremony forming part of the total ceremonial cycle of the Muslim annual pilgrimage, the Hajj.

5. The Emigrants (Mahajirun) were the converts Muhammad made in Mecca, who emigrated to Medina in the Hijra (Hegira) of 622.

6. The Auxiliaries (Ansar) were the Medinese converts to Islam whom together with the Emigrants, combined to form the primitive Islamic state in Medina.

7. A paraphrase of Q.2 : 138.

We will of our worshippers. And truly dost thou guide to a straight path, the path of Allah to whom belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Do not all things proceed to Allah?" [Q. 42 : 52 - 53].

II. The Basic Principles for Complete Social Reformation Provided by the Noble Qur'an

The Qur'an is the comprehensive work which contains the fundamentals of this all-embracing social reformation, and it came gradually to be revealed to the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!), through whom it announced its message to the believers from time to time, according to the fall of events, circumstances, and occasions : "In this manner, so that We may reinforce thy heart with it, and We have set it out in order. And they do not bring thee any similitude, but that we bring thee the truth, and a better one as exposition" [Q. 25 : 32 - 33]. This went on until revelation ceased through his mediation, and it was preserved in men's breasts and their written notes for some twenty - two years. Now Allah had gathered therein the explanation of all things for this umma, and the bases for the thoroughgoing social reformation which He revealed may be summarized under these headings :

- (a) Matters of Divinity.
- (b) The elevation of the human spirit.
- (c) The stipulation of the doctrine of reward and punishment.
- (d) The proclamation of the brotherhood of man.

(e) Advancement for men and women together; the proclamation of their joint responsibility and their equality : the precise definition of their respective duties.

(f) The safeguarding of society by stipulating the right to life, property, work, health, freedom, education, and security for every member, and defining the legitimate sources of gain.

(g) The control of the two instincts : the instinct of self-preservation and the instinct of the preservation of the species; the regulation of the alimentary and sexual demands.

(h) Severity in punishing cardinal crimes.

(i) The confirmation of the unity of the **umma** and condemnation of all the causes and symptoms of disunity.

(j) The obligation of the **umma** to wage **jihad** for the sake of the principles of justice provided by this order.

(k) Consideration of the state as the embodiment of the ideology, as concerned to defend it, and as responsible for realizing its aim within its own particular society as well as for conveying it to mankind as a whole.

III. The Practical Observances Promulgated by This Regime

This Qur'anic order stood in opposition to all other positivist systems and theoretical philosophies. It did not allow its principles and teachings to remain simply theories held by minds, or ideas relegated to books, or words to be bandied about. On the contrary, it instituted prac-

tical ways of applying them in order to implant them, strengthen them, and draw profit from their effects and results. It compelled the *umma* which believed in it and owed allegiance to it to be zealous in performing these works, making them obligatory duties for the omission of which no indulgence was granted. Indeed, it rewards the worker, and punishes the slacker in such fashion as to expel him from the bounds of this Islamic society and cast him to an abyss. The most important duties which this order has imposed as a protective fence for the inculcation of its principles are the following :⁸

- (a) Prayer, *dhikr*, repentance, asking for pardon, etc.
- (b) Fasting, chastity, warning against luxury.
- (c) Zakat, alms - giving, expenditure for benevolent purposes.
- (d) Pilgrimage, travel, journeying, discovery, and investigation of Allah's Kingdom.
- (e) Acquisition, work, and the interdiction of begging.
- (f) Jihad, fighting, outfitting fighters, and caring for their families and interests after their departure.
- (g) Commanding the good and giving sound advice.
- (h) Forbidding evil, and intervention when it takes place and between its perpetrators.
- (i) The obtaining of education and knowledge by every male and female Muslim in the various disciplines of life.

8. Items (a) prayer, (b) fasting, (c) zakat, and (d) pilgrimage are the last four of the "Five Pillars of Islam," or the fundamental religious duties incumbent on all Muslims. The first is the creed (*shahada*) : "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah".

each one in what suits him best.

(j) Good deportment and assiduous cultivation of high moral values.

(k) Striving for physical health and control of the senses.

(l) Social solidarity between ruler and ruled, in both custodianship and obedience.

It is demanded of the Muslim that he fulfill these obligations and put them into practice as the Qur'anic order has set them out. He must not slacken in performing any of them, for they have all been specified in the Noble Qur'an, and have been illustrated unequivocally in the deeds of the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!) and his Companions⁹ and those who followed them in doing good, with simplicity and clarity. Every deed, or a number of them, strengthens and inculcates a principle, or a number of them, from among the previously cited theoretical headings which this order came to bring to realization and to benefit mankind by virtue of their results and effects.

IV. The First Islamic State

On the foundation of this excellent Qur'anic social organization the first Islamic state arose, believing in it deeply, applying it meticulously, and disseminating it

9. The Companions (Ashab) are the first generation of Muslims, converted during the lifetime of the Prophet and comprising both the Emigrants and the Auxiliaries.

throughout the world, so that the first Caliph¹⁰ (May Allah be pleased with him !) used to say : "If I should lose a camel's halter, I would find it in Allah's Book". He fought those who refused to pay *zakat*, regarding them as apostates because they had overthrown this pillar of the order, and said : "By Allah, if they refused me a halter which they used to pay over to the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him !), I would fight them as soon as I had grasped a sword in my hand !" For unity, in all its meanings and manifestations, pervaded this new-risen *umma*. Social unity included the general dissemination of the Qur'anic order and the language of the Qur'an, while political unity was all-encompassing in the shadow of the Prince of Believers¹¹ and beneath the standard of the Caliphate in the capital. The fact that the Islamic ideology was one of decentralization of the armed forces, the state treasuries, and the provincial administrations proved to be no obstacle to this, since all acted according to a single creed and a unified and comprehensive control. These Qur'anic principles warred against superstitious idolatry in the Arabian Peninsula and Persia, and did away with it. They warred against guileful Judaism and confined it to a narrow province, putting an end to its religious and political authority. They struggled with

10. Abu Bakr, who reigned from 632 to 634, and who put down the great tribal rebellion of the *Ridda*, which threatened to fragment or dissolve the early Muslim state.

11. A title assumed for the first time, according to the usual tradition, by the second Caliph, Umar b. al-Khattab (634 - 644), and one of the standard titles of all the Sunnite Caliphs after him.

Christianity until its influence was greatly diminished in the continents of Asia and Africa and it became confined to Europe under the aegis of the Byzantine Empire of Constantinople. Thus did spiritual and political dominance come to be centered in the Islamic state within the two largest continents. This state persisted in its attacks against the third continent, assaulting Constantinople from the east and besieging it until the siege grew wearisome. Then it came at it from the west, plunging into Spain, with its victorious soldiers reaching the heart of France and penetrating as far as northern and southern Italy. It established an imposing state in western Europe, refulgent with science and knowledge. Afterwards, it succeeded in effecting the conquest of Constantinople itself and the containment of Christianity within the restricted area of Central Europe. Islamic fleets plowed the deeps of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and both became Islamic lakes. And so the armed forces of the Islamic state assumed the primacy of the seas both in the East and West, and enjoyed absolute mastery over land and sea. These Islamic nations had already had contacts with others, and had taken over much of their culture, but they triumphed through the strength of their faith and the solid fabric of the institutions they imposed upon all of them. They Arabized them, or succeeded in doing so to a degree, and were able to sway them and convert them over to their language and religion because of their splendor, beauty and vitality. There was nothing at all to prevent them from adopting any useful feature of these

cultures, insofar as it did not have an adverse effect on their social and political unity.

V. Factors Conducive to the Dissolution of the Islamic State and the Islamic People

For all this imposing strength and extensive dominion, the factors of disintegration came to insinuate themselves into the fiber of this Qur'anic *umma* and gradually to become grave, widespread and powerful, until they rent this fabric apart and brought the centralized Islamic state to an end in the sixth century A.H. (the thirteenth century A.D.) at the hands of the Tatars. In the fourteenth century A.H. (the twentieth century A.D.) they did this a second time, leaving in their wake on both occasions disunited nations and small states aspiring toward unity and striving for resurgence. The most significant of these factors were the following

(a) Political differences, partisanship, and struggle for supremacy and prestige, despite the forceful warning which Islam had brought to bear in this regard, encouraging indifference to positions of power and drawing attention to this aspect, which is the canker of nations and the destruction of peoples and states : "And contend not with one another, so that you become weak and your strength depart, and persevere, for Allah is with those who persevere" (Q. 8 : 46) ! and despite the profound exhortations to remain faithful to Allah alone in speech and act, and to flee love of fame and praise.

(b) Religious differences, sectarianism, and turning away from religion, as constituting both doctrines and works, to dead works and technical expressions endowed with neither spirit nor life, accompanied by indifference to Allah's Book and the Sunna of the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him !), stagnation, fanaticism in thought and word, and a passion for disputation, controversy, and wrangling, All these were among the things Islam had warned of and forbidden most rigorously, so that the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him !) said" "No people has ever fallen into error after receiving guidance except by being brought to controversy."

(c) Self - indulgence in luxuries and comforts, and craving for pleasure and sensual joys to the point that what has been recorded of Muslim rulers in many periods goes beyond anything recorded of others, and this despite their reading of the Words of Allah(Blessed and Almighty is He!) : "And when We wish to destroy a city, We issue a command to its men of wealth, and they transgress therein, and so the Word against them is justified, and We destroy it utterly" [Q.17 : 16].

(d) The transfer of authority to non-Arabs - i.e., Persians at one time, Daylamites¹² at another, Mamluks,¹³

12. The reference is to the Shi'ite Burid dynasty, whose founders sprang from the northern Persian province of Daylam. They reigned (from 945 to 1055) over a large Islamic empire centered on Persia and Iraq. The Sunnite Caliph, who granted them their diplomas of investiture, was by this time only a religio - political figurehead.

13. The most famous of the Mamluk (Slave) dynasties are those of

Turks, and others - who had never absorbed genuine Islam, and whose hearts had never been illuminated with the light of the Qur'an because of the difficulty they encountered in trying to grasp its concepts, for all that they [i.e., the Arabs] read the Words of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) : "O ye who believe ! Do not take as confidants those who are not of you; they will not fail to cast disorder among you; they are pleased by what troubles you. Hatred has been revealed out of their mouths; what their hearts conceal is yet greater. We have made the signs clear to you, if you would but understand" [Q. 3 : 118].

(e) Indifference to the applied sciences and natural science, and waste of time and loss of energy on abstruse, speculative philosophies and unhealthy, phantasmagorical pseudo - sciences, despite Islam's urging them to consider the universe, to explore the secrets of creation, and to travel about in the earth, for it commands them to contemplate the Kingdom of Allah : "say : 'Behold what is in the heavens and the earth'" [Q. 10 : 102].

Egypt, ruling from 1250 to 1517. The most significant changes wrought by the Ottoman conquest of 1517 were the substitution of a Turkish governor for the Mamluk sultan and the imposition of an annual tribute. Hence the Mamluk hierarchy remained in effective rule until the French invasion of 1798. Their power was finally destroyed only in 1811 by the founder of the khedivial line, Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805 - 1848). The Mamluks were a self-perpetuating dynasty of slave origin, who replenished their ranks with fresh contingents from central Asia and Circassia, training their own members to rule and electing a sultan from their own corps.

(f) Infatuation with their authority, self - deception as to their power, and failure to look into the social evolution of the nations outside their fold, until these latter got ahead of them in preparedness and equipment and took them by surprise. But the Qur'an had commanded them to be alert, and had warned them of the consequences of heedlessness, regarding the heedless as cattle, nay, as even more deluded : "For We have surely created for Jahannam¹⁴ many jinn and men, having hearts with which they discern not, having eyes with which they see not, having ears with which they hear not - these are like cattle, nay, even more deluded; these are the heedless" [Q.7 : 179].

(g) Self - deception through the intrigues of hostile flatterers, admiration for their works and the outward forms of their way of life, and unthinking imitation of them in ways that were harmful rather than beneficial, despite the stringent prohibition against modeling themselves on them, the clear command to remain different from them and to preserve the basic elements of the Islamic umma, and the warning of the consequences of this mimicking, to which effect the Noble Qur'an says : "O ye who believe ! If you obey those who disbelieve, they will throw you back upon your heels, and you will be turned into losers" [Q.3 : 149].

VI. Political Struggle

14. One of the Qur'anic hells, the equivalent of Gehenna.

(a) These factors began to operate within the life of the Islamic state and the Islamic umma, and the suppressed nations thought that the time was ripe to take their revenge and to do away with this Islamic state which had earlier conquered their lands and altered the character of their mores in all departments of life. The Tatars swept down like a devastating flood upon the Islamic state and began tearing it apart piecemeal, until they came to Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, and trampled it underfoot in the person of the Caliph Al-Musta 'sim.¹⁵ So was the unity of the state rent asunder, and the knot of the Caliphate undone for the first time. The nations fell apart into small states, and every tribe had a pulpit and a Prince of Believers. Christianity revived in Europe, gathered its forces, and hurled back the Muslim East in Asia and Africa with its legions throughought nine crusading assaults, in which the best of their chivalry, royalty, and armaments were deployed. These invading forces were able to establish a Crusader state in Jerusalem, to threaten the nations of Islam in the East and West, and to attack Egypt, at that time the most powerful of these states.

(b) Revival : But Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) did not yet allow vanity to overcome truth, and Egypt was able to gather about herself the scattered forces of some of these minor states, and she hurled them at the throat of the Crusaders, under the leadership of Salah al-Din (saladin), she recovered Jerusalem from them, and

15. In 1258, at the conquest of Baghdad by Hulagu, grandson of Chingiz Khan.

showed them the meaning of defeat at Hattin.¹⁶ Then she stood up to face the Tatars under the leadership of Al-zahir Baybars,¹⁷ threw them back upon their heels, broken, at Ayn Jalut, and restored the form of the Caliphate once again.¹⁸ Then God willed that a state extensive in domain, bold in courage, and formidable in power rise on the side of Islam, welding its people into complete unanimity and uniting under its banner most of the Islamic nations and peoples. Its lofty ambitions made it imperative that it attack Christianity in its very lair. It conquered Constantinople, and its authority extended to the heart of Europe until it reached as far as Vienna. This was the state of the Ottoman Turks.

(c) Fruits of the Renaissance in Europe : The Islamic state was tranquil under the banner of the Ottomans and their authority, it accepted it passively and took no notice

16. The Battle of Hattin (1187) was Salah al-Din's greatest victory over the Crusaders, leading to the recapture of Jerusalem.

17. The fourth Mamluk ruler of Egypt (1260 - 1277) who crushingly defeated the Mongols in 1260, thereby saving Egypt and Syria from the destruction and pillage of the Mongol conquests in Iraq and Persia.

18. The Mamluks set up a shadow Caliphate in Cairo by investing a scion of the Abbasid house with the title after the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols. He and his successors were even less meaningful than the Baghdad caliphs of the later 'Abbasid period. The last of these died in Cairo in 1543, twenty-six years after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Thereafter the title of Caliph came more and more to be appropriated by the Ottoman sultans, to impress their special standing among Muslim rulers both in Europe and on the rest of the Islamic world. This restoration "of the form of the Caliphate" to which al-Banna' refers was therefore no more than an empty gesture on the part of the Mamluks.

of what was happening around it. But Europe, which had come into contact with the superior culture of Islam in the West through Spain, and in the East through the Crusades, lost no opportunity and did not fail to profit by these lessons. She began to build up her forces, and to unite under the banner of the Franks in the land of Gaul, and thereafter she was able to stem the tide of the Islamic assault in the West and to sow dissension within the ranks of the Spanish Muslims, employing some to assail others, until she finally drove them overseas to the African coast. The young Spanish state took their place, and Europe continued to build up her forces, to unite, to plan, to acquire knowledge, to traverse foreign lands, and to discover new countries; until the discovery of America was made by Spain and the discovery of the route to India by Portugal. Then cries for reform followed swiftly on one another throughout Europe, numerous reformers arose, and she eagerly embraced natural science and fruitful, productive knowledge. These revolutions of the Reformation resulted in the creation of a number of nationalities and the rise of a strong state aiming with single purpose at the dismemberment of the Islamic state, which Europe parcelled out and whose place she usurped in Asia and Africa. These young states formed alliances for this purpose, which at times rose to the level of sacred pacts.

(d) A new attack : European power expanded, thanks to discoveries, expeditions throughout the world, and travels to the most distant horizons - as far as many of the

more remote Islamic countries like India, as well as to some of the neighboring Islamic provinces. Europe began to work earnestly at dismembering the powerful, far-flung Islamic state and to lay numerous plans toward this end, referring to them at times as "the Eastern question" and at others as "dividing up the inheritance of the Sick Man of Europe". Every state proceeded to seize opportunity as it arose, to adopt the flimsiest excuses, to attack the peaceful, negligent Islamic state, and to reduce its periphery or break off portions of its integral fabric. This onslaught continued over a long period of time, during which the Ottoman Empire was stripped of many an Islamic territory which then fell under European domination, e.g., Morocco and North Africa. Many non-Islamic areas previously under Ottoman rule became independent during this time, e.g., Greece and the Balkan states. The final round in this struggle was the First World War, from 1914 to 1918, which ended in the defeat of Turkey and her allies, and which provided the strongest nations of Europe, England and France, and under their patronage, Italy, with a perfect opportunity. They reached out to grasp this grandiose heritage consisting of the Islamic nations and peoples and imposed their rule over them under various titles - occupation, colony, trusteeship or mandate - and divided them up in the following manner :

(1) North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis) became French colonies interpenetrated by a zone of international influence in Tangier and a Spanish colony

in the Rif.¹⁹

(2) Tripoli and Barca became an Italian colony in which Italy did not wish any trace of Islam to remain. She forced Italian citizenship upon it and gave it the name of "South Italy". Then she filled it with thousands of hungry families and wild beasts in human form.

(3) Egypt and the Sudan fell under English protection, neither one possessing a shred of independent authority.

(4) Palestine became an English colony, which England took the liberty of selling to the Jews so that they might establish therein a national zionist homeland.

(5) Syria became a French colony.

(6) Iraq became an English colony.

(7) The Hijaz possessed a weak, unstable government dependent on charity and clinging to false treaties and worthless covenants.

(8) Yemen possessed an outmoded government and a poverty - stricken populace exposed to attack anywhere and at any time.

(9) The remaining nations of the Arabian peninsula consisted of small emirates whose rulers lived under the wing of the British consuls and who fought one another for the crumbs falling from their tables, their breasts burning with mutual resentment and hatred. This was the

19. The northern coastal region of Morocco.

case despite the reassuring promises and binding treaties drawn up by the Allies with the mightiest potentate of the Peninsula, King Husayn, stating that they would help him achieve the independence of the Arabs and support the authority of the Arab Caliphate.²⁰

(10) Iran and the Afghans possessed shaky governments beset by the greed of the strong on every side, and they were under the wing of one nation at one time and under that of another at other times.

(11) India was an English colony.

(12) Turkestan and the adjoining regions were Russian colonies, subjected to the bitter harshness of the Bolshevik authorities. Apart from these, there were Islamic minorities scattered through many countries, knowing no state to whose protection they might have recourse, nor any well-armed government to defend their nationality, as, e.g., the Muslims in Ethiopia, China, the Balkans, and the lands of Central, South, East and West Africa. Under such conditions, Europe won in the political struggle, and finally accomplished her will in dismembering the Islamic empire, annihilating the Islamic state and erasing it, politically speaking, from the roster of powerful, living nations.

²⁰ The Sharif Husayn of Mecca, who had himself proclaimed 'King of the Arabs' by his Meccan clique in 1916, and who proclaimed himself Caliph in 1924. Neither of these titles was ever recognized by the European powers nor by any Islamic rulers or nations. At no time in his career could he be seriously described as "the mightiest potentate of the Peninsula."

(e)Back to Power Again : But this flagrant hostility and contempt for treaties and covenants tormented men's hearts and aroused their spirits, and these nations began to demand their independence and to struggle to regain their freedom and glory. Toward this end, revolts flared up within their borders : Turkey revolted, Egypt revolted, Iraq and Syria revolted, and repeated revolts took place in Palestine and the Rif in Morocco. Every where people began to stir, and as a result the Islamic peoples obtained some of their rights. Turkey became independent within her new frontiers, Egypt and Iraq were recognized as sovereign states, the state of the Su'udis rose in the Hijaz and Najd, while, Yemen, Iran, and Afghanistan preserved their already existing independence, and Syria came close to winning recognition of her independence.²¹ Palestine drew the attention of the world to herself through her struggle, and the Muslims, without any doubt, took significant steps, even if they were few and slow, toward the noble aims they sought to achieve, the restoration of their freedom and glory and the rebuilding of their state. Although these steps led to the concept of local nationalism, with each nation demanding its right to freedom as an independent entity, and while many of those who worked for this revival purposely ignored the idea of unity, nevertheless the outcome of these steps will be, without a doubt, consoli-

21. Editor's note : Syria finally obtained her freedom, the nations recognized her independence, and the French evacuated her territories.

dation and a resurrection of the Islamic empire as a unified state embracing the scattered peoples of the Islamic world, raising the banner of Islam and bearing its message. There is no nation in the world held together by the kind of linguistic unity, joint participation in material and spiritual interests, and similarity of suffering and hope that hold the Muslims together.

(f) A New War : The European nations emerged from the First World War with the seeds of rancor and hatred deeply implanted within many of them. The peace conference took place and the ensuing treaties were sharp slaps in the face to some and a painful disillusionment to many others; furthermore, many new concepts and ideologies, strongly chauvinistic, made their appearance. Such a situation among these nations must lead inevitably to new antagonisms and a terrible, devastating war which will tear them asunder and rend apart their unity, bringing them back to their senses and deterring them from injustice. And it will give the Islamic nations another opportunity to close their ranks, to unite, to finally achieve their freedom and independence and to regain their state and their unity under the banner of the Prince of Believers : "And We desired to show favor to those who had been rendered weak in the earth, and to make them leaders and make them inheritors" [Q.28 : 5].

VII. Social Struggle

A new civilization : The European nations which came into contact with Islam and its peoples in the East

through the wars of the Crusades, and in the West through the proximity of the Arabs of Spain and their intercourse with them, did not profit from this contact solely in terms of heightened sensibility, cohesion, or political unification : they also profited through a great intellectual awakening, acquiring numerous sciences and branches of knowledge. A scientific and cultural Renaissance, vast in scope, made its appearance among them, and the Church rose to combat this strange phenomenon with all the strength at its command. It subjected their scholars and humanists to the bitterest punishments : the courts of the Inquisition waged war upon them and aroused the wrath of states and people against them. But all this served it nothing, and its teachings could not stand up before the truths and discoveries of science. The scientific Renaissance emerged entirely victorious, and the state thereby awoke and it too fought the Church until it overcame it and European society was delivered completely from its authority. Its men were driven into the shrine and the cloister, the Pope was confined to the Vatican, and the work of the clergy was limited to a restricted area in the affairs of life beyond which they could not go and to which their efforts were confined. Europe retained its Christianity only as a historical heirloom, as one factor among others for educating the simple-minded and naive among the masses, and as a means for conquest, colonization, and the suppression of political aspirations. The domain of science stretched out before Europe, and the scope of invention and discovery broa-

dened. The machine doubled production and gave an industrial cast to all of life. All this proceeded hand in hand with the rise of the strong state whose authority reached out to many lands and regions. The world eagerly welcomed these European nations, arousing their cupidity for the profits to be gained everywhere. It poured out its wealth to them from all sides, and it was only natural thereafter that European life and culture should rest upon the principle of the elimination of religion from all aspects of social life, especially as regards the state, the law - court, and the school; the domination of the materialistic outlook, and its enthronement as the criterion for everythin. As a result, the character of this culture became purely materialistic, demolishing what the revealed religions had promulgated and contradicting utterly those principles which True Islam had established and made the foundations of its culture which united the spiritual and the material. Among the most important traits of European civilization are the following :

(1) Apostasy, doubt in Allah, denial of the soul, obliviousness to reward or punishment in the world to come, and fixation within the limits of material, tangible existence : "They know something external of the life of this world, but of the world to come they are heedless " [Q.30 : 7].

(2) Licentiousness, unseemly dedication to pleasures, versatility in self - indulgence, unconditioned freedom for the lower instincts, gratification of the lusts of the belly

and the genitals, the equipment of women with every technique of seduction and incitement, and excess in pernicious practices until they shatter both body and mind, destroying the integrity of the family and threatening the happiness of the home : "Those who disbelieve take their enjoyment and eat as cattle eat, and the Fire is their dwelling - place" [Q.47 : 12].

(3) Individual selfishness, for every man wants the good only for himself; and class selfishness, for each class vaunts itself over the others and seeks to appropriate all profits to itself; and national selfishness, for each nation is bigoted on behalf of its members, disparages all others, and tries to engulf those which are weaker.

(4) Usury, granting it legal recognition, regarding it as a principle of business dealings and expertise under its various forms and varieties, and making it a general practice among nations and individuals. These purely materialistic traits have produced within European society corruption of the spirit, the weakening of morality, and flaccidity in the war against crime, while problems have multiplied, destructive ideologies have made their appearance, devastating and ruinous revolutions have burst forth, and economic, social, and political institutions have been shaken and no longer stand upon stable foundations. Nations have been torn apart by sects and parties, and peoples have fought one another savagely because of their greeds and hatreds. This modern

civilization has confirmed its absolute impotence to guarantee the security of human society and to establish peace and tranquility within it, just as it has confirmed its failure to grant men happiness, despite all the truths of science and knowledge that it has disclosed to them, as well as all the means to wealth and opulence it has made available to them, and despite the power and authority it has brought to the states which embody it throughout the earth, even though it has not yet been in existence for so much as a century.

VIII. The Tyranny of Materialism Over the Lands of Islam

The Europeans worked assiduously to enable the tide of this materialistic life, with its corrupting traits and its murderous germs, to overwhelm all the Islamic lands toward which their hands were outstretched. An ill destiny overtook these under their domination, for they were avid to appropriate for themselves the elements of power and prosperity through science, knowledge, industry, and good organization, while barring these very nations from them. They laid their plans for this social aggression in masterly fashion, invoking the aid of their political acumen and their military predominance until they had accomplished their desire. They deluded the Muslim leaders by granting them loans and entering into financial dealings with them, making all of this easy and effortless for them, and thus they were able to obtain the right to infiltrate the economy and to flood the countries with

their capital, their banks, and their companies; to take over the workings of the economic machinery as they wished; and to monopolize, to the exclusion of the inhabitants, enormous profits and immense wealth. After that, they were able to alter the basic principles of government, justice, and education, and to imbue political, juridical, and cultural systems with their own peculiar character in even the most powerful Islamic countries. They imported their half-naked women into these regions, together with their liquors, their theatres, their dance halls, their amusements, their stories, their newspapers, their novels, their whims, their silly games, and their vices. Here they countenanced crimes they did not tolerate in their own countries, and decked out this frivolous, strident world, reeking with sin and redolent with vice, to the eyes of deluded, unsophisticated Muslims of wealth and prestige, and to those of rank and authority. This being insufficient for them, they founded schools and scientific and cultural institutes in the very heart of the Islamic domain, which cast doubt and heresy into the souls of its sons and taught them how to demean themselves, disparage their religion and their fatherland, divest themselves of their traditions and beliefs, and to regard as sacred anything Western, in the belief that only that which had a European source could serve as a model to be emulated in this life. These schools took in the sons of the upper class alone, and became a preserve restricted to them. The sons of this class consisted of the mighty and ruling group, and those who would shortly hold within their grasp the keys to all important matters that concerned these

nations and peoples. Those who did not complete their finishing in these local institutes found all that would guarantee them this finishing in the continuing series of student missions.²² This drastic, well - organized social campaign had a tremendous success, since it was rendered most attractive to the mind, and would continue to exert a strong intellectual influence on individuals over a long period of time. For this reason, it was more dangerous than the political and military campaigns by far, and some Islamic countries went overboard in their admiration for this European civilization and in their dissatisfaction with their own Islamic character, to the point that Turkey declared itself a non-Islamic state and imitated the Europeans with the utmost rigor in everything they did. Aman Allah Khan,²³ King of Afghanistan, tried this, but the attempt swept away his throne, and in Egypt the manifestations of this mimicry increased and became so serious that one of her intellectual leaders could say openly that the only path to progress was to adopt this civilization with all it contained of good and evil, sweet and bitter, the appealing and the hateful, the praise-

22. These were the famous student missions inaugurated by Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt. Groups of promising Egyptian students would be sent to Europe to learn modern Western languages and sciences, so that they might be able to translate works dealing with these disciplines into Arabic and Turkish on the completion of their studies. Many also taught in the new government schools on their return to Egypt. See J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*.

23. Ruler of Afghanistan from 1919. His premature attempt to

worthy and the reprehensible. From Egypt it began to spread rapidly and vigorously into neighboring countries, until it reached Morocco and circumambulated the very shrines in the purlicus of the Hijaz. We may subdivide the Islamic countries, according to the degrees to which they were affected by this materialistic civilization and the domination of its materialism over them, into three groups :

(1) Countries in which this influence has reached serious proportions, penetrating even the mind and the feelings, apart from outward forms and conventions. Among these countries are Turkey and Egypt, where even the slightest trace of Islamic ideology has disappeared from all social situations, and has been driven off to take up quarters inside the mosques and Sufi establishments and retreats.

(2) Countries which have been influenced by this civilization in their official observances and conventions, but in which it has not triumphed over their inward sensibilities. Such are Iran and the countries of North Africa.

(3) Countries which have not been influenced by this civilization, except for a particular class consisting of the well-educated and the ruling group, to the exclusion of the common people and the masses. Such are Syria, Iraq, the Hijaz, many sections of the Arabian Peninsula, and the remainder of the Islamic countries.

emulate Egypt and Turkey by instituting modernist reforms in his country led to open revolt and his forced abdication and exile.

Nevertheless, this wave is spreading out with the speed of lightning to reach into minds, social classes, and mores that it has not yet penetrated. Enemies of Islam can deceive Muslim intellectuals and draw a thick veil over the eyes of the zealous by depicting Islam itself as being defective in various aspects of doctrine, ritual observance, and morality, besides accommodating a host of rites, superstitions, and inane formalities. What helps them to carry out this deception is the Muslims' ignorance of the true meaning of their religion, so that many of them are satisfied with this presentation, rest content with it, and accept it. For so long a time has this been true of them that it is difficult for us to make any of them understand that Islam is a perfect system of social organization which encompasses all the affairs of life. As a result, it is possible for us to say that Western civilization, with its materialistic ideology, has triumphed in this social struggle over Islamic civilization, with its sound ideology comprising both spirit and matter, in the very territories of Islam, and in a ruthless war whose battlefield has been the spirits and souls of Muslims as well as their beliefs and intellects, exactly as it has triumphed on the political and military battlefields. It is no wonder, for the phenomena of life are not fragmented : what is strong is wholly strong, and what is weak is wholly weak : "These are the days which we apportion to mankind in turn" [Q.3 : 140]. And even if the ideology and teachings of Islam have gone astray, it is powerful in its essential nature, abundantly fertile and vital, attractive

and enchanting in its splendor and beauty, and it will remain so because it is the truth, and human existence will never achieve perfection and virtue through any other means. And because it is of God's creation and under His care : "Lo, We have sent down the Reminder, and lo, We are its Protector" [Q.15 : 9]; "God refuses aught but that He should perfect His light, though the unbelievers feel aversion" [Q.9 : 32].

Awakening : Just as political aggression had its effect in arousing nationalist feelings, so has social aggression had its effect in reviving the Islamic ideology. Voices have been raised on every hand, demanding a return to Islam, an understanding of its precepts, and an application of its rules. The day must soon come when the castles of this materialistic civilization will be laid low upon the heads of their inhabitants. Then they will feel the burning of a spiritual hunger in which their hearts and souls will go up in flames, and they will find no sustenance, no healing, no remedy, save in the teachings of this Noble Book : "O man, an admonition from your Lord has come to you, and a healing for what is in your hearts, a guidance and a mercy for the believers. Say : 'In God's bounty, and in His mercy : let them rejoice in that.' It is better than what they heard" [Q.10 : 58 - 59].

IX. Our Mission is one of Reawakening and Deliverance

(a) A Weighty Heritage : So, Brethren, did Allah will that we inherit this heritage weighty with consequence,

that the light of your mission glow amidst this darkness, and that Allah prepare you to exalt His Word and reveal His Sacred Law and reestablish His state: "Allah will surely aid one who helps Him. Allah is Mighty, Glorious;" [Q.22 : 40].

(b) Our General Aims : What do we want, Brethren ? Do we want to hoard up wealth, which is an evanescent shadow ? Or do we want abundance of fame, which is a transient accident ? Or do we want dominion over the earth ? - "The earth is Allah's : He gives to inherit it those whom He will of His servants" [Q.7 : 127] - even as we read the Speech of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) : "That is the Abode of the Hereafter which We assign to those who do not want exaltation in the earth, nor any corruption. The final consequence is to the pious" [Q.28 : 83]. May Allah witness that we do not want any of these, that our work is not toward these ends, and that our mission is not on their behalf. Rather always bear in mind that you have two fundamental goals :

(1) That the Islamic fatherland be freed from all foreign domination, for this is a natural right belonging to every human being which only the unjust oppressor or the conquering exploiter will deny.

(2) That a free Islamic state may arise in this free fatherland, acting according to the precepts of Islam, applying its social regulations, proclaiming its sound principles, and broadcasting its sage mission to all mankind. For as long as this state does not emerge, the Mus-

lms in their totality are committing sin, and are responsible before Allah the Lofty, the Great for their failure to establish it and for their slackness in creating it. In these bewildering circumstances, it is counter to humanity that a state should arise, extolling an ideology of injustice and proclaiming a propaganda of oppression, while there should be no one among all mankind working for the advent of a state founded on truth, justice, and peace. We want to realize these two goals in the Nile Valley and the Arab domain, and in every land which Allah has made fortunate through the Islamic creed : a religion, a nationality, and a creed uniting all Muslims.

