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and  
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## The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences

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## Editorial

In keeping with our tradition, this issue starts with the Guiding Light contributed by Dr. 'AbdulḤamīd AbūSulaymān, Rector of the International Islamic University in Malaysia.

We reflect on the direction we have taken with an English rendering of Ṭāhā Jābir Al 'Alwānī's paper which was presented as a keynote address at the Fourth International Seminar on Islamic Thought at Khartoum, Sudan. Al 'Alwānī defines thought here as the product of all sources of knowledge, of education, experience, ability and social concepts and trends. In the case of Muslims it is formulated both by Revelation and by man's inherent intellectual capacity. He discusses a balanced approach to the role of reason and revelation during the earlier generations of Muslims. He shows how deviations have led to laziness, indifference and apathy.

The social sciences and humanities in the disciplines of psychology, sociology, education, economics, politics, media and others, he writes, shape the contemporary man. All these reflect the Western mind. The role of Islamic universities is to enhance the Muslim commitment to give Islamic character to the methodologies, principles, results and aims of social sciences. In his paper, Al 'Awānī pleads for a complete revision of "Shari'ah studies," its methods and materials, and the orientation of researchers and teachers. He argues for adding humanities and social sciences to the syllabus of the *fuqahā*' to enable them to understand various aspects of life so they may interact with it. Al 'Alwānī also summarizes the achievements of the first three international conferences on Islamic thought organized by the Institute.

From thought we proceed to an issue of economics. A.H. M. Sadeq deals with the importance of mobilization of resources for economic or non-economic development. The economic development in particular requires investible sources for capital formation and for acquiring all other factors of production. He shows how the Islamic code of life provides an enormous incentive and a favorable framework for efficient mobilization and utilization of resources, both material and human.

The Islamic way of living has great potential for savings and an efficient institutional setting for their mobilization and utilization. Sadeq cautions the Muslim countries that in accepting investible resources from external sources Muslim countries should direct careful study to its socio-cultural and politico-economic implications. The best choice of action, he suggests, is for Muslim countries to cooperate among themselves for resource use.



In earlier issues of the *AJISS*, we have discussed the role of 'Ulama in India, Pakistan and Iran. Here, we have S.E. Eltayeb giving us detailed insight into the role of the Algerian 'Ulama in liberating the consciousness of the masses and preparing them morally and psychologically for political liberation from France. In fact, the liberation of the Algerians started with their liberation from the influence of the corrupt practices and distortions of Islam which were related to the ceremonies of the *marabouts*. Eltayeb discusses in detail the reformist efforts to promote a religious renaissance through emphasis on the independence of the Islamic creed, social reform through Islamic education, masjids, and clubs of the 'Ulama, and cultural revivalism through the use of the press and independent schools.

Salahuddin Yusuf takes up the issue of prejudice against Islam in early Nigerian newspapers. The article attempts to trace how Christian missionary polemics against Islam became entrenched in the Nigerian press and how it has been sustained and perpetrated. The coverage and analysis about Islam, he asserts, did not mirror intellectual honesty nor knowledge of facts.

Fathi Osman's paper, which was originally presented in a seminar held at the Institute and which forms the working paper for the AMSS's first seminar on history, distinguishes between the terms 'Islamic history' and 'Muslim history'. The preference of the term 'Muslim history' emphasizes the human nature of this history and underlines the fact that particular events may be good, bad, positive or negative, and may or may not comply with Islamic ideology.

The Islamization of the discipline of history does not mean that we will be selective in our historical facts and attempt a rewriting of history, defending what we like and omitting what we dislike. We will try to understand why unIslamic practices happened, not to deny that these practices existed. Muslim history is not infallible or immune to the natural laws of human societies. The study of nature and human factors in Muslim history underlines the role of human intelligence and action which is required by the Qurān and the Sunnah for success in this life and the hereafter.

Osman advocated a more comprehensive coverage of the sources of Muslim history, both written and oral in diverse languages of the Muslim world. Our juristic literature is rich in materials for our social history. The continuity, universality and openness in Muslim history calls for a reconsideration of the conventional division of eras and periods of Muslim history.

We will have to evolve multi-based criteria to evaluate the historical materials. The rigors of hadith criticism could provide a lead. We should welcome interpretation of history so long as the religions or ideological framework is known and materials drawn are from historical facts.

Ishaq Farhan's decades of experience and research as a practicing educator is summarized in his paper on Islamization of the Discipline of Education.





He has outlined the crisis in education in the western and the Muslim world. The Muslim world, he says, suffers from a duality in the educational system. On the one hand, the old Islamic education system survives in traditional schools unresponsive to modern trends, and on the other, the Western/modern curricula are oblivious of the Islamic perspective.

The Muslim educators themselves are Westernized, teaching materials are not suited for Islamic education, and the Islamic studies conducted in the West are superficial. This emphasizes the importance of the Islamization of educators, courses and curricula. This should be achieved through proper emphasis on the universal values of Islam. He discusses the setting up of priorities in the Islamization of the discipline of education in modern times. He has drawn a list of strategies and methods for the task of Islamization of education that could be considered an agenda of research for our educators.

The review section is led by M. Khalid Mas'ud's review article on David S. Power's book *Studies in Qur'an and Hadith: The Formation of the Islamic Law of Inheritance*. This is a long awaited critique of some powerful claims. Mas'ud has shown us instances of how the author seems to accept evidence without critically examining the sources. We have five more books reviewed in this section.

In talking about book reviews, we are glad to report that the Institute and the Islamic Foundation of Leicester, U.K. will be jointly publishing the *Muslim World Book Review* and the *Index of Islamic Literature*. This way our readers and writers can have access now to a journal dedicated exclusively to book reviews.

We have been able to secure reports of five conferences of interest to Muslim social scientists. The section on views and comments continues to enrich us in carrying forward the debates. The listing of abstracts of doctoral dissertations has brought notices of some relevant research activities.

The cumulative index of our six volumes should give us an overview of the wealth of topics covered in our *Journal* during the last six years. The articles are indexed by several indexing agencies in the world.

We will be looking forward to greater cooperation and help from individual scholars and institutions to make our *Journal* available to readers and researchers in different parts of the world. Suggestions are very welcome.

## Guiding Light Selections From the Holy Qur'an

Comments by 'AbdulḤamid A. AbūSulaymān

### Translation

*In the name of Allah, Most Gracious,  
Most Merciful.*

قرآن کریم

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

1. Now the 'Ad behaved  
Arrogantly through the land,  
Against (all) truth and reason,  
And said: "Who is superior  
To us in *strength*? What!  
Did they not see that  
God, Who created them,  
Was superior to them  
In *strength*? But they  
Continued to reject Our Signs!  
*Sūrah Fuṣṣilat (41:15)*

● فَأَمَّا عَادُ فَاسْتَكْبَرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ  
يَغْتَرِبُونَ الْحَقَّ وَقَالُوا مَنْ أَشَدُّ مِنَّا قُوَّةً  
أُولَئِكَ رَأَوْا أَنْ اللَّهَ الَّذِي  
خَلَقَهُمْ هُوَ أَشَدُّ مِنْهُمْ قُوَّةً  
وَكَانُوا بِآيَاتِنَا يَجْحَدُونَ  
سورة فصلت (١٥:٤١)

2. Against them make ready  
*Your strength to the utmost*  
*Of your power, including*  
*Steeds of war, to strike terror*  
Into (the hearts of) the enemies,  
Of God and your enemies  
And others besides, whom  
Ye may not know, but whom  
God doth know. Whatever  
Ye shall spend in the Cause  
Of God, shall be repaid  
Unto you, and ye shall not  
Be treated unjustly.  
*Sūrah Al Anfal (8:60)*

● وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ  
مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ  
تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ. عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ  
وَأَخْرَيْنَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ  
وَمَا تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ  
يُؤْتِكُمْ إِيَّاهُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَنْظُمُونَ  
سورة الأنفال (٨: ٦٠)

3. He said: "(The power) in which  
My Lord has established me  
Is better (than tribute):  
Help me therefore with *strength*  
(And labour): I will  
Erect a strong barrier  
Between you and them:

● قَالَ مَا مَكَّنِّي فِيهِ رَبِّي خَيْرٌ  
فَأَعِزَّنِي بِقُوَّةٍ أُجْعَلُ  
بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ رَدْمًا

4. "Bring me blocks of iron."  
At length, when he had  
Filled up the space between  
The two steep mountainsides.  
He said, "Blow (with your bellows)"  
Then, when he had made  
It (red) as fire, he said:  
"Bring me, that I may  
Pour over it, molten lead."  
*Sūrah Al Kahf (18:95-96)*
- **ءَاتُونِي زُبَرَ الْحَدِيدِ  
حَتَّىٰ إِذَا سَاوَىٰ بَيْنَ  
الصَّدْفَيْنِ قَالَ انْفُخُوا  
حَتَّىٰ إِذَا جَعَلَهُ نَارًا قَالَ  
ءَاتُونِي مُفْرَغَ عَلَيْهِ قَطْرًا**  
سورة الكهف (١٨: ٩٥-٩٦)
5. As in the case of those  
Before you: they were  
*Mightier* than you in *power*  
And *more flourishing in wealth*  
And children. They had  
Their enjoyment of their portion:  
And ye have of yours, as did  
Those before you; and ye  
Indulge in idle talk  
As they did. They  
Their works are fruitless  
In this world and in the Hereafter,  
And they will lose  
(All spiritual good)  
*Sūrah Al Tawbah (9:69)*
- **كَالَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِكُمْ كَانُوا أَشَدَّ  
مِنْكُمْ قُوَّةً وَأَكْثَرَ أَمْوَالًا وَأَوْلَادًا فَاسْتَمْتَعُوا  
بِمَخْلَقَتِهِمْ فَاَسْتَمْتَعْتُمْ بِمَخْلَقَتِكُمْ كَمَا اسْتَمْتَعَ  
الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِكُمْ بِمَخْلَقَتِهِمْ وَخَضْتُمْ كَالَّذِي  
خَاضُوا أَوْلِيَّكَ حِطَّتْ أَعْمَالُهُمْ فِي  
الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْخَاسِرُونَ**  
سورة التوبة (٦٩: ٩)
6. "And O my people! Ask  
Forgiveness of your Lord,  
And turn to Him (in repentance):  
He will send you the skies  
*Pouring abundant rain,*  
And *add strength*  
To your strength  
So turn ye not back  
In sin!"  
*Sūrah Hūd (11:52)*
- **وَيَقَوْمِ اسْتَغْفِرُوا رَبَّكُمْ  
ثُمَّ تُوبُوا إِلَيْهِ يُرْسِلِ السَّمَاءَ  
عَلَيْكُمْ مَدْرَارًا وَيَزِدْكُمْ قُوَّةً  
إِلَىٰ قُوَّتِكُمْ وَلَا تَتَوَلَّوْا مَجْرِمِينَ**  
سورة هود (٥٢: ١١)
7. They said: "We are endued  
*With strength,* and *given*  
*To vehement war:*  
But the command is  
With thee; so consider  
What thou wilt command"  
*Sūrah Al Naml (27:33)*
- **قَالُوا نَحْنُ أَوْلُوا قُوَّةً  
وَأَوْلُوا بِأَمْرِ شَدِيدٍ وَالْأَمْرُ لِلَّهِ  
فَأَنْظِرِي مَاذَا تَأْمُرِينَ**  
سورة النمل (٢٧: ٣٣)
8. *It is God Who*  
*Created you in a state*  
*Of (helpless) weakness, then*
- **اللَّهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِن ضَعْفٍ ثُمَّ**



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أَوَلَمْ يَرَوْا أَنَّ اللَّهَ الَّذِي  
خَلَقَهُمْ هُوَ أَشَدُّ مِنْهُمْ قُوَّةً  
وَكَانُوا بِآيَاتِنَا يَجْحَدُونَ  
سورة فصلت (١٥:٤١)

2. Against them make ready  
*Your strength to the utmost*  
*Of your power, including*  
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Into (the hearts of) the enemies,  
Of God and your enemies  
And others besides, whom  
Ye may not know, but whom  
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Ye shall spend in the Cause  
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سورة الأنفال (٦٠ : ٨)

3. He said: "(The power) in which  
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(And labour): I will  
Erect a strong barrier  
Between you and them:

● قَالَ مَا مَكَّنِّي فِيهِ رَبِّي خَيْرٌ  
فَأَعِينُونِي بِقُوَّةٍ أَلْجَلَّ  
بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ رَدْمًا

the Qur'an explains and applies the concept of power to wealth and children. We find that this use of a term followed by an explanation of its meaning and an illustration of its use in concrete terms is true in the rest of the verses quoted above. The important point that we would like to make in this commentary is that students of the social and human sciences should understand and appreciate the Qur'anic use of verbal nouns. They should look at them conceptually as areas of study, investigate them, and try to understand their scope, magnitude and application.

To make our point clear we will take a general look at the following verses:

10. Let not the Unbelievers  
Think that they can  
Get the better (of the godly):  
They will never frustrate (them).
- وَلَا يَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا  
سَبَقُوا آلَهُمْ لَآ يَعْزِرُونَ
11. Against them make ready  
Your strength to the utmost  
Of your power, including  
Steads of war, to strike terror  
Into (the hearts of) the enemies,  
Of Allah and your enemies,  
And others besides, whom  
Ye may not know, but whom  
Allah doth know. Whatever  
Ye shall spend in the Cause  
Of Allah, shall be repaid  
Unto you, and ye shall not  
Be treated unjustly.
- وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ  
مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ  
تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ. عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ  
وَالْآخَرِينَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ لَنَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ  
وَمَا تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ  
يُؤْتِكُمْ إِيَّاهُكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَأَنْظَلُمُونَ
12. But if the enemy  
Incline towards peace,  
Do thou (also) incline  
Towards peace, and trust  
In Allah: for He is the One  
That hereth and knoweth  
(All things).
- وَإِنْ جَنَحُوا لِلسَّلَامِ  
فَاجْنَحْ لَهَا وَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ  
إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ
13. Should they intend  
To deceive thee—verily Allah  
Sufficeth thee: He it is  
That hath strengthened thee  
With His aid and  
With (the company of)  
The Believers;
- وَإِنْ يُرِيدُوا أَنْ يَخْدَعُوكَ  
فَأِنَّكَ حَسْبُكَ اللَّهُ هُوَ الَّذِي آيَدُكَ  
بِنَصْرِهِ وَبِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ
14. And (moreover) He hath put  
Affection between their hearts:  
Not if thou hadst spent
- وَاللَّفَافِ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِهِمْ لَوْ أَنْفَقْتَ

- All that is in the earth,  
 Couldst thou have produced  
 That affection, but Allah  
 Hath done it: for He  
 Is Exalted in might, Wise.
15. O Prophet! Sufficient  
 Unto thee is Allah—  
 (Unto thee) and unto those  
 Who follow thee  
 Among the Believers
16. O Prophet! rouse the Believers  
 To the fight. If there are  
 Twenty amongst you, patient  
 And persevering, they will  
 Vanquish two hundred: if a hundred,
17. They will vanquish a thousand  
 Of the Unbelievers: for these  
 Are a people without understanding
18. For the present, Allah  
 Hath lightened your (task).  
 For He knoweth that there is  
 A weak spot in you:  
 But (even so), if there are  
 A hundred of you, patient  
 And persevering, they will  
 Vanquish two hundred, and if  
 A thousand, they will vanquish  
 Two thousand, with the leave  
 Of Allah: for Allah is with those  
 Who patiently persevere.  
*Sūrah Al Anfāl (8:59-66)*
- مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ جَمِيعًا مَّا أَلْفَتْ  
 بَيْتَ قُلُوبِهِمْ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ  
 أَلْفَ بَيْنَهُمْ إِنَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ
- يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ حَسْبُكَ اللَّهُ  
 وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَكَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
- يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ حَرِّضِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ  
 عَلَى الْقِتَالِ إِنْ يَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ  
 عَشْرُونَ صَابِرُونَ  
 يَغْلِبُوا مِائَتِينَ وَإِنْ يَكُنْ  
 مِنْكُمْ مِائَةٌ يَغْلِبُوا أَلْفًا  
 مِنَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِأَنَّهُمْ  
 قَوْمٌ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ
- أَتَنْخَفِفُ اللَّهُ عَنْكُمْ  
 وَعَلِمَ أَنَّ فِيكُمْ ضَعْفًا  
 فَإِنْ يَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ مِائَةٌ  
 صَابِرَةٌ يَغْلِبُوا مِائَتَيْنِ  
 وَإِنْ يَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أَلْفٌ  
 يَغْلِبُوا أَلْفَيْنِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ  
 وَاللَّهُ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ
- (سورة الأنفال (٨): ٥٩-٦٦)

In these verses we find the Qur'anic discussion of power is in relation to war and confrontation. Looking at these verses we see that the Qur'an deals with aspects of physical power in terms of trained and ever-ready horses and cavalry as well as finance which were, in the time of the Prophet, very important components of military power. It also talks in terms of moral power—faith, solidarity and affection as well as patience and perseverance which are implied in the words *al-mu'min*, *allaḥfa* and *al-sabirin*.

Looking closely at the last two verses (8:65-66) and referring to the classical works of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and commentary on the Qur'an (*taf-sīr*) by great scholars of the past such as Shafi'i in his book of jurisprudence, *al-Umm* and Ibn Kathīr in his book of commentary *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, it is



interesting to note that they did not pay much attention to the conceptual aspects of these verses related to power. The loss of power (*daf*) was the focus of their attention which they directed to the physical and operational aspects of the particular situation. That is why the conclusion they drew from their study and analysis of these verses was that Muslim fighters should not retreat and turn their backs on the enemy as long as they were no more than double the number of the Muslims. The emphasis here was on physical power, in particular the number of fighters.

In the contemporary world with our awareness of the concept of power and its numerous physical and moral components, applications, interrelations and dynamics, we can understand an additional dimension of these verses which actually emphasize the concept of power involved and the different components and dynamics that explain the change from a ratio of one to ten to a ratio of one to two. The reason for this great reduction in the ratio is the changes in the other components of power relationships between the Muslims and their enemies at a particular point in time.

In a conceptual study of these verses focusing on the concept of power it becomes clear that in fact these verses minimize the importance attached to the number of fighters and draw our attention to other factors of power; both the physical aspects of power such as armor, and the moral aspects such as faith and perseverance. Through pointing out the loss of the other factors of power (*dafan*) it shows that the number of fighters is of limited significance and the value and effectiveness of numbers could change drastically. In this case the ratio changes from one to ten to one to two. This is opposed to the conclusions of the jurists who emphasized the number of fighters, ignoring completely the other aspects of power.

The wider and more important lesson involved in this commentary is the importance of the conceptual study of the Qur'an and Sunnah. Muslim social scientists should give proper attention to concepts and theorization in their study of the Qur'an and Sunnah. They should study the application, interrelationship and dynamics of these concepts related to contemporary conditions and realities. The benefits and knowledge derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah would then be much more useful and functional. The functional and the operational dimensions are very much needed for any successful Muslim performance in the future.

The effects of the Muslim lack of attention to the theoretical and conceptual aspects of the Qur'an and Sunnah have been detrimental and because of this we have not been able to face changing situations and achieve an Islamic civilizational presence in the recent centuries.

It is important for Muslim scientists and intellectuals to pay attention to and carry out investigation and analysis on information, issues, principles and concepts of the revealed knowledge contained in the Qur'an and Sunnah.



Muslim intellectuals have to study, understand, theorize and relate to their contemporary situation in order to better understand revealed knowledge and to avoid gross mistakes and great losses in order to attain wider and better horizons of human life and civilization.

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## The Islamization Of Methodology Of Behavioral Sciences

*Dr. Ṭahā Jābir Al-Ālwānī*

All praise and thanksgiving are for Allah (SWT) Lord of the universe, and peace and blessings be upon the Seal of the Prophets (ṢAAS), his kin and all his companions, and upon all who follow him and are guided by his Message, until the Day of Judgment.

Brothers and sisters: it gives me great pleasure to welcome you all in the name of the International Institute of Islamic Thought at the beginning of this conference, the fourth in its series of international conferences. We are happy and appreciate that this conference is being hosted by the Sudan, and is being held in cooperation with the University of Khartoum, to discuss a matter of great importance to this Ummah: *The Reform of the Methodology of Islamic Thought, and Ways of Islamizing the Behavioral Sciences*. Undoubtedly, these sciences form the general basis for the social sciences and humanities.

This is indeed the first time that the Institute has held one of its international conferences in an Arab country, under the auspices of a Muslim Arab president from an historical family whose deep concern for attempting to effect reform in this Ummah is well-known. For the benefit of the good people of this country, and for the audience here, we should briefly but accurately outline the aims and objectives of this Institute, its achievements so far, and its most important plans and projects, so that individuals are able to determine the part each can play as well as the extent of their possible participation in and contribution to this good work.

Many years ago, and after numerous conferences and exhaustive studies and consultations on the present situation of our Ummah, in addition to extensive analysis of our past as well as our future aspirations, an idea crystallized in the minds of a group of young committed Muslims. They were convinced that the crisis of this Ummah in both essence and reality is an intellectual

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This is the English translation of the opening speech at the Fourth International Conference on Islamization of Knowledge organized by the IIIT in cooperation with the Department of Psychology, University of Khartoum, Jumādā al Ūlā 1407/January 1987.



crisis. This is so because everything else in the Ummah is sound except for thought. The Ummah still possesses in the present all the fundamentals which in the past made it "the best of Peoples evolved for mankind" (The Qur'an 3:110); it has definitely not lost any of them, except the soundness of its thought and the ability to develop, utilize and strengthen it. As far as the rest is concerned, the Ummah, if it is not better than it was, at least is no worse. Therefore, the various phenomena of corruption in the Ummah are, in our opinion, only a reflection and embodiment of the crisis of its thought.

Thought is the fruit of all sources of knowledge, of education, experience, ability, and social concepts and trends. It is formulated as far as the Muslim is concerned by Revelation as well as by man's inherent intellectual capacity, by all the cultural developments and the knowledge which man has managed to possess, and by the experiences he has gained, in addition to his own *fiṭrah* and potential which Allah (SWT) has bestowed upon him. Thought is like a tree which needs healthy and strong roots in order to survive. Hence, if the roots and sources of knowledge are sound, the methodology correct and the aims worthy, then both its situation and the situation of those behind it will improve. However, if there are mistakes or deliberate alterations and distortions in these sources, then thought will be corrupted and all aspects of life disrupted. Consequently, people will become short-sighted and narrow-minded. They will begin to neglect the basics and essentials, concentrating only on minor as well as irrelevant issues, to ignore the long-term aims and objectives, and to focus all attention on ritualistic details. They will also either ignore the relationship between effects and their causes or attribute effects to the wrong causes and, therefore, fall victim to superstitions. They will also fail to identify their priorities. When a society reaches such a stage, the social equilibrium crumbles and collapses, resulting in conflict between members of the group, or Ummah, which will dominate all political, intellectual, and social aspects of life. Security will disappear, and distrust and corruption will prevail. Odd ideas and principles will predominate creating serious divisions and schisms. People will be hesitant and afraid to participate in or contribute to collective and public work, endeavors, and activities. Lacking both in trust and confidence, they will tend to isolate themselves from society. Positive, disciplined, and fair attitudes will disappear only to be replaced with whimsical, frivolous, and erratic ones. Objective thinking will be lost, only to give way to Machiavellian and precautionary ideas and thought and to the mixing up of different issues and means. The members of the Ummah will have nothing in common. Killing, torturing, and repressive silencing of any form of opposition will become the only way of communication between the rulers and the people. Thus will the Ummah lose its ability to understand its own situation and fail to plan for the future; its efforts and activities will be limited to combating non-issues which are the product of selfishness and greed. All



these systems serve as clear indicators of nothing more or less than a crippling intellectual crisis.

If a nation's thought is distorted and suffers such a crisis, then it should be reformed before the Ummah is able to rectify and improve its situation and develop. Attempts to reform any aspect without first resolving the crisis of thought will always be doomed to failure and lead to more confusion and corruption. Undoubtedly, all means of reform will be rendered ineffective if influenced to any extent by corrupted and distorted thought. Positive effects, if any, of such attempts will always be short-lived and may even be turned into and used as a means of repression and destruction. Indeed, there are many striking examples of this in our own history.

Allah (SWT) has ordered us to believe in *qadar*; i.e., His assignment of ends to all processes of life and existence on earth. Belief in *qadar* is considered to be one of the most important pillars of *īmān*; i.e., the conviction that Allah (SWT) is indeed the One and only God and that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) is His last Prophet. Anybody who does not believe in *qadar* is not considered to be a *mu'min*; his *īmān* is invalid. The effect of belief in *qadar* is to encourage the Muslim to endeavor to make great achievements. Moreover, belief in *qadar* releases mankind from all kinds of desires and fears and frees them from all sorts of pressures and evil influences. It gives them self-respect and enables them in accordance with the will of Allah (SWT), to explore the universe and utilize it for their own benefit and to study its natural laws and the interrelationships between them, so that they can build civilizations and establish truth, goodness, and beauty.

When the first generation of this Ummah, the *Ṣaḥābah* and the *tābi'ūn*, combined this driving force with enlightened thought and were able to understand it within this framework, they were neither hampered by obstacles nor did they allow difficulties to prevent them from achieving their aims and goals. But when this pillar of *īmān* is combined with disturbed and distorted thought, it leads to laziness, indifference, and apathy.

If we study the relationship between causality and divine power, we will find that this relationship was fully understood by the first generation of the Ummah. Their understanding was comprehensive and clear. Everyone of them would take all the means at their disposal and, if they were successful in their endeavour and task, then they would thank and praise Allah (SWT), who had created and made available such means and brought about the desired result. However, if they failed, then they would go back and carefully examine the means again to find out where they had gone wrong in order to rectify the mistake; then they would do their best again, within the God-given *sunan* ("laws"), to achieve the desired results. At the same time, they believed that Allah (SWT) has complete power to do whatever He wills, and that He "hath power over all things" (The Qur'an 2:20).

The first generation of Muslims were also aware that complete divine power does not prevent the believer from using available and appropriate means to bring about the required result. The believer, they rightly felt, must do everything possible, proficiently, accurately, and sincerely, and then leave it to Allah (SWT) to bring about a result in accordance with His *sunan* and with *qadar*. Allah (SWT) has the right to test His servants, but they do not have the right to test Him by neglecting the necessary means and causes in order to see whether or not the same result would come about. The first generation never failed to seek the appropriate means in any matter they pursued. None of them felt that by doing so they would detract from the sincerity of their *īmān* or from the reality of *tawakkul*; i.e., reliance on Allah (SWT). The Prophet (ṢAAS) summed up this matter in one single sentence. When an upset and surprised Bedouin, who had left his camel untied outside the mosque only to find later that it had run away, complained to the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he had relied on Allah (SWT) to take care of his camel, the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Tie the camel up ("*ʿaqil*"), then rely on Allah (SWT) ("*wa tawakkal*")."

However, the thought of the contemporary, crisis-stricken, generations has dramatically changed this simple, clear matter into an insoluble problem. The *kalāmīyūn* have spoken and written a great deal on the reality and the nature of the cause and the relationship between causes and effects. They have raised such questions as these: Is the effect necessarily brought about by the cause? When is it necessary to mention and explain causes and when is it not necessary? Such questions and consequent arguments confounded, bewildered, and confused the Muslim mind. Sometimes the Muslim was told that resorting to means is a sign of the weakness of his *īmān* as well as of his *yaqīn*, i.e. apodictic certainty of the truth of Islam and its claim. The Muslim was sometimes told that to adopt and resort to means is a requirement of faith. In all cases, this had a tremendous shattering effect on the Muslim mind and conscience. The Ummah now needs to make great educational and intellectual efforts in order to rid itself of these debilitating and paralyzing effects. The deviation of thought caused by the principle of causality is responsible to a great extent for the spread of superstition, indifference, lack of objectivity, and apathy. These bad effects have been exacerbated by the exponents of superlative *fiqh* and cryptic issues. An example would be those who would affect the application of punishment in the case of a woman who, pregnant through adultery, claimed that a *jinn* had impregnated her, by rendering her guilt "doubtful."

For the first generation of the Ummah, the relationship between the intellectual capacity of *ʿaql* ("*reason*") and *naql* ("*revelation*," "*transmitted knowledge*") was complementary. Nothing has been narrated which might indicate that any one of that generation felt that there was a dichotomy between



the two. Whenever there was a revelation concerning *ghayb* (“hidden,” “invisible,” “unseen,” “that which is beyond perception”), they all used to accept it in all submission, with no *ʿirāḍ* (objection), no *jidāl* (argument), no *taʿīl* (delay), no *tashbīh* (doubt), and no *taʿwīl* (interpretation), with no arguments or objections, and without trying to find explanation for it. In other words, they proceeded without *taʿīl*, *tashbīh*, or *taʿwīl* because their intellectual capacity had already played its role in determining whether or not the Prophet (ṢAAS) was speaking the truth, and they had already pondered, argued, discussed, and asked for evidence (the miracle), and then had embraced Islam. As long as they believed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the Messenger of Allah (SWT) and was telling the truth in everything that was revealed to him, and that the Qurʾān was the Book of Allah (SWT), which “no falsehood can approach it from before or behind it” (The Qurʾān 41:42), then in matters of *ghayb* they were easily able to accept whatever the Prophet (ṢAAS) told them. They were genuinely convinced that these are matters which can only be known by means of revelation, and that the revelation had been proven correct and authentic by miracles. Therefore, there is no need to waste precious intellectual energy as well as time on matters of *ghayb*. It is far better to devote ourselves to the study of the tangible universe and to use it as creatively as possible.

The relationship between the intellectual capacity of reason and Revelation was severely affected by that time of thought crisis which had a damaging influence on scholastic theology and philosophy. This led to much distortion, confusion, and sterile arguments about fate, free-will, cause and effect, people’s deeds, the role of man, and the value and importance of life and its goal. All of this affected the Muslim’s way of thinking, outlook, education, behavior, attitudes, and reactions; all have transformed Muslims into negative, indifferent, and fatalistic beings, weak-willed and shortsighted, who blindly imitate others and are totally occupied and exhausted by trivialities. Such Muslims are like worthless flotsam, as no harmony whatsoever exists between them and their surroundings.

If the wonderful harmony between intellectual capacity and Revelation had continued, and the Muslims had continued with studying the universe and its laws and ways to harness it for the benefit of humanity in order to establish truth and justice, we would not find ourselves in this situation. It would not be possible for the reins of civilization to be in alien hands, nor for the Muslims to be worthless flotsam. If the Muslim had remained industrious, worshipping Allah (SWT) with his mind, intellect and meditation as well as with his actions and deeds, would this present intellectual lethargy, laziness, and inertia be arresting and paralyzing his intellectual capacity?

Moreover, if Islamic thought had continued to ascribe appropriate importance to the *sunan* of cause and effect, and to establish the relationships between results and their causes, could superstition in all its manifestations

dominate the Muslim mind? If it were not for the blind imitation of others which has made Muslims behave like a lost herd, would we now find our Ummah being driven headlong into destruction and ruin as millions of Muslims are killed (the majority of them by Muslim hands, not by the hands of our enemies)? The situation is so chaotic that the killer does not know why he kills, nor does the slain know why he died. If it were not for the widespread confusion caused by the intellectual crisis, would it be possible for thousands of Muslims to die of diseases caused by overeating and by other features of imported alien cultures while millions of others die of starvation and lack of shelter?

This Ummah has been in existence for a rather long time. Although it is difficult to determine exactly when its crisis actually began, the split between the political leadership and the 'Ulama and *fuqahā'*, which appeared after the era of the rightly guided *khulafā'*, can be considered a starting point. This split continued to grow and develop, leading eventually to the formulation of policies which, unlike those of the rightly guided *khulafā'*, bore no relationship to the aims of Islam. These policies have had the worst effect on the Ummah and its thought, heralding as they did the spread of wrong ideas and concepts which brought about intellectual corruption.

Undoubtedly, the field of knowledge, with its sources and methodologies, and the field of education, which is based on such knowledge, have been most seriously affected and damaged by the intellectual crisis of our time. The human personality is formed from an intellect and a psyche, two features which distinguish man from animals, enabling him to think, analyze, and make decisions. Human intellect is formed by education and knowledge, plus the experiences and experiments of life. The psyche is formed by arts, literature, and attitudes. So any distortion in education will of necessity be reflected in the intellect, and any disturbance or change in the arts and literature will likewise be reflected in the psyche.

The social sciences and humanities in the disciplines of psychology, sociology, education, economics, politics, media, and others, form the intellect of contemporary man (whatever his religion) in accordance with their orientation and educational influence. All of these subject areas without exception are the product of the Western mind, which formed them in accordance with its own philosophy and complicated outlook on the universe, life, and man, and molded them to suit its own needs, with no regard for the needs of other peoples. The Soviets often describe the standards and methods of these sciences as being Capitalist sciences and methods. I wonder what term the Muslims would ascribe to them after their thought is reformed and their will freed from their shackles and fetters.

The methodologies of these sciences, their subject matter, results, aims, explanations of human behavior, and outlook on life and the universe, are



all in sharp conflict with our beliefs, concepts, and aims in life. They have succeeded in dividing the educated Muslims into several groups, each adhering to one of their various philosophies and schools of thought. Some of them are described as “logical and positivist,” others as “existentialist,” and still others as “materialist.”

Shortly after its formation, Israel established a committee for the social sciences and entrusted it with conducting research in those fields and calculating the extent of the threat which they posed to Jewish and Zionist thought. The committee was required to plan to rid these fields of any negative effects on the Jewish mentality, because the leaders and thinkers of the Jewish state were well aware of the negative and destructive effects these sciences could have on life. The fact that many of the main exponents of these philosophies and schools of thought were Jews has not prevented Israel from seeking to neutralize their effect on the Jewish people, inside and outside of Israel.

Tragically, however, Muslim youth are being greatly influenced and affected by all of these alien ideas and concepts. They accept and propagate the positive and negative elements without thinking; they become absorbed in daydreams. The excuse they give themselves for accepting such cultural and intellectual colonialism is that the West took the foundation of its culture and civilization from our Islamic legacy. In the whole of the Islamic world, there is not one single center for the critical study of these sciences from an Islamic view point, let alone centers which could provide an Islamic alternative.

The time has come for our universities in the Islamic world to turn away from their role of producing clerks and officials and to begin to produce educated scholars: not merely graduates with general knowledge but educated Muslims who are aware of their duties, who are well-versed in their fields, and who understand and are committed to the Islamic concepts of the universe, life, and man. This cannot be achieved unless the educated Muslim resumes his proper role in life. That role is conveying the message of Islam and reformulating his own legacy as well as the cultural and scientific heritage of mankind by giving an Islamic character to its methodologies, principles, results, and aims. Thus, all fields and methods of knowledge, both in the arts and the sciences, will begin and end with Islamic concepts. However, this cannot be achieved without the Islamization of knowledge.

## Shari‘ah Sciences

Our knowledge suffered a split very early on. The origins of this split may be traced to the age of translation, classification, compilation, and recording. As a result of this split, knowledge has been divided into two separate

areas: Shari'ah knowledge and "other" knowledge. This division still prevails. When the West colonized the Islamic world, it reinforced this division and gave it new impetus. Western strategists took advantage of the dual system of education to completely isolate Islam from life, and to confine it to mere theoretical issues which served little practical purpose and had no great effect on everyday life. In every Islamic country which they colonized, they established a secular system of education that enforced the Westernization of the Muslim mind. Consequently and tragically, Muslims began to believe in Western values and adhere to Western methodologies in all aspects of life and knowledge. The colonialists gave this secular educational system the capacity to influence society and provided it with all the means to achieve this. In order to kill any serious opposition, they deviously allowed some religious schools to remain. In most countries, these schools were attached to the mosques and, in others, they were kept independent. They taught the legacy of fiqh, kalam and 'uṣūl, as well as Arabic sciences, using books written and ideas formulated after the gates of ijtihad had been closed. This dual system of education helped to split the educated members of the Ummah into two groups: the Westernized group, which tries to establish all kinds of connections and rapport with the West, thinking that this will bring about an improvement in the Ummah's situation, and an opposing group that strongly resists this, not through sound thought but through a thought and a mentality formulated during the period of decline when the basis of studies and education were formed. This conflict is still going on, wasting the Ummah's energy and destroying its unity, and is a major factor of its backwardness.

Here we can clearly realize the urgent necessity for what we call the Islamization of knowledge, which, in addition to the goals mentioned above, also aims to abolish the dual system of education in order to rid the Muslim mind of this dichotomy of knowledge. This would produce a united educational system and a methodological syllabus capable of providing the Ummah with Muslim specialists in every practical area as well as in the social sciences and humanities. These specialists would understand the general *ahkām* of the *Shari'ah* in addition to the rules of their field, so that they can know what to accept and what to reject. This would enable them to bring their own activities in line with the general aims of Islam and its conception of the universe, life, and man.

The studies known as "Shari'ah Studies" need to be completely revised with regard to the books used, the tutors involved, the subject matter studied and researched, and the teaching methods followed. A great deal needs to be added and the syllabus needs to be changed. The humanities and social sciences, and the study of human nature and natural laws should be added to the syllabus in order to enable the *faqīh* to understand human nature and instinct, both individual and social, and also to understand the various aspects



of life, thereby enabling him to interact with them. In this way, he can play an active part in society after becoming aware of its problems and values.

It has now become essential for this Ummah to establish academic institutions for research and study to deal with and specialize in the areas mentioned above in order to utilize its potential to hold meetings, invite scholars to research and write, to adopt the most intelligent young people and prepare them to take to the Muslim world the methodologies, program, steps, plans, and conditions for reforming thought and Islamizing knowledge. Moreover, such institutions would work hard to make the issue of the Islamization of knowledge the main concern of the educated Muslims, thus establishing a trend which will lead the Ummah to a real, solid renaissance, carrying the message of Islam from a comprehensive, civilized viewpoint and perspective and putting its basic issues into action. This will lead the Ummah toward a life of goodness in this world and a great reward in the hereafter.

The First International Conference on the Islamization of Knowledge was held in Europe in July 1977. It decided on the establishment of an institute to work toward reviving Islamic thought and its methodology. Thus the International Institute of Islamic Thought was established in Washington in 1981 by some brothers who have volunteered to shoulder this responsibility and duty and to devote themselves to fulfil the Institute's objectives and secure its independence. The Second International Conference on Islamization was held in Islamabad, Pakistan, in 1982 in cooperation between the Institute and the Islamic University there. As a result of the research and discussions of the participants, a plan for the Islamization of Knowledge was crystallized and published as *The Islamization of Knowledge, General Principles and Work Plan*. One result of that conference was that the Islamic trend in Pakistan was not confined to knowledge. The Pakistani President himself participated in the conference, and instructed his advisers and the leading figures in Pakistan to take part in the research and discussions. Since then, Pakistan has taken wide-ranging steps towards Islamization in many fields. Civil and criminal laws have been reviewed and have been replaced with Islamic alternatives. A system of *zakah* was announced and is being put into action. The study of Islamic civilization and Islamic thought has been included in the syllabi of all universities, and specialist research centers have been established in many branches of knowledge in the universities to study the Islamization of those subjects. Many Pakistani brothers and sisters see a direct connection between that conference and the Islamic changes which followed it.

The Third International Conference on the Islamization of knowledge was held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in cooperation with the Islamic University there. The Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Muhammad, government officials, party members, and many prominent Malaysian scientists and scholars took part in the conference. This had far-reaching effects on the wide-ranging steps



which Malaysia has taken toward the Islamization of many fields. Useful alterations have been made to most syllabi, and an International Islamic University and an Islamic Bank have been established in Kuala Lumpur. One is delighted to hear that the non-Muslim majority in Malaysia has been very good and encouraging to the call for Islamization and the moves in that direction. This proves beyond any doubt that if Islam is presented to people in a correct and positive way, and as a solution to their problems, a cure for their ills, an answer to their questions, and a just and practical way of dealing with matters, then they will rush, not to reject but, to embrace it. But if Islam is presented in a negative way, merely in empty words and slogans and in strict actions, then it will only be met with rejection and resistance.

Today, the Institute is holding its Fourth International Conference in cooperation with the University of Khartoum. The hope is that this conference will produce a comprehensive view of Islamic methodology and a practical conception necessary for the Islamization of the behavioral sciences that form the basis of the social sciences. These should be presented to the teachers of those sciences so as to enable them to give examples and evidence of the Muslim mind's ability to structure and develop knowledge, and to reintroduce these sciences to their students from an Islamic angle by adopting from the Qur'an and the Sunnah their ideas of man's soul and human nature, the rules of individual and social *fiṭrah*, the purpose of creation, and the divine laws governing the universe, man, and life. At the same time, they should seek to make use of all sound means and methods of scientific research which Allah (SWT) has bestowed upon His servants, so that these sciences will then become means for producing a new strong Muslim and will enable him/her to fulfill his/her role as Allah (SWT)'s vicegerent on earth. Therefore, mankind's *raison d'être*, which is the service of Allah (SWT), involves building civilizations and utilizing all the energies and potentials—both apparent and hidden—which Allah (SWT) has provided to enable mankind to fulfill its role.

The Institute hopes that Sudan will, *in shā' Allah*, carry out this trust, especially since its government is led by an important Muslim thinker who has contributed a great deal to many Islamic causes and issues. We also hope that the Prime Minister will include this message in his suggestions to the Islamic Summit Conference, and ask Muslim leaders to give due and appropriate attention to the reform of the methodology and the Islamization of knowledge.

As we have pointed out earlier, the three Western behavioral sciences—psychology, sociology, and anthropology—are today considered the basis and the starting point for all Western humanities and social sciences. Their assumptions, rules, and theories define the understanding of man and his nature, aims,

motives, and reactions, the significance of his various activities, his relationships, and his interaction with others. One could almost say that the other social sciences are merely the application of the assumptions and rules of these sciences to the fields of education, politics, economics, administration, media, law, and so forth. However, Western thought in these sciences has many negative features and serious shortcomings. The most important of these are:

### 1. **Limitation of the Sources of Knowledge**

As the West has confined the sources of its knowledge to human intellect alone, it has thus deprived itself of the most important source of knowledge, namely divine revelation, which can provide comprehensive and detailed knowledge.

### 2. **Limitation of the Means of Examining the Knowledge Produced by Human Intellect**

As they have limited these means to experiments alone, they have made this the only proof of soundness in any branch of knowledge. Hence they think that experiments are the only means of verification and are, therefore, suitable for every field of knowledge. But this is not the case, as we all know.