(c) Our Special Aims : Following these two aims, we have some special aims without the realization of which our society cannot become completely Islamic. Brethren, recall that more than 60 percent of the Egyptians live at a subhuman level, that they get enough to eat only through the most arduous toil, and Egypt is threatened by murderous famines and exposed to many economic problems of which only Allah can know the outcome. Recall too that there are more than 320 foreign companies in Egypt, monopolizing all public utilities and all important facilities in every part of the country; that the wheels of commerce, industry, and all economic institutions are in the hands of profiteering foreigners; and that our wealth in land is being transferred with lightning speed from the possession of our compatriots to that of these others. Recall also that Egypt, out of the entire civilized world, is

the most subject to diseases, plagues, and illnesses; that over 90 percent of the Egyptian people are threatened by physical infirmity, the loss of some sensory perception, and a variety of sicknesses and ailments; and that Egypt is still backward, with no more than one-fifth of the population possessing any education, and of these more than 100,000 have never gone farther than the elementary school level. Recall that crime has doubled in Egypt, and that it is increasing at an alarming rate to the point that the prisons are putting out more graduates than the schools; that up to the present time Egypt has been unable to outfit a single army division with its full complement of matériel; and that these symptoms and phenomena may be observed in any Islamic country. Among your aims are to work for the reform of education; to war against poverty, ignorance, disease, and crime; and to create an exemplary society which will deserve to be associated with the Islamic Sacred Law.

(d) Our General Means of Procedure : How will we arrive at these goals ? Speeches, pronouncements, letters, lessons, lectures, diagnosis of the ailment and prescription of the medicine - all these by themselves are useless and will never realize a single aim, nor will they advance a single agent of our mission to any one of his goals. Nevertheless, missions do have certain means of procedure which they must adopt and according to which they must operate. The general procedural means used by all missions are invariable and unchanging, and they are limited to the three following matters :

(1) Deep faith.

(2) Precise organization.

(3) Uninterrupted work. These are your general procedural measures, Brethren, so believe in your ideology, form your ranks about it, work on its behalf and stand unwaveringly by it.

(e) Additional Procedures : Besides these general procedures, there may be additional ones which must be adopted and strictly adhered to. There are negative and positive ones, some of which accord with people's customary behavior and others which go against such behavior, differ from it, and contradict it. There are mild ones and rigorous ones, and we must train ourselves to put up with all of these and to be prepared to resort to any of them in order to guarantee success. We may be asked to go against entrenched habits and usages, and to rebel against regulations and situations which people take for granted and are familiar with. But then in its deeper essence, our mission is actually a rebellion against accepted usage and a change in habits and situations. Are you then prepared for this, Brethren ?

(f) Some Discouragement : Many people will say : What do these tracts mean ? Of what use can they be for building an *umma* and rebuilding a society burdened with these chronic problems and sunk in such a welter of corruptions ? How will you manage the economy on a nonprofit basis ? How will you act on the woman question ? How will you obtain your rights without the use of

force? know, brethren, that Satan slips his whispered suggestions into the aspirations of every reformer, but that Allah cancels out what Satan whispers; then Allah decrees His miracles, for Allah is knowing, Wise. Remind all of these people that history, in telling us of past and contemporary nations, also gives us admonitions and lessons. And a nation that is determined to live cannot die.

(g) Obstacles in Our Path : I would like to avow to you frankly that your mission is still unknown to many people, and that on the day they find out about it and grasp its import and its aims, you will encounter violent antagonisms and sharp hostility. You will find many hardships ahead of you, and many obstacles will rise up before you. Only at that time will you have begun to tread the path of those who come with a mission. At the present time you are still unknown, and you are still smooting the way for your mission and getting yourselves ready for the necessary struggle and campaign - the ignorance of the people as to what constitutes true Islam will stand as an obstacle in your way, and you will find among the clerical classes and the religious establishment those who will regard your understanding of Islam as outlandish, and censure your campaign on that account. Chiefs, leaders, and men of rank and authority will hate you, all governments will rise as one against you, and every government will try to set limits to your activities and to put impediments in your way. The spoliators will

use every pretext to oppose you, and to extinguish the light of your mission. For that end they will invoke the aid of weak governments and a weak morality, and of the hands stretched out to them in beggary and toward you in malignity and hostility. (They will all stir up around your mission the dust of suspicion and unjust accusations, and they will try to endow it with every possible defect and to display it before the people in the most repugnant possible guise, relying on their power and authority and fortified by their wealth and influence. "They desire to extinguish Allah's light with their mouths, but Allah will perfect His light though the unbelievers be averse to it" [Q. 61 : 68].) without a doubt, you will then experience trials and tribulations, you will be imprisoned, arrested, transported, and persecuted, and your goods will be confiscated, your employments suspended, and your homes searched. This period of trial may last a long time : "Do men imagine that they will be left to say : 'We believe, and that they will not be put to the test?'" [Q.29 : 2] But Allah has promised you afterwards the triumph of those who have striven and the reward of those who work for the good : "O ye who believe, shall I show you a commerce that will save you from a painful chastisement ?... Then We sustained those who believed against their enemy, and they became victorious" [Q. 61 : 10 and 14]. Are you resolved to be Allah's helpers ?

(h) The Factors for Success : It is proper that we remember, Brethren, as we face all these obstacles, that

we are proclaiming Allah's missions, which is the loftiest of all missions; that we are promulgating the Islamic ideology, which is the most powerful system of ideas; and that we are offering to mankind the Sacred Law of the Qur'an, which is the most just of all revealed law - codes : "The baptism of Allah - and who is better than Allah in baptism!" [Q.2 : 138]. Let remember that the entire world is in need of this message, and that all that exists in it is preparing and smoothing out its path before it, and that we, Allah be praised, are free from personal ambition and far from seeking personal advantage. We seek nothing but Allah's Face and the welfare of mankind, and we labor desirous only of His approval. We look forward to Allah's support and His aid, for he whom Allah aids cannot be overcome : "That is because Allah is the defender of those who believe, and because the unbelievers have no defender" [Q.47 : 11]. The strength of our mission, the world's need for it, the nobility of our goals and Allah's support for us are the factors for success before which no obstacle can stand nor any hindrance impede : "And Allah has the upper hand in His affairs, but most of mankind do not know" [Q.12 : 21].

X. An Exhortation

Muslim Brethren, listen !

Through these words, I wished to present your ideology to your close scrutiny, for it is possible that critical times await us, and that communication between me and you will be cut off for a while so that I may not be able to

Speak or write to you. Therefore I advise you to ponder these words carefully, to learn them by heart if you can, and to give them your wholehearted acceptance. For behind every word lie manifold meanings.

Brethren, you are not a benevolent organization, nor a political party, nor a local association with strictly limited aims. Rather you are a new spirit making its way into the heart of this nation and revivifying it through the Qur'an; a new light dawning and scattering the darkness of materialism through the knowledge of Allah; a resounding voice rising and echoing the message of the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!). It is simply the truth, and no exaggeration, that you know that you are bearing the burden after the rest of mankind have shunted it off. If someone should ask you : To what end is your appeal made ?, say : We are calling you to Islam, which was brought by Muhammad (May Allah bless and save him!) : government is part of it, freedom is one of its religious duties. If someone should say to you : This is politics !, say : This is Islam, and we do not recognize such divisions. If someone should say to you : you are agents of revolution !, say : We are agents of the truth and of peace in which we believe and which we exalt. If you rise up against us and offer hindrance to our message, Allah has given us permission to defend ourselves, and you will be unjust rebels. If someone should say to you : You are asking the help of individuals and associations !, say : "We believe in Allah alone, and reject that which you were

associating with Him."²⁴ And if they persist in their hostility, say : "Peace be unto you ! We have no desire for the ignorant " [Q. 28 : 55].

XI. Duties

Brethren,

We believe in Allah, exult in the knowledge of Him, rely upon Him and lean upon Him. Fear no one but Him, stand in awe of no other than Him. Perform His commandments and shun what He has forbiddeh.

Model yourselves on the virtues and cleave to the perfections. Be strong in your morality and mighty through the might which Allah has given to the believers, and through the nobility of the sincerely pious.

Apply yourselves to the Qur'an, and study it together assiduously, and devote yourselves to the Pure Life of the Prophet, taking counsel from it. Be active workers rather than wranglers, for when Allah bestows His guidance on a people He inspires them to work. And people do not go astray after receiving guidance, except when disputation becomes the vogue among them.

Love one another, and hold fast zealously to your union, for this is the secret of your strength and the buttress of your success. Stand fast until Allah judges justly

24. A paraphrase of Q.40 : 84 which says : "We believe in Allah alone, and reject that which we were associating with Him".

between you and your people, for He is the best of Judges.

Listen, and obey your leaders both in duress and comfort, in good times and bad, for this is the token of your conviction and the bond of solidarity among you.

Finally, look forward to Allah's aid and His support. The occasion will come, without a doubt : "And then the believers will rejoice in Allah's aid. He aids whom He will, and He is the Mighty, the Merciful" [Q. 30 : 4].

May Allah grant us and you success in what He loves and approves, and conduct us and you along the paths of the good who are rightly guided; may He give us to live the life of the glorious and the fortunate, and give us to die the death of the martyrs who have striven in jihad. For He is the best of Masters, and the best of Defenders.

OUR MISSION

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate !

Preamble

We would like to apprise mankind of our goal, put our program before them, and address our mission to them - without obscurity or ambiguity - brighter than the sun, clearer than the crack of dawn, and more luminous than the fullness of the day.

Exoneration

At the same time, we would like our people to know and all Muslims are our people - that the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood is a pure and unblemished one. It has aspired to such heights of purity that it has transcended the limits of merely personal ambition : it has held material gain in contempt, abandoned all selfish impulses and goals, and gone forward on the road mapped out for the missionary by the Truth¹ (Blessed and almighty is He) : "Say : 'This is my way : I summon unto Allah according to a clear evidence - I and whosoever follows me. Glory unto Allah, I am not of the polytheists'" [Q. 12 : 108]. We ask nothing of mankind ; we make no monetary demands of them, nor do we seek a wage from them. We gain no credit through them, nor do we desire of them any recompense or thanks. Whatever be our recompense in this regard, it is in the hands of our Creator.

1. "The Truth," Al-Haqq, is a common title of God.

Fellow - feeling

In the same way, we wish our people to know that we love them more than ourselves, and that it is pleasing to us to be offered up as a sacrifice for their greatness, if we must make such a sacrifice, and to pay the price for their glory, their nobility, their religion, and their hopes, if we possess the requisite wealth. One thing alone has persuaded us to take this position in their regard - the fellow - feeling which seizes our hearts, masters our emotions, keeps us from sleep, and brings us to tears. It is difficult, it is indeed very difficult, to see how our people are presently beleaguered, and then to resign ourselves to humility, or accept a submissive role, or abandon ourselves to despair. For when we work for mankind in Allah's way, we work harder than for ourselves : we are for you and for no one else, beloved, nor shall we ever be against you, even for a day.

Allah's Is the Virtue and the Munificence

We are conferring no special favor, nor do we suppose that we derive any particular virtue for ourselves in this matter. We simply believe in what Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) has said : "Rather has Allah conferred a benefit upon you in that He has guided you to faith, if you speak the truth" [Q.49 : 17]. But we wish on your behalf - if wishes avail - that our hearts be laid bare to the sight and hearing of our people, so that our brethren may observe whether they see in them aught but desire for their advantage, compassion toward them, and self-

sacrifice for their welfare.

Will they find aught but consuming grief for the circumstances in which we find ourselves? Let it suffice us that Allah knows all this, that He alone is the guarantor of a successful outcome, and that in His hands lie the guiding reins of men's hearts and the keys to them. He whom Allah guides will not be misled, but he whom Allah leads astray has no guide. He is our sufficiency, and the best of Guarantors. Is not Allah sufficient for His servant?

Four Types

All we would desire of mankind is that they stood before us as one welded out of these four types:

The Believer: Any person who has faith in our mission, believes in what we say, approves of our principles, and sees therein some good in which his soul may find satisfaction and his heart be content, is one whom we invite to hasten to join us and to work with us so that the number of those who strive in Allah's way² may increase, and the voice of the agents of our mission be augmented by his voice. There is no meaning to faith unless it be accompanied by works, and no profit in a doctrine which does not impel its possessor to bring it to fruition and to sacrifice himself for its sake. Such were the First Precu-

2. The term used here is *mujahid*, which see in the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

sors of those whose breasts were opened by Allah to His guidance, so that they followed His prophets, has faith in His revealed scriptures, and strove mightily for Him. On these will Allah bestow His most generous wage. The fact that they will have the same reward as those who followed them will not lessen their wages in the slightest.

The Waverer : Anyone to whom the truth remains unclear, and who has not discerned the ideals of sincerity and moral profit in what we have said, is hesitant and wavering, and we leave him to his hesitancy. We counsel him, however, to get in more intimate contact with us, read about us sooner or later, study our writings, visit our clubs, and become personally acquainted with our Brethren. Then he will have confidence in us, Allah willing, for the attitude of the waverers among those who followed the apostles in former times was identical.

The Opportunist : As for the person who does not wish to lend his aid except after finding out how much he will get back as profit, and how much gain his contribution will net him, we say to him : "Take it easy ! We have no prize to offer except Allah's reward if you are sincere, and Paradise if He recognizes any good in you. As for us, we are unimportant and poor : our concern is to offer whatever we have as sacrifice and to contribute whatever we possess. Our hope is Allah's grace, for He is the best of Masters and the best of Helpers." Then, if Allah removes the veil from his mind, and dispels the nightmare of covetousness from his heart, he will know that the things

which are of Allah are better and more lasting, and he will join Allah's battalion to give generously of such goods of this world as he possesses to obtain Allah's reward in the Afterlife, for what you possess will pass away, but that which is of Allah is everlasting. If it is otherwise, Allah is in no need of those who do not see that to Allah belong the first right over their persons, their wealth, their term in this world and the next, their life and their death. It was the same attitude that people like them adopted when they refused to swear fealty to the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him !) unless they were granted the supreme authority after him. His sole response (May God bless and save him !) was to inform them that : "The earth is Allah's ; he gives to inherit it those whom He will of His servants, and the final consequence is in favor of the pious" [Q.7 : 128].

The prejudiced : The individual who looks on us with suspicion, and has all sorts of doubts and misgivings about us, is looking at us through dark glasses and will talk about us only in terms indicative of vexation and skepticism. He remains solidly fixed in his delusions, wrapped up in his doubts, and enveloped in his fancies. On behalf of ourselves and him, we pray Allah to give us to see the truth as truth and to grant us to follow it; and to give us to see vanity as vanity and to grant us to shun it; and to inspire both us and him with right guidance. We invite him, if he will accept the invitation, and summon him, if he will reply to the summons; and we pray Allah on

his behalf, for He, Glory unto Him, is the Cynosure of hope. Allah revealed the following concerning one type of man to His Noble Apostle : "Thou dost indeed not guide those whom thou lovest, but Allah guides whom He will" [Q. 28 : 56]. We shall, however, continue to love this individual and hope that he will come over to us and be convinced by our mission, for our only slogan is the guiding word of the Elect³ (May Allah bless and save him !) to us aforesaid : "My Allah, forgive my people, for they do not know !"

We wish that all people of these types were united as one with us, for the time has come when the Muslim must pursue his goal and define his objective, and work toward this objective until he attains his goal. As for this misguided negligence, these silly notions, these heedless turns of mind, this blind indecision of his, and his following after every Tom, Dick, and Harry - this is in no way the path of the believer.

Annihilation

Besides this, we would like our people to know that only he is fit to respond to this mission who comprehends it in all its aspects, and who devotes, to it all that may be demanded of him in terms of his person, his wealth, his time, and his health : "If your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your wives, your kin, the wealth you have earned, the commerce whose falling off you fear, and the

3. "The Elect," Al-Mustafa, is a common title of the Prophet Muhammad.

dwellings in which you rejoice, are more beloved by you than Allah and his Apostle, and struggle in His way - then wait until God brings His command; Allah does not guide an iniquitous people" [Q. 9 : 24].

For it is a mission which does not tolerate divided loyalty, since its very nature is that of total unity, and whosoever is prepared to accept it will live through it as it lives through him. Whosoever is too weak for this burden will be deprived of the reward of those who strive, and will remain with the backsliders and stay with the slackers. Allah will extend His invitation to him to another people in his stead : "humble toward believers and powerful against unbelievers, striving in the way of Allah, and fearing not the reproach of any reproacher. That is the bounty of Allah, which He brings to whom He will" [Q. 5 : 54].

Clarity

We summon mankind to accept a principle - a clear, well defined principle already accepted by them all : all are acquainted with it, believe in it, and acknowledge its validity, and they know that their salvation, prosperity, and peace of mind depend on it - a principle whose eternal validity has been attested to by experience and the judgment of history, as well as by its applicability to the reform of temporal existence.

Two Faiths

The difference between us and our people, though we are all in accord in our faith in this principle, is that among them it is an anesthetized faith, dormant within their souls, one to which they do not wish to submit and according to whose dictates they do not wish to act; whereas it is a burning, blazing, intense faith fully awakened in the souls of the Muslim Brotherhood. There is amazing spiritual quality which we Easterners, as well as others, perceive within our souls; namely, that we believe in our ideology with a faith which, when we discuss it with people, leads them to believe that it will impel us to shatter mountains, to offer up our persons and our wealth, bear misfortunes, and struggle against adversities until we triumph through it, or it through us. Nevertheless, once the hurly - burly of debate grows quiet, and the group break up and go their ways, each individual forgets his faith and ignores his ideology, giving no thought to acting in order to further it, nor urging himself to put forth the slightest effort on its behalf. In fact, he may carry this forgetfulness and negligence so far that he will even act against it, unwittingly or not. Do you not laugh in amazement when you see a man, thoughtful, active, and educated, merely within the space of two consecutive hours out of the entire day turn into an apostate among apostates, and a believer among believers?

This listlessness, or forgetfulness, or negligence, or torpidity - call it what you will - is what has made us try to

arouse our principle (the very same principle accepted by our people) to consciousness within the souls of this beloved people.

Various Missions

Therefore I shall return to my first statement, and say that the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood is the preaching of a principle, for in the East and West today there are various missions and principles and ideologies and schools of thought and opinions and objectives - all of which sow division in the minds of men and war within their hearts. Each one of them is shown in the best possible light by its adherents : each one has its propaganda spread about by its creatures, its followers, its devotees, and its disciples. They claim special virtues and excellences for it, and make such exaggerated pretensions as will render it attractive, captivating, and striking to people.

Propagandists

Propagandists of today are not like those of yesterday. They are educated, well- equipped, and thoroughly trained specialists, particularly in the Western countries, where there are trained corps specializing in every ideology, clarifying its abstruse points, displaying its good features, and inventing means of dissemination and methods of propagandizing for it. Of its behalf, they feel out the easiest, most effortless, and most convenient

ways to influence the minds of people, leading to inner conviction and conversion.

The Methods

Similarly, the methods of propaganda today are not those of yesterday. The propaganda of yesterday consisted of a verbal message given out in a speech or at a meeting, or one written in a tract or letter. Today, it consists of publications, magazines, newspapers, articles, plays, films, and radio broadcasting. All these have made it easy to influence the minds of all mankind, women as well as men, in their homes, places of business, factories and fields.

Therefore it has become necessary that propagandists perfect all these means so that their efforts may yield the desired results.

Now why am I making this digression ? I shall say once more that the world today is surfeited with propaganda of all kinds - political, nationalist, patriotic, economic, military, and pacifist. And what is the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood alongside this confused welter ?

It will give me the chance to speak to you on two matters : first, the simple, positive framework of our mission; then, afterwards, our stand with respect to each and every one of these other missions.

Do not judge me too harshly for this digression : I had made a resolution to write as I speak, and to discuss my

topic in this manner, without stylistic artifice or preciousity. I simply wish people to know me as I am, and to let my message reach their minds devoid of ornament and embellishment.

Our Islam

Listen, Brother : Our mission is one described most comprehensively by the term "Islamic," though this word has a meaning broader than the narrow definition understood by people generally. We believe that Islam is an all - embracing concept which regulates every aspect of life, adjudicating on every one its concerns and prescribing for it a solid and rigorous order. It does not stand helpless before life's problems, nor the steps one must take to improve mankind. Some people mistakenly understand by Islam something restricted to certain types of religious observances or spiritual exercises, and confine themselves and their understanding to these narrow areas determined by their limited grasp.

But we understand Islam - as opposed to this view - very broadly and comprehensively as regulating the affairs of men in this world and the next. We do not make this claim out of presumption, nor do we enlarge upon it on the basis of our own preconceptions ; rather it is based solely on our understanding of the Book of Allah and the biographies of the first Muslims. If the reader wishes to understand the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood in a sense broader than the mere word "Islamic," let him take

up his Qur'an and rid himself of whimsy and prejudice. Then he will get to understand what the Qur'an is about, and will see right there the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Yes indeed, our mission is "Islamic" in every sense of the word. That taken into account, understand by it what you will, as long as this understanding is confined to Allah's Book, the Sunna⁴ of his Apostle, and the biographies of the early Muslim pietist. Allah's Book is the foundation of Islam and its pillar, and the Sunna of His Apostle is the explanation and commentary on the Book, while the biographies of the early pietists⁵ (Allah's grace be upon them;) embody their execution of its commands and their obedience to its teachings. They are the practical exemplars and the paradigmatic models of these commandments and teachings.

Our Attitude Toward the Various Missions

Our stand with respect to the various missions - which are a veritable flood in this era, and which have divided men's hearts and thrown their minds into confusion - is

4. The Sunna of the Prophet comprises all his recorded sayings, opinions, and acts preserved in the Traditions. In the Muslim view, these constitute a practical commentary on the ethical and ritual precepts laid down in the Qur'an, and therefore provide an ideal model which the pious Muslim should imitate in his daily life. See also *sunna* and *hadith* in the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

5. The Salaf, or earliest generation of Muslims converted to Islam during the Prophet's ministry. The term is sometimes used to include the second generation, the Tabi'un, as well.

that we weigh them in the balance of our mission. Whatever is in accord with it is welcomed; but whatever clashes with it, we are absolved therefrom. We believe that our mission is universal and all - encompassing, but that it does not turn its back on the beneficial aspects of any other mission, without familiarizing itself with them and recommending them.

Patriotism

People are at times seduced by the appeal to patriotism, at other times by that of nationalism, especially in the East, where the Eastern peoples are aware of the abuses of the West toward them, abuses that have done injury to their dignity, their honor, and their independence; as well as commandeered their wealth and shed their blood; and where these peoples suffer under the Western yoke which has been forced upon them. Hence they are trying to free themselves from it with whatever strength, resistance, opposition, and endurance they are capable of summoning up. The tongues of their leaders have been given free rein, a stream of newspapers has gushed forth, their writers have written, their orators have made speeches, and their broadcasters have broadcast, all in the name of patriotism and the majesty of nationalism.

This is good and fine. But it is neither good nor fine that when you try to acquaint the Eastern peoples - they being Muslim - with the fact that this is to be found in Islam in a state more complete, more pure, more lofty,

and more exalted than anything that can be found in the utterances of Westerners and the books of Europeans, they reject it and persist in imitating these latter blindly, claiming that Islam belongs in one category and this ideology in another. Some of them think that this is what splits the unity of the nation and weakens the solidarity of their youth.

This mistaken notion has been a danger for the Eastern peoples from every standpoint, and with this notion I would now like to turn to the attitude of the Muslim Brotherhood and their mission, insofar as they deal with the idea of patriotism - the attitude they approve of for themselves, and which they desire and are trying to convince the people to adopt with them.

The Patriotism of Sentiment

If by it the propagandists for patriotism mean love of this land, attachment to it, sentiment toward it, and affection toward it, it is something anchored in the very nature of the soul, for one thing; and for another, it is prescribed by Islam. Bilal,⁶ who suffered in every way for

6. Bilal b. Rabah (?-641) a Meccan slave of Ethiopian origin who was an early convert to Islam. His pagan master subjected him to torture because of his religious convictions, and he was bought and freed by Abu Bakr. He was the first one to perform the office of calling the faithful to prayer (*mu'adhdhin*, "muezzin") in Islam, and was the first state treasurer. He fought in all the Prophet's campaigns, and died in Damascus after the Muslim conquest of Syria.

the sake of his creed and his religion, was the same Bilal who uttered the following sentiment in the House of Exile,⁷ filled with longing for Mecca, in verses overflowing with tenderness and replete with sweetness :

Would that I knew if I shall spend a single night
once more In a valley, about me sweet - smelling
herbs and panic - grass; Or if I shall come down
some day to the waters of Majanna, And if Shama
and Tafil shall ever rise up before me.⁸

The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him) had listened to a description of Mecca by Usayyil,⁹ and his tears welled up in yearning for it. He said : "O Usayyil, let our hearts rest quiet".

Patriotism of Freedom and Greatness

Or if they mean that it is necessary to make every effort to free the land from its ravagers, to increase its independence, and to instill the principles of freedom and greatness in the souls of its sons - then we are with them in this too. For Islam has laid the greatest stress upon this, as He (Blessed and Almighty is He;) says : "Greatness belongs to Allah, His Apostle, and the believers, but

7. A reference to Medina, the city to which the Muslims emigrated as a body in the Hijra (Emigration) of 622.

8. Majanna, Shama, and Tafil are mountains in the neighborhood of Mecca.

9. Usayyil, a name assigned to a number of the Prophet's contemporaries. Whoever it was, he was asked by the Prophet or by the Prophet's wife 'A'isha to describe Mecca at the time of his departure for Medina. His description moved the Prophet to utter these or similar sentiments.

the Hypocrites¹⁰ know not" [Q. 63 : 8]; and He says : "Allah will never grant to the unbelievers a way against the believers" [Q. 4 : 141].

Patriotism of Community

Or if they mean by "patriotism" reinforcing the bonds which unite individuals within a given country, and guiding them to the means of putting this reinforcement to work toward their best interests - then we are also in agreement with them on this. For Islam regards this as a necessary religious duty, and its Prophet (May Allah bless and save him !) said : "Be worshippers of Allah, and brethren,"¹¹ while the Noble Qur'an says : "O ye who believe ! Do not take as confidants those who are not of you ! they will not fail to cast discord among you; they are pleased by what troubles you. Hatred has been revealed out of their mouths : what their breasts conceal is yet greater. We have made the signs clear to you, if you would but understand"¹² [Q. 3 : 118].

10. The Hypocrites (Munafiqun) were half-hearted Medinese converts to Islam who professed loyalty to the Prophet and his faith, but who were evidently ready to make peace with the pagans in the event of a serious Muslim defeat, and were therefore waiting to see which way the chips would fall. They are also reluctant to surrender all effective political authority to Muhammad by giving up their alliances with the Medinese Jewish tribes.

11. A hadith found in the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal. See A. J. Wesnick et al., *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 4:115.

Patriotism of Conquest

Or if they mean by "patriotism" the conquest of countries and lordship over the earth, Islam has already ordained that, and has sent out conquerors to carry out the most gracious of colonizations and the most blessed of conquests. This is what He, the Almighty, says: "Fight them till there is no longer discord, and the religion is Allah's" [Q. 2 : 193].

Patriotism of Factionalism

Or if they mean by "patriotism" dividing up the nation into parties which engage in mutual throat - cutting, hatred and vituperation, hurling accusations at one another, deceiving one another, and banding together to further positivist courses of action dictated by their desires, informed by their personal motives and goals, and interpreted by their minds to accord with their own selfish interests - then the enemy will take advantage of all this for his own ends, encouraging this fire to blaze forth all the more fiercely, causing them to differ over the truth but be united on the false. Further, he will prevent any communication or cooperation between them, but will allow them to communicate with him and to rally around him, with the result that they will seek only his purlieus, and only those who come to him as visitors will encounter one another. This is a counterfeit patriotism, which does no good either for its propagandists or for people in general. Now you have already seen that we are

on the side of their extremists with respect to all the sound ideas it contains which redound to the benefit of the country and its people. And you have also seen that this extensive and wideranging patriotic propaganda constitutes no more than a part of the teachings of Islam.

The Limits of Our Patriotism

The bone of contention between us and them is that we define patriotism according to the standard of credal belief, while they define it according to territorial borders and geographical boundaries. For every region in which there is a Muslim who says : "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah", is a fatherland in our opinion, possessing its own inviolability and sanctity, and demanding love, sincerity, and earnest effort for the sake of its welfare. All Muslims in these geographically determined countries are our people and our brethren : we are concerned about them, and we share their feelings and sensibilities. Propagandists for patriotism alone are not like this, since all that interests them is what concerns a specific and narrowly delimited region of the earth. This practical difference shows forth clearly whenever any one of the nations desires to aggrandize itself at the expense of any other one, for we do not approve of this taking place at the expense of any Islamic country. We seek power only that we may all share in it together. But the propagandists for pure patriotism see nothing wrong in this; and as a result, bonds of amicable relationship are snapped, power is dispersed, and the enemy

strikes out at some by making use of others.

The Goal of Our Patriotism

This is one factor. The second is that purely local patriots seek for the most part to free their own country, and then afterwards to build up its strength on the material side, just as Europe is doing today. We, on the other hand, believe that the Muslim is duty bound to give of his person, his blood, and his wealth to carry out his trust, namely, to guide mankind by the light of Islam and to lift its banner on high above the regions of the earth, without desiring thereby wealth, rank, or power over anyone, nor the enslavement of any people. He desires only Allah's Face and the felicity of the world through His religion and the exaltation of His word. This is what spurred on the pious early Muslims (Allah's grace be upon them !) to those saintly victories which astounded the world and went beyond anything history had known in their swiftness, justice, nobility, and virtue.

Unity

I would like to draw your attention to the egregious error of that leading figure who says that acting on this principle would tear apart the unity of the nation, which

is composed of different religious elements.¹² Now Islam, which is the very religion of unity and equality, guarantees the maintenance of the ties uniting the whole, so long as they continue to cooperate for the good: "Allah does not forbid you to deal with those who have not fought against you in religion and have not expelled you from your homes, with kindness and justice, for indeed Allah loves the just" [Q. 60 : 8]. Now then, from what source could dissension spring ?

You have seen after all this how much we are in agreement with the most ardent patriots as regards love of the country's good and earnest struggle for the sake of its liberation, its welfare, and its progress. We do, and we support everyone who will endeavor to procure these with sincerity. Even more, I want you to know that their endeavor, if it should result in freeing the fatherland and restoring its glory, would represent to the Muslim Brotherhood merely a part of the way, or simply a single stage of it. For after that, it still remains for them to strive to raise the standard of the Islamic fatherland on high over all the regions of the earth, and to unfurl the banner of the Qur'an everywhere.

12. Here Al-Banna' is probably referring to the famous writer and educator Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872 - 1963), or to one of his numerous disciples, who campaigned on behalf of an ardent Egyptian nationalism as opposed to both Pan-Islmism and Pan-Arabism. See, for example, Charles Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image; from its Origins to Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid*, pp. 229-231, 256 - 257.

Nationalism

And now I shall speak to you about our attitude toward the principle of nationalism.

Nationalism of Glory

If, by what they vaunt as the principle of nationalism, they mean that the scions should follow in the footsteps of their ancestors on the ladder of glory and grandeur; that they should emulate them in their faculties of exceptional ability and resolution; that they should take them as a good example to follow, and that the grandeur of the forefathers is something their descendants may boast of, and through which they may discover bravery and magnanimity by virtue of intimate connection and inheritance - then it is a worthy, fine goal which we encourage and advocate. Does our apparatus for awakening the ardor of the present generation exist for any other reason than to spur them on through the glories of those gone before? Perhaps a clear directive for this may be seen in what the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: "Men are treasure-troves: the best of them in pagan times are the best of them in Islam, if they but knew"¹³ There you see now that Islam does not deny this excellent and noble quality to nationalism.

13. A hadith to be found in Al-Bukhari, *Al-Jami al-Sahih* (eds. M. Ludolf Krehl and Th. W. Juynboll), Book 60, Section 19. See also *Concordance*, 2 : 100 and 4 : 156.

Nationalism of Political Community

Or if they mean by "nationalism" that a man's kin and his nation are the most deserving out of all mankind of his benevolence and devotion, and the most worthy of his favor and zealous striving [*jihad*] - then it is the truth, for who does not think that his people are the most deserving of mankind of his zealous efforts, when he has sprung from them and has grown up among them?

By my life, a man's kin are greater in forbearance toward him, even if they mount him on all kinds of saddles.¹⁴

Nationalism of Discipline

If what is intended by "nationalism" is that all of us are put to the test and held accountable to work and strive assiduously, it is up to every collectivity to realize the goal from its own vantage point until we converge, Allah willing, in the forecourt of victory, and then this division will have been a good thing indeed ! Who is for us, in company with those who spur on the Eastern peoples in phalanxes, each one on its own battlefield, until we all converge in the felicity of freedom and liberation?

14. Meaning, "Even if they subject him to various annoyances and discomforts." From a poem in the famous ninth-century anthology entitled *Al-Hamasa*, compiled by the poet Abu Tammam. In the recent Egyptian edition of this work, the author's name is given as Khalid b. Nadla, but there are numerous other attributions.

All this and the like comprised by the concept of nationalism is fine and wonderful : Islam does not reject it - Islam being our creiterion - but in fact, our hearts are open to receive it, and we urge all to accept it.

Nationalism of Paganism

If, however, what is meant by "nationalism" is the revival of the customs of a pagan age which have been swept away, and the reconstitution of extinct manners that have gone by, while a benevolent civilization which has long been established is effaced, and the bonds and attachments of Islam are dissolved by the propaganda of nationalism and racial selfaggrandizement, as some states have done by taking extreme measures to annihilate the characteristic traits of Islam and Arabism - extending even to personal names, the letters of the alphabet and the vocabulary, and to the reviving of long - dead pagan customs - then this ingredient of nationalism is reprehensible, deleterious in its consequences and evil in its results.¹⁵ It will lead the East to a serious bankruptcy, causing it to forfeit its heritage, while its prestige will thereby decline, and its most intrincic qualities, together with the most hallowed

15. This is a clear reference to the sweeping reforms instituted by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in the years following the emergence of the Turkish republic in 1923.

characteristics of its honor and nobility, will be lost. But this will harm Allah's religion not at all : "And if you turn your backs, He will replace you with another people, and they will not be like you" [Q. 47 : 38].