### 3. **Application of Deduction Regardless of Wide Differences**

The behavioral and social sciences were subjected to the rules and methodologies of the natural and applied sciences. The motive for doing so was the great achievements realized in the applied and natural sciences.

At this point I hope you will permit me to pause briefly in memory of two great martyrs of the Institute:

Professor Ismā'īl Rājī al-Fārūqī was an exponent and a leader of this cause. He traveled throughout the world, advocating it in his books and lectures. Like his ancestor, 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fārūq (RAA), he was able to distinguish between truth and falsehood. Like him, he also compensated as a committed and devoted Muslim for all the time and energy wasted in earlier gatherings, meetings, and activities. The cause of reforming the methodology of thought and the Islamization of knowledge ignited the *īmān*, which had lain dormant in this man, shrouded in the fog of philosophy, both ancient and modern, Western and Eastern. This cause stirred in him strong emotions



which had been scattered between many causes. Suddenly he became devoted to this one cause: The Islamization of knowledge. It dominated his life and activities as he pondered, discussed, and planned with his brothers how to realize it and how to mobilize people and resources for it.

He (may Allah (SWT)'s mercy fall upon him) always expressed himself sincerely and clearly, and used to present his arguments well. He was aware of all the faults of Christianity and Judaism, having studied and mastered both well, in addition to being well versed in the history of religions. As an expert in Western philosophy, he had identified its faults and was cognizant of the advantages of the Shari'ah. He enjoyed an international reputation, and there was hardly a conference in any field of the humanities and social sciences where he was not one of the main speakers or did not captivate the minds of his audience.

Always by his side was his wife, the *shahīdah* Lois Lamyā. She had been his partner in life since his arrival in the United States. A distinguished scholar in the field of arts and civilization, she managed to combine her energies with his. For many years, she devoted her efforts to trace the roots of and establish a theory for "Islamic Arts." She took it upon herself to Islamize the arts and succeeded in doing—with the utmost humility and modesty—that which hundreds of Muslim women, raised in Muslim homes, have indeed failed to do. The whole family was the enemy's target, so Lamyā was killed by the same Rambo knife with which her husband was slaughtered. She died minutes before him. The killer tried to finish off their pregnant daughter, whom he repeatedly stabbed with his knife, stopping only when he thought she was dead.

This is the first conference held by the Institute since the martyrdom of the al-Fārūqīs. We want to ensure that the flag will be kept flying, *in shā' Allah*, that the Institute will continue spreading its message, and that the brothers and sisters of al-Fārūqīs will carry on their mission regardless of challenges, obstacles, and hindrances.

In conclusion, we ask Allah (SWT) to enable us to complete our task and achieve our aims; to grant us all resolution and sincerity; to bless this conference from which we shall be able, *in shā' Allah*, to take on that which will benefit our Ummah and help to spread progress; and to make our efforts and those of all sincere Muslims successful. He is indeed the only One we can ask for success and the only One who is able to grant it.



# Mobilization Of Resources For Development

*A.H.M. Sadeq*

## Introduction

The employment of resources is important for any aspect of the spectrum of overall development, be it economic or non-economic, spiritual or material. Although spiritual matters seem to be non-economic in nature, their inculcation and development involve the use of resources. Hence, Allah (SWT) instructs mankind to invest in the development of spiritual values.<sup>1</sup> The spread and establishment of Islam require travelling, dissemination of knowledge, education, publication of literature, use of media, protection of Islamic societies from non-Islamic forces (i.e. internal and external defense), administration of institutions intended for the implementation of Islamic obligations and norms, and the like. Each of these functions requires tremendous amounts of material and human resources.

Economic development comprises two essential components: economic growth and equity in the distribution of income and wealth. Economic growth requires investable resources for producing capital goods, hiring workers and managers, acquiring raw materials, improving technology, and organizing the production process. In particular, capital formation and technological change have been considered as key factors in economic development; the availability of adequate investable resources is a prerequisite for the smooth supply and use of these factors.

The Islamic code of life provides enormous incentives for mobilizing resources, both material and human, and an institutional framework conducive to efficient use of resources for development. This paper, which concentrates on mobilizing resources for development, discusses natural, human and financial resources, as well as the role of government and internal and external institutions in the development process.

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<sup>1</sup>The Qur'an 23:10; 2:3; 21:11; 3:134,9:20.

## Mobilization and Utilization of Natural Resources For Development

The Islamic norm of life, in contrast to monasticism, considers all natural resources as provisions for the benefit of mankind. Man's work is to explore, develop, and use all available natural resources to enhance the well-being of all human beings in this world and in the hereafter. Man should also develop technology that promotes a better use of natural resources. Let us consider the following Qur'ānic verses, which are only a few of the many that discuss natural resources:

- "And there is an abode and a provision for you for a time in the earth."<sup>2</sup>
- And the earth we have spread out, set thereon firm mountains, made to grow all kinds of things in due balance. And we have provided therein means of subsistence for you . . .<sup>3</sup>
- And we sent down iron wherein is hardness and advantages for men.<sup>4</sup>
- And it was He who made the sea subservient that you may eat flesh that is fresh from it.<sup>5</sup>

This discussion has three dimensions: (1) All natural resources are given by Allah (SWT); (2) The objective of providing the natural resources is to benefit mankind; and (3) Man is encouraged to explore and develop natural resources by every available means and to use them for the benefit of humanity.

The incentive to mobilize and use natural resources is connected to an instruction from Allah (SWT): "And when the prayer is over, disperse in the world and search for the bounty of Allah."<sup>6</sup> This does not refer merely to trade; it refers also to utilization of all provisions, including natural resources, that are made by Allah. There is no reason to exclude the natural provisions from the "bounty of Allah."

In the same vein, the Messenger of Allah (ṢAAS) emphasized employing all opportunities for using the natural resources. He said:

If the Day of Resurrection has approached and any of you is holding

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<sup>2</sup>The Qur'an 2:36.

<sup>3</sup>The Qur'an 15:19.

<sup>4</sup>The Qur'an 57:25.

<sup>5</sup>The Qur'an 16:14.

<sup>6</sup>The Qur'an 62:10.



a seedling in his hand, he must plant it, if possible, before he stands up.<sup>7</sup>

Obviously, if the *Qiyāmah* is approaching, one will not be able to make use of the fruits of the land or the land itself, which is a natural resource, but still, leaving it unused is discouraged.

This emphasis received legal status in the early Islamic states. It was declared that if a person did not cultivate his land for more than three years, the land would be confiscated and transferred to someone who would cultivate it.<sup>8</sup>

A question may arise concerning the use of exhaustible natural resources, such as petroleum and tin. Excessive use of these resources deprives future generations, causing an imbalance in the inter-temporal distribution of exhaustible resources. It is the Islamic point of view to avoid all waste and excess, but at the same time, to use whatever is needed for the welfare of the present generation.<sup>9</sup> Whatever is not required by this generation will be left for future generations. Added to this is the knowledge that Allah (SWT), who has created them in the first place, can increase the stock of so-called exhaustible resources.

Thus, there are two dimensions for making use of natural resources: first, mobilization of natural resources, which is simply exploring and owning them; and second, developing and using natural resources for the benefit of mankind. Islam provides all motivations and instructions both to explore and to use natural resources for human welfare.

## Mobilization Of Investable Domestic Resources For Development

Mobilization of investable domestic resources for development depends on the availability of adequate sources of investable resources. In general, there are two sources of investable resources: domestic and foreign. Conventional economics includes three main analytical approaches to the study of development finance from domestic sources: the Prior-Saving Approach, the Keynesian Approach, and the Quantity Theory Approach.<sup>10</sup>

The Prior-Saving Approach emphasizes savings, with a strong aversion

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<sup>7</sup>*Bukhari*, vol. I, No. 2140, Urdu translation by Mirza Hairat Dehlvi, 518.

<sup>8</sup>Abū 'Ubayd, *Kitāb al Amwāl* (Egypt : Dār al Fikr, 1975), 367-68.

<sup>9</sup>The Qur'an 7:31.

<sup>10</sup>For a fairly detailed analysis of these approaches, see A.P. Thirlwall, *Financing Economic Development* (London: Macmillan, 1976).



to inflation, as a prerequisite of investment and development; hence, it emphasizes the need for policies to raise the level of savings. The Keynesian Approach emphasizes investment, rather than saving for development in a situation of less than full employment of resources; savings will follow investment, so the planned investment will not be constrained by the shortage of savings. In the case of full employment, however, a higher planned investment will create inflation, so income will be redistributed from the poor, whose marginal propensity to consume is higher, to the rich whose marginal propensity to save is higher. Resources may be mobilized for development through such a redistribution of resources. The Quantity Theory Approach involves creation of new money to produce similar inflationary effects on savings and resource mobilization for development. That is, resources are transferred through inflation from the poor to the rich, causing the total saving to be higher. Mobilization of resources from foreign sources includes loans, aid, and grants.

In Islamic economics, the inflationary Quantity Theory and Keynesian Approaches are not acceptable. These approaches involve unethical and inhumane transfer of resources from the already poor to make the rich richer and cause suffering to the lower income population. Mobilization of resources from foreign sources also has some considerations and qualifications which will be discussed below.

The main domestic source of development finance is savings. The Islamic code of life provides for a good potential of savings. Islam recommends a modest living, avoiding both miserliness and waste.<sup>11</sup> This tenet is applicable in all individual, social, political, and public matters of expenditure and celebration, reducing claims on resources; the net effect is expected to be higher savings.<sup>12</sup> Islam also motivates people to save.<sup>13</sup> When savings are mobilized and invested, they play a role in the development process.

Islam motivates people in three ways to mobilize investable resources:

1. The moral motivation for mobilization and utilization of resources. In line with the Qur'anic norm and the prophetic traditions, Caliph 'Umar (RAA) is reported to have instructed

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<sup>11</sup>The Qur'an 7:31; 17:27.

<sup>12</sup>For a fairly detailed discussion, see the present author's "Economic Growth in an Islamic Economy: Potentials and Priorities." Paper presented at the International Seminar on Islamic Economics, Kuala Lumpur, July 6-9, 1987.

<sup>13</sup>See Ibid. The transfer of resources from the rich to the poor would not significantly reduce the saving power of the rich, since zakah constitutes a small percentage of their wealth. In addition, the elimination of interest does not affect the incentive to save, because the savings and interest do not seem to be significantly correlated.

- Muslims to develop money in one's possession and to cultivate land in one's possession.<sup>14</sup>
2. The spiritual and economic penalties for keeping resources idle. Severe punishment on the Day of Judgment has been declared in the Qur'an for hoarding resources in gold, silver, or other forms,<sup>15</sup> because hoarding drains resources from the production process, causes recession, and produces many adverse effects in the economy and suffering in human life. The economic loss is that the hoarder has to pay as Zakah 2.5 percent of the hoarded amount every year. If the hoarder does not invest the hoarded resources, they will gradually be eaten up over time by the payment of Zakah. If a person invests the amount, the Zakah may be paid out of profits and still leave something over.
  3. Economic incentive to use resources for investment. Islam provides a business framework under which a person can invest his resources even as a silent partner. In the *muḍārabah* form of business, a person can pay capital to an entrepreneur to run a business and/or establish an industrial enterprise. The potential profits act as an economic incentive to channel the investable resources to the production process.

All these incentives facilitate the mobilization of resources. If the owner of the investable resources comes forward to invest on his own, the problem is fully or partially solved. He can use his resources and take funds from others if necessary. If he does not intend to get involved in economic activities, he will have a strong urge to let others use his resources on the basis of profit or loss-sharing. The result is that those who look for investable resources for investment should find them easily. The Islamic norm of life is thus favorable for mobilizing investable resources for development.

## **Institutional Setting For Mobilization of Investable Domestic Resources**

Islamic banking presents an efficient institutional setting for consolidating scattered resources from individuals and households. Money can be deposited with the Islamic banks, which invest it directly or indirectly by providing

<sup>14</sup>Abū'Ubayd,

<sup>15</sup>The Qur'an 9:34.



investable resources to entrepreneurs. There may be a number of arrangements of distributing profits or losses between the entrepreneurs and the Islamic banks. The banks, in turn, share the profits with the depositors.

In this way, those who save even a small amount can channel their resources to profitable economic activities and need not search for potential entrepreneurs. The Islamic banks can do the job as their agents. Individuals can choose to be silent partners in economic activities through the Islamic banking system to earn a profit from their resources. In addition, the savers can invest in other profit-earning shares of economic enterprises. The Islamic financial system provides a number of instruments for investment.

It is, therefore, not true that the elimination of interest limits the alternatives of using resources profitably. It has been shown elsewhere that the Islamic financial system provides better use of resources for a fuller and more efficient allocation of investable resources.<sup>16</sup>

It is encouraging to note that the Islamic banks have proven viable and successful even in a non-Islamic financial environment. Although the financial sector is interest-based in most of the Muslim countries of the world, Islamic banks have been operating successfully in many of them.

Muslims residing in non-Muslim countries may try to establish an Islamic bank in order to mobilize, in particular, the savings of the Muslim community for profitable investment. Alternatively, the Muslim community may make cooperative arrangements, for instance, in the form of an investment trust. Such an institutional setting helps mobilize investable resources for development and for the independence of Muslims from involvement in interest-based activities.

The institution of *Khilāfah* (Islamic government) also contributes to the mobilization and use of resources.

## The Role Of Government In Mobilizing Resources For Development

The broad economic policy goals of an Islamic government include establishing Islam in the country and propagating it elsewhere, achieving a high level of economic growth by optimal use of resources, achieving equity in the distribution of income, providing for basic needs of the poor, maintaining

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<sup>16</sup>Interested readers may see the present author's "Banking Revolution and the Problem of Personnel Development," *Thoughts on Economics*, Winter 1986; also by the same author "Economic Growth in An Islamic Economy : Potentials and Priorities." For a detailed discussion of the institutional setting of resource mobilization and utilization, see Dr. Umer Chapra, *Towards a Just Monetary System* (Leicester : The Islamic Foundation, 1985).



law and order, and defending national security. All these functions add to the socioeconomic development of the country. They need resources from a variety of sources, both domestic and foreign. The main sources are as follows:

1. *Zakah*: *Zakah* is a compulsory levy to be paid by the rich through the government to those who need help and for purposes that have been prescribed by the Qur'an.<sup>17</sup> Although an individual has to pay a small percentage of his wealth, the total *zakah* of a country is expected to be quite significant. This is a major source of revenue in an Islamic state.<sup>18</sup>
2. *Taxes*: There is a consensus of the 'ulama that income taxes may be imposed when *zakah* revenues and other income are not adequate to meet the obligations of the state.<sup>19</sup> Except for countries that have a large public sector or substantial income from natural resources, *zakah* revenues will not naturally be enough to meet all public expenditure. One reason is that *zakah* revenues may be used only in the prescribed ways, so other revenues must be raised from elsewhere.
3. *Public sector enterprises*: This activity may potentially be another important source of resources for development, depending on the state's involvement in economic activities and/or natural resources.

Besides voluntary donations to government funds, unconditional foreign grants, war booties, and the like constitute additional sources of revenue in the public sector. In particular, Muslim countries can usefully cooperate with each other in resource use.

As a matter of fact, the government accrues enormous revenues from all these sources which it then can use for socioeconomic development. Development-oriented expenditure includes providing social and economic overhead capital, promoting education and propagation of Islam, supplying basic needs, and subsidizing producers. Providing basic needs from the *zakah*

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<sup>17</sup>The Qur'an 2:110; 9:103.

<sup>18</sup>For a further discussion of the developmental effects of *zakah* please refer to the present author's "Islamic Perspectives on Monetary and Fiscal Policies and their Implications for Economic Development." Paper presented at the National Seminar on Fiscal and Monetary Issues and their Implications Toward Economic Development, University Utara Malaysia, 22-23 August 1988.

<sup>19</sup>See the present author's "Islamic Perspectives on Monetary and Fiscal Policies and their Implications for Economic Development."

fund can be considered as financing development because doing so will increase productivity.

One of the problems of development finance in the less developed countries is that the farmers consume a part of agricultural credit because of their poverty.<sup>20</sup> If zakah can be used to meet their basic needs, the entire agricultural credit can be used for productive purposes. Thus zakah makes a contribution in economic growth as well.

## Mobilization Of Resources From External Sources

If domestic resources are inadequate for development, the state may obtain revenues from foreign sources in the form of loans, grants, direct investment, and so on. Each of these forms has its own implications, which should be considered carefully before formulation of any relevant policy.

Loans are based on interest, and interest is not permitted in Islam. Besides, loans involve perpetuating debt servicing, with which the developing world is already overburdened. As a result, the developing countries are required to take additional loans every year just to service the debt, not to mention payment on the principal. Direct foreign investments involve transfer of resources from home to abroad in the form of profits, penetration of alien culture through interactions, and other socioeconomic problems. Grants are better in the sense that no repayment is required.

All these forms of external finance lead to some political and economic control and dominance of the donor countries. They tend to influence the foreign policy of the receiving countries and even control international trade (the direction of their exports and the source of imports). All these factors adversely affect the receiving economies and sometimes outweigh the benefits of external finance.

Muslim countries should therefore be very selective in considering development finance from the non-Muslim world. They should try to avoid any interest-based or -tied loans. They may allow direct foreign investment, but only under favorable terms and conditions. Grants may be accepted if there is certainty that they will not lead to economic and political dominance by the donor countries.

For the Muslim countries, however, a better external source of revenue for development is capital-rich Muslim countries. Muslim countries in general are rich in natural and investable resources, although each individual Muslim country is not self-sufficient in all the resources. Some have abundance of

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<sup>20</sup>This is also true in cottage and small-scale industries.



human resources, while others have investable resources. Some of them are very rich in some natural resources, while others have natural resources.

If the Muslim countries cooperate with each other (a requirement in the Islamic code of life) they can develop in socioeconomic fields without incurring the political, economic, and sociocultural dominance of the non-Muslim, and often anti-Islamic, nations of the world. In particular, the oil-rich capital-surplus Muslim countries can extend their surplus resources to Muslim countries lacking in investable resources but rich in human resources. In a reciprocal way, the labor-abundant Muslim countries can send human resources to those lacking in manpower but abundant in other complementary resources.

Reciprocity within the Islamic Ummah will increase resource use and productivity and will contribute to socioeconomic and cultural development. The sooner the leaders of the Muslim countries realize this fact, the better for their development, integrity, strength, and position in competitive international politics and economic and cultural relations.<sup>21</sup>

## **Mobilization Of Human Resources For Development**

Man is pivotal to development as both instrument and objective. Development is to be achieved for mankind by mankind. Man is an active agent of development, while the other factors are passive. Abundance of nonhuman factors can do very little without human resources. Any economic activity, for instance, requires an entrepreneurial human resource to combine all other factors as well as the work force to produce goods and services. No development can take place without labor and entrepreneurial human resources, be it economic, social, political, or spiritual.

Mobilization of human resources has two important dimensions: developing and motivating human resources.

## **Development of Human Resources**

Human resource development involves professional skill, moral quality,

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<sup>21</sup>For further details on economic cooperation among the Muslim countries, see the present author's "Muslims and Development : Present State and Future Potentials." Paper presented at the International Islamic Geography Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 28 August–2 September 1988; also see the present author's "Economic Integration Among Muslim Countries: An Islamic Common Market." Paper prepared for International Seminar on Islamic Common Market to be held in Dhaka.



and physical fitness. The absence of any one factor affects human development and, in turn, socioeconomic development. Therefore, a minimum degree of all three qualities is necessary to achieve any target rate of development.

Creating professional skill requires education, vocational training, and work experience. Development of moral quality also needs knowledge. Islam places an unprecedented degree of importance and emphasis on knowledge and education. It is a religious obligation to acquire knowledge, "acquiring knowledge is obligatory upon every Muslim"<sup>22</sup> man and woman.

The obligation of knowledge is not limited to religious rituals; the statement is general, to include whatever knowledge is necessary to obey the commandment, "whenever the prayer is over, disperse in the world and search for the bounty of Allah." If a human being is instructed to search for the bounty of Allah (SWT), the instruction to acquire knowledge should logically include the knowledge of how to seek His bounty. Otherwise, the instructions may appear to be self-defeating.

Allah (SWT) encourages man to ponder the secrets and the signs of His creation in the world and in the solar system. In agriculture, "a sign for them is the earth that is dead; we do give it life, and produce grain therefrom, of which you do eat . . ." <sup>23</sup> "With it He [Allah] produces for you corn, olives, date-palms, grapes, and every kind of fruit, verily in this is a sign for those who give thought."<sup>24</sup> In astronomy, "He [Allah] has made subject to you the night and the day, the sun and the moon; and the stars are in subjection by His command; verily in this are signs for those who have intellect."<sup>25</sup> In zoology, "Do they not look at [think about] camels, how they are made?"<sup>26</sup> In the social sciences, "And [do they not think about] the earth, how it is spread out?"<sup>27</sup> In economics, "...search for the bounty of Allah"<sup>28</sup> "so that wealth is not circulated only among the rich of you."<sup>29</sup>

Thus Allah (SWT) encourages mankind to think, to do research, and to acquire knowledge of physical sciences as well as social sciences like economics. Those who have knowledge of these matters will be in a better position to obey the commandments of Allah (SWT): ". . . search for the bounty of Allah,"<sup>30</sup> ". . . do not forget your share of the world,"<sup>31</sup> and will

<sup>22</sup>The Hadith.

<sup>23</sup>The Qur'an 36:33.

<sup>24</sup>The Qur'an 16:11.

<sup>25</sup>The Qur'an 16:12.

<sup>26</sup>The Qur'an 88:17.

<sup>27</sup>The Qur'an 88:20.

<sup>28</sup>The Qur'an 62:10.

<sup>29</sup>The Qur'an 59:7.

<sup>30</sup>The Qur'an 62:10.

<sup>31</sup>The Qur'an 28:77.

be able to realize the existence of Allah (SWT) and His greatness.

Therefore, those who acquire knowledge cannot be equal to those who do not have it. "Are those who know equal to those who do not know?"<sup>32</sup> They are not equal. An illiterate man cannot succeed in this world like a knowledgeable one. In the present world, economic development has been found to be closely associated with literacy and the level of education, which is a means of knowledge. Success in the hereafter by following the Islamic code of life depends heavily on the knowledge of Islamic norms and values and of obligatory rituals. A person can truly realize the greatness of Allah (SWT) only when he really appreciates His signs in creation as suggested and guided by the Qur'an. This knowledge is a key to the fear of Allah (SWT) and the performance of *ibādah*. "Those really fear Allah among His servants who have knowledge."<sup>33</sup>

The key to knowledge is education. The process of education has been emphasized in Islam so much that the first instruction and commandment from Allah (SWT) to mankind has been to read and study. "Read in the name of your Lord who created.... Read, and your Lord is the most bountiful, who taught by pen."<sup>34</sup>

Thus, education covers both professional and moral knowledge. A Muslim should be efficient in his or her professional work to perform the assigned duty with the utmost skill and proficiency and be a true Muslim in carrying out his or her obligations to the creator in doing the rituals and following the Islamic norms in every deed, be it economic, social, or political, in all walks of life.

Physical fitness is an important aspect of human resource development. An efficient person with high skill, knowledge, and experience cannot accomplish much if he/she is not physically able and fit to assume duties. Intake of adequate food without excess has been emphasized in the Qur'an. "Eat, drink and do not waste."<sup>35</sup> Cleanliness in one's body, clothing, food, dwelling houses, and environment has been declared as a part of *īmān* (belief system).

Human beings are subject to the risk of disease and have been asked to seek medical treatment as and when needed. "Make use of medical treatment, for Allah has not made a disease without appointing a remedy for it, with the exception of one disease, viz, old age."<sup>36</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) said,

<sup>32</sup>The Qur'an 39:9.

<sup>33</sup>The Qur'an 35:28.

<sup>34</sup>The Qur'an 96:1, 3-4.

<sup>35</sup>The Qur'an 7:31.

<sup>36</sup>*Mishkat al Masābīh*, reported by Usama b. Sharik and transmitted by Ahmad, Tirmizi, and Abu Daud, English translation by James Robson (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964), vol. III, 947.



“There is a medicine for every disease, and when the medicine is applied to the disease it is cured by Allah’s will.”<sup>37</sup>

Physical health makes a person fit for work, professional knowledge contributes to skill and efficiency, and moral quality provides incentive to carry out duties with utmost sincerity, honesty, and responsibility. Islam emphasizes all of these elements of human development which, in turn, contribute to the socioeconomic, political, and cultural development of mankind.

## Human Resources for Economic Development

Human resources drive growth and economic development. Inadequacy in this area is a limiting factor in the development process. Man has two important roles in production: entrepreneurship and labor.

Entrepreneurship refers to the human service which organizes an economic activity starting from the idea: acquiring the factors of production and combining them; formulating policies concerning when, where, and how much to produce and what technology to use; deciding when, where, and how to market; and creating innovation in production technology, management, and marketing.

Labor refers to human service, physical or mental, tangible or intangible. Labor helps entrepreneurs produce goods and services and to store and market them. Labor is an important factor of production, because entrepreneurs cannot operate an economic activity without labor.

The Islamic code of life provides all kinds of motivations for the mobilization of both the categories of human resources: labor and entrepreneurship. Working for a *Ḥalāl* (permissible) living has been declared a religious obligation after obligatory rituals.<sup>38</sup> Earning a livelihood by one’s own hand has been evaluated as the best source of living.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, all the prophets (AS) have also been observed to work for a living.

If there are two options available for livelihood, one to receive the means of living without any effort, and the other to earn a living by work, Islam prefers the latter and discourages the former. “The upper hand [who gives] is better than the lower hand [who receives].”<sup>40</sup> As a matter of fact, Islam goes to the extent of giving a general principle: “Man gets nothing but what he works for.”<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 945. Reported by Jabir and transmitted by Muslim.

<sup>38</sup>*Mishkat*, Kitabul Buyu’.

<sup>39</sup>Nasai, Sunan (Cairo: Muṣṭafa al Bābī al Ḥalabī, 1964), vol. VII, 212.

<sup>40</sup>The Hadith.

<sup>41</sup>The Qur’an 53:35.

Such a motivation to work is not only for worldly achievements. There are two related dimensions of achieving the *falāḥ* (success) in the hereafter. First, as mentioned earlier, working for economic achievements is required and encouraged by Allah (SWT) and His Messenger (ṢAAS). Work must, therefore, be a rewardable deed. In fact, economic work is treated as *ibādah* (worship) provided it is in line with Islamic norms and values. Second, when an income is earned by work, a part of it is to be spent in the way of Allah which is directly a reward-earning act.<sup>42</sup>

The economic code of Islamic life assigns tremendous importance to the mobilization of human resources for the growth of entrepreneurship. Both spiritual incentives and economic motivations have been given to encourage an adequate supply of entrepreneurship for economic development.

In spiritual motivation for mobilization of human resources, one is encouraged to recognize entrepreneurship as a high spiritual value. The general commandment from Allah (SWT), “. . . search for the bounty of Allah,”<sup>43</sup> really refers to entrepreneurship. The word “search” is clearly something beyond just working for others. In fact, “search” and “research” do not imply a mere entrepreneurial activity, but rather they refer to a high quality of entrepreneurship with innovative pursuits and ventures able to employ the bounties and resources given by Allah (SWT).

Besides such general motivations for entrepreneurial activity, entrepreneurship in particular fields is specifically encouraged. The Messenger of Allah (ṢAAS) said, “A faithful and trustworthy trader or businessman will be with the prophets, *Ṣiddīqīn* [i.e. those who have the highest status of truthfulness in Islam] and martyrs on the Day of Judgment.”<sup>44</sup> These are obvious spiritual incentives for entrepreneurship.

Economists suggest that the profit motive is the driving force for risky entrepreneurial activity. If this is true, Islam provides enough profit motive. The Prophet (ṢAAS) says, “Nine-tenths of livelihood lies in business.”<sup>45</sup> A high profitability of business has been indicated here which the people are encouraged to achieve. Some others suggest that achievement motivation is the activating factor in entrepreneurship development.<sup>46</sup> If this is the case, Islam seems to provide the highest motivation for achievement. “Compete

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<sup>42</sup>The Qur'an 23:10; 2:30; 21:11; 3:134; 9:20.

<sup>43</sup>The Qur'an 62:10.

<sup>44</sup>The Hadith.

<sup>45</sup>The Hadith quoted by Maulana Zakaria in *Fadail-i-Tabligh* (Dhaka: Tablighi Kutubkhana, 1982), 74.

<sup>46</sup>See, for example, David C. McClelland, “The Achievement motive in Economic Growth,” in *Entrepreneurship and Economic Development*, Peter Kilby, ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1971), 109-22.



to achieve what is good.”<sup>47</sup> “A person gets whatever he works for.”<sup>48</sup> These are clear motivations for achievement.

In addition, an entrepreneur has been fairly protected from the burden of losses in the institutional setting of development finance. For example, in *muḍārabah* business, losses are borne by the contributors of capital, and not by the entrepreneurs. This state of affairs tends to motivate the entrepreneurs to undertake risky but highly profitable projects.

Thus, Islam provides all possible motivation for mobilizing potential human resources for the growth of entrepreneurship, the key factor in economic development.

## Human Resources for Socio-Political Development

Islam significantly stresses the social and political development of any society. Its objective is to create a happy, sound, and peaceful society full of mutual cooperation, honor, respect, assistance, brotherhood, and a pleasing neighborhood. Achieving such a society involves dedicated service of social leadership and volunteers. Islam provides strong motivation for people to come forward to spend money and time in social service. Please ponder on the following citations.

1. He is not a *mu'min* who eats a full meal and his neighbors suffer from starvation.<sup>49</sup>
2. Be kind to those who are in the world, He who is in the heavens shall be kind to you.<sup>50</sup>
3. He who is in the service [help] of his brother, Allah (SWT) will be his help.<sup>51</sup>

The Islamic Ummah is like a single body; if a part of it pains, the entire body feels the pain; when a part gets relief, the entire body feels its pleasure.<sup>52</sup> Relieving people from sufferings, creating utilities for social benefit, and so on, require a considerable amount of voluntary social service, which is highly regarded in the Islamic code of social life.

Attaining and maintaining social harmony is an imperative of an ideal

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<sup>47</sup>The Qur'an 53:39.

<sup>48</sup>The Qur'an 53:35.

<sup>49</sup>The Hadith.

<sup>50</sup>The Hadith.

<sup>51</sup>The Hadith.

<sup>52</sup>The Hadith.

society. The members of the society and the social leadership, in particular, need to provide a voluntary service in this regard. Allah (SWT) instructs the people, "If two parties among the believers fall into a quarrel, you make peace between them; but if one party transgresses against another, fight the transgressor until he complies with the command of Allah; but if he complies, then make peace between them with justice and be fair, for Allah loves those who are fair and just."<sup>53</sup>

Muslims are thus required to involve themselves in social harmony and development, starting from the family through the neighborhood to the society at large.

Human service is also needed in political development. Maintaining law and order, providing for internal and external defense, propagating and establishing Islam at home and abroad, facilitating overall development of the people, supervising the implementation of Islamic values through the *hisbah* role of the government, providing for basic needs, and ensuring human welfare are among the necessary functions that the political authority assumes in a society. Besides, the implementation of the *hudūd* (criminal laws of Islam), establishment of *zakah* and the realization of several other *sharīḥ* matters depend on the institution of the caliphate. The establishment of the Islamic code of life can never be complete without the institution of the state. That is why the first thing the Prophet (SAAS) did after arriving at Madinah was to establish the Islamic state, to make treaties of peace with the non-Muslim communities and to provide leadership of the state. The caliphs as well followed his footsteps.

While every Muslim has the responsibility to work for the establishment of an Islamic state, a group of Muslims will have to come forward to provide this great service.

Establishing an Islamic state is important not only for the benefit of the people within the Islamic state, but rather also for taking care of Muslim minorities in non-Islamic societies. Allah (SWT) says, "And what happened to you that you do not fight in the way of Allah, whereas weak men, women, and children are [crying for help] saying, O Lord, rescue us from this place whose people are oppressors, and raise someone for us from you who will protect us, and raise someone for us from you who will help us."<sup>54</sup>

Therefore, it is a noble responsibility of Muslims to establish an Islamic state for the benefit of the Islamic Ummah, for the establishment of Islam at all levels, and for the protection of Muslim minorities in the non-Muslim world.

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<sup>53</sup>The Qur'an 49:9.

<sup>54</sup>The Qur'an 4:75.



## Mobilization of Human Resources for Moral Development

Human welfare can never be complete without moral development, no matter how much is achieved in economics, politics, and so on. Islamic moral development requires *da'wa* activities. Every Muslim by definition is a *dā'i* (caller) towards Allah (SWT) and towards His way of life, which is Islam. In appreciation of *dā'i*, Allah says, "Who is better in speech than the one who calls to Allah . . ." <sup>55</sup> In defining the functions of the Islamic Ummah, Allah says, "You are the best of nations, evolved for mankind; your function is to enjoin what is right, to forbid what is wrong, and to believe in Allah . . ." <sup>56</sup> The Muslim nation (the Ummah) of the last Prophet has been characterized as the best nation because of its specific *da'wa* quality and responsibility. Other nations (the Ummah of other prophets) had not been entrusted with this function. Since there will not be another Prophet, the *da'wa* work is delegated to the Muslims; hence they are the best Ummah, possessing the best function, the function of the prophets.

Although, *da'wa* activity is a general responsibility of every Muslim, there should be a group of persons specifically devoted to this noble activity. Allah (SWT) says, "Let there be a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong; they are the ones who will attain *falāh* (success)." <sup>57</sup>

Thus, Islam requires every Muslim to practice devotion, some full time and some only part of the time, to the moral development of the people in line with Islamic norms and values.

## Concluding Remarks

The preceding discussion leads to the following conclusions.

1. Development needs resources. The major resources are natural resources, investable resources (domestic or external), and human resources. Islam emphasizes mobilization, development, and use of these resources for development.
2. In the Islamic code of life, in contradiction to monasticism, all the natural resources are considered Allah's provisions for the benefit of mankind. Their exploration, development,

<sup>55</sup>The Qur'an 41:33.

<sup>56</sup>The Qur'an 3:110.

<sup>57</sup>The Qur'an 3:104.

- processing, and use have been ordained in Islam. Man should use these resources for his benefit without waste, taking what is necessary and leaving the rest for succeeding generations.
3. An Islamic economy has good potential for accruing investable resources from domestic sources, mainly from savings. Islam gives all incentives to mobilize domestic savings and penalizes hoarding.
  4. Motivations are less effective if the institutional arrangements for resource mobilization are absent. The Islamic code of economic life provides a favorable institutional setting for mobilization and use of savings through Islamic banking along with different efficient modes of investment.
  5. The institution of the Islamic state plays an important role in mobilizing resources from domestic sources. The sources include Zakah, taxation, and public sector enterprises. Zakah has its specific welfare-oriented and development-supporting heads of expenditure. Resources arising from other sources may be used for development purposes.
  6. If the domestic resources are inadequate for development, foreign sources may be tapped, in the form of loans, grants, or direct foreign investment. However, external resources originating in the non-Muslim world have undesirable economic, political, and cultural implications for Muslim societies. Muslim countries should evaluate these effects carefully before accepting foreign resources. Instead, the Muslim countries should cooperate with each other to exchange factors of production, for some of the Muslim countries have abundant investable resources, whereas others have abundant labor and natural resources.
  7. Human resources is the active agent of development. Islam puts heavy emphasis on the development and efficient use of human resources.
  8. Human resource development involves education in physical, social, and moral sciences, as well as physical fitness. Education has been made compulsory for every Muslim. Physical fitness has also been highly emphasized.
  9. Mobilization of human resources for economic development has two aspects: labor and entrepreneurship. The Islamic work ethic provides spiritual and economic incentives to work for a good living and condemns idleness.
  10. Entrepreneurial resources are very important for economic development. Islam emphasizes development of



entrepreneurship by providing spiritual and economic incentives and by protecting it from the risk of losses.

11. Mobilization of human resources is important for social and political development of a society. Islam encourages people to get involved in social services and political development for the benefit of mankind.
12. Last is the role of human resource in moral development. A Muslim, by definition, is *dā'i* (caller) who enjoins what is good and forbids what is bad. In particular, a group of people are required to devote full time to the moral development of mankind.



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# The 'Ulama and Islamic Renaissance in Algeria

*Salah ElDin ElZein ElTayeb*

## Introduction

This work is concerned primarily with the activities of the Algerian 'Ulama in the social and religious field. The most organized activities of Islamic reformism in Algeria started in 1931 with the establishment of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama. The 'Ulama declared the ultimate goal of their Association to be only religious and cultural. The subsequent Islamic renaissance which they instituted in Algeria concentrated on the independence of the Muslim Creed, and social and cultural revivalism. The objective was to reform the practice of Islamic religion along the lines of the Islam of *Salaḥīyah* and not the Islam of *Suḥfī* sects. This was pursued by attacking the negative aspects of *al zawāyah* (Sufi centers) and by encouraging the spread of *al ta'lim al hurr* (the 'Ulama type of education).

The most significant role of *al ba'thal dīnī* (religious reformism) was that it ventured to prepare the Algerian masses for the violent conflict with France. Had it not been for this movement, the Algerian masses would have remained under the influence of the saints whose followers supported and consolidated the French colonial administration. In the following pages, the question will be posed as to how the liberation of Algeria was facilitated by the Algerian religious renaissance, which managed to liberate the consciousness of the masses. As a result, the Algerian masses were prepared morally and psychologically for political liberation from France.

## The Origins of Islamic Renaissance In Algeria

The origins of the Islamic renaissance in Algeria were directly linked to the *Salaḥīyah* movement, which flourished in *al Mashriq al 'Arabī* during



the nineteenth century. The thought of the *Salaftiyah* movement was established in Algeria by the Old Turbans. They were the traditional indigenous Algerians who studied mainly Arabic and Islam in Algerian native schools and proceeded for further education to *al Mashriq al 'Arabī*. They absorbed all the ideas and views of the *Salaftiyah* movement during their further training in Cairo and Damascus. When they returned to Algeria, they started preaching these ideas in their private native schools. The Algerian 'Ulama' were the product of their schools and the Association of Algerian 'Ulama was the organization that was concerned with the diffusion of *Salaftiyah* movement ideas. In this respect, the Association of reformist 'Ulama in Algeria did not constitute a novelty in Islam, which had known several reformist movements throughout its long history. In fact, the Prophet himself had prepared the Muslims for these successive reformist movements when he declared that "My community will have a renovator each hundred years." This had proven to be true in that the Prophet was successively followed by many reformers, among them being Ibn Hanbal, al Ash'arī, Ibn Hāzm, al Ghazālī, and Ibn Taymīyah. Besides these individual reformists there were another three Islamic reformist movements which included Sufism<sup>A</sup> in the eighth century, the *islāh*<sup>B</sup> in the thirteenth century, and the *Salaftiyah*<sup>C</sup> in the nineteenth century. The Algerian Islamic reformism was established and developed within this vast and deep *Salaftiyah* movement that the Islamic world witnessed at the end of the nineteenth century. Egypt was the most active center of the *Salaftiyah* movement. The three personalities who founded this movement were Jamāl al Dīn al Afghānī (1838-1897), Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905), and Rashīd Riḍa (1865-1935). The reformist ideas of the *Salaftiyah* were discussed in the Journal of al 'Urwah al Wūthqāh (Intimate Friendship) established

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<sup>1</sup>Inasmuch as *ilm* was knowledge of traditions and of resultant canon law and theology, the 'Ulama—as custodians of that tradition—were canonists and theologians. See H.A.R. Gibb, and J. H. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1961), p. 599-600.

### Notes

- A. Sufism and the adjective Sufi are both derived from *taṣāwwuf*, which is the act of devoting oneself to mystic life.
- B. *Islāh* was an attempt to purify Islam from dogmatic innovations not in accordance with traditional sources (*uṣūl*) of faith and from innovations that represented ways of life different from those of the Prophet.
- C. *Salaftiyah* was an attempt to say that Islam, properly understood, was compatible with the modern world. It was an effort to say that Muslims, if they interpreted their religion correctly and then lived by it, could rebuild strong, effective societies in the modern world.

by al Afghanī, and *al Manār*, which was established by Riḍa. The first Algerian Islamic reformists were influenced by the ideas advocated in these two journals, which were available in Algeria toward the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The *Salaftiyah* movement in Algeria was started by al Amīr 'Abd al Qādir (1807-1883), who joined the Society of *al 'Urwah al Wuthqah* after he was expelled from Algeria (*Al 'Urwah al Wuthqah* was the name given to both the *journal* and the *society*, which were established by al 'Afghanī in Egypt). He was followed by 'Abd al Halīm Ibn Simāyah and Muhammad Ibn al Khudjah, who used to read *al Manār* regularly. However, the direct influence of the *Salaftiyah* movement in Algeria was attributed to Muhammad 'Abduh, who visited Algiers in 1903. He addressed the Algerians in Belcourt Mosque, where he commented upon Sūrah al 'Asr (the hundred and third surah of the Qur'an). The Muslim reformist ideas of 'Abduh were concerned with education and emancipation. In this regard, 'Al Murad stated that Muhammad 'Abduh proposed that Muslim Algerians follow the road of education and emancipation. He thought that was the only possible way to safeguard the future of the new society that had been shaped by reformist school principles<sup>2</sup>. The political reformism of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama, *al iṣlāḥ al siyāsī*, was also heavily influenced by 'Abduh. This indicated that Muhammad 'Abduh was the real godfather of Algerian reformism with regard to its religious and also political aspects.<sup>3</sup> In connection with colonial politics, 'Abduh advised the Algerians not to discuss the politics of the French Government. He stated this in his letter to 'Abd al Ḥamīd Ibn Simāyah.

The most organized activities of Islamic reformism in Algeria were started in 1931, with the establishment of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>See Murad, 'A. "l'enseignement Politique du Muhammad 'Abduh aux Algerien" (*Orient*, 1963), 28, p. 720.

<sup>3</sup>After Muhammad 'Abduh died, his disciples in Algeria, especially Muhammad Ibn al Khudjah and Muhammad Ibn al Qāḍ 'Alī had confirmed that they were influenced by him and belonged to his school of reformism. See al Ṭālībī, Amār, *Ibn Bādīs, Hayātuhu wa thruhu (Ibn Bādīs, His Life and His Influence)*, (Damascus, Dar al Yaqqah al Arabiyah, 1968), p.35.

<sup>4</sup>Murād, Alī, *Le Reformisme Musulman en Alcerie de 1925 a 1940; Essai d'Histoire Reliqieuse et Sociale*, (Paris, 1967) Mouton. The classical work on the history of Islamic reformism in Algeria was the work of 'Alī Murād. Nadhīr, Aḥmad, "Le Reformisme Musulman en Algerie," These de doctorat (3<sup>e</sup> cycle), Paris, IV, 1968. Being unaware of the existence of Murād's work, Amad Nadhīr has also attempted the same topic. The two works of Murād and Nadhīr were concerned with the history and theological arguments of Islamic reformism while it concentrates on the socio-political aspects and their role in the liberation of the consciousness and minds of the Algerian masses.

- D. It is important to note that *al Shihāb* was in total agreement with the ideas of Rashid Riḍa which were expressed in *al Manār* especially in connection with the subject of the religious party.



The ideas of Islamic reformism were very significant for Algerian national ideology and its transformation from assimilation to nationhood. In fact it would be very difficult to claim objectivity or give proper explanation to the transformation of ideology without examining the role played by Islamic reformism in Algeria. This point of view was echoed by Lucien Lafage when he stated that "When one attempts to study the process of maturation of the modern nationalist movement that led to the independence of Algeria, one must examine thoroughly the role played by the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama. If this role has been neglected, then the study would certainly be unobjective and inaccurate.<sup>5</sup> According to Ernest Gellner<sup>6</sup>, it is more important to know why the soil was so ready for this seed, than to know just who did the sowing, and how, when, and why this seed prospered. In other words, it was important to focus on the structural basis of Islamic reformism in Algeria. Without taking this structural basis into consideration, it would not be possible to explain the institutionalization of the *Salaftiyah* movement in Algeria and the failure of the French policy of assimilation. In connection with the flourishing of Islamic reformism in Algeria, 'Alī Murād argued that there were internal and external factors for this.

The internal factors were concerned with the Muslim community, where the ideas of Islamic gathering and a religious party were central to the consciousness of Muslims. The external factors were related to the influences of the Zaytūnah mosque in Tunis and al Azhar in Egypt. Most of the Algerian 'Ulama who established the reformist Association in Algeria had graduated from institutions such as 'Abd al Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs (Zaytūnah), Aḥmad Ṭawfīq al Madanī (Zaytūnah) al Ṭayyib al 'Uqbī (al Azhar), and Bashīr al Ibrāhīmī (al Azhar). The date of the establishment of the Association was also significant. In 1930, the French imperialists in Algeria celebrated the hundredth anniversary of French Algeria. The celebration was very humiliating to the indigenous population in Algeria<sup>7</sup>. Even the reformists themselves recognized the fact that France had facilitated the job for them by the psychological errors that it made during the celebrations. In this regard al Madanī stated that "all the Algerians have watched with bitterness how the colonists celebrated the conquest of Algeria and the defeat of the Algerians." The colonists' celebrations manifested their belief that Algeria became French and it would remain French forever. On the other hand, indigenous Algerians interpreted the celebrations as a severe insult to themselves, to their history,

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<sup>5</sup>See Lafage, Lucien, "Le Benbadisme et les Culema Reformistes D'Algerie." Memoir presented in the CHEAM on 21.12.64.

<sup>6</sup>See Gellner, Ernest, "The Unknown Apollo of Biskra: The Social Base of Algerian Puritanism," *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Summer, 1974.

<sup>7</sup>Mercier, Gustave, *Le Centenaire de l'Algerie*, (Alger, 1931), 2 vol.

religion, and language. In this respect, the hundredth anniversary of *Algrie Francaise* antagonized Muslim Algerians and helped the struggle against French colonial administration in the country<sup>8</sup>. This indicates that there were several objective factors for the establishment of Islamic reform in Algeria. These objective factors would negate the assumptions of Augustine Berque, who claimed that Islamic reformism was a desperate endeavor of an incapable bourgeoisie to adapt to the new situation. This paper will focus primarily on the reformist program of the 'Ulama which included its doctrine of religious reformism (*ba'th dīnī*), cultural reformism *nahḍah thaqāfiyah*), and political reformism (*iṣlāḥ siyāsī*). The reason behind this is to show how Islamic reformism managed to morally and psychologically prepare the Algerian masses for violent conflict with France.

## The Reformist Program of the 'Ulama

### 1. The Religious Renaissance

During the nineteenth century, Islam in Algeria was dominated by corrupt practices. The influence of the *Sufi* brotherhoods over the Algerian masses was very great to the point that Islam itself was identified with their practices. Ibn Bādīs himself admitted this fact and had written that no one in Algeria thought Islam to be other than maraboutism.<sup>9</sup> The Sufi sects were so widely spread that there were three hundred and forty nine *zāwīyah* (Arabic pl. *zawāyah*) and two hundred and ninety-five thousand *muqaddam* (one who administers the revenues and shares them with the other members of the marabout family). Even the religious men who were opposed to Sufism adopted their practices and their interpretation of Islam. The Sufis asserted that there was a dynamic character in the "science of hearts." This science traced its itinerary (*safar*) to God, a journey marked by a dozen stages (*maqāmāt*) and steps (*ahwāl*). Sufism was primarily based on the postulate that the fervent practice of worship engendered in the soul graces (*fawā'id*), and immaterial and intelligible realities. The Sufi believed the "science of hearts" (*ilm al qulūb*) would procure for the soul an experimental wisdom (*ma'rifah*), which implied the assent of the will to the graces received (a postulate rejected by the Mu'tazilis, who were content with a theoretical psychology). The most fundamental and intrinsic Sufi sects in Algeria included *al ta'ifah al 'Alawīyah* (*Alawīyah sect*), *al ta'ifah al Darqawīyah* (*Darqawīyah sect*), and *al ta'ifah al Tijanīyah* (*Tijanīyah sect*). These sects were not limited to Algeria

<sup>8</sup>al Madanī, A. T., *Kitāb al Jazā'ir (The Book of Algeria)* (Cairo, 1963), 2nd ed., p. 166.

<sup>9</sup>*Al Shihāb*. March, 1938.



only and they existed in other Arab countries as well.

The Algerian 'Ulama thought it was their duty to reform the corrupt practices of Islam in Algeria. These corrupt practices were related to the ceremonies of the marabouts, which were half profane and half religious. These ceremonies represented the essence of Algerian religious life at the time. In his novel, *l'Immoraliste*, Guide drew a good picture of one of the ceremonies that took place in Biskra. He stated that Biskra was a center, among other things, of prostitution. The girls were drawn (or were supposed to be drawn) from Awlād Nā'l tribe. The flocks of these Awlād Nā'l roamed two holy streets, where the holy men had their lodges, and the Awlād Nā'l themselves were much in evidence there. They took part in many of the local ceremonies, half profane, half religious. The most venerated holy men were to be seen in their company<sup>10</sup>. The Algerian 'Ulama were opposed to these ceremonies which were held in the name of Islam. In fact, as Gellner maintained, even Guide was at first startled with the conspicuous presence of such profanity in the holy streets. What was more interesting was the fact that local piety did not view these profane aspects badly. There were two basic ideas related to the manner in which religious reformism could be achieved. Bashīr al Ibrāhīmī advocated the idea of concentrating on the educational field and the training of a solid group of 'Ulama to undertake the job of preaching the faith among the masses. This group had to be well trained in *uṣūl al dīn* (fundamentals of religion) so that the members could counter the beliefs and activities of the Sufī. On the other hand, Ibn Bādīs thought that the 'Ulama should be involved directly in attacking the bases of Sufism such as *bida'* and innovations in Islam. The Association of the 'Ulama accepted the ideas of Ibn Bādīs at first but later on they adopted the two techniques simultaneously: attacking the *bida'* on one side and spreading their educational system on the other. As a result, the 'Ulama's first measures were aimed at reforming the degenerate and superstitious Islam of the marabouts or holy men.<sup>E</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Gellner, Ernest, "The Unknown Apollo of Biskra," op.cit., p. 281.

- E. The name marabout is given, especially in North Africa, to a Muslim saint or to his descendants. The usual name in Algeria for a saint is *murābit*; in Morocco, however, it is less used than its equivalents *ṣāliḥ*, *walī*, and particularly *sayyid*. The saints of far-spread reputation in Algeria are the patron of Tulumūsān, Sīdī Bū-Madyan (Abū Madyan al Ghawth); the patron of Algiers, Sīdī 'Abd al Rahmān al Tha'ālibī; and the saint of Miliana, Sīdī Ahmad b. Yusuf. In regions where only Berber is spoken in Algeria; the marabout is known by the name *Agurram*.

Ibn Bādīs declared that the objective of the Association of the 'Ulama was to reform the Islamic religion along the lines of the Islam of *Salafiyah* and not the Islam of Sufi sects and *bida'*. He maintained that the Association was content to devote itself to the two duties of *al amr bi al ma'rūf wa al nahī 'an al munkar*.<sup>11</sup> In commenting on this program he stated, "Our major objective is to awaken our compatriots from their deep sleep and educate them to the principles of their religion which are quite human and free from all wild dreams and the inventions of impostors."<sup>12</sup> In the first issues of *al Sunnah al Muḥammadiyah*, he also emphasized the objectives of his religious reforms by stating that people should adopt al Sunnah al Nabawiyah Al Muḥammadiyah (opposite of *bida'*. It meant ways of life similar to those of the Prophet)<sup>13</sup>. The Islam of *Salafiyah* was considered by the 'Ulama to be the genuine Islam advocated by the initial sacred texts of the Qur'an and completed by the practice of the Prophet and *al salaf al ṣāliḥ*. This was manifested in the fundamental bases of the doctrine of the 'Ulama, where *bida'* was attacked vigorously.<sup>14</sup> The 'Ulama denounced the dogmatic innovations that were not in accordance with traditional sources (*usūl*) of the faith and denounced ways of life different from those of the Prophet. In this respect they stated that, "This Association is concerned with eradicating the bad social habits such as gambling, the drinking of alcohol, idleness and all that is prohibited by Islam."<sup>15</sup> The saints of Algeria identified Islamic religion with the totality of beliefs and practices which they inherited from their ancestors. According to this point of view, even gambling and drinking of alcohol were thought to be part of Islamic religion. In fact, Islam had strongly denounced these practices and the 'Ulama considered them *ḥarām* (forbidden by the sacred law). The Algerian people used to appeal to the marabouts to fulfill their requests. It was believed by the Algerians that the marabouts or the *Agurram* possessed *barakah* (in this case defined as miraculous power) and hence their requests could be fulfilled by the saints due to the possession of this *barakah*, or miraculous power. This was considered heresy by the 'Ulama, who believed that people should appeal only to God and hence denounced the notion of "*ghawth*" (appeal to religious saints). They emphasized that, "Let it be known that if any creature pretended that it could participate with God in the exercise of His power over the people, then that

<sup>11</sup>See letter of Ibn Bādīs in addressing the General Assembly of the 'Ulama, *al Shihāb*, September, 1937.

<sup>12</sup>*Al Shihāb*. July, 1932.

<sup>13</sup>*Al Sunnah al Muḥammadiyah*. No. 1, November, 1932.

<sup>14</sup>See Article VII of The Fundamental Bases of the Doctrine of the 'Ulama; see also *Sijil Jam 'iyah al 'Ulama (The Record of the Association of the Algerian Ulama)*, Algiers 1937, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup>See Contribution of *l'histoire Contemporaine de l'Algérie: la Politique des Culemas Algeriens 1911-1937*, *Bulletin du Comité de l'Algérie Française*, 1934, p. 274-281.



creature was committing an act of polytheism which was considered as heresy in Islam." The notions of "ghawth" and 'dīwān' were also acts of polytheism.<sup>16</sup> In line with this, the 'Ulama denounced the practice of setting up *qubbah* (white domes) on the tombs of dead men and of burning candles to saints. These *qubab* (pl. of *qubbah*) were generally surrounded by *hawsh* (little circular walls round the *qubbah*) in order to demarcate the sacred territory (*hurum*). In order to appeal to the saints, the believers were supposed to pay a pious visitation (*ziyārah*) to these sacred territories. The Algerian people (especially those who lived in the rural areas) regarded these tombs as places of pilgrimage and they used to immolate animals to the dead people which these tombs contained. *ādāt al zarad* was the name given by the Algerians to these practices. Al Ibrāhīmī noted that *ādāt al zarad*, which declined in Algeria after the Second World War, had been revived by the colonists. Each colonist in Algeria built a tomb in his farm so that it would be considered a sacred place by the rural masses and hence would be protected against them.<sup>17</sup> To put an end to this, 'Ulama considered *ādāt al zarad* a heresy and they violently attacked the sacrifice of animals with pious intention to the tombs and the beseeching of dead people. They declared that such practices were dominant *fi 'asr al Jāhiliyah* (the time before the emergence of Islam when the people were supposed to be living in darkness) and were negated by Islam and the mission of the prophet Muhammad (ṢAAS). The 'Ulama divided the Algerians into two camps with regard to these practices: those who were ignorant and to whom they undertook the task of explaining the proper Islam of the Prophet, and the others, who performed these practices out of obstinate opposition (*mu'ānadah*). The second group were considered heretics and impostors. All the practices of the Sufi sects were considered by the 'Ulama to be within the realm of *bida'* (innovations) so they condemned them. In this connection the 'Ulama stated that, "The Institution Congreganiste (marabouts confraternity) is an innovation that ignores the principles of Islam. It is based on the excessive devotion to the *shaykh*, or the director of the confraternity, and the constant submission to serve him and his family. Thus, the devotion to the *shaykh* has resulted in the exploitation and the oppression of the people."<sup>18</sup> This demonstrates that the monastic community of the marabouts was legitimized by excessive devotion to the *shaykh*. The marabouts, men or women, have come by their sanctity in every possible way, some during their lifetime for their knowledge, their devotion, their asceticism, their power to work miracles (*karāmah*), sometimes even for their more or less mystic madness (*majdhūb*). Others have come

<sup>16</sup>Article XIV of *The Fundamental Bases of the Doctrine of the 'Ulama* op.cit.

<sup>17</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 64, 1949.

<sup>18</sup>Article XVI of *The Fundamental Bases of the Doctrine of the 'Ulama*, op. cit.

into prominence by miracles and apparitions after their death. For these reasons the masses believed in the marabouts and their *karāmah*. The social standing of the marabout families was significant in the *maghrib* at the end of the nineteenth century.

Their members often acted as arbiters, protected travellers, settled differences between tribes or ethnic groups. The 'Ulama responded to this situation by condemning the attachment of the masses to the worship of saints. *Al ba'th al dīnī* (religious reformism) in Algeria was based on the dialectics between two phenomena: the phenomenon of *naqā'īṣ* which was represented by the Sufi sects, and the phenomenon of *faḍā'il*, which would make the people accept the facts of life and the inevitable change within society. A third element of intellectual nature and organizational capability was needed so that the phenomenon of *faḍā'il* would dominate that of *naqā'īṣ*. This third element was the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama, which devoted its efforts to counter the colonial policy of consolidating the Sufi sects. On the other hand, French colonialism supported the Sufi sects in order to undermine the efforts of the 'Ulama.<sup>19</sup> This explains why, in the modern national struggle, the saints generally found themselves on the side of the French,<sup>20</sup> or at any rate, objects of hostility of the nationalists. It was true that modern national opposition to European colonization was inspired by puritans rather than saints. This is why the French colonial administration in Algeria was very suspicious of the activities of the 'Ulama and it believed that they were supported by *al Mashriq al 'Arabī*. Since the 'Ulama were not in a position to take any political or social measures against French colonialism, they concentrated their efforts on liberating the consciousness of the masses and declared the ultimate goal of this Association to be religious and cultural only.

In accord with this they declared that "The Association of the Algerian 'Ulama is a religious and cultural body which is basically confined to the preaching of Islam, to defend its principles and diffuse its culture. Its influence over the Algerian people is the expression of the solid religious, spiritual, intellectual and cultural links that tied it to the masses. These strong links, on the other hand, qualified the Association with the natural right of speaking on behalf of the Algerian people and of demanding the respect of Islam and Arabic by the French colonial authorities. In this manner, the

<sup>19</sup>In contrast, the British in Sudan established a "Board of 'Ulama" to try, unsuccessfully, to counteract Sufi sects and Mahdism. Ibrahim, Abdullahi A., *The Mahdi-Ulama Conflict, Sudan Research Unit, Occasional Papers*, No. 3, (Khartoum; Uly, 1968); University of Khartoum, see also Republican Brothers, *al Din wa Rijāl al Din 'bi al Usur*. (Religion and the History of Sudanese 'Ulama, (Khartoum, July 1975).

<sup>20</sup>Gellner, Ernest, "Sanctity, Puritanism, Secularization and Nationalism in North Africa: A Case Study." *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 1963, Vol. 15, p. 71-86.



Association was able to perform its religious duties and to fulfill its moral obligations toward indigenous Algerians.”<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the liberation of the consciousness of the masses, Al Ibrāhīmī also concentrated on the liberation of their minds. In this respect, he was concerned with the concept of thought rectification. Through the ‘Ulama educational system, the minds of the Algerian people could be liberated from the deception of the marabouts and the French colonial authorities. He thought that the liberation of the minds was the basic condition to the total liberation of their bodies.<sup>22</sup> This objective was pursued by attacking the negative aspects of *al zawāyah* and by advocating the spread of *al ta’lim al ḥurr* (the ‘Ulama type of education), which will be discussed later on in connection with *al nahḍa al thaqāfiyah* (cultural reformism).<sup>23</sup> The ‘Ulama wanted to reform these *zawāyah* so that they could be proper institutions for the spread of Islam and Arabism. Ibn Bādīs also emphasized this point in his article “Nahnū wa al Zawāyah”) where he maintained that they wanted to reform *al zawāyah* and not to destroy them.<sup>24</sup> This issue was very sensitive to the extent that it split the Association of the ‘Ulama.<sup>25</sup> The contest between the two groups was very intense to the extent that Shakīb Arslān had denounced the Algerian ‘Ulama for being divided into traditionalists, reformists, and *Wahhābists*. He wished that they were not educated since the result of their education was to be divided into several groups. The division of the ‘Ulama was manifested over another crucial reformist tool which was the separation of the Muslim cult from the French state.

## 2. The Independence of the Muslim Creed

The bias of French colonial administration in Algeria toward the traditional ‘Ulama and the saints was manifested over the issue of the Independence of the Muslim creed. The French Government in Algeria controlled the ad-

<sup>21</sup>*Memoire sur la separation du culte et de l'Etat presente par l'Association des 'Ulama d'Algerie a l'Assemblee Algerien.*

<sup>22</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 2, 1947.

<sup>23</sup>For the ‘Ulama attack on the negative aspects of *al Zawāyah* see *al Ma'rikah bayn al Ṭurūqīyah wa al 'Ulama* (the struggle between the ‘Ulama and the Saints) in the *Record of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama*, op.cit., p. 25.

<sup>24</sup>Ibn Bādīs article, “Nahnū wa al Zawāyah (The ‘Ulama and the Centers of Aggregation) was given to the writer by Dr. ‘Amār al Tālibī, head of the Department of Islamic Philosophy at the University of Algiers.

<sup>25</sup>The traditional ‘Ulama were not wholeheartedly behind reforming *al zawāyah*. They split from the Association of the Algerian ‘Ulama in September 1932 and established *Jam'īyah 'Ulama al Sunnah* (The Association of Sunnah ‘Ulama). It was said to be a reactionary organization and was dominated by Mawlūd Ḥāfiẓi and ‘Umar Ismā'il.

ministration of all *al masājid* (mosques, the singular is *masjid*) in the country. All the administrative posts within *al masājid* such as *imām*, *khatīb*, *wā'iz*, *qāri'*, and *mu'adhdhin* were given to the traditional 'Ulama and the saints. According to Islam, the *masjid* is considered a state institution. It was inherent in the character of Islam that religion and politics could not be separated. The same individual was ruler and chief administrator in the two fields, and the same building, the *masjid*, was the center of gravity for both politics and religion. If the French Government in Algeria was a Muslim Government, it would have been acceptable to the Association of the 'Ulama that it would control the administration of *al masājid*. But since this was not the case, the 'Ulama protested against this intrusion. They were especially alarmed with what came to be known as "*Circulaire Michel*." Michel was the General Secretary for Indigenous Affairs in Algiers and the General Commander of the Police Force. He issued a circular on February 16, 1933, demanding that the Mufti of Algiers and the police force keep an eye on the activities of *al masājid*.<sup>26</sup> In this regard the 'Ulama stated that, "The Association of the Algerian 'Ulama considers itself to be responsible to God and to the Algerian nation for all the Islamic institutions in the country. The Muslim people are the only authorized body to appoint and dismiss the administrators of *al masājid*."<sup>27</sup> The Algerian 'Ulama also protested against the control of *Ḥubūs* (also known as *awqāf*) by the French Government. They considered this intrusion a demolition of the principal of liberty of faith and liberty of conscience. They thought that since the Muslim people were the ones who prayed in *al masājid*, it was natural that they should choose the people who would lead them in the prayers. It was also logical that they should choose the judges who would interpret the Islamic law, especially in connection with inheritance and rules of marriage. The report emphasized that genuine Islam was the one that was understood by the Algerian 'Ulama and not the French Government or its 'allies,' the saints. In addition to this, the 'Ulama demanded the independence of Muslim creed by separating from the French Government in Algeria. The Association of the Algerian 'Ulama suggested the formation of a High Islamic Congress (*Majlis Islāmī A 'la*) to be entrusted with the job of the separation of the Muslim creed in Algeria

In May, 1950, the Algerian 'Ulama submitted another report to the French Government in Algeria in connection with the separation of the Muslim creed. This report stated that there were three religions in Algeria: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, the last of which was the religion of the majority. It

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<sup>26</sup>See Carret, Jacques, "Le Probleme de l'Independence du culte Musulman en Algerie", *Afrique et Asie*, No. 37, 10 trim, 1957, p. 50.

<sup>27</sup>*Taqrīr Majlis Idārah Jam'iyah al 'Ulama ila al Ḥukūmah al Jazā'irīyah* (The Report of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama to the Algerian Government), August, 1944.



noted that the first two religions were absolutely independent and totally respected while the third (the religion of the majority) was completely controlled. The 'Ulama asked the French Government whether their conscience would tolerate this odd situation. They thought that the French Government was a secular Government and they wondered why it interfered in particular with Islam. The 'Ulama emphasized that it was an illusion to consider the Islamic religion dangerous to them. In this regard they stated that, "There are several colonies and protectorates in the world where Islam is absolutely independent such as India, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The colonial governments in these countries are not threatened by Islam. This demonstrates that the fear of the French Government in Algeria from Islam is an illusion."<sup>28</sup> Even the advocates of the assimilation of Algerians into French culture such as Faraḥāt 'Abbas were opposed to the control of Islam by the French Government. In reference to this question, Faraḥāt declared in his '*Manifeste*' of 1943 that the Algerian problem was essentially of religious and racial nature. In order to resolve this problem, he demanded the immediate independence of Muslim creed and the application of this principle of the separation of the Church from the State.<sup>29</sup> The Algerian 'Ulama were very frustrated by the fact that the Jews and the Christians were absolutely free in preaching their faith while the Muslims were totally controlled. The Algerian Muslims who wanted to go to Makkah for *hajj* (pilgrimage) had to ask permission from the French Government. Any protest against French colonialism or the open declaration of one's love for one's country was considered a crime that would prevent one from making the pilgrimage. Al Ibrāhīmī maintained that the 'Ulama were in direct contrast with French colonialism in defining the meaning of a crime. He stated that the 'Ulama considered the drinking of alcohol and illicit love (which was tolerated by French colonialism) as being a crime while the French Government in Algeria considered the hatred of colonialism and the feeding of Algerian patriotism (which was encouraged by the 'Ulama) a crime too. He also wrote an article on the three religions in Algeria *al adyān al thalāthah fī al Jazā'ir*.<sup>30</sup> He demanded equal treatment by the Government for the three religions which existed in Algeria. Most of the editorials of *al Baṣṣā'ir* which were written by al Ibrāhīmī were devoted to the issue of the separation of Islamic religion from the French Government.<sup>31</sup> These editorials concentrated on the liberation of the *Ḥubūs*

<sup>28</sup>*Mudhakkirah fī Qaḍīyah Faṣl al Dīn 'an al Ḥukūmah* (Memorandum in Connection With the Separation of Religion From the Government), May, 1950.

<sup>29</sup>*Le Manifeste du peuple Algerien, 10 février, 1943.*

<sup>30</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 13, 1947.

<sup>31</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 58, 1948; No. 81, 1949; No. 103, 1950; No. 75, 1949; No. 83, 1949; No. 87, 1949; No. 88, 1949; No. 89, 1949; No. 104, 1950; No. 105, 1950; No. 106n, 1950; No. 108, 1950; No. 109, 1950; No. 122, 1950; No. 137, 1951; No. 138, 1951; No. 149, 1951;

(they are also known by the name of *awqāf* in *al Mashriq al 'Arabi*), the liberation of *al masājid*, the liberation of Islamic law (*Shari'ah*), the liberation of pilgrimage (*hajj*), of fasting (*sawm*) and the nomination of Muslim administrators such as *imam*, *wā'iz* and *mu'adhdhin*. Al Ibrāhīmī was very aggressive in addressing the French Government, especially when compared with the requests of Ibn Bādīs in regard to these issues.

All the efforts of the 'Ulama in connection with the independence of the Muslim creed were in vain. It should be noted that article fifty-six of the 1947 statute referred in particular to the independence of the Muslim Creed in Algeria. It stated that "The independence of the Muslim Creed from the state is assured in the same manner as the independence of the other creeds. This has been specifically mentioned in the law of December 9, 1905, and the decree of September 27, 1907.<sup>32</sup> However, the principle of the separation of the Muslim Creed was to be put into practice immediately. The questions related to the administration of *Ḥubūs* were left to the Algerian Assembly to resolve. Since the Algerian Assembly was dominated by the colonists, the principle of separation remained only on paper and was not practically implemented. This meant the continuation of the frustration of the Algerian 'Ulama and the inevitability of their coming into direct conflict with the French colonial government over the total liberation of their faith. The reformist 'Ulama in Algeria were very concerned with *al ba'th al dīnī* which they pursued throughout the attack on the marabouts, the reform of the corrupt religious practices and the struggle for the independence of the Muslim Creed. The reformist program of the 'Ulama was not limited only to *al ba'th al dīnī*. It also included *al nahda al thaqāfiyah* (cultural reformism) and *Al Iṣlāh al Sīyāsī* which will be discussed later in this paper.

## Social Revivalism

Education (*al tarbīyah*) was considered by the Algerian 'Ulama as the fundamental basis of social reform. The 'Ulama believed that manners originated from within the individual, therefore, they emphasized the aspect of having pure hearts in regard to social reform. They thought that if individuals had pure hearts, this would lead to changing their conscience and hence all the institutions within society would be changed. The conception of social reformism for the Algerian 'Ulama was idealist and they were very

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No. 140, 1951; No. 142, 1951; No. 154, 1951; No. 156, 1951; No. 157, 1951; No. 158, 1951; and No. 159, 1951.

<sup>32</sup>See Article No. 56 of the Organic Statute of September 20, 1947.



concerned with the heart and the conscience of the individual. According to this idealist point of view, if the individuals were reformed, the institutions would be reformed and it follows automatically that the whole society would be reformed as well. This would highlight the role of the Algerian 'Ulama as engineers of human souls and would explain why they were so concerned with *al tarbiyah*. They believed that through *al tarbiyah* they could manage to formulate *al insān al kāmīl* (the perfect person) and the whole society would be reformed if it consisted of perfect people. It appears that they were also in line with the modern Islamic reformists such as Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al Wahhāb, Jamāl al Dīn al Afghānī, Muhammad 'Abduh, and Muhammad Iqbāl who thought that the social degeneration of Muslims was connected with the neglect of Islam and the separation between Muslims and the facts of the Qur'an. Ibn Bādīs emphasized this by declaring that "The most essential thing in educating ourselves and other people is the correction of belief (*taṣḥīḥ al 'aqīdah*) and the construction of manners (*taqwīm al akhlāq*) because the outside appearance of human beings is the true reflection of their inner heart and conscience.<sup>33</sup> He also believed that the utility of people to their society should be judged by their utility to themselves. Any individual who is incapable of improving his status and that of his relatives would certainly be unable to help the members of his society. According to Ibn Bādīs, education was supposed to be the spearhead toward the correction of belief and the construction of manners. In order to reform Muslims socially, he thought he should start with educating the 'Ulama first. He considered the 'Ulama to be the heart of the Muslim community and it would not be possible to reform the Muslim community without reforming its heart first.<sup>34</sup> He placed strong emphasis on the analogy between the heart (being the 'Ulama) and the body (being the Muslim community) to indicate the importance of the 'Ulama to the Muslim community. Then he deduced from this analogy that if the heart was sick, one would expect the whole body to be ill and vice versa. Ibn Bādīs also emphasized that the 'Ulama would not be reformed without reforming their type of education first. In other words, education was considered by him to be the cornerstone in reforming the 'Ulama first, who would then reform the Muslim community. Above all, education itself would not be reformed unless it copied the type of education formulated by the Prophet in subject and content. The Prophet Muhammad (ṢAAS) was considered the ideal teacher for the Muslim community and his type of education was considered to be the genuine basis of social revivalism. The sayings of the Prophet (the Hadith) affirmed by Ibn Muslim referred to the fact that the Prophet was originally a teacher to the Muslim

<sup>33</sup>*Al Shihāb*, March, 1931, p. 115.

<sup>34</sup>*Al Shihāb*, Ibid, p. 117.

community. Ibn Muslim declared on behalf of the Prophet, "I was basically sent as a teacher." The education of the Prophet would socialize the Muslims and hence it would be possible to formulate the ideal Islamic community. In regard to the method of education, Ibn Bādīs advocated unity between thought and action or theory and practice (*al jam' bayn al fikr wa al 'amal*). In reference to priorities, he believed that knowledge (*ilm*) should come before action (*'amal*) and he warned against acting without sufficient knowledge. Nevertheless, it would not be possible to aspire to social reform without maintaining the unity of thought and action. This fact would explain why he was concerned with technical education in addition to moral preaching.<sup>35</sup>

## 1. The Objectives of Islamic Education

The Algerian 'Ulama were influenced by the principles of Islamic education. These principles included four major objectives: the religious objective, the social, the mental, and the material. Ibn Bādīs, in particular, tried to compromise between these objectives and the social stage of Algerian society in his time. This background has played a significant role in shaping the methods of his education. As a result, he aimed at a synthesis between the individual and social life of the Algerians, bearing in mind the Prophet Muhammad (ṢAAS) as the ideal example and imitating his practice as a springboard to the ultimate goal of any Muslim. Therefore, one of his principal educational objectives was the completeness of individual and social life (*kamāl al ḥayah al fardīyah wa al ijtimā'īyah*). This indicated that he was aiming at the perfect human personality, which was supposed to be completely perfect in regard to physical fitness, mental capability, and moral aspects. In this connection Ibn Bādīs stated that, "Human perfection is dependent on knowledge, will, power and work, the latter being the foundation of noble manners and reputable behavior. Man's life from its beginning to its end, is based on these three elements: will, knowledge and work. These three are, in their turn, dependent on another three: work is dependent on the body, knowledge on the mind, and will on the behavior. Sound knowledge and strong will are the products of wise behavior, useful work and robust body. Therefore, mankind must care for and look after these three: the mind, behavior and body. The mind should be fed on knowledge, the behavior of the holy Prophet should be approximated, and strength should be given to the body by balancing diet, avoiding injury and working."<sup>36</sup> All the educational objectives of the Algerian 'Ulama could be traced to one ultimate

<sup>35</sup>*Al Shihāb*, No. 49, August, 1926.

<sup>36</sup>*Al Shari'ah*, July 17, 1933.



goal which was *al nahḍah al ijtimā'iyah wa al thaḳāfīyah* (social and cultural revival) which was considered the basis of *al ḥaḍārah* (civilization). The 'Ulama believed that the first step toward *al ḥaḍārah* was the formation of the complete human being, then the joining of these complete human beings in a net of social interactions in order to satisfy the social aspects of these individuals. Muslims could not develop and be strong without an organized group to instill in them knowledge and moral strength. The basic precondition of *al nahḍah* (renaissance) to Ibn Bādīs was the formation of this leading group, which was supposed to lead the Muslim community toward *al ḥaḍārah*. His educational objectives were designed to form this group, which was the Algerian 'Ulama. In this regard he stated that "The Qur'an is taught to our students and we direct them to study it from the first day and every day in the hope that the Qur'an would mould them in the same manner as it did their ancestors. These students of Qur'an would be the leaders of the Algerian nation in the future and all the aspiration of the Algerian nation would be put into practice by them."<sup>37</sup> The efforts of Ibn Bādīs and the Algerian 'Ulama helped to infuse social revival, on one side, and to preserve the Algerian personality as being Muslim and Arab on the other side. The efforts of the 'Ulama in preserving the Algerian personality will be discussed later on. *Al tarbīyah* (education) was the fundamental basis of this social revival. It was supposed to formulate the 'Ulama, who would undertake the task of *al nahḍah* (renaissance) in regard to the Muslim community and lead them toward *al ḥaḍārah* (civilization).

## 2. Al Masājīd wa al Zawāyah

The formulation of the potential Algerian 'Ulama took place in the mosques. The Algerian mosques were very significant as institutions of learning where the 'Ulama used to teach Islamic principles and Arabic language. *Al masjid*, mosque or place of worship, from *Sajada* (to prostrate oneself) is considered by Muslims as a *Bayt Allāh* (House of God) and the sanctity of the mosque originates from this belief. As a consequence, Muslims also believed that it was their duty to teach the faith of God (Islam) and the Words of God (Qur'an) in the mosques. The Algerian 'Ulamā used *al masājīd* for preaching their principles.<sup>38</sup> Besides the religious activities of the mosques (the teaching and recitation of the Qur'an), there were also praises of God

<sup>37</sup>*Al Shihāb*, No. 49, August, 1926.

<sup>38</sup>See section one and two of Article 4 of "*Al Qānūn al Asāsī li Jam'īyah al 'Ulama*" (The Fundamental Basis of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama), which declared that one of the objectives of the Association was the teaching of Islamic principles in the mosques.

which were classed as *dhikr*. These activities were particularly cultivated by Sufism. Each individual of the different staff of *al masjid*, such as the imam, *khatīb*, *qāṣṣ*, *wā'iz*, *qāri'*, and *mu'adhdhin* took part in preaching the Muslim faith and educating the Muslims.<sup>39</sup> *Al zawāyah* were also utilized by the Algerian 'Ulama as centers of religious, cultural, and social activities. Ali Murad emphasized these activities of *al zawāyah* by stating that, "*Al zawāyah* were generally established far from the towns and far from the turmoil of mundane life. They have been concerned with the different aspects of religious life. One could rightly emphasize that each *zāwiyah* represented a school. The essential function of the marabout's school was the teaching of Qur'anic texts. The marabout's schools were also concerned with teaching the youth of the different tribes the fundamental basis of Islamic education. However, the social role of *al zāwiyah* depended mainly on the personality of its chief, the marabout, and on the personality of that of his assistant, the *muqaddam*."<sup>40</sup> This indicated that *al zawāyah* had a positive role to play in regard to social reformism. It had been stated previously in connection with *al ba'th al dīnī* (the religious renaissance) that the Algerian 'Ulama had attacked vigorously the negative aspects of *al zawāyah* such as being centers for the activities of the marabouts. On the other hand, the 'Ulama utilized them as institutions of learning and centers of religious and social activities. Each *zāwiyah* acted as a proper school for the teaching of the Qur'an and Arabic language. It happened that there were many *zawāyah* in the region inhabited by the Algerian Berbers. In this connection *al zawāyah* were very significant in spreading Islam and Arabic language among the Algerian Berbers. Irrespective of the ethnic divisions in Algeria, i.e., Arabs versus Berbers, *al zawāyah* played the role of integrating all the Algerians through Islam and Arabism. Both Arabs and Berbers had to learn the principles of Islam and Arabic language. Aḥmad Tawfīq al Madanī emphasized this fact by stating that "Some of the Sufi sects and *al zawāyah* have a historical significance which could not be denied by anybody. They helped greatly in spreading Islam and Arabic language especially among the Berbers in the region of *Al Zāwāwā al Amādhikīyā*."<sup>41</sup> Al Madanī had particularly mentioned the following four *zawāyah* as being the most important: *Zāwiyah Sīdī 'Abd al Raḥmān al Batūlī*, *Zāwiyah Shalāka* (near Akbū town), *Zāwiyah Ibn Abī Dāwūd* (in *Al Zawāyah* region) and finally *Zāwiyah Sīdī Mansūr* (in *Jarjarah* region). The French colonial administration in Algeria had been aware of

<sup>39</sup>See the "role of the Mosque as a Religious Centre" in H.A.R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit., p. 335.

<sup>40</sup>See Murd Ali, *Le Reformisme Musulman en Algerie de 1925 a 1940: Essai d'histoire religieuse et sociale*, op.cit., p.67.

<sup>41</sup>See A.T. al Madanī, *Kitāb al Jazā'ir* (The Book of Algeria), (Cairo: 1963), 2nd edition, p. 350-351.



the activities of the 'Ulama and what was going on inside the mosques and the other meeting places such as *al zawāyah*. It could predict in advance the dangerous consequences of these activities for French colonialism in Algeria. The French authorities decided to act immediately in order to stop the germs of the 'Ulama from spreading all over Algeria. The French colonial administration placed every possible obstacle in their way so that the 'Ulama could not teach in *al masājid* or preach in *al zawāyah*. The Governor of Algiers issued a decree<sup>42</sup> attacking the activities of the 'Ulama and preventing them from preaching in the mosques. He described the 'Ulama as being agitators and condemned them as being agents of some Arab and Muslim countries. The 'Ulama protested strongly against the decree and demanded absolute liberty in regard to the preaching of Islam. Two urgent demands were sent by trustworthy men to the Governor-General in Algiers, to the Prime Minister in France, to the Minister of Interior, to the president of the Senate and to the President of the Legislative Assembly in Paris. The first demand was related to the immediate opening of the mosques for the 'Ulama and the second was concerned with the absolute liberty for Algerian Muslims to open their own Qur'anic schools.<sup>43</sup> They also submitted another protest memorandum to the French Administration in Algeria which stated that "one of the major objectives of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama is the teaching and preaching of the Algerian people. This teaching and preaching could only take place in mosques. We are very alarmed with the decree of the Governor of Algiers and we demand the freedom of preaching and teaching in mosques."<sup>44</sup> This protest was followed by a third one to the president of the French Republic directly which emphasized the right of the Algerians to learn their religion and language and referred to the decree that prevented the 'Ulama from carrying out their duties. The memorandum to the president of the French Republic declared, "Religious education in this Muslim country is liquidated with the closing down of the mosques and thousands of Muslim youth are eager to learn their Islamic religion, but they are unable to do so because of the fact that the mosques are closed in their faces. To learn and teach Islamic religion is a natural right for nine million Algerian Muslims but unfortunately, they are deprived of this right."<sup>45</sup> Ibn Bādīs also referred to these obstacles in his annual report that was presented to the General Assembly of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama in 1935. He was quite resentful of the fact that the doors of the mosques were closed

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<sup>42</sup>The decree of the Governor of Algiers was issued on February 18, 1933. It specifically stated that the Algerian 'Ulama were strictly forbidden to teach or preach in the mosques. For the actual text of the decree see *al Shari'ah*, No. 1, 17 May 1933, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup>See the journal of *al Sr al Saw*, No. 11, November, 1933, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup>See al Ibrahīmī, M.B., *Uyūn al Baṣṣā'ir, The Eyes of al Baṣṣā'ir*, (Algiers: 1976), p. 77.

in front of the 'Ulama and the Association could not pursue its objectives. He appealed on behalf of the 'Ulama to the French administration in Algeria to allow the Association to carry out its mission of preaching the faith in the mosques. He declared that "In the name of the Algerian 'Uama, I declare to the higher authority the protest of the Association against the closing of the mosques and the prevention of the 'Ulama from preaching in them. In the name of the 'Ulama I protest against the prevention of the Ummah from learning its religion and the prevention of the Association from carrying out its objectives through legitimate means."<sup>46</sup> The French Government did not respond to the requests of the 'Ulama and it continued to prevent them from using the mosques, which were put under the supervision of the Governor-General in Algiers. Hence the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama decided to establish its own mosques and appeal to the Algerian Muslims to contribute to this sacred goal. The response of the Algerians was quite enormous, and it was reported that over ninety mosques were built by the Association of the 'Ulama in the big towns and the villages of Algeria during 1933.<sup>47</sup> Since the Algerian 'Ulama were limited in number, the Association decided that they should keep mobile roving from one town to another throughout Algeria. The mobility of 'Ulama (*tajawwul al Ulama*) from one town to another is recognized by Islam as one of the important methods for spreading the faith and teaching its principles. In this connection Article 5 of *al qānūn al asāsī* (the fundamental basis) proclaimed that, "The Association was bound to use all the means which it considered to be useful for spreading its principles. One of these effective means was that the 'Ulama should travel from one place to another in order to preach to the Algerians."<sup>48</sup> The visit of the Algerian 'Alim to a town was considered a significant historical event by local Muslims. All the people of the town concerned (and even from the nearby regions) would gather in the biggest square to listen to the speeches of the visiting 'Alim. Throughout his stay in the town concerned, the people would discuss the content of his speeches and show their contempt for the abuses of French colonialism in Algeria. By this method, the 'Ulama were able to mobilize all the Algerians on the basis of Islam and Arabism. French officials intervened again and prevented the Ulama from travelling within Algeria. Each 'Alim was confined to his native town, was prevented from preaching in its mosques, and was put under constant observation by the

<sup>46</sup>See the annual report presented by Ibn Bādīs to the General Assembly of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama on Sunday, September 15 1935, in the Record of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama, op.cit., p. 74; see also *al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 83, Sept., 1937.

<sup>47</sup>See *Majallah al Majma' al 'Ilmī al Arabī*, *The Journal of Arabic Scientific Confluence*, (Cairo), No. 21, p. 146.

<sup>48</sup>See Article 4 of the Fundamental Basis of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama , op.cit.



police and the security forces. If he wanted to move from one town to another for a personal reason, such as a death of one of his relatives, he had to seek permission from the police of the town. In most cases, according to the writings of the 'Ulama themselves, this permission was refused.