Nationalism of Aggression

If what is meant by "nationalism" is racial self-aggrandizement to a degree which leads to the disparagement of Other races, aggression against them, and their victimization for the sake of the nation's glory and its continued existence, as preached for example by Germany and Italy ; nay more, as claimed by every nation which preaches its superiority over all others - then this too is a reprehensible idea. It has no share in humanitarianism, and means that the human race will liquidate itself for the sake of a delusion with no basis in fact and embodying not the slightest good.

Two Pillars

The Muslim Brotherhood do not believe in a nationalism containing these ideas or their like, nor do they advocate Pharaonism, Arabism, Phoenicianism, or Syrianism, or employ any of those epithets by which peoples are held up to insult. But they do believe in what the Apostle of God (May

Allah bless and save him !), the Perfect Man,¹⁶, the most perfect teacher who has ever taught mankind the good, said : "Allah has removed from you the arrogance of paganism and the vaunting of your ancestry : mankind springs from Adam, and Adam springs from dust. The Arab has no superiority over the non - Arab except by virtue of his piety."¹⁷ How splendid this is, how fine and just ! Mankind are of Adam, and therefore they are equals, and people vie with one another in their works, and it is their duty to be rivals in doing good - two firm pillars, which, if human life were only built upon them, would lift mankind up to the highest heavens ! Mankind are sprung from Adam, therefore they are brethren and it is their duty to cooperate with one another, to keep the peace among themselves, to deal mercifully with one another, to guide one another toward the good and to vie with one another in performing good works. It is their duty to strive zealously, each within his sphere, so that mankind may advance. Have you ever seen humanity rise

16. In Arabic, "Al-Insan al-kamil." The Prophet is, of course, the ideal model of Muslim virtue and piety for the believer, but in view of Al-Banna's early affiliation with a Sufi order, this may also be an allusion to Muhammad as the Primordial Archetype of prophethood, the First Intelligence who mediates between God and Creation, as Creation, as for example in the mystical philosophies of Ibn al-Arabi and 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili. See R. Arnaldez, art. "Al-Insan al-Kamil," EI².

17. These words were uttered by Muhammad at the conquest of Mecca in 630, as he stood at the door of the Ka'ba, which had just been cleansed of its idols and all other traces of polytheistic worship. See Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 553.

to heights loftier than this, or a teaching more excellent than this?

Characteristics of Arabdom

Nevertheless, we are not denying that the various nations have their own distinct qualities and particular moral characters, for we know that every people has its own quality and its own share of excellence and moral fiber, and we know too that in this respect the various peoples differ from one another and vie with one another in excellence. We believe that in these respects Arabdom possesses the fullest and most abundant share, but this does not mean that its peoples should seize upon these characteristics as a pretext for aggression. Rather should they adopt them as a means of realizing the foremost task for which every people is responsible - the renaissance of humanity. Probably you will not find in all of history any one of the peoples of this earth who have grasped this concept as fully as did that Arabian phalanx consisting of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!).

This is a digression demanded by the context of our discussion, but I would rather not continue in this vein, lest it take us too far afield. Hence I now return to our chief point of interest.

The Bond of Credal Doctrine

Now that you have learned all this - may Allah sustain

you! - know that the Muslim Brotherhood regard mankind as divided into two camps vis - a-vis themselves : one, believing as they believe, in Allah's religion and His Book, and in the mission of His Apostle and what he brought with him. These are attached to us by the most hallowed of bonds, the bonds of credal doctrine, which is to us holier than the bond of blood or of soil. These are our closest relatives among the peoples : we feel sympathy toward them, we work on their behalf, we defend them and we sacrifice ourselves and our wealth for them in whatever land they may be, or from whatever origin they may spring. As for other people with whom we do not yet share this bond, we will be at peace with them as long as they refrain from aggression against us. We believe, however, that a bond does exist between us and them - the bond of our mission - and that it is our duty to invite them to what we adhere to because it is the best that humanity has to offer, and to employ such ways and means to succeed in this mission as our faith has designated for that end. As for those of them who show hostility toward us, we shall repel their aggression by the most virtuous means through which such hostility may be repelled. If you wish to hear this authenticated by the Book of Allah, listen !

1. "The believers are none other than brothers; therefore make peace between your two brothers" [Q . 49 : 10].

2. "Allah does not forbid you to deal with those who have not fought against you in religion, and have not expelled you from your homes, that you should treat them with kindness and justice, for indeed, Allah loves the just. He forbids you only those who fought against you in religion, and expelled you from your homes, and helped to expel you, that you should take them as friends" [Q. 60 : 8 - 9].

Perhaps through this I have revealed to you an aspect of our mission which will not leave it ambiguous or enigmatic in your mind. And perhaps after this, you will know what kind of organization the Muslim Brotherhood is.

In the Face of Religious Differences

I will now speak to you on the subject of our mission vis-à-vis religious differences and sectarian opinions.

Joining, not separating : know first - may Allah enlighten you ! - that the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood is a general one unaffiliated with any particular sect, and that it does not favor any opinion known among people as possessing a partial cast and partial preconceptions and conclusions. It addresses itself to the heart and core of religion, and we would like to see various interests and points of view unified so that our work may be more productive and our results greater and more significant. For the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood is pure and unsullied, unblemished by any stain,

and it is on the side of truth wherever it may be found, warmly espousing unanimity and detesting deviancy. The greatest trial from which Muslims have suffered has been that of separatism and disagreement, while the basis of all their victories has been love and unity. The last of this *umma* will prosper only through the same means as did the first : this is a fundamental principle and acknowledged goal to every Muslim Brother. It is an article of belief firmly anchored within our souls - we owe our origin to it, and we appeal to others to accept it.

Differences are inevitable : Withal, we believe that differences in the subordinate aspects of religion are absolutely unavoidable. It is impossible for us all to be united on these subordinate aspects, opinions, and schools of thought for a number of reasons. Among these are differences of intellectual capacity to undertake profound investigation, or incapacity to do so; conscious grasp of rigorous proofs, or ignorance of them; and varying ability to penetrate into the depths of ideas and the interconnectedness of essential truths. Formal religion is contained in Qur'anic verses, Traditions,¹⁸ and texts subject to intellectual exposition and judgement within the bounds set by language and its rules, and on this score people are very much at odds and there is no escaping dissension. Also among these factors are breadth and paucity of knowledge. For one individual

18. See *hadith* in the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

will have heard of something that another has not, and the next one will be in a similar predicament. Malik¹⁹ said to Abu Ja'far²⁰ : "The Companions of the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him !) have been scattered about in the various military settlements²¹, and each group has its store of knowledge. If you compel them to accept one opinion, there will be civil strife."²² Also among these factors are differences of environment, so that adaptation to each will differ according to the different nature of each environment. You will see the Imam

19. Malik b. Anas (d. 795), Medinese jurist and the founder of the Maliki School of Sunnite law. His *Kitah al-Muwatta'* is the earliest extensive compendium of Muslim law which has survived, and it preserves the *sunna* of Medina and the consensus (*ijma*) of the Medinese scholars and jurists up to his time. His work is notable for the frequent use of independent judgment (*ra'y*) where both tradition and customary law failed to give suitable answers. The Maliki School is prevalent in North and West Africa, Upper Egypt, and formerly in Muslim Spain.

20. Abu Ja'far 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad Al-Mansur, the second Caliph of the 'Abbasid Dynasty, who reigned from 754 - 775. He built the original Round City of Baghdad as the new capital of the Islamic Empire.

21. The military settlements (*amsar*) were at first temporary headquarters for the Muslim armies during the early years of the seventh-century conquests. Many of these posts gradually became important urban centers, e.g., Cairo, Basrah, Shiraz, Kairouan.

22. Yusuf b. Abd al-Barr, *Jami Bayan al-Ilm wa Fadlihi*, 2 vols. (Cairo : n.d.), 1 : 112.

Al-Shafi'i²³ (May Allah be pleased with him !) delivering legal opinions according to the old system of Iraq and according to the new system in Egypt²⁴. In each case he was acting in accord with what seemed perfectly clear and lucid to him; in neither case did he go beyond ferreting out the truth. And among these factors are differences in the degree of inward confidence placed in a received tradition as it is promulgated; for while you may regard this particular traditionist as authoritative, according to this particular imam, and feel quite satisfied with him, accepting him wholeheartedly, you may find him regarded as faulty by another imam, because of what he may know of his real circumstances. Also among these factors are differences in the evaluation of proofs; for

23. Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi'i (767 - 820), founder of the Shafi'ite school of Sunnite law. Of Qurayshite origin, he left Mecca for Medina in 787 to study under Malik b. Anas. He taught both in Iraq and Egypt, and settled in Fustat in the latter part of his life. His tomb-mosque near the Muqattam Hills east of Cairo is a favorite site of pilgrimage. In his system, the Qur'an and the sunna of the Prophet override all other possible sources of law. As subsidiary principles, he also recognized the ijma of the entire Muslim community, and analogy (qiyas) based on the two primary principles. His most important work, from the standpoint of juristic theory, is the *Treatise on the Fundamental Sources of Law (Al-Risala fiush al-Fiqh)*. The shafi'ite School prevails in lower Egypt, East Africa, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, and parts of South Arabia, India, and Central Asia.

24. Meaning that Al-Shafi'i would have recourse to the theories of the so-called "ancient schools of law" in Arabia and Iraq during the earlier period of his life, before elaborating his own theories in Egypt and publishing the *Risala*.

this one will consider, for example, that the course of action adopted by the people as a whole has priority over the welfare of the individual, while that one disagrees with him, and so forth.

Unanimity on Minor Details Is Impossible

All these contributing factors have convinced us that unanimity on even a single question culled from the minor details of religion is a hopeless wish. Nay, it is even incompatible with the nature of religion, since Allah desires only that this religion last, survive, and endure for ages and eons. It is for this reason easy, flexible, simple, and mild, without rigidity or severity.

We Apologize for Our Differences

We believe this, and apologize sincerely to those who differ from us in some details. We feel that this difference will never be an obstacle to friendly relations, mutual esteem, and cooperation for the good; that the broad, sweeping concept of Islam will contain both us and them within its excellent bounds and capacious limits. Are we not Muslims as they are? Do we not wish to achieve peace of mind as they do? Do we not claim that we wish for our brethren what we wish for ourselves? In what way do we then differ? Why should not our views be a subject for discussion among them, as their views are among us? Why should we not understand one another in an atmosphere of serenity and affection, whom the ins-

tigation to mutual understanding exists ?

The very Companions of the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him !) used to have differences of opinion, but did this create essential differences between them ? Or did it sunder their or dissolve their solidarity ? My Allah, no ! There is nothing improbable in the tradition concerning the afternoon prayer among the Banu Qurayza.²⁵

If these men differed with one another even though they were, of all mankind, the closest in time to the apostolic age and the most familiar with the context in which its precepts were revealed, who are we to cut one another to bits over trifling differences of no importance whatever ? If the imams, who were the most erudite of mankind with respect to Allah's Book and the Sunna of His Apostle, differed and disputed with one another, why should we not be satisfied with what satisfied them ? If differences arose concerning the most well-known and unambiguous of detail, such as the call to prayer which is

25. After the Battle of the Trench in 627, in which the pagan Meccans and their Bedouin allies were unable to take Medina, the Prophet was commanded by Gabriel to advance against the quarter of the Banu Qurayza, the last remaining Jewish tribe in the city. The Prophet ordered that no one should perform the afternoon prayer until he reached the Qurayza quarter. The Prophet laid siege to the quarter, but some of his men arrived after the evening prayer, still not having performed the afternoon prayer in obedience to his order. Only after their arrival did they perform this prayer. Al-Banna' here is trying to point out the existence of occasional differences in the ritual practice of the earliest Muslim generation. See Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 461.

performed five times a day, with relevant texts and historical traditions being handed down in attestation, what have you to do with the fine points of such questions, which originate in learned discussion and painstaking research ?

There is one more matter worth looking into. People used to have recourse to the Caliph and the law - enforcement agency of the Imamate²⁶ when they differed, and he would judge between them, and his decision would settle the dispute. Where is the Caliph these days ? If this is the way matters stand, the best thing that Muslims can do is look for a qadi and submit their case to him, since if they disagree without resorting to competent authority, it can only propel them into further disagreement.

The Muslim Brotherhood are acquainted with all these considerations, and are therefore the most forbearing of men with those who differ with them. They recognize that every people has some knowledge, and that there is some truth and falsehood in every propaganda. They are keen to search out the truth and hold fast to it, and they

26. The Imamate, as used here, is tantamount to the Caliphate, the supreme administrative and executive office in the Islamic world-state. The Caliph or Imam is the successor to Muhammad as chief of state, but inherits none of his religious or prophetic powers. The term Caliphate emphasizes the aspect of "succession" or "surrogate dignity," while the term Imamate stresses that of "leadership" or "guidance" of the Muslim community. According to the Sunni view, the Caliph or Imam must be elected by qualified electors from the community of believers, and must possess the requisite traits of knowledge, wisdom, probity, soundness of mind and body, and descent from the tribe of Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet.

try, with forbearance and sympathy, to satisfy those who disagree with their viewpoint. If they are satisfied, then well and good; and if they are not satisfied, they are still brethren in the faith, and we ask Allah's guidance for us and them.

Fight Against the Forbidden !

The Muslim Brotherhood know that there is a sociological aspect which is of the utmost importance for the continued existence of this faith. How fine it would be, if the efforts of Muslim proselytizers were directed toward organizing people around the idea of fighting these dangerous issues which threaten the faith at its very root, and which we are all united in detesting, as well as in recognizing the necessity to annihilate them !

This is the program of the Muslim Brotherhood vis-à-vis their opponents on questions of minor detail in Allah's religion. Perhaps I can summarize it for you by saying that the Brotherhood permit differences of opinion, detest fanaticism of outlook, and try to arrive at the truth and to convert men to it by the gentlest methods of forbearance and affection.

To the Cure !

Diagnosis

Brother, know and learn that nations, in terms of their strength, weakness, youth, old age, health, and sickness, are like human individuals, without exception. For even

as you look at a human being, strong, sound, and enjoying good health, lo and behold, you will see him seized by illness and beleaguered by maladies. Ailments and pains undermine his strong constitution, and he continues to complain and groan until Allah's mercy - Blessed and Almighty is He ! - overtakes him in the form of a skilled physician and well - trained specialist who knows the locus of the complaint and diagnoses it expertly, discovering the area of the infection and working with dedication to cure it. And lo and behold, after a time you will see the same patient with his strength returned and his health restored to him. He may even be in better condition after his treatment than before it. Imagine exactly the same situation with respect to nations : the changes of time confront them with threats to their very existence, breaking apart their solid structure while disease infiltrates the surface appearance of their strength. If continues to work away at them without interruption until it wreaks its damage upon them, and they turn out sickly and weak, the covetous eyeing them with greed, and the spoilers robbing them. They have no strength to repel the spoiler, and cannot ward off the greed of the covetous. They can only be cured by these means : knowledge of the locus of the ailment, endurance to put up with the pain of the treatment, and an expert who will undertake it until Allah realizes his goal through his hands, and he brings his cure to a successful conclusion.

The Symptoms

Experience has taught us, and events have given us to know, that the disease afflicting these Eastern nations assumes a variety of aspects and has many symptoms. It has done harm to every expression of their lives, for they have been assailed on the political side by imperialist aggression on the part of their enemies, and by factionalism, rivalry, division, and disunity on the part of their sons. They have been assailed on the economic side by the propagation of usurious practices throughout all their social classes, and the exploitation of their resources and natural treasures by foreign companies. They have been afflicted on the intellectual side by anarchy, defection, and heresy which destroy their religious beliefs and overthrow the ideals within their sons' breasts. They have been assailed on the sociological side by licentiousness of manners and mores, through the sloughing off of the restraints of the humanitarian virtues they inherited from their glorious, fortunate ancestors; while through imitation of the West, the viper's venom creeps insidiously into their affairs, poisoning their blood and sullyng the purity of their well - being. They have been assailed through the workings of a positive law which does not restrain the criminal, chastise the assailant, or repel the unjust; nor does it even for one day take the place of the divinely revealed laws which the Creator of creation, the Master of the kingdom, and the Lord of souls and their Originator, has set down. They have been

assailed also through anarchy in their policy of education and training, which stands in the way of effectively guiding their present generation, the men of their future and those who will be responsible for bringing about their resurgence. They have been assailed on the spiritual side by a death-dealing despair, a murderous apathy, a shameful cowardice, an ignoble humility, an all-pervading impotence, a niggardliness and an egocentricity which prevent people from making any effort, preclude self-sacrifice, and thrust the nation from the ranks of earnest strivers into those of triflers and gamblers. What hope is there for a nation against which all these factors, in their strongest manifestations and most extreme forms, have been conjoined for the assault - imperialism and factionalism, usury and heresy and licentiousness, anarchy in education and legislation, foreign companies, despair and niggardliness, impotence and cowardice, and admiration for the enemy, an admiration which prompts one to imitate him in everything he does, especially his evil acts. One of these diseases alone is sufficient to kill off numerous proud nations, and how much more now that it has been spread about among all, in every nation without exception? If it were not for the resistance, imperviousness, hardihood, and strength of those Eastern nations whose enemies have been contending with them from the remote past, and who have been assiduously inoculating them with the germs of these diseases for a long time, until they finally imbedded themselves and hatched - if it were not for these qualities,

their traces would have been long ago swept away and wiped out of existence. But Allah and the believers will not tolerate this.

Brother, this is the diagnosis which the Brotherhood make of the ailments of this umma, and this is what they are doing in order to cure it of them and to restore to it its lost health and strength.

Hopes and Feelings

Brother, I would like you to know, before I talk to you about these means, that we do not despair of ourselves, that we hope for a great good, and that we believe that only such despair stands between us and success. For if hope grows strong within us, we shall arrive at this great good, Allah willing, and therefore we do not despair, nor does despair force its way into our hearts, Allah be praised !

Everything around us gives out glad tidings of hope, despite the forebodings of pessimists. If you were to visit a sick person, and found him declining gradually from speech to silence and from motion to immobility, you would feel that he was close to the end, that his cure would be a difficult matter, and that his disease was gaining ground. And if the reverse took place, and he began to move gradually from silence to speech, and from torpor to mobility, you would feel that he was close to being cured, and that he was making progress on the way to health and vitality. A period of time had come over

these Eastern nations during which they had grown torpid, bored even unto death with torpor, and inactive, borne even to their wif's end by inactivity. But now they are seething with a waking consciousness embracing all aspects of life, and are flaring up with a vital and forceful awareness and sharpened sensibilities. If it were not for the weight of their shackles on the one hand, and their lack of direction on the other, this awareness would produce the most striking results. But these shackles shall not endure forever : time is change, and in the twinkling of an eye Allah changes things from one state to another. The directionless shall not remain so forever; guidance comes after bewilderment, and stability after anarchy, for Allah's is the command before and after ! Therefore we never despair - the verses of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !), the Traditions of His Apostle (May Allah bless and save him !), His sunna (Almighty is He!) as regards the teaching of nations and the exaltation of peoples they have gazed on perdition,²⁷ and all He has related to us of these matters in His Book all of these proclaim an

27. The sunna of Allah alludes to Allah's "practice" vis-à-vis mankind within the cyclical view of human history taught by the Qur'an. Time after time, either a prophet is sent down by God to teach the unchanging message of His Unity and the certitude of Judgment to come to a generation who have relapsed into polytheism or unbelief, or an apostle is sent to renew these tidings and to bring a new Divine Law. This "eternal return" ended only with the sending of the last apostle, Muhammad, with the last revelation, the Qur'an. The "people" mentioned here are probably the Jewish tribes, a favorite example in Al-Banna's writings to illustrate God's humbling of the proud - the hosts of pharaoh - and His exaltation of the down-trodden.

immense hope to us, and guide us toward the path of a genuine resurgence, for the Muslims know this - if they have studied.

Just read the noble Qur'anic verses at the beginning of Sura 28 : "TA SIN MIN,"²⁸ There are the verses of the clear - speaking Book : "We shall relate to thee some portion of the story of Moses and Pharaoh in truth, to a believing people. Lo, Pharaoh was exalted in the earth and made its people into groups, rendering weak a party among them, slaughtering their sons and keeping alive their women. Lo, he was of those who spread corruption. And We desired to show favor to those who had been rendered weak in the earth, and to make them leaders and to make them inheritors; and to make them strong in the earth, and to display through them, to Pharaoh and Haman and their soldiery, what they were guarding against" [Q. 28 : 1 - 6].

Read these noble verses and you will see how the vain one oppresses through his brutality and exults in his strength, satisfied with his tyrannical power and forgetful of the Eye, Turth which observes him. But just as he is rejoicing in his fortune, God seizes him with the grasp of the Mighty, the Powerful, for it is Allah's will invariably to

28. A total of 29 chapters of the Qur'an begin with a single letter, or several letters, of the Arabic alphabet, which are simply read as such, before, the first verse. In no case do they form a coherent word or phrase; and despite numerous efforts, no satisfactory explanation of their presence has been made. See W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's introduction to the Qur'an*, pp. 61 - 65.

succor the wronge and to help the downtrodden and those rendered weak. For the vain crumbles at its very foundation, but the truth is solidly built and firmly supported, and those who cling to it will be triumphant. After reading these noble Qur'anic verses and their like in the Unassailable Book, not one of the Islamic nations believing in Allah, His Apostle, and His Book, has any excuse to give way to despair and hopelessness. When will the Muslims apply themselves to God's Book ?

For similar reasons, brother - and there are many such in Allah's religion - the Muslim Brotherhood do not despair of Allah's succor being sent down to these nations, despite the difficulties which can be seen before them. In the light of this hope, they carry on the task of the earnest and the hopeful, for it is Allah of whom aid is sought !

As for the means which I promised you I would discuss, they are three basic principles about which the ideology of the Brotherhood revolves.

(1) The proper program of action. The Brotherhood have found it in God's Book, the Sunna of His Apostle, and the precepts of Islam, when the Muslims will understand these as they should be - fresh, pure, and far removed from the spurious and the untrue - and when they devote themselves to the study of Islam on this basis, simply, broadly, and comprehensively.

(2) Believing workers. For this reason the Brotherhood have taken it upon themselves to apply what they

understand of Allah's religion without indulgence or slackness. God be praised, they believe in their ideology, are satisfied as to its goal, and are confident that Allah will sustain them while they remain devoted to Him, and so they will forge ahead under the guidance of Allah's Apostle (May Allah bless and save him !).

(3) A determined, trustworthy leadership. The Muslim Brotherhood have found theirs to be of this character, and so they are obedient to it and work under its banner.

This, brother, is the sum and substance of what I wanted to discuss with you about our mission. It is an explanation which has an explanation, and you yourself are the Joseph of these dreams.²⁹ If what we are about appeals to you, your hand is linked together with ours so that we may work in unison on this path. Allah is the Bestower of success on us as well as on you; He is our sufficiency, and how wonderful a Trustee !

What a wonderful Master, what a wonderful Helper !

Allah is most Great : unto Allah be praise.

29. That is, you yourself are best able to interpret what we mean, like the Joseph of Genesis and the Qur'an.

[The text on this page is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a letter or a report, with several lines of text visible but not readable.]

TO WHAT DO WE SUMMON MANKIND ?

**In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !
Preamble**

You may be speaking to a large number of people on various subjects, and believe that you have elucidated and explained everything with the utmost clarity and exhausted every possible means of revealing what is in your mind, until you leave off addressing them with crystal - clear exposition, having presented them with the facts you wished to impart as revealingly as the first crack of dawn or the sun in broad daylight, as they say. Then how grossly are you astonished after a while when you discover that these people have neither understood you nor grasped anything of what you said.

I have seen this time after time, and experienced it on numerous occasions. I do not think that its secret is any more arcane than either of these alternatives : either each one of us uses a different criterion to judge what he says and hears, and therefore our understandings and perceptions differ; or speech itself is ambiguous and cryptic, even if the speaker believes what he says to be clear and unequivocal.

The Criterion

In what I am going to say, I would like to make plain to all people the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood and its

aims, goals, methods, and means, frankly and clearly, plainly and openly. But first I wish to define the criterion we are using to measure this clarity, and I shall strive to make what I have to say easy and simple. It will not be impossible for any reader who wishes to benefit by it to understand, and I do not imagine that anyone, out of the entire Islamic umma, will oppose me over my making this criterion the Book of Allah, from whose planitude we refresh ourselves, from whose oceanic depths we draw our sustenance, and to whose wisdom we have recourse.

O Our People !

The Noble Qur'an is an all-inclusive book in which Allah has gathered together the fundamentals of religious doctrine and the bases of social welfare, as well as the broad generalities of secular legislation containing both commands and prohibitions. Now, have the Muslims acted according to the Qur'an, have they believed with conviction those religious doctrines cited by Allah, and have they understood the objectives He has made clear to them ? Have they applied His social and existential legislation to the manner in which they dispose of their lives ? If we conclude from our study that they have indeed done so, then we must have arrived all together at the desired goal; but if our study reveals that they are far from the path decreed by the Qur'an and that they ignore its teachings and commandments, then know that it is our duty to bring ourselves, as well as those who follow us, back to that way.

The Goal of Life in the Qur'an

The Qur'an has defined the goal of life and the purpose of man's existence, and has shown that a people whose chief concern in this life is eating and sensual enjoyment - He, the Blessed and Almighty says : "Those who disbelieve, enjoy themselves and eat as cattle eat; but the Fire will be their abode" [Q. 47 : 12].

And it has shown that others whose chief concern is luxury and transitory possessions - He, Blessed and Almighty is He, says : "Made beautiful for mankind is the love of fleshly desires for women and children, and heaped - up mounds of gold and silver, and branded horses, and cattle, and tilled land. That is the comfort of the life of this world, but the best resort is with Allah" [Q. 3 : 14].

It has also shown that still others whose chief distinction in this life it is to arouse civil strife, and to cause evil and corruption to flourish, are those of whom Allah says : "Of mankind there is he whose talk concerning the life of this world pleases thee, and he calls Allah to witness what is in his breast, though he is the most stubborn of enemies. And when he turns his back, he hastens about in the earth to spread corruption within it, and to destroy the cultivation and the cattle : Allah loves not corruption" [Q. 2 : 204 - 205].

These are some of the aspirations of men in this life, which Allah kept the believers clean of them, rendered

them innocent of them, and entrusted them with a loftier concern ! And He laid upon their shoulders a higher duty, namely : to guide humanity to the truth, to lead all of mankind to the good, and to illumine the whole world with the sun of Islam. This is what He, the Blessed and Almighty, says : "O ye who believe ! Bow down, and prostrate yourselves, and worship your Lord, and do what is good : perhaps you will prosper. And strive to your utmost for Allah : He has chosen you, and imposed on you on hardship in religion - the creed of your father Abraham. He named you Muslims formerly, and in this, so that the Apostle might be a witness against you, and you be witnesses against mankind. Therefore perform the prayer, and pay the alms, and take refuge in Allah. He is your Protector. And how fair a Protector, how fair a Helper!" [Q. 22 : 77 - 78].

This means that the Noble Qur'an appoints the Muslims as guardians over humanity in its minority, and grants them the right of suzerainty and dominion over the world in order to carry out this sublime commission. Hence it is our concern, not that of the West, and it pertains to Islamic civilization, not to materialistic civilization.

The Mandate of the Muslim Is Self - sacrifice, Not Personal Advantage

Then Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) has made it clear that the believer striving toward this goal has sold himself and all he possesses to Allah, and that he has

nothing personal to gain from it. Its attainment is dependent solely on the success of this mission and its communication to the hearts of men. This is what He, the Almighty, says : "Surely Allah has bought from the believers their persons and their wealth, in that Paradise is theirs" [Q.9 :111].

From this we see that the Muslim makes his lot in this world subordinate to his mission, so that he may gain the next world as a reward for his self - sacrifice. As a result, the Muslim conqueror was teacher qualified by all the enlightenment, guidance, compassion, and benevolence with which the teacher must be graced, and the Islamic conquest was one of civilizing, guiding, and teaching. How can this be compared with what Western imperialism is doing at the present time ?

How Close Are the Muslims to This Goal ?

By your Lord, my dear brother, have the Muslims understood the Book of their Lord in this fashion, so that their souls have been uplifted, and their spirits raised on high ? So that they have freed themselves from the bondage of matter, and purified themselves of the pleasures of fleshly lusts and cravings ? So that they have lifted themselves above trivialities and lowly concerns, and turned their faces toward Allah, who created the heavens and the earth, as pure believers¹ who exalt Allah's Word

1. The term used here is *hanafa'*, the plural of *hanif*, which see in the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

and strive in His path ? And who broadcast His faith and defend His Sacred Law ? Or are they these prisoners of their lusts and slaves of their cravings and their greed, whose sole interest is a delicate mouthful, a fast car, a handsome suit, a comfortable nap, a fair wife, a false front and an empty title ?

They were satisfied in their aspirations but afflicted in their fortunes;

They plumbed the seas of striving, so they said, and were no more afflicted.

The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) was right : "Wretched is the slave of the **dinar**, wretched is the slave of the **dirham**, wretched is the slave of velvet"².

The Goal Is the Basic Principle and Its Practical Application

Since the goal was what provided the impulse to follow the path, and the goal has become obscured and confused in our **umma**, it was absolutely imperative that we clarify and define it, and I believe that we have succeeded to a great extent in doing so. We have come to the conclusion that it is our duty to establish sovereignty over the world and to guide all of humanity to the sound precepts of Islam and to its teachings, without which mankind cannot attain happiness.

2. *Concordance*, 1, 283, where a slightly shorter version of this *hadith*, omitting the "velvet," is cited as occurring in the *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari and the *Sunan* of Ibn Maja.

The Origins of Our Goal

This is the message which the Muslim Brotherhood wish to bring to mankind, and that they wish the Islamic **umma** to understand as it should be understood and to proceed to salvage with determination and energy. The Muslim Brethren have not fabricated it, nor have they invented it on their own. It is no more than the message which shines forth from every verse of the Noble Qur'an, appears with the utmost clarity and distinctness in every Tradition of the mighty Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!), and is manifest in every deed of the First Muslims, who are the paragons for the true understanding of Islam and for salvaging the teachings of Islam. If the Muslims wish to accept this message, it will be the proof of their faith and of the genuineness of their Islam. But if they find anything objectionable or faulty in it, the Book of Allah the Blessed and Almighty stands between us and them - a just authority and a final pronouncement which will judge between us and our brethren, and will demonstrate whether the truth be for us or against us : "Our Lord, decide between us and our people in truth, for Thou art the best of Deciders" [Q. 7 : 89].

Excursus

There have been inquiries from many of our brethren, whom we love with all our hearts, and to whose benefit and welfare in this world and the next we have consecrated our efforts, our wealth, and our lives, and have

sacrificed ourselves for this goal - the goal of bringing happiness to our umma and our brethren through our wealth and our persons. On their behalf, we have neglected our children and our wives. How much do I wish that these brethren who are making inquiries would inform themselves about the youth of the Muslim Brotherhood. Their eyes are wide awake while other men sleep; their minds are working while the carefree relax. One of them will be bent over his desk from afternoon until midnight, working, striving, pondering, toiling assiduously, keeping at it uncassingly all month long. When the month is over, he hands over his incoms to his organization, his donation is dedicated to his mission, and his money, is put to the service of his goal. He seems to be saying to the sons of his people who are heedless of his self - sacrifice : "I do not ask of you a wage for this my wage is due from Allah alone."³ Allah forbid that we should bestow a gratuity on our umma ! From it we came and to it we belong : we are merely resorting to such self - sacrifice as a means of drawing its attention so that it may comprehend our mission and respond to our call.

What Is the Source of the Money ?

These beloved brethren who survey the Muslim Brotherhood from a distance and peer at them from close range raise the question : "What is the source of their

3. This is a paraphrase of a number of similar verses occurring in the Qur'an, e.g., Q. II: 51.

expenditures? From where does money come to them for a mission which is as successful and flourishing as theirs, when times are tight and people are niggardly?" My answer to these is that religious missions are supported by faith before money, and by conviction before transitory goods. Wherever the true believer is found, there also are to be found all the means to success. The money of the Muslim Brotherhood consists of the small amount they deduct from their expenses, and which they save through economizing on their basic necessities and on the needs of their households and children. So do they increase the goodness of their souls, and improve their hearts with generosity. Every one of them would like to spend many times over what he has for the sake of Allah, and if some of them find nothing, they turn away, their eyes brimming with tears of sorrow because they have not found anything to contribute. In this little money and great faith, with praise and glory unto Allah, is "a clear proclamation to a worshipful people" [Q. 21 : 106] and success to sincere workers. Allah, in whose hand all things rest, blesses every single penny of those collected by the Brotherhood, for "Allah has annihilated usury, but He has increased the fruits of charity" [Q.2 : 276].

"And that which you bring in charity desiring only the Face of Allah - they are the ones who will be increased manifold" [Q. 30 : 39].

We and Politics

Other people say that the Muslim Brotherhood are a political group and that their mission is a political one, beyond which they have still other aims. Who knows how far our nation will go in spreading accusations, bandying suspicions, and name - calling, while it abandons a sure way supported by the actual state of affairs, to proceed along a path of mere conjecture inspired by doubts ?

O our people, we are calling out to you with the Qur'an in our right hand and the Sunna in our left, and with the deeds of the pious ancestors of the sons of this umma as our example. We summon you to Islam, the teachings of Islam, the laws of Islam and the guidance of Islam, and if this smacks of "politics" in your eyes, then it is our "policy"! And if the one summoning you to these principles is a "politician," then we are the most respectable of men, Allah be praised, in "politics"! And if you wish to call this "politics," say what you like, for names will never harm us when what has been named is made clear and our goals stand revealed.