## The Clubs of the 'Ulama

In addition to their own mosques, the Algerian 'Ulama also established their own clubs. Section 4 of Article 4 and Article 6 of *al qānūn al asāsī* referred in particular to the establishment of social clubs in order to educate *al shabāb al Jazā'irī* (the Algerian youth) through public lectures and open discussions. The Algerian community, *al mujtama' al Jazā'irī*, was divided into three groups by the 'Ulama: the small school children, the youths, and the grown-up people. The 'Ulama aimed at mobilizing all these three groups. The small pupils were recruited in the Association's private schools; the grown-up people were recruited in the mosques; but the 'Ulama could not invigorate *al shabāb* (the youth) since they did not attend either their schools or their mosques. *Al shabāb al Jaz'irī* (the Algerian youth) were usually attracted to nightclubs. These nightclubs were the ones in which strong drinks were sold. All the facilities of gambling were provided in these nightclubs. The majority of *al shabāb al Jazā'irī* would waste their nights drinking and gambling in these clubs. The French Colonial administration in Algeria encouraged the opening of such clubs while the 'Ulama were very resentful of them. The consequence of this resentment was that the 'Ulama decided to establish their own alternative—social clubs. The basic objective behind the establishing the 'Ulama social clubs was to be in a position to recruit and socialize *al shabāb*.<sup>49</sup> The clubs were considered educational institutions and they were designed in a particular manner so as to perform the same functions that were carried out by the mosques and the private schools. Any community would need the constructive effort of its youth in the process of its development. The Algerian nation could not be expected to flourish if its *shabāb* (youth) were left to waste their nights in drinking and gambling. The 'Ulama started their mission of preaching among the Algerian youth within their social clubs which was concerned with the protection of Algerian youth against corrupt manners and practices, especially during the period of adolescence. They suggested that the only safeguard for Algerian youth was for them to follow the teaching of Islam. They emphasized to Algerian youth the role that was expected of them by the Algerian nation. They advised them to prepare

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<sup>49</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 270, 1954, p.1.

themselves for leading the Ummah (nation) in the future. The 'Ulama explained to the youth the dangerous consequences of the French colonial policy of assimilation and warned them against imitating the French manner of life. The Algerian 'Ulama believed that Algeria is a Muslim and an Arab country. They indicated to Algerian youth that they should hold to Islamic and Arabic culture in order to reject the policy of assimilation. Besides the cultural activities within these clubs, the 'Ulama also introduced most of the popular games. They were particularly concerned with sport and scout activities. Due to these activities, the social clubs of the 'Ulama became very popular among Algerian youth. This fact did not please the French colonial administration in Algeria, which decided to discourage the activities of the 'Ulama among the youth. In 1938, the French Minister of Interior issued a decree forbidding the 'Ulama from selling any soft drinks *al mashrūbāt al mubāḥah* within their social clubs without his consent.<sup>50</sup> By this decree, the Minister of Interior wanted to weaken these clubs financially by depriving them of the profit which they used to get from selling the soft drinks. In addition to this, he wanted to discourage the Algerian youth from going to these clubs, since they could not find even tea or coffee to drink. Bearing these two reasons in mind, the decree was an attempt to keep the Algerian youth away from the influence of the 'Ulama. The 'Ulama did not accept the decree and agitated against it, but the agitation was unsuccessful.

The preaching of the 'Ulama was the fundamental basis for their social reformism. *Al Tarbiyah* was considered the right instrument for the formation of the perfect human being. In this regard, the 'Ulama utilized *al zawāyah wa al masājid* and even the social clubs (*al andīyah al ijtimā'iyah*) to pursue their goal of *al nahḍah al thaqāfīyah* (cultural revival), which will be discussed next.

## Cultural Revivalism

Social reform was based on the usage of social institutions for educational purposes. On the other hand, cultural reform relied basically on the usage of proper educative institutions for the teaching of Islamic principles and Arabic language. In other words, *al islāh al ta'limī al mubāshir* (direct educational reform) constituted the fundamental aspect of *al nahḍah al thaqāfīyah* (cultural revival). These institutions were owned and run by the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama, and they were known by the name of *al ta'lim al ḥurr* ('Ulama-independent type of education) in Algeria. It referred

<sup>50</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 108, April 1938, p. 4.



in particular to the private schools, which were established by the Algerian 'Ulama. These schools were also referred to as *madāris khāṣṣah* (private schools) in order to make a distinction between them and the schools which were run by the colonial administration in Algeria. Besides the private schools, cultural reform also relied on *ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* (the press of the Algerian 'Ulama). The Algerian 'Ulama had their own press which they utilized as an instrument of instruction. *Al ta'līm al ḥurr* and *ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* played a crucial part in educating the Algerians in Islam and Arabism. They were both brought together by the 'Ulama to fulfill their desired goal of cultural revival.

## The Press of the 'Ulama

Section 3 of Article 4 of the fundamental basis of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama stated that the Association should establish its own journals and reviews. *Ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* was entrusted with the mission of educating Algerian Muslims and mobilizing them in opposition to French colonial policy. All the Algerian papers that were owned by the indigenous population had three major characteristics: educative, ideological, and multitudinous. *Ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* had three further characteristics: agitational, critical, and concerned with mobilizing the Algerian masses against the French policy of cultural assimilation.<sup>51</sup> In July, 1925, Ibn Bādīs established the Journal *al Muntaqid* (the critic or the estimator). The choice of the name was very significant. The *marabouts* at that time used to emphasize the slogan "*Itaqid wa la'tan'taqid*" (believe but do not criticize). Ibn Bādīs thought that the Algerian Muslims should believe and criticize at the same time. This was why he had chosen the name *al Muntaqid* for his Journal in order to highlight the significance of criticizing French colonialism. The slogan *al Muntaqid* proclaimed that "*Al Ḥaqq fawq kullī Aḥad Wa al Waṭan qabl kullī Shay*" (Truth is above everybody and the native country is before everything). Underneath the main slogan it was written that *al Muntaqid* was a political journal, educative and critical. It was emphasized that it was an independent journal which aimed at the happiness of the Algerian nation with the support of democratic France. The first editorial of *al Muntaqid* stated "We are an Algerian Muslim entity which has been put under the domain of French colonialism. Being Muslims, it is our duty to safeguard our religious traditions (*al taqālid al Islāmīyah*) which are concerned with human perfection and the promotion of fraternity and peace among all the people. Our national identity *qawmīyatuna*

<sup>51</sup>For the titles and the slogans of *ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* (The 'Ulama Press), see Ali Murad, *le Reformisme Musulman*, op.cit., p. 184.

and our moral and material happiness resided in observing these Islamic traditions. This highlighted for us the fact that no people could live without religion, which represents a considerable force in the life of all human beings. Any government is mistaken if it underestimates the religion of any people and this considerable force which it possesses. As long as we want to remain an Algerian separate entity, we should continue to unify the Algerians and instill their children with the Algerian national spirit. This can be achieved by educating the Algerian youth along the principles of Islam and make them love the doing of useful deeds for their country and for humanity.”<sup>52</sup> The slogan of *al Muntaqid* “Truth is above everybody and the native country is before everything” was quite daring at that time especially if we bear in mind that the French were about to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of French Algeria. The French colonial administration was not prepared to tolerate any criticism in connection with its belief that Algeria was a French department and it banned *al Muntaqid* after eighteen issues had been published. Coincidentally, *al 'urwah al wuthqah*, which was published in Egypt, had also been stopped from entering Algeria after the eighteenth edition. *al Muntaqid* was immediately followed by the Journal *al Shihāb*. The slogan of *al Shihāb* was taken from the book *al Muwattā'* by Al Imām Mālik. It stated that “*La yaşluḥ ākhir hādhihi al ummah illa bi mā şalah bihi awwaluha*” (The reformation of this ummah is only possible through following the teachings of the Prophet). The second slogan of *al Shihāb* stated that *al ḥaqq wa al 'adl waal ukhūwah fī i'ā' jamī' al ḥuqūq li ladhīna qāmū bi jamī' al wājibāt* (rights, justice and fraternity in giving all the rights to those who had fulfilled their duties). The following words were written at the different corners of the first page of *al Shihāb*: liberty, justice, fraternity, and peace. In addition to these different slogans, two Qur'anic verses were also written on the top of the page. The first Qur'anic verse stated: *Ud'u ila sabīl Rabbika bi al ḥikmah* . . . (preach the faith of God with erudition). The choice of this Qur'anic verse was also very significant. It related to the manner in which Muslims should argue with the infidels. God addressed the Muslims to preach his faith with erudition and patience. He also asked them to approach the infidels in a peaceful manner and to argue with them in a logical and systematic style because He would know in advance those who would accept the Muslim faith and the others who would reject it. The second Qur'anic verse had the same meaning as the first and it stated: *Qul hādihā sabīlī* . . . say this is my way). The extraction of these two Qur'anic verses in particular indicated that the 'Ulama were bound to follow the instructions of God in regard to their preaching of the Islamic faith. In February, 1939, *al Shihāb* became a monthly revue instead of a journal. The above slogan of “rights, justice

<sup>52</sup>*Al Muntaqid*, July 2, 1925, p. 1.



and fraternity in giving all the rights to those who had fulfilled their duties” had been abandoned in 1937. It was replaced by another slogan which stated that “*Li naʿūl ʿala anfusina wa li natakil ʿala Allāh* (we should rely on ourselves and depend on God)”. The Algerian ‘Ulama were disappointed by the Government of the popular front in France and they were not particularly pleased with the results of the Islamic Congress in 1936. These two incidents had shattered their hopes in democratic France and they arrived at the conclusion that rights are taken and not given (*al huqūq tu’khadh wa la tu’ta*). The new slogan, “We should rely on ourselves and depend on God,” indicated that the Algerian ‘Ulama had lost any hope of getting any concessions from France and it represented a turning point in the Algerian national struggle against French colonialism. The last issue of *al Shihāb* was published in September, 1939.

In addition to *al Shihāb*, the Algerian ‘Ulama had published several journals. *Al Shihāb* belonged to Ibn Bādīs personally and not to the Association of the Algerian ‘Ulama. In fact, the Association of the Algerian ‘Ulama established the Journal of *al Sunnah* in *Dhu al Hijjah* 1352 (April 1933) and it was stopped by the French Government in July, 1933. Then *al Sunnah* was followed by *al Sharīʿah* in July 1933. Ibn Bādīs protested against the decree of the Minister of Interior, which stopped the Journal of *al Sunnah*. He asked why the French Government should blame the Algerian ‘Ulama for establishing a religious and cultural society which would help it in raising the standard of the Algerians. In the first editorial of the Journal of *al Sharīʿah*, Ibn Bādīs emphasized that *al Sharīʿah* would carry the same mission as the banned journal of *al Sunnah*. Along these lines he stated that “In the light of our steadfast plan—the dissemination of knowledge and virtue of the fighting of ignorance and vice; in the light of our noble aim—the refinement and education of the Algerian people, who are linked to France, the upgrading of their standards of behavior, work and their mental capabilities to befit the French image and prestige; and in the light of our confidence in the justice of France, the freedom and democracy of the French people, the Association of the Algerian ‘Ulama established the banned *Sunnah* newspaper and we have today, established the purified *Sharīʿah* newspaper to take the place of the former. The latter, we hope, shall come to occupy in our hearts the place hitherto occupied by the *Sunnah* newspaper. To achieve the goal, we shall always look forward to the Almighty for help and strength.”<sup>53</sup> *Al Sharīʿah* was allowed to produce six issues and it was stopped in August, 1933. After the closing down of *al Sharīʿah*, the Association of the ‘Ulama started *al Širāt al Ṣawī* in September, 1933. The Minister of the Interior intervened as usual and stopped it in January, 1934. In December, 1935, the ‘Ulama established

<sup>53</sup>See the editorial of the journal *al Sharīʿah*, July 17, 1933.

the Journal *al Baṣṣā'ir*. The Association of the 'Ulama had chosen the following Qur'anic verse to be the main slogan of *al Baṣṣā'ir*: (*qad Jā'akum baṣṣā'ir min Rabbikum . . .* This light was given to you by God). The 'Ulama indicated that *al Baṣṣā'ir* was similar to a torch which was sent by God to show the Muslims the correct passage to salvation. Those who would follow *al Baṣṣā'ir* would be enlightened by it and those who disregarded it would live in darkness. It was stopped by the 'Ulama during the Second World War. In 1947, it resumed publication again under the editorship of Muḥammad al Bashīr al Ibrāhīmī who succeeded Ibn Bādīs in 1940 as the president of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama. Under Al Ibrāhīmī, *al Baṣṣā'ir* was very critical of French colonialism and it stopped finally in April, 1956, after the start of the Algerian war for national liberation (*ḥarb al taḥrīr al kubrah*). Some of the Algerian 'Ulama had their own journals which were sympathetic to the course of the Association of the 'Ulama. These sympathetic journals included *al Thabāt*, *al Nūr*, *al Mirsād*, and *al Iṣlāḥ*. They followed the guiding lines of *al Shihāb* and *al Baṣṣā'ir* while they echoed the ideas of the Association in regard to the religious renaissance, and the social and cultural revivalism. It was noticeable that all the journals of the Association of the 'Ulama were published in Arabic. Nevertheless, certain 'Ulama had published their journals in French. For example, Al Amīn al 'Āmūdī had published the Journal *La Defense* in French. Besides *La Defense* there were also some sympathetic journals to the 'Ulama in French such as *l'Ikdam* and *l'Entente*. This revealed that the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama was not prejudiced against the French language and that it published all its documents and reports in both Arabic and French. *Ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* played a crucial role in cultural revivalism. The Algerian 'Ulama utilized their journals and revues as a medium to communicate their ideas to the Algerian Muslims. The utility of *Ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* as an effective medium of communication was demonstrated by the constant intervention of the Minister of the Interior and his regular banning of the journal. The press of the Algerian 'Ulama constituted one aspect of cultural revivalism. The other significant aspect of cultural revivalism was Islamic education, which was provided by the 'Ulama's private schools.

## The 'Ulama Independent Schools

The ultimate goal of the 'Ulama Independent schools was the extension of formal education in Arabic and religion to Algerian pupils (*al talāmidhah al Jazā'irīyin*). *al iṣlāḥ al ta'līmī* (educational development) was primarily based on the proper instruction of classical Arabic and orthodox Islam of the Algerian 'Ulama in their private schools. The indigenous Arabic dialect



was equated with traditional Islam by the Algerian 'Ulama. The emancipation of the Algerian Muslims from the influence of traditional Islam would also require as a prerequisite their proper knowledge of classical Arabic. In this regard, *al Balāgh*<sup>54</sup> declared that "Arabic language and Islamic religion are twins to the extent that you can't neglect one without also slipping from the other. By conserving the language of the Qur'an one would also conserve the Muslim soul and who missed the Arabic language would also miss by definition of the Islamic religion. *Al Najāh* indicated the significance of the Arabic language to Algeria by stating that languages were very crucial to the existence of nations. It declared that "It is through language that nations exist, and by learning your language you become a patriotic person. The most noble work for Algeria is to propagate Arabic and so resuscitate the people who spoke it."<sup>55</sup> The 'Ulama were very much concerned with the field of education because they were essentially teachers by occupation. They believed that any human being would need desperately water, air, education, and food in order to survive. Since the French colonial administration was not particularly concerned with educating Algerians, they decided to carry out this mission through their own private schools. In regard to their educational principles, they stated that "In the same manner as the body needs food and beverage, the spirit also needs to be nourished by real knowledge (*ma'rifah ṣaḥīḥah*)."<sup>56</sup> The fundamental basis of the Association of the 'Ulama also emphasized this educational role. Article 4 (Section 6) and Article 6 stated that the Association should establish its own private schools in order to teach Muslim children the Arabic language that was the tongue of their Islamic religion. The Muslim children should also be taught how to read and write, the principles of Islamic religion and the fundamentals of education (*usūl al tarbiyah*). The private schools of the 'Ulama should be under the supervision and the responsibility of the Association of the 'Ulama. Besides the elementary schools (*katātīb Qur'anīyah*), the Association was supposed to establish its own Institutes (*ma'āhid dīnīyah*) and even send the outstanding students on scholarships to *Jāmi' al Zaytunah* in Tunis, *al Azhar* in Egypt, and *Jāmi' al Karawīyīn* in Morocco. These three institutions, which were originally mosques, were considered as colleges for higher studies in Arabic language and Islamic religion. The three institutions have developed now into recognized universities for the study of the social sciences, with a particular bias toward Islamic studies. Only *al Azhar*, in comparison with the two other universities, had its own faculty of medicine that was supposed to graduate doctors who were also preachers at the same time. The Algerian 'Ulama utilized *al ta'lim*

<sup>54</sup>*Al Balāgh*, October 25, 1930.

<sup>55</sup>*Al Balāgh*, October 25, 1930.

<sup>56</sup>See the editorial of *Al Muntaqid*, July 2, 1925, p. 1.

*al ḥurr* for cultural revival. This meant specifically the regeneration of Arabic language and Arabic culture. The 'Ulama were very keen about these two aspects because French colonialism had been very systematic in eliminating any traces of Arabism in Algeria since its occupation in 1830. They started their free education by establishing primary schools throughout Algeria. It was reported in 1948 that the Association of the 'Ulama had one hundred and forty primary schools in Algeria.<sup>57</sup> In 1951, the Association of the 'Ulama published the names of all its intermediate schools in Algeria.<sup>58</sup> In 1947 the Association established its own secondary schools. The first secondary school was established in Constantine and it was called "Institute of Ibn Bādīs." Al Ibrāhīmī declared the Institute of Ibn Bādīs to be a crucial turning point in educational development in Algeria.<sup>59</sup> Muḥammad Khayr al Dīn (vice-president of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama) had written a long article in *al Baṣṣā'ir* indicating the significance of having a higher institute for Islamic studies such as Ibn Bādīs Institute. The naming of the Institute after Ibn Bādīs reflected the recognition by the 'Ulama of his efforts in regard to *al ta'lim al ḥurr*. Khayr al Dīn mentioned that there were 702 students in the Institute of Ibn Bādīs in 1950 to 1951. In 1955, their number increased to 913 students and they were distributed among the different classes as follows: 310 (in the first year); 284 students (in the second year); 227 students (in the third year); ninety-two students (in the fourth year). Out of the ninety-two graduates in 1955, forty students had managed to get their higher certificate of education.<sup>60</sup> Ibn Bādīs Institute was followed by two other Institutes in Algiers and Tulumusān. This indicated that the 'Ulama higher education in Algeria was confined to three institutes only. These institutes were equally divided among the three departments of Algeria which included Constantine, al Jazā'ir (the capital), and Tulumusān. The Association of the 'Ulama also devoted some efforts to the proper training of the 'Ulama. Since there were no special colleges for the training of the Algerian teachers, the Association made further efforts by sending the potential 'Ulama on scholarships to *al mashriq al Arabī*.<sup>61</sup> The Journal of *al Baṣṣā'ir* played a significant role in regard to the training of the Algerian teachers and their preparation for the profession of teaching. Through the editorials of *al Baṣṣā'ir* al Ibrāhīmī used to address the Algerian teachers by stating that they should consider their schools battle grounds and they were expected by the Algerian nation to be

<sup>57</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 65, January, 1949, p.7.

<sup>58</sup>For the complete list of the 'Ulama Intermediate schools see *al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 135, December, 1951, p. 7.

<sup>59</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 54, October, 1948, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup>For the complete article of Khayr al Dīn see *Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 226, August, 1955, P. 1.

<sup>61</sup>In connection with the training of the 'Ulama and the scholarships of the Association, see *Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 173, October, 1951, p. 3; see also *Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 262, March, 1954, p. 1.



the heroes of these fighting fields. He told them that inefficiency would be considered a crime and advised them to be ideal examples for their students. In this regard he emphasized "Be careful when you give advice to your students. What you say to them verbally, should be identical to what you do practically. If you advised them not to tell lies, you should always tell the truth yourselves. If you advised them to be patient, you should be patient yourselves."<sup>62</sup>

The French colonial administration in Algeria had tolerated the indigenous type of education up to the end of the First World War. The reason behind this toleration was that the indigenous education was disorganized, very limited and totally ineffective in mobilizing the Algerian masses. After the end of the First World War, the French became alarmed by the indigenous type of education because the 'Ulama increased in number and started to organize their educational activities. With the formation of the Association of Algerian 'Ulama in 1931, it became clear that the Independent education of the 'Ulama started to constitute a threat to the future of French Algeria.<sup>63</sup>

At that stage French authorities decided to intervene in order to jeopardize the educational efforts of the 'Ulama. The response of the French colonial administration to the Independent education of the 'Ulama came with unequivocal brutality. The Minister of the Interior issued a decree in which Arabic was described as a foreign language in Algeria. The 'Ulama were prevented indirectly from teaching Arabic and the Security Forces were ordered to put the decree into action. The 'Ulama were puzzled and disappointed to hear that Arabic was a foreign language in an Arabic country. The decree inflicted severe pain on the 'Ulama. This pain was manifested in their report to the French Government in 1944.<sup>64</sup> The Association of the 'Ulama protested vigorously against the decree that considered Arabic to be a foreign language in Algeria. They protested to the Governor-General in Algiers and they submitted several petitions to the French Government in Paris, but their

<sup>62</sup>See *al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 94, 1949; the editorials of the following issues of *al Baṣṣā'ir*, were also addressed to Algerian teachers by Al Ibrāhīmī. *al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 132, 1950; No. 133, 1950; No. 145, 1951; and *al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 149, 1951.

<sup>63</sup>Because of the efforts of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama, *al Kaiṭāib al Qur'an ʿiyah* (Qur'anic elementary schools) spread all over Algeria, even in the remote regions of Wādī Mīzāb. Bayūd Ibrāhīm 'Umar indicated in a special report on Arabic education (in the region of Mīzāb) to Turkī Rābiḥ, that the schools of the 'Ulama were very influential in the region. The people of the Wādī Mīzāb boycotted conscription into the French army due to the influence of the 'Ulama. The conscription was considered *kufr* because Muslims would fight Muslims for the sake of infidels and the Algerians would develop bad habits from the camps. The pubs and houses of prostitution in the region were also closed down due to the influence of the 'Ulama. The report of Bayūd Ibrāhīm 'Umar on Arabic Education in the Region of Mīzāb was passed to the writer by Turkī Rābiḥ himself, who was a lecturer in the Department of Education at the University of Algiers.

<sup>64</sup>See the report of the Algerian 'Ulama to the Algerian Government in 1944, op.cit.

protests were in vain. In March, 1938, the French Government issued another decree which stated that the Algerian 'Ulama should seek permission for the teaching of the Arabic language.<sup>65</sup> The March decree specified categorically that any *ālīm* who taught Arabic without permission would be severely punished by the French Government. Due to this decree, most of the 'Ulama were fined and sent to prison because they refused to seek permission for the teaching of Arabic. Šaṭī' Al Ḥuṣarī described in this report how the French Government humiliated the Algerian 'Ulama for teaching Arabic without permission. He declared that in 1948-49 there were twenty-seven cases before the Algerian courts. All the 'Ulama involved were fined and three of them were imprisoned.<sup>66</sup> The 'Ulama believed that it was absurd to seek permission to teach their own language and their own religion. As a result of this belief, they accepted imprisonment for the sake of carrying out their sacred mission of teaching the language of their faith. The March decree also indicated that the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama should seek permission before opening a new school.

The 'Ulama were particularly embittered by the March decree because it aimed primarily at jeopardizing their educational efforts. The French and the Jews had their own private schools in Algeria and they were not requested by the March decree to seek permission in opening a new school. No French or Jewish teacher was obliged to seek permission in order to teach French or Hebrew. Even if the Association applied for permission to open a school, it would take time before the application was cleared and in the end, the permission would be refused. The Association demanded that the French Government inspect its private schools but the demand was turned down.<sup>67</sup> All the Algerians, including those who were educated in French, had protested against the March decree. All the indigenous Algerians who did not even know the Arabic language, such as doctors, lawyers, or lecturers, had joined the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama in their struggle for the liberty of teaching Arabic. It was significant to note that the March decree had even inflicted pain on some of the French people. Jacques Madoul (a French historian) who visited Algeria in 1954 with a French delegation declared in regard to the March decree that "One of the strange things that puzzled me was that Arabic language which was the language of the majority in Algeria was considered as a foreign language. That was the major reason why the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama devoted all its efforts in organizing *al ta'lim al ḥurr*."<sup>68</sup> In connection with the protest of the Europeanized

<sup>65</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, 8 April, 1938.

<sup>66</sup>See the article of Šaṭī' al Ḥuṣarī in the periodic of Arabic culture, Cairo, 1950, p. 568, quoted in Turki Rābiḥ, *Education and the Algerian Personality*, (Algiers, 1974), p. 173.

<sup>67</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 65, 1949.

<sup>68</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 270, May, 1954.



Algerians against the March decree, Ibn Bādīs stated that “Some people thought that Islam and Arabic language were only the concern of those who believed in Islam and read Arabic. Those people thought that the Europeanized Algerians had nothing to do with Islam and Arabic language. The protests against the March decree by the Europeanized Algerians proved that they were equally concerned with the future of the Arabic language in Algeria.”<sup>69</sup>

The Algerian ‘Ulama supported by some French sympathizers and all the Algerian people, demanded their absolute liberty in teaching Arabic and the opening of their private schools. Al Ibrāhīmī was very critical of the French Government for obstructing the mission of the ‘Ulama in Algeria. He stated that the French Government was secular (in name) and Christian (in action). He interpreted the decrees of the French Government as being a reflection of the struggle between Islam and Christianity and associated colonialism with Christianity. He declared that “The truth that our people ought to know about the present battle is that it is a struggle between Islam and Christianity. The effects of this struggle are manifested by the Government programs which are directed mainly to undermine Arabic and Islamic education. The Government proved to be secular in name and Christian in essence, identity, practice, and appearance—in fact, all colonialism is Christian by nature. Hence, we persist in demanding the Independence of Arabic education, the freedom of preaching in the mosques, and the separation of Islamic jurisprudence from the French legal system. These three issues we consider to be our rights in life and we believe that our religious well-being will remain incomplete without their realization. Freedom of belief is man’s natural right.”<sup>70</sup> In regard to the teaching of Arabic language, he protested against the idea of seeking permission for this purpose. He believed that French colonialism was scared of the teaching of Arabic language and it considered Arabic as its chief enemy just as Satan considered the doing of good *al ‘amal al ṣāliḥ* as his worst enemy. Under the heading of *al ta’līm al ‘Arabī Wa al ḥukūmah* (Arabic education and the French Government) he had written several articles attacking these hinderances and demanding their urgent removal.<sup>71</sup> The report of the Association of the Algerian ‘Ulama to the French Government in 1944 specified the Association’s demands in regard to the teaching of Arabic language. The report demanded the repeal of all the decrees issued by the French Government in connection with the teaching of Arabic. This demand was first stated in the first issue of *al Baṣṣā’ir* in

<sup>69</sup>*Al Baṣṣā’ir*, June 10, 1938.

<sup>70</sup>*Al Baṣṣā’ir*, No. 74, 1949.

<sup>71</sup>For the articles of Al Ibrāhīmī on *al ta’līm al ‘Arabī wa al ḥukūmah* (Arabic Education and the Algerian Government) see *Al Baṣṣā’ir*, No. 1, 1947; No. 2, 1947; No. 9, 1947; No. 47, 1947; No. 65, 1949; No. 66, 1949; No. 68, 1949; No. 69, 1949; No. 70, 1949; No. 71, 1949; No. 72, 1949; No. 73, 1949; and No. 74, 1949.

1947. Under the heading of *al ta'lim al 'Arabī* (Arabic education) *al Baṣṣā'ir* produced the request of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama.<sup>72</sup> The 'Ulama demanded that a new decree should replace all the previous decrees and it should clearly state that the Algerian 'Ulama were free to open their private schools or to teach Arabic. If the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama wanted to establish a new school, it should only have to inform the French Government of the name, place of the school, and the names of the teachers. No permission should be necessary. The new decree should also include satisfactory guarantees against the closing down of the private schools of the 'Ulama for political reasons. Instead of responding to some of these requests favorably, the French administration took further measures to weaken the status of Arabic language. It was decided that the news should be broadcast in both Arabic and Berber and there should also be a translator for both languages within the Algerian legislative Assembly. *al Ibrāhīmī* had protested against these two resolutions and stated that "These two resolutions meant to say that Algeria was inhabited by different races who spoke different languages. Therefore no one of these different languages deserved to be the official one. If all the Kabyles' members of the Assembly spoke French, why should the French colonial administration appoint a translator for them? The Kabyles are Muslim Arabs and Algeria is a Muslim and an Arab country and Arabic should be the official language in the country."<sup>73</sup> The basic objective of the French behind these two resolutions was to counter the argument that Arabic should be elevated to the same level as the French language in Algeria. The Association of the Algerian 'Ulama demanded that Arabic language should have the same status as the French language. It demanded that all the official publications and reports should be published in both French and Arabic. Finally, the 'Ulama insisted that the Arabic press should be granted similar facilities as those accorded to the French press.<sup>74</sup> The French wanted to indicate that Algeria consisted of different ethnic groups and neither Arabic nor Berber should have the upper hand while opening the way for the French language to dominate both of them.

In spite of the tough measures that were taken by the French Government against the 'Ulama independent education and their private press, cultural revivalism remained strong in Algeria. It was characterized by the 'Ulama's perpetual struggle for the recognition of their private schools and press. This fact was confirmed by some of the French people who praised the activities of the 'Ulama in the educational domain and criticized the French authorities for obstructing their activities. M. Metteran, the leader of the French delegation

<sup>72</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 1, 1947.

<sup>73</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 41, 1948.

<sup>74</sup>*Al Shihāb*, July, 1936, p. 211.



that visited Algeria in 1954, declared in this connection, "We have seen the activities of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulama in regard to *al ta'lim al ħurr*. The Association established about 150 schools, which included about 45,000 students. It also became clear to us that the French colonial administration was against the teaching of Arabic and Islamic principles while the Algerian 'Ulama were devoted to countering the activities of the religious saints and the teaching of Arabic and Islam."<sup>75</sup> *Al ta'lim al ħurr* and *ṣaḥāfah al 'Ulama* combined together to constitute the fundamental basis of *al nahḍah al thaqāfīyah* in Algeria. On the other side of the coin, *al tarbīyah*, *al masājid wa al zawāyah* and *andīyah al 'Ulama* played a significant role in *al nahḍah al ijtīmā'īyah*. The Association of the Algerian 'Ulama successfully utilized the two sides of the coin (*al nahḍah al thaqāfīyah wa al ijtīmā'īyah*) to mobilize the Algerian people toward Islam and Arabism.

## Conclusion

This work demonstrates that modern national opposition to European colonization in Algeria was inspired by the puritans rather than the saints. The Association of the Algerian 'Ulama devoted its efforts to countering the colonial policy of consolidating the Sufi sects. The liberation of Algeria started with the liberation of the Algerians from the influences of the corrupt practices of Islam which were related to the ceremonies of the *marabouts*.

The 'Ulama-inspired social and cultural revivalism produced a psychological and moral atmosphere that dominated the Algerian people. This dimension was totally neglected in the interpretation of Algerian violence and the excessive heroism of *al fidā'īyīn al Jazā'irīyīn* (fighters who offer up their lives courageously). The psychological and moral atmosphere was particularly relevant and significant during the Algerian war for national liberation. In this connection, the Algerian 'Ulama prepared the masses morally and psychologically for their noble violent conflict with France.

<sup>75</sup>*Al Baṣṣā'ir*, No. 270, May, 1954, p. 1.

# The History of Islam: New Directions

*Fathi Osman*

History is very important from the ideological and educational standpoint in addition to its importance as a discipline of knowledge and as information. The Qur'an teaches us, "Indeed in the stories of these men, there is a lesson for those who can think." [12:111] Educationally, then, for the new generations and ideologically for those who are committed to Islam as a way of life, it is very important to get the message of history which enlightens us in dealing with contemporary circumstances.

## Some introductory remarks

- Is it more correct to say *Islamic history* or *Muslim history*? Each description has its pros and cons. When you say "*Islamic history*" you care more about *commitment to Islam and assessment according to Islamic criteria*, since not everything which happened in the past or happens at present on the Islamic scene can really be considered Islamic. Historical events should be evaluated under such a term according to Islam whether they are social, cultural, political or economic. What may be positive in terms of a historical development or very important as a mere material accomplishment may or may not be something important from the viewpoint of Islam. Suppose that we have a very magnificent tomb made by Muslims, would you consider this Islamic or not? Calling our history "*Muslim history*" may draw a line between human behavior and Islam itself. History represents the outcome of Muslim practices and each can be evaluated according to Islam. It is just a development of Muslim thinking and behavior—Muslim interaction with other human universal effects. Muslim history is *the product of Muslims as human*

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*beings*. It may be right or wrong ideologically, but it is the product of people. According to Western terminology, Islam may be “*the religion*,” “*the history*,” or “*the people*” of the present time. When Westerners write about Islam they may mean contemporary Muslims or past Muslims or Islam as a religion. Consequently, when you say Muslim history you remove any confusion, you are talking about “people” and this people may or may not comply with the teachings of the religion and their practice may or may not be accepted by Islam. The term “Muslim history” seems preferable to emphasize the human nature of this history, and to underline the fact that any event in that history might be positive or negative, good or bad, might comply with or contradict Islam. Muslim history might be a direct reflection of Islam or any other influence which is allowed by Islam. Therefore, Muslim practices may not necessarily represent Islam as revealed by God, and the word “Islam” should be used exclusively for the “religion” in its divine sources: the Qur’an and Sunnah, while “Muslims” live as human beings and may abide by or deviate from divine guidance.

- Are we *rewriting*, or just *reviewing*, or *representing* the history of Islam in an understandable way? I don’t like the word “rewriting,” since it is far from reality. The sources of our history have been there for centuries even though reading these sources, scrutinizing and analyzing their reports may be successful or not, and thus successive efforts are needed and expected. We are just reading and presenting that history through our fresh understanding and benefiting from general current knowledge.
- What about the *Islamization of knowledge* with regard to the history of Islam? It may mean that we care about objectivity and accuracy because we have Islamic criteria concerning extending or receiving information. It may mean that a study of Muslim history should include a study of Islam itself because you cannot study any history without knowing the cultural background of the people. One cannot understand the political history of ancient Greece unless one studies Greek mythology, beliefs, philosophy, arts, etc. Similarly, the history of Islam is not just information about the succession of rulers and the military confrontations with internal or external forces. It is necessary to really know the cultural background of Muslim society: the rulers and the ruled.

However, Islamization in the field of history *should never mean—as it may be understood by some people—that we will be selective and that we will choose what we like* and defend it as authentic while we reject what we don't like and consider it false. History is history and Muslims were and are merely fallible human beings, not perfect angels. We are consistent in all our approaches and we accept the facts according to applied criteria, whether we may be happy or unhappy with these facts. We try to understand why the unIslamic practices happened, not to deny that these practices existed. What we may be criticized for in our history, cannot be ignored or erased since it happened, but it should be analyzed so that contemporary and future Muslims may not allow it to happen again. Our past, whatever its glories might be, also had its shortcomings and failures, and that past should enlighten, not dominate our present and future. Of course we respect the past and the time of the Prophet (SAAS) and his Companions: those who had direct access to Islam. However, the Qur'an teaches us that those earliest Muslims might make mistakes; and it corrected them when they were mistaken and praised them when they were right. This does not mean that we consider the past a paralysis preventing us from planning our future. The past guides us with many positive elements and warns us against the negative elements which were practiced and could be repeated in any human society if we do not learn from past lessons. This is obvious in what the Qur'an has mentioned about the battles of 'Uhud and Hunayn for example.

After this introduction about some terms and concepts related to Muslim history, focus is drawn to the sources of this history, then the perspective and the methodology and, in the end, the interpretation and ideology of that history.

## The Sources

As for the sources of Muslim history, we hope that the IIIT and other research institutions may be able to establish a *data bank* of Muslim history, which should include a list of *manuscripts* presently scattered all over the world and construct one *computerized master catalogue*. Muslim history is not restricted to the middle ages, it is continuous history and the data bank



should therefore include any available medieval (e.g., papyrus) or modern manuscripts, and all accumulated data from different times and places which need to be classified and accessible.

Our Muslim history is one of the wealthiest histories with regard to material sources, yet there is a split in dealing with historical sources between our literary (or written) sources and our material sources: i.e., architecture and numismatics (i.e., coins, etc.) which offer a lot of direct information about a given historical period. We need coordination of work and cooperation between the archeologist and the historian in Muslim history as it is maintained in other fields of history.

For example, the Egyptian papyrus related to the Umayyad period has provided information about using two calendars in agricultural countries such as Egypt, and similarly Iraq and Iran. The lunar Islamic Arab calendar in use was general, but side by side there was a solar calendar for particular use in farming and governmental archives related to taxation. Such a necessary arrangement was not considered undesirable as introduced by Muslim administration. There was actually a need for this arrangement in an agricultural society as well as in any other society which may find difficulty with the lunar calendar.

The modern archives such as that of the Ottoman Empire can remove a lot of ambiguity or prejudiced judgments about some important events, such as Ottoman policies towards the Greeks, the Armenians or the Arabs. Modern Turkey used to ignore the Ottoman era of its history, while it elevated the status of the old Turkish past before Islam. This has been changing recently because of several factors foremost of which has been the contemporary revival of Islamic identity everywhere including Turkey. So we need to make use of our rich material sources in our present approaches to Muslim history, whether these are documents, buildings, coins or other material sources.

In relation to written sources, we have to make use of our heritage in its various fields. A historian should not be restricted to a book which has the word "history" in its title or deals with pure historical material in its content (history proper) such as al-Tabari or al-Mas'udi. Many other sources contain information which may be very relevant to the historian, especially when we recall that the field of history is not restricted to political history only. History may be social, economic, cultural or intellectual, etc. One can find, for example, a rich source of social history in juristic works. When one focuses in successive works on the change of rules about a certain practice according to changing circumstances, or considers the general benefit "maslaha" or the emerging disaster "nazila" in Mālikī heritage or the common practical pressure "umum al-balwa" in Hanafī heritage, juristic works obviously become an invaluable source of social history. The change of juristic views and fatwas in successive periods reflected social development. Successive works on

legitimate administration “al-Siyasa al-Shar‘īyah” pointed out how juristic views tried to cope with changing needs and circumstances. Literary sources provided valuable information about the society in general and with regard to the aristocracy and the intelligentsia in particular. Geographic sources and travel works are very useful in social, cultural and economic fields of history. It is now universally admitted that history should not just inform about kings, rulers, or wars. The people or the ruled should be the center of historical information and Muslims have been privileged in this respect by the wide variety of information in their heritage. There are many books of biography, “tarājim” whether dealt with individually in monographs, classified in encyclopedia form ordered alphabetically, or presented as successive generations (*tabaqāt*) which represent a huge source of social history. We may think that classical Muslim authors did not care about statistics when they provided information, but you find special care given to numbers related to revenues and expenditure, different taxes, imports and exports, military forces, distances, money values, population, etc. in historical and geographical works. All this information cannot be ignored in presenting Muslim history accurately and comprehensively.

Moreover, we need today to deal with various sources of Muslim history in different languages, since Islam is universal and various ethnicities and cultures have contributed to its history and civilization. It may not be required for the historian to know all the languages of Muslim peoples (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Malay, Swahili, etc.), but the more one knows, the wider and deeper one’s appreciation of Muslim history becomes. However, one can follow published works in the languages one knows about the works in languages one does not know.

In addition to the information given by various Muslim sources, the historian realizes that Muslims never lived in a vacuum, they had relations with other nations and countries all over the world. Even when the Muslim universal state represented a super power in the medieval world, it established and maintained relations with other political powers from the Pacific to the Atlantic Oceans and from the Baltic Sea to the Indian Ocean. Those global relations were reported in non-Muslim material and written sources as well as those of Muslims. We know about relations between Muslims and China not only from Muslim sources but also from some Chinese sources. The other perspective might complement or correct the Muslim one. Sassanian, Byzantine, Carolingian, Spanish, Sicilian or other historical sources are essential for figuring out Muslim relations with each of these authorities and countries. The study of the Crusades requires a deep comparative study of Muslim and Western sources. While such an approach is sometimes practiced in Western scholarship, Muslim historians who have such an approach are very limited in number. In Arabic, for example, as far as I know, there is



a complete work, in two volumes, by Sa'ïd Ashur from Egypt, another, but incomplete, work exists by al-Baz al-Arini from the same country, and a third exists written by Suhayl Zakkar from Syria. Probably there are other contributions in other Muslim languages which I don't follow. Similarly, Muslim history in colonial times requires a study of the archives and the works of the colonial power which occupied a certain Muslim land. There must be an attempt to benefit from all these sources if we want to have a better understanding and presentation of a Muslim history which can cope with the progress in modern historical research. There may be a need for a team to deal with a certain topic rather than just one person, a team of different scholars who speak different languages or who may be related to different specializations.

## The Perspective and the Methodology:

A challenging character of Muslim history is its openness and universality. It is not an isolated phenomenon. We believe that Islam is a continuation of the message of God to all mankind since its creation and we have to reach back before the message of *Muhammad* (ṢAAS) and after the middle ages in order to follow the human response to the divine message in different times and places. This may explain why classical Muslim historians started their works with the stories of the Prophets and their peoples before Muhammad (ṢAAS), and the histories of the great powers and civilizations before Islam. We may not follow precisely the same approach but we should at least keep in mind the fact that Islam is just a completion and development of the divine message and Muslims did not appear in history in a vacuum. Besides, the rise of Islam in Arabia, and its spread as a faith, political power, and a civilization had never been isolated from the existing political and cultural circumstances of the world. Meanwhile, Islam has existed in history as a religion, a society, a political power, a civilization and culture—all together in totality and harmony. The Orientalists in the 19th and early 20th centuries were limited in their study of Islam, but one of their positive qualities was their appreciation of the “wholeness” of Muslim life. An Orientalist who was concerned with Islam had to study the religion, the Arabic language and literature, and Muslim history, and in most cases this was achieved after studying the Bible and Hebrew and Greek heritages. He had this package of knowledge before writing about a certain topic related to Islam and Muslim history. Now you find new generations of Western scholars concerned with Islamic studies trained differently. There may be a sociologist who likes to concentrate on the Sociology of Islam or contemporary Muslim societies,

an economist, who is concentrating on the economics of Muslim countries, an anthropologist, a historian, a scholar of comparative linguistics or literature or religion, etc. These contemporary Western scholars may be less biased than the classical Orientalists but they are also less knowledgeable about the background studies of Islam as a whole package which could have enabled them to understand Islam and Muslim practices in the past and present in a better way.

Because of the openness, universality and continuation of the Muslim history, one encounters difficulty in fitting information about Muslims into the classical division of historical ages to such as ancient, middle or modern. Such a division cannot be applied to Islam blindly, since these classical divisions emerged in a particular perspective in the West. Even Western scholars have been facing difficulty in determining some turning points such as the beginning (and perhaps also the end) of the middle ages. The division of Islamic periods themselves—the early four Caliphs, then the *Umayyads*—both together have long been considered as one era—and the Abbasid era which has been divided into two periods—the first and second—has proven to be far from perfect with regard to quantity and quality. While the era of the early four Caliphs and Umayyads covered about a century, the Abbasid era covered more than five centuries, throughout which changes continued in political and cultural circumstances, and regional differences could not be ignored. Besides the supposed first Abbasid period lasted about a century, while the second one lasted five centuries. All these need to be reviewed. Some scholars preferred to deal with “later Abbasid periods” instead of a whole second period. Moreover, what was considered for Europe medieval dark ages was for Islam a flourishing and illuminating civilization.

It may be suggested that what may seem reasonable and suitable is to make *divisions according to Muslim political power and its form: from a city-state in Medina, to the country-state in Arabia to the universal-state*, even though we again face multi-entities with distinctive historical developments. With regard to Muslim civilization, one may start with *civilizational forces* (Islam, the Pre-Islamic Arabs and their culture, other cultures in contact, etc.), and then *civilizational development* (translation, education, etc.), which may be followed by *civilizational contributions* in different fields, and in the end comes the decline. Ahmad Amin used allegorical terms for the early and Abbasid eras of Muslim history as: dawn, forenoon, noon. Sayyid Qutb and similarly, to a certain extent, Abul-Hasan al Nadwi, preferred to divide our history into: progress, retreat and the contemporary times. Von Grunebaum, Wilfred Cantwell Smith and other Western scholars have divided Muslim history into classical (from the beginning until early Abbasids), medieval (later Abbasids and this period may be extended to early Ottomans, to the time before the Renaissance in the West), and then one



comes to modern Muslim history. Other suggestions have appeared and may still emerge, but the need for reconsidering traditional or conventional division of eras and periods of Muslim history is essential and urgent. A main factor in suggesting any division of eras in Muslim history should be how to maintain a comprehensive perspective for any given period which does not restrict itself to the political development detaching it from the socio-cultural context.

The openness of Muslim history in relation to time and place requires the historian to be always aware of the essential balance between the continuation and the change, between the diversity and the unity. A Western scholar like Von Grunebaum edited a whole work with the title of "Diversity and Unity in the Muslim Civilization," and this direction has to be followed and enriched, especially from an Islamic perspective. A Muslim scholar who is loyal to the universality of Islam should not be reluctant or too sensitive to underline regional aspects or events. Our ancestors left voluminous contributions on the histories of particular regions (Syria, Egypt, Maghrib, India) and cities (Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Mosul, Isfahan, etc.) one can always deal with particulars while maintaining the general. We have to deepen our research by delving into the impact of Muslim civilization on the Renaissance and even the impact of Islam on the Christian Reformation. In any case, we should never forget that human history, and Muslims are no exception, represents the human nature of combining positives and negatives, high and low points.

## **The Criteria For Evaluating Historical Data:**

What can our criteria be in evaluating the different information which we get from Muslim sources of history? Our history suffers not from a scarcity of information but from its abundance and difference, and as a result we have to go through the hard work of evaluation. We had the earliest experiences in accurate evaluation in the project of collecting the Qur'an (fourteen centuries ago) and later in the project of collecting the Sunnah (thirteen centuries ago) and we did this marvelously. Muslims need to maintain such experience in the evaluation of these plentiful historical reports. Several suggestions have been made about the required criteria in this field. Ibn Khaldun (d. 708H/1406) suggested that the natural laws of human society and civilization "*tabā'ī al-'umrān wa al-ijtimā' al-insānī*" should be applied to any event reported in history. If any reported event seems impossible according to these laws, the information should be rejected, and no discussion about the credibility of the informer is needed at all in such a case. The requirements used by "hadith" scholars for credibility and authenticity have also been suggested in the past

and present as a criteria for evaluating historical reports, and Muhibb al-Dīn al-Khatīb has revived this opinion in modern times through many of his writings. He mentioned these ideas in the introduction of his authenticated edition of the book of Abū Bakr ibn al'Arabī "al-Awāsīm mina al-Qawāsīm" in the part on the deeds attributed to some Companions of the Prophet after his death. He also mentioned these ideas in later articles in "al-Azhar" monthly while he was its chief editor. However, applying the requirements for authenticity of "hadith" in the field of history has proven to be a big problem, since chains of informers might be ignored by some important historians, and wherever they might be mentioned, some links might be missing or might be unknown. As history represented information which might not imply any religious obligation or prohibition, early compilers of historical information did not care to indicate, present information about every link, nor scrutinize the chain of reporters. When Muhibb al-Dīn himself published the authenticated edition of "Al-Kharāj" by Abu Yusuf (d. about 182H/798) he found that he could not practice the suggested criteria of hadith scholars in editing the text and footnoting it. Another contemporary scholar originally from Hyderabad in India, Muhammad Hamidullah, has stated that "the interest of the informer" in the information should be investigated, and that whenever the informer could not have any interest in his information it should be accepted.

It is important to reach some multi-based criteria which considers more than one element to secure some counter-checks and balances for historical evaluation. We should make use of what the Qur'an has taught about human nature, the cycles of power and weakness, the contradictions and conflicts of different social forces, etc. (e.g., the Qur'an 2:251; 3:26-27, 140; 4:133; 5:48, 7:34, 9:105; 10:24; 11:15, 118-119; 13:11, 17; 17:18-20; 22:40, 42:30; 47:4, 31, 38)<sup>1</sup>. In addition, the pioneering thinking of Ibn Khaldun which underlined the natural laws of society and civilization should guide us to benefit from the findings of social sciences (e.g., psychology, sociology, economics, etc.) in forming our historical criteria.

College requirements for a student of Muslim history should allow a package of such basic knowledge which is indispensable for a historian, and the flexibility of the credit system with its offered options can help in this respect. Some Muslim countries have begun to apply this system, but serious shortcomings undermine the flexibility and other advantages of it. It is a matter of shame for Muslims that Ibn Khaldun developed such a historical criteria several centuries ago, but his pioneering attempt has not been followed and extended up to the present time.



## Specific Areas:

Modern historians are extending their concerns to various areas, especially social and economic histories, which Muslim history must also take into account. Our various sources of history, biography, geography, jurisprudence, literature and other fields provide treasures of information. Family life, women's status and role, education, urban and rural life—such areas have to be discussed in Muslim history. Intellectual history as an indicator of intellectual development as a whole, encompassing juristic, literary, scientific, and artistic developments in their main features and totality without being absorbed in the details of a particular area, can be an outstanding area of Muslim history. Inter-relations in such areas of human activities can prove the universality of Islam and Muslims in practice, not only in theory. Even in matters of faith, Muslim theologians and philosophers contributed to Western Christian thinking in the middle ages [e.g. St. Aquinas (d. 1274) and the contributions of Ghazali (d. 505H./1111) and Ibn Rushd (d. 595H./1188)] just as Muslim thinking benefited from Greek philosophy. Muslim scholars were open to any useful knowledge: Greek, Persian or Indian; Muslim societies were open to all acceptable customs and traditions; and Muslim rulers were open to all government experiences as early as the time of Caliph Umar who decided to adopt the previous practices of land-tax (*kharaj*), professional army and state administration (*diwan*) in the Muslim Caliphate. A special branch can be devoted to the history of Islam as a religion: its spread, its social dynamism and inter-relations with existing cultures, the development of theology and jurisprudence according to changing circumstances, etc. Moreover, history can benefit and widen the perspective of any group of specialists. Physicists, astronomers, biologists, physicians, chemists, mathematicians, engineers, . . . etc., may concentrate on the Muslim contributions in a specific field. Such approaches will benefit any specialization, as well as widen the human perspective of knowledge and provide common ground for different specialists in the whole world, especially within the Muslim Ummah. While Muslims enjoy rich sources in such areas, they are still lagging behind Western and some other scholars.

## Interpretation of History and Ideology:

This is a very wide, complicated and controversial field, which requires another chance so that it may be given enough time and care.<sup>2</sup> However, some idea about it may be necessary on this occasion because of its extreme importance. There has been an attitude among some historians who believe

that history is just information about the past which should be as accurate as possible. They believe that a historian's task is to scrutinize the information to make sure that it is accurate. He should not be involved in interpretation since this is beyond any purely scientific or objective approach. A historian will never be able to tell you surely whether human history in general or in a particular time and/or area is going forward or backward, going in a cyclical or spiral course or otherwise. Human behavior can be motivated by many different factors and can have various responses in a given situation, thus it can never be surely predicted. Other historians believe that human behavior is the same as any natural phenomenon, and it has its rules or laws and consequently the past can be interpreted and the future can be predicted according to these laws or at least to these "theories" about supposed laws. This attitude in history has been nurtured in the past by faith, and in our times by the development of social sciences, such as psychology, sociology and economics. Ibn Khaldun tried in the first volume of his history—the well-known "Muqaddimah"—to uncover the natural laws of human society and civilization which could be implemented for scrutinizing and interpreting history. Ideas about various kinds of determinism (e.g., geographical, ethnological, psychological, etc.) appeared but could not survive. The "historical materialism" of Karl Marx (d. 1883) and Frederick Engels (d. 1895) is well known in this respect in modern times.

Some approaches in this direction occurred in dealing with Muslim history or with particular topics from it. As early as 1928 an Arabic book was published in Jerusalem by Bandali José in which he attempted to apply the materialist interpretation to some events in Muslim history, especially some intellectual trends as the book's title reveals (*From the History of Intellectual Movements in Islam*) "*Min Ta'rikh al-Harakāt al-Fikrīyah fī al-Islam*." More recent works have followed the same attitude, concentrating on certain movements like the rebellion of the Blacks "al-Zanj" and that of the Qaramites "al-Qarāmitah" during Abbasid times (e.g., works of Faysal al-Sāmīr, 'Ahmad 'Ulbi, 'Arif Tāmīr). Moreover, the same interpretation was applied to the life of the Prophet Muhammad (ṢAAS) and his message and struggle by Abdul-Rahman al-Sharqāwī in his book (*Muhammad, the Messenger of Freedom*) "*Muhammad Rasūl al-Hūrīyah*." Another work, of 'Ahmad 'Abbās Ṣāliḥ, has interpreted the disputes and conflicts in the early Caliphate as "The Struggle between the Right and the Left in Islam." Most of these works have represented limited knowledge about the sources, and about the assessment of reliability of the reported information and how it may be interpreted if it is accepted. The advocates of the materialist interpretation of Muslim history seem very selective in their quotations, and their "a priori" ideology dominates their reading and interpretation. *Any interpretation should start with well-founded facts*. If this is observed, history readers and scholars can benefit from any



attempt at interpretation, and even if it fails it will at least exclude some hypotheses and limit possibilities. Human behavior is very complicated, and many simultaneous and consequent interactions contribute in totality to the historical event. To avoid an extreme oversimplification of interpretation in which facts may be twisted to fit the one-sided interpretation, multi-factors have to be considered. In the West, it was admitted that Marx and Engels knew very little about Islam and its history. Max Weber (d. 1930) only knew something about certain contemporary Muslim societies and believed—as other modern sociologists do in general—that religion is a product of the society, and is evolutionary. Montgomery Watt, in his two volume work on the life of the Prophet in Makkah and Madīnah, believes in the power of economic factors although he is not a Marxist nor a materialist. He seems more knowledgeable about the sources, but he also seems selective in presenting facts and inconsistent sometimes in his evaluation and interpretation. The Arab attempts to achieve a materialist interpretation of Muslim history have not been more successful.

However, this field should not be rejected or excluded from historical activities, whatever the difficulties may be. The Qur'an has revealed that human society has its laws which are created by God the same way as the physical and biological laws of nature "Sunnān Allah" (e.g., Qur'an 3:26-27, 137; 33:38, 35:43) were created by God. We have to work hard to discover these laws guided by the Qur'an (see the previous reference to Qur'an in dealing with: The Criteria)<sup>4</sup> and informed by human observation and intelligence (Qur'an 22:46, 29:20; 30:9, 35:43-45, 29:20).<sup>5</sup> Interpretation of history may be influenced by ideological or religious concepts, but this would not eclipse the benefits of intelligent attempts as long as they are built on solid historical facts and the ideological or religious basis is known. I believe that the attempts in this field should be encouraged within these guidelines, whether they apply a known theory to certain facts of Muslim history, or they try to introduce a new theory of interpretation. However, an interpretation can never turn unreliable information, suggestion, or hypothesis into a historical fact. Historical facts can be provided by reliable sources after the necessary scrutiny. Any interpretation is welcome but we should be aware of the limitations of interpretations—especially of human behavior—in general and of any given interpretation in particular. A bias is always inevitable in such a field, but if it is known in advance, it will not hurt and some light may be cast in the darkness of the past and some progress may be achieved in such an obstacle course.

The success of the message of Islam in Arabia, and the success of the early Caliphate in defending, administering and extending the Islamic state until it became universal, may be explained geographically, sociologically, economically, psychologically or otherwise in addition to the strong faith

of the believers. Such an explanation of the existing natural circumstances may help us to understand different effects in different given cases and to avoid wishful thinking about a miraculous repetition of history. Study of the natural and human factors in Muslim history underlines the role of human intelligence and action which is required by the Qur'an and Sunnah in order to attain success in this life and in the after-life. The challenges and difficulties which the Islamic state faced inside Arabia and after establishing a universal Caliphate (apostasy: *al-ridda*; split and conflict: *al-fitna*) become more understandable through realistic analysis of the situation, rather than an idealistic simplification about losing divine support. Some political developments such as the emergence of hereditary dynasties or secessionist conflicts, would be more obvious according to natural and social laws, instead of considering such phenomena as mere sins or deviation from Islam. I may emphasize in the end what I have mentioned in the beginning, that Muslim history is not infallible or immune to the natural laws of human societies, and that the message of Islam and its laws do not contradict such natural laws, as Ibn Khaldun intelligently stated in his "Miqaddimah", and as the Qur'an has repeatedly stressed.

We have to work hard in such directions. My goal here is simply to underline how necessary, urgent, and comprehensive, our plans should be in various areas of Muslim history, and not to present a complete or concrete project of research. All genuine and capable efforts are invited to collaborate in this field which certainly needs collective work, and I am sure that the International Institute of Islamic Thought and the Association of Muslim Social Scientists can be a pioneering front in such needed directions.

## History of Islam

### Notes

- (1) It may be helpful to present here the Qur'anic verses which are referred to as examples for the Qur'anic perspective about human nature and historical changes. The translation of Muhammad Asad is used here with very limited changes, in which case the translation of T. B. Irving is sometimes used:

- ". . . And if God had not enabled people to defend themselves



*against one another, mischief would surely overwhelm the earth . . .*” [2:251]

- “. . . And if God had not enabled people to defend themselves against one another, monasteries and churches and synagogues and mosques—in which God’s name is abundantly extolled would surely have been destroyed . . .” [22:40]
- “Say: O God, Lord of all dominion! Thou grantest dominion unto whom Thou willest, and takest away dominion from whom Thou willest; and Thou exaltest whom Thou Willest, and abasest whom Thou willest. In Thy hand is all good. Verily, Thou hast the power to will (and do) anything. Thou wrap night up in daylight and wrap daytime up in night. Thou bringest forth the living out of that which is dead, and Thou bringest both the dead out of that which is alive . . .” [3:26-27] (*Notice that the human, social, and political changes mentioned in the first verse, are followed in the following one by reference to physical and biological changes which have their laws . . .*)
- “. . . and it is by turns that We apportion unto men such cycles (of fortune and misfortune): and (this) to the end that God might mark out those who have attained to faith . . .” [3:140]
- “. . . Verily, God does not change man’s condition unless they change their inner selves” [13:11]
- “. . . In this way does God set forth the parable of truth and falsehood: *as for the foam, the scum will go away; while whatever benefits mankind abides on earth.*” [13:17]
- “And for all people a term has been set: and when (the end of) their term approaches, they can neither delay it by a single moment, nor can they hasten it.” [7:34]
- “. . . and when the earth has assumed its artful adornment and has been embellished and they who dwell on it believe that they have gained mastery over it—there comes down upon it *Our command by night or by day*, and we cause it to become (like) a field mown down, as if there had been no flourishing yesterday. Thus clearly We spell out these signs (and messages) unto people who think” [10:24]
- “*As for those who care for (no more than) the life of this world and its bounties—We shall repay them in full* for all that they do in this (life), and they shall not be deprived of their just due therein” [11:15]
- “Unto him who cares for (no more than the enjoyment of) this fleeting life We readily grant thereof as much as We please

But as for those who care for the (good of the) life to come, and strive for it as it ought to be striven for, and are (true) believers withal—they are the ones whose striving finds favor (with God). *All (of both parties)—these as well as those—do We freely endorse with some of thy Lord's gifts, since thy God's giving is never confined (to one kind of man).*" [17:18-20]

- "And say (unto them, O Prophet): Act! And God will behold your deeds, and (so will) His Messenger, and the believers: and (in the end) you will be brought before him who knows all the unseen and the visible . . ." [9:105]
- "Now whatever calamity may befall you will be an outcome of what your own hands have done, although He forgives much." [42:30]
- ". . . And (know that) had God so willed, He could Himself defend (his message) against them (those who are bent on denying the truth), *but (He wills you to struggle) so as to test you (all) by means of one another . . .*" [47:4]

*"And most certainly We shall try you all, so that We might mark out those of you who strive hard (in Our cause) and are patient in adversity: for We shall put to a test (the truth of) all your assertions"* [47:31]

- *"If He so wills, He can cause you, O people, to disappear, and bring forth others instead . . ."* [4:133]
- ". . . and if you turn away (from Him), He will cause other people to take your place, and they will not be like you" [47:38]
- *"And had thy Lord so willed, He could surely have made all mankind one single community: but (He willed it otherwise, and so) they continue to hold divergent views—(all of them,) save those upon whom thy Lord has bestowed His grace. And to this end has He created them (all)."* [11:118-119]

*Author's Note:* Those "upon whom thy Lord has bestowed His grace" are those who follow God's guidance—methodologically and ethically—in dealing with human differences.

- *"Unto each of you who followed the successive (divine messages) We have appointed a (different) law and way of life. And if God had so willed, He could surely have made you all one single community: but (He willed it otherwise) in order to test you by means of what He has given you.*



*Vie, then, with one another in doing good deeds! Unto God you all must return; and then He will make you truly understand all that about which you have been disagreeing” [5:48]*

The Qur’an calls upon human attention to observe, study thoroughly and find out what the material traces of past societies and civilizations may reveal, as well as teaching that any report about any event should be examined:

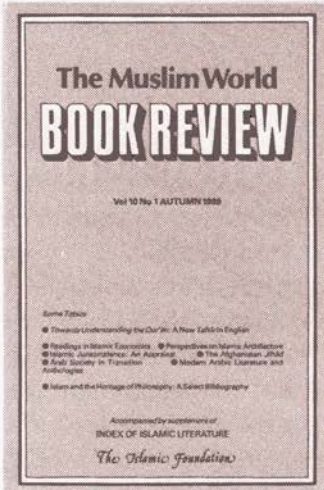
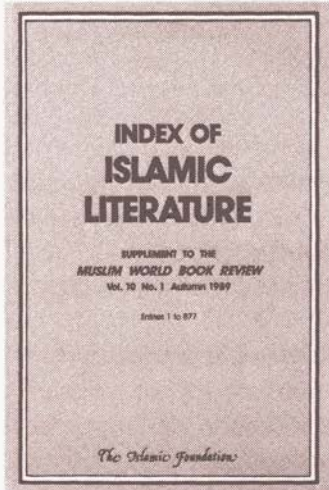
- “*And how many a township have we wiped out, while it was being immersed in evildoing—and now they (all) lie deserted, with their roofs caved in! And how many a well (or a water-source in general) lies abandoned, and how many a castle (or a palace) that (once) stood high! Have they, then, never travelled around the earth, with hearts (open) to gain wisdom, and their (open) ears to hear? Yet, verily, it is not their eyes that have become blind—but blind have become their hearts that are in their breasts” [22:45-46]*
- “. . . If some scoundrel should come up to you with some piece of news, *clear up the facts lest you afflict some people out of ignorance, and some morning you (find yourselves) feel regretful for what you may have done” [49:6]*
- “. . . *refrain from conjecturing too much, for some conjecture maybe a sin . . .*” [49:12]
- “Say: Have you any knowledge. Then bring it to us. Why you only follow conjectures, you are merely guessing.” [6:148]
- “Bring me a previous book or a trace of knowledge if what you claim is true.” [46:4]
- “Say: Bring on an evidence for what you are claiming, if what you say is true” [2:111]
- “But, behold, many people lead others astray by their own passions without having any knowledge. Verily, thy Lord is quite aware of those who transgress the bounds of what is right” [6:119]
- “Most of them merely follow conjecture: However, guessing can never provide any grounds for truth” [10:36]

(2) See for the same author in Arabic: *al-Madkhal ilā al-Ta’rīkh al-‘Islāmī*: Beirut 1988; *al-Ta’rīkh al- ‘Islāmī wa-l-Madhab al-Mādī fī-l-Taḥsīn*: Kuwait 1970, 1976, “Falsafat al-Ta’rīkh wa-l-nazariyyāt al-Mu’āsirah”: a lecture in the “Lectures of the First Cultural Season

1984-1985” by the Foundation of Culture and Arts: Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates.

- (3)
- The previously mentioned verse “O God, Lord of dominion! Thou grantest dominion unto whom Thou willest, and takest away dominion . . .”, is significantly followed by a verse that refers to astronomical and biological cycles whose laws could be known [2:27]
  - “Several (divine) laws have had their effect before your time: travel around the earth and observe what the outcome was for those who denied the truth (and those laws).” [3:137]
  - “. . . and can they expect anything but (to be made to go) the same way of those of olden times? Thus (it is): no change wilt thou ever find in God’s way; yea, no deviation wilt thou ever find in God’s way.” Have they not travelled around the earth and observed how the outcome went by those who preceded them. . . . If God should take mankind to task for whatever they have been doing He would not leave any creature on the surface, but He grants those respite for a term set (by Him)”
  - “(Indeed, such was) God’s way with those who have passed away aforetime, and (remember that) God’s will is always destiny absolute.” [33:38]
- (4) See note 1
- (5)
- The previously mentioned verses “And how many a township have We wiped out. . . . Have they, then, never travelled around the earth, with their hearts (open) to gain wisdom their ears (open) to hear . . .” [22:45-46]
  - “Have they, then, travelled about the earth and seen what the outcome was for those who existed before them? They were even stronger than they are: they cultivated the earth and developed it more than they have ever done . . .” [30:9]
  - “Say: Travel around the earth and see how (wondrously) He began with creation; later on God raises up another life—for, verily, God has the power to do everything” [29:20]





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# Islamization of the Discipline of Education

*By Ishaq Farhan*

## I. *The Concept of the Discipline of Education*

- A. Fields of knowledge are diversified, and touch upon almost every aspect of life and the universe, including the physical, societal, spiritual and material aspects. Various theories of knowledge are proposed by man to deal with its classification, acquisition and use in life situations. The discipline of education deals with the question of teaching and learning of various disciplines of knowledge by teachers and students with the hope of changing the behavior of the learner to adapt to society and develop the capabilities necessary to become an effective human being.

Education, then, is an applied discipline of knowledge which is a composite of other social and humanistic disciplines. It concerns itself with changing the behavior of the learner, in terms of information, skills and attitudes. Education guides human beings in a certain direction delineated by the values of the society or a certain ideology using know-how, methods, and technologies of teaching compatible with their nature and style of learning.

Education, then, is both a process and a result of a process. The results or objectives of education reflect the dimensional value system of the society, and thus education is never a neutral discipline. Education cannot be neutral since it produces an individual with a personality that represents the value system of the society and its ideology in life. The content of the educational discipline depends on its interaction with other social and humanistic disciplines which are also partly value oriented and partly experimentally oriented. The process of education or the know-how, including use of methods,



strategies, and materials for the teaching-learning process, depends on the general nature of the human being providing it with an international aspect and experimental dimension.

Thus, the general educational theory would include and is a result of many educational sub-theories such as learning, teaching, curriculum, evaluation, and educational administration theories.

- B. Islam, however, looks upon *education as a form of worship*, and considers it a prerequisite obligation and responsibility for the individual, the society, and the state to be able to understand other Islamic obligations, carry *amanah* (trust), and be a *khalifah* (viceregent) of Allah on this earth. The word "read" is the first word revealed in the Qur'an, and the name Qur'an is the state of reading and being literate. Education is the process by which Islam inculcates knowledge in individuals and knowledge is at the apex of the value system of Islam. The importance of education in Islam is so paramount and great that it need not be emphasized here.

The unique characteristic of education in Islam, which cuts across all fields of knowledge, is that every Muslim scholar, in any field of knowledge, is considered an educator or a teacher. This is because every Muslim who knows even as little as one *āyah* (verse of Qur'an) is supposed to convey it and teach it to other Muslims, and not covet it.

In this way, every Muslim becomes both a learner and a teacher. Every *faqih* (specialist) in any other discipline has to spend some time teaching *fiqh* (science or knowledge) to other Muslims, whether formally, in schools, or informally, in the family, in mosques, or other societal settings. This very fact imposes great difficulties in tracing the history, and elements of the educational process, tradition and practices of Islamic education in the Islamic heritage.

Since Islamic education deals with all fields of knowledge, its Islamization at the present time is, to a great extent, dependent upon the Islamization of other fields of knowledge. This is not to imply that the process of its Islamization should be postponed. On the contrary, work should begin as soon as possible to facilitate the process of Islamization of other disciplines. This process, however, cannot be completed until

further steps of Islamization are adopted in those related disciplines.

## II. *The State of the Discipline of Education and Some of its Major Problems*

### A. *The Dilemmas of Western Education*

1. *The First Dilemma* encountered in Western education was its dependence on various contradictory philosophies of education, from ancient Greek philosophies to Renaissance and modern-era hazy, secular and materialistic philosophies. Philosophy of education is supposed to help formulate goals and ideas of the best personality needed for society. A concrete philosophy has not been formed and instead, this chaotic state of contradictory philosophies produced different systems of education without reaching the ultimate goals of education. Most goals of Western education are worldly, utilitarian, and pragmatic rather than humanely oriented.
2. *The Second Related Dilemma of Western education* is the weakness of the value-system orientation in the process of education. Some voices are becoming stronger which favor letting education become a totally experimental science which is value free or neutral. This trend has affected real progress in the essence of the discipline of education and the experimental dimension has been emphasized to exceed its boundary limits. This has resulted in individuals who are value indifferent.
3. *From this follows*, that, in general, Western education has stressed the development of all faculties of the individual, *except the spiritual dimension of his personality* which comprises *the third dilemma*. It tries to be consistent with secular philosophies of life providing secular education to the individual resulting in harm and injustice to his personality. This approach produces a materialistic personality in the individual who looks at religion and spiritual needs as private and not basic to human life on this earth.

Of course, this approach is couched in a Western context that rests on a known history of struggle between religion on one hand and science and life on the other hand.



4. *The Fourth Dilemma* of Western education is the excessive use of experimental and statistical approaches to the problems of education. It is understood that education has a value dimension related to how the individual learns, the more effective teaching strategies and methods, and the use of a large host of educational materials and technological teaching media. Experimental methodology has been excessively applied to many educational problems at the expense of the progress of the value-dimension side. This has resulted in a state of imbalance which has distorted many educational generalizations.
5. *The Fifth Dilemma* in Western education is the fact that education has been very exploited to serve the needs of economic development looking at education merely as an economic investment. This has resulted in an imbalanced curricula and in the absence of many general and liberal education courses needed for the development of well-rounded and integrated personalities and individuals.
6. *The Sixth Dilemma* in Western education lies in the absence of the teacher as exemplar in education and in character. The teacher should represent the personality of the scholar *and* the accepted social-behavioral model of the teacher. There is a great dichotomy in the personality of the Western teacher between the scholastic activities and his private and social life. The Western teacher is a propagator of knowledge, rather than an educator who is responsible for developing the values and the character of his students.

#### B. *The Dilemmas of Islamic Education*

1. Islamic education flourished throughout the early centuries of Islamic civilization as was the case with progress in the disciplines such as various Islamic political, social sciences, and law. Since the door of *ijtihad* was closed a few centuries ago, however, and the waves of colonialism and imperialism spread over the Islamic world, the state of Islamic education deteriorated. The result was that Westernization ensued and the effects of Western education and Western civilization in general were paramount depriving Muslims of their identity in education. Therefore, any Islamic revival should include, first, the process of de-Westernization, followed by the process

of Islamization of knowledge in general and education in particular.

2. *The Dilemma of Islamic Education* is manifold; some of its important aspects are:
  - a. *First, the duality of education in the Muslim educational system and Muslim university education.* There is the traditional Islamic curriculum which was kept unchanged and not responsive to modern needs, and the secular Western modern curriculum which influences Muslim minds in the direction of de-Islamization.
  - b. *Second, the Muslim teachers at all levels, including universities, are Westernized,* in most cases, and teach generations of youth Western ways. In fact, Muslim educators are fulfilling Western aims in the education of students but with our money. As the International Institute of Islamic Thought book on the Islamization of Knowledge\* puts it, "Teachers in Muslim world universities are not driven by its vision of Islam and are not driven by its cause (This) is certainly the greatest calamity of Muslim education." (P. 8).
  - c. *Third, Muslim education in recent times lacks an educational outlook, theories regarding modern educational problems of the Islamic Ummah, Educational Textbooks, and Teaching Materials suitable for Islamic education at all levels of Education.*
  - d. *Fourth, the Islamic education which is taught to our graduate students in Western universities is superficial,* because it is taught within the Western context, and by Western professors who do not have the Islamic vision, zeal, or Islamic moral system necessary for teaching Islamic education. Our Muslim universities should take this responsibility and break the vicious circle with regard to preparing Muslim educators.

### III. *The Need for the Islamization of the Discipline of Education*

If the present state of affairs continues there is a danger of losing our identity, de-Islamizing our generations, and never being united and creative as an Islamic Ummah. Although a comprehensive Islamic program for Islamization of all walks

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\**The Islamization of Knowledge*, (Herndon, VA: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1989) 126 pp.



of life is needed, the Islamization of knowledge in general and the Islamization of education in particular has first priority for the following reasons:

- A. If we need to preserve our Islamic identity from disintegration, and be proud of our cultural heritage, then Islamic education which stems from Islamic values and rests upon the universalities of our Islamic culture is needed, to perform this function.
- B. Education is the process by which a nation builds the personalities of its youngsters and future generations. So, if an Islamic future for the Ummah is sought, then an Islamic education is needed.
- C. Our present Westernized generations are sterile and non-creative, in the field of Western civilization, because they have neither been educated as Westerners nor as devout Muslims. As a matter of fact, to be creative and productive, an individual should be educated in the context of his culture and along the lines of his value system.

So for Muslims to be creative again, and contribute towards Islamization of the life of the Muslim Ummah and the world's civilization, they ought to be educated according to the Islamic system of education.

#### IV. *A Suggested Approach to Islamization of the Discipline of Education in Modern Times*

##### A. *Priorities*

1. *The Islamization of Muslim teachers and educators.* The role of the teacher in the Islamic system of education cannot be over-emphasized. It is very vital and critical, and we think it should be given the first priority in the Islamization process of education.

The optimum program of preparation would consist of a general program in *shari'ah* studies (Qur'an, Sunnah, Fiqh and Usul Al-Fiqh), Islamic Civilization and cultural heritage, specially designed courses in Islamic Education (various topics), and comparative modern educational issues and systems in the light of Islam.

2. *Islamization of University Educational Courses.* The process of Islamization of the discipline of education is often faced with the fact that not many courses of education Islamically designed are found available at the university level for Muslim professors of education to teach.

General courses of education as well as private and special courses dealing with special topics and themes of education should be made available in an Islamic context at the university level, for Muslim teachers, and for students to learn and teach. Examples of general courses are: Introduction to Islamic Education, History of Islamic Education, Foundations of Islamic Education, etc. . . .

Examples of special courses are: Curriculum Development in the Islamic Context, Educational Guidance in Islam, Muslim Child's Educational Needs, Educational Administration in Islam, etc. . . .

3. *Islamization of the general curriculum of education for students in the general system of education (Elementary and Secondary).*

This process is necessary, because these students constitute the bulk of our youth, and the graduates of this system who pursue their university education will catch the spirit and vision of Islamization at the university level.

4. *A Fourth priority is the Islamization of curricula for Islamic minorities to the practical possible extent.*

This is important to keep the feeling of one Islamic Ummah, and the results of this process will enrich the Islamization process of the discipline particularly with regard to special topics related to the education of Muslim minorities. This is, after all, an Islamic responsibility.

#### B. *The Features of a Practical Programme*

The main features of such a program are envisaged as follows:

1. Emphasis on the two major sources of Islamic education, namely the Qur'an and the Sunnah, as sources of authentic *revealed* educational knowledge, outlining the general guidelines of the educational process in its serene Islamic context.



2. Analysis of the Islamic educational cultural heritage, with the purpose of using it functionally. It is to be noted here that the ideas of various Muslim educators are not sacred and some of their ideas and theories could be adopted, while others could be neglected.
  3. *Survey of Contemporary Muslim Educational Problems* and basic international educational problems that affect humanity at large.
  4. A theoretical analysis and practical experimentation for modern solutions to educational issues and problems in an Islamic context (individual research papers, institutional research projects, results of seminars, conferences and dissertations).
  5. Building up various Islamic Educational Models at all levels of education and evaluating them (general cycles of education, university education, curriculum, guidance, educational administration, etc. . . .).
  6. Preparing textbooks and educational materials and media from an Islamic point of view at all levels.
  7. Training of the needed personnel to fulfil any feature or part of the programme in an Islamic manner.
- V. *Strategies, Methods, and Organization of Islamizing the Discipline of Education*

Dealing with these aspects of Islamization, it can be looked upon through the axis of time, namely: The attitude towards the achievements of the past (The educational Islamic cultural heritage); Dealing with the activities of the present (the state of affairs of Islamic Education); Its Islamization projects for the future; and a fourth miscellaneous category of problems.

- A. *The Past Dimension: The attitude towards the educational Islamic cultural heritage:*
1. *Survey of the Qur'an* for all indicative *Ayahs* (Verses of the Qur'an) that have educative connotations. Then classify on a newly designed comprehensive hierarchical scale of key concepts and basic modern terminology which is consistent with, or not in contradiction with, Islamic basic ideals and values.

This strategy will help teachers, textbook writers, and researchers, to rely on the first basic source of educational science, for both authentic information, and further human endeavors of interpretation and classification.

An integration between revealed knowledge in education and human reasoning is thus smoothly established for Muslim educators.

2. *Survey of the Sunnah* (Prophet's Hadith) (ŞAAS) as done in the previous step, Sunnah comprises the second basic source for authentic revealed knowledge in the discipline of education. This is the second basic strategy in Islamization of the discipline of Education.
3. *Survey of the ideas and theories of traditional Muslim educators through all centuries* of Islamic history.

Careful analysis should be done and functional use of some ideas and writings after adaptation to modern situations could be beneficial. A compilation of the data collected in this step would result in encyclopedic works classifying the history of Islamic education in meaningful ways.

Such attempts have been started and some works have been published in this regard in the eighties.

4. *Survey of Muslim Educational Practices and Islamic Educational Institutions* in their traditional context should be analyzed, classified, and recorded, to be one of the basic historical resources of the practical side of Islamic Education.

From such activities, many university educational courses could be designed, and many resource books, and textbooks could be prepared such as:

- The Foundations of Islamic Education.
- The Philosophy of Islamic Education.
- The History of Islamic Education.
- A Series of books on Islamic Educational Thought of a great many Muslim educators.
- The value system in Islam and its Implication for Education.
- Education and Islamic Society.
- A host of Comparative Studies in Education in the light of Islam.
- Comparing Islamic Education with Education in other Societies.
- etc. . . .



B. *The Present Dimension: Dealing with Present Educational Problems in an Islamic Context*

This strategy deals with producing educational works such as:

1. A comprehensive classification of contemporary articles and writings on various topics and themes of worthwhile value, in Islamic education which would be published in a series of books of readings to be used as references by college students and professors of Islamic Education in various university courses on Islamic Education.
2. Compilation of evaluative reports on various worthwhile Educational Islamic projects, practices, pilot studies, and experiments.

This will help the student of Islamic Education deal with contemporary Educational problems in an Islamic context and makes Islamic Education a live subject and not merely a historical subject.

3. Compilation and classification of all continuing efforts and suggestions pertaining to the problem of Islamization of knowledge, using applicable ideas in practical situations.
4. Making an Islamic Encyclopedia of Education and updating it to be used as a reference on the subject of Islamic Education by all those who are concerned.

This project can be carried out by Islamic Research Centers, Islamic universities, or through collaboration among them.

5. Making an Islamic Educational Dictionary, that incorporates traditional Islamic terminology in the field of education as well as modern terminology to bridge the gap and facilitate communication between the two systems.

Such activities will result in a wealth of educational references necessary for the process of Islamization of knowledge, namely:

- Books of readings on contemporary educational problems and practices in an Islamic context.
- Encyclopedias and dictionaries that facilitate quick use and fast communications in the field.

C. *The Future Dimension: Projecting Islamic Solutions for*

### *Educational Problems and Planning to Meet Future Challenges*

This strategy is concerned with the future of Islamization of Education and aims at sustaining the momentum of Islamization through preparing the necessary models of curricula, preparing Islamized Educators who will continue the process, and emphasizing the institutional aspects rather than the individualistic approach. This endeavour might include various activities, such as:

1. Carrying out critical studies for the curricula of various subjects in schools and universities from the Islamic point of view in various Islamic countries. The feedback from such studies will help in providing information necessary for the Islamization process of various aspects of the educational process.
2. Designing Islamic curricula for various school subjects to serve as a model in an ideal Islamic state. This model could be adopted partially and adapted to meet certain Muslim needs in certain countries.
3. Designing model Islamic curricula for Muslim minorities to help them preserve their Islamic Identity and yet live effectively in their societies.
4. Designing modern curricula for the preparation of Muslim educators at university level in various branches of education to be used for Muslim teachers, Muslim Guidance workers, Muslim Educational Administrators, etc. . . .
5. Organizing a project for the educational preparation of future university professors for various fields of knowledge in order to implement the principles and values of Islamic education in their institutional activities with their disciplines and students.
6. Continuous cooperation among university Muslim professors in the process of Islamization of knowledge in various fields in general and in the field of education in particular.
7. Supporting international Islamic periodicals concerned with the process of Islamization of knowledge in general, and education in particular, and help in their widespread distribution.



#### D. *Miscellaneous Activities*

This will include activities such as:

1. Encouraging scientific research in education in an Islamic context done by individuals or institutions. This will include supporting research done by graduates, masters, and doctoral students who prepare their dissertations in the light of Islamic thought.
2. Launching a crash programme for preparing university professors who will combine in their education Shari'ah sciences and modern education and sciences.
3. Encouraging translation of all worthwhile educational works into the main two languages of Arabic and English, as well as translation into other Muslim country languages as the need arises.

In conclusion, the process of Islamization of the Discipline of Education is an integral part of the whole process of Islamization of knowledge. It is a continuous process, and needs all sincere efforts to do the job, with the blessing of Allah.

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# The Portrayal of Islam in Some Early Nigerian Newspapers (1880-1910)

*Salahudeen Yusuf*

The history of Islam in part of what is known today as Nigeria dates to about the 10th Century. Christianity dates to the late 18th Century. By the middle of the 19th Century, when Nigerian newspapers began to appear on the streets of Nigeria, both religions had won so many followers and extended to so many places in Nigeria that very few areas were untouched by their influence. The impact of both religions on their adherents not only determined their spiritual life, but influenced their social and political lives as well. It therefore became inevitable that both religions receive coverage from most of the newspapers of the time. How the newspapers as media of information and communication reported issues about the two religions is the theme of this paper.

## Rationale for the Study

The purpose of this study is to highlight the context in which such early newspapers operated and the factors that dictated their performance. This is because it is assumed that when a society faces external threat to its territory, culture, and independence, all hands (the press inclusive) ought to be on deck to resist the threat with all might. Were newspapers used as verbal artillery and how did they present each religion? It is also assumed that in a multireligious society a true press should be objective and serve as a vanguard in the promotion of the interest of the people in general and not create or foster an atmosphere of religious conflict. The study also aims at finding out whether the papers promoted intellectual honesty and fostered the spirit of unity particularly when the society was faced with the encroachment of the British who posed a threat to their freedom, culture, economy,



and independence. As a result of the interaction between Islam, Christianity, and the Nigerian newspapers, certain questions remain fundamental.

## Statement of Problem

1. What are the dominant and significant themes about the two religions that engaged the attention of the newspapers?
2. Does such coverage mirror intellectual honesty and knowledge of facts or does it border on prejudice, sentiments, and emotions?
3. Did the attitude of the newspapers reflect the political atmosphere of the period?
4. Was the attitude of the newspapers dictated by foreign missionary or colonial propaganda?

## Methodology

This paper is a synoptic review of the news items: i.e., editorials, news reports, columns, and captions selected from some early Nigerian newspapers. This method necessarily restricts the scope to such newspapers as *The Lagos Standard* (1894-1910), *The Lagos Times* (1880-1891) and *The Lagos Weekly Record* (1894-1920).

## Brief Literature Review

Scholars have made concerted efforts to critically appraise the role of early Nigerian newspapers. No one, however, seems to have looked at the role of the press in relation to Islam in particular. For instance, Coker (1952)<sup>1</sup> described how early Nigerian newspapers championed what he called "religious nationalism," by which he meant advocacy for better treatment of African clergymen and Africanization of the Christian Church in Africa. Such an attitude was dictated by the discriminatory attitude of the European missionaries toward the blacks. Ayandele (1966)<sup>2</sup> observed that early Nigerian newspapers furthered the cause of Christian missionary enterprise

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<sup>1</sup>Increase Coker, *Seventy Years of Nigerian Press*. (Lagos: Daily Times Publication, 1952).

<sup>2</sup>E. A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria: 1842-1914* (London: Longman, 1971).

on their pages. Both scholars, like the newspapers under review, believed that Christianity was the only acceptable religion worth agitating for. They seemed not to see anything wrong in the newspapers' disregard for and neglect of Islam a religion which not only predated Christianity in their very environment, but whose influence was very apparent in their community and beyond. Omu Fred (1978)<sup>3</sup> agreed that early Nigerian newspapers proclaimed the superiority of Christianity over heathenism and Islam. But despite his observations, Omu Fred did not explain how the superiority was established: the manner, the method adopted, or the kind of language used. Such an undertaking would have given us an indication of how the newspapers operated and the role they played concerning Islam.