O Our people, let not mere words stand between you and the facts, nor names hide our goals, nor unessentials veil the essential from you. Islam does have a policy embracing the happiness of this world and the godliness of the next : this is our policy, for which we seek no substitute. Therefore govern yourselves according to it, convert others to it, and you will win the glory of the

world to come. May you know its glad tidings before long.

Our Nationalism and Its Basis

Brother, come, let us listen together to the voice of the Divine Glory resounding through the horizons, filling the earth and the Seven Heavens,⁴ inspiring the soul of every believer with the loftiest feelings of glory and pride, when he hears this call to which the heavens and the earth and all they contain are attentive, from the moment Al-Amin⁵ proclaimed it to this creation for time without end, since eternity has been decreed for it : "Allah is the Protector of those who believe" [Q. 2 : 257].

Yes, yes, my brother ! This is the call of your Lord to you. "Here I am, my Allah, here I am !"⁶ Praise and thanks unto thee ! Praise without stint unto Thee ! Thou, Thou art the Protector of the believers, the Helper of those who toil, the Defender of those who are wronged, who are attacked in their homes and driven from their

4. The seven - layered heaven of the Qur'an, Paradise (Janná or Firdaws) is regarded by some theologians as being situated in the Seventh Heaven; by others, as being above the Seventh and directly beneath the Throne of God.

5. Al-Amin, "the Trustworthy," is a common title of the Prophet Muhammad.

6. This is an invocation uttered by the Muslim pilgrims to Mecca as an almost continuous refrain after they have assumed the traditional pilgrim garb and are approaching the Holy City.

abodes ! Honored is he who takes his refuge in Thee, and victorious is he who seeks Thy protection !

“Allah will surely aid one who helps Him. Allah is Mighty, Glorious!” [Q. 22 : 40].

Yes, yes, my brother ! Come, let us listen together to the voice of the Noble Qur'an, and let us be transported by the recitation of its clear verses. Let us record the beauty of this grandeur contained in the pages of that Purified Book.

Come to me, come to me, my brother, and hear the Speech of Allah, Blessed and Almighty is He !

(1) **“Allah is the Protector of those who believe. He brings them forth from darkness to light”**. - **Surat al-Baqara [Q. 2 : 257]**.

(2) **“Nay, but Allah is your Protector, and He is the best of Helpers”**. - **Surat Al Imran [Q. 3 : 150]**.

(3) **Only Allah is your Protector - and His Apostle, and those who believe, those who perform the prayer and pay the alms, bowing down”**. - **Surat al-Ma'ida [Q. 5 : 55]**.

(4) **“My Protector is Allah, who sent down the Book, for He befriends the pious.”** - **Surat Al-A'raf [Q. 7 : 196]**.

(5) **“Say : ‘Nothing will befall us save what Allah has decreed. He is our Defender : in God let the believers place their trust.’”** - **Surat ul-Tawba [Q. 9 : 51]**.

(6) **“Behold, on the friends of Allah there is no fear, nor**

do they grieve; they who believe and were used to showing piety", - Surat Yunus [Q. 10 : 63 - 64].

(7) "That is because Allah is the Defender of those who believe, and because the unbelievers have no defender," -Surat Muhammad (May Allah bless and save him!) [Q. 47 : 11].

Do you not see in these clear verses that Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) relates you to Himself, grants you the grace of His protectorship, and sheds upon you the superabundance of His glory? "But glory belongs to Allah, and to His Apostle, and to the believers, but the Hypocrites do not know" [Q. 63 : 8].

And in the Noble Traditions the Chosen One⁷ (May Allah bless and save him !) relates something concerning his Lord, the substance of which is : "Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) says : 'On the Day of Resurrection, O children of Adam, I have set up a kinship and you have set up a kinship, and you have said : "So-and- so, son of so-and-so." But I have said : "Verily the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most pious of you" [Q. 48 : 13]. And today I shall raise up My kinship and humble your kinship."

Therefore, noble brother, the pious forefathers preferred to trace their relationship to Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) and establish as the foundation of their

7. Al-Mukhtar, "the Chosen One," is a common title of the Prophet Muhammad.

prayers and the pivot of their deeds the realization of this noble relationship. One of them called out to his companion :

Do not call me but by ' O His Slave'⁸

For it is truly the noblest of my names.

Another once answered someone who had asked him if he hailed from the tribe of Tamim or Qays :

My father is Islam : I have no other father,
[Say I] when they boast of Qays or Tamim.⁹

There Is No Glory Beyond This

Dear Brother, people boast of their lineage only because of such splendor and nobility as they find in their ancestors' deeds, and because of such glory and honor as they propose to instill in the souls of their children. Beyond these two considerations there is nothing. Do you not see that relating yourself to Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) is tantamount to the highest possible ambition the ambitious may strive to attain in terms of glory and splendor - "For glory belongs to Allah entirely" [Q.4 : 139]. - as well as the worthiest way of uplifting

⁸ Abdull, "His slave," is still a very common Muslim masculine name. In essence it is a shortened form of any of the numerous personal names compounded of the element *abd* (slave), and the name of God, Allah, or one of His many epithets.

⁹ Two of the noble Bedouin tribes of pre-Islamic Arabia.

your soul to the heights of 'Illiyyun?¹⁰ It will also instill in it the spirit of rebirth in company with those actively engaged, for what nobility is greater, and what instigation to virtue more exalted, than your view of yourself as dedicated to Allah, connected to Allah, related to Allah? On one occasion Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) said: "But be devotees of Allah, by virtue of your teaching the Book and what you were studying" [Q. 3 : 79].

The Mightiest Sources of Strength

Relating oneself to the Truth (Blessed and Almighty is He!) involves another concept which will be grasped by anyone who has committed himself to that relationship. This is the superabundance of faith, and the confidence in success which will take up residence in your heart and fill your soul, so that you will fear no one out of all mankind, nor will you be intimidated by even the entire world, though it stood before you trying to win your allegiance or disparaging your high principle.

"Those to whom men said : 'The people have gathered against you - therefore fear them ! But it increased them in faith, and they said : 'Allah is our sufficiency, and how excellent a Trustee !' [Q. 3 : 173].

10. A proper name occurring only in Q.83 : 18 - 19. It, as well as its companion term Sijjin in Q.83 : 7 - 8, would appear from the context to be the books in which the records of the good and bad deeds, respectively, of mankind are preserved. But many theologians, including Al-Tabari, regard Illiyyun as the name of the Seventh Heaven, or some portion of it. This is evidently the interpretation of Al-Banna' too, to judge by his language here.

And when one of those few believers in Allah, with confidence in Him and His support, found himself confronting a tumultuous horde or a rapacious army, he neither dreaded its assault nor feared its deprivations, because he was afraid of no one but Allah. What is mightier than that strength which flows into the heart of the believer when his breast surges with the words of Allah (Almighty is He !): "If Allah aids you, no conqueror will overcome you" [Q. 3 : 160]?

Our Nationalism Is a Universal Kinship

Here is one aspect of the lofty social significance implicit in relating mankind to Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !), and this is the brotherhood of all peoples, the mutual assistance of all human societies, and the extirpation of those greedy ambitions which are inspired by fanaticism and whose fires sow dissension and mutual aversion among the nations. Who is for the world, so that he will join the forces rallied about the standard of Allah ?

The Dreams of Yesterday Are the Actualities of Today

This is a saying which the Muslims have been hearing for a long time, but it may be an incomprehensible riddle to them.

Someone may say : "Why do this group write about these ideas which cannot be realized ? What are they

about, floating in an atmosphere made up of fantasies and dreams?"

Take it easy, brother in Islam and the creed ! What you consider a strange riddle today was a familiar commonplace to your forefathers. And you striving [**Jihad**] will never bear fruit until it becomes just that to you. Believe me, the earliest Muslims understood the Noble Qur'an the first time they read it : what we are handing on to you today and telling you was revealed to them.

I say to you sincerely that the creed of the Muslim Brotherhood is what they live by : they place their hope for the good in it, and die according to its lights. They see in it whatever comfort, beauty, felicity, and truth their souls aspire to : "Is it not time for those who believe that their hearts should be humble in remembering Allah and the truth He has sent down ? And that they should not be like those who were brought the Book before them, for a long period passed over them, and their hearts were hardened, and many of them were transgressors" [Q. 57 : 16].

Brethren, if you agree with us on this basic assumption, know that your relating yourselves to Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) imposes upon you the task of evaluating correctly the important duty He has placed upon your shoulders. And you are obliged to hasten to work for it, even though self-sacrifice lies on the way to its accomplishment. Will you then act?

The Duty of the Muslim

The duty of the true Muslim has been epitomized by Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) in one verse of His Book, and the Noble Qur'an has repeated it thereafter in numerous verses. The verse which contains the Muslim's duty in this life is stated in these words of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) : "O you who believe ! Bow down, and prostrate yourselves, and worship your Lord, and do what is good ; perhaps you will prosper. And strive to your utmost for Allah : He has chosen you and imposed on you no hardship in religion - the creed of your father Abraham. He named you Muslims formerly, and in this, so that the Apostle might be a witness against you, and you be witnesses against mankind. Therefore perform the prayer, and pay the alms, and take refuge in Allah. He is your Protector. And how fair a Protector, how fair a Helper !" [Q. 22 : 77 - 78].

This is clear discourse, without ambiguity or mystery. By Allah, it has indeed sweetness and beauty ; it is as lucid as the dawn and as perceptible as light, filling the ear and penetrating the heart without seeking permission ! Did not the Muslims listen to it heretofore? Or did they hear it with hearts barred against it, heedless, unthinking?

Allah commands the Muslims to bow, to prostrate themselves, and to perform the prayer which is the kernel of faith, the pillar of Islam and the most conspicuous of its outward signs. And to worship Allah and to associate nothing with Him. And to do good as far as they are able,

but at the same time as He commands them to do good, He forbids them to do evil, for the first step in doing good is abandoning evil. How succinct and yet how eloquent ! And on this condition, He decreed for them success, prosperity, and victory. This is the individual duty¹¹ of every Muslim, and he must perform it himself, in solitude or in company.

The Right of Humanity

Then He commanded them to strive to their utmost for Allah's sake, by broadcasting the mission and propagating it among men with argument and proof. But if they should persist in rash acts, outrages, and rebellion, then with the sword and the spear !

But if men abjure proof and stray from the path,
Then war more avails upon earth than peace.

Guarding the Right Through Force

How wise was the man who said : "Force is the surest way of implementing the right, and how beautiful it is that force and right should march side by side." This striving to broadcast the Islamic mission, quite apart from preserving the hallowed precepts of Islam, is another religious duty imposed by Allah on the Muslim, just

11. Although he does not here use the technical expression of the Islamic jurists, *fard ayn* (which see in the Glossary of Arabic Terms), but rather the nontechnical phrase "al-mahamma al-fardiyya," it is evident that Al-Banna does mean to refer to the set of observances incumbent on all adult responsible Muslims with no exception.

as He imposed fasting, prayer, pilgrimage, alms, and the doing of good and abandonment of evil, upon them. He imposed it upon them, and delegated them to do it. He did not excuse anyone possessing strength and capacity from performing it, for it is a Qur'anic verse which is imperative and admonitory, and an exhortation which is binding and admonitory: "March forth, light and heavy, and strive with your wealth and your persons in Allah's way!" [Q. 9 : 41]¹².

Allah revealed the secret of this commandment and the wisdom of this ordinance which He had imposed on the Muslims afterwards, showing them that He had chosen them, selected them and elected them, apart from all mankind, to be the leaders of His creation, His trustees over His Divine Law, and His deputies in His earth, as well as the heirs of His Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!) in prosecuting his mission. And He made their religion easy for them, perfected His legislation, and made its prescriptions light, rendering them applicable to all times and places, so that the world would accept them and humanity see in them its anticipated desire and its long-awaited hope: "He has chosen you, and imposed

12. This is a rather rigorous position to take regarding *jihad*, and seems a reflection of the doctrine of the more radical sects of the Kharijites. Al-Banna' makes it somewhat less stringent in succeeding pages, and appears to yield to the general view of *jihad* as a *farḍ kifāyah* (which see in the Glossary of Arabic Terms), except under extreme conditions.

on you no hardship in religion - the creed of your father Abraham. He named you Muslims formerly, and in this, so that the Apostle might be a witness against you, and you be witnesses against mankind" [Q.22 : 78]. This is the social duty for which God has delegated all Muslims, so that they might be as one phalanx, a solid bloc and a strong force, and so that they might be the army of salvation which would rescue humanity and guide them all together to the path.

Monks by Night and knights by Day

Then the Truth (Blessed and Almighty is He !) afterwards showed mankind the connection between the commandments laid on the individual, such as prayer and fasting, and the commandments laid on the community, and showed that the first were the means to the second. Also that true doctrine was the foundation of both together, so that there should be no way for some people to shirk their individual obligations by arguing that they were carrying out their communal ones; nor should there be any way for others to shirk their communal works with the argument that they were preoccupied with their ritual obligations and totally absorbed in their communion with Allah. How precise and wise is the saying, "Who is fairer in speech than Allah?"¹³.

13. The original source for this is undoubtedly Q. 4 : 87 : "and who is more vernacious in speech than God" In the Concordance, 1, 436, only one *hadith*, cited as appearing in the *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari, comes close to it : "The fairest of speech is the Book of God".

O Muslims, the worship of your Lord, and striving to make your religion strong, and exalting you Sacred Law, are your duty in this life. For if you perform these as they should be performed, you are the saved; but if you perform only some of them or neglect them altogether, then I quote to you the words of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!): "Did you then think that We created you in sport, and that you would not be returning to Us? Almighty is Allah the King, the Truth!" [Q. 23 ; 115 - 116].

Apropos of this, among the descriptions of the Companions of Muhammad (May Allah bless and save him!), since they were the elect of Allah from among His creation, and the pious forefathers of His worshippers, occurs the following : "Monks by night and knights by day." You can just see one of them at night, standing erect in his oratory, clutching his beard, murmuring as the faultless murmur, weeping as the sorrowful weep, and saying : "O world, seduce some other than myself!" And when at the break of dawn the call to arms rang out, summoning the fighter to **jihad**, you would have seen him, a wolf on the back of his mount, shouting his war-cry while the entire battlefield resounded with it.

By Allah, what was that miraculous harmonizing, that rare coupling, that unique mixture compounded of the works and duties of this world combined with the affairs and spirituality of the next? Why, it was nothing but Islam, which combines the best features of everything!

An Imperialism of Education and Reform

Accordingly, O Muslims, the Muslims hastened - after the Most Sublime Friend took unto Himself His Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!) - throughout the countries of the earth, with His Qur'an in their breasts, their homes on their saddles and their swords in their hands, and with the clear argument on the tips of their tongues, calling on mankind to accept one of these three : Islam, tribute [jizya], or combat.¹⁴ Anyone who accepted Islam became their brother, with all their rights and obligations; anyone who paid the tribute came under their protection and their responsibility, they granting him his rights, observing the pact made with him, and faithfully keeping to the conditions accepted by him; anyone who remained obdurate was fought by them until God granted them the victory : "But God refuses aught but that He should perfect His light" [Q. 9 : 32].

They did not do this for political power : their self-denial with respect to rank and fame is well known to all people. Their religion had condemned these surious trappings which certain peoples enjoy at the expense of others. Their Caliph was one of them, being allotted the same amounts in property and payment as any man of

14. Q.9 : 29 : "Fight those who do not believe in God or in the Last Day, and who do not forbid what God and His Apostle have forbidden or follow the religion of truth, being of those who were sent the Book, until they render tribute out of their hands, humbling themselves." Also see jizya in the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

them received, who was neither the most excellent nor the most intelligent of them; and their commander was one of them, not being especially distinguished except by virtue of the outstanding faith and awe of Judgment with which Allah had graced him. Nor was it done for wealth, for every one of them was satisfied with a chunk of bread to stay his hunger and a swallow of water to quench his thirst. Fasting to them was a waterskin, and they preferred hunger to satiation. Each one of them possessed just enough clothing to conceal his nakedness, and their Book announced to them in Allah's words : "Those who disbelieve enjoy themselves and eat as cattle eat, but the Fire will be their abode" [Q. 47 : 12].

And their Prophet said to them : "Wretched is the slave of the dirham, wretched is the slave of the dinar, wretched is the slave of velvet."

Therefore their exodus from their territories was not for the sake of rank, wealth, political power, imperialism, or exploitation. It was only to carry out a special mission - the mission of their Prophet (May Allah bless and save him !), which he had left as a trust in their hands. And he had commanded them to strive vigorously on its behalf : "until there is no longer discord, and the religion is Allah's" [Q. 2 : 193].

It Is Time for Us to Understand

The Muslims formerly understood this and acted accordingly, their faith impelling them to sacrifice them-

selves on its behalf. These days, however, the Muslims differ widely in their understanding of their duty, and have made use of allegorical interpretation and theories of the total transcendence of deity as justification for slackness and sloth. One of them will say to you : "The time for **jihad** and good works is long over." Another will dampen your zeal by saying that means are lacking and that the Islamic nations are shackled. A third will be content to give his religion lip service, prating about it day and night, and satisfied to limit his religious duties to bowings which he performs without inner conviction.

No, no, brethren ! The Qur'an in your possession calls out to you clearly and unambiguously : "The believers are only those who have believed in Allah and His Apostle, [and then have not doubted, ¹⁵ but have striven with their wealth and their persons in Allah's way - these are the sincere' [Q. 49 : 15].

And in the Sunna, the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!) tells you : "When people are stingy with their money, buy and sell on credit, follow the tails of cattle, and abandon **jihad** in Allah's way, Allah almighty will inflict a humiliation upon them which He will not lift from them until they go back to their religion." The

15. In the source, but omitted in this quotation.

Imam Ahmad related this in his **Musnad**,¹⁶ as has **Al-Tabarani** in **Al-Kabir**¹⁷ and **Al-Bayhaqi** in the **Shu'ab al-Iman**¹⁸ on the authority of 'Abd Allah b. Umar.¹⁹

And you may read in your books of jurisprudence all that has been written, both in ancient and modern times,

16. Ahmad b. Hanbal (780 - 855), the founder of the Hanbalite School of Sunnite law. This, the most fundamentalist of the Four Schools, prevails today only in Saudi Arabia, though it had much greater extension in the Middle Ages. The chief sources of Hanbalite law are the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet and his Companions. Ijma and qiyas play only a very subordinate role. Ahmad's chief surviving work is **Al-Musnad**, a vast collection of Traditions which incorporates many that were regarded by later authorities as "rare" or "dubious".

17. Sulayman b. Ahmad al-Tabarani (873 - 971), a renowned hadith-authority of Syrian origin who traveled extensively over the Near East in search of hadith and died in Isfahan. He wrote a number of collections (**mu'jam**), of which the **Kabir** cited by **Al-Banna'** is one.

18. Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Bayhaqi (994 - 1066), a famous Shafi'ite hadith-authority born near Nishapur in Persia, where, after periods of travel and study in Iraq and Arabia, he died. He was a prolific author, and was regarded by many authorities as the leading Shafi'ite scholar after the founder of the School.

19. Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. al-khattab (?-693), son of the second of the Four Orthodox Caliphs (**Al-khulafa' al-Rashidun**), and a famous and frequently cited source for a great many Traditions. He was regarded as a model of Muslim piety and virtue in his lifetime, and an absolutely scrupulous transmitter of hadith.

on the question of when **jihad** is a communal responsibility and when an individual one. You know these facts and their implications very well, so what is this lethargy that has settled over you ? What is this hopelessness that has seized your minds, so that they neither remember nor awaken? Muslims, this is a period of creation : create yourselves, and your **umma** will thereby be created !

This divine commandment requires of you believing souls and pure hearts; therefore work to strengthen your faith and to purify you breasts. It demands of you self-sacrifice in terms of wealth and struggle; therefore prepare yourselves. What you possess is transitory, but the things of Allah endure, for surely Allah has bought from the believers their persons and their wealth, in that Paradise is theirs, whose breadth is that of the heavens and the earth.²⁰

From Where Do We Begin ?

The creation of nations, the education of peoples, the realization of hopes, and the defense of principles demand of the nation which tries to achieve these - or, at any rate, of the group which is proselytizing for them - a mighty spiritual strength which may be manifested in numerous ways : a strong will which no weakness can penetrate; a steady loyalty unassailable by fickleness or treachery; a noble spirit of self-sacrifice, unaffected by greed or avarice; a knowledge of the principle, a faith in

20. A collation of parts of Q.9 : 111 and Q.3 : 135.

it, and a proper assessment of its value which is immune to error in its regard, to any deviation from it, to any quibbling over it, or to any delusion by some other one. On these primary foundations which are peculiar to the soul alone, and upon this awesome spiritual strength, principles will be erected, resurgent nations will be educated and younger peoples created, and life will be renewed in those who have been deprived of life for long ages.

Every people that has lost these four qualities, or at any rate, whose leaders and proselytizers for reform have lost them, is a wretched, frivolous people which neither comes to any good nor realizes any hope. It is enough for it to live on in an atmosphere made up of dreams, idle speculations, and fancies : "but idle speculation is of no avail against the truth" [Q. 53 : 28].

This is the law of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !) and His sunna with respect to His creation; you will find no alteration in Allah's sunna : "Allah does not change the circumstances of a people until they change what is in themselves" [Q.13 : 11].

It is also the law expounded by the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him !) in the veracious Tradition the text of which is : "The nations are about to advance upon you as eaters advance upon the platter. Allah will surely remove the fear of you from the hearts of your enemies, and He will surely cast feebleness into your hearts." And auditor said : "Is it because we will be few at that time,

Apostle of Allah?" He said: "No indeed, you will be many at that time, but you will be rubbish, like the rubbish borne along by a flash - flood." An auditor said: "What is 'feebleness,' Apostle of Allah?" He said: "The love of this world, and the hatred of death."²¹

Don't you see that he (May Allah bless and save him !) showed that the cause of the weakness of nations and the humiliation of peoples is the feebleness of their spirits, the weakness of their minds, and the emptiness of their hearts devoid of high morality and the qualities of true manliness, even though they be great in number and their resources and products abundant ?

When a nation wallows in luxury, grows accustomed to affluence, drowns itself in the gewgaws of material existence, is seduced by the glamour of the life of this world, forgets how to bear adversities and the blows of circumstance, and neglects to strive in Allah's way, you may bid farewell to its glory and its hopes.

Between the Two Forces

Many people assume that the East is lacking in material strength in the form of money and equipment, and the instruments of war and combat, in order to rise up and compete with the nations which have stolen its rights and oppressed its peoples. This is true and important; but even more important and necessary is spiritual strength,

²¹. Concordance, 4, 460, citing the Sahih of Al-Bukhari and the Sunan of Abu Da'ud.

consisting of superior character, high - mindedness, belief in their rights and knowledge of what they are, and a determined will. Then self-sacrifice in the line of duty and good faith upon which trust and unity are founded - out of these two strengths is created.

If the East believed in its right, wrought changes in itself, concerned itself with the strength of the spirit, and took pains to rectify its moral fiber, the means of achieving material strength would come to it from any and every direction, for the indisputable facts are in the pages of history.

The Muslim Brotherhood believes this fervently, and are therefore diligently purifying their souls, strengthening themselves, and rectifying their moral character. And it is for this reason that they are striving to fulfill their mission, convincing people to accept their principles, and demanding that the **umma** reform itself and rectify its moral character.

They have not been innovators in the context of what they have to say ; rather have they drawn their inspiration from the Mightiest Ocean, the Boundless Sea, the Firm Constitution, and the Loftiest Source - the Book of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He !); but you have already heard the eternal stipulation of that law : "Allah does not change the circumstances of a people until they change what is in themselves" [Q. 13 : 11].

The Qur'an discloses this theme in many of its verses; indeed; it has given us a proverbial example, eternal and as clear - cut as it can be, as well as entirely true, in the saga of the Children of Israel, that magnificent saga which depicts the way of self - creation to every despairing nation.²²

The Course Is Clear

The Muslim Brotherhood believe that Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!), when He sent down the Qur'an and commanded His worshippers to follow Muhammad (May Allah blessd and save him !) and when He was pleased to grant them Islam as a religion, incorporated within this true religion all the fundamentals necessary for the life of nations, their advancement, and their prosperity. This is the confirming text of Allah's word (Blessed and Almighty is He!) : "Those who follow the Apostle, the Illiterate Prophet, whom they find written down in the Tawrat and the Injil which are in their possession²³ - he commands them to do the good and forbids

22. This, as will be seen shortly, refers to the Biblical and Qur'anic account of the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt under their leader, the Prophet Moses.

23. The Tawrat is the Torah or Pentateuch, and the Injil is the New Testament. The Muslim belief, based on Qur'anic testimonial, is that the advent of the Prophet Muhammad was clearly predicted in these Scriptures, until the Jews and Christians willfully altered them, thus committing the sin of tahrif (which see in the Glossary of Arabic Terms).

them to do evil; he makes lawful to them what is beneficial and prohibits for them what is vile; and he puts off from them the burden²⁴ and the shackles that were upon them²⁵ [Q. 7 : 157].

The confirming words of the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him !) in the Noble Traditions are as follows : "By Allah, I no sooner abandoned an evil thing but I forbade you to do it."

If you examine the teachings of Islam, you will find that it promulgates the soundest principles, the most suitable regulations, and the most precise laws for the life of the individual, man or woman, for the life of the family both during its formation and its dissolution, and for the life of nations during their growth, their strength, and their weakness, and sanctions ideas before which even reformers and leaders of nations have stood hesitant.

Internationalism, nationalism, socialism, capitalism, Bolshevism, war, the distribution of wealth, the link between producer and consumer, and whatever is intimately or distantly tied up with the discussions which preoccupy the statesmen of the nations and the social philosophers - we believe that all of these have been dealt with thoroughly by Islam, and that Islam has promulgated for the world the regulations which will guarantee it

24. The "burden," *Isr*, refers to the complicated and exacting restrictions and specifications of the Jewish ritual law, imposed upon the Jews by God as a sign of His disfavor, as contrasted with the simplicity of the Islamic analogue.

the usufruct of all that is good, as well as the avoidance of whatever may entail danger or adversities. This is not the place to go into details on this subject ; we are here simply stating our belief and explaining to mankind what we are calling on them to accept. Later we shall have time to present what we have to say in greater detail.

We Must Be Followers

Since the Muslim Brotherhood believe this, they demand that people work toward the end that the principles of Islam be the foundations on which the resurgence of the modern East, in every aspect of life, be based. And they believe that every feature of the modern renaissance which is contrary to the principles of Islam and conflicts with the stipulations of the Qur'an is a corrupt and worthless experiment, from which the nation will emerge after making enormous sacrifices to no avail. It is more advantageous for the nation which seeks regeneration to take the shortest route by adhering to the prescriptions of Islam.

The Muslim Brotherhood are not addressing their appeal to any one particular Islamic country. They are sending out their call, hoping that it will reach the ears of the leaders and chiefs of state of every country whose sons practice the Islamic religions. To that end, they are taking advantage of this common factor shared by the Islamic countries, as they seek to build their future on

solid foundations embodying the basic element of progress, advancement, and civilization.

Beware of Deviation

The greatest fear of the Muslim Brotherhood is that the Eastern Islamic peoples may let themselves be swept along by the current of blind traditionalism, and that they found their renaissance on those outworn prescriptions which contradict themselves and which experience has proved to be corrupt and valueless. Each one of the Islamic nations has a constitution, and it is necessary that it derive the sources of its constitution from the prescriptions of the Noble Qur'an; that the nation which declares in the first paragraph of its constitution that its official religion is Islam must set down the rest of its paragraphs in conformity with this principle. Every paragraph which Islam cannot tolerate and which its prescriptions do not sanction must be expunged, so that no contradiction will appear in the fundamental law of the state.

Reform the Law

Every nation has a body of law to which its sons have recourse in their legal affairs. This body of law must be derived from the prescriptions of the Islamic Sacred Law, drawn from the Noble Qur'an, and in accordance with the basic sources of Islamic jurisprudence. For the Islamic Sacred Law and the decisions of the Islamic jurists are all-sufficient, supply every need, and cover

every contingency, and they produce the most excellent results and the most blessed fruits. If the punishments prescribed by Allah²⁵ were carried out, they would be a deterrent dismaying even the hardened criminal, restraining even the habitual thug, and relieving governments of the annoyance of worthless experiments. For experience confirms and supports this, the basic assumptions of modern legislation proclaim and sustain it, and Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) has commanded and prescribed it : "And they who judge not according to what Allah has sent down, they are unbelievers" [Q. 5 : 44].

Reform Social Conduct

In all nations there are aspects of social life controlled by their governments, regulated by their laws, and protected by their authorities, and it is up to every Eastern nation to exert itself so that all these internal features are in conformity with the proprieties of religion and consistent with Islamic legislation and its ordinances. Officially condoned prostitution is a mark of shame on the forehead of every nation that values virtue - how much more so in the case of Islamic nations, whose religion commands them to wage war on prostitution and to punish adulterers severely.

25. The so-called **hadd**-punishments, for which see the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

“Let not compassion for the two of them seize you in respect of Allah’s religion, if you believe in Allah and the Last Day, and let a party of the believers witness their punishment” [Q. 24 :2].

Bars on the most prominent streets of the cities and in the most elegant quarters, those tall, wide signs advertising alcoholic beverages, and these plain, undisguised posters displaying the very source of vileness,²⁶ rejected by religion and most strictly forbidden by the Noble Qur’an !

Wage War Against Vice

This libertine instigation to vice, this beguiling pleasure, this frivolous self-indulgence, in the streets, in meeting-places, in summer resorts, in the country, all contradict what Islam counsels us to follow in the way of chastity, decency, renunciation, and dedication to serious work and abstention from frivolous activities. “Truly Allah loves noble things and detests the frivolous”.

It is the duty of the Islamic nations to do their utmost to fight and resist all these practices and their like with all the power and drive their authority and laws are capable of exerting, without flagging or growing indifferent.

26. E.g., wine, the “mother of vileness.”

Regulate Education

Every Islamic nation and people pursues its own policy in educating and bringing up the new generation, and producing the men of the future upon whom the life of the new nation will depend. This policy must be based on wise principles which guarantee to the rising generation a religious immunity, a moral impregnability, and a knowledge of the precepts of their religion as well as an appreciation of its ancient glory and its vast extension.

This is only a small selection from the many principles which the Muslim Brotherhood wish the Islamic nations to consider carefully in creating the modern renaissance. And they are directing this appeal of theirs to all Muslims, both peoples and governments. Their means of achieving the realization of these lofty Islamic ideals is but one : to show clearly the superior virtue and perfection that inhere within them, so that when people bring this to mind and are convinced of its advantages, it will induce them to work on its behalf and defer to its judgment : "Say : 'This is my way : I summon unto Allah according to a clear understanding, I and whoever follows me. Glory unto Allah ! I am not of the polytheists !'" [Q. 12 : 108].

Profit by Fraternizing with Your Brethren

Islam calls out to its sons and followers, saying : "Cling fast to the rope of Allah, all of you, and do not become divided. Remember Allah's grace to you when you

when you were enemies; and He united your hearts, and through His grace you became brethren" [Q. 3 : 103].

And in another verse the Noble Qur'an says : "The believers are no other than brothers" [Q. 49 : 10]. And in another verse : "The believing men and the believing women are protecting friends of one another" [Q.9 : 71].

And the Noble Prophet (May Allah bless and save him !) says : "Be you worshippers of Allah, brethren."²⁷ This is the manner in which the first Muslims - Allah's grace be upon them- understood this concept of fraternity in Islam. Their faith in Allah's religion dictated that they share the most enduring sentiments of love and affection, and the noblest manifestations of brotherhood and friendship. They were as one man and as a single heart and hand, so that Allah conferred His blessing on this in His Book and said (Blessed and Almighty is He !) : "And He has united their hearts. If thou hadst expended all that is in the earth, thou wouldst not have united their hearts, but God united them" [Q. 8 : 63].

The Practical Application

The Emigrant who had left his people behind, forsaken his homeland in Mecca, and fled with his religion, was to

27. Concordance, 1, 35, citing the Sahih of Al-Bukhari, the Sahih of Muslim, the Muswatta' of Malik, the Musnad of Ahmad b. Hanbal, the Sunan of Ibn Maja, and the Sunan of Abu Da'ud.

find before him sons of Islam, in the persons of the young men of Yathrib,²⁸ awaiting him, each one an embodiment of yearning to see him, of affection for him, and of rejoicing at his advent. They had no prior acquaintance or ancient connection : no bond of marriage or blood - relationship united them. Nor did any personal motive or self-interest impel them toward him. It was only the Islamic creed that made them sympathize with him, join him, and look upon him as one of their own and a spiritual brother. He had only to arrive at the mosque, when the fortunate and glorious scion of Aws and Khazraj²⁹ would surround him, each inviting him to his home, choosing him for himself, pledging himself and his family as his protectors even unto death, and stubbornly insisting on his claim until the matter had to be settled by recourse to lot. About this, the Imam Al-Bukhari³⁰ transmits this text : "No Emigrants of mine settled down with my Auxiliaries except by lot."

28. The pre-Islamic name of Medina.

29. The two tribes of pagan Arabs who inhabited the oases of Yathrib, together with the three Jewish tribes of Nadir, Qaynuqa, and Qurayza.

30. Muhammad b. Isma'îl al-Bukhari (810 - 870), the famous collector and compiler of Traditions, whose *Al-Sahih* is the most authoritative and revered *hadith* - collection in Sunnite Islam. He is said to have heard 600,000 Traditions during his far-flung journeys undertaken for this purpose, from which he accepted only 2,762 as unquestionably genuine.

Even the Qur'an has preserved for all eternity this excellence of the Auxiliaries, and their resplendent glory across the ages shines out in the words to Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) : "And those who occupied the abode and the faith before them, love those who emigrate to them, and find no need in their breasts for that which they have been given, but prefer them over themselves, even though there should be poverty amongst them; those protected from avarice of soul, they are the prosperous" [Q. 59 : 9].

Such was the mode of conduct of the sons of Islam, and such the character of the first battalion of those who found fraternity of faith amongst themselves. There was no division between the Emigrants and Auxiliaries among them, nor between the Meccan and the Yemenite, so that the Noble Apostle extolled the Ash'arites³¹ of the people of Yemen, saying (May Allah bless and save him!) : "How excellent are the people of the Ash'arites ! When they wage **jihad** in expeditions or against settled communities,

31. The Ash'ar were a Yemenite tribe. The most famous of them in early Islamic history were Abu Musa al-Ash'ari and his brothers, who left Yemen to fight in the Prophet's army against the Jewish colonies of khaybar in 628. Abu Musa went on to assume numerous important administrative and military posts under the Prophet and the first two Caliphs, and was 'Ali's ineffectual spokesman at the fateful Arbitration of Adhruh in 659. His death date is uncertain, but is sometime after 660.

they gather together all they possess and put it into their knapsacks, then they divide it among themselves with perfect equity.”

And if you read the Noble Qur'an, and the Traditions of the Mighty Prophet (May Allah bless and save him !), and study the biographies of the fortunate and glorious of the sons of this religions, you will see therein matter to delight your soul and to fill your mind and heart.

A Fraternity Which Proclaims Humanitarianism

This creed has produced two fruits which we must garner, and concerning which we must address you respecting their sweetness, their delectation, their goodness, and their utility. The first of these has to do with the fact that this creed resulted in Islamic imperialism's resembling no other in all of history, neither in its aims nor in its operations and conduct, nor in its results or benefits. For the Muslim imperialist conquered a land, when he did conquer it, only to exalt the Word of the Truth, and to illuminate its horizons with the *sunna* of the Noble Qur'an. For whenever the sun of the Muhammadan guidance shone upon the souls of its people, differences were obliterated, wrongs were wiped out, and justice and equity prevailed in their midst, along with love and brotherhood. Here there was no question of victorious conqueror and vanquished enemy, but simply of affectionate and comradely brethren. The nothion of nationalism thenceforth melts away and disappears just as snow

disappears after strong, sparkling sunlight falls upon it, by contrast with Islamic brotherhood, which the Qur'an instills in the souls of all those who follow it.

That Muslim conqueror, even before he raided those whom he raided and conquered whomever he conquered, had already sold himself and his people, and had rid himself of his parochial loyalties³² and his nationalism in the path of Allah. He did not campaign for the sake of such loyalties, nor did he conquer for the sake of nationalism, and he did not win victories for the sake of racial sentiment; but rather did he act, when he did act, for the sake of Allah and Allah alone, who has no partner.

The most remarkable story that has been transmitted about sincere dedication to a goal, and of all personal desire, is one which occurs in the Noble Traditions, the gist of which is that a man came before the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him !) and said : "Apostle of Allah, I wish to wage jihad in Allah's way, and I would like to see what my portion [thereafter] will be." The Prophet (May Allah bless and save him !) remained silent, without answering. And the following Qur'anic verse was revealed : "Whoever hopes to meet his Lord, let him do a righteous work, and let him not associate anyone as partner, in worshipping his Lord" [Q. 18 : 111].

32. *'usubiyya*, which see in the Glossary of Arabic Terms. Here the reference is to local tribal and clan loyalties which in pagan Arabia overrode all others.

Do you see how Islam looked upon that individual's search for commendation and praise, as representing a hidden polytheism in the very nature of the soul, from which he must be cleansed and which he must rise above through the nobility of that glorious goal? Is there anything more sincere than a man forget himself in pursuing his goal? Do you imagine that a man on whom his religion imposes the condition that he rid himself of self, and that he suppress his sentiments, his inclinations, and his desires, so that his jihad may be sincerely dedicated to Allah alone, will think thereafter to wage it for a parochial loyalty, or go on campaign for the sake of a race or a nationalist sentiment? By Allah, certainly not!

The conquered, whom destiny wished to prosper under Islam and to be guided by its guidance, did not abandon his land and his soil to a stranger who dominated it and who subjected him to humble servitude, monopolizing all its resources while excluding him. Rather, he abandoned whatever he did abandon because he fused with him and blended with him in soul and spirit, and called out to him with sincerity: "You have the same rights and responsibilities as we! The Book of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) will decide between us." Each of them perished in achieving his goal, and was sacrificed in the path of his principle. He abandoned whatever he abandoned so that Allah's light might be shed over all of humanity and so that the sun of the Noble Qur'an might shine upon them. For in this lies the whole of their felicity and the perfection of their progress, if they but knew.

The Horizons of the Islamic Fatherland

The second fruit is that Islamic brotherhood compelled every Muslim to believe that every foot of ground supporting a brother who held to the religion of the Noble Qur'an was a portion of the larger Islamic homeland, to work for the protection and prosperity of which was made incumbent by Islam on every one of its sons. The result was that the horizons of the Islamic fatherland expanded and transcended the bounds of mere geographical and ethnic patriotism to one of lofty principles, pure, veracious articles of belief, and truths which Allah set down as a guidance and a light for the world. For Islam, when it gives its sons to understand this concept and fixes it firmly within their souls, imposes upon them the ineluctable obligation to protect the territory of Islam from the attack of the aggressor, to deliver it from the usurpation of the usurper, and to fortify it against the ambitions of the hostile.

A Long Road

I hope that these words in explanation of the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood have revealed their goal to our noble readers, and have made clear to them, to some extent at least, their program in proceeding toward this goal. I had earlier addressed myself at great to many of our zealous brethren on the subject of Islam and its grandeur, in very much the same language as our readers

have now seen under the present title of "To What Do We Summon Mankind?"

In the course of talking with them, I was received with gratifying attention, and we understood what was being said point by point, one after the other, until we came out of the discussion absolutely satisfied with the integrity of our goal and its ultimate feasibility. How great was my astonishment when I saw that they were practically unanimous in their agreement that the way, despite their admission that it would be successful, was a long one, and that the destructive, violent currents existing within our country were too powerful. At this point, despair began to creep into their hearts and despondency to take hold of their spirits. Just so that our noble readers will not discover these feelings within their own spirits, as these earlier discussants did, I would like to infuse these words with a superabundant hope in the certainty of success, Allah willing, for the matter is in Allah's hands, first and last. Therefore, I shall narrow down the subject to two positive points of view.

The Socio-Philosophical Viewpoint

The social scientists say that the truths of today are the dreams of yesterday, and that the dreams of today are the truths of tomorrow. Now this is a viewpoint supported by the actual facts and corroborated by demonstration and proof. In fact, it is at the core of the advancement of humanity and its upward progress toward perfection, for

who could have believed that scientists would make such discoveries and inventions as they have, before they came to light only a few years ago? Even the scientific authorities themselves rejected them at their first encounter with them, until the actual facts supported them and proof corroborated them! Examples of this are plentiful, and they are so well known that we need spend no more time discussing them.

The Historical Viewpoint

All nations began their rise from a position of weakness, so much so that to the observer it seemed that for them to attain their desired goal was a kind of impossibility. But despite this presupposition, history has shown us that patience, steadfastness, wisdom, and persistence have carried these movements, so weak in their beginnings and so feeble in resources, to the pinnacle of the success and fortune their leaders were hoping for. Who would have believed that the Arabian Peninsula, that dry and infertile desert, would ever produce enlightenment and learning, and, through the spiritual and political influence of its sons, rule over the mightiest states in the world? Who would have imagined that Abu Bakr, that tender-hearted and mild person, against whom the people had rebelled and whose Companions' rights they flouted, could send out eleven armies in one day that would suppress the rebels and set the erring straight, chastise the wrongdoer, take vengeance on the apostates,

and exact Allah's dues in alms³³ from the recusants? Who would have believed that skimpy, underground following of 'Ali and Al-Abbas would be able to overturn that far-flung and powerful state overnight,³⁴ when previously they had been exposed, from one day to the next, to murder, persecution, banishment, and threat? Who would have imagined that Salah al-Din the Ayyubid³⁵

33. Zakat, which see in the Glossary of Arabic Terms. It seems that the Ridda, or "apostasy", of the central and eastern Arabian tribes in 632 was actually motivated by the desire to throw off the political yoke of Medina and to cease to be liable for the official alms, which was collected as a state tax.

34. The reference is to the Umayyad state and dynasty, overthrown by a joint Shi'ite and 'Abbasid conspiracy in 749 - 50. The Shi'a, or "Following" of Ali b. Talib (ca. 600 - 661), the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, were rajoled into aiding the pretenders of the House of Al-'Abbas, who were descended from an uncle of the Prophet, by the ambiguous propoganda spread abroad by 'Abbasid agents. Adherents were won to the cause by being told that the movement was designed to restore the legitimate rule to the "House of Hashim," an ancient Meccan ancestor of the Prophet's clan, and therefore of both the 'Alid and the Abbasid lines.

35. Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyub (1138 - 1193), the "Saladin" of the Third Crusade, whose chief exploits were the destruction of the greater part of the Crusader chivalry at Hattin in 1187, the recapture of Jerusalem in the same year, and the termination of the rule of the Shi'ite Fatimite dynasty in Egypt, thereby restoring their realm to Sunnite orthodoxy in 1171. The Ayyubid dynasty of Egypt, of which he was the founder, were the descendants of his brother, Al-Adil, who supplanted Saladin's sons in 1200. The dynasty petered out in Egypt in 1249, though various Syrian branches lasted somewhat longer.

would hold his ground for long years, and hurl back the kings of Europe on their heels, defeated, despite their enormous numbers and the brave show of their armies, until twenty-five of their greatest kings banded against him?

All that is ancient history. In modern history, there is an even more astonishing example, for who would have imagined that King 'Abd al-Aziz Al Su'ud,³⁶ whose family had been banished, whose people had been persecuted, and whose kingdom had been stolen, would win back that kingdom with twenty or so men; and that afterwards he would become one of the hopes of the Islamic world for a restoration of its grandeur and a recreation of its unity? And who would have believed that that German workingman, Hitler, would ever attain such immense influence and as successful a realization of his aims as he has?

36. 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Su'ud (1880 - 1953), the restorer to power of the Su'udi royal line of Najd in 1902, and the father of the recently (1975) deceased king Faysal of the Saudi Arabian kingdom. The feat Al-Banna refers to here was the daring and spectacular recapture of the old Sa'udi capital of Al-Riyad by 'Abd al-Aziz, with only six men, on a night raid in 1902. The city had been seized and occupied by the Rashidids of Al-Ha'il while Abd al-Aziz was a child, and his father and family had been banished, finding a refuge in Al-Kuwayt until the restoration of their fortunes.

Is There Another Road?

There are two negative viewpoints which produce exactly the same result, and which impel the minds of the zealous to act forcefully and determinedly. The first is that this way, however long it may take, is the only one suitable for erecting the foundations of the revival on an unassailable basis, and experience has confirmed the correctness of this viewpoint.

Duty First of All

The second is that the agent acts to perform a duty first of all, then only secondly for a reward in the hereafter, and thirdly for personal advantage. For if he acts, he perform his duty and wins Allah's approval - there is no doubt of this - when all the conditions are fulfilled; then his personal advantage remains, and this is a matter which is in Allah's hands. Perhaps an opportunity, quite outside his calculations, will arise and render his act productive of the most blessed quits; while if he refrains from acting, the sin of dereliction falls upon him, he loses the reward of **jihad**, and is absolutely deprived of any personal benefit. Which of these two alternatives has the better standing and the fairer repute? The Noble Qur'an has pointed this out clearly and unequivocally in this noble verse: "Why do you preach to a people whom Allah will destroy or punish with a severe punishment?" They said: 'As an excuse to your Lord; perhaps they will show piety.' But when they forgot that of which they had

been reminded, We rescued those who had forbidden evil, and We seized those who had been unjust with a grievous punishment, for that they had been transgressors." - Surat al-A'raf [Q. 7 : 164 - 65].

The Story of a Nation Coming into Existence

Weakness : We have now before us a proud tyrant who enslaves Allah's worshippers, despising them as weaklings and using them as servitors, attendants, slaves, and chattels, while on the other hand we have a noble and glorious people enslaved by this overbearing despot. Then Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) wished to restore to this glorious people its stolen freedom, its ravaged honor, its lost glory and its former might. The first ray of the dawn of freedom for this people was the rising sun of its mighty leader, Moses, as a nursing infant : "We relate to thee some of the story of Moses and pharaoh in truth for a people who believe. Now Pharaoh grew mighty in the land and divided its people into groups, despising a party among them, slaughtering their sons and keeping alive their women. Indeed he was of those who sow corruption. We wished to be gracious to those who were despised in the land, and to make them leaders, and to make them inheritors, and to establish them in the land" [Q. 28 : 3 - 6].

Leadership : Then we see this leader in his maturity, protected by the Divine Providence after he had revolted against tyranny and showed his loathing for injustice. He

fled alone and escaped with his freedom, when Allah took him unto Himself and placed upon him the burden of his apostolate, making the salvation of his people contingent upon him. He returned filled with faith and sustained by conviction, facing that tyrant and demanding that he restore to his people their freedom and leave them their honor, and that he believe in him and follow him. How magnificent is his bitter, burning sarcasm, as the Noble Qur'an narrates the words of the mighty apostle : "And this is the favor thou didst bestow on me : that thou didst enslave the Children of Israel" [Q. 26 : 22]. O tyrant who lords it over the worshippers of God, not your worshippers! Is the favor you are reminding me of, and the benefit you have conferred on me, the enslavement of my nation, the degradation of my community, and the humiliation of my people? This is the cry of truth ringing from the mouth of the noble prophet, rocking the tyrant's throne and shaking his kingdom : "Come before Pharaoh and say : "We are a messenger from the Lord of the universe : send away with us the Children of Israel." 'He said : 'Did we not rear thee among us as a child, while thou didst stay among us for years of thy life? And then thou didst thy deed which thou didst, being of those who are ungrateful!' He said : 'I did it then, being of those who are in error. So I fled from you for I feared you : and my Lord granted me authority and made me one of the messengers'." - Surat al-Shu'ara' [Q. 26 : 16 - 20].

Struggle : And now we witness the wrath of the powerful against justice - how they rebel against it, avenge themselves upon it, punishing those who are for it and subjugating those who support it. And also how the supporters of justice bear up under all this, and how their leaders hold out the promise of sweet hopes and aspirations so that their spirits may not languish : "And the council of nobles of Pharaoh's people said : 'Wilt thou allow Moses and his people to sow corruption in the land, and to leave thee and thy gods?' He said : 'We shall kill their sons and save their women alive, for we are in power over them.' Moses said to his people : 'Ask Allah for aid and be patient. The land is Allah's - He gives it as a heritage to those whom He will of His worshippers, and the end belongs to the pious'" [Q. 7 : 127 - 28].

Faith : How magnificent for us to see this eternal example of steadfastness and patience, of unswerving allegiance to justice, and of utter contempt for everything, even life, in the service of faith and belief, on the part of the followers of this leader who believed in his mission, and who challenged this tyrant with contempt and defiance of death : "Then determine what thou wilt determine : thou determinest only the life of this world. We believe in our Lord, that He may forgive us our sins and that magic thou didst compel us to perform. God is the More Benevolent and the More Abiding" [Q. 20 : 72 - 73].

Triumph : If we see all this, we shall see its consequences in this fifth section, and do you grasp what those may be? Victory prosperity, triumph, success, and glad tidings brought to the oppressed; hope realized for the dreamers, and the cry of manifest justice resounding through the horizons of the earth : "O Children of Israel, We have delivered you from your enemy!" [Q. 20 : 80].

TOWARD THE LIGHT¹

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Preface

In Rajab 1366 (May - June 1947), the Imam and martyr Hasan al-Banna, Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, sent this message to His Majesty Faruq I, King of Egypt and the Sudan, His Excellency Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, his then Prime Minister, and to the kings, princes, and rulers of the various countries of the Islamic world, as well as to a great number of civic and religious leaders in those countries. We are now publishing and distributing it once more. Many of the view-points and directives it contains still represent the dearest hope of every Arab and every Muslim. Let us pray Allah that it be fulfilled!

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Praise be unto Allah, and may Allah bless and save Our Master Muhammad, his House, and his Companions. "O Lord, grant us a mercy from Thee, and set forth for us integrity in our affair" [Q. 18 : 10].

Cairo, Egypt, Rajab 1366

Your Excellency,

Peace be with you, and God's mercy and blessings! To proceed : all that impels us to submit this message to

1. Translated into French by J. Marel in *Orient*; see Bibliography for full entry.

Your Excellency is a keen desire to guide the nation, whose leadership Allah has placed in your care and whose affairs He has delegated to you during its modern era, in a benevolent manner which will set it on the most excellent of paths, trace out for it the best of programs, protect it from shocks and disturbances, and spare it protracted and painful experiences.

Beyond this, we desire no more than to have done our duty and submitted our advice... for Allah's reward is better and more lasting.

The Shepherd's Responsibility

Your Excellency,

Allah had delegated rulership over this nation to you, and has made its interests, its affairs, its present and its future, your trust and your charge : you are responsible for all of these before Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!). If the present generation are your instruments, the coming generation are your products. How mighty is this trust, and how great this responsibility, that a man should be held answerable for a nation : "Each of you is a shepherd, and each is responsible for his flock."² In ancient times, the Just Imam³ said : "If a mule were to

2. *Concordance*, 2, 273, citing the *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari, the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal, and the *Jami'* of Al-Tirmidhi.

3. The second of the Orthodox Caliphs, 'Umar b. al-khattab (634-644).

stumble in Iraq, I would hold myself responsible for her before Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!), as to why I had not leveled the road for her." The Imam Umar b. al-khattab depicted the immensity of his responsibility in a saying of his : "How I would like to come out of it evenly - owning nothing and owing nothing!"

Introduction

(A) A Period of Transition

The most dangerous period in the life of nations, and the most deserving of critical study, is the period of transition from one state of affairs to another. It is then that plans for the new period are laid and its guiding principles and policies drawn up, according to which, it is expected, the nation will be formed and to which it will adhere. If these plans, principles, and policies are clear-cut, sound, and solid, the nation will rejoice in this triumph, and its guides, because of this well-being, in a great reward, eternal fame, the just verdict of history, and fair renown.

(B) At the Crossroads

This important task poses two conditions : the first is the liberation of the nation from its political bonds so that it may obtain its freedom and regain its lost independence and sovereignty.

The second is its reconstruction, so that it may take its own way among the nations and compete with these others in its progress toward social perfection.

For the time being, the political struggle has come to a halt, and you have begun, along with the nation, to face a new period. Now you will see two ways before you, each one urging you to orient the nation in its direction and to proceed with it along its path. Each one has its particular characteristics, its advantages, its effects, its results, its propagandists and its promoters. The first is the way of Islam, its fundamental assumptions, its principles, its culture and its civilization; the second is the way of the West, the external features of its life, its organization and its procedures. It is our belief that the first way, the way of Islam, its principles and its fundamental assumptions, is the only way which ought to be followed, and toward which the present and future nation should be oriented.⁴

(C) Advantages of the Islamic Orientation

If we take the nation along this path, we shall be able to obtain many benefits - among them the fact that the Islamic way has been tried before and that history has testified as to its soundness. It has produced for the benefit of mankind an *umma* which is one of the strongest, most excellent, most merciful, most godly, and most blessed for all of humanity. It possesses a sanctity and stability in the minds of men which makes it easy for all to adopt it, to understand it, and to respond to it, as well as to adhere to it once they are properly oriented to it, to

4. In Marel's translation, and additional sentence not found in the present Arabic text occurs here: "The second is the most dangerous [way] for the present or future existence of the nation".

say nothing of pride nationalism and the extolment of sincere patriotism. For then we will construct our lives on our own principles and fundamental assumptions, taking nothing from others. Herein lie the highest ideals of social and existential independence, after political independence.

To take this course means to strengthen Arab unity, in the first place; and in the second, to strengthen Islamic unity. The Islamic world in its entirety will support us through its spirit, its sensibility, its sympathy, and its endorsement, and will see in us brethren whom it will stand behind as they stand behind it, and whom it will support as they support it. And herein lies a great moral advantage which no intelligent person will spurn.

This course is complete and all - encompassing, guaranteeing the establishment of the most excellent institutions for public life in the nation, both practically and spiritually. This is the advantage that distinguishes Islam, for it places the institutions of the life of nations on two important bases : adherence to the good, and avoidance of the harmful.

If we pursue this path, we shall be able to avoid the vital problems which beset the other nations which have neither known of this way nor followed it. Indeed, we shall be able to solve many complicated problems which present institutions are unable to, and here we cite the words of Bernard Shaw : "How much the world in the

modern age needs a man like Muhammad to solve its stubborn, complicated problems over a cup of coffee."

After all this, if we follow this path, God's support will stand behind us, fortifying us at moments of weakness, sustaining us in difficulties, easing our toil for us, and urging us forward: "Do not falter in prasing the people; if you suffer, they suffer as do you, and you hope from Allah that which they do not. Allah is knowing, Wise" [Q. 4 : 104].

(D) Western Civilization Today

In concluding this discussion, we assert that the civilization of the West, which was brilliant by virtue of its scientific perfection for a long time, and which subjugated the whole world with the products of this science to its states and nations, is now bankrupt and in decline. Its foundations are crumbling, and its institution and guiding principles are falling apart. Its political foundations are being destroyed by dictatorships, and its economic foundations are being swept away by crises. The millions of its wretched unemployed and hungry offer their testimony against it, while its social foundations are being undermined by deviant ideologies and revolutions which are breaking out everywhere. Its people are at a loss as to the proper measures to be taken and are wanderig far astray. Their congresses are failures, their treaties are broken, and their covenants torn to pieces : their League of Nations is a phantasm, possessing neither spirit

influence, while their strong men, along with other things, are overthrowing its covenant of peace and security.

This is one side of the matter. Meanwhile, on the other side, too, they are being dealt violent blows, so that the world, thanks to these tyrannical and self-seeking policies, has become like a ship in the midst of the sea, with its captain distraught while blustering gales assault it on all sides. All of humanity are tormented, wretched, worried and confused, having been scorched by the fires of greed and materialism. They are in dire need of some sweet portion of the waters of True Islam to wash from them the filth of misery and to lead them to happiness.

The leadership of the world was at one time in the hands of the East entirely, then it fell to the West after the rise of the Greeks and Romans. After that, the Mosaic, Christian, and Muhammadan dispensations brought it back to the East for a second time, but then the East fell into its long sleep, and the West enjoyed a new rebirth. It was Allah's sunna which may not be gainsaid, and the West inherited world leadership. But lo and behold! It was tyrannical and unjust, insolent, misguided, and stumbling blindly, and it only remained for a strong Eastern power to exert itself under the shadow of Allah's banner, with the standard of the Qur'an fluttering at its head, and backed up by the powerful, unyielding soldiery of the faith. And there was the world turned Muslim and at peace, and the universe singing out :

“Praise be unto Allah who guided us to this, for truly we had not been guided if Allah had not guided us” [Q. 7 : 43].

This is not in the least a product of the imagination : this is no other than the true verdict of history. And if it is not fulfilled through us : “Then Allah will bring a people whom He loves and who love Him, humble toward believers and powerful against unbelievers, striving in the way of Allah, and fearing not the reproach of any reproacher. That is the bounty of Allah, which He brings to whom He will” [Q. 5 : 54].

Islam is Guaranteed to Supply the Renascent Nation with Its Needs

There is no regime in this world which will supply the renascent nation with what it requires in the way of institutions, principles, objectives, and sensibilities to the same extent as Islam does every one of its renascent nations. The Noble Qur'an is full of passages descriptive of this particular aspect, and contains numerous exemplary parables concerning it - in general or in detail - while it deals with these aspects clearly and precisely. No nation adheres to it without succeeding in its aspirations.

(A) Islam and Hope

A renascent nation needs a broad, all-encompassing hope, and the Qur'an has supplied its nations with this consciousness in a manner which creates out of a dead

nation one which is all life, ambition, hope, and determination. It is enough that it labels despair the road to unbelief, and hopelessness a manifestation of error. In fact, if the weakest nation heard the words of the Almighty : "And We desired to show favor to those who had been rendered weak in the earth, and to make them leaders, and to make them inheritors, and to make them strong in the earth" [Q. 28 : 5 - 6].

And in the words of the Almighty : "Falter not, nor grieve, for you will be paramount if you are believers. If a wound touches you, a wound like it has already touched the people. These are the days which We apportion to mankind in turn" [Q. 3 : 139 - 40].

And in the words of the Almighty : "He it is who expelled those of the People of the Book⁵ who disbelieved from their abodes at the first gathering. You did not think that they would go forth, and you thought that their fortresses would render them impregnable to Allah. But Allah came to them from whence they had not reckoned, and He cast terror into their hearts, while they made ruins of their homes by their own hands and the hands of the believers. Consider then, O you who have eyes!" [Q. 59 : 2]. And in the words of the Almighty : "Or did you think to enter Paradise when what had come

5. A reference to one of the two Jewish tribes of Qaynuqa' or Nadir, expelled from Medina after the Battle of Badr (624) or Uhud (625) respectively. "People of the Book" is a catch - all phrase used for members of any of the tolerated religions under Islam.

to those who passed on before you had not yet come to you ? Misery and suffering touched them and they were so shaken that the Apostle and those who believed said 'When is Allah's succor? Is not Allah's succor near?' [Q. 2 : 214].

Truly the weakest of nations, if it heard these good tidings and read the real stories pertinent to them, would absolutely emerge thereafter as the strongest of nations in faith and spirit. It would unquestionably see in this hope encouragement to plunge into difficulties, however severe they might be, and to confront events, however overwhelming, until it won the perfection to which it aspired.

(B) Islam and National Greatness

The nascent nations need to glory in their nationalism just as a superior and splendid nation with its own merits and its own history, so that its image be imprinted on the minds of its sons, and that they offer up their blood and their lives on behalf of this splendor and nobility, and work for the welfare of this fatherland, and for its aggrandizement and prosperity. We will not see this ideal clearly in any regime to be as just, excellent, and merciful as it is in True Islam. For if the nation knows that its nobility and honor have been sanctified by Allah in His foreknowledge, and that He has registered it in His Unswerving Book - for as He, the Blessed and Almighty, says : "You are the best nation which has been brought forth for mankind" [Q. 3 : 110]; and in the words of

the Almighty : "Thus have We made you a midmost nation, that you may be witnesses against mankind and the Apostle a witness against you" [Q. 2 : 143]; "Greatness belongs to Allah, and to His Apostle, and to the believers" [Q. 63 : 8] - then it is the nation most worthy of sacrificing the world and all it contains for its Allah - given greatness.

The modern nations have labored to foster this ideal firmly in the minds of their youth, men and boys alike, thus we hear : "Germany above all!" and "Italy above all!" and "Rule, Britannia!" But the difference between the sentiments which the Islamic ideology fosters, and the sentiments fostered by these slogans and ideologies, is that the sentiments of the Muslim seek to rise to communion with Allah, while the sentiments of the non-Muslim do not go beyond the literal import of the words. Furthermore, in creating these sentiments, Islam defined their goal, made it a stringent duty to keep to it, and proclaimed that it was not a matter of chauvinism or false pride, but of leading the world to its welfare. Concerning this, He, the Blessed and Almighty, says : "You command the good and forbid the evil, and believe in Allah" [Q. 3 : 110].

This implies the support of virtue and the combatting of vice, and reverence for the ideal as well as bearing it in mind while performing any act. Therefore these sentiments, by virtue of their hold upon the early Muslims, produced the maximal justice and mercy reported histo-

rically of any of the nations. On the other hand, the ideology of domination in the minds of the Western nations did not define its goal without involving a fallacious chauvinism, and therefore it brought about internecine warfare and aggression against weak nations. In this respect, the Islamic ideology adopted the best course, and sought to instill it in its sons and to turn them away from anything characterized by wickedness and oppression. Islam has extended the domain of the Islamic fatherland, and has ordained toil for its welfare and self-sacrifice for the sake of its freedom and greatness. According to the Islamic understanding, the fatherland comprises : (1) the particular country first of all; (2) then it extends to the other Islamic countries, for all of them are a fatherland and an abode for the Muslim; (3) then it proceeds to the first Islamic Empire which the Pious Ancestors erected with their dear and precious blood, and over which they raised Allah's banner. Their monuments within it still extol their superiority and grandeur; and as for all these regions, the Muslim will be asked before Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) why he did not labor to restore it. (4) Then the fatherland of the Muslim expands to encompass the entire world. Do you not hear the words of Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!): "And fight them till sedition is no more, and the faith is Allah's" [Q. 2 : 193]?

Thus did Islam reconcile the sentiments of local nationalism with that of a common nationalism, with all the benefits thereof for all of humanity : "O mankind, We

created you male and female, and We created you peoples and tribes, that you might know one another" [Q. 49 : 13].

(C) Islam and the Armed Forces

Similarly, nascent nations require strength, and need to implant the military spirit in their sons, especially in these times when peace can only be guaranteed by preparedness for war, and when the slogan of all their sons is : "Strength is the surest way to guarantee the enforcement of justice."

Islam did not overlook this factor, but as a matter of fact made it a stringent duty, and did not differentiate in any way between it and prayer or fasting. In the entire world, there is no regime which has concerned itself with this factor, neither in antiquity nor in modern times, to the extent that Islam has in the Qur'an, and in the Traditions and life of the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!). You can see this presented in clear and exemplary fashion in the words of the Almighty : "And prepare against them such force and troops of horses as you can, by which to frighten the enemies of Allah and your enemies" [Q. 8 : 60]. And in the words of the Almighty : "Fighting is prescribed for you, though it be detestable to you. But it may be that you detest something which is good for you, and it may be that you love something which is bad for you" [Q. 2 : 216].

And have you ever seen a military proclamation in a sacred book read aloud in prayer, **dhikr**, public worship and private communion with Allah, like the proclamation which begins with an abrupt command in the words of the Almighty : "So let those fight in the way of Allah who sell the life of this world for the next!" [Q. 4 : 74]. Then He specifies the reward immediately afterwards : "And he who fights in Allah's way and is slain or overcome, We shall provide him with a mighty wage" [Q. 4 : 74].

Then follows an exhortation to arouse the noblest sentiments in men's hearts, namely, the deliverance of the people and the fatherland, as He says : "What ails you that you do not fight in the way of Allah and for those rendered weakmen, women, and children - who say : 'Our Lord, bring us forth from this city whose people are unjust, and appoint for us from Thyself a guardian, and appoint for us from Thyself a Protector!'" [Q. 4 : 75].

Then He shows them the nobility of their goal and the baseness of their enemies' goal, demonstrating clearly that they are sacrificing something of great value - their lives - for a precious commodity which deserves it and which exceeds it in value - Allah's approval - while at the same time non-Muslims are fighting with no goal before them. Therefore they are weaker in spirit and more confused in their hearts. He, the Almighty, says : "Those who believe fight in the way of Allah, and those who dis-

believe fight in the way of idolatry, so fight the auxiliaries of Satan ! Truly the wiles of Satan are weak" [Q. 4 : 76].

The He upbraids those who shirked doing their duty, taking the easy way out and abandoning the difficult demands of heroism, and shows them their mistake in adopting this attitude. He shows them that boldness would not harm them one bit, and that they would reap the great reward, while abstention profits them nothing, since death lies before them in any event. Directly following the preceding verses, He says : "Hast thou not observed those to whom it was said : 'Restrain your hands, perform the prayer, and pay the alms.'? But when fighting is prescribed for them, lo and behold, a party of them fear men as much as their fear of Allah, or even more. And they say : 'Our Lord, why hast Thou prescribed fighting for us? If Thou wouldst but respite us for a brief time!' Say : 'The pleasure of this world is but little : the next world is better for the pious, and you will not be wronged to the extent of a single date - fiber. Wherever you are, death will overtake you, even if you are in well - built towers'" [Q. 4 : 77 - 78].

By your Lord, what military proclamation is there possessing force and clarity such as this, which will awaken within the soldier's breast all the zeal, pride, and faith the commander desires ?

And if the mainstay of military life according to their practice consisted of two things - discipline and obedience - God has conjoined them in two verses from His Book, when He, the Blessed and Almighty, says : "Truly God loves those who fight in His way, in ranks, as if they were a solidly constructed building" [Q. 61 : 4]. And as He, the Almighty, says : "And more fitting for them are obedience and civil speech" [Q. 47 : 20 - 21].

And if you read what Islam prescribes concerning the preparation of equipment, the provisioning of the armed forces, the teaching of archery, the sheltering of horses, the virtue of the *shahada*, the wage of *jihad*, the reward for expenditures made on its behalf, the consideration due those who campaign in it, comprehension of its varieties - you will see all these treated exhaustively, whether in noble Qur'anic verses, the Honored Traditions, the Pure Prophetic Biography, or the True Islamic jurisprudence : "Our Lord encompasses all things in knowledge" [Q. 7 : 89].

The modern nations have paid close attention to this and have been founded on these principles : we see that Mussolini's Fascism, Hitler's Nazism, and Stalin's Communism are based on pure militarism. But there is a vast difference between all of these and the militarism of Islam, for the Islam which has sanctified force to such an extent has also preferred peace. Directly after the verses

extolling force, the Blessed and Almighty says : "And if they incline to peace, then incline thou to it, and trust in Allah" [Q. 8 : 61].

And it is He who defined the price of victory and its manifestations when He said : "Allah will surely aid one who aids Him. Allah is Mighty, Glorious ! Those, who if We make them powerful in the earth, perform the prayer and pay the alms, and command the good and forbid the evil. For unto Allah belongs the consequence of affairs" [Q. 22 : 40 - 41].

And it is He who set down the basis of international military law, when He, the Almighty, said : "And if thou fearest treachery from any people, repudiate them likewise. Truly Allah does not love the treacherous" [Q. 8 : 58].