## Data Presentation and Analysis

The first Nigerian-owned newspaper, begun in 1880, was named *The Lagos Times*. It appeared every two weeks. Scores of other newspapers followed later.<sup>4</sup> Although most of these newspapers were based in Lagos, their coverage included almost all of present day Nigeria. The papers, among other things, fought for the social, economic, and political development of the country. They also promoted cultural nationalism,<sup>5</sup> made political agitations,<sup>6</sup> and fought racial prejudice and racial discrimination,<sup>7</sup> which was spreading to government, churches, business circles, and social gatherings.<sup>8</sup> These newspapers thoroughly articulated the grievances of Nigerians so much so that, on some occasions, the colonial government or the church mission had to readjust some initial decisions. The newspapers did not relent in their effort even when racial prejudice became pronounced in the church and in the mission organization. As a matter of fact, they came out more vigorously in condemnation of prejudice and in condemning those who mortgaged their cultural heritage for alien culture.<sup>9</sup>

The newspapers, therefore, were able to keep their readers informed of happenings at home as well as abroad. Promoting the interest of their people remained the paramount concern of these newspapers; this belief inspired

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<sup>3</sup>I.A. Omu Fred, *Press and Politics in Modern Nigeria, 1880-1937* (London: Longman, 1978).

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid*, p 26.

<sup>5</sup>*The Lagos Times*, July 12, 1882; *The Lagos Weekly Record*, May 16, 1908.

<sup>6</sup>*The Lagos Weekly Record*, April 3, 1897; December 24, 1904, and May 5, 1906. *The Lagos Standard*, October 7, 1903, December 4, 1907, and July 14, 1909.

<sup>7</sup>*The Lagos Times*, May 23, 1883; *The Lagos Standard*, August 18, 1897.

<sup>8</sup>For more details, see Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*, 247-49.

<sup>9</sup>*The Lagos Weekly Record*, April 25, 1908; May 16, 1908.



their thought and prompted their actions. It would not be out of place, therefore, to assume that such concern for the interest of the people would be extended to the religions practiced in Nigeria.

One significant feature of early Nigerian newspapers was that they devoted much time and energy to reporting information about Christian affairs. The attention was superfluous and so frequent that one wonders whether the papers were essentially established to promote Christianity. The papers gave extensive coverage to affairs affecting Christians, such as the building of churches,<sup>10</sup> celebration of Christian festivals,<sup>11</sup> arrival of missionaries, meetings of churches, services, and ordinations.<sup>12</sup> Missionary activities also received much publicity and attracted editorial comment.<sup>13</sup> The newspapers also propagated the presumption that Christianity was the best, highest, and noblest civilization<sup>14</sup> and that only Christianity could elevate mankind. *The Lagos Times*, in one of its articles said that Christianity was:

. . . a religion by far its (Islam) superior, a greater corrective, a more effective educator, civilizer and elevator, presenting to us, far more rational and suitable method of salvation . . .<sup>15</sup>

Despite the good coverage the papers gave to Christianity, they did not fail to register their disapproval of some of the aberrations of overzealous missionaries who engaged in racial discrimination against the Nigerians or those who looked down on Nigerian culture. Such incidents occasionally affected the goodwill between the missionaries and the newspapers and resulted in offensive articles attacking the actions of the missionaries. But such criticism was not extended to the tenets or doctrines of Christianity, nor were the Christians in general castigated or maligned. As a matter of fact, no aspect of Christianity was subjected to scrutiny, most likely because it was accepted as a revealed religion and its message as an axiom. The Bible had to be seen as sacrosanct, a document whose historical accuracy and literal truth was never to be questioned.

The generous attention and publicity given to Christianity apparently was not extended to Islam. For instance, reports or information about Islamic affairs was negligible and infrequent and, where such information was found,

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<sup>10</sup>*The Lagos Times*, April; July 25, 1883.

<sup>11</sup>*The Lagos Times*, December 22, 1880; *The Lagos Standard*, December 20, 1899; *The Lagos Weekly Record*, December 24, 1910.

<sup>12</sup>*The Lagos Times*, January 12, 1881.

<sup>13</sup>*The Lagos Times*, January 12, 1881; *The Lagos Weekly Record*, March 26, July 30, and October 29, 1910.

<sup>14</sup>*The Lagos Times*, January 12, 1818.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.* September 14, 1881.

scanty. Issues such as Muslim festivals, pilgrimages, or marriages, Islamic education, or mosque affairs were almost blocked out, whereas such issues on the Christian side received adequate publicity. While Christian festivals were reported with fanfare and pageantry, the Muslim festivals were reported in a way that made the event insignificant. Take for instance the 'Īd al Kabīr was reported in *The Lagos Standard*: "The muslim feast or sacrifice was celebrated here on Friday and at Abeokuta on Saturday."<sup>16</sup> The festival was reported in like manner in the other newspapers.<sup>17</sup>

While the papers took particular interest in the progress and welfare of the Christians, they unequivocally opposed improvements for the Muslims. For instance, when the Muslims requested the teaching of Islamic studies in the colonial government schools, one of the newspapers plainly opposed it, saying that it was inconsistent to teach "Muhammedanism" within the walls of a government school.<sup>18</sup> The justification for the opposition was based not on any cogent reason but rather on prejudice. The *Lagos Weekly Record* adopted the same attitude when Lagos Muslims petitioned the colonial administration for permission to establish an Islamic court where the Shari'ah could be applied to Muslims. The paper supported the chief justice of the colonial administration in his obstinate resistance to the Muslims' request and went on to argue, quite apologetically, that one of the reasons why the request should not be granted was that there were "no sufficient Muslims versed in the Qur'an to understand and advise upon its legal aspect."<sup>19</sup> This argument, while first put forward by the colonial administration, was simply a farce. The chief justice's argument vacillated between citing lack of manpower, and claiming that granting such a court would lead to every community's requesting a court of its own. He also expressed his readiness to administer the law himself if he could get anyone to tell him what the law was.<sup>20</sup>

While these newspapers upheld the sanctity of Christianity they denigrated and debased Islam and degraded and dishonored its members. For instance, Muslims were described as fanatics<sup>21</sup> and sometimes as thieves.<sup>22</sup> The papers also stated that "Islam cannot improve the people nor could it elevate the country."<sup>23</sup> Islam was referred to as barbaric and the Muslims as "Muham-

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<sup>16</sup>*The Lagos Standard*, February 4, 1903.

<sup>17</sup>*The Lagos Times*, October 10, 1883; *The Lagos Weekly Record*, 5 March 1904.

<sup>18</sup>*The Lagos Times*, February 28, 1883.

<sup>19</sup>*The Lagos Weekly Record*, July 28, 1894.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.* See the text of interview between the governor, the chief justice, and the Muslim deputation.

<sup>21</sup>*The Lagos Times*, December 22, 1880.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.* October 10, 1883 (miscellaneous).

<sup>23</sup>*The Lagos Weekly Record*, March 26, 1910.



medans," possibly to stress the presumption that the Muslims worship Prophet Muhammad (SAAS). The imam was referred to as a "Mohammedan priest."<sup>24</sup> The Muslims were regarded as "a sorry delusion and their habits as steeped in superstition."<sup>25</sup>

Occasionally, some of the papers praised Islam and spoke highly of some of its features, usually to lament certain features of Islam in which Christianity is lacking. In an article titled "Our Islamic Prospects," *The Lagos Weekly Record* had this to say:

. . . while the moslem African develops into a mosque erecting, self reliant propagandist the Christian Africans blossom into "House" builders and apron string saints. Islam has produced munificent Africans, liberal, generous, public spirited men, and that even locally. Christianity so far has produced but money grabbers, close fistted, grovelling, sneaking men, and usurers.<sup>26</sup>

But before the paper started shedding these crocodile tears it earlier said: . . . we are sorry and are ashamed to be caught singing the praises of Islam.<sup>27</sup>

This last statement justifies the claim that the papers were biased against Islam.

Sometimes the papers engaged in deliberate misrepresentation of historical facts. *The Lagos Times* in 1881 claimed that Islam was seventy years old in Yoruba land and that Islam was introduced into Yoruba land by the Fulani tribe from northern Nigeria.<sup>28</sup> This statement is untrue. It has been proven that Islam in Yoruba land dates back to about the 17th Century, almost a century earlier than the period the paper claimed.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, it was customary for some of the newspapers to publish articles about Islam that were written by missionaries and often not based on facts. They also often reproduced from foreign newspapers offensive articles written by Europeans against Islam or the Muslims. Part of an article reproduced by *The Lagos Weekly Record* from the *African Mail* reads as follows:

. . . The convert to Islam generally becomes a fanatical propagandist.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup>*The Lagos Times*, September 14, 1881.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, February 28, 1883.

<sup>26</sup>*The Lagos Weekly Record*, August 26, 1893.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup>*The Lagos Times*, September 14, 1881.

<sup>29</sup>T.G.O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam Among the Yorubas, 1841- 1908* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1978), 4-5.

<sup>30</sup>*The Lagos Weekly Record*, March 26, 1910.

The paper reproduced another article from *The American World's Work*, which includes the following statement:

*. . . if the negro, in measure as he is civilized, goes to Islamism he must become a greater Peril, if he is Christianised his destructive strength is stripped from him.*<sup>31</sup>

From the foregoing discussion it becomes clear that the papers were sympathetic to Christianity and biased against Islam. It is also clear that, while they promoted and patronized Christianity and sang its praises as the best, the highest, the noblest, and the most elevating religion ever known to man, they condemned Islam, cast aspersions on it and subjected its adherents to ridicule. They underscored their presumption that "Mohammedanism was not calculated to substantially improve the people and elevate the country." The papers also championed the struggle to safeguard the Christians and their culture from the encroachment of Islam.<sup>32</sup>

While the papers should have concentrated their attention on mobilizing all the citizens against the colonialists, as they did on other issues, they allowed themselves to be used to subvert their people and to divert their attention from their immediate enemy. Apart from the fact that the papers' coverage and analyses of Islam did not reflect intellectual honesty or knowledge of facts, such an attitude was not in tune with the political atmosphere of the period. The colonialists' gradual but systematic encroachment on the peoples' land, economy, and culture were more pressing than the supposed threat of Islam. As a matter of fact, the colonialists' political subjugation and the subsequent economic exploitation of the people did not differentiate between Islam and Christianity. What could have warranted such negative coverage of Islam from the same set of men whose attitude toward national issues can hardly be faulted?

One of the reasons might have been the ill exposure of most of the newspapermen to Islam. Although this reason might sound legitimate, it does not explain all the uncharitable and spiteful arguments raised by the papers, so other explanations must be sought. One factor worth examining is the role of the Christian missionaries, particularly the English speaking Europeans, since they were the pioneers of Christian and Western education in Nigeria. In view of western European contempt for Islam, it is necessary to understand the image of Islam they presented to their audience in Nigeria.

In addition, ever since the Crusades, the Christian attitude toward Islam had not changed. It has been characterized by such hostilities as deliberate

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<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, February 19 and 26 1910.

<sup>32</sup>*The Lagos Standard*, January 22, 1896.



misrepresentation of the teaching of Islam and casting aspersion on the Muslims. Such attitudes metamorphosed into orientalism. Most of the orientalist (i.e., colonial administrators, corps, agents, scholars, and Christian missionaries) became imperialist agents who, through their policies, writings, and attitudes, enhanced and perpetuated colonialism.<sup>33</sup> What even the most eminent missionaries among the orientalist wrote and spread about Islam was that Islam is a false, violent, self-indulgent religion and that Prophet Muhammad (SAAS) was a false prophet and anti-Christ.<sup>34</sup>

In Nigeria, too, this image of Islam was spread by the missionaries. They propagated the notion that Islam is inhuman, feudalistic, despotic, unjust, and tyrannical.<sup>35</sup> They made it known to the Christian Nigerians that they came not only to civilize and educate them, but to liberate them from the conquering armies of Islam.<sup>36</sup>

In fact, one of the early missionary newspapers established in Nigeria, which was called *Iwe Irohin*, and owned and edited by Rev. Henry Townsend,<sup>37</sup> perpetuated such polemics. Rev. Townsend preoccupied himself with waging an incessant campaign of calumny and sacrilege against Islam and the Muslims while at the same time propagating Christianity and singing its praises. He distorted Islam, making the false claim that Islam was spread through the sword. He said: "if their religion is ever extended in the Yoruba country, it will have to be done by other means than the sword."<sup>38</sup>

The idea that Islam spread through the sword was a standard slander among the Christian polemicists, which they used to undermine the significance of the peaceful spread of Islam as witnessed in Yoruba land.<sup>39</sup> Townsend went on to say that Islam could not civilize the Negro race because, despite the fact that the Ilorin people had been Islamized, they were still housebreakers, murderers, thieves, and highway robbers. He claimed:

Housebreaking, murder, stealing from persons in the street and highway were common to an extent we had never seen among the

<sup>33</sup>W. Edward Said, *Covering Islam* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1980) 223-24.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid*, 59; A.L. Tibawi, "English Speaking Orientalists and Their Approach to Islam and the Arabs." *Islamic Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, January-March 1979.

<sup>35</sup>Ayandele, 5, 127, and 135. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam Among the Yorubas*, 141-45.

<sup>36</sup>Dahiru Yahya, "Nigerian Press and the Doctrine of Social Responsibility," 9. Paper presented at the Communication Conference at Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, 1984 (unpublished).

<sup>37</sup>Townsend worked for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) He introduced Christianity into Badagry and Abeokuta in 1842. For more information see J. F. A. Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria, 1841-1891*. London: Longman, 1965).

<sup>38</sup>*Iwe Irohin*, March 5, 1864.

<sup>39</sup>Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam Among the Yorubas*, 4-13.

heathen. It is certain that Mohammedanism has not civilized Africa, it is equally so that, whilst civilization had advanced with Christianity Mohammedans have declined from the point they once attained.<sup>40</sup>

Such were the kinds of falsehood the European Christian missionaries spread among the adherents of Christianity in Nigeria.<sup>41</sup> It was a grand design of deception, misinformation, and disorientation aimed at creating disillusion, fear, and hatred of Islam in the minds of Nigerian Christians so as to distance them from the Muslims and keep them permanently divided.

What we have been dealing with in the early Nigerian press, therefore, is a case of inherited prejudice enhanced and perpetuated by the newspapers. One can clearly see the glaring similarity between the attitude of the European Christian missionaries and that of some Nigerian Christians as demonstrated by the newspapermen who happened to be Christians. There is also striking similarity between the missionary newspapers and the early Nigerian newspapers in their theme and orientation. One can only conclude, therefore, that the early newspapermen were not only greatly influenced by the missionary attitude but that they were effectively programmed to intimidate the Muslims. As a result, the newspapermen developed an amazing skill for unthinking repetition and blind copying of the European missionaries who set the pace for them and whom they eloquently echoed. This deep seated influence, more than any other factor, explains why early Nigerian newspapers adopted such an antagonistic attitude toward Islam.

## Conclusion

The Nigerian Christians inherited a legacy of hatred, animosity, and antagonism against Islam and the Muslims which the newspapers in particular reinforced.

It may not be possible now to say precisely how the Muslims felt at the time, but there is no doubt that such portrayal must have been very offensive and painful because it was inaccurate. It is unfortunate that in spite of the enviable contribution of these newspapers in raising the level of awareness of the people and in being pioneers of journalism, they failed to see through

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<sup>40</sup>*Iwe Irohin*, 23 May 1864.

<sup>41</sup>On refutation of the kind of arguments raised by Townsend, see S. Yusuf "The Press and Islam in Nigeria: A Critical Appraisal of the Impact of Western Press on some Nigeria Newspaper Media on Issues Relating to Islam and the Muslims." Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria. Unpublished M.A. thesis, June 1987.

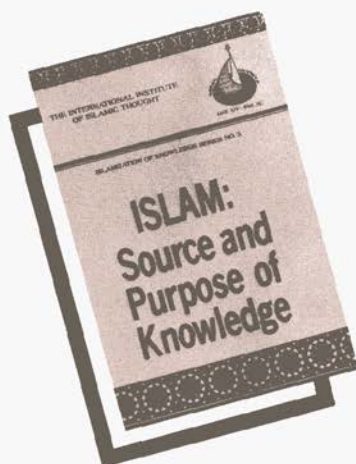


the tricks of the colonialists and the overzealousness of the foreign Christian missionaries. They allowed themselves to be used in fostering religious acrimony and to divert the people's attention from their basic problems.

It is more unfortunate that almost a century after the pioneers of the print media in Nigeria published this slander, such antagonistic and yellow journalism is still very much with us. Pages of some Nigerian newspapers are still full of bias and prejudice against Islam. Nigerian journalists should abandon their inherited prejudice against Islam and look at Islam more objectively giving accurate and factual reportage and assessment of it. Unless they do, religious tolerance, harmony, and peaceful coexistence will remain a mirage.

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Review Article

## Studies in Qur'an and Hadith: The Formation of the Islamic Law of Inheritance

by David S. Powers; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, 263 pp. (Appendices, Glossary, Bibliography, Index and Tables).

David S. Powers' book, originally a doctoral dissertation submitted to Princeton University, is a welcome addition to the already growing corpus of studies revising Joseph Schacht's thesis that Islamic law did not exist during the lifetime of the Prophet. This is, however, not the central theme of the book. Powers contends that the Islamic law of inheritance is not identical to the system of inheritance revealed to Prophet Muhammad and that the Muslim community is not in possession of the original reading and understanding of several Qur'anic verses and Prophetic ḥadīth.

The thesis presented in this book can be summarized as follows:

Islamic law began to develop with Qur'anic legislation which was more clear and systematic on the subject of inheritance. In pre-Islamic Arabia the intergenerational transmission of property was by seniority rather than by direct descent. The Qur'an introduced a new system of inheritance which reflected a transition from tribalism to individualism, with more emphasis on the rights of women to property. The author sees two systems of the law of inheritance in Islam:

- 1) The proto-Islamic law of inheritance which existed only during the lifetime of the Prophet; and,
- 2) Islamic law of inheritance, which exists as *'ilm al-farā'id*.

Powers contends that the proto-Islamic system was mainly testatory and the property was distributed according to fixed shares only in the absence of a will. Husband and wife, not being blood relatives, inherited as testatory heirs.

The author divides his dissertation into two parts. In the first part he deals with the proto-Islamic, in the second with the Islamic system of inheritance. The first part proceeds by looking at the practice of bequest and testation in Makkah and Madinah in early Islam, giving special attention to the inheritance between husbands and wives, and the Qur'anic law of testation and intestacy.

The second part proceeds by looking at socio-economic developments in the early period and contends that people in power manipulated the Qur'anic



legislation and altered their understanding by offering a different reading and by developing the doctrines of abrogation of the bequest verses and of *asbāb al-nuzūl* of verses relating inheritance.

Reading this book one is struck by the strongly worded conclusions that the author draws from inconclusive evidence. His conclusions are admittedly thought provoking but his methodology, on the whole, is disappointing. Very often the author seems to accept evidence without critically examining the sources. Sometimes he goes on to draw conclusions from probable "clues" in the absence of reliable sources. We shall refer to only a few instances in the following lines.

Regarding the tribal customary law of pre-Islamic Arabia for instance, the author complains that there are few, if any, reliable sources that might shed light on this subject. To fill this gap, he develops a method which he describes as "teasing" certain elements of customary law out of historical sources" (p. 210). With this method he finds that "the transgenerational transmission of property among the tribesmen of Ḥijāz is more likely to have been governed by the principle of seniority than by that of direct descent" (p. 210). The conclusion at this point is stated very carefully with several qualifications and the author terms it a "clue", but still he builds on this "clue" the whole edifice of his thesis. It becomes an important "key" for his understanding of the Qur'anic legislation, for the relationship between tribal law and this legislation, and for his distinction between proto-Islamic and Islamic law of inheritance.

He finds this clue in R. Brunschvig's remarks about *ʿaṣabah and wilāʾ*. Powers refers to Coulson, Maṛṣais, G. H. Bousquet, Robertson Smith and other scholars. He argues that these scholars were wrong in proposing the theory that "The *ʿaṣaba* of Islamic Law are a carry over from the tribal customary law of pre-Islamic Arabia" (p. 88). He endorses R. Brunschvig's theory for a contrary view. Brunschvig argued on the basis of "historical" (Strabo describing practice in Yemen), linguistic (*Uḥab* sharing consonantal structure with *ʿaṣabah* and ethnographic evidence (Chelhod's reference to Bedouine practice) that it was the principle of seniority, not the principle of direct descent that governed the transmission of property in pre-Islamic Arabia (p. 91).

The rule of seniority to which Brunschvig refers is connected with *wilāyah*; which can still be found operative in the *fiqh* books as far as guardianship is concerned. Brunschvig's suggestion that it might also apply to the distribution of property should not be stretched too far. Recently Patricia Crone (*Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law, Cambridge, 1987*) has analyzed the term and the institution of *wilāyah* in detail and differs with Brunschvig's views on this point.

Furthermore, the picture that the author draws of the development of the

law of inheritance in Arabia of three clear phases of pre-Islamic, proto-Islamic and Islamic is too simple to be historically substantiated. For a very significant period (622-623) the inheritance of property was restricted by the principles of *Mu'akhāt* and *Hijrah*. The Qur'anic verse 8:72 refers to this relationship. The *hadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiqh* literature explains that migrants from Makkah and the people in Madinah inherited from each other on the basis of *Mu'akhāt* and even the Muslims having blood and tribal affinities did not qualify as heirs if they had not migrated or if they were not brothers under *mu'akhāt*. This practice continued until the revelation of the Verse 33:6 which gave priority to *'ulū'l arhām*.

Had the author consulted these sources for "historical elements" he could have determined the chronology of these verses. He talks about abrogation and *asbāb al-nuzūl* stories and dismisses them as attempts to suppress the original meanings of the verses, but one fails to understand why he does not attempt to fix dates of these verses.

The examples of bequests and wills to which Powers refers on pp. 129, ff. are not sufficiently conclusive because the author has not placed the verses of these illustrations chronologically. Powers refers to nine instances (pp. 128, ff.) during the period of revelation to prove that it was common to leave a last will and testament and that the science of the shares was not practiced. Out of these instances 1, 3 and 7 have not been dated, 2 and 4 belong to the year 622, 5 to 624 and the rest fall between 625 and 631. As Ibn Sa'd noted, the verses relating to termination of inheritance on the basis of *mu'akhāt* were revealed in 624, and hence the instances of the earlier periods could not be judged on the basis of these verses. It is nevertheless significant to note that even the two instances (2 and 4) from 622 do not differ from the classical tradition, 2 speaks of the bequest of 1/3 of the property and 4 refers to guardianship. 6, 7 and 8 refer to the cases of the appointment of the executor of the will and that of passing of inheritance to the deceased's son. This is also not contrary to the classical legal position, the son inherits the whole estate in the absence of *dhawū'l furūd*. These instances, therefore, do not sufficiently establish his assumption. The ninth instance, referring to Mu'ādh b. Jabal, merits an additional comment.

The author says that Mu'ādh prepared a last will and testament in which he designated as heir a sister and daughter, who were each to receive half of his estate. (p. 131). We call it interesting because Mu'ādh b. Jabal died childless. Some of the sources even say that he never had a child. Others say that his son 'Abd al-Rahmān died before Mu'ādh but he was still alive when Mu'ādh allegedly wrote his will. Secondly the author refers to two sources for this evidence: Abū Dā'ūd's *Sunan* and Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah*. Not all editions of *Sunan* include this story. One of the editions which includes it, glosses it as Mu'ādh's judgement in a case, not as his own will. Bukhārī's *Shahīh* also



mentions it as Mu'adh's judgement. The second source, Ibn Hishām, does not refer to this will at all. Of course the word *awsā* is mentioned on the referred page, but it alludes to the Prophet Muḥammad's instructions to Mu'adh. Thirdly, Mu'adh's judgement does not violate the rules of the science of the shares. In the absence of other heirs a daughter and sister each receives 1/2 of the estate according to Q. 4:11, and 76. Fourthly, as Ibn Sa'd, mentions, this story occurs in 9 H. when Mu'adh was sent penniless to Yemen. There was nothing to prompt him to write his last will.

The mainstay of Powers' thesis is his suggested different reading of the Qur'anic verse 4:12, particularly a new meaning of the Qur'anic term *Kalālah*, that he has proposed.

He claims that the present reading of the verse differs from the originally revealed reading and that this alteration was manipulated by politically interested people soon after the Prophet Muḥammad's death. The author gives no substantial evidence for this manipulation. His contention is that the present reading leads to some syntactical difficulties which his suggested reading removes. Secondly, his suggested reading conforms with his view of the development of the law of inheritance in Islam which places stress on individualism and the rights of women.

The present reading of the verse is as follows:

• وَإِنْ كَانَتْ رَجُلٌ يُورَثُ كَلَلَةً أَوْ امْرَأَةً وَلَهُ أَخٌ  
 أَوْ أُخْتٌ فَلِكُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِّنْهُمَا السُّدُسُ فَإِنْ كَانُوا أَكْثَرَ  
 مِنْ ذَلِكَ فَهُمْ شُرَكَاءُ فِي الثُّلُثِ مِنْ بَعْدِ وَصِيَّةٍ يُوصِي  
 بِهَا أَوْ دَيْنٍ غَيْرِ مُضَارٍّ وَصِيَّةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَلِيمٌ  
 سورة النساء (٤:١٢)

Translation (Pickthall)

And if a man or a woman have a distant heir (having left neither parent nor child), and he (or she) have a brother or a sister (only on the mother's side) then to each of them twin (the brother and sister) the sixth, and if they be more than two, then they shall be shares in the third, after any legacy that may have been bequeathed or debt (contracted) not injuring (the heirs by willing away more than a third of the heritage) hath been paid. A Commandment from Allah. Allah is Knower, Indulgent. *Sūrah Al Nisā'* (4:12)

The author suggests *Yūriṯhu*, in place of *Yūrathu*, *imra'atun*, and *yūṣī* instead of *yūṣā*. With these alterations he translates the verse as follows:

“If a man designates a daughter-in-law or wife as heir, and he has a brother or sister, each one of them is entitled to one sixth. If they are more than that, they are partners with respect to one-third, after any legacy he bequeaths or debt, without injury. A Commandment from God. God is knowing, for-bearing”. (p. 43).

The author notes cogent objections raised to this reading by his colleagues from the view point of Arabic language (p. 42 n. 37). Language apart, contextually also the suggested reading only adds to the confusion. Several questions arise.

If there is no restriction on bequest and the whole bulk of one's property can be bequeathed in favour of one person as the author maintains throughout his book, how is the designation of wife or daughter-in-law, or the division of property into 1/6 or 1/3 among the sisters and brothers possible. Secondly, daughter-in-law and wife are not mutually exclusive. Thirdly *“imra'atun/an”* does not mean “wife”. Fourthly, in this reading there is no mention of children or parents; would they have no share in property while brothers and sisters of the deceased would? Fifthly if there is no restriction on bequest, how is the phrase “without injury” to be explained. With this reading it is possible that one designates his daughter-in-law instead of his wife. Sixthly, with this reading it is not clear whether a wife can designate her husband or her daughter-in-law. The traditional reading at least covers both cases of husband and wife.

This suggested reading is also unnecessary, if we look at the sequence of verses. The verse 4:6 declares a fixed share for both men and women in the property left by their parents and relatives. Verse 4:11 proceeds by explaining these fixed shares in the following order: children (shares in different situations e.g., if sons and daughters both exist, if more than two daughters, daughter alone inherits); parents (if both exist, if they exist along with the children of the deceased, or exist along with brothers and sisters of the deceased). Having dealt with the shares of children and parents in various situations, Verse 12 then proceeds to explain the shares of surviving spouse. First it deals with situations where spouse survives along with spouse's children, then where he or she survives alone. In logical order the next situation would be where the deceased has no parents or children because the cases of spouses, children and parents have already been covered. Hence the traditional reading and meaning seem more logical. The daughter-in-law does not fit into the sequence.

Powers suggests not only a different reading of the verse but also insists on a different meaning of the word *Kalālah*. Traditionally the word has been



understood to refer to the one who dies leaving no children and parents behind. Powers argues that it should be rendered as “daughter-in-law”. His argument is threefold. Firstly he traces the origin of the word to Hebrew, Syriac and other Semitic languages where, according to him, it means “daughter-in-law” or “sister-in-law”. Secondly, he argues that this meaning fits better with the Qur’anic legislative policy which stresses the rights of women. Thirdly, he maintains that the meanings as suggested by him were the original readings and were replaced by the first generation of Muslims for political reasons. To substantiate his claim the author refers to the uncertainty and the controversy over the meaning of the term that prevailed during the early period of Islamic history.

We are not competent to comment on the first argument, but we may invite the author’s attention to verse 16:76 where another word *Kalla* (probably the same root as *Kalālah*?) has been used in the meaning of “burden”, (good for nothing).

Regarding his other evidence, it must be admitted that Powers knows how to manipulate it in his favour. For instance, he repeatedly refers to 27 statements in Ṭabarī about the definition of *Kalālah*. In fact they are not 27 different definitions of the word. None of them questions the traditional meaning of the word, they differ only on the point whether the term *Kalālah* in the verse refers to the deceased or the surviving. Powers says “According to fourteen *Shawāhid*, the word signifies one who leaves neither parent nor child, so that it refers to the deceased. According to twelve *shawāhid*, the word signifies all those except the parent and child, so that it refers to the heirs. Finally, one statement indicates that both definitions are possible”. (p. 3) On p. 30 he nevertheless refers to this explanation as follows:

“Reference has already been made to the twenty seven *shawāhid* containing one or another definition of the word.”

Later the author admits that “these anecdotes make little or no sense when viewed in the context of the Islamic law of inheritance, for what could have been so controversial or mysterious about a word that means either a man who dies leaving neither parent nor child or all those except the parent and child” (p. 108). Still he concludes that these anecdotes were put into circulation by those who objected to the traditional interpretation and “these people did manage, however, to circulate a series of carefully coded anecdotes that allude, between the lines, to the original significance of Q. 4:12” (p. 108).

The author suggests that these anecdotes were actually circulated to limit the scope of the meaning of the word to either of these two senses in order to eliminate the original meaning of “daughter-in-law” which he believes prevailed in pre-Islamic Arabia. To substantiate his claim he refers to two early Arabic

texts. Along with them he mentions the story of Qays b. Dharīḥ which the author quotes from *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, a text of 4th century Hijrah, with the following introduction:

“I have recently come across a text that uses the word *Kalālah* in a manner that can only signify a “daughter-in-law”. (p. 41 n 36.)

The story tells us that Qays, a poet of the Ummayyad period, married Lubnā against the wishes of his parents. Lubnā was barren. Qays's mother complained to her husband that Qays was childless and that her husband's property would pass to a *Kalālah*. She insisted that Qays should marry another woman so that he might have children. The author contends that in this context *Kalālah* refers only to Lubnā, Dharīḥ's daughter-in-law. It cannot refer to Qays.

This argument illustrates the author's obsession with his own opinion. This is why he is forced to change the text and context in favour of his own meanings. He adds a qualifying sentence “(if Qays dies)”, otherwise his meaning would not fit into the context. He is so taken up by his own “discovery” that he could not accept the unaltered text where Qays's mother is complaining that Dharīḥ's property would pass to Qays who had no children. She pleaded that Qays should marry another woman in order that he might have children and might not die *Kalālah*, having no parents or children. Even if Powers' alteration and suggested meaning are accepted, his conclusion that Dharīḥ's property would pass to Lubnā is not tenable. The story belongs to the later period of the first century and the text belongs to the 4th century, when according to the author the science of the shares prevailed and when according to Islamic law the maximum share that Lubnā was entitled to would be 1/4 and that too only if Qays had not died during the lifetime of his father and if Lubnā inherited from Qays. Had Qays died while his father lived, Lubnā could not inherit from Dharīḥ at all.

There is no doubt that David S. Powers has explored in this book a very complex phenomenon which is entangled with historical and linguistic controversies, and that he has amassed a vast amount of material, but his search for evidence only to prove his hypothesis has prevented him from critically examining his own arguments, sources and possible biases. It is not in vain that he describes his methodology in the following words: “After completing the dissertation, I set about looking for evidence in the historical sources that might support my hypothesis. . . . (p. xii)

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## Book Review

### *Religion and Peace in the Middle East*

*Edited by Frank Kaufmann and Justine Watson; Council for the World's Religions, 1988*

This slim volume is based on the three papers presented at the Council for the World's Religions (CWR) conference on "Interreligious Dialogue and Peace in the Middle East" held in Toledo, Spain in March 1988. The conference was intended to discuss the role of religion in the pursuit of peace in the Middle East.

The volume begins with a paper on "Religion and Politics: Dangers and Possibilities for Peace in the Middle East" by Rabbi David J. Goldberg. Goldberg argues that the on going Arab-Israeli conflict is essentially political and not religious in its origin, its cause, and in the perception of those most intimately involved. Hence, the resolution of conflict could only come from a concerted effort to find an acceptable and mutually beneficial geo-political formula which seeks to accommodate the just demands and needs of both parties. Any attempt to seek a solution only in "apocalyptic terms" would undoubtedly lead to more conflicts and wars. Goldberg claims that religious differences did not originally loom large as a source of conflict in the Middle East. This may be true before 1967. But since the Israeli occupation of El-Quds, the religious dimension of the Arab-Israeli conflict has become equally, if not more, important than the political dimension. For Muslims throughout the world, the constant reminder that one of the three holiest places in their religious tradition is out of their reach cuts a deep psychological wound. Rabbi Goldberg believes that common to the three monotheistic faiths of the Middle East are "certain shared principles" that govern ethical behavior, recognize the rights of other people, and determine responsibilities of governments. The logic of acknowledging and re-affirming these shared principles may open new possibilities of conflict resolution and mutual understanding. Goldberg states: "As a Jew, therefore, I have no hesitation in asserting that the Palestinian right to self-determination is just as valid as my insistence on Jewish self-determination."

Farhang Rajae's paper on "Religion and Politics in Islam: The Iranian Context" is an important attempt to understand "the internal logic" of Islam with regard to religion and politics or the relations between the secular and the sacred. Rajae argues that the aim of politics in Islam is identified with religion. Seeing Islam as a systematic whole implies that "the distinction and separation between various aspects of life make little sense." Politics,



Rajaei argues, is simply a variable and is thus subservient to the eternal values of religion.

Rajaei rejects the current appellations of "fundamentalists" and "modernists" as opposing categories of contemporary Islamic intellectual thought and prefers instead the use of the terms "integralist" for the first and "integrationist" for the second. "Integralist" is the one who advocates a rigid compliance to the religious tradition as developed in history. This approach is represented by the writings of Maulana Abu al A'la Maududi (1903-1979) and Ayatollah Imam Ruhollah Khomeini (1904-1989). The "integralists" believe that "both the ends and means of politics are provided by religion" and that the aim of politics should be to put the tradition into practice. The "integrationists" are the ones who believe that religion determines the ultimate aims of life and political values to be pursued, but the means and rules to facilitate the pursuit of these ultimate values must be developed by man himself. Rajaei includes Jamal-al-Din Afghani (1838-1897), Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938) and 'Ali Shariati (1933-1977) in this category of Muslim thinkers. Rajaei also argues, however, that in the context of the contemporary world where political, economic, intellectual and social institutions and mores of the modern West are threatening Muslim identity, both "integralists" and "integrationists" are equally concerned about the rediscovery of Islamic identity and revival of Islam as a way of life.

Raja Hajjar's paper on "Islamic-Christian Dialogue in Lebanon" is an attempt to understand the complex interfaith milieu of Lebanon and the role of Islamic-Christian contacts at the national, institutional and personal levels in creating conditions of peace and harmony in that unfortunate land. Hajjar argues that Lebanon has been a testing ground for almost all political and religious ideologies present in the Middle East. These ideological conflicts, which include Secularization vs. Islamization, Westernization vs. Arabization, centralization vs. regionalization, liberalization vs. socialization, and conservatism vs. revolution, have all contributed to the deterioration of the delicate multi-faith balance in Lebanon. Hajjar is right in pointing out that if Muslims and Christians cannot live in peace in Lebanon, then Muslim-Christian co-existence in other parts of the Middle East may also become difficult. He believes that the religious and cultural plurality of Lebanon can be preserved only through dialogue and understanding.

Together, the three papers included in this volume considerably enhance our understanding of the issues of war and peace in the Middle East and of the potential role of religion in the resolution of current conflicts.

Mumtaz Ahmad  
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### Book Review

## *Reconstruction of Culture and Islam*

*by Prof. Mohammad Taqi Amini, (author); Z. A. Usmani (Translator); Lahore: Siddiqe-e-Akbar Academy, Sole Distributors; Amjad Academy, 40, Urdu Bazar, Lahore, 270 pp.*

Mohammad Taqi Amini is an erudite religious scholar and profound thinker. He possesses an inquisitive mind which refuses to accept things at their face value. He sets out to prove that the reconstruction of Islamic civilization aims at striking a balance between the physical and the spiritual forces inherent in men. He attempts an outline of the scheme of cultural reconstruction. Also, he mentions the effects and implications of Western civilization on modern life and evaluates the impact of two conflicting ideologies.

The author believes that for the manifestation of faith and the construction of culture, the necessary good deeds are not mere rituals or outward signs of virtue. Good deeds, on the other hand, comprehend both the inner and outward facets of life and they comprehend the whole being of man. The inner life however, comes first; for without it a healthy community cannot come into existence, nor can man's use of nature yield any common benefit.

The author reveals that in the framework of Western civilization materialism dominates, and materialism recognizes reason as the only source of knowledge. But according to the Islamic concept of cultural reconstruction, the spiritual dimension is the basis of everything and which recognizes the combined guidance of reason, heart and revelation for the acquisition of knowledge. In all spheres of life such a wholesome and all pervasive guidance is needed. The guidance of one faculty is not enough.

In Western culture, the essential nature of man is regarded as animalistic and therefore the nature of character is determined in terms of material power and worldly gains. Only those qualities are valuable which have a direct bearing on worldly gains and material power. For example, in business, punctuality, patriotism, social sense, and natural interests are the criteria. On the other hand, qualities which do not have any bearing on worldly gains are not valued. Rather, violation of these qualities is considered a merit. Qualities like modesty, chastity, affection, mutual friendship and love, caring for the family, generosity of heart, soft-heartedness, sincerity, humanity, and consideration for the rights of others have no value for a Western mind.

The Islamic scheme of cultural reconstruction, on the other hand, is based on a Divine view of life. This view divides life into material and non-material and insists that both are necessary for the perfection of humanity.



For this reason, in the economic system of the Islamic scheme both these factors are considered essential. Total reliance on the guidance of reason is not considered sufficient.

The author envisages that through education, the proper moral climate will be created and maintained and a mutual correspondence established between law and moral sense. Without such a correspondence no human organization can work to any desirable ends. If, through a mere change of the state organization, the solution of the economic problem of the society is achieved, the other psychological and social problems will emerge, in the absence of moral reform in all their disturbing entities, and there will be almost no real solution for them.

In the end, the author remarks that in the Islamic scheme of Cultural Reconstruction, rights and duties have been determined properly from both sides. If these rights and duties are properly observed, the problems of the government and the people can easily be solved and a chaotic situation, like the one that prevails now, can be prevented.

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### Book Review

#### *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia*

*Edited by Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddique, Singapore:  
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1987.*

#### *Knowing One Another: Shaping an Islamic Anthropology*

*Merryl Wyn Davies, London and New York:  
Mansell Publishing Limited, 1988, 189 pp.*

Books by Muslim scholars which raise theoretical issues in society and politics also raise hopes of a welcome trend because they are so rare. In the books under review we hear authentic Muslim voices. The authors make an interesting counter-poise, Muslims in the West and Muslims in Southeast

Asia. A self-conscious, anti-West, combative posture is struck; although in the case of Davies, a British Muslim, this may simply mean the zeal of a convert. Both books suggest the breaking of new ground, indeed Davies promises to “shape” the discipline of anthropology.

*Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* attempts to fill an important gap in the study of Islam in an area which contains the world's most populous country-Indonesia. The 13 chapters have been contributed by distinguished professors, mostly indigenous; and some are very distinguished, indeed, like Professor Kamal Hassan of Malaysia and Abdurrahman Wahid of Indonesia. The subjects, too, are topical and compelling: the modernization of women and the problems of the Nahdhatul Ulama in Indonesia.

We are told why the Muslim masses reject Westernization: “Thus, the life-styles of Muslim elites, socialism, capitalism and Western civilization are all interrelated. Of the three factors, it is perhaps the life-styles of the elites that has had the greatest impact upon the Muslim mind. It provides “tangible proof” to the masses of the “evil” of Western civilization and foreign ideologies... It is expressed at the level of the houses the elites own, the cars they drive, the clothes they wear, the food they eat, the parties they attend. Whether it is true or not, tales about these elites are almost always inter-woven with lurid lore about their decadent habits with the emphasis upon their sexual misdemeanors. That is why, if Islamic groups opposed to existing regimes ever succeed in mobilizing the people on behalf of their puritanical concept of Islam it would have been partly because of their condemnation of the alleged moral decadence, the materialistic life-style of the elites—since it is an issue that has so much potential mass appeal” (“Islamic Resurgence: Global View” by Chandra Muzaffar, p. 15).

The elements of Islamic revivalism as seen from Southeast Asia are summarized thus: “Islamic resurgence has been inspired by the following factors: (a) disillusionment with Western civilization as a whole among a new Muslim generation (b) the failings of social systems based on capitalism or socialism (c) the life-style of secular elites in Muslim states (d) the desire for power among a segment of an expanding middle class that cannot be accommodated politically (e) the search for psychological security among new urban migrants (f) the city environment (g) the economic strength of certain Muslim states as a result of their new oil wealth; and (h) a sense of confidence about the future in the wake of the 1973 Egyptian victory, the 1979 Iranian revolution and the dawn of the fifteenth century in the Muslim calendar” (ibid, p. 21-22).

The role of the *ulama* is highlighted in Islamic revivalism and the checking of Westernization in the concluding chapter: “The continuity of religious traditions and their fortification against Western onslaught was largely the work of ‘ulama and other orthodox functionaries who ran Muslim educational institutions— *maktabs* and *madrassahs* (Muslim educational institu-



tions). Despite the cost it entailed, it was no mean achievement" ("Islamic Resurgence" by Obaid ul Haq, p. 338).

There is useful material in this book and some harsh commentary on the present teachings of Islamic studies: "Teaching materials are of poor quality and textbooks are outdated" ("Dimensions of Islamic Education" by Kamal Hassan, p. 47). Equally important—and more telling—"Many Muslims feel the need to obtain Islamic education, but the social reality shows that only products of secular education are assured of a better future" (ibid).