For one particular ordinance, the counsel of the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!) and his Successors after him to the commanders of their armies stands out as the most remarkable manifestation of mercy and kindness : "Commit no treachery, do not exceed the bounds, do not mutilate, do not kill women, children, and the aged, do not cut down fruitbearing trees, and do not finish off the wounded. You will come across people who lead lives of devotion in hermitages : leave them and

that to which they devote themselves, in peace.¹¹⁶

This was the military force of Islam - comprising the police of justice and the security forces of law and order. As for the present military force of Europe, everyone knows that it comprises the army of injustice and the soldiery of greed. Which of the two sides is of loftier stature and greater magnanimity ?

(D) Islam and Public Health

Since renascent nations need a superior military force, and the mainstay of such a force is physical health and strength, the Qur'an has made allusion to this concept while narrating the story of a struggling nation which took on the task of bearing the burden of fighting for the sake of its freedom, independence and self - formation. For Allah chose for it a leader who was equally strong in mind and body, and made physical strength one of his chief supports in bearing his burden. This is what the Noble Qur'an relates concerning the Children of Israel and the confirmation of their leader, Saul : "Indeed Allah has chosen him above you, and has increased him signally in knowledge and robustness" [Q. 2 : 247].

6. This seems to be a partly mistaken attribution by Hasan. The words occur in a form and order slightly different from those given here in a speech of Abu Bakr's delivered in 632 before Usama b. Zayd and his raiding forces. See Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari, *Annales*, [ed. M.J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1879-1901)] i : 1850.

The Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!) has commented on this idea in many of his Traditions, and urged the believers to preserve their bodily strength, just as he urged them regarding their spiritual strength. The Veracious Traditions say : "The strong believer is better than the weak believer."⁷ And : "Truly your body has a right over you." The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) often expounded the principles of public health to the *umma*, especially concerning preventive medicine, the more excellent of the two aspects of medicine. He (May Allah bless and save him!) said : "We are a people who do not eat unless we are hungry, and when we eat, it is not to satiety." And as to his seeking (May Allah bless and save him!) for water to drink, the Traditions say : "He (May Allah bless and save him!) used to look for sweet water." And he forbade urinating and defecating in stagnant water, and declared a quarantine against plague - ridden countries and their populations so that they should not leave them nor any outsider enter them. And finally, he (May Allah bless and save him!) paid much attention to physical culture, i.e., archery, swimming, horsemanship, and running, and urged his *umma* to practice them and show interest in them. There is even a Tradition which states : "He who once knew archery and

7. Concordance, 3, 512, citing the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal, the *Sahih* of Muslim, and the *Sunan* of Ibn Maja.

then forgot it, is not one of mine."⁸ And he (May Allah bless and save him!) stringently forbade celibacy, monasticism, and the tormenting and weakening of the body in order to draw near to Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!). In all these matters he guided the umma in the direction of moderation. All of this testifies to Islam's deep concern for the health of the umma at large, to the strenuous efforts it made in order to safeguard it, and to its receptivity to anything that might conduce to its welfare and happiness in this important respect.

(E) Islam and Science

Just as nations need power, so do they need the science which will buttress this power and direct it in the best possible manner, providing them with all their requirements in the way of inventions and discoveries. Islam does not reject science; indeed, it makes it as obligatory as the acquisition of power, and gives it its support. It suffices to say that the very first verse of the Book of Allah to be revealed says: "Recite, in the Name of thy Lord who created; created man from a clot of blood. Recite, for thy Lord is the Most Generous, who taught man with the pen; taught man what he did not know" [Q. 96 : 1-5].

The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) stipulated as part of the ransom for the polytheists cap-

8. Concordance, 6, 441, offers a variant of this, citing the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal.

tured at Badr⁹ that one of these prisoners teach ten Muslim children reading and writing, in the endeavor to wipe out illiteracy from the umma. Allah did not make the learned and the ignorant equal. He, the Blessed, the Almighty, says : "Are those who know and those who do not know equal ? Only those who possess understanding are mindful" [Q. 39 : 11]. Islam has given the same weight to the ink of scholars as to the blood of martyrs. The Qur'an links science and power together in two noble verses : "For why should not a few from every group of them march out as a party, so that they may gain knowledge of religion and warn their people when they return to them? Perhaps they will beware. O ye who believe, fight those unbelievers who are close to you, and let them encounter harshness in you, and know ye that Allah is with the godfearing" [Q. 9 : 122 - 123].

The Qur'an does not distinguish between secular and religious science, but advocates both, summing up the natural sciences in one verse, expostulating on their behalf and making knowledge of them a means of reverencing Him and a path toward knowing Him. This is what the almighty says : "Hast thou not seen Allah send down water from the sky?" [Q. 35 : 27]. Here there is an allusion to astronomy and the celestial sphere, and the connection between heaven and earth. Then the Almighty

9. The Battle of Badr in 624 was the first major engagement between the Muslims of Medina, led by the Prophet, and the pagans of Mecca. It resulted in an outstanding victory for the Muslims.

says : "And thereby have We produced varicolored fruits" [Q. 35 : 27]. Here there is an allusion to the science of botany and its marvels and wonders, and to its chemistry.

"And in the mountains there are white and red stripes, varicolored, and black rocks" [Q. 35 : 27]. Here there is an allusion to the science of geology, the strata of the earth and their modes and types. "And similarly, of men and beasts and cattle, varicolored" [Q. 35 : 28]. Here there is an allusion to the science of biology and animals in their division of mankind and smaller and larger beasts. Do you think that this verse has left out any of the natural sciences? To all of this the Almighty appends : "The learned among His worshippers alone fear Allah" [Q. 35 : 28].

Have you not seen through this remarkable concatenation of verses that Allah commands mankind to study nature and that He prompts them to it, rendering the learned among them, by virtue of His arcana and His secrets, the people who truly revere and know Him? O Allah, enlighten the Muslims in their religion!

(F) Islam and Morality

The nascent nation, above all else, needs a code of morality... a strong, unbending, and superior morality, together with a magnanimous spirit fired by lofty aspirations. For it will have to face some demands of the new age which cannot be answered except through the pos-

session of a strong and sincere morality founded on deep faith, unwavering constancy, great self - sacrifice, and considerable tolerance. Islam alone can create such a perfect soul, for it has made rectitude of the soul and its purification the foundation of success. The Almighty says : "He who has purified it will succeed : he who has corrupted it will fail" [Q. 91 : 9 - 10].

And it has made change in the affairs of nations contingent on change within their moral character and the rectitude of their souls. He, the Almighty, says : "Surely Allah will not change the circumstances of a people until they change what is in themselves" [Q. 13 : 11].

You will hear penetrating verses dealing with individual aspects of higher morality, and you will see that they represent an insuperable force for correction the soul, fortifying it, purifying it and cleansing it, as He, the Almighty, says : "Of the believers are men who were sincere in their covenant with Allah, and of them are those who fulfilled their vow, and of them are those who are waiting, not having changed at all, for Allah to reward the sincere for their sincerity" [Q. 33 : 23 - 24].

And concerning generosity, self - sacrifice, patience, tolerance, and surmounting obstacles : "And that is because neither thirst nor hardship nor hunger assails them in Allah's way, nor do they take a step which angers the unbelievers, nor do they gain anything from the enemy, but that a good deed is recorded on their behalf. Truly Allah does not lose the wage of the doers of Good,

nor do they spend little or much, nor do they cross a valley, but it is recorded for them, so that Allah may reward them for the best of what they were doing" [Q. 9 : 120 - 121].

There is no agent like Islam to awaken the conscience, vivify the finer sentiments, and station a warder over the soul - the best of all warders - for apart from it, there is no organized body of law which will penetrate the depths of the heart or affairs kept hidden.

(G) Islam and Economics

The nascent nation needs above all to regulate its economic affairs, the most important question during these recent eras. Islam has not neglected this aspect, but rather has set down all its fundamental principles without exception. You may hear Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) speaking of the safeguarding of property, explaining its value and the necessity to be concerned with it : "Do not give the foolish your property of which Allah has appointed you the manager" [Q. 4 : 5].

And He says, concerning the balancing out of expenditures and income : "Do not let thy hand be manacled to thy neck, nor open it to its fullest extent" [Q. 17 : 29].

And the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) says : "He who economizes will not be in need."¹⁰

10. *Concordance*, 4, 436, citing the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal.

What is true for the individual is just as true for the nation, as he (May Allah bless and save him!) says : "How excellent is righteous wealth for a righteous man!"¹¹ Any good economic system is welcomed by Islam, which urges the nation to promote it and puts no obstacles in its path. Islamic jurisprudence is filled with rules for financial transactions, and it has given them in such minute detail as to obviate further elaboration.

Finally, when the nation possesses all these reinforcements - hope, patriotism, science, power, health, and a sound economy - it will, without a doubt, be the strongest of all nations, and the future will belong to it. Especially is this true if to all these is added the fact that it has been purified of selfishness, aggressiveness, egotism, and arrogance, and has come to desire the welfare of the whole world. Indeed, Islam has guaranteed this, and there is nothing so support a nation desirous of resurgence which at the same time rejects it and stands in its way.

(H) The Public Institutions of Islam

This is one aspect of the perfection to be found in certain Islamic institutions, namely those concerned with the resurgence of nations, always remembering that we are facing a period of resurgence. As for reviewing all aspects of the perfection of all Islamic institutions, it would

11. *Concordance*, 6, 304 citing an almost identical hadith in the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal.

require bulky volume and vast and far-flung investigations. Suffice it to discuss this perfection in a few concise words : the institution of Islam with respect to the individual, the nation, and the family, in terms of both government and people, or the relations between nations - in all respects, the institutions of Islam have combined both great breadth and precision, and have chosen the common good as well as given it clear exposition. They are the most perfect and most beneficial institutions known to mankind and confirmed by painstaking research in every aspect of national life.

This judgment, which was once limited to particular persons, has now become general, and is attested to by every fair - minded individual. Whenever investigators delve into their researches, they uncover aspects of the perfection of these eternal institutions not previously discerned by their predecessors. Allah said in truth : "We shall show them Our signs on the horizons and in their souls until it is apparent to them that it is the truth. Is it not sufficient that thy Lord is a witness over all things?" [Q. 41 : 53].

Islam Protects Minorities and Safeguards the Rights of Foreigners

Excellency,

People imagine that adherence to Islam and making it the basis for regulating life are incompatible with the existence of non-Muslim minorities within the Islamic

umma, and with the unity of the various elements comprising the **umma**, which is one of the strongest supports on national revival during the present era. But the truth is precisely the contrary. Islam, which was originated by the **Wise and Knowing One** who knows the past, present, and future of the nations, took full cognizance of this problem, and solved it before it ever came up. Its holy and wise institutions had hardly been revealed when it already contained a clear and unambiguous text concerning the protection of minorities. Do mankind require anything more self - evident than this text : "Allah does not forbid you to deal with those who have not fought against you in religion, and have not driven you from your homes, with benevolence, or to show them justice. Surely Allah loves those who are just" [Q. 60 : 8].

This text does not merely include protection, but it also counsels benevolence and the doing of good on their behalf. Islam sanctified the unity of humanity as a whole, in the Almighty's saying : "O mankind, We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that you may know one another" [Q. 49 : 13].

In the same way, it sanctified universal religious unity, put an end to fanaticism, and ordained that its sons have faith in all the revealed religions. As the Almighty says : "Say : 'We believe in Allah and what He revealed to us and what He revealed to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Tribes, and that which Moses and Jesus received, and what the prophets received from

their Lord. We do not distinguish between any of them, and we have surrendered to Him.' And if they believe the like of what you believe, they are rightly guided. But if they turn away, then they are in dissension, and Allah will suffice thee against them. He is the Hearer, the knower ! The baptism of Allah - and who is better than Allah in baptism?" [Q. 2 : 136 - 38].

Then it sanctified denominational religious unity without arrogance or aggressiveness. The Blessed and Almighty said : "The believers are no other than brothers. Therefore make peace between your brothers and fear Allah; perhaps you will find mercy" [Q. 49 : 10].

This Islam, which was founded according to such a pattern of moderation and deep - rooted equity, could not possibly be the cause of its followers' disrupting a longcontinuing unity. On the contrary, it has endowed this unity with a character of religious holiness, though formerly it used to draw its strength solely from the civil authority.

And Islam has defined very precisely those whom we ought to oppose and boycott, and with whom we should cut off all relations. Following the verse cited earlier [Q. 60 : 8], the Almighty says : "Allah forbids you to befriend only those who fought you in religion, and drove you from your homes, or aided in driving you forth. Whosoever befriends them - they are wrongdoers" [Q. 60 : 9].

No fair-minded person in the world would compel any nation to rest content with an internal enemy of this type, or any great discord among its sons, or any impairment of its internal organization.

This is Islam's position with respect to the non-Muslim minorities - clear, unambiguous, and free from injustice. Its position with respect to foreigners is one of peacefulness and sympathy, so long as they behave with rectitude and sincerity. But if their consciences grow corrupt and their crimes increase, the Qur'an has already defined the position we should take regarding them: "O you who believe! Do not take for confidants those who are not of you; they will not fail to hinder you; they are pleased by what troubles you. Hatred has been revealed out of their mouths; what their hearts conceal is yet greater. We have made the signs clear to you, if you would but understand. Behold, you love them, but they do not love you!" [Q. 3 : 118 - 19].

And with this, Islam has dealt with all of these aspects as precisely, benevolently, and sincerely as possible.

Islam Is Not a Disturbing Influence on Relations with the West

Similarly, people may imagine that Islamic institutions in our modern life create estrangement between us and the Western nations, and that they will muddy the clarity of our political relations with them just when these were on the point of being settled. This too is a notion rooted

in pure fantasy. For those nations which are suspicious of us will like us no better whether we follow Islam or anything else. If they are truly our friends, and mutual trust exists between us, their own spokesmen and leaders have already declared that every nation is free to adopt whatever organization it wishes within its own borders, provided it does not infringe on the rights of others. It is up to all the leaders of these nations to understand that the honor of international Islam is the most sacred honor known to history, and that the principles set down by international Islam to guard this honor and to preserve it are the most firmly fixed and solidly confirmed of principles.

It is Islam which spoke out for the safeguarding of treaties and fulfillment of obligation : "And keep the covenant, for of the covenant question will be made" [Q. 17 : 34]; "Except for those of the polytheists with whom you have a treaty, and who since then have not diminished you in any way and have not helped anyone against you - fulfill your covenant with them up to its stated term. Truly Allah loves the godfearing" [Q.9 :4]. And He said : "So long as they behave with rectitude toward you, behave with rectitude toward them" [Q.9 :7]. And He said, regarding the generous reception of refugees and the good neighborliness of those who receive them : "And if any one of the polytheists seeks refuge with thee, give him refuge so that he may hear Allah's Discourses, then take him to a place of security" [Q.9 : 6].

If this is the treatment accorded polytheists, how do you suppose People of the Book would be treated?

The Islam which prescribes these principles and takes its adherents along this path must surely be regarded by Westerners as guaranteeing still another type of security, namely, for themselves. We maintain that it would be to Europe's benefit if these sound concepts governed her own internal relations - this would be better for them and more enduring !

The Fundamental Sources of the Renaissance in the East Are Not Those of the West

Excellency,

Among the causes which have impelled some of the Eastern Nations to deviate from Islam, and to choose to imitate the West, was the study of the Western Renaissance made by their leaders, and their conviction that it was only accomplished by overthrowing religion, destroying churches, freeing themselves from papal authority, controlling the clergy and prelates, putting an end to all manifestations of religious authority in the nation, and definitely separating religion from the general policy of the state. If this is true in the case of the Western nations, it is absolutely untrue for the Islamic nations, since the nature of Islamic doctrines is quite unlike that of any other religion. The jurisdiction of the religious authorities in Islam is circumscribed and limited, powerless to alter its statutes or to subvert its institutions, with

the result that the fundamental principles of Islam, across the centuries, have kept pace with the changing eras, and have advocated progress, supported learning, and defended scholars. What happened there is inappropriate for conditions here. There are extensive studies concerning this which take up many volumes : our purpose in this essay is to survey the subject briefly in order to bear it in mind and dispel all ambiguities. We are sure that every fair - minded person will agree with us on this basic principle; accordingly, it is simply not possible that this sentiment should be our guiding precept in our modern renaissance, which must first of all be sustained by the strong pillars of a high morality, a flourishing science, and far - reaching power, which is what Islam enjoins.

The Clerics Are Not Religion Itself

One of the excuses adopted by some of those who followed the path of the Westerners was that they had begun to be aware of the course taken by the Muslim religious authorities, in view of their hostile attitude toward the nationalist revival, their base activities against the nationalists and their alliance with the exploiters, and their choice of selfish interests and worldly ambitions over the welfare of the country and the nation. If true, this was a flaw within the religious establishment itself, not in the faith as such. Does the faith command such things? Or are they enjoined by the lives of the most virtuous and illustrious ulama of the Islamic umma, who used to burst in upon kings and princes, past their gates and walls,

censuring them, forbidding them, rejecting their gifts, declaring what the truth was before them, and bringing them the demands of the nation? Nay, they even took up arms in the face of tyranny and injustice! History has not yet forgotten the phalanx of legists in the ranks of Ibn al-Ash'ath¹² in the eastern region of the Islamic Empire; nor the rebellion of the qadi Yahya b. Yahya al-Laythi al-Maliki¹³ in its western region.

12. Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath (?-704), a Muslim general sent against the Central Asian Turks by Al-Hajjaj, governor of Iraq. He won some victories, but on desiring to put a halt to hostilities, he was accused of cowardice by Al-Hajjaj. He and his army immediately turned back and initiated a bloody rebellion against the governor and the Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik, in 699. Because Al-Hajjaj had earlier forced Jewish and Christian converts to Islam who had fled to the cities to return to their villages, because of the drastic drop in the poll-tax revenue which had ensued, the clerical classes were also against him, and flocked to Ibn al-Ash'ath's army in great numbers. Ibn al-Ash'ath was ultimately defeated, and fled to his erstwhile enemies the Turks. A few years later, the Turkish king sent his head to Al-Hajjaj. Whether he committed suicide or was executed is not known.

13. Yahya b. Yahya b. 'Ali Isa al-Laythi (769 - 849), a Berber jurist of canon law (*faqih*) who had studied in Mecca and Medina and was thereafter chiefly responsible for the spread of the Maliki School in Spain. He led an uprising of the clerics - mostly converts from Christianity - of the southern suburb of Cordoba against the Caliph Al-Hakam I, because of his worldliness and love of luxury. Although the rebellion ended in the crucifixion of 300 rebels, the exile of the rest, and the leveling of the entire quarter, Yahya himself lived on to become an influential court favorite of the succeeding Caliph, 'Abd al-Rahman III, and to fill the office of Chief Qadi of Umayyad Spain.

Such are the teachings of the faith, and such is the past history of the legists of Islam. Is there any trace in these of what they assert? Or is there any justice in compelling the faith to tolerate the followers of those who have deviated from it?

Nevertheless, even if these allegations hold true for some people, they do not hold for the totality. And if they can be substantiated for some particular circumstance, they are not so for all circumstances. This is the history of the modern renaissance in the East, so redolent of the attitudes of the Muslim religious authorities in every single nation. The position taken by Al-Azhar in Egypt; and by the [Arab] Higher Committee¹⁴ in South Syria, or Palestine, and North Syria, or Lebanon; by Mawlana Abu 'I-kalam [Azad]¹⁵ and his brethren

14. The Arab Higher Committee was formed in 1936 in Palestine under the presidency of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni. It succeeded a number of Arab nationalist committees and associations which had come into existence from 1920 on, to protest and counter Zionist aspirations in the mandated territory. It was recognized as the official spokesman for the Arab point of view by the British administration, but was subsequently outlawed in 1937 because of excesses committed during the Arab Rebellion of 1936 - 39, and because of the collaboration of the Mufti and other Arab leaders with the governments of the Fascist states of Italy and Germany.

15. Abu 'I-kalam Azad (1888 - 1958), a noted Indian theologian, editor of the influential Muslim newspaper *Al-Hilal* in Calcutta from 1912 - 14. He was a prolific writer in Urdu and one of the outstanding Muslim political and intellectual leaders of the twentieth century. During his last years, he was Minister of Education in the government of India.

among the most illustrious of the Indian **ulama**, and by the Muslim leaders in Indonesia, is not forgotten nor is it alien. Therefore, these assertions must not be used as a pretext for diverting any nation from its religion simply in the name of nationalism, for is it not the most productive solution for a nation to reform its religious authorities and to be reconciled with them, rather than to adopt an annihilatory attitude toward them? Even if these expressions which have crept into our language by way of imitation, like "religious authorities," do not accord with our own usage - since this one is peculiar to the West, in the sense of "clergy" - it includes every Muslim, according to the Islamic usage, for all Muslims from the least to the most outstanding of them, are "religious authorities."

A Bold Step But a Successful One

Excellency,

After all the foregoing, it would be inexcusable for us to turn aside from the path of truth - the path of Islam - and to follow the path of fleshly desires and vanities - the path of Europe. Along the path of Europe are to be found outer show and cheap tinsel, pleasures and luxuries, laxity and license, and comforts that captivate the soul, for all of these things are loved by the soul, as the Almighty says : "Made beautiful for mankind is the love of fleshly desires for women, and children, and heaped-up mounds of gold and silver, and branded horses, and

cattle, and tilled land. That is the comfort of this world” [Q.3 : 14].

But the path of Islam is glory, imporegnability, truth, strength, blessedness, rectitude, stability, virtue, and nobility. Follow it along with the *umma*, may Allah grant you success! “Say : ‘shall I inform you of something better than that? For those who are godfearing in the presence of their Lord, there are Gardens beneath which rivers flow, they being in them forever, and purified spouses, and the approbation of Allah. Allah is aware of His worshippers” [Q. 3 : 15].

Luxuries only annihilate nations, and her comforts and coveted possessions have only convulsed Europe : “And when We wish to destroy a city, We command its men of wealth, and they commit transgression in it, and the sentence against it is justified, and We destroy it utterly” [Q. 3 : 16].

Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) sent His Apostle as a mercy to the worlds until the Day of Resurrection, and sent His Book with him as a light and a guidance until the Day of Resurrection. The leadership of the Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!) survives in his Sunna, and the authority of the Qur’n is secure through his proof. Humanity is marching inevitably toward them both, with the might of the mighty and the humility of the humble, from near and from afar, so that Allah’s Word should be realized : “that He may make it triumphant over every religion” [Q.9 : 33].

Be the first to come forward in the name of God's Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!) bearing the vial of Qur'anic healing, to save the tormented, sick world! It is a bold step, but one crowned with success, Allah willing (Blessed and Almighty is He!), for Allah is victorious in His affairs: "Then the believers will rejoice in Allah's succor. He succors whom He will, for He is the Mighty, the Merciful" [Q. 30 : 4-5].

Some Steps Toward Practical Reform

Excellency,

Having given a clear presentation of the spiritual mood that should prevail within the nation in its modern renaissance, we would like to point out, by way of conclusion, some of the practical manifestations and results which this mood should dictate. We are going to mention here only the broadest topics, since we are well aware that each one of these questions demands extensive and intensive study, taxing the energies and capacities of specialists. We know too that we have not yet plumbed all the puzzling problems and demands of the nation, nor all the manifestations of the renaissance. We do not believe that the fulfillment of these demands is a mere trifle which can be accomplished overnight, and we know that before many of them there are manifold obstacles which will require vast patience, great wisdom, and keen determination. We know all this and can take it in our stride. And besides this, we know that where there is genuine resolve, the way will be made plain, and that if a

strong-willed nation chooses the path of goodness, it shall, by Allah Almighty's will, attain what it desires. Stride forward, and God will be with you ! Following are the principal goals of reform grounded on the spirit of genuine Islam :

First : Political, judicial, and administrative :

(1) An end to party rivalry, and a channeling of the political forces of the nation into a common front and a single phalanx.

(2) A reform of the law, so that it will conform to Islamic legislation in every branch.

(3) A strengthening of the armed forces, and an increase in the number of youth groups ; the inspiration of the latter with zeal on the bases of Islamic jihad.

(4) A strengthening of the bonds between all Islamic countries, especially the Arab countries, to pave the way for practical and serious consideration of the matter of the departed Caliphate.

(5) The diffusion of the Islamic spirit throughout all departments of the government, so that all its employees will feel responsible for adhering to Islamic teachings.

(6) The surveillance of the personal conduct of all its employees, and an end to the dichotomy between the private and professional spheres.

(7) Setting the hours of work in summer and winter ahead, so that will be easy to fulfill religious duties, and

so that keeping late hours will come to an end.

(8) An end to bribery and favoritism, with consideration to be given only to capability and legitimate reasons [for advancement].

(9) Weighing all acts of the government in the scales of Islamic wisdom and doctrine; the organization of all celebrations, receptions, official conferences, prisons and hospitals so as not to be incompatible with Islamic teaching; the arranging of work - schedules so that they will not conflict with hours of prayer.

(10) The employment of graduates of Al-Azhar in military and administrative positions, and their training.

Second : Social and educational :

(1) Conditioning the people to respect public morality, and the issuance of directives fortified by the aegis of the law on this subject; the imposition of sever penalties for moral offenses.

(2) Treatment of the problem of women in a way which combines the progressive and the protective, in accordance with Islamic teaching, so that this problem - one of the most important social problems - will not be abandoned to the biased pens and deviant notions of those who err in the directions of deficiency or excess.

(3) An end to prostitution, both clandestine and overt ; the recognition of fornication, whatever the circumstances, is a detestable crime whose perpetrator must be

(15) The supervision of summer vacation areas so as to do away with the wholesale confusion and license that nullify the basic aims of vacationing.

(16) The regulation of business hours for cafés; surveillance of the activities of their regular clients; instructing these as to what is in their best interest; withdrawal of permission from cafés to keep such long hours.

(17) The utilization of these cafés for teaching illiterates reading and writing; toward this end, the assistance of the rising generation of elementary schoolteachers and students.

(18) A campaign against harmful customs, whether economic, moral, or anything else; turning the masses away from these and orienting them in the direction of ways beneficial to them, or educating them in a way consonant with their best interests. These involve such customs as those to do with weddings, funerals, births, the zar,¹⁷ civil and religious holidays, etc. Let the government set a good example in this respect.

(19) Due consideration for the claims of the moral censorship,¹⁸ and punishment of all who are proved to have infringed any Islamic doctrine or attacked it, such as breaking the fast of Ramadan, willful neglect of prayers, insulting the faith, or any such act.

17. See the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

18. See *hisba* in the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

(9) The encouragement of marriage and procreation, by all possible means ; promulgation of legislation to protect and give moral support to the family, and solve the problems of marriage.

(10) The closure of morally undesirable ballrooms and dance - halls, and the prohibition of dancing and other such pastimes.

(11) The surveillance of theatres and cinemas, and a rigorous selection of plays and films.

(12) The expurgation of songs, and a rigorous selection and censorship of them.

(13) The careful selection of lectures, songs, and subjects to be broadcast to the nation; the use of radio broadcasting for the education of the nation in a virtuous and moral way.

(14) The confiscation of provocative stories and books that implant the seeds of skepticism in an insidious manner, and newspapers which strive to disseminate immorality and capitalize indecently on lustful desires.

stamp their feet so that what they conceal of their adornments becomes known. And turn to God, all of you, O believers, and perhaps you will prosper." The phrase "what their right hands possess" refers to slaves, but whether only to female slaves, or also male slaves and eunuchs, is disputed by the jurists. The phrase "such men as attend them having no desire" is generally taken to mean eunuchs, very aged men of good character, or even simpletons without sexual appetites or experience.

uniform mode of dress for the nation.

(27) An end to the foreign spirit in our homes with regard to language, manners, dress, governesses, nurses, etc.; all these to be Egyptianized, especially in upper-class homes.

(28) To give journalism a proper orientation, and to encourage authors and writers to undertake Islamic, Eastern subjects.

(29) Attention to be given to matters of public health by disseminating health information through all media; increasing the number of hospitals, physicians, and mobile clinics; facilitating the means of obtaining medical treatment.

(30) Attention to be given to village problems as regards their organization, their cleanliness, the purification of their water supply, and the means to provide them with culture, recreation, and training.

Third : The economic :

(1) The organization of **zakat** in terms of income and expenditure, according to the teachings of the magnanimous Sacred Law; invoking its assistance in carrying out necessary benevolent projects, such as homes for the aged, the poor, and orphans, and strengthening the armed forces.

(2) The prohibition of usury, and the organization of banks with this end in view. Let the government

(20) The annexation of the elementary village schools to the mosques, and a thoroughgoing reform of both, as regards employees, cleanliness, and overall custodial care, so that the young may be trained in prayer and the older students in learning.

(21) The designation of religious instruction as a basic subject in all schools, in each according to its type, as well as in the universities.

(22) Active instigation to memorize the Qur'an in all the free elementary schools; making this memorization mandatory for obtaining diplomas in the areas of religion and [Arabic] language ; the stipulation that a portion of it be memorized in every school.

(23) The promulgation of a firm educational policy which will advance and raise the level of education, and will supply it, in all its varieties, with common goals and purposes; which will bring the different cultures represented in the nation closer together, and will make the first stage of its process one dedicated to inculcating a virtuous, patriotic spirit and an unwavering moral code.

(24) Th cultivation of the Arabic language at every stage of instruction; the use of Arabic alone, as opposed to any foreign language, in the primary stages.

(25) The cultivation of Islamic history, and of the national history and national culture, and the history of Islamic civilization.

(26) Consideration of ways to arrive gradually at a

uniform mode of dress for the nation.

(27) An end to the foreign spirit in our homes with regard to language, manners, dress, governesses, nurses, etc.; all these to be Egyptianized, especially in upper-class homes.

(28) To give journalism a proper orientation, and to encourage authors and writers to undertake Islamic, Eastern subjects.

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provide a good example in this domain by relinquishing all interest due on its own particular undertakings, for instance in the loan - granting banks, industrial loans, etc.

(3) The encouragement of economic projects and an increase in their number; giving work to unemployed citizens in them; the transfer of such of these as are in the hands of foreigners to the purely national sector.

(4) The protection of the masses from the oppression of monopolistic companies; keeping these within strict limits, and obtaining every possible benefit for the masses.

(5) An improvement in the lot of junior civil servants by raising their salaries, by granting them steady increases and compensations, and by lowering the salaries of senior civil servants.

(6) A reduction in the number of government posts, retaining only the indispensable ones; an equitable and scrupulous distribution of the work among civil servants.

(7) The encouragement of agricultural and industrial counseling; attention to be paid to raising the production level of the peasant and industrial worker.

(8) A concern for the technical and social problems of the worker; raising his standard of living in numerous respects.

(9) The exploitation of natural resources, such as

uncultivated land, neglected mines, etc.

(10) Priority over luxury items to be given to necessary projects in terms of organization and execution.

This is the message of the Muslim Brotherhood. We submit it, and place ourselves, our talents, and all we possess in the hands of any committee or government desirous of taking a step forward, hand in hand with an Islamic nation, toward progress and advancement. We will answer the call, and we are prepared to sacrifice ourselves. We hope that by so doing we will have fulfilled our trust and said our piece, for religion means sincerity toward Allah, His Apostle, His Book, the Imams of the Muslims, and their community at large. Allah is our sufficiency ; He is enough; and peace to His chosen worshippers!

Hasan al-Banna

ON JIHAD

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe, and blessings and peace upon our Master Muhammad, Master of the fighters in Allah's way, Imam of the pious, and Leader of the glorious in purity, and upon his House and his Companions, and those who fought for his Sacred Law, until the Day of Judgment.

Jihad Is a Religious Duty Obligatory on Every Muslim

Allah has imposed **jihad** as a religious duty on every Muslim, categorically and rigorously, from which there is neither evasion nor escape. He has rendered it a supreme object of desire, and has made the reward of martyrs and fighters in His way a splendid one, for He has conjoined with them in their reward only those who have acted as they did, and have modeled themselves upon them in their performance of **jihad**. And He has graced them with superior qualities, both spiritual and practical, in this world and the next, such as He has granted to no one else, and He has made their pure and guiltless blood the gauge of victory in this world and the token of triumph and felicity in the world to come. He has threatened backsliders and slackers with His most frightful punishments, and qualified them by the most repellent epithets and invectives. He has reproached them for their cowardice and lack of spirit, and castigated them for their weakness and truancy. In this world, He has prepared for them a

disgrace which will not be lifted unless they take part in **jihad**; and in the next, a chastisement they shall not escape though they possess the equal of Mt. Uhud¹ in gold. He regards abstention and evasion of **jihad** as one of the major sins, and one of the seven mortal sins that guarantee annihilation.

You will not come across any ancient or modern regime, whether religious or civil, concerned with the question of **jihad** and the armed forces and the drafting and mobilization of the entire **umma** into one phalanx to defend the right with all its strength, such as you will find in the Islamic religion and its teachings; or in the verse of the Noble Qur'an; or in the Traditions of the mighty Apostle (May Allah bless and save him!), overflowing with all these lofty ideals and summoning men, with the most eloquent expression and the clearest exposition, to **jihad**, to warfare, to the armed forces, and to the reinforcement of the means of defense and offense of every possible kind - on land and on sea, and under all other conditions and circumstances.

We shall offer you some portion of this matter by way of example, rather than detailed and exhaustive coverage, and shall not present any Qur'anic verses or Traditions accompanied by commentary or lengthy glosses. You

1. A mountain near Medina, and the scene of the second major engagement of the Muslims with the pagan Meccans in 625. It was a defeat for the Muslims, but the Meccans refrained from pursuing their advantage, and returned to Mecca, thereby turning what might have been an important victory into a stalemate.

shall see by the purity of its language, the clarity of its exposition, the lucidity of its ideas and the force of its spirituality, how much you may profit through all of it.

From the Noble Qur'an, the Speech of the Almighty :

A Selection of Verses Dealing with Jihad in Allah's Book

(1) "Fighting is prescribed for you, though it be detestable to you. But it may be that you detest something which is good for you, and it may be that you love something which is bad for you. Allah knows, and you do not know" [Q. 2 : 216].