It is therefore a pity that the excellent material which could have filled a gap in Islamic studies has been so poorly edited and shaped for this volume. Chapters are not numbered and errors abound. Curious omissions are noted: for example, the debate with the Japanese anthropologist Nakamura regarding Indonesian society is conducted by Wahid without reference to the standard literature on Indonesia by Clifford Geertz. The book has no index and its binding is unsatisfactory, the pages tending to become unglued. Most of the papers are written years ago and appear dated (Wahid's paper is an answer to the analysis of the Nahdhatul Ulama's Congress of June 1979 by the Japanese anthropologist Nakamura). More important, there is no theme or frame for the contents of the book. Neither the foreword nor the introduction discuss the individual papers and nor do they attempt to relate the papers to each other. Some of the excellent material, so ideally placed to fill an important gap in Islamic studies, is therefore lost in the confused and loose editing.

In *Knowing One Another* Davies attempts to contribute to "a movement that seeks to ground the quest for knowledge in the eternal principles of Islam." This book is an attempt to contribute to that movement by offering a definition of Islamic anthropology" (p. ix). The late Isma'īl al Farūqī's seminal work, as indeed the title of his work, "Islamization of Knowledge", is reflected, though not acknowledged, in much of the argument. The book maintains "The essence of Islam is universal, and anthropology will equip Muslims with both self-knowledge and the understanding to treat non-Muslims with tolerance" (inside flap). An admirable ideal; but perhaps the author should have included Muslims also in her sphere of tolerance. For she condemns and rejects the entire gamut of Muslim scholars in a list that reads like a Muslim United Nations, a *Who's Who* of Muslim social scientists: Nur Yalman (Turk), the Harvard Professor, at the one end and Khurshid Ahmad (Pakistani), a Deputy Amir of the Jamaat-i-Islami, at the other; also included are Isma'īl al Farūqī (Palestinian), Ilyas Ba-Yunus (USA), Talal Asad (British), Soraya Altorki (Arab), Abdullah Laroui (Moroccan) and Aziz Azmeh (Syrian).

The rejection is based on misquotes and grossly incorrect representations. K. Ahmad and N. Naqvi, the two most active Islamic economists, are attacked: "Islamic economists, who are anxious to produce a body of work, fall back upon a system such as Western economics to fill their con-

ceptual void" (p. 79). Their position is vociferously the opposite of where Davies places them. Altorki and Laroui are also criticized, again unfairly, for exactly similar failings. (p. 164-6).

While the above may wish to comment upon Davies' interpretation of their work let me record a response to her comments on mine by taking just one example. I am accused of defending "Western Anthropology" which [her quotes] "promotes an enabling tolerance and openness to other people" and this "is most demeaning" (p. 49). But this is yet another gross misrepresentation, as the title of my book *Toward Islamic Anthropology* (1986) suggests. Well, before Davies' concern with the subject, I was involved in raising the issue of an Islamic anthropology (*Defining Islamic Anthropology*) Royal Anthropological Institute News, No. 65, 1984). While acknowledging the undisputed contributions of Western anthropologists I had concluded "The emergence of an Islamic anthropology . . . will act as a corrective to the notorious ethnocentricity of much of Western anthropology" (*Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*, 1988: 214).

Indeed Western anthropologists have warned me of the consequences of challenging the metropolitan academic culture of the West: "Given the power of the dominant academic discourse, Ahmed simply runs the risk of alienating his erstwhile tutors and being marginalized by their superior position in their own world" ("Orientalist Discourses" by B. Street in *Localizing Strategies*, ed. R. Fardon, 1989, p. 253. Also see the attempt at "marginalization" by an "alienated" tutor, R. Tapper in *MAN*, Vol. 23, No. 3, September 1988 and my reply in *MAN*, forthcoming). So Davies' general and deliberately misleading condemnation of Muslim social scientists does not make apparent sense. But there is a certain method in the madness.

The book appears as a paean, a tribute, to the author's "friend and mentor, Ziauddin Sardar, without whom nothing would be as it is" (p. x). The Guru has already acknowledged the disciple in his own book, *Islamic Futures* (1985), as the one "who prepared the index" (p. xi). Her book, moreover, is published by Mansell in the "Islamic Futures and Policy Studies" series, the editor of which is Sardar. This coziness is touching. But there is an element of over-kill: Of the six books advertised on the back jacket three are by Sardar, so are eleven references in the bibliography and, proving that a disciple is rarely bound by the conventions of subtlety, Davies promises yet another Sardar publication in her last footnote in her last chapter. Sardar quotes stud her book. Davies appears to have embarked on the task of propagating the Guru; the strategy of attacking other potential Gurus to clear the way thus makes sense.

The tone fluctuates from high-sounding academic references to popular Western television programmes. The title of the introduction, "To Boldly Go Where No Man Has Gone Before", is from *Star Trek*; so is the subtitle, "The



Anthropological Enterprise". James T. Kirk finds honorable mention in the text and index. This reflects both the substance and style of Davies. The content is as vacuous as *Star Trek* and the results far less amusing. This is *karma*-anthropology (note the title, *Knowing One Another*, Chapter 2 is "Enchained in Being" and so on). Indeed an appropriate title for the book could have been adapted from another *Star Trek* film, "The Wrath of the Guru".

For a book claiming to discuss Islamic Anthropology the absence of Elkholy and Mahroof, both writing on Islamic anthropology, are strange omissions in the bibliography (Sardar, we noted, although not an anthropologist, has eleven references). Incorrect criticism is backed by poor editing (my surname, "Ahmed" is "ad" in the text and index and "ed" in the bibliography, "Ernest" Gellner in the bibliography and "Ernst" in the text and index, "Khurshid" Ahmad in the text and bibliography and "Kurshid" in the index, "Naquib" in the text and "Naqvib" in the index, for examples). This is a crude exercise in cult-building, a clumsy demolition job, with no concrete suggestions, no theoretical frames, for a way of looking at or analyzing Muslim societies.

Within a few years of his death Farūqī's venture, the "Islamization of Knowledge", appears to be in shambles. For the most part confusion and lack of direction mark the work of Muslim scholars. But perhaps the spirit of debate and enquiry that his work has generated is what he wanted; it is the first step on the path to knowledge.

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## Book Review

### *Fundamentalism, Revivalists, and Violence in South Asia*

Edited by James Warner Bjorkman

Riverdale Company, Riverdale, MD 1988, 193 pp.

The volume under review is essentially a collection of papers presented at a two-day workshop on the changing division of labor in South Asia held at the University of Wisconsin in 1984 at which the two major themes were the emerging role of women; and the "increasingly violent role of religion."<sup>1</sup> The latter theme became the subject of this book.

Concerning this subject, the editor, Dr. Bjorkman, writes:

"If, then, you have been perplexed about the chronic religious violence in contemporary South Asian states, you need search no further for relief. The following chapters examine, explore, and explain aspects of religious fundamentalism, self-righteous revivalists, and murderous mayhem among the four major faiths of South Asia."<sup>2</sup>

Then, evincing his concern for the human situation in the area, and his own obviously painful experiences there, Dr. Bjorkman continues:

". . . one may justifiably conclude that a no-win situation characterizes the South Asian mosaic. Contemporary reality is depressing, if not gruesome; the daily documentation of death and destruction, cruelty and carnage, is sufficient evidence thereof."<sup>3</sup>

Candidly assessing the objective of his work, Dr. Bjorkman states:

"The aim of this book is to uncover some of the socio-political truths disguised by the frequent invocation of "fundamentalist" and "revivalist" claims in contemporary South Asian religions."<sup>4</sup>

And in order to prepare the reader for what lies ahead, the learned editor adds:

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<sup>1</sup>Bjorkman, *Fundamentalism Revivalists and Violence in South Asia*, Preface v.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., Preface, v.

<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., Preface, v.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., Preface, vi.



“One can come away from this volume wringing one’s hands in despair at the utter hopelessness of human foibles. Or one can catch glimpses of truth and possible points of leverage by which the certain slide into anarchy might be arrested and even reversed. Sigmund Freud once wrote: ‘The truths contained in religious doctrines are after all so distorted and systematically disguised that the mass of mankind cannot recognize them as truth (Freud 1928:78).’”<sup>5</sup>

Thus, before moving on to even the editor’s introductory chapter, the interested reader, in the sense of his or her faith or allegiance to one or the other of the four major religions of South Asia, will begin to feel queasy at the prospect of what lies ahead. Many such, I suspect, will put the volume down and start wringing their own hands at the utter hopelessness of human foibles in the guise of Western academic treatments of Eastern affairs of the spirit. But no, gentle reader, dismay not; the volume is not your average witch hunt. On the contrary, as food for thought it is immediately engaging, and as an opportunity for self-examination it is timely, thought-provoking, and welcome. Unfortunately, however, it does fall somewhat short of its target.

While Dr. Bjorkman’s discussion of fundamentalism would seem to suggest that he regards fundamentalists as a breed apart who “can and do ignore democracy and the rule of law,” who “require an enemy,” who “regard violence as an important vehicle,” who “condemn moderation as a crime,” and who “plow fertile ground and sow the dragonteeth of future violence,” his discussion of the phenomena in the South Asian context is an informed one. Indeed, anyone who has witnessed the insane carnage wrought by mob violence in the name of one creed or another can be forgiven for thinking of the perpetrators as a different species. The point that needs not to be lost sight of, however, is that fundamentalism does not necessarily lead to violence; or, to rephrase the statement somewhat, that violence is not an essential element of fundamentalism.

Nonetheless, fundamentalist passions may surely be easier to whip into a frenzy. And this is the political reality in South Asia that has led to the exploitation of religion for the benefit of the privileged few, the ruling cliques, the landed feudals, the military, the clergy or self-appointed defenders of the true faith. So, while these leaders have managed to obscure for the masses the truth behind their own “fundamentalism” they have also managed to obscure the true essence of that fundamentalism; so that those who seek to explain it look first to the crimes committed in its name, thus overlooking the true nature of the phenomena loosely known as “fundamentalism”.

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<sup>5</sup>Op. cit., Preface, vi.

In *Fundamentalism, Revivalists, and Violence in South Asia*, the editor, Dr. Bjorkman has included essays, in addition to his own introductory piece, by four Western scholars, and by four Eastern scholars, one each from the faiths discussed.

In *Fundamentalism and Revivalism in South Asia* by Dr. Robert E. Frykenberg, the reader will find a scholarly and fascinating epistemological study of the origins of the term, fundamentalism, and its subsequent usage in its particular Protestant Evangelist context. Later in his essay Dr. Frykenberg adds some important dimensions to the studies of several of the other essayists as well, shedding light on historical circumstances, and raising issues as topical as whether the close identification of the state in Pakistan with fundamental religion may prove counterproductive.

But, to return to Dr. Frykenberg's discussion of the term fundamentalism, the question for the readership of this journal to consider concerns the term "fundamentalist" that many Muslims object to as misleading and inadequate to describe what is happening throughout the Ummah today. Frykenberg points out that quite often, and particularly in the media, ideological kinds of concepts are confused with institutional kinds of concepts. By way of example, an institutional term like "radical" is ideologically neutral, and not necessarily antithetical to the term "conservative." Frykenberg writes:

"Therefore, when we say that revivalist movements have been radical in a particular way, we often mean that such movements have not only been "anti-conservative" but that they have also been radical in a special direction. That is, they have been "radical in reverse" or "reactionary". They have sought to "recreate" something which once was thought to be but which, in actuality, never existed. Moreover, if "romantic" (as distinct from but very similar to "utopian"), they have actually sought for something which can never be, something chimeric from a golden age. To be reactionary, in other words, is to be radical backwards. Such radicalism is often confused with conservatism. Going backwards to "the roots;" backwards to the rediscovery of what once was; backwards to the recapturing or to the trying to recapture past glory; backwards to presence the sense of what was there before what looks dangerous appeared; backwards to the time before some present sense of danger or threats to security came into existence; that is fundamentalism. That is what "Going back to Fundamentals!!" means. It can be, and usually is, extremely radical (or reactionary, as the case may be)."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Op. cit., *Fundamentalism and Revivalism in South Asia*, R. E. Frykenberg, p. 24-25.



Essentially, then, what needs to be discriminated between are elements of analysis and approach that are radical and revivalist, and between those which are restorist. Indeed, in the context of the teachings of Islam about reform, what is described as fundamentalism is actually the taking of steps forward, or development in response to contemporary social reality. So, the efforts of Muslim intellectuals and other modernizers represent more precisely the bringing forward of what remains vital and relevant, rather than "Going back to Fundamentals"; and if fundamentals are involved in the process, it is in the sense of their being brought forward as constants in the universal message to mankind.

But then, what's in a name? Try Mumtaz Ahmad's labels, from his paper, *Islamic Revival in Pakistan*. For example, Pakistan's early parliamentary regime subscribed to "Liberal-modernist Islam", Ayub Khan to "Developmentalist Islam", Yahya Khan to "Nationalist Islam"!<sup>7</sup>, Z. A. Bhutto to "socialist-populist Islam", and Zia to "Revivalist-fundamentalist Islam".<sup>7</sup> What does he say about Ms. Bhutto's brand of Islam? It's a pity that the book was delayed in the press for over a year. Otherwise we might have read of Benazir's benign neglect as "Laissez-faire-feminist Islam".

Otherwise, Dr. Ahmad's essay offers little but history. Not that in itself is not engaging; but one would have hoped that the Muslim contribution to this volume could have contained some attempt, at least, to deal with the socio-religious phenomena per se, particularly in view of the worldwide notoriety of "Islamic Fundamentalism". In this context, a discussion of the issue of violence becomes all the more essential.

Moreover, Dr. Ahmad's suggestions that the defeat of Pakistan's military forces in the 1971 war somehow acted as a propellant for Islam is specious at best. For one thing, the savagery of the Pakistan Army in the months preceding the formal "war" was anything but an expression of Islamic sensibilities on the part of all those involved, from the lowest of foot-soldiers to the highest levels of command. Secondly, several years passed before Islam reckoned in any but the most obvious sort of public considerations. It was only when Z. A. Bhutto had his back to the political wall that the state made any "Islamic" initiatives of its own, so to speak.

In any case, students of the South Asian scene will certainly appreciate Dr. K. M. DeSilva's article entitled, "Buddhist Revivalism, Nationalism, and Politics in Modern Sri Lanka." As an educationist, and a two year resident of Sri Lanka, I have long been fascinated with the Sri Lankan literacy rate, Dr. DeSilva's essay nicely chronicles the cultural and religious background for the Sri Lankan Buddhist preoccupation with the issue of education; and one is immediately aware of the circumstances under which the famous Egyp-

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<sup>7</sup>Op. cit., p. 92-93.

tian exile, "Urabi Pasha, joined hands with the local Muslim elite to establish an educational society and then the at-first-exclusively Muslim Zahra College in Colombo.

Likewise, while Dr. DeSilva tells us that Buddhist Fundamentalism is a contradiction in terms, his discussion of fundamentalism, though brief, is a rewarding one for the reader.

The other two essays by South Asians have substantively less to offer the reader than Dr. DeSilva's meticulous paper; but the material in each is handled well. Kuldeep Mathur, in *Rural Violence in South Asia: Straws in the Wind*, is essentially concerned with rural violence, taking Bihar as a case in point, as a consequence of socio-economic development in rural areas of India. Religion in his analysis figures only marginally, and fundamentalism is no where mentioned. The paper by Surit Maningh. *The Political Uses of Religious Identity in South Asia*, explores the "present day causes and patterns in the political uses of religious identity", and manages to spin off a great deal of potentially rewarding subjects for further study. One might disagree with the notion that "in the many conflicts that raged across the land between the raids of Muhammad of Ghur at the end of the twelfth century and the defeat of the Mughal-Marhata armies by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1761, neither allies nor enemies were drawn along religious lines."<sup>8</sup> Yet certainly, the essay is rich in the material from which it draws, and touches upon a number of issues of obvious relevance and importance to those who would have a better understanding of the subcontinent.

All in all, while one may criticize this volume for often straying from the subject of fundamentalism and violence, such is the nature of seminars and, after all, the book was compiled from papers read at a seminar on a related but nonetheless altogether different subject. Under the circumstances, then, the editor has done us a great service in gathering the material he has. One would hope that his efforts will result in the stimulation of more research on the subject, and more understanding both among and between the communities involved in the day to day living of this often painfully misunderstood phenomena.

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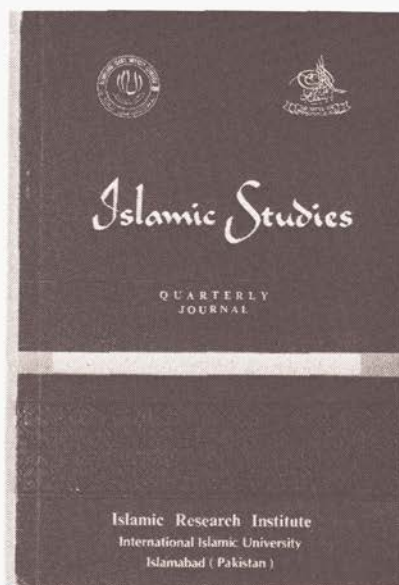
<sup>8</sup>Op. cit., p. 175.



# Islamic Studies

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### Conferences/Seminars

## Qur'anic Concepts of Human Psyche Lahore, Pakistan

*Sha'ban 27, 1409/April 3, 1989*

During the recent past a number of Muslim psychologists in Pakistan as well as other countries have attempted to develop a greater understanding of basic Islamic sources for an alternate view of human psyche. This is an approach which is quite new for psychologists in Muslim countries who have been trained in the Western intellectual tradition, and have depended on Western sources for their methods, models and content areas of research.

Since the Qur'an is the basic source of Islamic thought, it is not surprising that a number of Muslim psychologists have turned to the Qur'an in order to develop an alternate perspective of understanding the human psyche.

It was therefore proposed that the IIIT should help in consolidating the efforts being made in this respect by sponsoring a seminar for psychologists interested in this area.

### *Objectives*

The seminar aimed at giving the Pakistani psychologists interested in the application of Islamic concepts in understanding human psyche an opportunity to meet and exchange ideas, and to present their views and findings to each other and to teachers and advance students of psychology.

### *The Seminar*

The seminar was organized by the IIIT, Pakistan in collaboration with the Department of Psychology, Government College, Lahore. This department, which is the oldest institution of post-graduate teaching and research in psychology in Pakistan, has a strong tradition of interest in Muslim Psychology. They offer an optional course in Muslim Contributions to Psychotherapy also. The local organizer was Dr. Azhar Ali Rizvi, Chairperson of the above department.

The seminar was held on April 3, 1989 in Falleties Hotel, Lahore. In all, 21 persons attended the deliberations. They included eminent psychologists, social scientists and some scholars of the Holy Qur'an. Apart from the Pakistani participants, two psychologists from Dhaka University, Bangladesh read their



papers. The number of participants was deliberately kept small in order to ensure discussion and exchange of ideas rather than allowing paper-reading or speech-making to be the main features of this seminar.

The seminar was spread over two sessions. The first session was presided over by Prof. Mohammed Ajmal; and the second by Prof. S. M. Moghni.

### *The First Session*

The first session began with recitation from holy Qur'an. Dr. Zafar Afaq Ansari, Head of Social Sciences, IIIT Pakistan, described the work being done by the IIIT in the area of Islamization of knowledge in his introductory remarks. He also explained the objectives of the present seminar, and briefly surveyed the work that has been done in Pakistan and other Muslim countries.

Prof. S. M. Moghni spoke briefly on the process of Islamization of knowledge, and how this objective can be achieved. Dr. Absar Ahmad presented a paper in which he discussed the constructs used in the Qur'an in place of the psychological construct of psyche. He discussed the meanings of *nafs*, *qalb* and *ruh* as explained in the Qur'an. Dr. Mah Nazir Riaz read a paper in which she highlighted various constructs which are presented in Qur'an for the guidance of mankind. Dr. Iffat S. Dar raised the question of the nature of Psychology in a Qur'anic context. She opined that Psychology cannot be a value-free science in the Islamic view, because Islam provides comprehensive norms of behavior. Mr. Shamsuddin Ilyas read a paper on "Development of Religiosity Scale for Muslims". He noted that little research is available on religiosity among the Muslims. This is so because no instrument for such research is available, the existing instruments having been developed for non-Muslims. He presented a plan for cross-national research in this area for development of such a scale.

### *The Second Session*

Dr. Israr Ahmad, a distinguished scholar of the Qur'an, was the first speaker of this session. He quoted various verses from the Qur'an which threw light on the nature of human beings and how they develop. Prof. Abdul Hayee Alawi presented a paper on the Qur'anic concept of mental health. He pointed out the inadequacies of the present Western concepts, and how the concepts derived from the holy Qur'an provide a fuller understanding of mental health and the process of fostering it. Prof. Manzurul Haque emphasized the need for developing a model of personality based on the teachings of the Qur'an. Prof. Abdul Haque presented a paper on the concept of obedience as enunciated in the Qur'an, and as understood among Muslims and

non-Muslim groups. He cited several studies, some of them conducted by himself, which indicated the differences. Prof. Abdul Latif read a paper on what he called Mirrage therapy—a word derived from mirror of self and the famous incident of Me'raj of the Holy Prophet (SAAS).

A detailed discussion followed the paper reading sessions. Prof. Burhan Ahmad Farooqi, a very senior scholar of Islam, made detailed comments on the papers and the questions raised from the audience.

### *Follow-up Action*

During the seminar ten presentations were made. Most of these presentations were in the form of written papers, although some papers were in the form of drafts. Two presentations were oral. The proceedings including the oral presentation and the discussion session, were recorded.

Letters have been written to all the speakers to complete/revise their papers and send them to the editor. The papers will be reviewed and an edited version will be prepared for publication. It is expected that this process will take about six months.

### *General Comments*

The seminar generated an immense amount of interest. A number of people inquired about the proceedings of this seminar and expressed a desire to participate in future seminars on this topic. Many people expressed a desire to read more on this issue. The need for a comprehensive bibliography and a place where all this material is available was emphasized. Many people wanted to benefit from books available in Arabic only. There is a need to translate such books into English and Urdu so that more people may benefit from them. Many speakers emphasized the need for cross-national and joint research projects on problems that are specific to Muslims. A project for developing a measure of religiosity was discussed and it was decided that psychologists from Pakistan and Bangladesh will take up this project jointly. Some participants expressed the need of an Association of Muslim Psychologists and of a research journal. However both these proposals were considered a little premature for the time being.



## Conferences/Seminars

# **The Seminar on the Impact of Islamic Lifestyles on the Health and Development of Mankind**

## **Amman, Jordan**

*Dhu al Qi'dah 19-22, 1409/June 23-26, 1989*

The Eastern Mediterranean Regional Office of the World Health Organization, the Islamic Organization for Medical Sciences, and the Royal Academy for Islamic Civilization Research (the Aal Al-Bayt Foundation) jointly sponsored a seminar on "Islamic Lifestyles and their Impact on Health and the General Development of Mankind" in order to put this Islamic heritage in the service of all human beings.

The idea of holding this Seminar was first conceived by the Eastern Mediterranean Regional Office of the World Health Organization because of its profound conviction that:

1. Health constitutes the physical, psychological, and social well-being of the individual.
2. Particular lifestyles have a major impact on the health of the individual and the society at large.
3. Islam views the concept of well-being as a pre-requisite of 'Aqidah (creed) and Shari'ah which the Muslims fully applied and implemented in their Golden Age—thus, providing living proof of its success in real life.

The first task undertaken by the participants involved the exhaustive listing and description of Islamic lifestyles in all spheres, and, the determining of their Islamic roots on the basis of evidence from the Qur'an and Hadith. The second task focused on exploring the benefits to be acquired and the harms to be avoided through the adoption of these Islamic lifestyles by the individual, the family, the society, and all human beings especially in the spheres of mental and physical health, and the well-being of social and human relationships. The third task involved devising plans of action for utilizing and applying all or part of the knowledge gained about Islamic lifestyles in order to demonstrate their beneficial influence as a means of reforming life and setting mankind on the straight path.

The Seminar participants also formed a smaller committee to examine the results of its research and deliberations so as to prepare, as soon as possi-

ble, a well-written and accurate bibliography and index based on the actual text of the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the correct Hadiths.

The participants also recommended that there be continued cooperation between the Regional Office of the World Health Organization, the Islamic Organization for Medical Sciences, and the Royal Academy for Islamic Civilization Research (the Aal Al-Bayt Foundation) in order to follow up action in the field of exploring the Islamic teachings which fulfill the needs of mankind by guiding and directing mankind's efforts along the path of universal health in its broad sense, and which provide for mankind's highly integrated and indivisible material, psychological, and spiritual makeup. Furthermore, in order to apply and implement the knowledge gained during the Seminar's sessions, the participants issued a document entitled "The Amman Declaration for the Improvement of Health" (See appended text).

The participants also welcomed the proposed cooperation between the Regional Office of the World Health Organization, the Islamic Organization for Medical Sciences, the Royal Academy for Islamic Civilization Research (the Aal Al-Bayt Foundation), and the organizations whose representatives in the Seminar expressed a willingness and readiness for such cooperation – in particular, the Islamic Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, the Nur Al-Hussain Foundation, the International Institute of Islamic Thought, the Jordanian Council of Islamic Organizations, and the Society for the Well-Being of Rheumatic Heart Disease Patients, the Arab Society for Islamic Education, the Islamic Center in Achen, the Muslim Student Federation in Europe, the Muslim Labor Union in Europe, and the International Islamic Society for Mental Health.

The participants also called upon all other interested organizations to cooperate in fulfilling the Seminar's objectives, and further recommended that the Regional Office of the World Health Organization coordinate the follow-up activity aimed at implementing the Seminar's recommendations and the Amman Declaration.

## **The Amman Declaration for the Improvement of Health**

In order to realize universal health by the year 2000, the Seminar on the Impact of Islamic Lifestyles on the Health and Development of Mankind—meeting in Amman, Jordan—issued the following declaration for the improvement of health:

This Seminar was held in order to meet the dire need, in the Eastern Mediterranean Region, to formulate Health Advisories for its inhabitants in a language they could understand pursuing health improvement by making



use of the spiritual nature of its inhabitants whose religion constitutes a powerful driving force in their lives. The Seminar also gained its momentum from the deep-rooted health heritage which this region's inhabitants contributed to human civilization, as well as from the principles of the World Health Organization whose aim is the realization of universal health; the Alma Ata Declaration of Primary Health Care; and the Resolution of the International Health Society concerning the spiritual dimension.

### **First:**

According to the Hadith, health is a gift from Allah of which many people are deprived.

### **Second:**

As an element of life, health cannot be realized without the presence of the other main elements—e.g., freedom, security, justice, education, work, sufficiency, food, water, clothing, housing, marriage, and environmental protection.

### **Third:**

As the Qur'an commands, man can safeguard his health by maintaining his health scale in a state of equilibrium—by neither transgressing nor adulterating.

### **Fourth:**

As mentioned in the Hadith, in order to enjoy complete well-being, every person must maintain a health reserve from which to draw on during illness.

### **Fifth:**

Every individual's lifestyle has a major impact on his health and well-being.

### **Sixth:**

Islamic lifestyles have numerous positive elements for maintaining and improving health, as well as for prohibiting negative behavior detrimental to health.

### **Seventh:**

As defined by the Qur'an, Islam is the religion of innate nature (*Fitrah*) with which Allah endowed mankind. Adopting and dedicating oneself to Islamic life-styles is a fulfillment of man's true nature in harmony with Allah's

laws concerning the body, the mind, the individual, the family, the society, mankind, and the environment.

### **Eighth:**

An inseparable document appended to this declaration provides a listing of the Islamic lifestyles derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah which have a major impact on the improvement of health and the general development of mankind.

### **Ninth:**

The Seminar participants call upon all international organizations, governments, and voluntary non-governmental organizations to promote and maintain health by encouraging positive lifestyles, particularly through the following:

1. defining the Islamic lifestyles which promote and maintain a healthy life, and calling for their adoption through channels appropriate for the circumstances of each country;
2. providing the most favorable conditions for promoting and maintaining health and healthy lifestyles –without violating these conditions whether by publicizing lifestyles detrimental to health, producing materials that are harmful to health, or propagating unhealthy behavior;
3. promoting the comprehensive development of local societies, and helping them to realize their basic needs through self-dependence—this being a more practical approach aimed at the adoption of healthy lifestyles;
4. reorienting the institutions of health, education, culture, and information in a way that would promote health and encourage healthy lifestyles, especially those of the type mentioned in the appended document;
5. reorienting the institutions of health education so as to give a humanitarian character to health vocations by making them missions rather than professions; and
6. devoting a decade for strengthening efforts aimed at implementing a plan devised by the concerned bodies for the purpose of propagating Islamic lifestyles.



## Conference Report

# Islamic Economics and the Economy of Indian Muslims New Delhi, India

*Dhu al Hijjah 17-20, 1409/July 21-24, 1989*

The International Seminar on Islamic Economics and the Economy of Indian Muslims was held July 21-24, 1989 in the Convention Center of Hamdard University, New Delhi, India, under the auspices of the Institute of Objective Studies (IOS). The Seminar was the first of its kind in India. There were 10 sessions, with over 60 participants, on various aspects of Islamic Economics as well as on the economy of Indian Muslims. In addition there were inaugural and plenary sessions, and a public lecture. All the sessions were well-attended. Conference delegates and participants came from all over India, as well as Egypt and the U.S. A number of scholars from other countries could not attend the Conference because of the denial of visa for attending the Conference by the Indian Embassies in their respective countries.

The Conference convened on Friday, July 21, 1989 at 11:00 A.M. with the inaugural session chaired by Dr. S. Z. Qasim, Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. After the welcome speech by Mr. A. R. Agwan, Director of the IOS, Dr. Manzoor Alam, Chairman of the IOS, introduced the IOS and its activities. The inaugural address was delivered by Dr. A. R. Kidwai, Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University (AMU). Following that, the keynote address was given by Dr. F. R. Faridi of AMU, who was also the convenor of this seminar.

Among the foreign delegates were Dr. Shawki Ismail Shehata of Faisal Islamic Bank of Egypt, Prof. Syed Iqbal Mahdi (who is the Secretary of the AMSS Economics Discipline Group), and Dr. A. Q. J. Shaikh from the U.S.A., and Dr. M. Ayub Munir from Pakistan.

The Conference organizers had carefully selected the topics which were timely and relevant both in terms of Islamic economics and the economy of Indian Muslims. Each session had 4 to 5 papers. The following were some of the topics:

1. Employment Situation of Indian Muslims: An Appraisal of its Nature and Magnitude
2. Islamic Banking: Theory and Practice
3. An Islamic Approach to Economic Development

4. Is Islamic Economics Relevant to the Indian Situation
5. An Islamic Critique of Conventional Economics and the Islamic System
6. Muslim Participation in the Industrial and Agricultural Sectors in India
7. The Role of Muslim Awqaf in the Economy of Indian Muslims
8. Islamic Banking: Theory and Practice
9. Islamic Credit Institutions in India: Problems and Prospects
10. Economic Problems of the Muslim Minority in India (Brain Storming Session)

The following delegates presented papers, chaired sessions or were discussants: M. A. Muttalib, T. A. Rehman, K. G. Munshi, S. T. Ahmed, Nuzhat Jabeen, M. A. Kalam, A. Haseeb, J. I. Laliwala, K. Alam, M. I. Bagsiraj, Nighat Ahmed, K. K. Upadhaya, K. Naseeruddin, S. F. Peerzada, M. I. Khan, M. Derakhshan, S. Fyaz Ahmed, A. A. Islahi, P. A. Poonawala, M. A. El Gari, S. I. Mahdi, A. Huq, A. Q. Shaikh, T. Beg, M. H. Siraj, A. M. Khusro, M. Tufail, K. M. Pathusha, S. K. Hussain, I. E. Kozake, Zubair Hussain, S. I. Shehata, N. M. Purehit, A. Azeez, R. Khan, G. Ghaus, Manzoor Alam and F. R. Faridi.

One of the highlights of the Conference was the Public Lecture on Saturday, July 22nd at 8:00 P.M. in Pearaylal Bhavan in New Delhi. It was open to the general public and attended by more than 500 people including journalists and T.V. reporters. It was chaired by Dr. F. R. Faridi and the keynote speaker was Dr. Iqbal Mahdi of the U.S.A. Dr. Mahdi's topic was: "Salient Features of Islamic Economics". Dr. Mahdi argued that socialism and capitalism have failed and Muslims have a historic opportunity to present the Islamic Economic System to the world as a viable alternative.

Another highlight of the Conference was the Brain Storming Session on Monday, July 24, 1989. The topic was: "The Economic Problems of the Muslim Minority in India." The session was chaired by Dr. A. Haseeb. The panelists were Drs. A. M. Khusro, D. B. Gupta, Iqbal Mahdi, A. Q. Shaikh, K. G. Munshi, Rehmatullah and Mr. M. H. Khatkhatey. There was consensus among the panelists that given the current political situation in India, the solution to the problems of Indian Muslims lies in the principle of self-help. A number of practical suggestions and recommendations emerged from this session to alleviate the economic plight of Muslims in India. Some of these recommendations were presented as resolutions and approved unanimously in the valedictory session that afternoon. Some of the important resolutions were:

1. The institution of Zakah should be established and its income



- should be used collectively in the light of the Qur'an and Hadith.
2. Interest-free Islamic financial institutions should be promoted at local levels.
  3. Voluntary organizations of Muslims should undertake the provision of technical training, vocational guidance and job market information.
  4.
    - a. Training for business and financial management should be provided to encourage small business ownership among Muslims in a competitive market situation.
    - b. A business directory and directory of Muslim industrialists should be prepared and a survey of Islamic financial institutions should be undertaken by the IOS to know the problems and potentials.
  5. A sense of social obligation should be cultivated among Muslims to purchase goods of small businesses owned by Muslims.

The Conference was a great success in terms of quality of its contributions and mobilization of Muslim economic talent to address the economic issues of Indian Muslims. Dr. Manzoor Alam, Dr. F. R. Faridi and others at the IOS should be congratulated for this accomplishment.

Syed Iqbal Mahdi  
Professor of Economics  
Benedict College  
Columbia, SC

### Conferences/Seminars

## Indexing of the Qur'an Cairo, Egypt

*Dhu al Hijjah 15-16, 1409/July 18-19, 1989*

A seminar was organized by the International Institute of Islamic Thought, on *Dhu al Hijjah 15-16, 1409/July 18-19, 1989*, at Zamalek, Cairo, to discuss the indexing of the Holy Qur'an.

In the first session, research papers and reports by members of the seminar were presented. In the second and third sessions, the papers were discussed from different angles. During the closing session, the recommendations prepared by the drafting committee were discussed.

### *First: Project Objectives*

The International Institute of Islamic Thought took the responsibility for the task of the Islamization of knowledge. The natural approach would be to make the two main sources of Islamic knowledge—the Qur'an and the Sunnah—accessible to research scholars in the humanities and social sciences. This project aims - during this stage—at analyzing the contents of the Qur'anic verses to classify them according to the different branches of knowledge, and to arrange them under suitable headings, in order to make it easy for research scholars to find the verses they want in the fields of the humanities and social sciences.

### *Second: Indices and Concordances*

Participants in the seminar exchanged consultations regarding whether it is suitable to compile a list of topics (index) first, then proceed with the classification process accordingly, or should the classification be completed first on the basis of topics to be found, followed by the compilation of an index.

After completing the discussion, it was decided to follow both approaches simultaneously as indicated below:



1—The classification team will work according to the headings used in the humanities and social sciences, and proceed to add new headings for topics not covered by the ones being used.

2—Qur'anic idioms are to be put on cards according to their occurrence in the verses, and according to the branch of knowledge being classified, so that the concordance would include all the Qur'anic idioms relating to the specific branch of knowledge being classified.

3—The team responsible for preparing the list of subject-headings is to be promptly provided with what the classification team produces so that the former would benefit from it in its work, in addition to benefitting from the modern indices available to it. The work accomplished during the different stages of preparing the index will be promptly distributed to the classification team to help the coders with their work.

### *Third: Indexing and Research*

Indexing is a tool of scientific research. Therefore, the following is necessary:

1—The person doing the coding should be honest and accurate in transmitting the information and different opinions. He/she should, therefore, transmit the chosen subject-heading whether he/she agrees with it or not.

2—If the meaning in the tafsir has nothing to do with the verse, but was included as an elaboration by the interpreter, only the portion related to the verse should be included.

—If the coder comes up with a new meaning for the verse based on his/her own knowledge, he/she should assign it a heading, write it on a card, and indicate that this is his/her own interpretation by writing the word 'coder' between parentheses.

4—For the previous considerations, it is necessary, upon choosing the coder, to be concerned that he/she be knowledgeable in the science to be classified, and be familiar with Islamic knowledge which would enable correct handling of the sources.

### *Fourth: Indexing Sources*

The coder should seek help, in the classification process, from a collection of chosen *tafsir* sources, covering both schools of the "Transmitted" and the "Reasonable." The coder can also check specialized old and modern sources in the branch of knowledge he/she is classifying.

The seminar discussed, in the light of experience, seeking help from nine *tafsir* sources:

al Tabari, al Tubsuri, al Razi, al Qurtubi, al Shawkani, al Alusi, al Manar, Ibn 'Ashur, al Zilal.

In concern for the methodology of the final product in all branches of knowledge, the seminar decided to unify the *tafsir* sources to be checked, considering the following:

1—That some of these *tafsir* sources could be of more benefit to some coders than it is for others.

2—The need to add more *tafsir* sources to the said nine, to ensure a representation of all the tendencies of the different exegesis and thought processes. The following three *tafsir* sources have been added:

1—*Lata'if al Isharat* by al Qurayshi.

2—*Taysir al Tafsir* by Ibn Atfash.

3—*Al Kashshaf* by al Zamakhshari.

### *Fifth: Indexing Method*

1—The indexing process begins by carefully reading the Holy Qur'an verse by verse, examining each verse and recalling the broad categories of the sciences being classified, perhaps relating to one or more verse. Once the coder determines that the verse is not related to the science being classified, he/she should then move on to the following verse.

2—If the coder felt there was any relevance, he/she then starts reading the *tafsir* of this verse in the different *tafsir* sources. It is advisable that the sources are read in chronological order, so that the coder would have a feel for the historical development of understanding the Qur'an by different *tafsir* scholars. This is because the science of *tafsir* is dynamic, and reflects the vibrancy of understanding the Qur'an and its applicability to all times.

3—If the coder finds in the exegesis a meaning which relates to the branch of knowledge being classified, he/she must first consider whether this is a part of what the verse indicates, or was it merely an elaboration by the *tafsir* scholar without any real connection to the verse being interpreted. In the latter case, the coder should ignore including this meaning in the index, since the indexing is of the Qur'an and not its exegesis.

4—If the meaning or meanings are indicated by the Qur'anic verse, the coder should then record them—from the different sources of exegesis—analyze them, and edit them in preparation for expressing them on index cards.



### *Sixth: Analysis*

1—The analysis level should be in-depth to cover all the topics that the verse could possibly indicate, ensuring the clarity of the relationship between the subject-heading and the verse.

2—The meaning is the index unit. This requires that every meaning should be put on a separate card, whether it is derived from the whole verse, a portion of it, or a series of sequential verses as arranged in the Qur'an.

3—The meaning can be expressed by more than one word. In such cases the different sub-headings are put on the same card.

4—The meaning derived from the verse is put under the sub-heading with a marking on the card indicating the more general heading to which the subheading belongs.

5—It is not necessary that the meaning is related to a verse indicating a religious legal opinion for it to be recorded. It would be enough that it sufficiently relates to the verse in some way or another for it to be recorded on an index card. The meaning could refer to a religious legal opinion, a clarification of a social order, or one of God's universal norms, or maybe a story intended to encourage pondering or meant as a guidance, or some other meaning.

It makes no difference how the meaning relates to the verse.

### *Seventh: Independent Indices*

In light of the fact that this project will be completed in stages, independent indices for every field of specialization will be produced each including the headings pertaining to the Islamic principles that are directly connected to that branch of knowledge.

### *Eighth: The Card Contents*

1—The card will include the sub-heading and the original heading of the topic.

2—The Qur'anic verse or its portion, which is directly related to the topic, is mentioned along with the name of the chapter of the Qur'an and the verse number. The basic word which illustrates the relationship between the heading and the verse in underlined.

3—A statement clarifying the connection between the heading and the verse is to be included. A brief phrase is preferable, provided that it is indicative, along with a mention of the *tafsir* source, volume number and page.

4—The card should also include the coder's name and the references.

### *Ninth: Individual and Group Coding*

The seminar reviewed the method of working within coding teams. It was evident that there were three methods:

First—Each coder would individually classify the whole Qur'an according to his field of specialization. In this case, the work needs to be reviewed by an outside reviewer, whether as it is being compiled, or after the whole indexing process has been completed.

Second—Dividing the work among several coders each of whom would work on a part of the Holy Qur'an, and members of the team would alternate coding and reviewing among themselves.

Third—A group of coders would classify the whole Qur'an, each alone, then they meet and compare their cards, and decide on a unified list among themselves.

After reviewing the three methods, the advantages and disadvantages of each, it was decided that the third alternative was the best, and that it would be advantageous to hold periodic meetings for the coders in each branch of knowledge separately, as well as for all the coding teams. Each team arranges for its own meetings, just as the teams would arrange for their collective meetings.

### *Tenth: General Recommendations*

1—In view of the importance of the indexing process, the seminar charged a committee composed of Dr. Gamal Attia, Dr. Muhammad al Misri, and Mrs. Zaynab 'Atiyah, to prepare a research paper on indices and concordances, including a statement on their practicality, their objectives, and the need for them, in addition to identifying the most important methods and techniques used in their preparation, as well as their benefits. This paper will be distributed to the different coding teams.

2—The seminar is of the opinion that field supervision is important to help the coding teams in the implementation of the seminar recommendations and that the Institute should establish a deadline for the completion of the classification lists that are now being produced.

IIIT  
Cairo Egypt



Conference/Seminars**Issues in Methodology of Islamic Thought***Şafar 9-12, 1410/September 11-14, 1989*

During the period from Şafar 9-12, 1410 H. / September 11-14, 1989 A.D., a seminar on the "Issues in Methodology of Islamic Thought" was held at Amir Abd al Qadir University of Islamic Studies (Qusantinah, Algeria). The seminar was organized by the university in conjunction with the International Institute of Islamic Thought (Washington, D.C.). A group of professors and students of both sexes from Amir Abd al Qadir University, as well as from the Central University, participated in the seminar activities. The opening session was attended by representatives from Qusantinah Province, the National Liberation Front, the Municipal Council, and the Religious Committee. Speeches were delivered by Dr. 'Ammar al Talibi, the University President and Chairman of the seminar; Dr. Gamal El-Din Attia, Academic Advisor of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and convenor of the seminar; and by Dr. Muhammad 'Abd al Hadi Abu Ridah representing the guests of the seminar.