"Prescribed" means "ordered," as when the Almighty says : "Prescribed for you is the fast," in the same sura, employing the same expression and usage.²

(2) "O ye who believe, be not like those who disbelieve and say to their brethren, when they journey through the land or take part in military expeditions : 'If they had stayed with us, they would neither have died nor been slain.' - so that Allah may make this an affliction in their hearts. For Allah dispenses both life and death, and Allah is well aware of what you do. For if you are slain in Allah's

2. Here, as in a number of Qur'anic citations and **hadith** to follow, Al-Banna' felt it necessary to explain crude or archaic words and expressions to his readers, most of whom were not classically educated members of the clerical group. I have tried, as he has, to suggest this by using words and expressions reflecting somewhat different levels of learning, though not always with equal success.

way, or die, forgiveness from Allah and mercy are better than what you amass. And surely if you die, or are slain, it is unto Allah that you shall be gathered" [Q. 3 : 156 - 58].

The meaning of "journey through the land" is "they went out into it, waging jihad"; and "in military expeditions" means "as fighters for the faith, waging war."

Notice how "forgiveness" and "mercy" are associated with slaying and death in Allah's way in the first verse, and how the second verse is devoid of this association, because it is devoid of the idea of jihad. In this verse, there is an intimation of the fact that cowardice is one of the characteristic moral traits of unbelievers, but not of believers. And notice how the [order of the words in the] verse has been inverted.³

(3) "Do not reckon those who have been slain in Allah's way as dead. Nay, rather they are alive with their Lord, granted sustenance, gladdened by the bounty Allah has given them, and rejoicing for those who have not yet joined them and remain behind, in that no fear shall be upon them, nor shall they grieve" [Q. 3 : 169 - 75]. Refer to the remaining verses in the Book.⁴

3. Al-Banna's note here seems a little garbled. "Forgiveness" and "mercy" are associated with jihad in the second, not the first verse. It is also the third verse which is devoid of this association. His remark on the inversion of word - order in the third verse evidently has to do with the words "slain" and "die."

4. All that are quoted here are Q.3:169-70.

(4) "So let those fight in the way of Allah who sell the life of this world for the next, and he who fights in Allah's way and is slain or overcome, We shall provide him with a mighty wage" [Q. 4 : 74]. Q. 4, the verses beginning from 71 to 78.

Refer to these verses in the Noble Book, so that you may see how Allah urges the Muslims to exercise caution and to acquire experience in warfare, in armies and troops, or as individuals, as circumstances may dictate. And how He upbraids the slackers, cowards, truants, and opportunists, and how He arouses our zeal to protect the weak and secure the wronged, and how He conjoins warfare with prayer and fasting, showing clearly that it, like these two, is one of the Pillars of Islam. Then how He refutes the specious arguments of the waverers, and encourages the fearful to the utmost degree to plunge into the uproar of battle and to face death unflinchingly and bravely, showing them that death must overtake them in any event, and that if they die waging **jihad**, they will receive the most magnificent recompense for their lives, and that they "shall not be wronged to the extent of a single date-fiber" [Q.4 : 74] of their contribution or sacrifice.

(5) The "Sura of the Spoils" [Q.8] is in its entirety an exhortation to combat and a behest to remain steadfast [while engaged] in it, as well as a clear presentation of many of its rules. It is for this reason that the first Muslims (May Allah's grace be upon them!) adopted it as a

military anthem which they would chant whenever their apprehensions mounted and the battle grew grim. Suffice it to quote what Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) says : "And prepare against them such force and troops of horses as you can, by which to frighten the enemies of Allah and your enemies" [Q. 8 : 60], up to His words (Almighty is He!) : "O Prophet, rouse the believers to fight! If there are of you twenty steadfast men, they will overcome two hundred; if there are a hundred of you, they will overcome a thousand of the unbelievers, for they are a people who have no understanding" [Q. 8 : 65].

(6) The "Sura of Repentance" [Q.9] too is in its entirety an exhortation to combat and a clear presentation of its rules. Suffice to quote what Allah (Blessed and Almighty is He!) says concerning warfare against perfidious polytheists : "Fight them, and Allah will punish them through your hands and humiliate them, and He will grant you victory over them, and heal the breasts of a believing people, and He will take away the wrath within their hearts, for Allah turns toward whom He will. Allah is Knowing, Wise" [Q. 9 : 14 - 15].

And His words (Blessed and Almighty is He!) concerning fighting with People of the Book : "Fight those who believe not in Allah nor in the Last Day, and who do not forbid what Allah and His Apostle have forbidden, or follow the religion of truth, being of those who were sent the Book, until they render tribute [*Jizya*] out of their

hands, humbling themselves" [Q. 9 : 29]. Then the proclamation of the general muster in ringing and resounding verses, ending with His words (Almighty is He!) : "March forth, light and heavy, and strive with your wealth and your persons in Allah's way ! That is the best for you, if you have knowledge" [Q. 9 : 41]. Then comes resounding disparagement of the attitude adopted by cowardly, despicable slackers, and their perpetual deprivation of the honor of **jihad**, in His words (Almighty is He!) : "Those who were left behind rejoiced in remaining behind the Apostle of Allah, and hated to strive with their wealth and their persons in Allah's way. They said : 'Do not march forth in the heat!' Say : 'The fire of Jahannam is more vehemently hot, if they but knew!' So let them laugh a little, and let them weep much as a reward for what they were earning. Then if Allah bring thee back to a party of them, and they ask thy permission to go forth, say: "You shall never go forth with me, nor shall you ever fight an enemy with me. You were pleased to remain inactive the first time, so remain inactive with those who stay behind." [Q.9 : 81 - 83].

Then follows commendation of the attitude of those who wage **jihad**, at their head being their Noble Master (May Allah bless and save him!), and the declaration that this was his immaculate mission and the Sunna of his fortunate and glorious Companions, as He, the Almighty, says : "But the Apostle, and those who believe with him, have striven with their wealth and their persons, and those - for them there are good things : those -

they are the prosperous. Allah has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, they remaining therein forever. That is the mighty victory" [Q.9 : 88 - 89].

Then follows an oath of allegiance, all-embracing and allowing of no exception, which precludes any excuse for those who would exempt themselves, in His words (Almighty is He!) : "Surely Allah has bought from the believers their persons and their wealth, in that Paradise is theirs : they fight in Allah's way and they slay and are slain, as a promise truly binding upon Him in the Torah, the Gospel and the Qur'an. And who is more faithful in fulfilling his covenant than Allah? Therefore rejoice in the bargain you have concluded with Him; for that is the mighty victory" [Q.9 : 111].

(7) The "Sura of Combat" [Q.47].⁵ Just consider how an entire sura has been named the "Sura of Combat" in the Wise Book of Allah - and that the foundation of the military spirit consists, as they say, of two factors : obedience and discipline. Allah has summarized this foundation in two verses in His Book. As regards obedience, it appears in this sura where He, the Almighty, says : "Those who believe say : "Why has not a sura been sent down? And when a precisely worded sura is sent down and fighting is mentioned in it, thou seest those in whose hearts there is sickness looking at thee with the look of one who swoons through death.

5. The "Sura of Muhammad" is a more common name for this chapter.

More fitting for them are obedience and civil speech. And when the matter is resolved, if they behaved truthfully with Allah, it would be better for them" [Q.47 : 20-21]. As to discipline, it appears in the "Sura of the Ranks" [Q. 61], where He, the Almighty, says : "Truly Allah loves those who fight in His way in ranks, as if they were a solidly constructed building" [Q.61 : 4].

(8) The "Sura of Victory" [Q.48] is also dedicated in its entirety to one of the military campaigns of the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!), and to the eulogy of a radiant occasion drawn from the many occasions of the august [Apostolic] **jihad**, which took place under the shadow of the Blessed Tree⁶ where an oath of allegiance unto steadfastness and death was

6. A reference of the oath of allegiance taken to Muhammad by the Muslims in 628, during the negotiations between the Prophet and the pagans of Mecca at Al-Hudaybiya, a site on the edge of the **haram**, or sacred territory of Mecca. He had come to make the **umra**, or Lesser Pilgrimage, with about 1,500 Muslims from Medina, but was met by a force of Meccans who barred his way. The actual stipulations of the oath (**bay'at**), which was administered under a tree, remain obscure, not all accounts agreeing with Hasan al-Banna's version. The Treaty of Al-Hudaybiya, concluded with the pagans, declared a ten-year truce between Mecca and the Muslims, and allowed the Muslims to come as pilgrims to Mecca in future years. See W. Montgomery Watt, **Muhammad at Medina**, [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956], pp. 46-52.

taken, and which bore the fruit of Tranquility⁷ and victory. This is what He, the Almighty, says : "Allah was pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to thee under the Tree, for He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down Tranquility upon them, and rewarded them with a speedy victory and plentiful spoil which they could seize. Allah is always August, Wise" [Q.48:18-19].

These, Brother are some of the places in which mention is made of **jihad** and its virtue set plainly forth; and where the believers are urged to wage it, and those who do so are given the good tidings of the magnificent reward and the fair recompense granted therefor. The Book of Allah is filled with examples like these, and if you leaf through it and take heed of what appears in it on this subject, you will behold a wonder of wonders and you will be astounded at the negligence of the Muslims in taking advantage of this reward.

Next will come some noble Prophetic Traditions on this matter.

7. "Tranquility," or "assurance," is the usual Muslim understanding of the term "Al-Sakina" in the Qur'an, though it is in all likelihood a borrowing from the Hebrew "Shekhinah," signifying the divine presence of the Lord.

A Sampling of Prophetic Traditions on Jihad

(1) On the authority of Abu Hurayra⁸ (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said : "I heard the Prophet (May God bless and save him!) say : 'By Him who has my soul within His Hand, if it were not for some men of the believers who are not pleased to remain behind me - even when I can find nothing on which to mount them - I would not be absent from any military expeditions in Allah's way. And by Him who has my soul in His Hand, I would like to be slain in Allah's way, then live again, then be slain.' " Transmitted by Al-Bukhari and Muslim.⁹

(2) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!): "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said : 'By Him who has my soul within His Hand, no one is vulnerated in Allah's way - and Allah knows best who is vulnerated in His way - but that he comes on the Day of Resurrection, the color being the

8. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Sakhr al-Dawsi (602 - 679), called "Abu Hurayra" because of a presumed fondness for cats. He was converted to Islam in 629, and became a close Companion of the Prophet. It is said that 5, 374 Traditions are traced back to him, a figure greater than that attributed to any other Companion.

9. Muslim b. al-Hajjaj (820-875), an outstanding collector of hadith and the author of *Al-Sahih*, regarded as the second most authoritative collection after the identically named *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari. The two works are often cited together as *Al-Sahihan*, "The Two Sahih's," and the two authors as *Al-Shaykhan*, "The Two Shaykhs."

color of blood, and the scent being the scent of musk."¹⁰

"vulnerate" = "wound," and "he is vulnerated"
= "he is wounded"

(3) On the authority of Anas¹¹ (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "My paternal uncle Anas b. al-Nadr was absent from the Battle of Badr, and he said: 'O Apostle of Allah! I was absent from the first battle in which you fought the polytheists. if Allah calls me to witness a battle with the polytheists, He shall surely see what I can do!' And when the Day of Uhud arrived, and the Muslims were put to flight, he said: 'My Allah, I ask pardon of Thee for what these (meaning his companions) have done, and I absolve myself before Thee of what those (meaning the polytheists) have done!' Then he pressed forward, was accosted by Sa'd b. Mu'adh,¹² and

10. So in the *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari. Presumably the "color" and "scent" refer to the wound, but the construction is as vague in the Arabic as in the English translation.

11. Anas b. Malik (612-712), a Medinese convert to Islam from the tribe of khazraj, and a close friend and servant of the Prophet. A prolific transmitter of *hadith*.

12. Sa'd b. Mu'adh (?-627), a leader of the Medinese tribe of Aws, and a foremost fighter for the faith. He was mortally wounded at the Battle of the Trench in 627, the third major engagement with the Meccans, when the pagan army unsuccessfully besieged Medina. As he lay dying, the Prophet allowed him to decide the fate of the Jews of Banu Qurayza, who were suspected or accused of secretly negotiating with the enemy. He decreed that all adult males be executed, and the women and children sold into slavery, which judgement was carried out.

said: 'O Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Paradise and the Lord of Al-Nadr! I smell its scent from below Uhud!' Sa'd said: 'O Apostle of Allah, I was unable to do what he did.' Anas said: "We found him with some eighty - odd sword cuts, or spear - thrusts, or wounds made by arrows, and we found that he had been killed and that the polytheists had mutilated him. No one recognized him but his sister, and that by his fingers." Anas said: "We used to think, or suppose, that this verse came down concerning him and his likes: 'Of the believers are men who were sincere in their covenant with Allah...' up to the end of the verse" [Q.33:23]. Transmitted by Al-Bukhari.

(4) On the authority of Umm Haritha ibn Surayya; namely, that she went to the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!), and said: "O Prophet of Allah, will you not tell me of Haritha?" - now a stray (or unidentified) arrow had struck him before the Day of Badr - "For if he is in Paradise, I will bear [his loss] patiently. But if he is not there, I shall give myself over to weeping for him." He said: "O mother of Haritha, there are Paradises within Paradise, and your son has attained the most exalted Firdaws."¹³ published by Al-Bukhari.

13. A term for Paradise of Persian origin which came into Arabic probably via Syriac. The original meaning is "garden," like its Arabic synonym "Al-Janna," the usual expression for Paradise in the Qur'an. Firdaws is regarded by Muslim theologians as, variously, a special portion or level of Al-Janna, a garden within it, or the loftiest stage of Paradise.

“a stray (or unidentified) arrow” = one whose shooter is unknown. “I shall give myself over to weeping for him” = I shall weep bitterly.

Just see, Brother, how Paradise made them forget their cares and misfortunes, and enabled them to support adversities.

(5) On the authority of ‘Abd Allah b. Abi Awfa (May Allah be pleased with him!): “The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: ‘know ye that Paradise lies in the shadow of the swords.’” “Published by the Two Shaykhs and Abu Da’ud.¹⁴

(6) On the authority of Zayd b. Khalid al-Juhani (May God be pleased with him!): “The Apostle of Allah (May God bless and save him!) said: ‘He who outfits a warrior in the way of Allah Almighty has himself gone on campaign; and he who has supported a warrior [i.e., family] in Allah’s way through an act of benevolence, has himself gone on campaign.’” Transmitted by Al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Da’ud and Al-Tirmidhi.¹⁵

That is to say: “he obtains the reward for it.”

14. Abut Da’ud Sulayman b. al-Ash’ath (817-889), a famous collector of hadith and author of *Al-Sunan*, one of the most highly esteemed collections of Sunnite Traditions.

15. Muhammad b. ‘Isa al-Tirmidhi (824-892), one of the greatest collectors of hadith, author of the famous collection *Al-Jami al-Kabir*, and a student of Al-Bukhari.

(7) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'He who makes the endowment of a horse in Allah's way out of faith in Allah and belief in His promise [will find] the amount of fodder required to feed it, the amount of water required to water it, and its dung placed in his balance on the Day of Resurrection.'" Transmitted by Al-Bukhari.

[And like the horse, all paraphernalia [given] in the way of Allah.]

(8) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!). Some said: "O Apostle of Allah, what is equal [in merit] to the **jihad** in Allah's way?" He said: "You cannot do it." But they brought up the same thing before him two or three times more, and he said: "You cannot do it." Then he said: "The equal of the fighter in Allah's way is he who fasts standing and reciting Allah's verses, without interrupting his fast or his prayers, until the fighter in Allah's way returns." In the **Six Books**¹⁶ except for [that of] Abu Da'ud.

16. The **Six** (*Al-kutub al-sitta*) are the six canonical **hadith** collections of Sunnite Islam. They comprise the **Sahih**s of Al-Bukhari and Muslim, the **Sunan** of Abu Da'ud, the **Jami** of Al-Tirmidhi, the **Sunan** of Ibn Maja, and the **Sunan** of Al-Nasa'i. There were other collections, even highly respected ones, made before, during, and after the period covered by the **Six Books** (ninth to early tenth century), but none of these has managed to attain the rank and authority of this group.

(9) On the authority of Abu Sa'id al-khudri (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'Shall I tell you who is the best of men and who is the worst? Among the best of men is he who toils in Allah's way on the back of his horse or camel, or on foot, until death comes to him. And among the worst of men is he who reads the Book of Allah Almighty, and remains unregenerate.'" Transmitted by Al-Nasa'i.¹⁷

"he remains unregenerate" = he does not check himself, nor does he admonish and reprove himself.

(10) On the authority of Ibn 'Abbas¹⁸ (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "I heard the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) say: 'There are two eyes which the Fire shall not touch: the eye which wept for fear of Allah, and the eye which passed the night on guard in the way of Allah Almighty.'" From Al-Tirmidhi.

(11) On the authority of Abu 'Umayra (May Allah be pleased with him!) who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May

17. Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Nasa'i (830-915), one of the greatest collectors of Prophetic hadith and author of *Al-Sunan al-Kubra*. See n. 16.

18. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muttalib (619-687), a younger cousin of the Prophet, and a highly respected transmitter of hadith, although he was only thirteen years old when the Prophet died. It is said that he was a profound scholar, well versed in Qur'an interpretation, ancient Arabian history and genealogies, and Arabic poetry, as well as in Traditions.

Allah bless and save him!) said: "That I be slain in Allah way is more pleasing to me than all "the people of clay and hair" come over to me." Published by Al-Nasa'i.

(12) On the authority of Rashid b. Sa'd (May Allah be pleased with him!), on the authority of one of the Companions, that a man said:¹⁹ "O Apostle of Allah, how is it that the believers will be put to the test in their graves, except for the martyr?"²⁰ And he said: "The glittering of swords over his head is test enough for him!" Published by Al-Nasa'i.

This is one of the special distinctions of the martyr in battle, and just how many such distinctions there are will come out in what follows. Now listen!

19. A **hadith** such as this, with an **isnad** containing a vague reference to an unnamed Companion, and resting on the ultimate testimonial of an anonymous "man," would normally be regarded as extremely weak and dubious.

20. The "test" is part of the experience of the soul of the newly dead in the grave. It is first interrogated as to its creed and its record of good works in this world. If the soul belongs to a pious Muslim, it is assured of Paradise, and congratulated. If it is that of an unbeliever, hypocrite, or unrepentant sinner, two blue-eyed, black-faced angels named Munkar and Nakir interrogate it, and on finding its answers inadequate, beat it with iron rods. This belief rests on very uncertain Qur'anic authentication, and doubtless represents ancient folk-tradition which Islam was unable to eradicate, and therefore absorbed. For numerous variations on this theme, see Arthur Jeffery, **A Reader on Islam**, pp. 208-218.

(13) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!): "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'The martyr feels nothing more from the sting of slaughter than any one of you feels from the sting of a gnat.'" [Transmitted by] Al-Tirmidhi, Al-Nasa'i and Al-Darimi.²¹ Al-Tirmidhi designates it as acceptable, though resting solely on the authority of one Companion.

This is another distinguishing characteristic of the martyr.

(14) On the authority of Ibn Mas'ud²² (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'Our Lord (Blessed and Almighty is He!) is pleased with a man campaigning in Allah's way, who, when his companions are driven back, and knowing what the odds are, nevertheless returns [to the attack] until his blood is outpoured. Then Allah says to

21. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Darimi (797-869), author of a collection of hadith, *Al-Jami'*, which is held to be the most authoritative collection after the Six Books. Its importance lies mainly in the legal sphere.

22. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ud (?-653), one of the greater Companions, and an ultra-pious devotee and ascetic. He was a close friend and servant of the Prophet, and one of the earliest converts to Islam in Mecca. His personal copy of the Qur'an contained interesting variants from the 'Uthmanic received text, and it is said that he was beaten by order of 'Uthman for not surrendering his recension at the time the official text was published. He is an often quoted transmitter of hadith.

the angels: "See how My servant returned [to the attack] out of his desire for that which is of Me [as reward], and his apprehension of that which is from Me [as punishment], until his blood was outpoured. I call on you to witness that I have forgiven him."

"apprehension" = fear, and "hid blood was outpoured" = his blood flowed.

(15) On the authority of 'Abd al-Khayr b. Thabit b. Qays b. Shammas, on the authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather, who said: "A woman came to the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) named Umm Khallad, wearing a veil, in order to ask him about a son of hers who had been slain in the way of Allah Almighty. One of his Companions said to her: 'Have you come to ask about you son, wearing a veil?' She said: 'If I have been bereft of my son, I shall not be bereft of my modesty.' The Prophet of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said to her: 'Your son has the reward of two martyrs.' She said: 'Why?' He said: 'Because he was killed by People of the Book.'" Published by Abu Da'ud.

"I am bereft of my son" = I have lost him and I am afflicted because of him.

In this Tradition, there is a clear indication of the obligation to fight the People of the Book, and of the fact that Allah doubles the reward of those who fight them. **Jihad** is not against polytheists alone, but against all who do not embrace Islam.

(16) On the authority of Sahl b. Hunayf (May Allah be pleased with him!): "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'He who asks Allah Almighty for martyrdom with sincerity, will be brought by Allah to the mansions of the martyrs, though he die in his bed.'" Published in the **Five Books**, but not by Al-Bukhari.

(17) On the authority of Khuraym b. Fatik, who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'He who expends a sum in the way of Allah Almighty will have it accredited to his account seven hundredfold.'" Transmitted by Al-Tirmidhi, who designated it acceptable, and also by Al-Nasa'i.

(18) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "One of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) passed by a ravine in which there was a small fount of fresh water. He was greatly pleased by this, and said to himself: 'What if I were to withdraw from mankind and live in this ravine?' He mentioned this to the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!), who said: 'Don't do it! When one of you takes his place in Allah's way, it is more excellent than if he prayed in his house for seventy years. Do you not wish that Allah forgive you and bring you into Paradise? Campaign in God's way: he who fights in Allah's way mounted on a camel must necessarily enter Paradise.'" Transmitted by Al-Tirmidhi.

"a small fount" = a small spring with plentiful water.

(19) On the authority of Al-Miqdam b. Ma'dikarib, who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'The martyr possesses six distinctions with respect to Allah: he is forgiven, first of all; he is shown his place in Paradise; he is secure from the supreme terror] of judgment); the crown of dignity is placed on his head, a single ruby of which is more precious than the entire world and all it contains; he is wedded to seventy - two of the wide - eyed houris; and he may intercede for seventy of his relatives.'" Transmitted by Al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Maja.²³

(20) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah Almighty be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'He who meets Allah with no trace of *jihad* on him will meet Allah with a flaw in him.'" Transmitted by Al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Maja.

(21) On the authority of Anas (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'He who seeks martyrdom sincerely will be granted it, though it never touch him.'" Transmitted by Muslim.

23. Muhammad b. Maja (?-896), author of *Al-Sunan*, one of the *Six Books*. See n. 16.

(22) On the authority of Uthman of the Prophet (May Allah bless with him!), on the authority of the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!), who said: "He who bivouacs for one night in the way of Allah (Glorious and Almighty is He!) will be credited with a thousand nights of fasting and standing [in prayer]." Transmitted by Ibn Maja.

(23) On the authority of Abu 'al-Darda'²⁴ (May Allah be pleased with him!): "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'A campaign by sea is the equivalent of ten campaigns by land: he who is tossed about at sea is like one who wallows in his blood in the way of Allah (Glorious is He!)' Transmitted by Ibn Maja.

"he is tossed about" = the ship veers and trembles and rocks under him.

24. The third of the Orthodox Caliphs, and an early Meccan convert to Islam (577-656). He was twice son-in-law to the Prophet, marrying two of the latter's daughters, Ruqayya and Umm Kultum. It was during his reign (644-656) that the definitive and authoritative text of the Qur'an was established and promulgated throughout the Islamic domain. Accused of nepotism and favoritism, he was besieged in his palace in Medina by a large army of malcontents from Iraq and Egypt, and finally assassinated.

25. Abu 'l-Darda' 'Uwaymir b. Malik (?-652), a Medinese convert to Islam from the tribe of khazraj. He was equally famous as a warrior and as a learned pietist and ascetic, and was one of those who had memorized the entire Qur'an during the Prophet's Apostolate.

In this Tradition, there is an allusion to a sea campaign, and the attention of the *umma* is drawn to the fact that it must take care to protect its coastline and strengthen its fleet. This applies by analogy to the air as well, and Allah will redouble many times over the reward of those who campaign by air in His way.

(24) On the authority of Jabir b. Abd Allah (May Allah Almighty be pleased with him!),²⁶ who said: "When Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. Haram²⁷ was slain on the Day of Uhud, the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'O Jabir, shall I tell you what Allah (August and Majestic is He!) said to your father? I said: 'Yes indeed!' He said: 'Allah speaks to no save from behind a veil, but He spoke to your father fact to face, saying: 'O My servant, ask of Me what thou wilt, and it shall be granted.' He said: "O Lord, grant me life, that I may be slain for Thee for a second time!" He said: "But I have already decreed that 'they shall not return unto it.'²⁸" He said: "O Lord, let them know who are [left] behind me." So God (August

26. A Medinese convert to Islam from the tribe of Khazraj (607-697), and a prolific transmitter of hadith.

27. An early Medinese convert to Islam from the tribe of Khazraj (?-625), and one of the twelve tribal leaders from Medina who took the Second Oath of 'Aqaba before the Prophet in 622, shortly before the Emigration of the Muslims to Medina, in which they bound themselves to fight for Muhammad and the faith against all contenders.

28. A possible reference, though not a direct quotation, of Q.36:31 and 49.

and Majestic is He!) sent down this verse: "Do not reckon those who have been slain in Allah's way as dead..." And so on up to the end of the verse" [Q.3 :169]. Transmitted by Ibn Maja.

(25) On the authority of Anas, on the authority of his father (May Allah be pleased with them!), on the authority of the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!), who said: "That I accompany a fighter in Allah's way and bestead him on his journey, departing or reverting, is more pleasing to me than this world and what it contains." Transmitted by Ibn Maja.

"to bestead him on his journey" = to help him on it.

"departing" = setting out in the morning.

"reverting" = coming back in the evening.

(26) On the authority of Abu Hurayra, who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'Allah has sent forth three: the campaigner, the pilgrim, and the visitant to the ka'ba.'" Transmitted by Muslim.

(27) On the authority of Abu'l-Darda', who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'The martyr will intercede on behalf of seventy of the people of his house.'" Transmitted by Abu Da'ud.

(28) On the authority of Abd Allah b. 'Umar, who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'If you traffic in commodities on credit, and if you grasp the tails of cattle, and if you are content to sow [fields], and if you abandon jihad, Allah will cast

upon you a humiliation which He will not lift from you until you return to your religion.' "Transmitted by 'Ahmad [b. Hanbal] and 'Abu Da'ud, and attested as to its authenticity by Al-Hakim [al-Naysaburi].

(29) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) and his Companions set out in a hurry so that they reached Badr ahead of the polytheists. The polytheists arrived, and the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'Forward to Paradise, whose width embraces the heavens and the earth!' 'Umayr b. al-Humam said: 'Hurrah!' The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'What impels you to say "Hurrah! hurrah!'" He said: 'Nothing, O Apostle of Allah, except the hope that I may be one of its people.' He said: 'You are indeed one of its people.'" He (Abu Hurayra) said: "And he [Umayr] took out some dates from his quiver and began eating them. Then he said: 'If I live long enough to eat [all] my dates, my life will indeed be a long one!' So he flung away the remaining dates, and fought them until he was slain.'" Transmitted by Muslim.

(30) On the authority of Abu 'Imran, who said: "We were at the city of Rum [Constantinople], and they sent out a mighty column of Byzantines against us. A like number of Muslims, and even more, came out against

them. 'Uqba b. Amir²⁹ was at the head of the Egyptians, and fadala b. Ubayd³⁰ at the head of the entire force. One of the Muslims attacked the Byzantine column until he broke into it. The men shouted and said: 'Glory be to Allah! He has cast himself into annihilation!' But Abu Ayyub al-Ansari³¹ rose and said: 'Men, you interpret this verse in this manner, but it was sent down concerning only us, the band of the Ansar. When Allah made Islam powerful and its defenders grew numerous, some of us said to others in secrecy, but not to the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!): "Indeed our wealth has been lost, and Allah Almighty has made Islam powerful, while its defenders have grown numerous. What if we

29. A companion (?-678) from the Banu Juhayna, and a famous poet, warrior, and scholar. He was in the army that conquered Egypt in 640-41 under 'Amr b. al-'As, and fought at the siege of Constantinople in 669 under the crown prince Yazid, who was to be the second Umayyad Caliph. 'Uqba, as did a number of other Companions, possessed his own written copy of the Qur'an, which differed in some respects from the official 'Uthmanic recension.

30. A Medinese convert to Islam from the tribe of Aws (?-673), who fought in all the Prophet's campaigns from Uhud on. He took part in the conquests of Syria and Egypt as well as the first siege of Constantinople.

31. Abu Ayyub al-Ansari Khalid b. Zayd (?-672), a Medinese convert to Islam from the tribe of Khazraj. He was present at all of the major battles with the Meccans and the remainder of the Prophet's campaigns. He was extremely old when he took part in the siege of Constantinople by Yazid, and died and was buried there. His reputed tomb in Istanbul is venerated as that of a saint and a martyr.

were to settle down with our wealth and make good what we have lost of it?" So God Almighty sent down an answer, rebutting what we had said, to His Prophet: "and do not be cast by your own hands into annihilation" [Q. 2: 195]. The "annihilation" was setting down with our wealth, augmenting it, and abandoning the campaign.' And Abu Ayyub went on faring in God's way until he was buried in the land of Rum. Transmitted by Al-Tirmidhi.

Notice, Brother, that Abu Ayyub was at an advanced age when he said this, having gone well past his youth and his middle years.. And despite this, his spirit, and his faith were models for vigorous youth as suport for Allah and the might of Islam.

(31) On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him), on the authority of the Apostle of God (May Allah bless and save him!), that he said: "He who dies without having gone on campaign, and without having exhorted himself to do so, dies in a species of hypocrisy." Transmitted by Muslim, Abu Da'hi, and many of their peers.

And there are precious Traditions on this subject and the like, as well as on campaigning by sea and its manifold superiority over campaigning by land, and on campaigning against the People of the Book.

The Rule of Jihad According to the Legists of the Ummah

Precious verses from the Qur'an and Noble Traditions concerned with the excellence of **jihad** have passed in review before you. Now I would like to convey to you some portion of what the legists of the [Four Orthodox] Schools³² have said - even the latter - day authorities among them - regarding the rules of **jihad** and the necessity for preparedness, so that you may know to what extent the Islamic umma has lost the ordinances of its own religion on the question of **jihad** along with the consensus of opinion of the Muslims throughout every period of their history. Now listen.

(1) The author of the *Majma' al-Anhur fi Sharh Multaqa 'l-Abhur*,³³ in determining the rules of **jihad** according to the Hanafi School, said: "Jihad in its literal significance means to put forth one's maximal effort in word and deed; in the Sacred Law it is the slaying of the unbelievers, and related connotations such as beating them, plundering their wealth, destroying their shrines, and smashing their idols. The desired aim is to strive to the utmost to strengthen the faith by such means as fight-

32. Sunnite Islam recognizes four legal schools of canon law as equally orthodox. These are the Hanafite, founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), the Malikite, founded by Malik b. Anas (d. 796), the Shafi'ite, founded by Al-Shafi'i (d. 820), and the Hanbalite, founded by Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 855). See Noel J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*.

33. A work on Hanafite jurisprudence by Burhan al-Din Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Halabi (d. 1549).

ting the inhabitants of the Dar al-Harb³⁴ and the tolerated Scripturaries³⁵ (if they rebel), as well as the apostates, who are the vilest of unbelievers, for recanting after they have affirmed [their belief], and oppressors. It is initiated by us as a communal obligation, that is, it is obligatory on us to begin fighting with them after transmitting the invitation [to embrace Islam], even if they do not fight against us. It is incumbent on the Imam to send a military expedition to the Dar al-Harb every year one or two times, and it is incumbent on the subject populace to aid him. If some perform it, the remainder are released from the obligation. If the communal obligation cannot be fulfilled by that group, it falls upon the closest [adjacent group], and the closest [after that], etc., and if the communal obligation cannot be fulfilled except by all the people, it then becomes an individual obligation, like prayer. As to the actual ordinance, it exists by virtue of

34. Dar al-Harb, or the "Abode of War," is the phrase used to denote that part of the world as yet unconquered by Islam, where Islamic law is not paramount, and where the government or ruler is non-Muslim. The counter - phrase, Dar al-Islam, or the "Abode of Islam," refers to the portion of the world ruled by Islamic rulers or governments, where Islamic law is the law of the state. As Al-Banna' indicates very clearly in his writings, the two separate "Abodes" can only have truce-relations with one another at best, since absolute world - dominion is the avowed aim of Islam.

35. Here *dhimmis*, a common term for People of the Book. See also the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

what He, the Almighty, said: 'Therefore slay the polytheists!' [Q.9:5], and by what he (On whom be blessings and peace!) said: 'Jihad is in effect until the Day of Resurrection.'³⁶ If the whole body [of believers] abandons it, they are in a state of sin..., "up to where he says: "If the enemy conquers any territory of Islam, or any regions of it, it becomes an individual obligation, and the woman and the slave shall go forth without the permission of husband or master. In the same way, the child shall go forth without the permission of his parents, and the debtor without the permission of his creditor."

And in the **Kitab al-Bahr**: "Should a Muslim woman be captured in the East, it is incumbent on the people of the farthest West to rescue her until she has come into their protection and custody."

(2) The author of the **Bulghat al-Salik li Aqrab al-Masalik fi Madhhab al-Imam Malik**³⁷ said: "Jihad in Allah's way for the purpose of exalting Allah Almighty's Word every year is a communal obligation. If some fulfill it, the remainder are absolved of it. It becomes specifically designated (i.e., it becomes an individual obligation like prayer and fasting), when an Imam is appointed and the enemy attacks the population of a specific region, whereupon it becomes obligatory on them and on those

36. Concordance, 6, 238, where the **Sahih** of Al-Bukhari and the **Sunan** of Abu Da'ud are cited.

37. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Sawi (d. 1825).

in their vicinity, if they are powerless [to carry it out]. And it is obligatory on the woman and the slave under these circumstances, even though the guardian, the husband, the master and the creditor - if he [the *mujahid*] should be a debtor - forbid them. It also becomes obligatory through having made a vow [to engage in it]. Parents have the right to forbid [their child] from [taking part in] it only under conditions of communal obligation. Ransoming a captive from the Dar al-Harb when he has no money with which to ransom himself is a communal obligation, even if it calls for the entire wealth of [all] the Muslims.'"

(3) And in the text of *Al-Minhaj* of the Imam al-Nawawī³⁸ - of the Shafi'ite School: "Jihad during the time of the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) was a communal obligation, though it is also alleged that it was an individual obligation. Since his day, there are two conditions relative to the unbelievers:

(i) If they remain in their own territories, it is a communal obligation, if a sufficient number of Muslims undertake it, the remainder are released from the onerous duty.

38. Yahya b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (1233 - 1277), noted scholar and jurist, born in the Syrian village of Nawa, and educated in Damascus. He was the author of numerous works on Traditions and Islamic law, perhaps the best known of them being the brief *Forty Prophetic Traditions* (*Al-Araba'un Hadith* translated by A. Jeffery in *A Reader on Islam*, pp. 142 - 150).

(ii) If they invade one of our territories, its population are obliged to repulse them with all their force, and if it is possible to prepare for combat, every possible effort must be made by the indigent, the child, the debtor, and the slave, even without permission."

(4) And in *Al-Mughni* of Ibn Qudama³⁹ of the Hanbalite School, who said : "The problem: **jihad** is a communal obligation. If a group of people engage in it, the remainder are released. It becomes an individual obligation under three conditions:

(i) If two armies meet and two lines [of soldiers] confront one another, those present are forbidden to take off, and it becomes an individual obligation on each one to remain at his station.

(ii) If the unbelievers attack a territory, it becomes an individual obligation on its population to fight and repulse them.

(iii) If the Imam calls a group of people to arms, they are obliged to join his military forces.

And the least he must do is [to wage **jihad**] once every year."

39. 'Abd Allah b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Qudama (1146 - 1223), noted syrian Hanbalite jurist and authority on Traditions, the author of numerous works on **hadith**, jurisprudence, biographies of the Companions, and Qur'anic studies.

Abu'Abd Allah (i.e., the Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal) said: 'I know of nothing after the divine commandments more excellent than *jihad*, and campaigning by sea is more excellent than campaigning on land. Anas b. Malik (May Allah be pleased with him!) said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) was asleep. Then he awoke laughing, and Umm Haram⁴⁰ said: 'What makes you laugh, O Apostle of Allah?' He said: 'People of my *umma* embarked on a military campaign in Allah's way, riding on the surface of this sea as kings on their thrones,' or 'like the kings on their thrones.' [This is] generally agreed upon, and at the end of the Tradition, Umm Haram asked the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!) to beseech God on her behalf that she might be one of them. So he prayed for her, and she lived long enough to ride upon the sea in the Muslim fleet which conquered the island of Cyprus. She died and was buried there, and there are a mosque and a martyrdom attributed to her (May Allah have mercy upon her and be pleased with her!).

40. Umm Haram bint Milhan b. Khalid (?-649), a Medinese convert to Islam from the tribe of Khazraj. She was noteworthy for her presence at many of the Prophet's campaigns. She died and was buried in Cyprus, having accompanied the expedition headed by Mu'awiya, then governor of Syria, which succeeded in conquering the island from the Byzantines. This hadith is found in the Two Sahih.

(5) And it says in *Al-Muhalla* of Ibn Hazm the Zahirite:⁴¹ "The problem: Jihad is obligatory on the Muslims, but if enough engage in it to repulse the enemy, campaign against him in his own territory, and protect the borderlands of the Muslims, the remainder are released from it. And if not, then the obligation remains. God Almighty said: 'March forth, light and heavy, and strive with your wealth and your persons in Allah's way!' [Q. 9:41]. It is not allowable save with the permission of parents, unless the enemy attacks a group of Muslims. Then it is obligatory on everyone who can aid them to set out to succor them, parents permitting or not, unless one or both would suffer through his absence. It is not lawful for him to abandon either of them who would suffer thereby."

41. 'Ali b. Ahmad b. Sa'id b. Hazm (994-1064), the noted Andalusian belletrist, jurist, and theologian, born in Cordoba during the last days of the Spanish Umayyads. Both he and his father held the position of Grand Vizier under some of the last pretenders to the Caliphal throne. His most important works are his *Book on Religions and Sects* (*Al-Fasl fi'l-Milal wa'l-Ahwa' wa'l-Nihal*), and a justly famous book on aristocratic love and lovers, *The Dove's Neckring* (*Tawq al-Hamama*), translated by Arthur J. Arberry as *The Ring of the Dove* (London: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 1953). The designation of "zahirite" refers to his adherence to the rigorously conservative legal school founded by Da'ud al-Zahiri (d. 883). The zahirite School did not succeed in winning recognition as a fifth Orthodox School.

(6) And Al-Shawkani⁴² said in *Al-Sayl al-Jarrar*: "The available arguments regarding the religious ordinance of **jihad**, both in writing and in customary observance [sunna], are too numerous to be set down here. Nevertheless, it is a communal observance, and if some engage in it, the remainder are released from it. Before a certain number engage in it, it is an individual obligation incumbent on every adult by law, and similarly, it is incumbent on everyone called to arms by the Imam to join the armed forces, and thereupon it becomes an individual obligation."

Now you can see from all this how the men of learning, both those who employed independent judgment and those who strictly followed tradition, the earliest and the latest, agree unanimously that **jihad** is a communal obligation imposed upon the Islamic **umma** in order to broadcast the summons [to embrace Islam], and that it is an individual obligation to repulse the attack of unbelievers upon it. Today the Muslims, as you know, are compelled to humble themselves before non-Muslims, and are ruled by unbelievers. Their lands have been trampled over, and their honor besmirched. Their adversaries are in charge of their affairs, and the rites of their religion have fallen into abeyance within their own domains, to

42. Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Shawkani (1760-1843), a noted jurist and theologian of Yemen, who wrote numerous works on hadith, biography, and jurisprudence. He was first Chief Qadi, and later governor of the Capital, San'a'.

say nothing of their impotence to broadcast the summons [to embrace Islam]. Hence it has become an individual obligation, which there is no evading, on every Muslim to prepare his equipment, to make up his mind to engage in **jihad**, and to get ready for it until the opportunity is ripe and Allah decrees a matter which is sure to be accomplished.

Probably, to terminate this inquiry, I should mention to you that the Muslims, throughout every period of their history before the present period of oppression in which their dignity has come to its end, never abandoned **jihad** nor did they ever grow lax in waging it, not even their religious authorities, mystics, craftsmen, etc. All of them were fully prepared [to do so] at a moment's notice. 'Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak,⁴³ the canon lawyer and ascetic, was a volunteer in **jihad** for most of his life, and 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Zayd, the mystic and ascetic, was the same. And in his time, Shaqiq al-Balkhi,⁴⁴ the Sufi *shaykh*⁴⁵ used to despatch himself and his disciples off to **jihad**,

43. 'Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak (736-797), a noted theologian, writer, and fighter in the holy war against Byzantium. He was the first in Islam to write a book on the subject of **jihad**.

44. Shaqiq b. Ibrahim al-Balkhi (?-810), early ascetic and Sufi and one of the most renowned *shaykhs* of Khurasan in N.E. Persia. Besides preaching the mystical life, he was a prominent warrior in **jihad**.

45. See the Glossary of Arabic Terms.

And Al-Badr al-Ayni,⁴⁶ the commentator on Al-Bukhari, the canon lawyer and traditionist, would take part in **jihad** one year, study for one year and go on pilgrimage one year, while the judge Asad b. al-Furat⁴⁷ of the Malikite School was an admiral in his day, and the Imam al-Shafi'i would shoot ten [arrows] and not miss once.

Such were the early generations of Muslims (Allah's grace be upon them!), and what are we alongside such a history?

Why Do the Muslims Wage War?

People have been for some time stigmatizing Islam because of the religious ordinance of **jihad** and the [divine] permission to wage war until the [message of] the

46. Mahmud b. Ahmad b. Musa Badr al-Din al-'Ayni (1361-1451), noted historian and authority on **hadith**, born in Syria. He occupied a number of high administrative and judiciary posts in Egypt, and was an intimate of the Mamluk sultans Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad and Al-Malik al-Ashraf. He devoted his later years entirely to study and writing, producing many works on **hadith**, jurisprudence, and biography. The work referred to here is his *'Umdat al-Qari fi Sharh al-Bukhari*.

47. Asad b. al-Furat b. Sinan (759-828), of Khurasanian origin, a renowned jurist and general under the Aghlabid Dynasty of Tunis. He studied in the East, and on his return to Tunis was appointed Chief Qadi of Qayrawan. In 827, he commanded the Muslim army of invasion in Sicily, and conquered part of it, but died of wounds received during the siege of Syracuse.

precious Qur'anic verse is fulfilled: "We shall show them Our signs in the farthest horizons and in themselves, until it is made clear to them that it is the Truth" [Q.41:53]. And now here they are acknowledging that it is the surest way to peace! Allah ordained **jihad** for the Muslims not as a tool of oppression or a means of satisfying personal ambitions, but rather as a defence for the mission [of spreading Islam], a guarantee of peace, and a means of implementing the Supreme Message, the burden of which the Muslims bear, the Message guiding mankind to truth and justice. For Islam, even as it ordains **jihad**, extols peace: the Blessed and Almighty said: "But if they incline toward peace, incline thou toward it, and put thy trust in God" [Q. 8 : 61].

The Muslim would go forth to fight, one concern within his soul - to strive to his utmost until "Allah's Word is the most exalted" [Q.9 : 40]. His religion had ordained that he avoid diluting this purpose with any other; for the love of pomp is forbidden him, and the love of show is forbidden him, and thirst for spoils is forbidden him, and striving to conquer unjustly is forbidden him, while only one thing is allowed him - to offer his blood and his soul as a pledge for his creed and a guidance for mankind.

On the authority of Al-Harith b. Muslim al-Harith, on the authority of his father, who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) sent us on a military expedition. When we reached the area to be raided, I

urged on my horse and got ahead of my companions. The people of the [enemy] clan met me with cries of lamentation, and I said to them: 'If you say: "There is no god but Allah," you are safe.' So they said it. My companions reproached me and said: 'You have prevented us from taking any spoils!' When we came back to the Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!), they told him what I had done. He called me over and found what I had done praiseworthy. Then he said to me: 'Allah Almighty has indeed decreed for you so much and so much reward for every human being.' And he said: 'I myself shall write something for you in the way of a bequest after my death.' He did so, sealed it, and handed it over to me." Published by Abu Da'ud.

And on the authority of Shaddad b. al-Hadi (May Allah be pleased with him!): "A man of the [nomad] Arabs came and believed in the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!). Then he said: 'I shall emigrate with you.' And the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!) gave him into the charge of some of his Companions - it was [during] a campaign in which the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!) took some booty which was divided up, and of which he received a share. And he [i.e., the Arab] said: 'What is this?' He said: 'I have apportioned it to you.' He said: 'It was not for this that I followed you; rather I followed you that I might be pierced here (and he motioned with his hand to his neck) with an arrow, and that I might die and enter Paradise.' He said: 'If you believe Allah, He will believe you.' So they remained there

for a space; then they rose to do battle with the enemy. He was carried over to the Prophet, having been struck with an arrow exactly where he had pointed. The Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'Is it he?' They said: 'Yes.' He said: 'He believed in Allah: therefore He believed him.' Then he was shrouded in the garment of the Prophet (May Allah bless and save him!), and he [i.e., the Prophet] walked before him and prayed over him. This is part of what he said in his prayer: 'My Allah, this is Thy servant who went forth as an Emigrant in Thy way and was slain a martyr. And I am a witness unto it.' Published by Al-Nasa'i.

On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!): "A man said: 'O Apostle of Allah, what of a man who wants [to engage in] **jihad** in Allah's way, but desires the goods of this world?' He said: 'There is no reward for him.' And he [i.e., the man] repeated this [question] to him three times, but he said: 'There is no reward for him.'" Published by Abu Da'ud.

On the authority of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) was asked about a man who fights courageously, one who fights zealously, and one who fights hypocritically. Which of these was in the way of Allah? He said: 'He who fights so that 'Allah's Word is the most exalted' [Q.9:40] is in Allah's way.'" published in the **Five Books** [but not by Al-Bukhari].

If you read about the battles waged by the Companions (May Allah's grace be with them!), and their behavior in the territories they conquered, you will see to what extent they abstained from indulging their personal desires and cravings, and the extent of their dedication to their fundamental and original goal - the guidance of mankind to the truth until "Allah's Word is the most exalted" [Q.9:40]. And you will see just how mistaken is the imputation to them (May Allah's grace be upon them!) of wanting simply to conquer peoples, subjugate nations, and obtain wealth.

Mercy in the Islamic Jihad

Since the goal of the Islamic jihad was the noblest of goals, the means employed were also the most excellent of means. For Allah has forbidden aggression. He, the Almighty, has said: "Do not instigate hostilities, for Allah loves not those who instigate hostilities" [Q.2:190], and He commanded that justice be observed, even toward the enemy and the adversary. He, the Almighty, has said: "Let not hatred of a people coerce you into treating them unjustly. Be just : it is closer to piety" [Q.5:2]. He has guided the Muslims to act with the utmost mercy.

For when they fight, they do not instigate hostilities, nor do they steal or plunder property, nor do they commit rape, nor do they indulge in wanton destruction. In their warfare they are the best of fighters, just as in peace they are the most excellent of peacemakers.

On the authority of Burayda (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "Whenever the Apostle of Allah (May God bless and save him!) appointed a commander over an army or a band of raiders, he charged him to behave with piety toward Allah Almighty in his inward self, and with benevolent care for the Muslims who were with him." Then he [i.e., the Prophet] said: "Campaign in the name of Allah in Allah's way! Fight those who disbelieve in Allah: campaign, but do not indulge in excesses, do not act treacherously, do not mutilate, and do not slay children." Transmitted by Muslim.

On the authority of Abu Hurayra (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May God bless and save him!) said: 'When one of you fights, let him avoid [striking] the face.'" Published by the Two Shaykhs.

On the authority of Ibn Mas'ud (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) said: 'The most continent of mankind are the fighters of the People of the Faith.'" Published by Abu Da'ud.

On the authority of 'Abd Allah b. Yazid al-Ansari⁴⁸ (May Allah be pleased with him!), who said: "The Apostle

48. A Medinese convert to Islam (?-690) from the tribe of Aws, and a well-known warrior for the faith. During his life he was dedicated partisan of 'Ali b. Abi Talib, and after the latter's death he supported the anti-Caliph Ibn al-zubayr in Mecca against the Umayyad Dynasty.

of Allah (May Allah bless and save him!) forbade plundering and mutilation." Published by Al-Bukhari.

So also it is forbidden to slay women, children, and old men, and to despatch the wounded, or to disturb monks and hermits, and the peaceful who offer no resistance. Just contrast this mercy with the murderous warfare of the civilized peoples and their disgusting atrocities! And what is their international law alongside this all-embracing, divinely ordained justice?

My Allah, instruct the Muslims in their religion, and save the world from these injustices with the enlightenment of Islam!

Supplements to Jihad

The belief is widespread among many Muslims that fighting the enemy is the lesser **jihad**, and that there is a greater **jihad** the **jihad** of the spirit. Many of them invoke as proof of this the following narration [authar]: "'We have returned from the lesser **jihad** to embark on the greater **jihad**.' They said: 'What is the greater **jihad**?' He said: 'The **jihad** of the heart, or the **jihad** of the spirit.'"

Some of them try, by recourse to this, to divert people from the importance of fighting, preparing for combat, and resolving to undertake it and embark on Allah's way. This narration is not really a sound Tradition: The Prince

of Believers in matters of Tradition, Al-Hafiz b. Hajar,⁴⁹ said in the *Tasdid al-Qaws*: "It is well-known and often repeated, and was a saying of Ibrahim b. 'Abla."

Al-Iraqi⁵⁰ said in the *Takhrij Ahadith al-Ahya'*: "Al-Bayhaqi transmitted it with a weak chain of guarantors on the authority of Jabir, and Al-khatib transmitted it in his history on the authority of Jabir." Nevertheless, even if it were a sound Tradition, it would never warrant abandoning *jihad*, or preparing for it in order to rescue the territories of the Muslims and repel the attacks of unbelievers. Its meaning is simply that it is necessary to struggle with the spirit so that it may be sincerely devoted to God in every one of its acts. So let it be known.

Other supplementary matters concerned with *jihad* are the following: to command the good and forbid the evil. It is said the Traditions: "One of the loftiest forms of

49. Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Hajar al-'Asqalani (1382-1449), the famous historian, theologian, and traditionist, the prolific author of works of *hadith*, Islamic law, Qur'anic studies, and biography, especially the lives of transmitters of *hadith* and the early Companions. His best-known works in this genre are the multi-volumed *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* and *Al-Isaba fi Tamyiz Asma' al-Sahaba*. The honorific title of "Al-Hafiz" means one who has memorized the Qur'an."

50. 'Abd al-Rahim b. al-Husayn al-Hafiz al-'Iraqi (1325-1404), a scholar of Kurdish origin who lived most of his life in Egypt. He visited the neighboring regions for study and research in *hadith*, and was the author of a number of books on Traditions, jurisprudence, the Prophetic biography, and Qur'anic studies.

jihad is to utter a word of truth in the presence of a tyrannical ruler."

But nothing in them confers on their advocate the supreme martyrdom and the reward of the strivers in jihad, unless he slays or is slain in the way of Allah.

Epilogue

Brethren! Allah gives the umma that is skilled in the practice of death and that knows how to die a noble death, and exalted life in this world and eternal felicity in the next. What is the fantasy that has reduced us to loving this world and hating death? If you gird yourselves for a lofty deed and yearn for death, life shall be given to you.

know then that death is inevitable, and that it can only happen once. If you suffer it in the way of Allah, it will be to your profit in this world, and your reward in the next. Nothing shall touch you but what God has decreed for you: ponder well what Allah, the Blessed, the Almighty, has said: "Then after the affliction, He sent down security upon you, as slumber which overcame a party of you; while a party whom concern for themselves had preoccupied were surmising untruth of Allah, the surmise of pagandom, saying: 'Do we have any share in this matter at all?' Say: 'The matter is Allah's entirely.' They hide within themselves what they do not reveal to thee, and say: 'If we had had any share in this matter, we would not have been slain here.' Say: 'Even if you had been in your houses, those for whom slaughter had been decreed

would have gone forth to their resting - places.' - and so that Allah might test what is in your breasts and examine what is in your hearts. Allah knows what lies within your breasts"" [Q.3:154].

If you strive for an honorable death, you will win to perfect happiness. May Allah bestow upon us and upon you the honor of martyrdom in His way!

Glossary of Arabic Terms

In a few places in the notes, the reader's attention has been drawn to relevant articles in the **Encyclopedia of Islam**, in the Old or New Editions. Any of the following terms may also be sought therein for more detailed exposition, additional bibliography, etc. Where I have "j" in my transliteration system, the EI will have "dj," and "k" for my "q."

asabiyya: partisanship, group loyalty and solidarity. With reference to the pagan Arabs, their unswerving devotion to tribe and clan under any and all circumstances. It was this type of loyalty based on descent that Islam tried to destroy, and to substitute a similar quality of devotion to the religious community. In modern times, it has taken on the comparatively new dimension of "fanaticism," with all the pejorative overtones of this term in European languages. Since this is only a possible, not a necessary, evolution in the meaning of the word, it is still often used by contemporary writers with the favorable older meaning of "extreme dedication" or "ardent enthusiasm."

athar: a relic, trace, tradition, often used in the same sense as **hadith**, or by some, as referring only to a saying or deed of one of the Companions, and not the Prophet. In the usage of many writers, however, this term, **khabar** (report, item of information), and **hadith** may all serve as synonyms.

bay'a: an oath of allegiance or fealty to a sovereign. This term was used of the oath of loyalty taken by the chiefs and lords of the tribes before the Caliph, and formally involved the mutual taking of hands as well as the swearing of an oath of obedience and submission.

dhikr: literally, "mentioning, citing." In the context of Sufism, a litany consisting of glorifications of the Names of Allah, selections from the Qur'an, and special prayers. Public, communal **dhikrs** are often performed by members of the Sufi orders in the larger mosques, and generally entail specific bodily postures and movements, as well as varied breathing techniques, in uttering the formulae and sacred Names.

dhimmi: a person with whom a covenant or bond (**dhimma**) has been made. Used as one of several synonymous terms in the juridical context to designate a tolerated monotheist (Jew, Christian, Sabian, or Zoroastrian) who lives within an Islamic environment, paying tribute and observing certain sumptuary laws as a token of inferior status and self-abasement.

dinar: in early Islam, the basic gold unit of currency. The name is from the Latin "denarius."

dirham: the basic silver unit of currency. The name is from the Greek "drachme." According to the Traditions, the rate of exchange between the **dirham** and the **dinar** at the time of the Prophet was ten or twelve to one, but this ratio fluctuated widely in subsequent periods.

fard: a commandment or ordinance, especially a religious duty the performance of which is incumbent on all Muslims.

fard'ayn: an "individual" duty, binding on all adult Muslims, such as prayer and fasting.

fard kifaya: a "communal" duty, binding on the Muslims as a group, which is fulfilled if a sufficient number perform it, thereby excusing the remainder. **Jihad** is one such duty.

hadd: punishments for crimes or offenses specifically prohibited in the Qur'an, and for most of which specific punishments are decreed. These are fornication, false accusation of fornication, theft, highway robbery, and wine-drinking. The punishment for wine - drinking - nowhere mentioned in the Qur'an, though the act itself is forbidden, is eighty lashes, based on the Traditions.

hadith: literally, "conversation" or "narration." A story in which some act or saying of the Prophet Muhammad is recorded. Ideally, the hadith should go back to an actual eye-witness who was present at the time, and whose exact words are scrupulously reported, as well as the exact words uttered by the Prophet. As one recedes farther and farther from the Prophet's age, the "chain of guarantors," or **isnad**, grows longer, but all of the people involved must have been in personal contact and have heard the hadith from one another. Thus: "A heard from B, who heard C say that D told him that he

was one day in the presence of the Prophet when he said '....'" The actual deed or saying of the Prophet is called the **matn**, or "text." **Matn** and **isnad** together make up a complete **hadith**. Many **hadith** terminate in one of the Prophet's wives or one of the Companions as ultimate source of the **matn**, and these, together with the Prophetic **hadith**, comprise the **Sunna**, which is the second most important source of Islamic law after the Qur'an. Throughout this translation, the capitalized word **Traditions** will be taken to refer to the corpus of the recorded **Sunna**.

hajj: the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the "Five pillars of Islam," or duties incumbent on all adult Muslims. The Muslim **hajj** is actually the conflation of two entirely separate and unrelated pagan Arab festivals, the **umra**, or visitation of the ka'ba, held in the month of Rajab, and the **hajj**, or procession to the sacred site of 'Arafat and other shrines outside of Mecca, held in the month of Dhu'a-Hijja. The chief highlights of the Muslim **hajj** are the "standing" at 'Arafat from midday till sunset, on the ninth of Dhu'l-Hijja, and the animal sacrifice in Mina, on the road back to Mecca, on the tenth. This sacrifice is also performed all over the Islamic world on the morning of the same day.

hanif (pl. **hanafa'**): in Muslim and Qur'anic usage, a pure Abrahamic monotheist as contrasted with pagans on the one side, and Jews and Christians on the other. It was often used by later writers as a synonym of "Muslim."

According to the historical tradition, the term was also applied to a number of individuals of the Prophet's time who rejected Arabian Paganism and became unaffiliated monotheists before their ultimate conversion to Islam or Christianity.

hisba: the office of the official called the **muh'tasib**, who inspected public markets, with particular attention to weights and measures, the quality of goods, and the sales practices of the merchants. He was also required to superintend public morality and behavior, to enforce the sumptuary laws against **dhimmis**, and to see that communal religious obligations were strictly observed.

ijma': "consensus" or "agreement." The third most important source of Islamic law, where it denotes the unanimity of practice and belief of all, part of, the total community of believers. The number required to validate a practice or belief varies with the Schools, ranging from the entire **umma** to local populations, e.g., the population of Medina, or to a special group, e.g., the Companions of the Prophet, the body of the 'ulama', etc.

imam: a term with numerous connotations, all revolving about the idea of "leadership." As a title, it may refer to the individual who leads the communal prayers in a mosque, a renowned religious teacher or scholar, e.g., the founders of the Four Orthodox Schools of Islamic law, or even the Caliph himself. Among the Shi'ites, with their much greater emphasis on the theocratic aspects of

the supreme Islamic office, the term **imam** is used instead of Caliph.

isnad: the "chain of guarantors," or the list of individuals who claim to have heard a **hadith** from one another seriatim, reverting to an ultimate transmitter who was the eye-witness, and who reports the exact words or acts of the Prophet or a Companion. In almost all of the hadith presented in the tract "On Jihad," only the name of the first, or earliest, transmitter is supplied.

jihad: literally, "earnest effort." In Islamic law, the so-called "holy war" - theoretically the only war permitted in Islam, since war between Muslims is forbidden. Because Islam aimed at universal dominion, **jihad** was a communal obligation which must be fulfilled by the subjection and conversion of the non-Islamic world. In the case of Scriptuaries, they might retain their old religions if they submitted to the rule of Islam and agreed to pay the **jizya**. Theoretically, all other peoples who could be designated "idolators" were compelled to accept Islam, slavery, or extinction. Largely conceived as offensive, **jihad** could be defensive if the domain of Islam were to be threatened by an external enemy.

jinn: the "genies" of the 1001 Nights. A class of supernatural beings, created of smokeless fire (Q.55:15) and adopted into Islam from the body of pagan Arabian belief. They were sketchily individualized nature-spirits who inhabited the desert, ruins, caves, and other such sites. In Islam, their religion may vary, some beign good

Muslims, others of the tolerated religions, still others unbelievers. They are mortal, but with enormously long life-spans, and can assume any form or remain invisible. In folklore, they are often invoked for purposes of black or white magic.

jizya: the poll-tax imposed on **dhimmis** as the price for permission to keep their religion and to continue to live under an Islamic government and the Islamic Sacred Law. Conversion to Islam removed this imposition, as well as all other disabilities. The **jizya** was collected annually in money or in kind, and was obligatory on all free, able-bodied male adults. The amount collected from the individual taxpayer was determined by his means and income, and this ratio varied from time to time and place to place, many of the specific regulations going back to the circumstances of the early conquests.

matn: the "text" of a **hadith** - that is, the actual quotation of a saying of the Prophet or a Companion, or the narration of a deed performed.

mu'adhdhin: "muezzin," one of the officials of a mosque, who chants the call to prayer (**'adhan**) from a minaret at the five stated times: (1) a few minutes after sunset; (2) at night, when the sky is quite dark; (3) at daybreak; (4) a few minutes after full noon; (5) in mid-afternoon. There are also two supererogatory prayers, just after midnight and about an hour before dawn, announced by the **mu'adhdhin**.

mujahid: a warrior who is engaged in **jihad**.

qadi: a judge, essentially of religious law, though in Islamic legal theory this was all-inclusive. In penal law, however, the qadi was restricted to those crimes involving one of the hadd-punishments. Apart from infringements of the religious ordinances, he also judged cases involving personal status, wills and testaments, and properties left to support religious endowments.

qiyas: "analogy," the fourth chief source of law in the Islamic legal system. By analogical reasoning, general principles found in the Qur'an, the Sunna, or the accepted *ijma'* are used as guidelines to answer questions not specifically dealt with in these primary sources. For instance, the Qur'anic prohibition against wine is extended by *qiyas* to cover all intoxicating beverages and other substances which have an intoxicating effect.

ra'y: "informed opinion." The personal opinion of the judge in the first two centuries of Islam was tacitly employed as a "third source," where Qur'an and Sunna gave no clear answers, but it was never officially recognized as such, except in certain *hadith*, where it is recommended by the Prophet himself to cover precisely such cases. Nevertheless, many of the decisions of the earliest judges based on *ra'y* are preserved in the *hadith*-literature, where they are rendered canonical by their attribution to the Prophet or a Companion.

risala: "letter, communication." In Classical Arabic literature, a literary essay. The genre received this nomenclature because the earliest ones were written in the

form of letters and addressed to a patron.

shahada: "testimonial," the statement of the Islamic creed: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah." The first of the "Five pillars of Islam." The convert to Islam must repeat the **shahada** before two unimpeachable male Muslim witnesses.

shahid: "witness." A martyr for the faith, who dies defending Islam or extending its sway.

shaykh: "old man," a revered elder, especially one of the clerical class of the 'ulama'. It is also a common term among the modern Bedouin for the tribal or clan chieftain, corresponding to the **sayyid** of the Pre-Islamic Arab tribe. Also the head of a Sufi order.

sufi: almost certainly from the Arabic "suf" meaning "wool," hence a "woolly" or "wool-clad" individual, because of the early adoption by Muslim ascetics and pietists of the white garments of Christian monks. A member of one of the **sufi** Orders, the devotees of a mystical "path" or discipline which consists of carefully graded esoteric teachings leading through a series of initiations to the status of adept. The goal of the "path" (**tariqa**) is to achieve direct communion with Allah through personal devotion and a mastery of the techniques taught by the **shayky**.

sunna: "beaten path, clear-cut way." By analogy, the customary law and folkways of a people or tribe, e.g., the **sunna** of the Pre-Islamic Bedouins. In Islam, the beliefs

and practices of the Prophet and the Companions, whose living example thus became a commentary on the Qur'an and its ethical and legal prescriptions, and therefore the paradigmatic models for all Muslims after them. The capitalized form "Sunna" will refer in this translation to the record of these acts and sayings of the Apostolic Age preserved in the hadith- literature. Otherwise, sunna will indicate "customary behavior or practice," e.g., "the sunna of Allah," or the way in which Allah habitually manifests His will in nature and history.

tahrif: "distortion," a term applied to the presumed activities of Jewish and Christian zealots in excising references to the advent of Muhammad and Islam from their Scriptures. This is the least favorable, but perhaps most popularly believed, interpretation of the word. Some theologians, however, take the view that it does not mean a literal alteration of the sacred texts, but a concealment of their true content, or the accidental textual corruptions arising from scribal errors, carelessness of transmission, etc.

'ulama' (sing. **alim**): "savants." The scholars of the Islamic religious tradition who have been graduated from one of the great mosque - academies such as Al-Azhar in Egypt, and are therefore qualified interpreters of the Qur'an, Sunna, and the stipulations of the Sacred Law. Their position in Islam is analogous to that of the Jewish rabbinate rather than the Christian clergy.

umma: the religio - political community of all Muslim,

which during the Apostolic Age and the period of the Four Orthodox Caliphs embraced the political empire of Islam as well as the total body of believers. Membership in such a religious community, as in the parallel case of medieval European "Christiantas," was the equivalent of "nationality," since from the ecumenical religious standpoint, ethnic descent and geographical origin were accidents of history and had nothing to do with one's place in the hierarchy of Creation. During the later centuries of Islam, when the Islamic world was divided into numerous, often mutually hostile, political divisions, the "umma Muhammadiyya" - the "Umma of Muhammad" - remained the constant factor, while the frequent change of boundaries and dynasties were regarded as passing ephemera.

ummi: the usual meaning is "illiterate," and as applied to Muhammad becomes support for the Muslim doctrine of the evidentiary miracle of the Qur'an, whose perfect language and style are deemed inimitable by the combined efforts of mankind and the jinn (Q.17:88). To Western scholarship, the term as used in the same context, which does not appear in the Qur'an before the Medinese period and the confrontation with the Jews, seems to denote "a member of (Gentile) community" - or those, unlike the Jews, heretofore not possessing a divinely revealed Scripture or Sacred Law. This interpretation would clarify and define the position of Muhammad as "the ummi Prophet," both with respect to the Jewish community and his own Islamic umma.

umra: the "lesser pilgrimage," or visitation and sevenfold circumambulation of the ka'ba. In Islam, it may be performed as a separate rite at any time in the year, but it is not accepted as a substitute for the **hajj**. The complete **hajj** has incorporated the **umra** as the preliminary ritual prior to the procession to 'Arafat, Mina, etc. Thus, while the **umra** exists as a separate act of devotion without the **hajj**, the second half of the combined ceremonial cycle, which is the **hajj** proper, may not be performed in isolation.

zakat: the official alms-tax, collected from Muslims from the time of the Medinese state of Muhammad, but long since lapsed except in the form of voluntary contributions to the poor. This also seems to have been its original connotation in the Meccan suras of the Qur'an. It is one of the "Five Pillars of Islam," and is defined in Q.9:60 as designed to aid the indigent, to pay the collectors of the tax, to win over converts to Islam, to ransom captive slaves and debtors, to pay for **jihad**, and to assist wayfarers.

zar: a ceremonial of exorcism widely practiced in Egypt, the Sudan, and Arabia, and traceable to sub-Saharan African sources. The possessing demon must be driven out by ecstatic dancing to the sound of drums and other instruments, the burning of incense, and the sacrifice of an animal, usually chickens or sheep. A female exorcist-medium called the **shaykha** directs the ceremonial, slaughters the sacrifice, and gives the victim its

Should be used as well as sprinkling her with it. (The
wells in which it is used, but men too may be possessed
by the evil spirit.)