The seminar included seven panels where twenty-one research papers, prepared for the seminar, were presented and discussed. These research papers covered the following topics:

- 1— Inference Methodology in the Qur'an: A Response to the Opponents of Faith, by Dr. Ahmad 'Atwah.
- 2— The Elements of Scientific Methodology in the Qur'an and al Sunnah, by Dr. Ghawi 'Inayah.
- 3— Muslim Methodology in Islamic Theology, by Dr. Fawqiyah Husayn.
- 4— The Methodology of Ideology in the Light of Contemporary Scientific Advances, by Dr. Muhammad 'Abd al Sattar Nassar.
- 5— An Overview of the Methodology of Recording History, by Dr. 'Abd al Halim 'Uways.
- 6— The Methodology of the Principles of Jurisprudence, by Dr. 'Abd al Hamid Madkur.
- 7— The Crises of Methodology in Modern Ideological Studies, by Dr. Muhammad Kamal al Din Imam.
- 8— The Scientific Methodology and Spirit of Ibn Khaldun and Its Relation to Islam, by Dr. 'Imad al Din Khalil.

- 9– The Methodology of Epistemology in Islamic Heritage, by Dr. Ahmad Fu'ad Pasha.
- 10– An evaluation of the methodological epistemology of the contributions made by Dr. Muhammad al Jundi.
- 11– The Relationship between Revelation and Reason, by Dr. Muhammad 'Imarah.
- 12– The Crises of Methodology in the Humanities, by Dr. 'Ula Anwar.
- 13– The Role of Western Methodologies in the Prevalence of the Idea of Westernization and Cultural Usurpation of the Muslim Mind, by Dr. Sulayman al Khatib.
- 14– An Islamic Mode for the Methodology of Scientific Research, by Dr. Ahmad Fu'ad al Pasha.
- 15– The Benefit of Religious Methodology to Modern Sciences , by Dr. 'Abd al Latif 'Ibadah.
- 16– Methodology between Monotheism and Multiplicity, by Dr. Muhammad al Jundi.
- 17– Social Science between Its Scientific and Ideological Counterparts, by Dr. Mustafa 'Ashwi.
- 18– Indispensable Association of Objectivity and Analogy in Islamic Methodology, by Mr. Muhammad Amizyan.
- 19– Western Methodology of Knowledge in African Research: Critical Remarks and Ideas on the Alternative Islamic Methodology, by Dr. 'Ali Qurayshi.
- 20– Qur'anic Indication on the Methodology of Social Change, by Dr. 'Abd al Sabur Marzuq.
- 21– The Methodology of Dealing with Idioms, by Dr. Muhammad 'Imarah.

The Drafting Committee prepared the closing statement and recommendations which the seminar discussed in its closing session and approved as follows:

### **The Closing Statement**

It is no secret to research scholars that methodology is of prime importance in promoting knowledge, its accuracy and advancement. Without methodology, there is no knowledge and research is nothing but a mere waste of effort and energy. That was why it was necessary to hold this seminar on issues relating to methodology in Islamic thought, considering it a necessary



introduction to any effort exerted in the Islamic scientific arena in order to reshape both social and natural sciences into an Islamic form, particularly since Islamic ideology has its own independent and distinguishing characteristics. This requires that the methodological experiences of Islamic ideology during its golden ages be sought, to help achieve its expected upswing. In light of the scientific methodology witnessed during the golden ages, such experiences should be well understood to act as a guide throughout the journey of Islamic resurgence. That was why this seminar centered around three focal points:

First—Introducing the most important methodic techniques used by Muslim scholars in their golden ages.

Second—Introducing the most important methodic techniques used in the world, critically studying them, to reveal the crisis they face, and uncover the criticism that has been directed at them in order to define their place on the overall map of contemporary Islamic methodic research.

Third—Presenting research papers dealing with establishing an Islamic methodic pattern in the different branches of knowledge.

Perhaps the efforts that have been exerted in these areas, and the discussions that were held, were able to bring into the open the necessity of supplementing certain aspects expressed in the following recommendations.

## Recommendations

- 1— The seminar stressed the necessity of conducting a comprehensive search of the Qur'anic verses and hadith which deal with methodology as an idiom, and classifying them according to the techniques they indicate.
- 2— A comprehensive search of the Qur'anic verses and Hadith should be conducted, guided by issues relating to faith, to include the Prophet's methods in confronting the opponents of faith.
- 3— Projects and attempts made at updating Islamic scholastic theology, both in content and form, should be gathered and made into a textbook. Specialized scholars are to be contacted in order to accomplish this task, carefully following the most advanced scientific accomplishments, building on them, and using the new scholastic theology patterns, yet maintaining the Qur'anic methodology, when trying to comprehend matters of faith. Such a textbook must be periodically reviewed and amended. The seminar recommends that such

a textbook be taught in all universities in the Muslim countries.

- 4— A comprehensive search of Qur'anic verses and Hadith should be conducted, in order to define the historical methods that were used, to help arrive at a technique for interpreting history. This should be done after an initial introduction necessary for rewriting the history of Islam and the Muslims, while on the one hand adhering to the objective approach (not picking and choosing, negatively or positively), and on the other being comprehensive, and dealing with history from a political, economic, and cultural point of view, observing the unity of the Muslim nation while rewriting its history.
- 5— History scholars should go beyond the Western methodology which narrows down Muslim accomplishments in the field of interpreting history to Ibn Khaldun. Muslim historians should include in their study the methodology of early Muslim historians prior to Ibn Khaldun and his sources, and the schools that followed him, as well as develop his method and improve on it.
- 6— A comprehensive study of the Usūliyyūn methods in the sciences of jurisprudence, disparities and similarities, legal objectives and fundamental bases should be conducted in order to clarify the unity and variations in their approach depending on the subject-matter.
- 7— The seminar stresses the need for development of the science of the principles of jurisprudence in as far as its tools and content are concerned, in order that it can deal with the changing realities, thus making religious laws applicable to contemporary times. Furthermore, the seminar recommends that help should be sought from jurisprudence methodology, after its development employing techniques used in social sciences, to make it into a model pattern for these sciences to follow in their new Islamic form.
- 8— Modern contemporary methodology techniques of jurisprudence research and legislative methods, whether applied or still in their preparatory stages should be collected, analyzed and compared, provided the study covers as many Muslim countries as possible.
- 9— Muslim accomplishments in the different sciences, social or natural, should be analyzed, compared and historically researched. In conducting such a study help should be sought from old as well as modern and contemporary methods of history



interpretation and analysis, without being bound by one particular method, which may interpret events, occurrences and stages of the juridical and scientific history of Islam in a subjective manner.

- 10— A study of Muslims' contributions in the various natural sciences should be conducted by specialized scholars, each in his field of specialization, researching the process and reasons for the present Muslim backwardness, which led to a lack of creativity. They must propose solutions to the present situation.
- 11— The curriculums of mathematical and natural sciences in the different stages of education, in Muslim countries should be altered to include an introduction covering Muslim contributions in that science, in detail and in a way befitting these contributions.
- 12— Islamic civilization should be taught in all universities in the Muslim countries.
- 13— A course on the methodology of scientific research and objective thinking should be taught in all colleges in Muslim countries, and perhaps even in the final year in secondary schools.
- 14— Research should be conducted dealing with the extent to which scholastic theologians employ the scientific advancements which Muslims have achieved in their golden age in establishing the faith.
- 15— Qur'anic verses and Hadith which include numbers should be identified, and an accurate study of their meaning be researched.
- 16— Contemporary juridical rulings should be reached, in order to fulfill the unprecedented needs of the Muslim community, provided it is made clear that the rulings are made only with regard to the variables, and not the basics, which have been established and verified by clear-cut verses which are not subject to interpretation.
- 17— The curriculums for the humanities should be critically examined against an original Islamic viewpoint benefitting from the constructive self-criticism of the West considering a possible introduction of a verified Islamic methodology for the study of these sciences.
- 18— Furthermore, the seminar stresses the importance of continuing to take scientific and practical steps to formulate an Islamic methodology for the humanities.

- 19— The methodological techniques used by Muslims in the different branches of knowledge should be identified and applied to contemporary social and natural sciences, so they would be employed in updating the methodology of these sciences and Islamically restructuring them.
- 20— The effects of ideology on the methodology of scientific research in the West should be identified, and the extent to which the results of gathering such information could be used in developing Islamic curriculums for these sciences should be examined.
- 21— Help should be sought from all that has been accomplished in the field of methodology development for the different sciences, without favoring one method over another, or tying one science to only one method and not the other. It should also be taken into consideration that these approaches should not contradict Islamic principles.
- 22— A search should be conducted to locate studies, translations, and researches that emphasize the role of Muslims in transferring sciences, methodologies, and researches to Western scholars, and to publicize those works, whether still in manuscript form or published, in order to establish the influence of Islamic civilization on Western thinkers and scholars. In this pursuit, only reference works and original writings which are considered authoritative in the West must be consulted.
- 23— An in-depth study of the methods of cultural interaction from an Islamic viewpoint should be conducted in order to determine what to adopt and what to discard from other cultures, and in order to identify the methodology used by previous generations as well as Europeans in dealing with other cultures.
- 24— The seminar stresses the importance of striving to identify and uncover plans for Westernization and enunciate steps taken towards their implementation, on all levels, then analyze them in as far as content and method are concerned.
- 25— A study of the negative effects of Westernization on the Muslim mind should be conducted, so a method of combating them be determined.
- 26— The seminar stresses the importance of moral values, considering them to be the Islamic constants in any attempt to restructure the scientific methodological techniques according to Islamic patterns.



- 27— A search for Qur'anic verses and Hadith dealing with social change should be conducted, in order to clarify the Islamic methodology used. In this process, all the theoretical and scientific problems which are hindering the progress of Islamic resurgence because of lack of clarity of Islamic vision need to be analysed.
- 28— The seminar recommends working towards gathering and studying the terminology and concepts relating to the humanities and universal sciences, following their development or change, and examining the cultural effects of such development or change, in order to help researchers understand the meaning of these terminologies, and the extent to which they have been used.
- 29— A review of the curriculums for teaching Islamic law, the humanities, and universal sciences in the Muslim world should be started in light of the Islamic methodology.
- 30— The seminar stresses the necessity of directing research and scholars in universities in the Muslim world, especially on the M.A. and Ph.D. levels, towards an in-depth scientific study of methodology in order to speed up the process of breaking through the current cycle of stagnation in the field of methodology.
- 31— The seminar further stresses the necessity of supporting the organizations which work in the scientific, intellectual and cultural areas, also the universities of Muslim countries that are concerned with Islamic methodology as the fundamental element in the cultural program, in order to re-start the up-swing of the Muslim world.
- 32— The two sponsoring organizations of this seminar should print and publish the research papers and discussions of this conference, and distribute same to interested parties.
- 33— The two sponsoring organizations of this seminar should arrange for another similar conference to be held in order to complete the discussion of the remaining topics in the original work-sheet of this seminar.

Views and Comments

### ***Modelling Interest-Free Economy, A Study in Macro-Economics and Development***

In recent years there has been numerous Islamic publications in both social and economic fields trying to establish their theoretical and empirical basis according to Islamic principles *Modelling Interest-Free Economy, A Study in Macro-economics and Development* by Dr. Muhammad Anwar is one book which is a laudable study in economics, applying particularly the mudaraba system to the macro-economic level. Although it is really valuable study, I would like to express my opinions on the following points.

- 1) Regarding the technical points, it would have been useful for the reader if the sources used as reference had been given as footnotes. It is difficult to refer back to the sources.
- 2) "Muslim countries are reforming their financial systems in the light of Islamic teachings. Islamic financial institutions conduct their operations in ways that steer clear of interest and conform to the Sharia, the Islamic code of law and ethics (p. 7)." In such studies, it would be useful to draw a clear line between trade activities and partnerships and the banking system. Since Islamic countries and Muslim scholars are just now trying to develop a new banking system according to Islamic principles, we should be strictly careful when using the term "Islamic Banks." In contrast with some Muslim scholars, for similar reasons we should also be careful when putting forward the mudaraba system as the basis for a banking or economic system. Instead of calling these institutions "Islamic" it would be more proper to use such terms as "Interest-Free Commercial Institutions", "Interest-Free Financial Institutions", "Interest-Free Credit Institutions (Corporations)," etc.
- 3) The mudaraba contract as a form of partnership is directly related to trading activities. The involvement of the banking system in trade activities by establishing partnerships with certain firms through mudaraba contracts can severely distort the free competition in the market system which is encouraged by the Prophet (SAAS). Banks are institutions in which huge amounts of financial resources are accumulated. As the banks enter the market to make commercial transactions, even though in the forms of mudaraba, musharaka or murabaha, this involvement will likely



distort the free competition which is important for price determination. Worse, their participation could cause monopolization of the market and could also impede in the long-run the social balance. Money is a public good provided by the government and given value by the people. To make it a commercial commodity means that the economic system will be dropped into the trap which the capitalist system is caught in resulting in some of the economic and social diseases which we are trying to eliminate from our society. Because of these reasons, giving commercial functions to the banks can create another way of exploitation as it encourages undue concentration of wealth in a few hands. It is also doubtful that in the long-run it contributes to the welfare of the society as a whole, unless some credit criteria are developed.

- 4) Since this need is felt by the author, he says "It is imperative that equal opportunity be given to all people (p. 7)." But, if it is not possible for the people to have credit opportunity from these financial institutions, how can this equality be achieved? He also says "Islam does not over-emphasize material incentives because physical rewards are seen as a means rather than an end in themselves (p. 7)". Although in this study it seems that more emphasis has been given to physical rewards, I agree with the idea that a credit institution should be organized and motivated according to the principle of this judgement. To achieve this, some credit criteria could be developed. For example:
- a) Feasibility of the project. It can be decided by an expert committee.
  - b) The amount of taxes paid by the credit demander.
  - c) The number of employees working in the firm.
  - d) The improvement in productivity, etc.

To encourage savings, the financial resources deposited in these institutions could be given a tax exemption. Tax exemption would be an effective incentive to attract idle financial resources to the banks.

- 5) "The government may also sell its own *mudarabas* to obtain funds for financing its budget deficits rather than investing directly in profitable industrial or commercial activities (p. 37)." It is difficult to support government participation in business activities using *mudarabas* for financing its deficits. One of the most important problems which must be investigated is whether government should be allowed to have a deficit

in its budget. Except in extraordinary conditions, is it reasonable or truthful to govern the country incurring budget deficits? If governmental participation in business *mudarabas* leads to discretionary policy implementation by the politicians, it is not possible to agree with the author's suggestion. Government intervention in private economic activities or unwarranted increases in its own economic functions will in time cause serious resource misallocations and diminished social well-being.

To emphasize *mudaraba* partnerships in the banking system as if all economic problems will thereby be magically solved would be a mistake. The most important duty of the contemporary Muslim scholar is to develop a just monetary system as an alternative to the system current in the world. Most of the economic and social problems of the world come from the present monetary system.

Sabri Tekir  
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### Views and Comments

#### *“Royall Tyler’s The Algerine Captive and the Barbary Orient”*

The first problem is constant quotations of distorted Islamic image portrayals, and a one and a half page dialogue without evaluation. If the dialogue does anything, it increases hostility between Muslim and non-Muslim without providing a critical Islamic evaluation. Options are: examination of sources, Orientalist roots, Tyler’s erroneous characterization, all with enhancement of Islamic values, correcting the thought process. One option the paper misses is captivity due to piracy—a Western coinage invented to cover up the West’s illegitimate attack of Muslim shores. Historically, the Muslims were on the defensive from the previous century, when Spain and Portugal raided their shores and persecuted Moriscos, Moroccans, and Islamic North Africa. America joined later, assuming the Muslims’ guilt. That captivity brings out an awareness of the despotic American slavery system is not the sole value of Underhill’s experience. That he continues forming erroneous judgements based on racial biases is more important. The entire experience provides a stroke of Islamic irony. While a Christian fails to judge Islam, Islam’s system of equality in the eyes of God renders Underhill’s awareness stale, captivity a legend, and blindness of war purpose ignorance. Of course the issue could be discussed in more profundity and length. If the Islamic perspective is not brought out, then, the casual non-Muslim reader may read the paper as an adventure of a romantic nationalist when war was a romantic enterprise. In this way, the Islamic thesis is lost. There has to be a definite awareness of the historical context of such Orientalist writings. This issue is extremely crucial for Muslim scholars and sheds light on the purpose of Orientalist works with a political goal. We will not go so far as researching who has created racism, or who has created slavery in the American system, which are equally valid points for this paper, but we should see the historical milieu of this work. Placement in context helps Muslims understand academic endeavors at misrepresenting Islam at this point in history.

The author’s paper entitled “In Search of the Orient: The Muslim East on the Contemporary American Literary Scene,” published by the International Institute of Islamic and Arabic Studies is of much higher quality because of covering new ground, although it does not mention an important work by a Muslim scholar, Dr. Layla al-Farsy; “Washington Irving’s Mahomet: A Study of the Sources.”

Reference to al-Farsy's work indicates an urgent need for awareness of what Muslim scholars and researchers have achieved so far. Calling attention to such works creates a standard for scholars, elevates the level of research, acquaints readers with Muslim scholarly achievement and unifies Muslim academicians against the academic dishonesty of Orientalist or propaganda novelists. These writers have an unmistakable unified goal and it is our job to bring out Muslim achievement in the face of it, at least for the benefit of Muslims if not for calling the non-Muslims' attention to them.

Secondly, there is a problem with the Notes: they do not mention the 1977 edition of Byron Porter Smith's work, edited by two Muslim scholars, but rather the 1939, older edition. It recommends, without reservation, Metlizki's work, which includes extremely offensive pictures of the Prophet (SAAS) and misinformation on Muslims in general. No evaluation of Tibawi's and Finnie's works is mentioned with relevance to Tyler.

Notes are a guide to the reader. Mentioning an old edition of Smith, while a new one edited by Muslim scholars is neglected does not invite readers to Muslim achievement nor clarify the Muslim perspective. It is regrettable that the author does not understand that he himself mentions Metlizki in his notes. Paradoxically, the reference contains abusive pictures of the Prophet (SAAS) and the Muslims. Is he guiding the reader to such a reference? Why is he calling attention to it? Smith's older edition should be replaced and Metlizki's reference dropped or commented upon adequately. The same applies to Tabawi and Finnie. There is a difference between both perspectives. If there is a need to clarify that, explanation should be given in a footnote. Or else, why is he using that reference?

Some other points should be noted: If the article is indebted to any source, be it another of the author's works, another Dissertation or the available scholarship pertinent to the topic, this source should be indicated in a footnote. As Muslim researchers, we hate that any of us be charged with the slightest doubt of plagiarism or academic inaccuracy.

In another article by Dr. Obeidat, namely "In Search of the Orient: The Muslim East on the Contemporary American Literary Scene," we can see his innovation, insight and originality very well demonstrated because the article is indebted only to Dr. Obeidat. Such qualities are missed in the "Royall Tyler" article. In view of the fact that articles should provide a further incentive for research, and that they should promote scholarship, scholars can clearly see that "In Search of the Orient" fulfills these expectations while "Royall Tyler" does not.

Dr. Obeidat should not discard these comments. They are provided for the benefit of the Muslim academician specialized in the field. Propaganda literature will not cease to exist and unified principles on confronting it should be agreed upon. The points made are not meant to divide, but unite views.



They are not meant to be abusive or harsh, but rather direct, precise, honest and at the required level of scholarship we have been made to adopt in the academic field.

Rasha al Disūqī  
San Luis Obispo, CA

### Views and Comments

#### *Islamic Ethics: Concept and Prospect*

The paper is incomplete in its present form. Its discussion about Islamic Ethics is superficial. Neither the complexity of theological ethics nor are philosophical and juridical ethics admitted anywhere. Moreover, it does not evaluate the present status of works on ethics (e.g., Isma'īl al Farūqī's contribution) and the scholarship produced by academics like Hourani (*The Ethics of Abd Al-Jabbar*). The paper must be expanded with proper discussion about the conceptual difficulties and the Islamic alternative. Certainly there is a need for this discussion, but not so superficially.

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## ABSTRACTS

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#### **Aspects of Fiscal Federalism in Pakistan: An Empirical Study of the Allocative, Revenue Mobilization and Equity Effects of Federal Transfers in Pakistan.**

*Amjad, Muhammad, Ph.D.*

Syracuse University, 1988. 256 pp. Order Number DA8914550

A number of empirical studies have been undertaken to estimate the impact of federal fiscal transfers on the budgetary choices of lower level governments. Such studies have considerable academic and policy relevance. No such data-based study has been undertaken for Pakistan. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap. While the needs of academic research remain important, the main focus of the study is to provide some relevant options to the policy planners for better utilization of Federal grants.

Pakistan has four Provinces, so cross sectional data are not likely to yield meaningful results. Hence, pooled cross section time-series data are used to test two models. Model 1 estimates the allocative and revenue mobilization effects of Federal grants. Model 2 tests for their equity implications.

Both the models perform reasonably well considering the data limitations involved. The results generally hold up well and show some internal consistency. There is evidence that the present scheme of Federal fiscal transfers may be producing effects contrary to the objectives of the national policy plan-



ners. These include: (1) diversion of portions of Federal deficit grants and the tax assignments, partly, to make up for decreases in the Provincial own source revenues; (2) diversion of substantial amounts of Federal development funds to the current budget; and (3) adverse equity implications of the Federal deficit grants. The last noted effect seems to have become pronounced since 1977-78.

These findings point to the need for a critical review of the scheme of fiscal federalism in Pakistan. The institutions entrusted with fiscal roles, notably the National Finance Commission, need to be restructured to perform their duties more effectively. There is a pressing need to redefine the roles of the Planning Commission and the Federal Ministry of Finance so that they do not work at cross purposes to each other and to the National Finance Commission. Finally, there is need to undertake more studies of this nature, at a more disaggregated level, for a greater understanding of the impact of Federal transfers in Pakistan.

## **Development and Future of English Law and Islamic Law in the Sudan.**

*Elkhalifa, Abdelrahman Ibrahim, D.C.L.*  
McGill University (Canada), 1989.

This thesis addresses The Development and the Future of English and Islamic Law in the Sudan using a comparative methodology.

Part I highlights the genesis and the development of Islamic Law in the Sudan. It discusses the period which started with the Sinnar Sultanate and ended with the fall of the Mahdist State.

Part II examines closely the genesis and pre-independence development of English Law in the Sudan.

Part III outlines the development of English Law in the Sudan during the post-independence era.

Part IV points out the challenges to the future of English Law in the Sudan. That includes judicial and legislative challenges along with instances of total departure from English Law in the Sudan.

Part V addresses the prospects for the future of English Law and Islamic Law in the Sudan.

## **The Impact of Socio-Cultural Factors Upon the Assimilation of Lebanese Moslem Groups in Metropolitan Detroit.**

*Salem, Jamil Raja, Ph.D.*

Wayne State University, 1988. 188 pp.

Adviser: Elizabeth F. Hood. Order Number DA8910375

Essentially, the uniqueness of American society is based upon the idea of cultural and ethnic diversity. Some ethnic groups, however, assimilate more rapidly and smoothly into this culture than others.

This study investigated the impact of cultural heritage upon the assimilation process among Lebanese Moslems in the Detroit area. Its specific focus was to examine the extent of cultural change (assimilation) within this group by means of a comparison of three generations of these factors: religion, language, soci-economic status and social structures.

The researcher obtained data for the study from 196 responses to a questionnaire using the Elkholy Cultural Assimilation Scale (CAS). Eighteen aspects of Lebanese Moslem culture were examined. Data pertaining to cultural change were coded and rank-ordered analyzed.

Findings of the study showed that six aspects of the Lebanese Moslem have shifted without reservation: religious customs, religious practices, religious attitudes, income level, occupation and educational level. Ten cultural aspects have changed with reservations: religious values, religious beliefs, language spoken in the home, social aspects of language in the home, social aspects of language concerning ethnic identity, residential patterns, intergroup relationships, authoritarian structures, family size and the female role. Two cultural aspects have not changed significantly: language as a system of thought and kinship patterns.

The results of this study indicate that Lebanese Moslems have shifted several aspects of their culture, accommodated some aspects with reservation, and continue to retain others with a minimum level of change.

Findings of this study revealed no significant difference between male and female Lebanese Moslems in the assimilation process. It also showed no significant relationship between age and the capacity for cultural change. Further, a moderate relationship between educational level and the assimilation process was found ( $r = .43$ ). More specifically, there was a strong relationship between time spent in the United States and the assimilation process ( $r = .72$ ).

It may be concluded that cultural heritages have influenced the assimila-



tion process. While culture assimilation occurred earlier than social assimilation, a "complete" structural assimilation did not occur.

## **Faith and Reason in the Islamic Tradition and Particularly in Ghazali.**

*Salame, David Doumit Abdo, Ph.D.*

Saint Louis University, 1988. 250 pp.

Adviser: Charles J. Ermatinge. Order Number DA8911489

Ghazali (1058-1111) was one of the major Arab Muslim scholars. His writings covered mainly theological and religious matters. However, philosophy, basically Greek philosophy recently translated into Arabic, interested him only as long as it related to issues of a religious nature. His main concern was, not only to establish and maintain a harmony between his Islamic faith and his intellectual ambitions nurtured by Greek philosophy, but also to integrate the Greek philosophy into his Islamic faith and culture. He was successful in his attempt, as he made clear in his masterpiece *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (Incoherence of the Philosophers), notably in his discussion of causality thoroughly analyzed in the present study.

Unfortunately, history books depict Ghazali as a chauvinist Muslim who was an enemy of intellectual progress. They also present him as an inconsistent though influential Muslim scholar whose hatred of Arabic philosophy precipitated its twilight.

The major objective of this dissertation is to pinpoint the shortcomings of previous interpretations of Ghazali, and to bring to light a new and authentic image of him through a re-evaluation of his life and of his major intellectual achievements. In order to reach this goal, the present author found it beneficial to offer the reader a comprehensive review of Ghazali's background. This is the subject matter of the first chapter. The second chapter presents a re-evaluation of Ghazali's life, accompanied by a thorough analysis of its major turning points. The third chapter is mainly concerned with the consistency of Ghazali's thought. It is in this chapter—through a discussion of Ghazali's theory of causality—that this thinker is presented as an impressive force of cultural integration, always keeping his Islamic faith intact. Finally, the author concludes the present study by investigating the possible influence of the Arabic language in shaping its user's mind and belief, taking Ghazali as an illustration.

## **Industrialisation and Transformation in the Sudan.**

*Simsaa, Layla El Awad, Ph.D.*

University of Sussex (United Kingdom), 1988. 456 pp.

Available from UMI in association with The British Library.

Order Number BRDX85520

Recognising the central role industrialisation plays in the development process and in the transformation of backward economies, we have attempted to examine the role of the Sudanese manufacturing sector. Our examination has revealed that the Sudanese manufacturing sector has failed to contribute significantly to the transformation of the colonially inherited economy of the Sudan. The manufacturing sector has been found to be inefficient, highly dependent on imported inputs, detrimental to the balance of payments, with little or no impact on the build up of indigenous technological capability, not largely oriented to the satisfaction of the basic needs of the masses, and with inadequate development of intermediate and capital goods sectors. Alternative paths to the import substitution strategy pursued so far, which might be effective, are examined. An export oriented industrialisation strategy is argued to be unpromising and ineffective. A basic needs/goods strategy is suggested instead. The conditions and pre-requisites for the adoption and successful implementation of this strategy are discussed.

## **An Investigation Into the Economic and Administrative Organization of the Umayyad Caliphate, With Particular Reference to the Reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.**

*El-Maaitah, Zarif, Ph.D.*

University of Manchester (United Kingdom), 1988. 390 pp.

Available from UMI in association with The British Library.

Requires signed TDF. Order Number BRD-85788

This study looks at the economic and administrative system during the Umayyad period, particularly during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (65-86/685-705). The chapters may be summarized as follows.

The first chapter entitled "The Early Years of 'Abd al-Malik", examines 'Abd al-Malik's background from the political, social, and religious viewpoints. It also deals with the victory of 'Abd al-Malik over his political opponents: 'Umar ibn Sa'id al-Ashdaq and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr.



The second chapter traces the origins and development of the financial institutions (*dawāwīn*), namely *al-Jund* (or *al-Ātā*), *al-Dhararī*, *al-Kharāj* and *al-Sadaqāt*. Throughout, the reasons for their creation and the reforms introduced in them are highlighted, as well as their respective duties.

The third chapter is devoted entirely to administrative institutions (*dawāwīn*), namely *al-Rasā'il*, *al-Khātām*, *al-Barīd*, and *al-Ṭirāz*. Smaller *dawāwīn* are also investigated, including *al-Nafaqāt*, *al-Mustaghallāt*, *al-Aḥbās*, *al-Zamnā*, and *al-Istikhraj*. Throughout, the reasons for their creation and the reforms introduced in them are highlighted, as well as their respective duties.

Chapter four looks in close detail at the Arabicization programme that affected all the financial institutions. It explains the reasons for such a huge programme of change aimed at substituting Arabic for other foreign languages, especially in Egypt, Iraq, Khurāsān, and al-Shām.

Chapter five surveys the history of the currency system, starting from the pre-Islamic era down to the region of 'Abd al-Malik. It then examines the far-reaching reforms which 'Abd al-Malik introduced. His reforms ended an era of monetary dependence, so that for the first time the Islamic Empire managed to possess a unified currency of its own, typically Islamic in character.

## **Islamic Historiography: The Case of al-Ṭabarī's "Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk" on the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad.**

*Tayob, Abdulkader Ismail, Ph.D.*

Temple University, 1989. 274 pp.

Major Adviser: Khalid Duran. Order Number DA8912498

This is a study in Islamic historiography which examines how one Muslim historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/925) presented the history of the conflict among the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. It begins with a summary of the evolution of Islamic historiography which locates al-Ṭabarī's life then illustrates the great scholar's political, social and religious context. This biography examines the particular convictions of al-Ṭabarī in light of the prevailing view toward the companions of the Prophet. Two conflicts are chosen for evaluation in the early history of Islam, namely, the selection of Abu Bakr to succeed the Prophet as caliph and the Battle of the Camel during the reign of 'Alī, the fourth caliph. An analysis of the events shows how al-Ṭabarī presents the conflicts and dissensions among the companions, and a comparison with

a few contemporary and later Muslim historians clarifies al-Ṭabarī's personal approach in the presentation. The analysis shows how the form of Muslim historiography admirably suited al-Ṭabarī's attempts to reconcile the paradigm of the companions projected by the religious tradition with the reports (*akhbār*) that apparently contradicted this image, and at the same time allowed al-Ṭabarī to deal with a sensitive issue in his time. Taking the reports (*akhbār*) as 'raw' materials for their presentations, al-Ṭabarī selected, omitted, juxtaposed and carefully arranged them to present accounts of the early period. However, at almost every step of his project, al-Ṭabarī projected or at least, preserved, the moral and spiritual integrity of the companions by alternately denying, upholding and defending their actions.

## **Reform and Revolution in Shi'ī Islam: The Thought of Ali Shariati.**

*Navabi, Abbas, Ph.D.*

Indiana University, 1988. 209 pp.

Chairperson: Iliya Harik. Order Number DA8910139

Ali Shariati (1933-1977) is generally considered in both the Islamic world and Western scholarship as the ideologue of Iran's 1978 Islamic Revolution. Such a characterization is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of Shariati's intellectual project and his vision of Islam. It was Shariati's aim to initiate and eventually bring about a thorough-going ideological revolution in the worldview of Shi'ī Islam. Shariati's thought, then, ought to be viewed as a mode of continuity and development in the movement for Islamic reform founded by Muhammad Abduh and continued by Muhammad Iqbal. The present work is an analysis as well as a critique of Shariati's ideas in reference to the sources that influenced him, namely, Islamic reformism, the Western intellectual tradition, and Third World cultural and ideological thought.

The three major characteristics of Shariati's vision of Islam are discussed in this work in the following terms: (1) An interpretive, humanistic, and pragmatic reading of the Qu'ran and the tradition in which primacy is given to contemporary Muslim needs and experience. (2) The view that the Islamic worldview and ethics rather than the Islamic law constitute the fundamental principles of Islam and in reference to which socioeconomic and political issues in Islamic societies ought to be approached and resolved. It is the task of all intellectuals committed to working within the framework of a progressive Islamic ideology to develop such a system of worldview and ethics. (3) Con-



ception of Islam as an "ideologico-cultural system" in which Islam although a universal ideology is inseparable from the cultural personality of the particular communities that have adopted it.

Two of the main conclusions of the study are: (1) Shariati's vision of Islam in terms of its intellectual inspirations as well as in its aim and orientation substantially differ from the neotraditionist ideology of Iran's ruling elite. (2) Shariati's critical reflections regarding the problem of tradition and modernity and his important contributions to the reformation of Islamic world outlook can benefit the Muslim humanity notwithstanding his misconceived efforts to develop an Islamic total ideology.

## **Regionalization and Development Performance in Indonesia.**

*Abidin, Said Zainal, Ph.D.*

University of Pittsburgh, 1986. 266 pp.

Order Number DA8908540

This study explores regional development management in Indonesia with a view to examining appropriate strategies for improving its regional development management capability.

Using Katz' Development Action System (DAS) approach modified for Indonesia, the impact of regional organization and management of development and regional development performances are examined.

Two main indicators for operationalizing regionalization are used. The first is the attention, or priority, given to regional development by the Central Government. The second indicator is the degree of regional autonomy or decentralization as expressed in the role the region plays in development decision making.

Five indicators are selected to measure regional development performance success. Three of them are related to the goals centered approach which concerns the success of development in terms of its capability for achieving the goals. Two other indicators are related to the system approach which looks on regional development success as the ability of regional development management to take benefits from its environment.

The study suggests that the success of regional development may be associated with the impact of the application of these four regional development strategies, but in many cases it is constrained by a low level of decentralization. Even though decentralization, or the regional autonomy principle, had been stipulated in the Constitution, the central-regional relationship

in Indonesia is characterized by the continuing swing of the "pendulum", that is, that region has greater autonomy at certain times and less at others, while the administrative structure tends to be hierarchical and dominated by the central bureaucracy. Consequently, the regions have depended heavily on central government support and decisions. In other words, the region became a burden for the central government instead of a partner.

## **The Social Institutions of Turkish Migrant Workers in West Berlin.**

*Johnson-Krojzl, Clare, Ph.D.*

University of Oxford (United Kingdom), 1987. 331 pp.

Available from UMI in association with The British Library.

Requires signed TDF. Order Number BRD-85468

Based on fieldwork in West Berlin, the thesis describes Turkish migrant social institutions in the context of relations between the Berliner and Turkish communities. The international and local economic background to international Turkish migration and the historical development of industrial institutions in Berlin are presented as a central to the analysis of these relations.

In section one, chapters one and two describe migrant institutions and industrial development in Berlin and the Turkish national and household economies respectively. Section two, the ethnography, contains five chapters. Chapter three describes the Turkish village household and the conditions in which rural-urban and international migration occur. Chapter four describes the demographic and occupational background of the Turkish community in West Berlin and the economic and institutional effects of migration on the Turkish household. Chapter six gives an account of Berliner-Turkish relations in the context of important concepts and institutional trends in the host society which affect migrant institutions. Chapter seven continues this account, focusing on the second generation. A conclusion summarizes the main characteristics of the Turkish community in West Berlin in relation to the latter's own institutions.



## **The Socialization of Schoolchildren in the Islamic Republic of Iran: A Study of the Revolution in Values in Iranian Education.**

*Mehran, Golnar, Ph.D.*

University of California, Los Angeles, 1988

Chair: Professor John N. Hawkins.

The three main purposes of this study have been: (1) to determine the relationship between education and ideology in the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI); (2) to identify the goals and principles of postrevolutionary schooling and examine educational reform; and (3) to investigate the role of the educational system in the character formation and political socialization of schoolchildren, and identify the values taught in Iranian schools.

The different approaches used to collect data include: (1) archival investigation and analysis of government publications, official records, public statements and speeches, radio and television programs, and newspapers; (2) interviews with educational authorities and government officials during a field trip to Iran in 1984-85; and (3) content analysis of social studies textbooks at the elementary and secondary school level.

The major findings of this study indicate that education and ideology are closely intertwined in contemporary Iran, and the four ideological pillars of the IRI—inseparability of religion and politics, Islamic revival, cultural revolution, and the creation of a New Islamic Person—have direct bearing on education. Curricular content reflects the official state ideology and inculcates in the young the values and beliefs needed to maintain the status quo. Postrevolutionary transformation in the schooling system is directed at politicizing and Islamizing education and eradicating cultural Westernization. Ideological purification and political commitment is deemed more important than mere academic/technical expertise. Educational reform, therefore, has not brought about major changes in the structure and organization of schooling but has led to a fundamental revision in its content. The ultimate aim of socialization in schools is to bring about moral-political transformation—a revolution in values.

The findings of this study imply that due to the existence of conflicting messages conveyed by different socializing agents in Iran, the political socialization effort of the schools may be more effective among children from traditional/religious families as opposed to secular/Westernized ones as to continue the tradition of cultural dualism in Iran.

## **Studies in the Theory of Value: A Critical Analysis of Classical, Neoclassical and Post Keynesian Theories and Elaboration of an Islamic Theory.**

*al Farūqī, Maysam J., Ph.D.*

Temple University, 1989. 337pp.

Major Adviser: Isma'īl R. al Farūqī. Order Number DA8912396

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyse various Western theories of value with a view to elaborate through comparison and contrast an Islamic theory consistent with Islamic economics, law and philosophy. In the first part, the analysis of Western theories leads to the conclusion that contrary to the widely held view, there is more than one theory in the Classical school, and that the transition from Classical to Post Keynesian is not as smooth as often assumed. In particular, the label "neo-Ricardian" applied to some Post Keynesians is not accurate. A new categorization of the theories of value is suggested along new lines of analysis of the notion of value. In addition, through contrast and comparison of the Classical and Neo Classical theories, we derive the general principles that a coherent economic theory of value should follow.

In the second part, and since there is no systematic analysis of the theory of value in Islamic law or economics, we examine the concepts indirectly related to the notion of value in the Qur'an, Hadith and Islamic law—such as interest, profit, returns, ownership, risk, partnerships. From these, we develop a valuational and philosophical understanding of the nature of value implicitly present in the Islamic system of thought. We then proceed to derive the economic theory that would correspond to them, and compare it to the theories surveyed earlier. The conclusion examines some implications of this study on the notion of alienation and the understanding of the nature of economic methodology.

## **Structures of Trade—Their Impact on Employment and Income Distribution: A Case Study of Bangladesh.**

*Tareq, Shamsuddin Mohammed, Ph.D.*

University of Notre Dame, 1989. 156 pp.

Director: Kwan S. Kim. Order Number DA8915881

The Hecksher-Ohlin Theorem implies that labour surplus developing countries should export labour-intensive commodities and import relatively capital-



intensive goods. Expansion of export production will, therefore, generate a larger volume of employment than an equivalent expansion of import substitute production. Since labour often constitutes the poorer section of the population, this will also reduce income inequality. Hence, neo-classical theory asserts that a development strategy which promotes increased production of exports will enable the developing countries to simultaneously tackle the twin problems of unemployment and widening disparity of income among the different socio-economic classes in the country.

This study attempts to investigate the employment and income contributory consequences of different trade structures in the Bangladesh economy. The study utilizes a semi-closed input-output model modified to include consumption as an endogenous variable. The model therefore, captures both the Leontief inter-industry linkages as well as Keynesian multiplier effects. Three different trade structures were studied under four different scenarios.

The results of our study indicate that expansion of export production generates much more employment than an equivalent expansion in import substitute production or of non-traded goods and services. In the four scenarios studied, the greatest increase in employment occurred when exports from comparative sectors are allowed to increase. The study concludes that the superior performance of exports in generating employment opportunities is due to the fact that exported commodities are much more labour-intensive and also have stronger backward linkages with the rest of the economy.

Contrary to the prediction of the neo-classical theory, income distribution seems to be insensitive to changes in trade structures. The study concluded that changing the composition of the value-added in changing the structure of production will do little to reduce income inequality. However, the absolute income of the poor is much higher when trade structure favours export production. Absolute income in the poorest 43% of the population is highest when exports from comparative advantage sectors are allowed to increase.

## **The Ulama of Najd From the Sixteenth Century to the Mid-Eighteenth Century.**

*Mutawa, Abdullah M., Ph.D.*

University of California, Los Angeles, 1989. 365 pp.

Chair: Afaf L.S. Marsot. Order Number DA8914375

During the period between the tenth and the first half of the twelfth centuries A.H., Najd was undergoing a dual socio-economic process. First there

was an increase in the sedentary population. Second, there was the establishment of many new settlements and towns in various regions of Najd. This study aims to establish a correlation between this dual process and the development of learning in pre-modern Najd.

The introduction discusses important and primary sources. Chapter one covers a brief survey of the history of Najd since the rise of Islam. The period under study is divided into three phases: the tenth century, the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century, A.H.

This study shows that from one century to the next, the number of Ulama increased significantly. Najdi students travelled to distant places (Damascus, Cairo, etc.) for the sake of learning and returned to Najd as Ulama. In concert with their colleagues educated in the learning centers of Najd, they established the premodern learning movement of Najd. The dynamic nature of learning was evident from the changing composition of the Ulama as a group during each period of time. The affinity between the growth in the number of Ulama and that of the settlements was evident in the geographical expansion of the ulama. Najdi Ulama went to work and settled in the trading centers and the newly established towns.

An undisputed fact that emerges from this study is that relating to the family-centered nature of learning. A few aristocratic families dominated the pre-modern intellectual scene in Najd from its inception in the tenth century to its climax with the emergence of the Wahhabi reform movement in the second half of the twelfth century. While their domination of scholarship was by no means absolute, certain socio-economic factors favored some families, enabling them to advance while others disappeared completely from the scholarly scene. Within the few aristocratic families, only al-Mushaffaf were able to preserve their scholarly traditions as they migrate from their ancestral home of Ushayqir to al-Uyayanah. An attempt is also made to identify the economic and political sources of support for learning and the Ulama.



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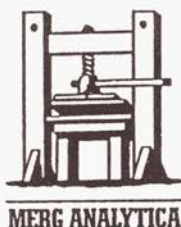
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